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FREDERICK ENGELS

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April 1883-December 1886

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Preface

Volume 47 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains Engels' letters dated from April 1883 to December 1886.

The letters at the beginning of this volume to the participants of democratic and labour movements in Russia, Germany, Holland, Britain, the United States and Italy on Marx's death reflect the world-wide concern over this sad development.

After Marx's death, the volume of Engels' correspondence increased considerably. The stream of letters from all over the world was evidence of growth of the workers' and democratic movement in Europe and the United States, of Engels' influence on this process and his expanding ties with leaders of socialist parties.

New names appeared among his correspondents, such as those of Hermann Schlüter, John Lincoln Mahon, Pasquale Martignetti, and Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky. He wrote not only to friends, comrades and followers, but also to strangers who turned to him for advice or with requests (see this volume, pp. 8, 27, 66, 282-83). For Engels maintaining and expanding his international contacts was a most demanding duty. He wrote to August Bebel on 30 April 1883: 'For after all, we wish to maintain intact, in so far as it is in my power, the many threads from all over the world which spontaneously converged upon Marx's study' (p. 17).

Marx named Engels and Eleanor Marx his 'literary executors'. Engels concentrated on completing the publication of Marx's unfinished works, first of all volumes II and III of *Capital*, which he had left in handwritten variants, and of new editions of Volume I of *Capital*

(p. 39). Engels also intended to undertake, but unfortunately did not write, a full biography of Marx on the basis of the existing extensive correspondence and other material from Marx's archive, which would incorporate the history of the German socialist movement from 1843 to 1863 and of the International from 1864 to 1872 (pp. 17, 26). In his letters, Engels referred repeatedly to the history of the International Working Men's Association, stressing the role Marx had played in it. 'Mohr's life without the International,' he wrote (in English) to Laura Lafargue on 24 June 1883, 'would be a diamond ring with the diamond broken out' (p. 40).

Engels completed the preparation for the printer, begun by Marx, of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* before the end of 1883. This involved much painstaking labour (as his letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of 29 June 1883, among others, shows). He also went out of his way to assure the appearance of *Capital* in other languages (p. 87), choosing translators with great care, and often helping to edit their translations. With Samuel Moore, Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx, he organised and edited the first English translation of Volume I of *Capital* (pp. 436-37) which took him 'the better part of a year' (p. 492).

Many of Engels' letters refer to his preparation for the printer of the second and third volumes of Marx's *Capital*. They are imbued with respect for his deceased friend and with the wish to make the works of Marx available to the working class and progressive intellectuals. '...Some labour when you're dealing with a man like Marx, who weighed every word,' Engels wrote to Johann Philipp Becker on 22 May 1883. 'But to me it is a labour of love; after all I shall be back again with my old comrade' (p. 26).

Other letters on this score give a fairly good idea of how Engels laboured over *Capital's* economic manuscripts — how he virtually deciphered Marx's handwriting, how he determined the chronological framework, collated notes, compared separate variants, checked quotations, and finally transcribed the entire volume in order to edit the clean copy (pp. 29, 33, 42-43, 53, 88-89). He could not let anyone else do this because, as he put it, 'there is not another living soul who can decipher that writing and those abbreviations of words and style' (p. 93).

Preparation of Volume III dragged out and the volume did not appear in print until 1894. In his letters to Karl Kautsky of 21-22 June 1884 and Johann Philipp Becker of 2 April 1885, and elsewhere,

Engels emphasised the scientific significance of the second and third volumes of *Capital* (pp. 154, 267).

Engels followed carefully the dissemination of Marx's ideas. Of particular interest are his letters about the popular summary of *Capital* produced by the French socialist Gabriel Deville. Engels was concerned that the explication of Marxism's basic economic principles should be comprehensible to working people and not overly abstruse (p. 61), and in his letters to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky he recommended publishing the popularisations by Deville and Paul Lafargue. This would, he argued, introduce *Capital* and its ideas into the United States (pp. 464-65). Engels also welcomed Kautsky's book, *Karl Marx's Oekonomische Lehren*, which was well received by the public (p. 482).

In the 1880s, economic literature, notably by the so-called 'armchair socialists' (Kathedersozialisten), charged that Marx had borrowed his theory of surplus value from Rodbertus (pp. 138-39). This charge of plagiarism had to be refuted once and for all owing to the influence the armchair socialists were gaining among some Social Democrats. Engels produced a critical analysis of the main works of Rodbertus, whom he vividly described as 'apostle of the careerists of Bismarckian socialism' (p. 139) in letters to Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky (pp. 72, 125-26, 193-94), whose content accords with ideas Engels originally expressed in his prefaces to the first German edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* ('Marx and Rodbertus') and the first edition of Volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vols. 26 and 36).

The correspondence refers extensively to Engels' work on the translation and republication of a number of other important works by Marx and himself. The letters show that, in choosing these works, Engels was above all guided by the needs of the workers' movement, with an eye to the continuous entry into it of new people unversed in theory.

In some countries, the workers' movement of the 1880s was quite strongly influenced by the anarchists. The focal point of their polemics with Social Democrats was the question of the State. On 18 April 1883, answering the American Philipp Van Patten's question on Marx's attitude to anarchists, Engels elaborated on the historical future of the State. He described anarchist formulae — that the proletarian revolution should begin by abolishing the State — as 'anarchist absurdities', because this would be tantamount to destroying 'the only organism by means of which the victorious working class can exert its

newly conquered power' (p. 10). Engels dwelt on the matter also in a letter to Bernstein, this time in connection with the latter's attack in the press on some American socialists who had also failed to understand Marx's doctrine of the State. Engels referred Bernstein to Marx's *The Civil War in France* and cited extracts from *The Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (pp. 73-74, 86). To bring the Marxist doctrine of the State to those who had newly joined the socialist movement, Engels republished these and other works (Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and Engels' *Anti-Dühring* and *The Housing Question*).

Engels examined the nature and class essence of the State in his *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26). He noted that he wrote the book to fulfil Marx's wishes. Marx had read *Ancient Society* by the liberal American scholar, Lewis H. Morgan, and had himself planned to write on the subject (pp.103, 115-16).

The correspondence of the 1880s lifts the veil on Engels' further elaboration of the theory of socialist revolution. He was above all pre-occupied by the question of tactics and, in particular, by what he saw as the incorrect evaluation by the German Social Democrats of the character of the expected revolution. Engels examined capitalist world development in the 1880s, and concluded that the socialist revolution in countries with semi-absolutist political survivals and feudal relations in agriculture (for instance, Germany) would necessarily be preceded by a bourgeois-democratic stage. '...In our case ...,' he wrote to Bernstein in 1883, 'the first, immediate result of the revolution can and *must*, so far as *form* is concerned, be nothing other than a *bourgeois* republic' (p. 51). Then and only then would the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie follow classical lines, i. e. pave the way to '*direct*, undisguised class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie' (ibid.). At the same time, Engels warned against imagining 'the revolution as something that can be achieved overnight. In fact it is a process of development on the part of the masses which takes several years even under conditions that tend to accelerate it' (p. 51).

All his life Engels examined the dynamics of capitalist economics. Like Marx, he noticed the modification of the economic cycle and the appearance of intermediate five-year crises. He associated this with the uneven development of the leading states and the gradual decline of Great Britain in the world market (pp. 23, 82). To be sure, not all

of Engels' predictions came true. Among others, this applies to the idea of an economic 'crisis without end' (p. 402) which he predicted in a letter to Nikolai Danielson of 8 February 1886 and Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 3 February 1886 (pp. 396-97). In the 1890s, Engels would elaborate on his views, noting capitalism's considerable stability and expanding sphere of influence (see present edition, Vol. 37).

In many of his letters, Engels touched on various international problems of the mid-1880s which arose owing to the rivalry of the European powers in the Balkans, Germany's aggressive policies, and the views of certain circles in France who wanted back the lands Prussia had seized in 1871 (pp. 353, 483-84, 485-86, 510-11, 513-14). Examining the diplomatic games in Europe, the balance of power and the probable consequences of a military conflict, Engels helped European socialists to work out their tactics in questions of war and peace. In his letters to August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker and Friedrich Adolph Sorge he stressed that workers of all countries should fight against the militarist system and the war danger. Though Engels admitted that war might create favourable conditions for the victory of the working class, he did not relate revolution and its victory directly to war. On the contrary, he was convinced war would take an incredibly high toll and 'retard our movement' (pp. 353-54, 487).

Special mention should be made of letters to members of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany which, as Engels put it, was at that time the leading European workers' party (p. 36).

The German labour movement in 1883-86 was exposed to the rigours of Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law. By combining legal and illegal methods, the party managed to win influence among the mass of the people by the mid-1880s. Engels described its success in Reichstag elections as a trial of strength (p. 198).

He believed that socialist parties should participate in election campaigns and parliamentary activity, but did not regard them as the only or main form of struggle. Looking into the experience of the German Social Democrats, he called their attention to the conditions on which they might come forward with their own bills without prejudicing their principles. In a letter to Bernstein of 11 November 1884, he said such bills could be formulated 'without regard for petty-bourgeois prejudices' and could avoid being utopian (p. 217). He elaborated on this in a letter to Bebel of 20-23 January 1886 (pp. 388-89).

Engels helped the left wing of the German Social Democratic movement in its fight against reformist elements who had a majority in the Social Democratic parliamentary group. He traced the spread of reformism to the influence of the petty bourgeoisie. 'In a philistine country like Germany,' he observed in a letter to Johann Philipp Becker of 15 June 1885 'the party must also have a philistine "educated" right wing' (p. 300). That most of the parliamentary group were men of petty-bourgeois background was traceable to the absence of deputies' salaries, which barred the doors to the Reichstag for many promising worker deputies.

Reacting to differences within the Social Democratic parliamentary group over the bill on State subsidies to shipping companies, Engels set forth his views on party unity in letters to Bebel and others (pp. 239, 269-71, 284 et al). Letting matters reach an open break with the right wing, he felt, was undesirable in the context of the Anti-Socialist Law, and would only weaken the party: in the absence of a forum for public discussion, the rank-and-file would hardly be able to understand the reasons for, and substance of, the split. Engels wrote to Bernstein on 5 June 1884: '*We ... must steer clear of anything that might lead to a breach, or rather might lay the blame for that breach at our door. That is the universal rule when there is a struggle within one's own party, and now it applies more than ever*' (p.145).

We see from his correspondence that Engels was a faithful reader of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, and, indeed, was always ready to help its staff headed by Bernstein. His letters were often made the core of editorials, and thus came to be known to the German workers (pp. 139-42, 329-31).

Engels' letters to August Bebel, leader of the party's left wing, touched on an especially broad spectrum of problems. Engels wrote of Bebel: 'There is no more lucid mind in the whole of the German party, besides which he is utterly dependable and firm of purpose' (pp. 201-02).

Engels' letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of 2 January 1886, first found in 1983, is being published in English translation here for the first time, filling a gap in their correspondence which has reached us incomplete.

During that period, Engels devoted much of his attention to the independent movement of the English working class, especially in connection with 'the sudden emergence' of socialism in Britain (p. 82). He saw the 'secret' of its revival (some decades after Owenism and

Chartism had faded away) in the erosion of Britain's monopoly in the world market by American and German competition, and the impact of the economic depression which had dragged on and on since 1873 (*ibid.*). More than ten years of slump had increased unemployment, ruined tenant farmers, and speeded up rural migration to the cities, adding to the number of homeless and jobless. The radical-minded intellectuals and politically active workers, disappointed in the Liberals, turned to socialism for relief from economic strains and social contradictions. The word 'socialism' was on everybody's lips. In a letter to Laura Lafargue, who was in Paris, Engels referred to 'the new Socialist "rage" in London' (pp. 94-95).

Engels, as his letters show, was critical of the Democratic Federation formed and headed by Henry Mayers Hyndman in 1881 and renamed the Social Democratic Federation in 1884. His guarded attitude was due to its heterogeneous membership, the young people who had 'emerged from amongst the bourgeoisie'. These elements, he wrote, varied considerably 'morally and intellectually', and had no root in the working class (pp. 54, 82). 'The elements presently active,' he wrote to Bebel on 30 August 1883, 'might become important, now that they have accepted our theoretical programme and thus acquired a basis, but only if a spontaneous movement broke out amongst the workers here and they succeeded in gaining control of it' (p. 54).

After reading the Federation's manifesto, Engels commented that 'these people have now at last been compelled publicly to proclaim our theory as their own, a theory which, at the time of the International, seemed to them to have been imposed upon them from outside' (*ibid.*). But the incorporation in the programme of a Marxist provision — the socialisation of the means of production — did not mean a mass working-class political party had emerged. Engels, however, had urged English workers to set up such a party as early as 1881, in his contribution to *The Labour Standard* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 404-06). The trade union movement was far removed from socialist ideas. Yet the Social Democratic Federation's leadership, notably Hyndman, renounced contacts with the organised workers. Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue in February 1884: '...The new "respectable" Socialist stir here does go on very nicely, the thing is becoming fashionable, but the working classes do not respond yet. Upon that everything depends' (p. 105).

Engels criticised Hyndman for his lack of scruples, his disregard of

political principles, and chauvinism in regard to other nations. He called him to account, too, for his excessive ambition, and his tendency towards political intrigue (pp. 118, 123, 155, 165, 236-37, 247, 366-67). The fact that Marx had broken off relations with Hyndman in 1881 had, of course, contributed to Engels' guarded attitude (see present edition, Vol. 46, pp. 102-04).

Working jointly with Samuel Moore, Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx on the English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, Engels was sceptical of Hyndman's translation of some of its chapters (pp. 127, 313, 424) printed in *To-Day*. He criticised Hyndman's translation in an article, 'How Not to Translate Marx' (present edition, Vol. 26). Nevertheless the appearance in the socialist press of large fragments of *Capital* before its publication under separate cover in 1887 after Engels' editing had helped the spread of Marx's economic theory among workers and intellectuals.

Engels' letters betray his good knowledge of such socialist periodicals as *Justice* and *To-Day* from which he obtained an idea of the people who had attached themselves to the socialist movement in the early half of the 1880s (pp. 85-86, 114, 122, 424). He was also briefed on the activity of the Social Democratic Federation by Eleanor Marx, Edward Aveling, William Morris, Belfort Bax, and other of its left-leaning members. Towards the close of 1884, Hyndman's sectarian tactics caused profound differences within the Federation, and led to the resignation of those on its left wing who formed a new organisation, the Socialist League. Engels set forth the history of that split in letters to Bernstein and Sorge (pp. 236-38, 245). In the years that followed, he informed his correspondents in Germany and in the United States of the activity of those two socialist organisations.

Although critical of the SDF leadership, Engels approved of its actions in defence of the unemployed (holding demonstrations, sending deputations to MPs, and so forth). However, he described its leaders' attempt at attracting the mass of workers with ultra-left slogans of 'social revolution' as reckless 'revolutionary ranting' (pp. 407-08, 427). In the autumn of 1886 he admitted, however, that the 'Social Democratic Federation is beginning to be something of a power, since the masses have absolutely no other organisation to which they can rally' (p. 529). However, among the active socialists of the SDF, the Radical Clubs in the East End, and the Socialist League, he saw no one who could lead a mass movement of the unemployed (pp. 526, 534). Engels had close contacts with members of the Socialist League and

supported their newspaper, *The Commonweal*, and was doubly upset by the symptoms in its ranks of 'teething troubles', sectarianism, and anarchist influence (pp. 438, 446, 471).

Despite some successful actions, the socialist movement in Britain of the early half of the 1880s was divided and had no public backing to speak of. '...The masses,' Engels wrote to Sorge, 'are still holding aloof, although here too *beginnings* of a movement are perceptible. But it will be some time before the masses are in full spate, which is a good thing because it means that there will be time for proper leaders to emerge' (p. 492).

In a series of letters Engels referred to specific features in the history of France and its labour movement. Ever since 1789, he pointed out, the political struggles in France had followed classical lines, with the governments that succeeded each other 'moving ever further to the Left' (pp. 149, 342). In 1885 Engels welcomed the collapse of Jules Ferry's cabinet which had ruled on behalf of the big bourgeoisie and stock exchange speculators with a big stake in colonial conquest, and had predicted the imminent victory in elections of the Radicals. This, he hoped, would provide favourable conditions for class struggle (pp. 270, 364). What might hamper the growth of the French labour movement, he maintained, was its low theoretical level and the surviving influence of various types of pre-Marxian socialism (pp. 183, 342). In his view, it had not yet fully recovered from the defeat of the Paris Commune (p. 211).

The correspondence is an important source of information about the processes that were underway in the French socialist movement of the early half of the 1880s. In 1882 the movement broke up into separate organisations of reformists (Possibilists) and collectivists, the latter comprising the Workers' Party, by and large an adherent of scientific socialism. Engels' letters clarify his outlook and that of the leaders of the Workers' Party on two crucial issues that had a bearing on the party's future: the relationship with the Possibilists, and use of the bourgeois parliament in the workers' interests.

At a complicated time, with the Workers' Party locked in struggle with the Possibilists, Engels urged its leaders to study theory. Some of his letters to Lafargue were printed as articles in the French socialist press (pp. 235-36, 255-56). He commended Lafargue and Deville for lecturing on Marx's teaching in France and for coming to grips with the opponents of Marxism in the press (pp. 107, 134-35, 171, 179-83).

Engels welcomed the independent labour faction in the Chamber

of Deputies. For the first time, the voice of labour resounded publicly in defence of the striking miners of Decazeville. The workers' deputies edged away from the Radicals, which Engels considered as 'a great event' (pp. 409, 414, 418, 441-42). Although the faction was small, the Workers' Party had now acquired a public political tribune.

Time and again, in letters to Bebel, Liebknecht, and Paul and Laura Lafargue, Engels offered his view of bourgeois radicalism in France whose influence had risen in the autumn of 1885. Some of his statements were over-emphatic. This applied first of all to his ideas about the historical possibilities of the Radicals, and also to over-optimistic predictions of the imminent emergence of the French socialists onto the political foreground (pp. 300, 314, 343, 470).

A conspicuous place in the volume is taken up by Engels' correspondence with his old friend, the American socialist Friedrich Adolph Sorge, and with Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, who translated some of Engels' works. His letters show how profoundly he understood the specificity of the United States, a country that had had no feudal past and was the 'ideal of all bourgeois: a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions, and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat' (p. 452). Still, the emergence of large-scale industry there resulted in the appearance of an indigenous working class.

A powerful workers' action for an eight-hour working day was mounted in 1886, with 11,500 enterprises being engulfed in strikes. This and the success of the French socialists Engels described as 'the two events of world historic importance' of the year (p. 470). The strikes demolished the image of a non-antagonistic America to which the European bourgeoisie had resorted in the election campaign. 'What has completely stunned these people is the fact that the movement is so strongly accentuated as a labour movement, and that it has sprung up so suddenly and with such force' (p. 533).

The socialist movement in 19th-century America was strongly influenced by German immigrants. Nor was this influence all positive. The Lassalleans, advocates of essentially political struggle, had all too often caused a weakening of local unions which confined themselves to economic demands only. The Socialist Labor Party founded in 1876 consisted almost exclusively of German immigrants. It had its newspapers, *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* and *Der Sozialist*, both of which appeared in German. At times, the German socialist move-

ment in the United States was perceived by its members as a branch of the German socialist movement in Europe. Engels referred scathingly to the bookwormish dogmatism of the German socialists in the USA (p. 531). In a letter to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky in December 1886, he deplored their sectarianism and non-participation in the 1886 movement of the American workers (pp. 541-42). He was troubled by the lack of cohesion and unity in the US labour movement, and referred to the subject at length in his letters, emphasising its importance (pp. 470, 525).

The letters show that Engels saw the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, an organisation of chiefly unskilled white and black workers, as the point of departure in the drive for a true working-class party in the USA. Not that he was blind to the mistakes of its leaders. He considered it a real force, stating in no uncertain terms that the Order should be revolutionised from within, that it was necessary 'to work in their midst, to form ... a nucleus of men who know the movement and its aims' (pp. 532, 541). Neither the Knights of Labor nor the United Labor Party, whose founding Engels welcomed in his letter to Laura Lafargue of 24 November 1886, however, proved viable.

When Kelley-Wischnewetzky asked for Engels' permission to translate and publish his book, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, he gave his consent and promised to edit the translation. In lieu of a preface, he wrote an article, 'The Labour Movement in America' (see present edition, Vol. 26), where he raised the problems he had discussed in his correspondence with Kelley-Wischnewetzky (pp. 82, 525, 530, 540-41), and made an incisive analysis of the popular US economist Henry George.

Engels' correspondence reflects his keen interest in the social-economic and political history of Russia and the Russian revolutionary movement. His chief Russian correspondents in 1883-86 were Nikolai Danielson, Pyotr Lavrov, and Vera Zasulich. Their letters, along with the periodicals and other literature, were for him a continuous source of information about life in Russia.

Engels saw the specificity of Russia in that there every degree of 'social development is represented, from the primitive commune to modern big industry and high finance, and ... all these contradictions are forcibly pent up by an unheard-of despotism' (p. 281). He predicted an imminent financial crash and stressed the disaffection among all social groups over the internal situation. He observed that 'the so-called emancipation of the peasants' in 1861 had not entirely

liberated the peasants, with left-overs of feudal relations surviving in the countryside. As in the 1870s, one of the central subjects in the correspondence between Engels and the Russian revolutionaries was that of the prospects for revolution in Russia. Engels clearly overestimated the revolutionary sentiment in Russia when he wrote that the Tsar's government was 'at bay' and that the country would soon have its own 1789 (pp. 112, 338). His optimism was partly stimulated by the activity of Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) revolutionary organisation (pp. 256, 338).

His letter to Vera Zasulich of 23 April 1885 contains his conception of the character and motive forces of the impending revolution in Russia. He discusses possible revolutionary scenarios, from a palace coup to a people's revolution, which he compares to the Jacobinic dictatorship of 1793. When he gave both main dates of the French Revolution, 1789 and 1793, he evidently had in mind the succession of stages in the revolutionary cycle, from the bourgeois to the bourgeois-democratic revolution (pp. 112, 281).

Like Marx, he was certain that the Russian revolution would tear down tsarism, that 'last stronghold of reaction' (pp. 488-89), and thereby influence the political situation in the rest of Europe, ending tsarism's policy of conquests (pp. 338, 515-16).

The letters show that Engels welcomed the growth of revolutionary forces in Russia and that he established close ties with the first Russian Marxists in the Emancipation of Labour group.

Nor did he ever deny support to Russian socialists who had translated into Russian such works as: K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1886), Volume II of *Capital* (1885), and his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1884), and so forth. He commended their professional skill. In a letter to Sorge of 29 June 1883 he wrote, 'Translating the *Manifesto* is awfully difficult; by far the best renderings I have seen are the Russian' (p. 42).

The correspondence of 1883-1886 is a valuable source of information about Engels' life and offers evidence of his boundless respect for Marx. To perpetuate the memory of his friend, often to the detriment of his then shaky health, he worked from eight to ten hours at his desk, editing Marx's manuscripts (pp. 197, 202, 456, 492). Conscious of the pressure of his obligations, he wrote to Johann Philipp Becker on 15 October 1884: '...My misfortune is that since we lost Marx I have been supposed to represent him. I have spent a lifetime doing what I was fitted for, namely playing second fiddle, and indeed I be-

lieve I acquitted myself reasonably well. And I was happy to have so splendid a first fiddle as Marx. But now that I am suddenly expected to take Marx's place in matters of theory and play first fiddle, there will inevitably be blunders and no one is more aware of that than I' (p. 202).

The letters produce a vivid and most attractive portrait of Engels, a revolutionary internationalist, theorist, sensitive and responsive friend, a man brimming with energy and optimism. They testify to his touching affection for Marx's daughters, and his warm concern for such veterans of the labour movement as Friedrich Lessner, Johann Philipp Becker, George Julian Harney, and others.

* * *

Volume 47 contains 310 letters by Frederick Engels. Of these 180 are published in English for the first time; 130 letters have been published in English before, 65 of these in part only. All previous publications are indicated in the notes.

Letter No. 310 of 25 March 1886, the use of which was kindly granted by University College Library, London, shortly before the deadline, was included in the volume at the last moment on p. 543, so that the chronological order had to be disregarded.

Eleanor Marx-Aveling's letter to Horatio Bryan Donkin of 8 February 1886, the use of which was kindly granted by University College Library, London, is included in the Appendix and is being published in English for the first time.

Obvious errors in the text of the letters have been silently corrected. Abbreviated proper and place names, and individual words are given in full, except when the abbreviations were made for reasons of secrecy or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the originals are indicated in the footnotes, and passages with lost or illegible words are denoted by omission marks. Wherever their hypothetical reconstruction was possible, it is given in square brackets. Any text crossed out by the author is reproduced in footnotes only if it has a substantive bearing on the sense. The special nature of certain letters which were drafts or fragments reproduced in other documents is indicated either in the text itself or in the notes.

Foreign words and expressions in the text of the letters are retained

in the form in which they were used by the authors, with a translation where necessary in the footnotes and italicised (if they were underlined by the authors they are italicised and spaced out). English words and expressions used by Engels in texts written in German and French are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

The numbers of notes relating to the same facts and events in the texts of different letters, are repeated.

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KARL MARX
FREDERICK ENGELS
COLLECTED WORKS
VOLUME
47

1883

1

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV¹

IN PARIS

London, 2 April 1883

My dear Lavrov,

I hasten to acknowledge receipt of your letter enclosing a postal order for 124.50 frs. I shall not be able to cash it until Wednesday^a at the earliest, as tomorrow I have to examine the manuscripts left by Marx.² On completion of the commission I shall announce the fact in the *Sozialdemokrat* of Zurich, and shall ask the editorial department to send you one or two copies of that particular number. It goes without saying that no mention will be made of Citizen Krantz's^b name.³

I have found the manuscript of the *Zirkulation des Kapitals*^c and of the third book: *Die Gestaltungen des Gesamtprozesses*^d—some 1,000 in-folio pages.⁴ So far it's impossible for me to say whether the manuscript as it stands is in a fit condition to go to press. In any case I shall have to copy it out as it is in rough draft. Tomorrow I shall at last have time enough to devote several hours to going through all the manuscripts that Moor has left us, in particular an outline of dialectics which he had always intended to do.⁵ But he always refrained from telling us how far his work had progressed, for he was aware that, once people realised something was ready, he would be pestered until he consented to its publication. All this is between you and me; I have no right to publish anything without Tussy who is my literary co-executrix.

^a 4 April-^b a pen-name for Pyotr Lavrov-^c *Circulation of Capital*-^d *The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*

We were all delighted and surprised to hear that our good, brave — to the point of madness — Lopatin had so happily regained his freedom.⁶ Let us hope that, while retaining his bravery, he has left his madness behind him in Russia. I hope to see him here one of these days. Please give him my warm regards.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the
first time

2

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 11 April 1883

My dear Laura,

I do indeed think, along with you, that Paul ought to go and see his mother and I have told him so many a time and many a year ago. As to the extra expense, that will not be much and I can soon find you that, if informed in time. Only, if things are as you describe, it will require some considerable diplomacy on Paul's part, not to spoil his own game — that Christian sister of charity ought not to be made an enemy of⁷ — she is *always* there and Paul *not*, and if only her suspicions are aroused, be sure she will never cease to beguile the old woman into a will as much in her favour as the law will permit. So that point I suppose is settled — you'll have to look after the execution.

We all of us have had a hearty laugh at your account of the Argenteuil adventures.⁸ It is so like him^a from beginning to end. To-day it

^a Charles Longuet

is a week that Tussy sent him a very categorical letter: when is the boy^a to come? Not a line in reply. *Il est toujours en train de réfléchir.*^b

Paul is sure of six months at least.⁹ He was awfully funky about it when here, and amused Liebknecht out of all measure with his *horror carceris*.^c But if he does not now start in earnest to learn German, I shall consider him to be nothing but *un enfant gâté*.^d Imagine he writes to me that he *will* learn it—*‘comme vous le dites très bien (!) il pourra (!) devenir nécessaire que je le sache pour des traductions!’*.^e As if the perfection of his own accomplishments, bright as they are, did not entirely depend on his reading certain German things, published and unpublished! He rejoices in the prospect of the 2nd volume [of] *Capital* being published, but will he ever be able to read it?

If M-me Gendre will translate the *Manifest*^f into French and let me revise the translation (it's no child's play, you know) I will write her a preface sufficient to explain the historical circumstances, etc.¹⁰ But as I know nothing much of the lady, I am bound to say at present: no revision, no preface. A *right* to stop any proceedings of hers in that direction I have not. This notabene is for Paul. So is this: What speech of Giffen he writes about I don't know, nor where it was published.

Pumps is still 'expectant', or was so at least last night. Percy's mother told him the other day that really he ought to be a little better informed in a case like that.

Jollymeyer is here for a few days. Since then (as some days before he left 10 days ago) we have every evening a bobby promenading before the house, when I let Carlo out about 12. The imbeciles evidently think we are manufacturing dynamite, when in reality we are discussing whisky.

Kind regards from him and myself to both of you.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

^aJean Longuet - ^bHe is still thinking it over. - ^cfear of imprisonment - ^da spoiled child - ^e'As you say *very aptly* (!) it may (!) prove necessary for me to know it for translations!' - ^fK. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS ¹

IN THE HAGUE

London, 11 April 1883
 122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

You must understand that, since the death of my old friend, I have been so taken up with correspondence, business matters, the perusal of his writings, etc., that I have been able to attend only to what was absolutely imperative. ² Today I have at last found a minute or two in which to thank you for your letter of condolence ¹¹ and for your excellent obituary in *Recht voor Allen*.^a That obituary was undoubtedly one of the best we have seen, and was unanimously acclaimed as such among our circle of intimates here.

Many thanks, too, on behalf of his surviving daughters ^b and of myself, to the Dutch workers' party ¹² for their participation, at least in spirit, in our friend's last rites. In this they were at one with our German, French, Spanish, Russian and American comrades.

Should fate or the urge to travel—in our case sadly curbed—bring me to Holland, I shall consider myself under an obligation to look you up, just as I would urge you to look me up should you come to England.

Marx has left a great wad of manuscript for the second part of *Capital*, the whole of which I must first read (and what handwriting!) before I can tell to what extent it is printable and to what extent it requires complementing from subsequent notebooks. ⁴ At all events, *the main substance is there*. Since I cannot as yet say anything more definite, however, I would ask you not to put anything in the papers about it just now, as this might lead to misunderstandings. Besides, Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor is my literary co-executrix, I can do nothing without her and the ladies, as you know, are sticklers for form.

^a F. D. Nieuwenhuis, 'Karl Marx', *Recht voor Allen*, No. 4, 24 March 1883.-

^b Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx

Excuse me *dat ik niet op hollandsch schrijf*^a; in recent years I have had no practice in the use of your language.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

I enclose my photograph and beg you to send me yours. As soon as we have got new ones of Marx I shall send you one.

First published, in Russian, in *Istori-*
marksist, No. 6, Moscow, 1934

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

4

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN
IN ZURICH

London, 14 April 1883

Dear Mr Bernstein,

Dr Aveling, editor of *Progress*, wrote to *The Republican* with a view to purchasing the wood block of Marx's portrait which appeared in that paper.¹³ Came the reply: *THAT BLOCK HAS BEEN SENT TO GERMANY FOR THE Sozialdemokrat, SO IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR YOU TO HAVE IT.* Aveling now enjoins me to write forthwith, asking if he could have the block as soon as possible. If not, then perhaps a cliché of it. There may also be some misunderstanding, the block having, perhaps, gone to the *Neue Welt*. Please let me know at once by postcard.¹⁴

The report of the Congress¹⁵ most edifying.¹⁶

In great haste,

Yours,
F. E.

^a for not writing in Dutch

The 2nd volume of *Capital* is there—but I can't tell you what a state it's in—1,000 pages of ms. to go through.¹⁷ However, don't put anything in the paper yet; as soon as I can say anything for sure, I'll let you have something authoritative.

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5

ENGELS TO THOMAS JAMES KNOWLES¹⁸

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 17 April 1883

Dear Sir,

There exists a manuscript—a critical résumé of *Das Kapital* by me^a—among the papers of the late Dr Marx, but up to to-day we have been unable to find it amongst the mass of papers left by him.

However, even if found, I should hesitate to send it to you at least for the purpose you indicate.^b I am not aware that it is usual, in the literature of this or any other country, for one author to lend his manuscripts to another.

As to our experience of English review-writers it has not been very encouraging. With the exception of a few clergymen of the Church of England, they have invariably distorted our views and disfigured our actions. Their utter ignorance of our theory and practice has been equalled only by their presumption. The *XIX Century* I believe, in July 1878, published an article of George Howell on the International^c

^a F. Engels, *Synopsis of Volume One of 'Capital' by Karl Marx*. -^b See this volume, p. 12. -^c G. Howell, 'The History of the International Association', *The Nineteenth Century*, No. XVII, July 1878.

brimfull of untruths and inaccuracies. Marx sent you a reply^a but you refused to insert it.

I am afraid, if you want to acquaint yourself with Marx's views you will have to read the German, Russian or French edition of *Das Kapital*.

I know but one living Englishman capable of giving a correct account of the contents of *Das Kapital*. It is a barrister in Manchester.^b If you desire I shall be glad to ask him whether he is willing to undertake the task for you.

Yours faithfully

Jos. Knowles Esq.
the Hollies, Clapham Common
S. W.

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

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6

ENGELS TO PHILIPP VAN PATTEN¹⁹
IN NEW YORK

[Draft]

London, 18 April 1883

Philipp Van Patten,
57 2nd Avenue, New York

Esteemed Comrade,

My statement in reply to your inquiry of the 2nd April as to Karl Marx's position with regard to the Anarchists in general and Johann Most in particular shall be short and clear.

^a K. Marx, 'Mr George Howell's History of the International Working-Men's Association'. - ^b Samuel Moore

Marx and I, ever since 1845, have held the view that *one* of the final results of the future proletarian revolution will be the gradual dissolution and ultimate disappearance of that political organisation called *the State*; an organisation the main object of which has ever been to secure, by armed force, the economical subjection of the working majority to the wealthy minority. With the disappearance of a wealthy minority the necessity for an armed repressive State-force disappears also. At the same time we have always held, that in order to arrive at this and the other, far more important ends of the social revolution of the future, the proletarian class will first have to possess itself of the organised political force of the State and with its aid stamp out the resistance of the Capitalist class and re-organise society. This is stated already in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847, end of Chapter II.^a

The Anarchists reverse the matter. They say, that the Proletarian revolution has to *begin* by abolishing the political organisation of the State. But after the victory of the Proletariat, the only organisation the victorious working class finds ready-made for use, is that of the State. It may require adaptation to the new functions.^b But to destroy that at such a moment, would be to destroy the only organism by means of which the victorious working class can exert its newly conquered power, keep down its capitalist enemies and carry out that economical revolution of society without which the whole victory must end in a defeat^c and in a massacre of the working class like that after the Paris Commune.

Does it require my express assertion, that Marx opposed these anarchist absurdities from the very first day that they were started in their present form by Bakunin? The whole internal history of the International Working Men's Association is there to prove it. The Anarchists tried to obtain the lead of the International, by the foulest means, ever since 1867²⁰ and the chief obstacle in their way was Marx. The result of the five years' struggle was the expulsion, at the Hague Congress, September 1872, of the Anarchists from the International,²¹ and the man who did most to procure that expulsion was Marx. Our old friend F. A. Sorge of Hoboken, who was present as a delegate, can give you further particulars if you desire.

^a See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 505-06.-^b In *Der Sozialdemokrat* this sentence reads: 'This State may require very important changes before it can fulfil its new functions.'-^c In *Der Sozialdemokrat*: 'another defeat'.

Now as to Johann Most. If any man asserts that Most, since he turned anarchist, has had any relations with, or support from Marx, he is either a dupe or a deliberate liar. After the first No. of the London *Freiheit* had been published, ^a Most did not call upon Marx and myself more than once, at most twice. Nor did we call on him or even meet him accidentally anywhere or at any time since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper. ^b Indeed, we at last ceased to take it in as there was absolutely 'nothing in it'. We had for his anarchism and anarchist tactics the same contempt as for that of the people from whom he had learnt it. ^c

While still in Germany, Most published a 'popular' extract of *Das Kapital*. ^d Marx was requested to revise it for a second edition. I assisted Marx in that work. We found it impossible to eradicate more than the very worst mistakes, unless we re-wrote the whole thing from beginning to end, and Marx consented his corrections being inserted on the express condition only that his name was never in any way connected with even this revised form of Johann Most's production. ^e

You are perfectly at liberty to publish this letter in the *Voice of the People*, ^f if you like to do so.

Yours fraternally,
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nr. 21, 17 Mai 1883 and in full, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Reproduced from the original, checked with the newspaper

^a on 4 January 1879 - ^b The words 'since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper' are omitted in *Der Sozialdemokrat*. - ^c See letters of K. Marx to J. Ph. Becker of 1 July 1879 and to F. A. Sorge of 19 September 1879, and of F. Engels to J. Ph. Becker of 1 April 1880 (present edition, Vols. 45, 46). - ^d J. Most, *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx*, Chemnitz [1873]. - ^e See this volume, p. 14. - ^f In *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the words 'in the *Voice of the People*' are omitted.

7

ENGELS TO THOMAS JAMES KNOWLES ²²

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 20 April 1883

Dear Sir,

If we do find the ms. in question I shall be glad and give you the refusal of it, on two self-understood conditions but which I may as well mention 1) that in case of refusal you do not communicate it to anybody else, and 2) that in case you print it, it appears as a separate article out of all connection with any other.

Yours faithfully,
F. E.

Allow me to say that I am no 'Dr' but a retired cotton-spinner. ²³

First published in: Marx and Engels,
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Moscow, 1935

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8

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ²⁴

IN ZURICH

[London,] 23 April 1883

Herewith also the proofs. ²⁵ Your letter received; shall answer it this week with an article about Marx for the *Sozialdemokrat*. I still have all sorts of matters to deal with before I can finish it off properly. ²⁶

The little piece about the good Marx being led astray by the evil Engels has been performed countless times since 1844, alternating with the other little piece about Ormuzd-Engels being lured away from the path of virtue by Ahriman-Marx. Now, however, the eyes of the worthy Parisians will at last be opened.

Yours,
F. E.

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9

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE ²⁷

IN HOBOKEN

London, 24 April 1883

Dear Sorge,

Enclosed a line or two for Gartman from his friend Brocher, a muddle-headed anarchist but a sterling chap. Perhaps you would be good enough to send it on.

The *Volkszeitung* has perpetrated follies enough, though still not as many as I expected. Nevertheless they have all contributed their share, Schewitsch, Cuno, Douai, Hepner. Here was a quartet performed by would-be know-alls who, JOINTLY AND SEVERALLY, knew damned little. However I felt impelled to write a line to the editors, ^a pointing out that they had printed my telegram to you ^b as though it had been addressed to *them* and had, in my second to *them*, ^c inserted a false statement to the effect that Marx had died in Argenteuil. ^d We did not, I told them, stand for that sort of thing over here; as a result they had

^a F. Engels, 'To the Editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*' (18 April 1883). - ^b of 14 March 1883 - ^c F. Engels, 'To the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*' (16 March 1883). -

^d Marx died in London.

made it impossible for me to send them any further reports and, in the event of their again venturing to make such misuse of my name, I should be compelled to ask you to announce at once in public that the whole thing was a falsification on their part. Those gentlemen ought to confine their Yankee HUMBAG to themselves. Besides, the Americans are far more honest; according to the *Volkszeitung*, I was sent a telegram²⁸ which I never received and I was almost inclined to believe that the gentlemen on the *Volkszeitung* had pocketed the money for themselves. Now Van Patten writes to say that there hadn't been any money in the first place. I am now compelled to make this publicly known over here, for otherwise it would be said that I had withheld the telegram from the Paris press and the *Sozialdemokrat*. The answer re Most, which I sent Van Patten in response to his enquiry,^a will doubtless have already been published by him by the time this arrives.

At the Copenhagen Congress¹⁵ it was resolved that Liebknecht's and Bebel's trip to America should take place next spring.²⁹ It has to do with money for the election campaign in 1884-85. (All this is *between ourselves*.) Liebknecht has proposed to Tussy that she should accompany him as his secretary and she is very keen to go; so it might easily be that you see her there before long. Generally speaking we have not made any plans yet. The literary work (third edition, Volume I of *Capital*, editing of Volume II, the ms. of which has been found though as yet there is no knowing to what extent it is ready for printing or requires supplementing,¹⁷ biography based on the enormous correspondence,³⁰ etc.) takes up all my spare time, besides which Tussy has a mass of literary ENGAGEMENTS to get through.

You are, of course, fully entitled to print the passages on Henry George in Marx's letters.³¹ The question is, however, whether it might not be better to wait until I am able to sort out for you the marginal notes made by Marx in his copy of George's book and then do the whole lot at one go. Résumés of the kind Marx provides, theoretically acute but brief and unaccompanied by examples, are surely still above the head of your average American and after all there is no hurry. I shall take a closer look at the things as soon as I have time. If, in the meanwhile, you send me a copy of the relevant passage in Marx's letter, it will make the job simpler.^b

^a See this volume, pp. 9-11. - ^b Ibid., p. 42.

Pamphlet herewith. I have only received a few copies myself; the 2nd edition is in the press.²⁵ *Does Weydemeyer know English now?*^{23,2} His earlier translations were grammatically and stylistically quite unprintable; they would have made us look appalling asses and at the same time exposed the author to ridicule. Anyhow I should like to see a specimen.

Your
F. E.

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. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 28 April 1883

Dear Bernstein,

(I think we should discard the boring 'Mr'.) The continuation of what follows will contain some correspondence, i. a. with Americans over Most.^a

It is unforgivable that you are not returning via London,³³ I had quite counted on it. Well, perhaps you'll come in summer and we'll take a swim in the sea together. You can always be sure of a bed at my home.

Mayall, the leading London photographer always to work for Marx, has the principle: WE DO NOT TAKE MONEY FROM EMINENT PEOPLE. So we can't now press the man for copies (he is extremely muddled), except by a roundabout route. Hence we have given him an order,

^a Ibid., pp. 9-11.

claiming it was for a German bookseller, for 1,000 *cartes de visite* (£12 = M240 = 24d. each) and 200 CABINET PORTRAITS ($\frac{3}{4}$ figure) à £8 = M160 = 80d. each. It is the last and best picture to depict Moor at his sprightly Olympian ease, confident of victory. I am offering them to you, and to Liebknecht and Sorge in New York after deducting those we need ourselves. How many do you want? You don't have to sell them all at once. They will be better in any case than any made there.

Yours,
F. E.

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11

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG ³⁴

London, 30 April 1883

Dear Bebel,

There is a very simple answer to your question as to whether I might remove to Germany or Switzerland or somewhere else on the Continent, namely that I shall not go to any country from which one can be expelled. But that is something one can only be safe from in England and America. I should at most go to the latter country on a visit, unless otherwise compelled. Hence I shall remain here.

Moreover England has another great advantage. Since the demise of the International there has been no labour movement whatsoever here, save as an appendage to the bourgeoisie, the radicals and for the pursuit of limited aims *within* the capitalist system. Thus, only here does one have the peace one needs if one is to go on with one's theoretical work. Everywhere else one would have had to take part in practical agitation and waste an enormous amount of time. As regards practical agitation, I should have achieved no more than any-

one else; as regards theoretical work, I cannot yet see who could take the place of Marx and myself. What younger men have attempted in this line is worth little, indeed, for the most part less than nothing. Kautsky, the only one who applies himself to study, has to write for a living and for that reason if no other can achieve nothing. And now, in my sixty-third year, up to my eyes in my own work and with the prospect of a year's work on the second volume of *Capital* and another year's work on Marx's biography,³⁰ along with the history of the German socialist movement from 1843 to 1863 and of the International from 1864-72,³⁵ it would be madness for me to exchange my peaceful retreat here for some place where one would have to take part in meetings and newspaper battles, which alone would be enough to blur, as it necessarily must, the clarity of one's vision. To be sure, if things were as they were in 1848 and 1849, I would again take to the saddle if need arose. But now — strict division of labour. I must even withdraw as much as possible from the *Sozialdemokrat*. You have only to think of the enormous correspondence, formerly shared out between Marx and myself, which I have had to conduct on my own for over a year now. For after all, we wish to maintain intact, in so far as it is in my power, the many threads from all over the world which spontaneously converged upon Marx's study.

As regards a monument to Marx,³⁶ I do not know what ought to be done. The family is against it. The simple headstone made for his wife, which now also bears his and his little grandson's^a names, would be desecrated in their eyes if replaced by a monument which, here in London, would be scarcely distinguishable from the pretentious philistine monuments surrounding it. A London cemetery of this kind looks quite different from a German one. The graves lie closely side by side, not room for a tree between them, and a monument is not allowed to exceed the length and breadth of the small plot that has been bought.

Liebknecht spoke of a complete edition of Marx's writings. All very well, but Dietz's plan for Volume II has made people forget that that Volume was long since promised to Meissner and that an edition of the other, shorter works would likewise have to be offered to Meissner first, and then could *only* appear *abroad*. After all, even *before* the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ it was always said that not even the *Communist*

^a Henri Longuet

Manifesto could be printed in Germany save in the document read out at your trial.³⁸

The manuscript of Volume II was completed prior to 1873, probably even prior to 1870.¹⁷ It is written in German script; after 1873 Marx never used anything but Latin characters.

It is too late for registration, so this letter must go off as it is; however, I shall seal it with my seal.

A letter this evening to Liebknecht in Berlin.³⁹

Your
F. E.

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Th. III, Stuttgart, 1914

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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, 1 May 1883

Dear Sorge,

So as to obtain a good photograph of Marx, we have ordered from Mayall, the leading photographer here, who took the last ones of him,

1,000 *cartes de visite* £12

i. e. approx. 3d. apiece;

200 CABINET SIZE, $\frac{3}{4}$ figure, à £8

i. e. approx. 9d. apiece

of the last nice one.

You can have some of these at cost price — I have also offered them to Liebknecht and Bernstein in Zurich.^a If the above quantity does not

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

suffice, no doubt we shall be able to get hold of more, but a quick decision is necessary.

Your
F. Engels

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13

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG ³⁴

London, 10 May 1883

Dear Liebknecht,

If you carry on in this way, causing me unnecessary expenditure of ink by the schemes you keep hatching and the ill-considered actions you perform off your own bat, our correspondence would assuredly cease.

All I asked you for originally was a *reply*, telling me what my legal position was in regard to Wigand. The 1845 contract envisages a 2nd edition and lays down the fee to be paid for it.⁴⁰ Question:

1. Am I still bound by this?
2. If so, and if Wigand refuses to print a 2nd edition on the conditions of payment agreed, does that release me *outright*?

I have *never* been able to get an answer from you to these simple questions and, since you promised to obtain one for me, I can only describe it as 'neglect on your part'.

Never have I instructed you either personally or via a third party to act on my behalf, and I cannot conceive why, at this moment, you took it into your head to set such a thing in motion off your own bat and without even reflecting. *I would expressly request* that you

make no move whatever; I should at once write to Wigand and *disclaim everything*.

Meissner has written today; makes no mention at all of publication instalments.^a The contract does not entitle us to interfere here. But if Dietz can show Meissner that it is to his own advantage, he may do it after all.

Lafargue's address:

66 Boulevard de Port-Royal, Paris (close to Ste-Pélagie, handy for a chap going to quod).⁹

Photographs will be delivered in batches and sent to Dietz as soon as possible.^b

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

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14

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL⁴¹

IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG³⁴

London, 10-11 May 1883

Dear Bebel,

That you would sooner *not* sit in the Reichstag, I am ready to believe. But you can see what your absence has made possible. Some years ago Bracke wrote to me saying: Bebel is, in fact, the only one of us possessed of real parliamentary tact.⁴² And I have found this constantly confirmed. So there's probably no alternative but for you to return to your post at the first opportunity and I should be delighted were you to be elected in Hamburg so that necessity relieved you of your doubts.⁴³

Certainly, agitational and parliamentary work becomes very bor-

^a This refers probably to the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*. -^b See this volume, pp. 15-16.

ing after a time. It is much the same thing as advertising, puffing one's wares and travelling around in business: success is slow in coming, and some never achieve it. But there's no other alternative, and once you are in it you've got to see the thing through to the end, if all your trouble is not to have been for nothing. And the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ means that this, the only course to have remained open, simply cannot be dispensed with.

Despite the way it was written, the report on the Copenhagen Congress¹⁵ enabled me to read sufficiently between the lines to amend Liebkecht's, as always rosy, version of things.^a At all events I perceived that the half-and-halves⁴⁴ had suffered a severe defeat and this, I admit, led me to believe that they would now draw in their horns. Yet such does not seem to be the case, or not to that degree. We have never been under any illusions about these men. Neither Hasenclever nor, for that matter, Hasselmann, should ever have been admitted, but Liebkecht's undue haste over unification—against which, at the time, we protested for all we were worth—has landed us with a jackass and also, for a while, with a rascal.⁴⁵ In his day, Bloss was a lively, courageous chap but after his marriage, etc., the stuffing was soon knocked out of him by the difficulty of making both ends meet. Geiser always was an indolent, self-opinionated fellow and Kayser a big-mouthed *commis-voyageur*.^b Even in 1848 Rittinghausen was a nonentity; he's only a socialist *pro forma*, in order to enlist our help in achieving his direct government by the people. But we have better things to do.

What you say about Liebkecht is something you have doubtless long been thinking.⁴⁶ We have known him for many years. Popularity is the very stuff of life to him. Hence he has *got to* conciliate and conceal in order to postpone the crisis. Besides, he's an optimist by nature and sees everything through rose-tinted spectacles. That's what keeps him so lively and is the main reason for his popularity, but it also has its disadvantages. So long as I corresponded only with him, not only did he report everything in accordance with his own rosy views, but also withheld everything that was unpleasant and, upon being questioned, replied in such an airy and off-hand way that, more than by anything else, one was unfailingly needled by the thought 'Can the man suppose us so stupid as to be taken in by it?'

^a Cf. this volume, pp. 7 and 32.—^b commercial traveller

Add to that his incessant busyness, an undoubted asset in day-to-day agitation but involving us over here in a mass of useless letter-writing; a perpetual stream of projects whose only outcome was to burden *other people* with extra work—in short, as you will understand, all this made a really businesslike and down-to-earth correspondence of the kind I have conducted for years with you as well as with Bernstein a sheer impossibility. Hence the constant bickering and the honorary title he once jokingly conferred upon me here of being the rudest man in Europe. My letters to him were, it is true, often rude, but the rudeness was conditioned by the contents of his own. No one knew that better than Marx.

Again, for all his valuable qualities, Liebknecht is a born schoolmaster. If a working man in the Reichstag happens to say me instead of I, or pronounce a short Latin vowel as a long one, and the bourgeois laugh, he's in despair. Hence he has to have 'edicated' men, like that weakling Viereck who, with a *single* speech, would make us look more foolish in the Reichstag than would two thousand wrong 'mes'. And then, he can't wait. A momentary success, even if it means the sacrifice of a subsequent, far greater one, takes precedence over everything else. You people will discover that in America, when you go there in the *wake* of Fritzsche and Viereck.⁴⁷ Their mission was a blunder as great as the over-hasty unification with the Lassalleans who, six months later, would have come to you of their own accord—but as a disorganised gang without their bankrupt leaders.

As you see, I speak to you quite frankly—in confidence. But I also believe that you would do well firmly to resist Liebknecht's persuasive blandishments. Then he's bound to yield. If really confronted by a decision, he will certainly adopt the right course. But he would rather do so tomorrow than today, and in a year's time rather than tomorrow.

If a few deputies were in fact to vote for Bismarck's Bills,⁴⁸ thus planting a kiss on his backside in return for having theirs kicked, and if the parliamentary group⁴⁹ failed to expel these people, I too would, of course, be capable of publicly disassociating myself from a party prepared to tolerate such a thing. To the best of my knowledge, however, that would be impossible, having regard to existing party discipline whereby the minority has *got to* vote with the majority. But you are better informed than I.

Any split that took place while the Anti-Socialist Law is in opera-

tion I should look upon as a misfortune, since all means of communicating with the masses have been cut off. But it may be forced on us and then we shall have to look facts in the face. So if anything of the sort should happen — no matter where you are — I should be glad if you could inform me and do so at once, for my German papers always arrive very belatedly.

Blos, when he went to Bremen after being expelled from Hamburg, did indeed write me a very plaintive letter⁵⁰ to which I sent a very firm reply.³⁹ Now, my papers have for years been in the most shocking muddle, and finding this particular one would be a day's work. But some time I shall have to put them in order and, if needs be, shall send you the letter in the *original*.

Your view of the business conditions is being corroborated in England, France and America.⁵¹ It is an intermediate crisis like that of 1841-42, but on a much vaster scale. Generally speaking, it is only since 1847 (because of Californian and Australian gold production which resulted in the world market becoming fully established) that the ten-year cycle has clearly emerged. Now, when America, France and Germany are beginning to break England's monopoly of the world market and when, therefore, overproduction is beginning, as it did before 1847, to assert itself more rapidly, the quinquennial intermediate crises are also recurring. Proof of this is the complete exhaustion of the capitalist mode of production. The period of prosperity no longer reaches its full term; overproduction recurs after only 5 years and, even during those 5 years, things in general go downhill. Which, however, is very far from proving that, between 1884 and 1887, we shan't have a period of pretty brisk trade, as happened between 1844 and 1847. But then the great crash will quite surely come.

11 May. I had wanted to write and tell you more about the general state of trade, but meanwhile it is time for the registered mail. Till next time, then.

Your
F. E.

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15

ENGELS TO ACHILLE LORIA ⁵²

IN MANTUA

London, 20 May 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I have received your pamphlet on Karl Marx. You are entitled to subject his doctrines to the most stringent criticism, indeed to misunderstand them; you are entitled to write a biography of Marx which is pure fiction. But what you are not entitled to do, and what I shall never permit anyone to do, is slander the character of my departed friend.

Already in a previous work ^a you took the liberty of accusing Marx of quoting in bad faith. When Marx read this he checked his and your quotations against the originals and he told me that his were all correct and that if there was any *bad faith* it was on your part. And seeing how you quote Marx, how you have the audacity to make Marx speak of profit when he speaks of *Mehrwert*, ^b when he defends himself time and again against the error of identifying the two (something which Mr Moore and I have repeated to you verbally here in London) I know whom to believe and where the bad faith lies.

This however is a trifle compared to your 'deep and firm conviction... that *conscious sophistry* pervades them all' (Marx's doctrines); that Marx 'did not baulk at paralogisms, while *knowing them to be such*', that 'he was often a sophist who wished to arrive, *at the expense of the truth*, at a negation of present-day society' and that, as Lamartine says, '*il jouait avec les mensonges et les vérités comme les enfants avec les osselets*'. ^{c 53}

In Italy, a country of ancient civilisation, this might perhaps be taken as a compliment, or it might be considered great praise among armchair socialists, ⁵⁴ seeing that these venerable professors could never produce their innumerable systems except 'at the expense of the truth'. We revolutionary communists see things differently. We re-

^a A. Loria, *La teoria del valore negli economisti italiani*. - ^b surplus value - ^c 'he played with lies and truth like children with marbles'

gard such assertions as defamatory accusations and, knowing them to be lies, we turn them against their inventor who has defamed himself in thinking them up.

In my opinion, it should have been your duty to make known to the public this famous '*conscious sophistry*' which pervades all of Marx's doctrines. But I look for it in vain! *Nagott!*^a

What a tiny mind one must have to imagine that a man like Marx could have 'always threatened his critics' with a second volume which he 'had not the slightest intention of writing', and that this second volume was nothing but 'an ingenious pretext dreamed up by Marx in place of scientific arguments'. This second volume *exists* and it will shortly be published. Perhaps you will then learn to understand the difference between *Mehrwerth* and profit.

A German translation of this letter will be published in the next issue of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat*.

I have the honour of saluting you with all the sentiments you deserve.

F. E.

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*,
Nr. 21, 17. Mai 1883

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checked with the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

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time

16

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER⁵⁵

IN GENEVA

London, 22 May 1883

Dear Old Man,

How can you suppose that *I* might somehow be able to find paid literary work for a young party member^b? After all, it is years since

^a The following words were added in the newspaper: (Lombardic swear-word for: nothing at all).-^b Ludwig Klopfer; see next letter.

I had any sort of contact with German publishers apart from Meissner (on account of *Capital*), let alone with newspapers and periodicals. So what could I do? Even if the man could translate the other way round, from German into French or English, I should be unable to help him find work. You would certainly do better to approach Liebknecht who after all has the *Neue Zeit* and connections in plenty.

We shall be saddled with Marx's house until next March, so there is no need to be over-hasty about the removal or plans for the future. Moreover a tremendous amount of work is involved in getting these papers in order. What surprises me is that Marx has actually saved papers, letters and manuscripts from the period prior to 1848, splendid material for the biography which I shall of course be writing and which, inter alia, will also be the history of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and of the movement of 1848-49 on the Lower Rhine, as well as the history of the rascally emigration in London between 1849 and 1852 and of the International.³⁰ The first task is the editing of Volume II of *Capital*⁴ and that is no joke. There are in existence 4 or 5 revisions of Book II, of which only the first is complete, the others having been merely started on¹⁷; some labour when you're dealing with a man like Marx, who weighed every word. But to me it is a labour of love; after all I shall be back again with my old comrade.

For the past few days I have been sorting letters from 1842-62. As I watched the old times pass before my eyes they really came to life again, as did all the fun we used to have at our adversaries' expense. Many of our early doings made me weep with laughter; they didn't, after all, ever succeed in banishing our sense of humour. But there were also many very serious moments in between whiles.

This is in confidence; mind you, don't let a word of it get into the papers. Such information as is ripe for imparting will be published by me from time to time in the *Sozialdemokrat*. Bernstein is getting on very well, he is eager to learn, is witty and has an open mind, can put up with criticism and is quite free of all petty-bourgeois moralisings. But our lads in Germany have also been truly magnificent, ever since the time that the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ liberated them from the 'educated' gentlemen who, in their ignorant academic muddle-headedness, had attempted prior to 1878 to instruct the workers from on high, an attempt that was, alas, condoned by all too many of the

'leaders'. This worthless lumber has not yet been entirely cleared away, but the movement has again taken a decidedly revolutionary turn. That is precisely what is so splendid about our lads, the fact that the masses are far better than almost any of the leaders; and now that the Anti-Socialist Law is compelling the masses to take care of the movement *themselves*, now that the influence of the leaders is reduced to a minimum, the movement is better than ever.

Your old friend

F. Engels

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17

ENGELS TO LUDWIG KLOPFER

IN GENEVA

London, 22 May 1883

Dear Mr Klopfer,

I should be only too glad to help you if I possibly could. However I have *absolutely no* publishing or literary connections in Germany and should not know whom to approach.^a The party, however, still has various periodicals, etc., in Germany, e.g. Liebknecht's and Kautsky's *Neue Zeit* in Stuttgart (Dietz Verlag); you should get Becker to give you letters for them. If anything can be done for you, it is over there; we here are as cut off from everything as you are in Geneva.

Your letter of the 9th bears the Geneva postmark of the 13th. I hope that this will at least partly explain my delay in replying.

^a See previous letter.

Trusting that the adoption of the above course will enable you to achieve your object, I remain,

Yours truly,
F. Engels

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Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39,
Moscow, 1966

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time

18

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS

London, 22 May 1883

My dear Laura,

I had not, as Paul suggests, forgotten his five pd. note, but having Sam Moore here, could not get a free moment when to get it ready and register the letter. Yesterday evening Sam returned to Manchester and the note would have left here to-day, but for Paul's letter which alters his directions to me. The cheque is enclosed, £ 10.-

So *ce cher* Paul is while I write this, a prisoner.⁹ He has just (5.45) been debarred from receiving visitors and can now in all rest and peace discuss with Guesde the chances of *la révolution révolutionnaire*. We drank his health last Sunday^a in a bowl of splendid *Maitrank*^b and wished him any amount of pluck and patience.

Well, for a long time I thought you might profit of Paul's involuntary seclusion, to come over to London, and would have at once placed the whole of 122 Regent's Park Road at your disposal, but from all I learnt I was afraid I might hurt someone's feelings by such a proposal. Even Nim when she returned, never mentioned a word about it, that you had spoken of showing your bright face in this dull climate; and when Paul wrote he expected you to lunch with him

^a 20 May. ^b Wine flavoured with sweet woodruff, May wine.

every morning in St-Pélagie I lost heart altogether. Now however it is all right, and I hope to hear soon from you that you accept my invitation, to make this place your headquarters for a couple of months at least, which of course will not exclude trips to the sea-side, etc. If Paul has to be under lock and key, so much the more reason for you to look after your own health.

While Sam was here, we found out, through him, the very unpleasant fact that Mohr never had, nor have we, the right to stop unauthorised translation of the *Kapital*. The right was lost as soon as the first year elapsed without a *commencement* of translation being published. So as there are several fellows in the field,⁵⁶ we have to dodge and to use the unpublished 2nd volume as a means to bring them round.

The 2nd volume will give me an awful deal of work — at least the II book.⁴ There is one *complete* text, of about 1868, but a mere *brouillon*.^a Then there are at least three, if not four, *Uebersetzungen*^b belonging to various later periods, but none of them completed. That will be a job to select from them a definitive text! The 3rd book is complete since 1869-70 and has never been touched since. But here, where the rent of land is treated, I shall have to compare his Russian extracts⁵⁷ for notes, facts and instances. Maybe I shall be able to concoct even a bit of a 3rd volume from the ms. of 1858-62⁵⁸ (the beginning of which appeared in Berlin [in] 1859^c) and which at the end of every chapter contains the critical history of the theoretical points discussed in it.

Lately I have been occupied with sorting the correspondence. There is a large box full of most important letters [from] 1841 (nay 1837 from your grandfather Marx^d) to 1862. It is nearly sorted, but it will take me some hours more to complete it. I can assure you it is great fun to me to stumble over these old things most of which concern me as much as they did Mohr and there is such a deal to laugh over. Nim helps me — awful lot of dusting required! and we have many a good laugh over old times. The correspondence since 1862 he has sorted, in a passable way, himself. But before we fathom all the mysteries of that garret full of boxes, packets, parcels, books, etc., some time must elapse. And I have to prepare for the 3rd edition sundry additions from the French translation⁵⁹ which I know Mohr intended inserting; and that must be done in 3-4 weeks.

^a draft - ^b revised versions - ^c K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Part One. - ^d Heinrich Marx

But now it's post-time and so good-bye for to-day.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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19

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 2 June 1883

My dear Laura,

Herewith cheque £ 10.- for Paul as desired. To judge from his letter, he seems to be pretty cheerful for his condition, but of course the *grincement des clefs et des verroux*^a must be something awful.⁹ What is comparative liberty by day when one is reduced to solitary confinement by night, and how is he to sing:

Singet nicht in Trauertönen
Von der Einsamkeit der Nacht,
Denn sie ist, o holde Schönen,
Zur Geselligkeit gemacht.^b

As Paul is going to work up his German in prison, you might give him that to translate.

Now, by this time the two heroic martyrs^c ought to be pretty well

^a clinking of keys and bolts

^b Sing no more in strains of sadness

Of the loveliness of night!

Darksome hours were made for gladness,

Social joy, and love's delight.

Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, translated by R. Dillon Boylan, London, Henry Bohn, 1861.

^c Paul Lafargue and Jules Guesde

settled down and don't you think you might come over, say by Thursday or Friday next^a? The fact is I expect Jollymeier to-night who will be able to stay here till Monday week, 11th June, and he would so like to see you. Moreover, Tussy talks very much about your coming and seems very anxious to have you here and to consult you about the disposal of the things in the house, etc., etc., the sole responsibility seems to weigh very much upon her. So that your journey would be to some extent *on business*. If you will come and if you write at once, I shall send you the funds by return, I should have added them to the cheque to-day, only my balance is low and I have money to come in next week.

Among Mohr's papers I have found a whole lot of mss, our common work, of before 1848.⁶⁰ Some of these I shall soon publish.

There is one I shall read to you when you are here, you will crack your sides with laughing. I read it to Nim and Tussy, Nim said: *jetzt weiss ich auch, warum Sie Zwei damals in Brüssel des Nachts so gelacht haben, dass kein Mensch im Hause davor schlafen konnte*.^b We were bold devils then, Heine's poetry is childlike innocence compared with our prose.

There is a chance of a translation of the *Kapital* being published by Kegan Paul and Co., they would be the best men.⁵⁶ Tussy is going to see them on Monday^c; if anything practicable comes of it, we shall then go together afterwards. S. Moore will translate, and I shall revise. There are other people at it, but if we can arrange the thing, they will soon be out of the field. S. Moore was here in Whitweek, and we settled the matter with him, as far as he is concerned. He is by far the best man, slightly heavy, but that can be mended. He has been of immense use to us as our legal adviser. Indeed I have still to write to him by first mail upon a legal question.

Pumps is going on very well and her two babies too, the boy is awfully big and fat, very near the size of his sister! at least so says the proud Mamma. If you are here next Sunday (to-morrow) week, we shall have a grand bowl of *Maitrank*,^d it is just in its prime now, I mean the Waldmeister, we have had two bowls here on Sundays and two at Tussy's in the week, and plenty of Moselle left!

If you say you will come, the same day I shall write to Dublin for a case of the best and of the *super* best Claret which we will finish quietly betwixt us.

^a 7 or 8 June - ^b Now I know why you two laughed at night in Brussels at that time so that no one could sleep in the building. - ^c 4 June - ^d Wine flavoured with sweet woodruff, May wine.

A few lines to Paul in a day or two. In the meantime affectionally yours,

F. Engels

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20

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ⁶¹

IN ZURICH

London, 12-13 June 1883

Dear Bernstein,

It is half past eleven at night and having just read the proof of the second sheet of the third edition of *Capital*^a (no small task), and sent it off, I shall try and utilise what is left of the evening at least to begin a letter to you.

As regards internal matters, I had more or less read between the lines of the official report^b and, soon after, also received a short exposé from Bebel. Some while previously I had written and told Bebel that there must ultimately be a break with the ninnies of the right wing,^c but that in my view it was not in our interests to force it before we were again in a position to consort directly with the masses; i. e. not so long as the Anti-Socialist Law remained operative.³⁷ Should they *force* our hand, then we should see to it that it was *they*, not us, who rebelled against party discipline, in which case the game would already be ours. And they should be brought to do this if they refused to keep quiet. So far as Liebknecht is concerned, he will do everything in his

^a the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*. - ^b *Protokoll über den Kongreß der deutschen Sozialdemokratie in Kopenhagen*. See also this volume, p. 21. - ^c See Engels' letter to August Bebel of 21 June 1882 (present edition, Vol. 46).

power to put off the crisis, but when it does come and he realises that it can no longer be postponed, he will be in the right place.

Let me briefly sum up what I have to do:

1) Put the papers in order²; here almost everything has to be done by myself since no one except me knows about the old stuff, and there's an enormous pile of it in a fine state of disarray. Much is still missing and a lot of packages and boxes haven't even been opened yet.

2) See to the third edition, with sundry alterations and a few addenda from the French edition.⁵⁹ On top of that, read the proofs.

3) Take advantage of an opportunity that has presented itself to bring out an English translation — in connection with which I today called on one of the big publishers here^a — and then revise the translation myself⁵⁶ (Moore, who will be doing it, is first-rate, a friend of ours for twenty-six years, but slow).

4) Collate the 3 or 4 versions of the beginning of Volume II and prepare them for the press, besides *making a fair copy* of the whole of the second volume.¹⁷

5) Spend a week every now and again tippling with Schorlemmer who returned to Manchester yesterday — he always brings some work with him, but *o, jerum!*^b

Voilà la vie!^c

The jackass in the *Vossische* (I've been sent the thing^d *four times*) would certainly seem to have disseminated a lot of despondency in good old Germany respecting the despondent Marx. I might, some time when in really jolly mood, take a kick at him. Were these oafs to get the chance of reading the correspondence between Moor and myself, they'd be speechless with rage. Heine's poetry is trifling by comparison with our impudent, mocking prose. Moor was capable of becoming furiously angry, but down-in-the-mouth — *jamais!*^e I was convulsed when I reread the old stuff. This correspondence is, by the way, also historically memorable and, in so far as it is in my power, it will end up in the right hands. Unfortunately I only have the letters Marx wrote after 1849, but those are complete.

^a Kegan Paul - ^b *O, jerum, jerum, jerum! O, quae mutatio rerum!* (Oh, dear me, dear me, dear me. A crazy world. Lord, hear me!) — part of the refrain from a student song attributed to Eugen Höfling. - ^c That's life! - ^d 'Zur Beurteilung von Karl Marx', *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 235, 1st supplement, 24 May 1883. - ^e never!

Herewith part of the original draft from the last part of the *Communist Manifesto* which you want to keep as a memento. The first two lines were dictated, and were taken down by Mrs Marx.⁶²

I would have sent you the enclosed poem by Weerth in time for the feuilleton, had you not so contrived matters that your letter arrived twelve hours too late — as it was, I had to wait and see whether you printed the feuilleton *tel quel*.^a Anyhow, you can put it in somewhere else.⁶³ If only by contrast with the solemn Freiligrath, all of Weerth's stuff is ironical and humorous. Never any question of 'sheeriousness' here.

As regards the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, the chaps in Germany can never see beyond their own noses. By disappointing Russia (and things are far more acute there) with his proclamation in Moscow just as Frederick William IV disappointed the Prussians in 1841,⁶⁴ Alexander III has done more towards that end than all your Geisers, Blosses and Co. could ever do with their lamentations. If, one fine morning, he is riddled with bullets — as he surely will be — Bismarck's *internal* régime won't be worth a brass farthing. Then they'll change their tune. Even if old William^b merely (I don't mean Wilhelm Bloss^c) kicks the bucket, there will of necessity be changes. The men of today have never experienced, nor can they possibly imagine, what a crown prince,^d grown up in what has in the meantime become a revolutionary situation, is capable of. And a fool, what's more, as vacillating and weak-willed as 'our Fritz'. Nor, for that matter, can the possibility be excluded that the crazy French government may fall foul of all the world in such a way as to incite violent action in Paris. Tunis, Egypt, Madagascar, Tonkin⁶⁵ — and now they are actually seeking to contest England's possession of a few rocky islands, with barely 50 inhabitants, off the coast of Normandy. I only hope that nothing happens in Paris, for the stupidity that prevails among the masses there is exceeded only here, in London.

And on top of that the ingenuous Bismarck works for us like the very devil. His latest theory — that the imperial constitution is nothing but a contract made by governments for which they can substitute another one any old day, without consulting the Reichstag — is a real godsend to us. Just let him try. Add to which the manifest intention to bring about a conflict, his stupid, impertinent Böldickers & Co. in the Reichstag — all this is grist to our mill. True, this

^a as it stood - ^b William I - ^c In Engels' text the parenthesis was a footnote. In German 'merely' = *bloss*. - ^d Frederick William

means the end of the catch-phrase about 'one reactionary mass',⁶⁶ a phrase generally appropriate only for declamation (or, again, for a *truly* revolutionary situation). For it is precisely in this that the quirk of history — one operating in our favour — consists, namely that the *different* elements of that feudal and bourgeois mass erode, fight with and devour one another, to *our* advantage and are, therefore, the very opposite of that uniform mass which your *lout* imagines he can dismiss by dubbing the whole lot 'reactionary'. On the contrary. All these diverse scoundrels must first mutually destroy, utterly ruin and discredit each other, and pave the way for us by proving their ineptitude, each lot in turn. It was one of Lassalle's greatest mistakes, when engaged in agitation, wholly to lose sight of what little dialectics he had learned from Hegel. Thus, just like Liebknecht, he never saw more than one side and, since the former, for certain reasons, happened to see the right side, he ultimately proved superior to the great Lassalle after all.

The one regrettable thing about the present German bourgeois movement is precisely that the chaps constitute no more than 'one reactionary mass', and this has got to stop. We can make no progress until at least part of the bourgeoisie has been forced over onto the side of a *genuine* movement, whether by internal or external events. That is why we have now had enough of Bismarck's régime *in its present form*, why he can only benefit us by provoking a conflict or resigning and also why the time will come for the Anti-Socialist Law to be done away with by semi-revolutionary or wholly revolutionary means. All those arguments as to whether the 'Lesser'⁶⁷ alone should go, or the Law as a whole, or whether the ordinary penal law should be tightened up, seem to me like arguments about the virginity of Mary *in partu* and *post partum*.^a What is crucial is the wider political situation both at home *and abroad*; and this changes, does not remain as it is today. In Germany, by contrast, the case is discussed solely on the assumption that present conditions in Germany will persist *eternally*. And running parallel with this is an idea, related to that of one reactionary mass, namely that, with the subversion of the present state of affairs, we shall come to the helm. That is nonsense. A revolution is a lengthy process, cf. 1642-46 and 1789-93⁶⁸; and in order that circumstances should be ready for us and we for them, all the intermediate parties must come to power in turn and destroy themselves. And

^a during and after parturition

then we shall come — and may, perhaps, once more be momentarily routed. Not that I think this very probable in the normal course of events.

I have today despatched to 'Volksbuchhandlung, Hottingen-Zürich',^a freight forward per CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS (correspondent of the German and Swiss parcel post), a parcel containing the photographs ordered,^b invoice enclosed. Of the money you should retain the £17/- credited to my account over there, against 4 frs for snifters transmitted by proxy, subscriptions, etc. (If, when remitting the balance, it would be more convenient to include a little more or a little less, that would, of course, be ALL RIGHT.) Over here 500 *cartes*^c and 280 CABINETS are still available — first come, first served. Not that you have any competitors as yet, save for Dietz. Just how much is pushed on to me you will realise when I tell you that I have today had to attend, single-handed, to all the details of checking and repacking the photographs for you and Dietz, and have likewise had to take them to the office (2 1/2 English miles from here). And then I'm expected to work!

Borde is a jackass whom we have known for years; at Marx's house there are a hundred or more of the notebooks he sent him, lying about unopened. *Envoyez-le au diable.*^d

I shall not come to Switzerland until the continental routes are safer. After all, there was no certainty of Marx's being able to travel to, or through, France unscathed this summer. Once one has been expelled, that is that, unless one is prepared to take steps such as I should find impossible. Don't I know it!

You do not, by the way, bore me in the least with internal matters. Anyone who's abroad can never hear enough about the details of this sort of internal struggle in a workers' party which, despite everything, is the leading one in Europe. And that kind of thing is withheld from me on principle by friend Liebknecht, all of whose reports are rosy red, dawn pink, sky-blue and green as the tender leaves of hope.

For the anniversary of the June battle of 1848, I am sending you a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* article by Marx,^e who was the only man in

^a a Social Democratic publishing house - ^b See this volume, pp. 15-16. - ^c *Cartes de visite*; small photographic portraits mounted on a card. - ^d Consign him to the devil. - ^e 'The June Revolution'

the whole of the European press to back up the insurgents after they had fallen.

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. E.

13 June 1883

Do you think the time is ripe for the *Sozialdemokrat's* feuilleton to print an *excessively* impudent piece Marx and I wrote in 1847,⁶⁹ in which the 'true socialists', who are now also members of the Reichstag, are pulled to pieces? The most impudent thing ever to have been written in the German language.

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21

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI
IN BENEVENTO

London, 19 June 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I was very pleased to receive your fine Italian translation of my *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.⁷⁰ I have been through it and I have suggested minor alterations in a number of places, although I am diffident and aware that my Italian is imperfect and that I am out of practice. I hope that despite this you can understand the translation (into Italian or French) of the additions to the first German edition which I have inserted at the corresponding points in your manuscript.

I am enclosing a copy of the recently published German edition, and a copy of the 2nd edition, which is going to press at the moment, will follow.²⁵ I am sorry that the translation could not have been

made from the German text, since Italian is much better suited than French to the dialectical mode of presentation.

Thank you for your kind offer to send me several copies of the translation; six, or at most a dozen, will be enough.

Yours respectfully,
Fred. Engels

I am sending by the midday post a *registered* parcel containing

- 1) your manuscript,
- 2) the copy of the German edition.

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22

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 22 June 1883

Dear Bernstein,

When you go to Paris, you must certainly cross the water and spend a day or two here. The trip both ways will cost you less than the amount you would fritter away in Paris in that time. A room has already been prepared for you here. I can then also show you the impudent ms. I mentioned, as well as the other mss.⁶⁹ Madame Lafargue will advise you about the best way to make the journey.

Yours,
F. E.

Regards to Liebknecht.

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23

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 24 June 1883

My dear Laura,

When you spoke of your knowledge of what poor Moor's views and wishes had been at Vevey,⁷¹ it was in connection with dispositions of a more or less testamentary nature, and I therefore naturally concluded that you alluded to similar subjects. And as those might comprise wishes as to what should be done with some mementos of your Mama, etc., books and so forth, and as here we are bound to come to some conclusion or other, and Tussy moreover seems to shun responsibility of acting on her own hook, I thought it my clear duty to inform you, so that, in case you had anything to communicate, it could be done in time.

After poor Mohr's death, on my inquiry, Tussy informed me that he had told her, she and I were to take possession of all his papers, and procure the publication of what was to be published, especially the 2nd volume^a and the mathematical works.⁷² The 3rd German edition^b is in hand, I am looking after that too. If you wish to have Mohr's exact words, Tussy will no doubt give them to you if you ask her to do so.

This matter was talked about here when Paul was here, and I am almost certain he is aware of it.

As to the expression, literary executors, I am alone responsible for it. I could not find another at the time, and if by it I have in any way offended you, I humbly ask your pardon.⁷³

How the disposition itself can wound you, I cannot see. The work must be done *here on the spot*. The real work, that you know as well as Tussy does, will mostly have to be done by me. But as Mohr had one daughter living in London, I find it but natural that he should associate her to me in such work as she could do. Had you been living here instead of in Paris, all the three of us would have been jointly appointed, no doubt about that.

^a of *Capital* - ^b of the first volume of *Capital*

But there is another view of the case. According to English law (which we had explained by Sam Moore) the only person living which is the legal representative of Mohr, in England, is Tussy. Or rather the only person who can become his legal representative by taking out letters of administration. This must be done by the *next of kin living in England*—Tussy; unless she declines and proposes someone else, who also must reside in the United Kingdom. So that legally I too am out of it. For various reasons these letters of administration *have* to be taken out.

Of the projects Mohr discussed with you at Vevey I was of course utterly ignorant and only regret you did not come over since the 14th March, when we should have known and complied with them as much as possible. But here is how the matter stands with regard to the English translation.^a We find (from Sam. Moore as well as from Meissner) that we have *no right* to stop anyone from publishing an unauthorised translation. That right, in the best of cases, lasts but three years after first publication and lapsed finally in 1870. Now there were several people in the field and a well-meaning but poor and unbusinesslike publisher, Reeves, the most undesirable man of all, told Radford he had found a translator and was going to publish his translation. There was then no time to lose. We must find someone willing and able to do the work—we could think of no one but Sam. Moore and of Kegan Paul and Co. as publishers. The two entered into correspondence, then Tussy saw Kegan Paul, then I. Nothing is concluded, but very probably we shall come to some agreement. The question is: would you, under the altered circumstances, have undertaken to do the translation and bind yourself to a given time, say 6 months?

As to the History of the International, I am perfectly willing, as far as I am concerned, that all papers, etc., relating to the International be handed over to you for that purpose. But my plan was to write a full biography of Mohr,³⁰ and if you take those papers, that falls to the ground. Mohr's life without the International would be a diamond ring with the diamond broken out.

I have said nothing to Tussy about your letter, as I do not wish to interfere in any way between two sisters. Therefore, if you require any explanations from her, you will please write direct to her. But I think

^a Of the first volume of *Capital*; see this volume, p. 29.

the best thing you could do, is to come over and have the matter mutually explained. You know very well there is on my part no other desire but to consider your wishes as much as possible and in every respect. And I am the same in the case with Tussy. If you wish to have your name associated to ours in the common work, and if you wish to share this work, and means can be found how, I for one shall only be glad of that. As it is we shall want your assistance often enough for information, etc., and nothing could throw greater obstacles in our way than fresh unpleasantness between you and Tussy. What we all of us are desirous of seeing carried out, is a befitting monument to the memory of Mohr, the first portion of which will and must be the publication of his posthumous works. Let us then all contribute what we can towards that end.

The only person to whom I have spoken about this matter is Nim and she is quite of the opinion expressed above.

As to our two martyrs,^a they seem happy and contented enough, and even afraid of Grévy's putting an end to their prison-bliss on the 14th July.⁹ What a fine sentence that on Louise Michel! ⁷⁴ Fortunately nobody knows who will rule France a couple of years hence. A shell between the legs of Alexander III, and all prison doors in Europe and Asia fly open except — the Irish ones.

Now I must conclude. I have to read proof-sheets No. 4 of 3rd edition^b which arrived here on Saturday^c and I have bound myself to return them in 48 hours. Then I have to work at the alterations for 3rd edition (done up to page 404) partly upon an annotated copy,⁷⁵ partly upon the French edition,⁵⁹ which must be done quick so as not to give excuse for delay. So no more at present.

Ever yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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^a Paul Lafargue and Jules Guesde - ^b the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - ^c 23 June

24

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE ⁷⁶

IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 June 1883

Dear Sorge,

My evening's work has been disrupted by callers and this has given me a bit of spare time in which to write to you.

The critique of Henry George, which Marx sent you, is essentially a work of such extraordinary skill and stylistically so much all of a piece, that it would be a pity to tone it down by including the desultory marginal comments that appear in English in Marx's copy.^a These will always be to hand in case of need later on. Every word of the letter he sent you was written, as was usually Marx's custom on such occasions, with an eye to the subsequent publication of the text. So you will not be guilty of any indiscretion if you have it printed. If it is to come out in English, I will translate it for you, since the translation of the *Manifesto*^b has again shown that there seems to be no one over there who can translate *our* German, at any rate, into literary, grammatical English.⁷⁷ This calls for a writer with practice in both languages, practice, what's more, that is not merely confined to the daily press. Translating the *Manifesto* is awfully difficult; by far the best renderings I have seen are the Russian.⁷⁸

The 3rd edition of *Capital*^c is causing me a tremendous amount of work. We have one copy in which Marx follows the French edition⁵⁹ when indicating the emendations and additions to be made,⁷⁵ but all the detailed work remains to be done. I have got as far as 'Accumulation',^d but here it is a case of revising almost completely the entire theoretical section. On top of that there is the responsibility. For to some extent the French translation lacks the depth of the German text; Marx would never have written in German in that way. Moreover the publisher keeps pressing me.

Until I finish this there can be no question of my going on to Vol-

^a See this volume, p. 14. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^c the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - ^d i.e. Part VII of the first volume of *Capital*

ume II. There are in existence at least four versions of the beginning, thus often did Marx apply himself to the task, the editing of the definitive work having been interrupted on each occasion by illness. How the arrangement and conclusion of the last, dating from 1878, will agree with the first, which goes back to before 1870, I cannot yet say.¹⁷

Practically everything has been saved from the period up to 1848. Not only virtually all of the mss he and I worked on at the time (in so far as they haven't been eaten by mice), but also the correspondence. Everything after 1849 is also complete, of course, and, from 1862 on, is actually in some sort of order. Also extensive written material on the International, sufficient, I imagine, for a full history, though I have not yet been able to take a closer look at it.

There are also 3 or 4 notebooks of mathematical studies. I once showed your Adolf^a an example of Marx's new explanation of differential calculus.⁷⁹

Had it not been for the mass of American and Russian material⁸⁰ (there are over two cubic metres of books of Russian statistics alone), Volume II would have long since been printed. These detailed studies held him up for years. As always, everything had to be brought right up to date and now it has all come to nothing, apart from his excerpts which will, I trust, include many of his customary critical commentaries for use as notes to Volume II.

The photographs are here^b; as soon as I can find time to pack them I shall send them to you. But how? BOOK POST precludes any stout packing, no parcel post exists as yet, and to send a small package like this per parcels agency would cost a mint of money. Perhaps you would let me know how best to go about it.

I have already read five sheets of the final proof of the 3rd edition; the man has promised to send three sheets a week.

Your
F. Engels

I haven't possibly got time to answer little Hepner's many long letters just now. His reports are always of interest to me, intermingled though they are with a great deal of personal gossip and written with the sense of superiority of the newly disembarked. Meanwhile you had better convey my apologies to him.

^a Adolf Sorge jun.-^b See this volume, p. 18.

Schewitsch has sent me a 'dignified' reply and regrets my 'small-mindedness'.^a Dignity becomes him. He won't get an answer.

Nor will Most, who is, of course, bound to confirm everything I have said,^b which is exactly what has made him so furious. I believe he will find support in sectarian America and sow confusion for a time. But it is precisely in the nature of the American movement that all mistakes must be experienced in practice. If America's energy and vitality were backed by Europe's theoretical clarity, you would get everything fixed up within ten years. But that is, after all, an historical impossibility.

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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25

ENGELS TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

IN PARIS

London, 12 August 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Deville,

I have received your letter and your manuscript, for which I thank you.^{b1} Next week I shall be leaving London for a seaside resort.^{b2} There I shall have sufficient leisure to look over your work which will be returned to you as soon as possible.

Your manuscript arrived at an opportune moment. Only yesterday I completed the final editing of the 3rd German edition of *Capital*,^c and have undertaken to begin editing the 2nd volume immediately on my return from the seaside. So your work reached me precisely at the moment when I happened to have a short interval of time.

^a See this volume, pp. 13-14 and 91.-^b Ibid., p. 11.-^c the first volume

I have read the section you sent to Marx a little while ago; it seems to me very clear and very accurate. And, since it comprises the most difficult part of the work, there would appear to be no reason to anticipate any misapprehensions in the remaining sections.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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26

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

Eastbourne, 19 August 1883
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

At last out of London.⁸² As soon as I saw my way clear, I sent Percy (last Wednesday^a) over here to look out for apartments. He did his business well, and found excellent accommodation, not without difficulty. Two doors from the Parade, facing the Pier, fine rooms, no sun more than is wanted, good sea-view, good cooking, the only thing we are sorry for is that it could not be arranged in time for you to go with us. On Friday we arrived here, Pumps, babies and girl, Nim, Jollymeier (who felt a little out of sorts again but has picked up here at once and will soon leave us) and myself. First-class Scotch mist on arrival, fine rain off and on all night, very encouraging! But next day splendid, so that we could take our walks under the trees and show Nim a little of the place. To-day, Sunday, fine morning but

^a 15 August

becoming foggy, well we must take our chance, but anyhow so far the place looks quite different to what it did in the rainy weather when last here.⁸³ There has been an immense deal of building, the lodging part of the town has about doubled in size, all the fields towards Beachy Head and a good deal of the slope are built over. Pilsener Beer is flourishing and better even than in London. Nim and Pumps find things cheaper and better here than at home.

Emily Rosher's little *avorton*^a died yesterday, best thing it could do.

I wrote to Deville at once announcing arrival of his ms.^b At the same time or a little after I got also Sam Moore's translation^c — so I shall have plenty to do here, besides working off my colossal arrears of correspondence.

The place is very full, but the style of the people seems to be more 'free and easy' than formerly. Even on Sunday morning the chimney-pot hat plays but a very poor part, and 'athletic' costumes run about pretty free.

Just now the whole party throng in again, awfully thirsty, Jollymeier has to open the Pilsener, and you conceive that it is no use struggling against the difficulties crowding upon me and stopping not only rational but even irrational correspondence. The second bottle has just been opened, the little girl is crawling about my knees, and so I give it up in despair. The whole colony send their kindest regards to you and Paul whose half-term we shall celebrate the day after tomorrow⁹ in an extra draft of Pilsener.

Nim wishes you, literally, 'to have a good look-out about her fortune, as she expects it soon to come in'.⁸⁴

And so, dear Laura,

Yours most affectionately,

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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^a abortion - ^b See previous letter. - ^c Part of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56).

27

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG ³⁴

[Eastbourne,] 21 August 1883

Dear Liebknecht,

Your letter ⁸⁵ has remained unanswered because of final work on the 3rd edition,^a after which I came to stay here at

4 Cavendish Place, Eastbourne, England where I intend to remain until about 12 September.⁸²

Mrs Marx died on 2 December 1881, Jenny on 9 January 1883. Both deaths were reported in the *Sozialdemokrat*.^b

The Paris *Vorwärts!* was a little sheet which is now being accorded more importance than it deserves; the editors were a dilatory lot. Marx's main concern was to keep it on the right lines and from time to time he also wrote polemical articles and reviews attacking the Prussians.^c Heine sent Marx some of the advance proofs of the *Wintermärchen* from Hamburg for publication in the *Vorwärts!* before the book appeared in Germany.⁸⁶

I actually only set eyes on a few numbers and the little paper did not survive for long, so I cannot let you have any further details.

Marx wrote quite a lot of things for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, including a polemical discourse against Heizen.^d

Bebel's letter safely received; will be answered from here^e; along with all the other correspondence, have been unable to attend to it because of overwork. Tell Bebel that Schorlemmer, who is here, will be going to Darmstadt shortly and staying there until about the middle of September. If Bebel is visiting those parts before then, Schorlemmer would like him to let him know (Prof. Schorlemmer, Darm-

^a the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - ^b F. Engels, 'Jenny Marx, née von Westphalen'; 'Jenny Longuet, née Marx'. - ^c K. Marx, 'Critical Marginal Notes on the Article "The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian"'; 'Illustrations of the Latest Exercise in Cabinet Style of Frederick William IV'. - ^d K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality. A Contribution to German Cultural History. Contra Karl Heizen'. - ^e See this volume, pp. 52-55.

stadt is sufficient address) and tell him where Schorlemmer can meet him; in which case he will do his utmost to look him up.

Lafargue finished half his time today.⁹

Your
F. E.

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28

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI
IN BENEVENTO

England, Eastbourne, 22 August 1883
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Citizen,

Please excuse my delay in replying to your letter of 25/6 and your postcard of 30/7.⁹⁷ The need to finish in a short time the text of the 3rd German edition of *Capital*⁹⁸ forced me to suspend all correspondence.

I do not know much about Ahn's method, and the dictionary you mention is entirely unknown to me. In order to learn a language the method I have always followed is this: I do not bother with grammar (except for declensions and conjugations, and pronouns) and I read, with a dictionary, the most difficult classical author I can find. Thus I began Italian with Dante, Petrarch and Ariosto, Spanish with Cervantes and Calderon, Russian with Pushkin. Then I read newspapers, etc. For German, I think the first part of Goethe's *Faust* might be suitable; it is written, for the most part, in a popular style, and the things which would seem difficult to you would also be difficult, without a commentary, for a German reader.

⁹⁸ the first volume

For the works of Marx, etc., you could approach the offices of the *Sozialdemokrat*, Hottingen-Zurich, Switzerland; it is the official organ of the German workers' party.

Thank you for the copies of the translation, which reached me in good condition, and also for kindly sending your photograph, in return for which I enclose mine.

Yours with regards,
F. Engels

The normal London address is fine; I am here at the seaside for a few weeks.

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29

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN⁸⁸

IN ZURICH

Eastbourne, 27 August 1883
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bernstein,

Herewith money order for £4 for old Becker.^a I am still hoping that the news — and it wouldn't be the first time — is being exaggerated by his family. But he is, of course, very old, has been through a great deal and, or so I was told by Mme Lafargue, looked considerably older last year in Geneva by comparison with his hearty appearance at The Hague.⁸⁹

I shall not be able to write a great deal today. The post leaves here at one o'clock in the afternoon and here beside me, for proof-reading, lies sheet 19 of *Capital*,^b which also has to go off.

^a Johann Philipp Becker - ^b of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

Many thanks for your suggestion about Kaler-Reinthal,⁹⁰ but I cannot, unfortunately, take advantage of it. With the exception of trifles, all my extra jobs are of a kind that call for my *personal* attention. And in so far as I could pass anything on, it would have to be to a man who spoke *coulant*^a English and was intimately acquainted with London and local conditions, thus being able to save me running errands.

I am staying here until about 12 September,⁸² until when the above address holds good; then back to London.

Besides proofs and arrears of correspondence, I must, while here, attend to:

- 1) Deville's ms., French popularisation of *Capital*.⁸¹
- 2) Ms., part of the English translation,^b both of them sorely in need of revision. So you see, no peace here either. Luckily I live right next to the sea and sit besides an open window through which the sea air comes wafting in.

I was very sorry that you didn't come over here. I had a number of things to discuss with you. We have in any case got to resign ourselves to the fact that *some* of Marx's unpublished works will have to appear abroad^c and you alone could give me practical information or suggestions relating to this; it is, however, something that has to be discussed verbally — by letter it would be endless. But please say nothing about this, otherwise it might arouse false hopes in the people who run the printing works out there; my experience of party presses is such that I would *think twice* before entrusting a major and important work to any of them.

I shall retain the money order here, it being expressly stated thereon that it is of no use to the recipient. I gave your address, 137 alte Landstraße Riesbach, from memory; if wrong, please put this right at the *main* post office in Zurich.

My suggestion about the impudent ms. was, as it were, a bad joke.^d So long as the Anti-Socialist Law is in force,³⁷ and the *Sozialdemokrat* is the only possible organ, it is imperative not to sow discord among the party merely for the sake of such secondary issues, and that is what would happen if one sought to make a 'question of principle' out of this issue.

^a fluent - ^b of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - ^c See this volume, p. 17.-

^d *Ibid.*, p. 37.

It would seem to me that, in the treatment of the 'republic', especially in France, the most important aspect did not emerge clearly enough in the *Sozialdemokrat*,⁹¹ namely this:

In the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, the Bonapartist monarchy (the characteristics of which have been expounded by Marx in the *Eighteenth Brumaire* and by myself in *The Housing Question*, II, and elsewhere) adopted a role similar to that of the old absolute monarchy in the struggle between feudalism and bourgeoisie. But just as that struggle could not be fought out under the old, absolute monarchy but only under a constitutional one (England, France 1789-92 and 1815-30) so, too, that between bourgeoisie and proletariat can only be fought out in a republic. Inasmuch, then, as the French were helped by favourable conditions and revolutionary antecedents to overthrow Bonaparte and establish a bourgeois republic,⁹² they have the advantage over us, who remain stuck in a farrago of semi-feudalism and Bonapartism, of already possessing the form in which the struggle must be fought out and which we must first *master* for ourselves. Politically they are a whole stage ahead of us. Hence, the inevitable consequence of a monarchist restoration in France would be that the struggle for the restoration of the *bourgeois* republic would again appear on the agenda; continuance of the republic, on the other hand, means mounting intensification of the *direct*, undisguised class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie until a crisis is reached.

Similarly in our case the first, immediate result of the revolution can and *must*, so far as *form* is concerned, be nothing other than a *bourgeois* republic. But in this instance it will be no more than a brief, transitional period since fortunately we do not possess a purely republican bourgeois party. A bourgeois republic with, perhaps, the Party of Progress⁹³ at the helm, will serve us at first *to win over the great mass of the workers to revolutionary socialism*— which will have been effected in a year or two— and will be conducive to the thorough erosion and self-destruction of all possible intermediate parties but not ours. Only then can we successfully take over.

The great mistake made by the Germans is to imagine the revolution as something that can be achieved overnight. In fact it is a process of development on the part of the masses which takes several years even under conditions that tend to accelerate it. Every revolution that has been achieved overnight has merely ousted a reaction-

ary regime doomed from the outset (1830) or has led directly to the exact opposite of what was aspired to (1848, France).

Yours,
F. E

What do you think of this:

‘The last so-called *red number of the “Rheinische Zeitung”*^a (third edition) of 19 May 1849, which carried the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*’s farewell message by Ferdinand Freiligrath at the top of its front page, was again confiscated by the police here not long ago. A second-hand dealer had bought as waste paper a number of copies of this last farewell issue of the sometime organ of democracy and was selling them at 10 pfennigs a piece. The police put a stop to this by confiscating such of the papers as the dealer still had left. If the confiscation was effected on the grounds that the sheet’s wretched pale red print was bound to harm its readers’ eyes, the public has cause to thank the police; today, the text would be most unlikely to inflame anyone’s feelings.’^b

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30

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL ⁹⁴

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG ³⁴

Eastbourne, 30 August 1883
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bebel,

I am taking advantage of a moment’s peace to write to you. In London numerous jobs, down here numerous interruptions (three grown-ups and two small children in one room!); on top of that proof-reading^c and the revision of an English specimen translation⁵⁶ as also of a popularised French version of *Capital*.⁸¹ How’s a chap to write letters!

I have corrected up to sheet 21 of the 3rd edition which contains

^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^b See *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 119, 20 July 1883. - ^c of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

voluminous addenda; by the end of the year the thing will be out. As soon as I am back I shall get down to Volume 2 in real earnest and that is an enormous task. Alongside parts that have been completely finished are others that are merely sketched out, the whole being a *brouillon*^a with the exception of perhaps two chapters. Quotations from sources in no kind of order, piles of them jumbled together, collected simply with a view to future selection. Besides that there is the handwriting which certainly cannot be deciphered by anyone but *me*, and then only with difficulty.¹⁷ You ask why I of all people should not have been told how far the thing had got. It is quite simple; had I known, I should have pestered him night and day until it was all finished and printed. And Marx knew that better than anyone else. He knew besides that, if the worst came to the worst, as has now happened, the ms. could be edited by me in the spirit in which he would have done it himself, indeed he told Tussy as much.⁹⁵

As regards the photograph,^b the head is quite excellent. The pose is stiff, as in all his photographs; he was a bad 'sitter'. It does not irritate me in any way but, because of the stiffness of the pose, I prefer the smaller one to the larger.

The election in Hamburg⁹⁶ has also created a great sensation abroad. But then the behaviour of our chaps could not have been more exemplary. Such tenacity, perseverance, flexibility and ready wit, such waggish confidence of winning in the struggle with the greater and lesser miseries of the Germany of today, is unprecedented in recent German history. Especially splendid is the contrast it presents to the corruption, flabbiness and general decay of all other classes of German society. The very extent to which these classes demonstrate their inability to rule brings out in brilliant relief the ruling mission of the German proletariat, its ability to overturn the whole sordid old mess.

The 'jets of cold water' directed by Bismarck on Paris⁹⁷ are becoming ridiculous, even in the eyes of the French bourgeois. Even a paper as stupid as the *Soir* has discovered that nothing more is involved than the new appropriations in the Reichstag for the military (this time the field artillery).^c As for his alliances (he has descended to Serbia, Rumania and now Spain of all places⁹⁸), all these are houses built of cards that will be blown down by a puff of wind. If he's lucky he won't need them and if he's unlucky they will land him in

^a draft - ^b of Marx - ^c *Le Soir*, 29 August 1883.

the cart. The greater a blackguard a man is, the more he believes in the uprightness of others and that, in the end, is his undoing. It is unlikely to get to that stage with Bismarck so far as his foreign policy is concerned, for the French won't do him the favour of picking a quarrel. Only the Tsar^a might try something of the kind out of desperation and come to grief in the process. But I hope he will come to grief at home before that.

The manifesto of the Democratic Federation in London⁹⁹ has been issued by some 20-30 little societies which, under various names (always the same people), have been persistently trying to look important for the past 20 years at least and always with the same lack of success. All that is important is that these people have now at last been compelled publicly to proclaim our theory as their own, a theory which, at the time of International, seemed to them to have been imposed upon them from outside, and further that a number of young people have lately emerged from amongst the bourgeoisie who, to the shame, be it said, of the English workers, understand these things better and embrace them more enthusiastically than do the workers. For even in the Democratic Federation the workers have accepted the new programme for the most part no more than reluctantly and outwardly. Hyndman, the head of the Democratic Federation, is an ex-Conservative, an ambitious man, hopelessly jingoistic but not stupid. He behaved pretty shabbily^b towards Marx (to whom he had been introduced by Rudolf Meyer), and for that reason has been personally ignored by us.¹⁰⁰ On no account whatever allow yourself to be bamboozled into believing that a real proletarian movement is afoot here. I know that this is what Liebknecht would have himself and the rest of the world believe, but it is not so. The elements presently active might become important, now that they have accepted our theoretical programme and thus acquired a basis, but only if a spontaneous movement broke out amongst the workers here and they succeeded in gaining control of it. Until then they will continue to be so many isolated individuals with, behind them, an omnium-gatherum of muddle-headed sects, the remnants of the great movement of the forties,¹⁰¹ but nothing more. A really universal labour movement will come about here — barring the unexpected — only when the workers become sensible of the fact that England's world

^a Alexander III - ^b The words 'ziemlich schofel' ('pretty shabbily') were crossed out in the original and 'nicht schön' ('not nicely') written above them in an unknown handwriting.

monopoly has been broken. Participation in the domination of the world market was and is the economic basis of the English workers' political nullity. As the appendage of the bourgeois in the economic exploitation of this monopoly, though nevertheless participating in the advantages that accrue from the said exploitation, they are, in the nature of things, a political appendage of the 'Great Liberal Party' which, for its part, courts them in minor matters, acknowledges TRADES UNIONS and STRIKES as legitimate factors, has abandoned the struggle for an unlimited working day, and enfranchised most of the better paid workers.¹⁰² But once America and the combined competition of the other industrial nations have made a sizeable breach in this monopoly (imminent in the case of iron, less so, unfortunately, in that of cotton), just wait and see what happens here.

I asked Liebknecht to tell you^a that, if you happened to be in the neighbourhood of Darmstadt between now and 12 September, you should advise Schorlemmer who is staying there, so that he can look you up somewhere in that region. It is probably too late now. Regards to Liebknecht.

Your
F. E.

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31

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY¹⁰³

IN STUTTGART

London, 18 September 1883

Dear Mr Kautsky,

As regards the Geiser business, I do not believe the time has yet come for me to intervene.¹⁰⁴ The chaps must first compromise them-

^a See this volume, pp. 47-48.

selves a bit more in the eyes of the public. The paltry little flysheet and the failure of the motion on the right to work are not enough; they must express themselves in yet stronger terms if we are to get a proper hold on them and if they are not to lie their way out by pleading false excuses. Meanwhile it would be most helpful if you would gather together material in this connection, for the moment will come when we shall have to have a go at these gentlemen. There's no immediate hurry.^a Bebel and the *Sozialdemokrat*, as you say yourself, have got the masses behind them, and there is, after all, an antidote to hand. That you have a great deal of this sort of thing to put up with in that Swabian hole, I can well believe, considering that Stuckert^b and Munich are the worst places in Germany. And then, I definitely have not got the time to become embroiled in a dispute that would demand a great deal of toil and trouble. If it has *got* to be — well and good. I return the flysheet herewith.

Lack of time precludes my engaging in further detailed discussion of the articles on marriage.¹⁰⁵ In any case, primitive hetaerism is so remote in time and has been so much overlaid by later developments, whether progressive or otherwise, that nowadays we can nowhere expect to find examples in their pristine form. But all subsequent forms lead back to those primitive origins. Of this much I am certain, — until you have completely dropped the element of jealousy as a *determining social factor* (in primitive times), it will not be possible to give a correct account of the way things have developed.

Generally speaking, in the case of all those scientific researches which embrace so wide a field and such a mass of material, nothing can really be achieved except by dint of many years of study. Individual aspects that are both new and accurate — and these are, of course, to be found in your articles — present themselves more readily; but to survey the whole and to order it anew is something that can only be done after it has been fully explored. Otherwise there would be many more books like *Capital*. So I am glad to see that you have turned to themes — for immediate literary treatment — such as early biblical history^c and colonisation,^d which make it possible to achieve something without so exhaustive and detailed a study, and yet at the same time strike a topical note. I liked the colonisation article very much. Unfortunately almost all the material you've got is

^a See this volume, p. 64. — ^b Stuttgart — ^c K. Kautsky, 'Die Entstehung der biblischen Urgeschichte', *Kosmos...*, Vol. XIII, June 1883. — ^d K. Kautsky, 'Auswanderung und Kolonisation', *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 8 and 9, 1883.

German which, as usual, is toned down and fails to present either the lurid hues of tropical colonisation or its most recent mode. The latter is colonisation, directly and wittingly carried out in the interest of stock-market manipulations, as now by France in Tunisia and Tongking.⁶⁵ Of this there is a new and striking instance in the South Seas slave trade; that trade was the immediate purpose of the attempted annexation of New Guinea, etc., by Queensland. Almost on the same day as the expedition set out to annex New Guinea, a Queensland vessel, the *Fanny*, left for the same island and others further east in order to seize *LABOUR*, returning, however, *without* *LABOUR* but with wounded as well as other unpleasant signs of an encounter.¹⁰⁶ *The Daily News* reports this and, in a leading article,^a remarks that the British can hardly censure the French for such practices while doing the same thing themselves! (Beginning of September.)

Last week, at the TRADES UNIONS CONGRESS sitting at Nottingham, Adam Weiler's proposal to press for international factory legislation was thrown out by 26 votes to 2 on the motion of the 'Labour' parliamentarian Broadhurst.¹⁰⁷ So much for Liebknecht's much-vaunted TRADES UNIONS!¹⁰⁸

Why doesn't Fritz Denhardt write for the *Neue Zeit* any more?¹⁰⁹ He had a very nice cheery style. The journal itself, of course, has to content with appalling difficulties: the censorship it has to impose upon itself is a thousand times worse than the old, official censorship used to be. You still have some pretty odd contributors and you yourself must often enough long for better ones. At all events, this business has for you the advantage of enabling you at the same time to pursue your scientific studies and let them come to gradual fruition.

Incidentally, Java provides proof of the fact that nowhere and at no time does a population increase so rapidly as under a not unduly oppressive system of bondage: 1755—2 mill.; 1826—5½ mill.; 1850—9 mill.; 1878—19 mill.;—an almost tenfold increase in 125 years—the only example of anything like Malthusian growth. Were they to send the Dutch blood-suckers packing the population would become fairly stable.

Adler turned up just as I was off to the seaside and likewise on my return; he is a man of some promise. He saw much here that might be of use to him.¹¹⁰

^a *The Daily News*, 12 September 1883.

I yesterday received a money order from Stuttgart for £ 6 3/- for the photographs,^a but there was no accompanying letter. Will you ask Dietz to be so kind as to drop me a note informing me what name (Christian name) and address (in Stuttgart) he gave at the post office on taking out the order? The post office here is very pedantic in such matters, and if the particulars I give differ in the slightest respect I shall not get the money.

The 2nd volume of *Capital* will provide me with work and to spare. The bulk of the ms. dates back to *before 1868* and is in places no more than a *brouillon*.^{b 17} The second book will greatly disappoint the vulgar socialists, it contains virtually nothing but rigorously scientific, very minute examinations of things that take place within the capitalist class itself, and nothing at all out of which to fabricate catch-words and orations.

Pumps has already got two offspring. Tussy Marx has taken rooms near the British Museum. Lenchen is keeping house for me.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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32

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 19 September 1883

My dear Laura,

At last returned from Eastbourne,^{8 2} where correspondence was rendered difficult and almost impossible by circumstances. When proof-sheets^c arrived — 3 times a week — my company left me to my

^a See this volume, pp. 15-16.-^b draft.-^c of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

work, but on the silent understanding that I was not to exact anything further—and how indeed could I have asked for peace and quietness in the one sitting room allotted to us all, especially when the thirst for Pilsener drove them in at certain times of the day?

I was besides busy with Sam Moore's specimen translation^a the greater part of which is very good and lively; the beginning—rather a difficult chapter^b—wanted a deal of 'look after', on account of his not having been exact enough in rendering the terminology, but that could be easily settled. I am certain from what I have seen that he will do the job well.

I also began revising Deville's pamphlet,⁸¹ it requires more work, especially in the beginning where great precision is necessary, but is wanting here and there. However I shall have no difficulty in setting that right, only it will take a week or a fortnight. I shall set to work seriously to-morrow. As far as I have gone, I am much pleased with his work, he has well understood everything (except small details) and it is written in a more lively style than I thought it would be.

As soon as that is shaken off I begin with the 2nd volume [of] *Kapital*.

I hope you received my post-card¹¹¹ with the information you had asked me for. It was sent the day after I received your letter.

We came back last Friday,^c Pumps and Percy stayed here over Sunday, their house not being in order. Since then we had a thunderstorm and fearful rain in parts of London which flooded their back drawing-room. Otherwise they are flourishing. The little boy is getting on wonderfully well, he was five months yesterday, and is extremely intelligent for his age.

Nim declares she must reduce her allowance of beer. She thinks she is getting too fat with it.

This morning Lopatin walks in, his adventures have ripened him considerably.¹¹² He will be here again directly and have dinner with us. He says he saw Paul lately and found him well and content, all things considered.⁹

Tussy I have not seen yet, I believe she is not in town, I wrote her a line but she did not turn up on Sunday. As soon as Nim can get off she'll call on her.

^a the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - ^b the first chapter of Volume I of *Capital*—'Commodities'. - ^c 14 September

Of my little pamphlet *Entwicklung etc.* two editions are already sold, the third is in the press.²⁵ That shows anyhow that it is not too difficult for the mass of the working people in Germany.

When this letter arrives, Paul will have 'done' $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of his time — I hope he will keep his pluck up for the two last and most trying months.

Of the 3rd edition [of] *Kapital*^a I have read proofs up to page 448, so if they go on at this rate, the whole will be completed by December. I am sorry Mohr has not lived to see how well this time the thing is done: no delay, no trouble with the printers, no trifling complaint but is at once set right, and excellent proofs with very few mistakes. Leipzig¹¹³ seems at last, and at least in this one respect of printing, to become 'ein klein Paris'.^b High time it was.

So now I conclude this budget of miscellaneous news in order to set a few little jobs right before Lopatin drops in again. Kind regards for^c Paul and a hearty kiss for yourself from

Yours affectionately,

Le général pour rire^d

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 3 October 1883

My dear Laura,

Herewith cheque for £ 14.- of which £ 4.- are your $\frac{1}{3}$ share of £ 12.- sent by Meissner on account of 2nd edition [of] *Kapital*,^e

^a the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - ^b 'a little Paris' - ^c In the original mistakenly: 'from'. - ^d The general, in a manner of speaking. - ^e the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

£ 4.- for Tussy and £ 4.- for Longuets children, which Tussy has banked for the present until a little more money accrues to them, when we can consider, along with you, what is to be done in their interest.

Jollymeier left here yesterday, highly enchanted with Paris. He says you will come over at Christmas—hope it will turn out true!

Today I sent to you, registered, pages 1-123 of Deville's ms.^{a1} I cannot find his letter with his address. The defect of the thing is that many parts of it have been done rather too hurriedly. This is principally the case with the descriptive portions (especially *manufacture* and *grande industrie*^a). The points do not at all come out as they ought to do. It is not sufficient to express them, as much as possible, in Marx's own words; these cannot be torn from the context without giving rise to misinterpretation or leaving many things in comparative obscurity. Deville would do well to revise these two chapters throughout and to complete them by some of the exemplifications of the original without which they have become very abstract and to workingmen-readers obscure. In the theoretical parts there are also many slight inaccuracies (some too, as his definition of *marchandise*,^b very serious) and *des choses faites à la hâte*,^c but these it was mostly not very difficult to set more or less right. Then many portions, of interest and importance for theoretical economic science, but without immediate *portée*^d on the question between capital and labour, might be omitted. One or two I have indicated.

Now then I close. Though a good deal better I am ordered to lie down as much as possible quietly for a few days longer and so with kind regards to the prisoners⁹ and sincere love from Nim and myself remain

Ever yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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^a Cf. this volume, p. 76. - ^b commodity - ^c things done in haste - ^d bearing

34

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 15 October 1883

My dear Laura,

My last letter was awfully rough. But I was not allowed to sit long at the desk, and *had* to write — as you will allow — to Deville first.³⁹ So I could only say a few words to you and these must have looked very unkind indeed. Pardon me.

Well, I have made up my mind *d'en finir avec cette sacrée maladie chronique*.^a Since last Wednesday night^b I have stayed in bed, in order to do away with any excuse for the constant cause of all my relapses, want of rest and temptation for moving about. To-day I feel quite well, and inclined for a dance. But that is just the time when absolute rest is most needed, and therefore I shall not stir out of bed until bed will do me more harm than good. If nothing unexpected occurs, I think I shall be *en pleine guérison*^c before the week is out. So now, that will satisfy you I hope as far as my health is concerned.

I perfectly understand what Jollymeier meant by his letter to you. Gumpert had given him the note of warning — *awfully exaggerated*, though, for my case — but Gumpert could not interfere in my treatment by another doctor. Still I think Jollymeier might have found another way to save Gumpert's scruples as to medical *étiquette* without frightening *you*. As it is, I have used your letter to stir up my doctors a bit, and with success. *Ich hab' ihnen Beine gemacht*,^d and energetic treatment is now all the rage.

But enough of that. All I am sorry for, and very sorry, is that I responded in such an unkind way to your letter and to the kind feeling which had dictated it. It has weighed on my mind all the time, and yet I would not again write to you until I could indicate a decided improvement and good reasons for an approaching final cure.

Fortin has written, he wants a preface^e and asks about 20 questions which it would take a year to answer thoroughly. Tussy was here when his letter came, I read it to her and I wish you could have heard

^a to get rid of this accursed chronic ailment - ^b 10 October - ^c fully fit - ^d I made them get a move on - ^e to the French edition of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*; see also this volume, p. 358.

us laugh at that never ending series of inquiries, each requiring a volume to answer it completely. I shall ask him to send me the manuscript^a and put off the rest for better times.

Read to-day proof-sheet^b up to page 600.

Tussy has promised to look up the American reports for Paul.¹¹⁴

It is getting post-time and dinner-time too. But before concluding: Deville writes to say he has no time to recast the 3 chapters indicated by me.⁸¹ Please do, you and Paul, as much as you can, to get him to revise them as much as possible. Such as they are, they are not intelligible but to those who know the original. He says the publisher will give no time. But the whole cannot be printed at once!! A fortnight will do it and it will be a *wonderful improvement*.

Kind regards to the prisoner^c now soon to be free.

A kiss from Nim and from your affectionate

F. Engels

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35

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 8 November 1883

Dear Bernstein,

I have been keeping to my bed for the past few weeks in order to rid myself of a chronic ailment, mild in itself but tiresome and long neglected; I shall be up again in a few days. Hence my silence. Please accept my apologies and also convey them to Kautsky; I don't know whether he is still in Stuckert.^d

^a See Engels' letter to Laura Lafargue, 21 March 1887 (present edition, Vol. 48).-

^b of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - ^c Paul Lafargue - ^d Stuttgart

The article on the right to work was very good and very much *à propos*.^a Kautsky had already bombarded me about the same subject^b and I shall be perfectly willing as soon as it becomes *necessary*, but I think one should first let these gentlemen compromise themselves a little more; they ought first to formulate more precisely what they mean by it; one must never stop people from giving 'complete and full' expression to their nonsense; only then does one get something really tangible. I hope your article will commit the chaps to this course.

If the Germans in Paris have not had their eyes opened to Malon & Co. *now*, there's no helping them. Their open alliance with the *traitors* of the English labour movement, the official representatives of the TRADES UNIONS, has earned them the applause of the entire English bourgeois press from *The Times* and *The Daily News* to *The Standard*.¹⁵ A good thing that Guesde and Lafargue were doing time,⁹ thereby enabling this magnificent performance to be put on with no interruptions whatever!

Apropos. Do you know a Dr Moritz^c Quarck (sic!) In Rudolstadt? This man, with whom I am totally unfamiliar, has referred me to a pamphlet,^d with which I am equally unfamiliar, attacking one Fleischmann^e with whom I am even less familiar, and wants to translate *The Poverty of Philosophy* into German.^f I have my misgivings.

Well, let me know sometime soon what is going on in the world. I have become so stupid, lolling about in bed, that I can no longer marshal my thoughts.

Yours,
F. E.

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^a [E. Bernstein,] 'Das Recht auf Arbeit', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 44, 25 October 1883. -^b See this volume, p. 56. -^c A mistake; should be Max. -^d [M. Quarck,] *Kommerzienrath Adolf Fleischmann als Nationalökonom und die Thüringer Hausindustrie*. -^e A. Fleischmann, *Die Sonneberger Spielwaaren-Hausindustrie und ihr Handel*. -^f See this volume, pp. 66 and 67.

36

ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH

IN GENEVA

London, 13 November 1883
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

I am not really in a position to answer the questions you have been so good as to put to me.¹¹⁶ The publication of the second volume of *Capital*, in the original text, continues to be delayed. Up till now I have had to confine my attention mainly to the 3rd edition of the first volume.^a

So far I have heard nothing at all from St Petersburg in regard to a Russian translation of the 2nd volume. Nor, for that matter, do I believe that, as things are now, there could be any question of publishing a work of this kind in the Russian capital; no doubt they would first want to take a look at the German text.

On the other hand, the political situation in Russia is now so tense that a crisis might supervene any day. I even think it probable that the press will be free in Russia before it becomes so in Germany. And in that case the translator of the first volume, Германъ Лопатинъ,^b could, with some reason, claim the right to translate the second.¹¹⁷

I do not, therefore, believe that the time is yet ripe for an attempt to arrive at a final decision on this matter, but must thank you sincerely for your kind offer which I shall bear in mind. Perhaps we shall be able to see things more clearly in a month or two, and then we can renew our discussion on the subject.

It pleases me very much to hear that it is you who have undertaken to translate my *Entwicklung etc.*^c; I look forward eagerly to seeing your work and fully appreciate the honour you have done me.

^a in German - ^b (Russ.) Hermann Lopatin - ^c *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

I am, my dear and courageous citizen,

Yours ever,
F. Engels

To Citizen Vera Zasulich

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37

ENGELS TO MAX QUARCK

IN RUDOLSTADT

London, 13 November 1883

Dear Sir,

I have kept you waiting a long time for an answer.^a Firstly because I had to keep to my bed on account of a mild but tedious indisposition and, secondly, because you are not the first to have approached me about the matter in question. Hence, before I could reply to you, I had to make further inquiries.

The result is that Mr Eduard Bernstein of Zurich has now definitely expressed his intention of translating *The Poverty etc.* into German and has enlisted my support.¹¹⁸ This I cannot possibly refuse, since he was the first to speak to me about the matter, his qualifications for the task are known to me, and immediate printing in Zurich is assured, should it become apparent that publication in Germany itself might meet with difficulties.

Under the circumstances, and in the knowledge that neither I nor anyone else is legally empowered to prevent you or others from publishing a translation of that work, I have nothing further to say other

^a See this volume, p. 64.

than to express my thanks to you for having thought fit to approach me in the first place.

I remain,

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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38

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 13 November 1883

Dear Bernstein,

Encl. for Vera Zasulich.^a

As to Quarck,^b you have taken a load off my mind.¹¹⁹ I have written telling him that *you* were the first to apply and that you would be translating *The Poverty etc.*¹¹⁸ The man has thus been disposed of. His pamphlet^c is 'Quarck'.^d Marx would wring my neck were I to agree to his being translated by this boastful Hohenzollern-worshipper and conservative state socialist.

But it behoves us to make a proper job of it. Nothing pedestrian; the thing is by no means so easy. You might, if you have got as far, send me the ms. of the first sheet; that would give us an opportunity to agree upon the whole *modus operandi*.

I have not been sent Plekhanov's pamphlet^e; only the *Manifesto* and *Wage Labour and Capital*.^f From this I learn that it has appeared in a *German* edition.¹²⁰ Why has no one deigned to send me and Marx's heirs a copy?

Nor have I ever received a copy of the new edition of the *Manifesto*

^a See this volume, pp. 65-66. - ^b Ibid., p. 66. - ^c [M. Quarck,] *Kommerzienrath Adolf Fleischmann als Nationalökonom...* - ^d In German 'Quark' = curd or cottage cheese; fig. rubbish. - ^e G. V. Plekhanov, *Социализмъ и политическая борьба* (Socialism and Political Struggle). - ^f by Marx

(German).^a Nor yet of the 3rd edition of *Entwicklung*.^b And I have never heard a word of what became of 'The Mark', which had been trimmed to size expressly for a separate edition.¹²¹ This, of course, only happens to one when 'easy-going' Germans are involved.

Of the portraits of me in existence there is only one that you have got; I don't imagine that the man (in Brighton) would quote a cheap price for prints in bulk, but I shall do what I can. So you see, I bear no grudge against your office,^c but their worships could well be a little less touchy about a bad joke, especially since they devote a full half column of every number to that kind of thing.

Beware of the *Droit à la paresse*.¹²² Parts of it were too much even for the French and it was much exploited by Malon and Brousse at Lafargue's expense. You must certainly see to it that the wailers¹²³ are not provided with an easy excuse just now; even friend Bebel is still somewhat Germanic in this respect. Which reminds me of the poem about the 'arse'. If the author is responsible for all the heroic deeds enumerated therein, he is entitled to celebrate them in song. Besides, I am speaking of the sex organs, and it is difficult for me to enter into discussion with people who include their bottoms under that heading.

It certainly must have been hard for our friend Lavrov to have set his hand to a document saying that he and his Russians 'had definitively broken with their anarchist traditions'.¹²⁴ Not that he set much store by them, but all the same there was about them something attractively 'Russian'. Besides, he is a thoroughly honest old fellow who is, however, invariably the hen that hatches out ducks' eggs in the form of 'Russian youth' and watches aghast as the ducklings set out across the HORRIBLE water. This has happened to him umpteen times.

Kautsky's visit¹²⁵ will give me much pleasure; I trust I shall be up to the mark again by then.

Yours,
F. E.

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^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^b F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - ^c i. e. *Der Sozialdemokrat*

39

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 30 November 1883

Dear Old Man,

I can't tell you how glad I was to see your own handwriting again. Nowhere had I been able to learn anything definite about how you were getting on, and am now glad to know that you are at least to some extent back on your feet again.

I, too, have been in bed for a good month now, in order to rid myself of a mild but most tiresome and prolonged ailment, and can only write very briefly since any position but the horizontal is forbidden me. But no doubt I, too, will soon be up again and able to tackle the large accumulation of work.

As soon as I can resume the task of putting Marx's papers in order, I shall look out the things you want,¹²⁶ but everything is still in the utmost disorder since I have to attend to everything myself. Mme Lafargue has been living in Paris for a year or more now, and the youngest sister^a has furnished a couple of rooms nearby — nearby being half an hour's walk from here, and since it is I alone who must decide what is important and what is not among the vast mass of papers, etc., it is understandable that, considering her many literary activities, she should leave the sorting out to me.

I, too, hope that I shall see you again, my old comrade-in-arms, somewhere some day — who knows whether it might not be, as once before, at Durlach and Vöhrenbach in mid-campaign¹²⁷? How wonderful that would be! And, after all, the present swindle can't go on for very much longer, provided Mr Bismarck does not again hold up or temporarily obstruct revolutionary developments by unleashing a general war, as is clearly his intention.

You will be getting from the post office a money order for £5 sterling.

^a Eleanor Marx

But now I must lie down flat on my back again. Goodbye, old man. See that you get fit again, and write sometimes to your old, trusty

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON ¹²⁸

[London, 1 December 1883]

Dear Kautsky,

What can be the matter? Not a sign of you either at Tussy's or at my house!

Yours,
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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41

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 13 December 1883

My dear Laura,

I did not intend to write to you until I should be able to inform you that I was 'up and doing' again. To-day it is eight weeks that I went

to bed for good (or rather bad) and although I feel considerably better, and keep in bed more for safety's sake than anything else, I am still far from able to use my legs as I ought to. These poor 'lower extremities' to use the language of respectability, are woefully shrunk, and what is quite as bad, have left scarcely anything 'behind them'. The worst is I am quite at ease only when laid flat on my back and writing has to be done in a constrained position and soon becomes a torture, so this must excuse my short and unfrequent letters.

Paul's article in *Progress*^a I read with much pleasure, it hits more than one nail on the head. Let us hope the 'Blé' will come out soon after the period of *étrennes*,^b 114 and be followed soon by that novel^c which I am most anxious to see. Paul in Balzac's slippers it will be good! By the bye I have been reading scarcely anything but Balzac while laid up and enjoyed the grand old fellow thoroughly. *There* is the history of France from 1815 to 1848, far more than in all the *Vaulabelles*, *Capefigues*, *Louis Blancs* and *tutti quanti*.^d And what boldness! What a revolutionary dialectic in his poetical justice!

But alas, we always drop back from the blooming field of romance into the dreary sick-bed of reality. This bids fair to be a poor Christmas! In the best of cases I may be allowed to spend it on the first floor, with order to go to my bedroom when one ought to begin to enjoy oneself! And no tittle, or at all events wine to be taken by the spoonful, as medicine! Well it can't be helped.

Percy is now partner of 'Garman and Rosher, Chartered Accountants' Walbrook House, E. C. Hope he will prosper. His father has at last forked out the needful and set him up though with the sourest face and in the unpleasantest way possible.

Tussy has got neuralgia again, she will call here to-night, but only after this letter has gone. The Jutas (he, she,^e and Willa) arrived here last week, so Tussy will have plenty on her hands.

Capital, 3rd edition^f now fully printed, will be issued very soon; as soon as we get copies we shall send you one.

Pumps and Percy were in Manchester last week, say Jollymeier is not quite well yet. When we are all on our legs again, we must have a continuation of last summer's sprees, and you must then bring Paul

^a P. Lafargue, 'Socialism and Darwinism', *Progress*, Vol. 2, December 1883, pp. 343-49. -^b Christmas presents -^c The novel which Lafargue was trying to write was entitled *Jugement de Paris*. -^d all the rest -^e Johann Carl and Louise -^f the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

too, unless he is clever enough to get himself locked up again. In the meantime *mille saluts* to him and to you too from

Your affectionate

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ²⁴

IN ZURICH

[London, 22 December 1883]

If you have still got *The Labour Standard*, will you please send it to *Lafargue straight away*; he gave Shipton's remarks a lambasting in the *Cri du Peuple*, and wants to have the original as the thing is creating a furore.¹²⁹ I wouldn't be able to get hold of another copy before Monday, not to say Thursday^a (and perhaps not even then).

Have been up again since Saturday^b but still very wobbly.

You gave von der Mark his deserts all right! The fool imagines people should take account of what *he* understands by 'State'!¹³⁰ Just as Rodbertus criticised Marx for supposing capital to be *real* capital, rather than Rodbertus' 'notion of capital'.¹³¹ German to the core.

Kautsky back?

Regards, yours,

F. E.

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^a 24 and 27 December accordingly - ^b 15 December

1884

43

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN⁹⁴

IN ZURICH

London, 1 January 1884

Dear Bernstein,

First a Happy New Year to you, Kautsky and the whole newspaper office.^a

Then a request to send me last week's *Sozialdemokrat*. It should have arrived on Saturday, 29 December, but hasn't reached me yet.

A fortnight ago I was at last able to get up again, have improved steadily and hope to be fit for work in a week's time. And a damned good thing too!

I trust you were not too much infuriated by the number of amendments I made to your ms.¹¹⁸ As I once said to Kautsky, while we cannot imitate Marx's style, our own ought to be such as not to be wholly out of keeping with Marx's. Provided you don't lose sight of this altogether, we may well produce a work that is presentable.

The note on American slavery^b shall be done, and various others besides. I shall also be able to include a fair amount in the preface.^c How true the passage on slavery was is still evident today: capitalist production in the cotton states is not prospering — through not having any *coolies*, Chinese or Indian, i. e. slaves disguised as free labour; whereas in Cuba, Mauritius, Réunion, etc., it flourishes in so far as, and only in so far as, it has coolies at its disposal.

As regards your earlier inquiry about the passage from *The Civil War in France* in the preface to the *Manifesto*,¹³² you will, no doubt,

^a *Der Sozialdemokrat*. - ^b See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 167-68. - ^c F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

concur with the answer that is given in the original (*The Civil War*, pp. 19 ff.).^a I am sending you a copy in case you have not got one there. It is simply a question of showing that the victorious proletariat must first reshape the old, bureaucratic, administratively centralised state machine before they can use it for their own purposes; whereas, since 1848, *all* bourgeois republicans, so long as they were in opposition, have heaped abuse on that machine but, no sooner in office, have taken it over intact and made use of it, partly against reaction but to an even greater extent against the proletariat. That the Commune's *unconscious* tendencies should, in *The Civil War*, have been credited to it as more or less deliberate plans was justifiable and perhaps even necessary in the circumstances. The Russians have very properly appended the passage from *The Civil War* to their translation of the *Manifesto*.¹³³ If there hadn't been such a great rush over getting it out, we could have done this and one or two other things.

Apropos. You once spoke of Guesde's disreputable past, or something of the sort. I know absolutely nothing about that. Undoubtedly just a pack of lies on Malon's part, but I should be glad if you would enable me to clear the matter up.

I shall shortly be sending you one pound sterling from Schorlemmer for his subscription, the balance for party purposes. It's too late to take out a money order today.

At last things have got moving again in Russia. The affair of the sledge and the Tsar is most suspect,¹³⁴ that of Sudeikin, on the other hand, crystal clear.¹³⁵ We should like to send Alexander^b a telegram wishing him 'a happy holiday'.

Has Tussy Marx sent you *To-Day* and the last numbers of *Progress*? If not I shall attend to this. These two are *completely divorced* from the TRADES UNIONS movement and are in fact run by a *very motley* society. Bax is very honest but still somewhat green, Aveling is good but has little time in which to familiarise himself with economics, a subject utterly foreign to him. Joynes is an unreliable chap (once a schoolmaster at the big doss house at Eton, travelled to Ireland with Henry George, was arrested with him and lost his post; is therefore looking around to see what's doing) and Hyndman, an ambitious party leader *in partibus infidelium*,^c provisionally in search of a party

^a See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 328-35. - ^b Alexander III - ^c It means literally: in parts inhabited by unbelievers; here: nominally.

and meanwhile issuing orders into the blue,—come to that a pretty shrewd fellow.^a One's best course is to do justice to the aspirations without identifying oneself with the persons. At all events, the publication of *To-Day* and the transformation of *Progress* into a socialist journal is of great significance at this particular juncture, now that the poor in the East End of London are beginning to find their voice. On top of that, all over the country we have chronic overproduction which now seems to be hastening on the crisis. Circumstances are favourable, but whether the people who have taken the matter in hand are a match for those circumstances remains to be seen. This time it's hardly likely to remain without a sequel, as have so many previous curtain-raisers.

Now *basta*. I haven't written a letter as long as this for the past three months. Schorlemmer and I send our cordial regards to all our friends.

Yours,
F. E.

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44

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY
IN ZURICH

London, 9 January 1884^b

Dear Kautsky,

(Why must we continue to bore each other with 'Mr?') The news about the coronation scenery is absolutely typical and has aroused much mirth; at the same time we have taken care that it does not leak

^a See this volume, p. 54. - ^b 1883 in the original

out prematurely over here; i. e. before the scenery has been delivered and paid for.¹³⁶ Not a soul knows about it apart from Schorlemmer, Lenchen and Tussy.

Many thanks for Frankel's address.

So far as purely theoretical matters are concerned, Deville's summary^a is the best that has yet appeared. He has understood everything aright, though his use of terminology has been very lax and this I have amended in the manuscript. On the other hand the descriptive part is treated far too cursorily, with the result that some of it is totally incomprehensible to anyone unfamiliar with the original. Again, what would make for much greater ease of comprehension, particularly in a popular account, namely the *historical* emergence of manufacture and large-scale industry as *consecutive historical periods*, is pushed much too much into the background. (We aren't even told that 'factory legislation' does not operate at all in France, but only in England!) And, finally, he gives a full summary of the entire contents, including stuff which Marx had had to bring in if his account of scientific developments was to be complete, but which is not necessary to an understanding of the theory of surplus value and its consequences (and this alone is what counts in the case of a popular summary). Similarly as regards the number of coins in circulation, etc.^b

But then he also quotes verbatim from Marx's recapitulatory propositions, having given no more than an incomplete account of the assumptions upon which they were based. Consequently these propositions are frequently so distorted that in the course of my perusal I often found myself wanting to contest a proposition of Marx's, the limitations of which are made plain in the original by what goes before; in Deville, however, they are accorded absolutely universal, and hence false, validity. I can't change this without redoing the whole ms.

Now as to your translation of this,¹³⁷ my position vis-à-vis Meissner compels me to adopt an entirely neutral position. As soon as you write and tell me definitely that you will take the thing on, I propose, and I have already discussed this with Tussy who shares my view entirely, to act as follows: I shall write to Meissner saying that someone intends to publish Deville's piece (which I shall send Meissner) in German and that I can see nothing in this that might damage the sales of *Capital*—boost them, more likely; I shall then add that I can-

^a G. Deville, *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique.* -^b See *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Ch. III, Sect. 2b (present edition, Vol. 35).

not stop it but that, if he intends to take preventive action, he might let me know and I shall then pass this on.

Seen in the abstract (i. e. disregarding Meissner), a new popular and *short* account (*half* the size of Deville) of the theory of surplus value is much needed, and Deville's work is, so far as theory goes, far better than the rest. What should be dropped are 1) detailed references to the individual chapters and subsections of *Capital* and, 2) anything that is not necessary to an understanding of the theory of surplus value. This will involve rewriting the descriptive part from the beginning, and also considerable abridgement. It would allay the worst of Meissner's misgivings, especially if we changed the title to e. g. *Unpaid Labour and Its Transformation into Capital* or something of the kind.

At worst the thing could be printed by Dietz and published in Switzerland, like Bebel's *Frau*.¹³⁸

So give the matter some thought and drop me a line.

I enclose the two photographs^a for you and Motteler.

The business of the missing no. of the *Sozialdemokrat* has since been cleared up — the greatest success scored by Social Democracy to date is to have contrived to *put 53 weeks into a year*,¹³⁹ — a real miracle. Just let them carry on like that and we'll all live two per cent longer.

Kindest regards to Bernstein and yourself from

Yours,
F. E.

I had intended to enclose a one pound money order from Schorlemmer but it is now too late; must do so in my next. When does Tussy's and my subscription expire? Up till yesterday she had not received her *Sozialdemokrat* either. Might it have been forgotten? Kindly look into it.

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time

^a of Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 14 January 1884

My dear Laura,

Herewith cheque £15.- which I hope will stop the landlord's cravings. The same dearth of news of which you complain, reigns supreme here, and old Nim and I have the house much to ourselves, of which I at least do not much complain, being still rather shaky and progressing only slowly. Percy is very busy in his new concern, and has had very poor health lately, rheumatism, erysipelas of the nose, and to wind up, catarrh of the stomach. Tussy and Aveling called yesterday. 'Yesterday' reminds me of *To-Day* which I suppose you have got. A rather motley society^a of most of which lot Heine said: *Viel dunklere Wolke war die Idee, die ihr im Herzen getragen.*^b Well, it's a beginning, and they will weed each other out in time.^c

Do you receive the *Sozialdemokrat*? If not, let me know. There ought to be an exchange of publications between Zurich and Paris which you might organise, it will prevent such blunders and misunderstandings as were current some time ago. Kautsky wishes to translate Deville's *Capital*,¹³⁷ has a copy been sent to Zurich? If not please see to it (address Redaktion *Sozialdemokrat*, Volksbuchhandlung, Hottingen-Zurich, Suisse). If this translation be done, I shall require another copy to be sent to Meissner, to prevent unpleasantness hereafter. I shall let you know, as soon as it is settled.

Herewith 5 photos of Mohr and 4 of mine. Of Mohr's you can have as many as you like, large or small.

Paul's examples of victorious German 'goût' are mostly as old as the hills.¹⁴⁰ That German *gravures pour enfants (Bilderbogen)*^d are generally good, is simple enough. For more than 50 years they have been made chiefly at Düsseldorf, Munich, etc., and the designs are by young and often rising artists who do this work to earn a little money. 40 years ago however I recollect that French *gravures* of that sort came

^a See this volume, p. 74. - ^b The thought you carried in your heart was a much darker cloud. - ^c Cf. this volume, p. 82. - ^d pictures for children (picture-sheets)

to Germany, a good many by Adam the horse- and soldier-painter, and they were immensely superior to the German ones in chic and life. If that has not been continued by French artists, they must have found no market.

As to *toys*, the German superiority is 1) cheapness, domestic industry at starvation level (described lately by Dr Emanuel Sax, *Die Hausindustrie in Thüringen*, very good) and 2) in that they are invented by *peasants*; townspeople never will be fit to invent for children, least of all French townspeople who hate their own children.

For *furniture* Paul gives the reason himself: the stupid fiscal policy of the French government.

Flowers similar: division of labour and low wages: who can compete against the East End of London and Germany in cheapness? Generally speaking, bourgeois taste is getting so much out of taste that even the Germans may hope to be able to satisfy it. And if any trade has become broken down enough to make 'cheap and nasty' its market-rule, then you may be sure the Germans will step in and defeat all competition by starving their own workpeople. And as this is the rule generally now for all trades, it explains the appearance of German goods in all trades and all markets.

I sent Lavroff last Thursday's *Standard* containing a report of an interview of their correspondent with a Petersburg police chief and in which Lavroff is blamed for all—the whole thing of course got up for the benefit of the philistine, but so stupidly that the effect aimed at is visible plainly in every word.¹³⁵

Jollymeier left here last Monday,^a better a good deal, but not yet himself again. Sam Moore did not come at all, he had a bad catarrh of the stomach and is now busy at the court of chancery in Manchester and Liverpool. He is doing very well indeed in law-business, for a beginner.

Had a letter from Meyer^b this morning informing me that he will not be here till March, and asking from me nothing less than to forward to him all the material I have for the history of German Socialism up to 1852! which of course I want myself for Mohr's biography.³⁰ Of course I shall decline.

^a 7 January - ^b Rudolf Hermann Meyer

Nim sends her love to you and Paul, and to use the sacramental philistine British phrase, I 'join' her.

Very affectionately yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL ⁹⁴

IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG ⁹⁴

London, 18 January 1884

Dear Bebel,

At last I have recovered sufficiently to spend at least a few hours a day at my desk and thus fulfil my obligations in regard to letter-writing. The thing was neither serious nor painful, but damned tedious and *gênant*,^a and I shall have to take great care of myself for some little while yet.

You will have received my letter about Miss Issleib written in bed in pencil. Since I have heard nothing more, I can only suppose the matter has been dropped.¹⁴¹ — I dictated to Kautsky, who happened to be on the spot,¹²⁵ a letter to Liebknecht³⁹ which I hope he has received and shown to you as requested. From it you will have seen that I am under no illusions as to the American business,^b nor was I in any way inclined to give you the impression that I regarded the thing as absolutely essential. But I still maintain that, if it is to succeed, you two must go and no one else. Whether you can do so, I have absolutely no idea—you will know best. But this much is certain—no amount of American money will make good the damage that will infallibly be done if, after the manner of Fritzsche and Viereck, the emissaries again water down the party's viewpoint into a semblance

^a inconvenient - ^b See this volume, p. 14.

of vulgar democracy and homespun philistinism.⁴⁷ And your presence would certainly be the best guarantee that nothing of the sort would happen.

I was delighted by the good news you sent me about the movement's progress. The government could not, in fact, have hit on any better means of keeping the movement going and intensifying it than by everywhere involving our chaps in these violent local struggles with the police, particularly when the police in Germany is made up of such worthless characters that our lads can turn the enemy's own weapons against him and take the offensive. And if, on top of that,—as recently in Berlin—the police are confused by constantly changing instructions from above, so much the better.

Should there be any repetition of the attempt to bring 'the right to work' back into fashion,⁴² I would write something about it in the *Sozialdemokrat*. I have discussed this with Kautsky^a; but first I should like Geiser and Co. to commit themselves a bit, to produce something tangible for us to go on, though Kautsky maintains that they won't. These ne'r-do-well students, shop assistants, etc., are the bane of the movement. They know less than nothing and are, for that very reason, reluctant to learn anything at all; their so-called socialism is nothing but philistine hot air.

Whether you will rid yourselves of the emergency article,⁶⁷ I cannot say; there will always be the pretext that only in this way is it possible to protect the person of old William,^b a phrase before which all Philistia will grovel on their bellies.

Many thanks for your book *Die Frau*.¹³⁸ I read it with great interest and there is much in it that is very good. What you say about the development of industry in Germany is particularly good and clear. This is a matter to which I, too, have again been turning my attention of late and I would, given the time, write something about it for the *Sozialdemokrat*. Odd, how the philistines fail to realise that the 'plague of vagabonds' they so lament is, in the present state of agriculture and handicrafts in Germany, the inescapable consequence of the rise of large-scale industry, or that, because Germany is always the last to arrive on the scene, the development of this selfsame large-scale industry can only take place there under the constant pressure of poor business conditions. For the Germans are only able to com-

^a See this volume, p. 55. -^b William I

pete by paying lower wages, depressed to starvation level, and by regularly exploiting to the utmost the cottage industry that forms the background to manufacturing industry. The transformation of handicrafts into cottage industry and the gradual transformation of cottage industry, in so far as this pays, into manufacturing and machinery—such is the present trend in Germany. So far, the only large-scale industry proper we have is iron; in the textile industry—thanks to starvation wages and the fact that weavers possess potato plots—the hand-loom still prevails.

In this country, too, industry has taken on a different character. The ten-year cycle would seem to have been disrupted since 1870, when American and German competition began to destroy England's monopoly of the world market. Since 1868 business has been slack in the main branches, while production has been gradually increasing; and now, here and in America, we appear to be on the eve of another crisis which has not, in England, been preceded by a period of prosperity. That is the secret behind the sudden emergence of the socialist movement over here—sudden, although it has been slowly maturing for the past 3 years. Organised labour—TRADE UNIONS—has, as yet, no sort of connection with it; the movement proceeds under 'educated' elements of bourgeois origin, some of whom seek to make contact with the masses and occasionally succeed in so doing. Morally and intellectually, these elements vary considerably and it will be some time before they sort themselves out and the position becomes clear. But the thing is hardly likely to fizzle out again altogether. Henry George and his nationalisation of land¹⁴³ may well play a meteoric role because this issue is of traditional significance over here—of real significance, too, owing to the vast dimensions of the big estates. But in the long run this by itself must cease to have any pull in what is the world's leading industrial country. Besides, George is a bourgeois born and bred, and *his* plan of meeting all state expenditure out of rent is merely a second edition of the *Ricardian* school's plan, i. e. purely bourgeois.

If you wish to study a model of state socialism, then take a look at *Java*. There the Dutch government has, on the basis of the old, communistic village communities, organised production as a whole along such nicely socialist lines, and so neatly assumed control of the sale of all produce that, apart from some 100 million marks for army and civil service pay, there remains each year a clear profit of some 70 mil-

lion marks for payment of interest to the luckless creditors of the Dutch state.^a Bismarck is a mere child by comparison!

One way or another, we shall have a Russian constitution in the course of this year, and then the fun will begin.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG³⁴

London, 23 January 1884

Dear Bebel,

I forgot to say in Saturday's letter^b that you and Liebknecht should on no account order copies of the third edition of *Capital*^c since we shall be sending one for each of you as soon as we get any. A third will go to the party archives in Zurich.¹⁴⁴

Tussy will have written to you regarding a translation of *Die Frau*.¹⁴⁵ It's unlikely that you'll get any royalties from it, though there's no harm in trying — at most 3 PENCE = 0.25 mark per copy sold; that is the usual form here. The actual book could, I believe, only fetch, say, 2 à 2.50 marks here, of which 30% at least would go to the retail booksellers. Moreover, the kind of publishers who deal in such books are very few and far between and also *pauvres*.^d We ourselves shall have to invest something like £200 in cash in the English edition of *Capital*,⁵⁶ and may also have to advance the translator's fee,

^a See this volume, pp. 102-03. -^b See previous letter. -^c the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* -^d poor

and then work on a fifty-fifty basis; it probably couldn't be done in any other way.

Kindest regards to Liebknecht and yourself from

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO CHARLES FITZGERALD ¹⁴⁶

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, between 26 and 28 January 1884]

Enclosed I beg to hand you post office order 10[sh.] 10 for my year's subscription to *Justice*.

I am so overcharged with work, not only for the immediate future, but for a considerable period of time to come, that it would be folly on my part to promise contributions to your paper. I have been disabled from active work for the last six months and am only now slowly regaining the strength necessary to accomplish my most urgent task—to prepare for the press the manuscripts left by my late friend Marx. So that I am bound to devote all my time. I did promise an article to *To-Day* but that was in better days and I am afraid they too will have to wait.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ⁹⁴

IN ZURICH

London, 28 January 1884

Dear Bernstein,

You will have got my letter of the 1st, as will Kautsky that of the 9th.^a I am in some doubt about the latter, being unsure of the number of the house (38?); I also sent him the photographs he wanted.^b

My inquiry today concerns the following:

Various things among Marx's papers will be suitable for the party archives ¹⁴⁴; just now I am in process of sorting his books, etc., and am glad to be again in a condition to do so. Besides these, however, there is a good deal of superfluous stuff which would be very useful to an editorial library for the party organ ^c and is superfluous here, as we have *in duplo*.^d Firstly dictionaries: 1) the big French-German Mozin-Peschier, 5 volumes quarto, binding very dilapidated, 2) the old Italian Jagemann, also very good, 3) Spanish, Dutch, Danish, perhaps even more. I can't yet be sure whether Tussy might not want to keep one thing or another; if not shall I send them to Zurich with the remainder? Besides these, one thing or another will continue to turn up and could be offered to you, once I know that you are interested.

Further, as regards *Justice*. This paper has suddenly been launched upon the world by Hyndman with insufficient financial and absolutely *no* literary preparation. *To-Day* might survive and within 6 to 12 months pave the way for a weekly. But as it is the two of them are bound to sap each other's strength. Hyndman, however, cannot wait and will probably burn his fingers yet again. They have asked me to contribute, but I refused on the grounds of lack of time. One can send stuff to *To-Day* without hesitation; but this won't do in the case of a weekly purporting to be a party organ until one knows the whys

^a See this volume, pp. 73-75 and 75-77. -^b of Engels -^c i. e. *Der Sozialdemokrat* -^d duplicate copies

and wherefores. It is apparent from the complete dearth of ideas in the first two numbers that the chaps are at their wits' end and are looking to new contributors for further material. In short it has misfired and only an unexpectedly favourable turn of events can put it on its feet.

In case Mr von der Mark or anyone else should again speak of our 'concessions' to the anarchists,¹³⁰ the following passages prove that we had proclaimed the cessation [Aufhören] of the state before the anarchists even existed: *Misere de la philosophie*, page 177:

'La classe laborieuse substituera, dans son développement, à l'ancienne société civile une association qui excluera les classes et leur antagonisme, et il n'y aura plus de pouvoir politique proprement dit, puisque le pouvoir politique est précisément le résumé officiel de l'antagonisme dans la société civile.'^a

Manifesto, end of Section II:

'When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared ... the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another.'^b

The last issue of the *Sozialdemokrat*^c was again very good. Cheerful and plenty of meat in it. Admittedly this last does not always depend upon the editors. Your rendering of Lafargue is truly delightful; the German substitutions cheered me up enormously.¹²²

Regards to Kautsky.

Yours,
F. E.

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^a 'The working class, in the course of its development, will substitute for the old civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will be no more political power properly so-called, since political power is precisely the official expression of antagonism in civil society' (K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, present edition, Vol. 6, p. 212).-^b See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 505.-^c No. 4, 24 January 1884.

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ENGELS TO LUDWIK KRZYWICKI
IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG ³⁴

[Draft]

London, 28 January 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

In reply to your kind note of the 23rd inst.,¹⁴⁷ we shall be only too happy to welcome the appearance of a Polish translation of Karl Marx's *Capital* and are perfectly willing to assist, in so far as this lies in our power, in the removal of any obstacles that stand in the way of its publication.

Accordingly, in our capacity as the author's literary executors, we ^a hereby give you our express permission to publish this translation ^b and we wish you every success.

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51

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV ¹
IN PARIS

London, 28 January 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Lavrov,

Some three weeks ago I sent you a *Standard* containing an article I thought might be of interest to you ^c; I hope it reached you safely.

^a Frederick Engels and Eleanor Marx - ^b In the original the following words are deleted: 'in so far as we are empowered to give such permission'. - ^c See this volume, p. 79.

I am at present engaged — as my health at long last permits — in sorting out the books, etc., left by Marx. Amongst other things they comprise, thanks to the kindness of Danielson, an entire library of Russian books, with some very important material on present social conditions in Russia; it contains almost everything that has been brought out on the subject. At my age, and overburdened as I am with work, it would be impossible for me to resume *a novo*^a the thorough-going survey of Russia so unfortunately interrupted by the death of our friend.⁵⁷ So it seemed to me, and Tussy is of the same opinion, that it was our duty to place these books at your disposal. In your capacity as the acknowledged representative of the revolutionary Russian emigration and as an old friend of the deceased, you have clearly more right than anyone else to the collection of books so devotedly provided by friends, both yours and ours, in Russia — either for your personal use or to form the nucleus of a library for the revolutionary Russian emigration. If you accept, I could send them either to your own address or to any other you might indicate this February. The only books I should keep here would be those from which Marx had made extracts, along with one or two others which I might need for the second volume of *Capital*⁴; the remainder when all deductions have been made, would amount to a hundred or so volumes at the outside.¹⁴⁸

As for the second volume, I am at last beginning to see daylight. For the most important parts — i. e. the beginning and the end of the second book, *Circulation of Capital*, — we have a version dating from 1875 and later. To this nothing needs to be added save quotations in accordance with the indications supplied. For the middle section there are no fewer than four versions dating from before 1870, and therein lies the only difficulty.¹⁷ The third volume, *Capitalist Production as a Whole*, exists in two versions dating from before 1869; subsequent to that there is nothing but a few notes and a notebook full of equations, the purpose of which is to arrive at the many reasons why the *Mehrwertsrate* becomes the *Profütrate*.^{b149} But the extracts from books both on Russia and on the United States⁸⁰ contain a vast amount of material and copious notes on land rent, while others relate to money capital, to credit and to paper money as an instrument of credit, etc. As yet I do not know what use I shall be able to make of this for the third book; it might perhaps be better to combine them in a separate

^a anew - ^b the rate of surplus value becomes the rate of profit

publication, and I shall certainly do so if the difficulty of incorporating them into *Capital* proves too great. My chief concern is that the book should come out as soon as possible, and also and above all that the book I publish should be unmistakably a work by *Marx*.

Any day now we should receive copies of the 3rd edition of Volume I, ^a and one will be sent off to you as soon as they arrive.

The Russian publications from Geneva — the *Manifesto*, etc.⁷⁸ — gave me much pleasure.

I have just had a letter from two Poles, Krzywicki and Sosnowski, requesting our ^b consent to a Polish translation of *Capital* which, of course, we gave.^c Sosnowski is in Paris; do you, by any chance, know these citizens?¹⁵⁰

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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52

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 4 February 1884

Dear Kautsky,

A quick line before the post goes.

Please write and tell me by return *what* sort of version you propose to do of Deville ¹³⁷ — word for word, including all the titles, or abridged, as I suggested?^d As soon as I know this, I can put the matter to Meissner; I must have something definite to tell him. A copy has been ordered for Meissner in Paris; by the time it arrives, your answer may have got here as well.

^a of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - ^b Engels' and Eleanor Marx's - ^c See previous letter. - ^d See this volume, pp. 76-77.

I shall be glad to look over the *theoretical* part, although I can hardly suppose it is necessary. There's no point in my looking over the descriptive part, as you won't have any difficulty in avoiding Deville's mistakes. Of these the chief is his presenting as absolute, Marxian propositions which, in Marx, hold good only with qualifications (omitted by Deville) and which therefore appear false.

All other matters in a day or two.

Yours,
F. E.

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53

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ⁶¹

IN ZURICH

London, 5 February 1884

Dear Bernstein,

You can set your mind at rest about one thing: I could wish for no better translator than you yourself.¹¹⁸ In attempting, in the first sheet, to give an accurate and precise rendering of the sense, you have paid rather too little attention to the syntax, *voilà tout*.^a Moreover I wanted to incorporate Marx's idiosyncratic syntax which is unfamiliar to you; hence the many emendations.

If, having once put the sense into German, you go through the ms. again with an eye to readable syntax, at the same time bearing in mind that you should wherever possible avoid the wearisome syntax of the schoolroom which always puts the verb of the subordinate clause right at the end — and which was drummed into all of us —, you will have little difficulty and be perfectly capable of putting everything right yourself.

^a that's all

You would do best to send me the ms. *by sections*, each of them \pm ^a a whole, 1, 1½ or 2 printed sheets at a time. In which case I shall also supply the notes for it straight away. I should also like to see the proofs; many things look quite different in print.

Please send me the article on Proudhon in the old *Social-Demokrat*.¹⁵¹ I had overlooked it; the *whole thing* might have to go into the preface. You will get it back, of course.

As regards von der Mark and the *Volkszeitung*, I am entirely of your opinion.¹³⁰ When Marx died, Schewitsch *falsified* my telegram to Sorge and printed it as though it had been sent to the *Volkszeitung*. I protested.^b He glossed over the falsification with the lie that the first word had been illegible—though he copied it *correctly!* while the other he had ‘considered necessary in the interests of the paper!’ Moreover he thought it ‘petty’ of me to have drawn his attention to it. Petty it certainly was not, *magnanimous* rather, considering the way those gentlemen took advantage of Marx’s death to draw attention to themselves and proclaim their semi-alliance with Most. However, Schewitsch is the last Russian socialist aristocrat; such men must always ‘go further than anyone else’ and are accustomed to use the world at large as a means to serve their own ends. The article on tolerance was downright silly.¹⁵² Russians have set about one another *con amore*,^c as have the Irish.

I don’t know whether you get the *Travailleur*, etc.; I receive a few copies from time to time and shall send them to you. Also two *Sozialdemokrats* with scorings by Marx which might interest you.

I shall keep Schorlemmer’s pound here then; will you debit me with this, in return credit Schorlemmer with his annual subscription, and pay the balance (inserting an announcement to this effect in the *Sozialdemokrat*) into the election fund.^d Similarly, will you debit me with Tussy’s and my subscriptions, supposing that she doesn’t decide to send you *To-Day* in exchange. Finally, will you alter Tussy’s address and send items to

Miss Marx,

32 Great Coram St., London, W. C.

As to what is to be done with the money for Marx’s memorial, I have absolutely no idea.^e How much is there altogether? If you wish,

^a more or less - ^b F. Engels, ‘To the Editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*’ (18 April 1883); see also this volume, pp. 13-14. - ^c Here: with a will. - ^d ‘Allgemeiner Wahlfonds’, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 9, 28 February 1884. - ^e See this volume, p. 17.

I shall write an article for your issue of 14 March. Let me know roughly what it should be about so that it fits into your scheme.¹⁵³

Meissner, then, will doubtless still have copies of the *18th Brumaire*^a; his failure to push it is doubtless attributable to timidity. Marx sold him the *entire* edition, so there is nothing we can do.^b

Tussy has taken the best of the dictionaries—French and Italian—but there are still plenty left and I have made certain that you get one particularly nice item—the editorial copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The parcel will go off in the course of this month.

I don't know of any poems—*König Dampf*, perhaps, from my *Condition of the Working-Class*^c? A search is being made here for the English original, but it seems to have fallen into oblivion, like the Serbian of Goethe's lament of Hassan Aga's noble wife, only still more so, since the latter does after all still exist in black and white.

What wouldn't Bismarck give to have the 'Viennese in Berlin', namely the anarchists! A perfect caricature of the Russians—though obviously *bred by the police!*¹⁵⁴

Yours,
F. E.

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54

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV.¹

IN PARIS

London, 5 February 1884

My dear Lavrov,

So I shall send you the books; that is agreed.^d

The 2nd volume^e—ah! If you only knew, my old friend, how it

^a K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.—^b See Marx's letter to Engels of 29 January 1869 (present edition, Vol. 43, p. 211).—^c E. P. Mead, 'The Steam-King'; see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 474-77.—^d See this volume, p. 88.—^e of Marx's *Capital*

weighs on me! But then six months have gone to waste, thanks to my infernal illness. And, even so, I shan't be able to set about things seriously before the middle of March. It will take me up till then to get all the books, papers, periodicals, etc., in order, and I can't work on them for more than a few hours a day without becoming overtired. It weighs on me all the more heavily for the knowledge that *there is not another living soul* who can decipher that writing and those abbreviations of words and style. As to publication by instalments,¹⁵⁵ that will depend to some extent upon the editor and upon legislation in Germany; hitherto I have not thought such a method particularly useful for a book of this kind. I shall try and do what Лопатинъ^a wants in regard to the proofs. But then Вѣра Засуличъ^b wrote to me a couple of months ago asking whether I would allow her to do the translation. I told her that I regarded Лопатинъ as having first refusal and that it was still too soon to talk about the matter.^c What could be discussed at once, however, would be the possibility of publishing the translation *in Russia*. Do you think that might be done? The 2nd book is purely scientific, dealing solely with questions *as from bourgeois to bourgeois*, but the 3rd will contain passages which make me doubt the very possibility of their being published in Germany under the Anti-Socialist Law.³⁷

The same difficulty applies to the publication of Marx's complete works, and that is only one of the many difficulties to be overcome. I have some 60 sheets (each of 16 printed pages) of old manuscripts by Marx and myself dating from between 1845 and 1848. Of this material only extracts could be published, but I shan't be able to get down to it until I have finished with the manuscript of the 2nd volume of *Capital*. So all we can do is wait.

The article you speak of,¹⁵⁶ and which we no longer have here, will amount to between 3 and 5 printed sheets; it is a detailed summary of the political development of France from 24 February 1848 up till 1851. It is summed up in the *18th Brumaire*^d but all the same it is worth translating. I myself am on the lookout for a complete set of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung Revue*,^e only $\frac{2}{5}$ ths of which are in my possession.

^a (Russ.) Lopatin - ^b (Russ.) Vera Zaslulich - ^c See this volume, p. 65. - ^d K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - ^e *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

Deville sent me his manuscript⁸¹ for revision. Being indisposed, I confined myself to the theoretical part where I found little that needed correcting. However the descriptive part has been done in too great haste. To begin with, it is at times unintelligible to anyone who has not read the original and, what is more, he frequently presents Marx's conclusions while passing over the conditions under which those conclusions alone hold good; at times that gives a somewhat false impression. I have drawn his attention to this, but they were much too eager to publish the book.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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55

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 5 February 1884

My dear Laura,

I knew he^a would turn up again. Received the *Travailleur*. Much amused that Paul and Guesde had 'manqué train'.^b 157 Hope soon to receive good news about the children,^c Tussy is rather anxious about them; and hope you got over your cold. Nim has caught one just as bad as yours can be, I wanted her last night to take a hot whisky night-cap, but she declined, so you may think. Pumps is below, she called yesterday with Elsa, who looks as *plain* as ever (and quite as *angular* at the same time), they met Tussy and Aveling here, who called on business; Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant are furious at the new

^a Paul Lafargue - ^b 'missed the train' - ^c Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet

Socialist 'rage' in London which threatens to cut short their vittles, and so have opened an attack or two on Tussy and Aveling. Bradlaugh throws about the most mysterious innuendos about Mohr's having preached assassination and arson and having been in secret league with Continental governments,—but nothing tangible.¹⁵⁸ I want to get him to come out a bit more, before I unmask *my* batteries.

Nim and I are now busy among the books at Maitland Park.¹⁵⁹ There are a good many that would be uselessly heaped up in my place or at Tussy's, indeed there will be no room here for more than half. Now there is a lot of good French books and valuable, which we thought might be more useful in your and Paul's hands than anywhere else, for instance:

Mably, *Oeuvres complètes*.

Adam Smith in French (capital edition bound).^a

Malthus—ditto.^b

Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*.

All the books about the French Revolution (Loustalot,^c *deux amis de la liberté*,¹⁶⁰ etc., etc.).

Now if you will have them we will send them to you free of charge. I cannot make out a complete list. Also if Paul wants any more American official publications, there are lots—I shall require but a few. There are some other books of yours here (*Old England Dramatists* etc.) which can be sent same time.

Please let me know soon, as time becomes pressing and we are in an awful *embarras de richesses*.^d The Russian books we have promised to Lavroff, he is I think positively entitled to them, being Danielson's next friend outside Russia. Another lot of duplicates, etc., we intend sending to Zurich—part for the *Partei-Archiv*,¹⁴⁴ part for a *bibliothèque de rédaction*. The Blue Books¹⁶¹ mostly to Sam Moore for use with the translation.^e And a few 'popular' things to the *Arbeiterverein* here.¹⁶²

Now if you or Paul should wish for any particular books besides, please say so, and we will forward everything not absolutely required here.

^a A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*.

^b T. R. Malthus, *Essai sur le principe de population*...^c Élisée Loustalot published a weekly *Révolutions de Paris*.^d difficulty over the sheer amount—^e of the first volume of *Capital* into English (see Note 56)

Yesterday I received a letter from a certain Nonne,^a *Kandidat der Philologie*, was here some time ago, now in Paris, resides 56 Boulevard de Port-Royal. He is a leading man amongst the German workmen in Paris who you recollect had a few years ago been coaxed round by Malon's soft sawder, and were further pushed in that direction by some stupid blunders of the *Citoyen*. They are now furious anti-Broussists since the 'international Conference'¹¹⁵; but still thick with Adhémar Leclère and his *Cercle international*.¹⁶³ I have asked Paul several times to get into connection with the Paris Germans. They are not worth much, but they *influence the German party as to Parisian affairs*. Since the Socialist Law,³⁷ these societies abroad have naturally recovered an influence much above their merits, as they are the only bodies remaining in possession of a public organisation. It will be difficult for the *Sozialdemokrat* to go direct against them in its judgment of Parisian internal quarrels. So they are worth coaxing a bit, which will not be difficult, and as the man is your neighbour, I thought best to send him my card '*pour introduire M. Nonné auprès de M. et M-me Lafargue*'.^b Whether anything will come of it I don't know, anyhow I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken.

Sorry I could not see much of *citoyen* Robelet — he came, was seen and vanished again.

Will Paul favour us with a few words about his mysterious adventures in *la Province*?¹⁵⁷

What has become of the *citoyenne* Paule Mink¹⁶⁴? The last reports were '*qu'elle se multipliait dans le midi*'^c and, what after this is not so much to be wondered at, '*qu'elle développait son sujet*'.^d The outcome??

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

Would you please forward as soon as ever possible another copy of Deville's *Capital*? Kautsky is to translate it, but Meissner's permission is necessary and I cannot expect to get it unless I send him the original.^e

^a For Engels' reply see next letter. - ^b 'to introduce Mr Nonne to Mr and Mrs Lafargue' - ^c 'that she was being torn to pieces in the south' - ^d 'that she was elaborating her subject' - ^e See this volume, p. 76.

How about the new edition of the *Misère de la philosophie*? People keep bothering me about it. Has anything been done?¹⁶⁵

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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56

ENGELS TO HEINRICH NONNE¹⁶⁶

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, between 9 and 21 February 1884]

I cannot say anything definite about the plan outlined by you, so long as I do not know what persons are involved and what your intentions are. All I can say is that I could, in certain circumstances and provided they were worth the trouble, enter into a *cartel*, but never form an *alliance*, with people who have not completely and unreservedly adopted the revolutionary communist standpoint. Besides my time is completely taken up with work that it is absolutely imperative I should do, and my international correspondence is, in any case, already extensive enough. Clemenceau would certainly have to be induced to go considerably further before we could ally ourselves with him; whether, as the immediate ministerial candidate of the extreme Left, he would wish to be on more than ordinarily 'good terms' with us would seem to be debatable. One can remain thus on good terms with socialists of the most diverse shades of opinion until a difference of principle or tactics crops up, whereupon sympathy turns into antipathy. Accordingly, it is now for you to decide whether I am a man who would suit your book.

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57

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER ⁵⁵

IN GENEVA

London, 14 February 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Old Man,

There is no reason for you to worry about my health; the thing was a long drawn-out but not at all dangerous, and is steadily abating.

I have sent Laura a copy of the note with the New Year's greetings.

I have also taken out a money order for five pounds to enable you, old chap, to cosset yourself and your wife a bit. I hope that the comparatively mild winter and the better time of year now approaching will put you both on your feet again.

I have found a few things that emanated from you but cannot yet say whether there are any more. There's a whole big hamper full of letters, etc., to be looked through. As soon as I've sorted it out, I shall send you everything that turns up.¹²⁶

Now, as regards your plan,¹⁶⁷ it is the circumstances presently prevailing in Germany that are the first consideration. From time to time I get information on the subject direct from Germany and, according to this, the despotism of the police is unrestrained and the government is determined to put a stop to *any* public agitation by our party, no matter what the pretext for that agitation or under what name it is conducted. The fact that Social Democrats are at the back of it is enough for any meeting to be dispersed, any attempt to have a say in the press smothered and any participant expelled from a locality subject to the state of emergency.⁶⁷ The experience of the past six years cannot leave us in any doubt as to that.

Now I am of the view that the appropriateness, timing and object of a renewed attempt at mass agitation are things we who live abroad are utterly incapable of deciding, and that this must be left entirely to those in Germany who have to endure the pressure there and who know best what is possible and what is impossible. So if you approach

Bebel or Liebknecht, and they deliberate the matter there, it would, in my view, be for them to decide the pros and cons, and for us to abide by their decision.

Come to that, things aren't going too badly in Germany where agitation is concerned, although the bourgeois papers suppress most of it and only sometimes and despite themselves emit an anxious moan about the rapidity with which the party is gaining ground instead of losing it. The police have opened up for our men a quite splendid field—the omnipresent and unremitting struggle with the police themselves. It is being conducted everywhere and continuously with great success and, better still, with great humour. The police are defeated and—ridiculed into the bargain. And, in the circumstances, I consider this struggle to be more useful than any other. Above all, it keeps contempt for the enemy alive in our lads' minds. No worse troops could be sent into action than those of the German police; even when they have the upper hand they suffer moral defeat, and our lads' confidence in victory grows from day to day. The effect of this struggle will be such that, as soon as the pressure at last lets up (and that will happen on the day things get cracking in Russia) we shall not be numbered in our hundreds of thousands but in our millions. Among the so-called leaders there may be plenty of rotten stuff, but in our masses I have unmitigated faith, and what they lack in revolutionary tradition, they will increasingly be taught by their guerilla war with the police. And, say what you will, we have never yet seen a proletariat learn in so short a time to act collectively and march shoulder to shoulder. Hence, although nothing may appear on the surface, we can, I think, confidently look to the day when the alarm is sounded. Then just watch them stand to!

Fraternal greetings from your old friend

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 14 February 1884

My dear Lavrov,

I have noted what you say about the Russian translation of the 2nd volume of *Capital*. I shall revert to this at the appropriate moment.¹⁶⁸

As to the German edition, you will be aware that over there we are under threat from absolute despotism and that *anything* is liable to be suppressed. Marx never allowed himself to be inhibited by the legislation of the day; he always spoke his mind and it would be truly miraculous if the 2nd volume did not contain enough confiscable and suppressible material to fall foul of the law of 1878.⁹⁷ But that is a risk we must run and, as for myself, I certainly have no intention of watering anything down.

When Германъ Лопатинъ^a was here^b he told me that Nikolai Danielson wanted me to return him a book entitled *Труды Комиссии для изслѣдованія хлѣбной промышленности въ Россіи*.^c I have now found several books on the marketing and production of grain: the title most closely resembling the one he quotes is *Труды экспедиціи, снаряженной императорскими Вольнымъ экономическимъ и Русскимъ географическимъ обществами, для изслѣдованія хлѣбной торговли и производительности въ Россіи*,^d Volume 2, 1870.

Might that be the book he is referring to? If so I shall return it to 27 Мойка,^e St Petersburg as soon as I have your confirmation.

I hope to send off your books^f next week; I have kept some of them.

^a (Russ.) Hermann Lopatin - ^b See this volume, p. 59. - ^c *Proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry into Bakeries in Russia*. - ^d (Russ.) *Trudy...* (Papers of an Expedition Sponsored by the Imperial Free Economic and Russian Geographical Societies for Studying Grain Cultivation and the Grain Trade in Russia). - ^e (Russ.) Moika St. - ^f See this volume, p. 88.

If I find I don't need them for the 2nd volume, I shall despatch them to you later.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY⁸⁸

IN ZURICH

London, 16 February 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I happen to have an hour or two to spare today, hence my prompt reply.

Not only Deville's *historical* section, but also his descriptive one (working day, cooperation, manufacturing, large-scale industry, etc.) will require revision, of which you may assure yourself by going through a couple of chapters. All I shall do for the present, so far as Meissner is concerned, is to send him the French text and inform him that revision is under way¹³⁷ and that I shall let him have further details in due course.

The *Poverty* is also coming out in a new French edition in Paris. I am writing a preface to it¹⁶⁹; in the one to the German edition, I shall dispose of the myth of Rodbertus.^a This stemmed from Rudolf Meyer¹⁷⁰ and has been so widely hawked around in Germany, this country and even America, that the thing has got to be scotched once and for all. I shall show, 1) that in 1850 we had had no opportunity of learning anything whatsoever from Mr Rodbertus, 2) that he was

^a, F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

quite unknown to us, 3) that his great discoveries had already been commonplaces in 1848, 4) that the remedies he specifies for use in socialist therapy had already been criticised in the *Poverty*, prior to Rodbertus' discovery of them.

So as you see, there's plenty left for you to do; but the above matters can only be attended to, because experienced, *by me*, while I am also the only person to possess the necessary material from the years 1840-50.

Rodbertus' theory of rent is nonsense; the first 1861-63 manuscript of *Capital* contains a detailed and somewhat ironical critique of it by Marx, in a very long section, *Theories of Surplus Value*, which I shall probably publish at the end of the 2nd volume or as a 3rd volume.¹⁷¹

What I require for my preface, however, is Rodbertus' *Offener Brief an das Comité des Deutschen Arbeitervereins*, Leipzig, 1863. Could you or Ede get hold of the thing and let me have it for a few days? As soon as I have made extracts, you shall have it back.

I have not yet received the Proudhon article from the old *Social-Demokrat*¹⁵¹ promised me by Ede—might arrive this evening. I shall probably translate it for the French edition.

If Ede were suddenly to turn up here it would please me no end; I could join him in a drink, being now once again able to indulge in a very modest way.

Let us now return to your last letter but one.¹⁷² Dietz asked for the *Condition of the Working-Class* long ago, and I virtually promised he should have it as soon as I had found out how I stood with *Wigand*, its former publisher. For the past 15 years Liebknecht has been promising to ascertain this through Freytag (i. e. what my legal position is vis-à-vis *Wigand*), and still I'm in the dark.^a At all events, Dietz has first refusal, and ultimately I shall myself take steps to find out what I am entitled to do.

It would be a good thing if someone were to take the trouble to throw light on the proliferation of state socialism, drawing for the purpose on an exceedingly flourishing example of the practice in *Java*. All the material is to be found in *Java, How to Manage a Colony*, by J. W. B. Money, BARRISTER AT LAW, London, 1861, 2 vols. Here one sees how the Dutch have, on the basis of the communities' age-old communism, organised production for the benefit of the state and ensured that the people enjoy what is, in their own estimation, a quite com-

^a See this volume, pp. 19-20.

fortable existence; the consequence is that the people are kept in a state of primitive stupidity and the Dutch exchequer rakes in 70 million marks a year (now probably more). It's a most interesting case, and conclusions as to its practical application are easy to draw. It also shows how there, as in India and Russia today, primitive communism (provided no modern communist element comes to stir it up) supplies the best and also the broadest basis for exploitation and despotism, and survives in the midst of modern society as an anachronism (to be eliminated or, one might almost say, turned back on its course) no less glaring than the Mark communities of the original cantons.¹⁷³

There is a *definitive* book — as definitive as Darwin's was in the case of biology — on the primitive state of society; once again, of course, Marx was the one to discover it. It is Morgan's *Ancient Society*, 1877. Marx mentioned it, but my head was full of other things at the time and he never referred to it again which was, no doubt, agreeable to him, wishing as he did to introduce the book to the Germans *himself*¹⁷⁴; I can see this from his very exhaustive extracts. Within the limits set by his subject, Morgan rediscovers for himself Marx's materialist view of history, and concludes with what are, for modern society, downright communist postulates. The Roman and Greek gens is, for the first time, fully elucidated in the light of that of savages, in particular the American Indians, thus providing a firm basis for the history of primitive times. If I had the time to spare, I would work up the material, together with Marx's notes, for the feuilleton of the *Sozialdemokrat* or for the *Neue Zeit*, but it's out of the question. All the impostures — endogamy, exogamy and whatever else the balderdash is called — of Tylor, Lubbock and Co. have been demolished once and for all.¹⁷⁵ These gentry are doing all they can to suppress the book in this country; it is printed in America and I ordered it 5 weeks since but cannot get hold of it, although the name of a London firm figures as co-publisher on the title-page!

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

60

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 16 February 1884

My dear Laura,

To-morrow is Sunday and on Monday we shall have to rummage in Maitland Park again,¹⁵⁹ so if I don't write to-day to you there is no telling how long it may be delayed. We have got the old 'Speicher'^a at last cleared out, found a whole lot of things that have to be kept, but about half a ton of old newspapers that it is impossible to sort. I think next week we can begin to clear out and the week after sell up the remainder for what it will fetch. I was afraid at one time I should have to give it up again, but fortunately I am getting better every day, I can walk again for half an hour as fast as ever and with Nim's help get through two bottles of Pilsener and a fair allowance of claret every 24 hours.

Amongst the manuscripts there is the first version of the *Kapital* (1861-63) and there I find several hundred pages: *Theorien über den Mehrwert*¹⁷¹ partly worked up into the text of the later versions,¹⁷⁶ but there will be quite enough left to swell the 2nd volume into a 2nd and a 3rd.

Bernstein is sending me an article of Mohr's on *Proudhon*, published in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat* of 1865. Very likely the whole of it will have to be translated for the French edition of the *Misère*.¹⁶⁵

By the bye Bernstein will be in Lyons to-morrow and may come to Paris while once on the road, and even extend his trip to London. If he does come to Paris, pray engage him to come here too, I want to see him about a good many things; he knows he finds a bed here ready to receive him and if he is a little short of cash, that should not stop him, we can arrange about that.¹⁷⁷

Paul tells me I can take my time about the preface to the *Misère*¹⁶⁹ but I don't believe in that sort of thing, I have too much experience of publishers. I want to know by what time Oriol will require it, though I won't undertake that I shall deliver it to the day or even the week; but I ought to have *some* idea. The house in Maitland Park has to be

^a 'storehouse'

delivered up on the 25th March, and I have plenty of other things to do besides; I must be able to arrange my plans beforehand to some extent at least.

What Paul thinks is an article of Mohr's on Proudhon's *la propriété c'est le vol*,^a is in the *Heilige Familie* which I have got.^b

I cannot much share Paul's enthusiasm about the London *Justice*, I find the paper awfully dull. But what can you expect of a set of people who take in hand the task of instructing the world about matters of which they themselves are ignorant? There is not a single burning question which they know how to tackle; Hyndman combines internationalist phraseology and jingo aspirations, Joynes is a muddled ignoramus (I saw him a fortnight ago), Morris is all very well as far as he goes, but it is not far, poor Bax gets himself fast in German philosophy of a rather antiquated character—all that might do for a monthly where they have time to get themselves into harness, but for a weekly, with all sorts of *questions d'actualité* to be tackled, it is blamable.

Anyhow the new 'respectable' Socialist stir here does go on very nicely, the thing is becoming fashionable, but the working classes do not respond yet. Upon that everything depends. And this is why it was so stupid to hurry on the bringing out of *Justice*. Articles like these will never stir up the masses. Six months' intercourse with working people would have prepared a public and taught the writers how to write for it. But what's the use of grumbling? *Les petits grands hommes veulent absolument faire leur petit bonhomme de chemin!*^c

I hope the children^d are better. Nim is rather anxious about them. Do please let us know how they are going on.

Best love from Nim and from

Your affectionate

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

^a property is theft - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*, Ch. IV (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 23-54). - ^c Petty great people always want to follow their own path! - ^d Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet

61

ENGELS TO JOHN DARBYSHIRE ¹⁷⁸

IN MANCHESTER

[Draft]

[London, not earlier than 17 February 1884]

Cannot do anything myself in that line, shall I hand their principles to the Democratic Federation,⁹⁹ to *Justice* or *To-Day*?

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 36, Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

62

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 21 February 1884

My dear Laura,

Your news about the children's^a health is more or less reassuring—except poor Wolf^b who, however, seems the strongest of the lot and, we hope, will have got over the worst when you next give us some news.

As to what is to be done in case anything happens to Longuet, well, that will have to be considered if that event should occur; I do not see what much should be gained if we 'speculated' on that now—I mean speculating in the philosophical sense—at any rate I do not see either what we can do under present circumstances with such a paternal father as Longuet, but if you do, I shall be most happy to hear from you on the subject.

We have arranged with Gittens about packing and forwarding the books, etc., for you and Lavroff^c and as they have not come for them for two days, Nim has gone to stir them up.

^a Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet - ^b Edgar Longuet - ^c See this volume, p. 95.

Herewith the preface to the *Misère* by — Mohr himself!¹⁵¹ Bernstein has re-discovered this old article which I have at once translated. Please, you and Paul, to turn my translation into proper French and return it along with the original which belongs to the *Partei-Archiv*¹⁴⁴ at Zurich. There will only a few more words be required. But what will the French public say to the rather unceremonious manner in which Mohr speaks of them? And will it be wise to have this true and impartial judgment at the risk that the Brousses say: *voilà le Prussien*^a? Anyhow, I should be very loth to soften the article down to suit *le goût parisien*^b but it is worth considering. There is no denying that the *bas empire*^c has been there for 18 years.

Paul's *bon dieu*^d is charming, so is the introduction to his *conférence*.¹⁷⁹ The *exposé* too is quite taking for his public and I am not astonished at his success. But he might now and then give them a *new* illustration from the *Kapital* besides the old quotation of Liebig about the size of recruits^e; and not treat 1) *la concurrence* and 2) *l'offre et la demande*,^f which is but *la concurrence* over again. If I am strict with him, it's because I see it does him good and he improves considerably by hammering a bit now and then; his last performances certainly show great progress, and if he would only be a little more attentive to certain theoretical points (mostly of detail) he would be a great light in Paris, *ville-lumière*^g as it is.

Now I must conclude. Nim has come back and we must make up book-packets for Russia and America, in time for registering. She says Gittens cannot come before Tuesday or Wednesday^h— so she sends you a kiss, I the same, and *une bonne poignée de main*ⁱ to Paul

From your affectionate

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

^a here you have a Prussian - ^b the Parisian taste - ^c Lower Empire (designation of the late Roman, or Byzantine Empire, and also of any empire on the decline); here, the Second Empire in France. - ^d God - ^e K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Ch. X, Sect. 2 (see present edition, Vol. 35). - ^f 1) competition and 2) supply and demand - ^g illuminating city - ^h 26 or 27 February - ⁱ a firm handshake

63

ENGELS TO HEINRICH NONNE

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, about 26 February 1884]

What I wrote and told you about Malon³⁹ are the simple facts of which I have been given proof and which are in no way altered by Paris gossip. Malon did indeed quit the Peace Congress¹⁸⁰ in company with Bakunin and 15 others, and he was a co-founder of the secret Alliance.²⁰ The document of March 1870 has actually been in my possession¹⁸¹; what the lies are that Malon has recently been concocting about the International are of no interest to me; I am unlikely so much as to look at them. In my view the fact that he is self-taught does not give him the right to falsify history. If *he* is fit to play a leading role among the French, I am sorry for the French proletariat.

As regards your propagation of international relations,^a

1) the aims are so vague that I really cannot give up any time on the strength of your general prospects;

2) virtually all the people you mention are unknown to me (the only one I know at all *well* is precisely the one you fail to name). But one cannot be active in the international movement for 40 years without having everywhere old friends and allies to whom one is politically and morally committed. I should therefore first have to obtain information from them about many of your people and about the attitude of one side to the other. I cannot very well do that, however, without giving some inkling of your scheme;

3) but I cannot possibly embark on an alliance without having the least idea of where and into what further associations it will lead me. Some kind of central committee would presumably be set up in Paris, which would decide on the admission of new members and on possi-

^a See this volume, p. 97.

ble action, and it might so happen that I found myself in the same association as people whom I should be compelled to oppose outright or that I became responsible for an action I disapproved of. That is an eventuality I cannot expose myself to at all.

Do not, however, let this deter you. If you are able to achieve something worthwhile, it will please me nonetheless. I am grateful to you for your confidence and remain, etc.

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

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Published in English for the first
time

64

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 3 March 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Ede Bernstein has assumed the responsibility of drinking a fraternal pledge^a with me in your name and on your behalf. I hereby take the liberty of putting this into immediate effect in the hope that you will not disavow his action.

Apart from that, he left this evening for Paris¹⁷⁷ where he will spend tomorrow, departing the same night; no doubt he will reach Zurich at the same time as this letter.

Enclosed the sale of Russia to Bismarck for Bismarck to invest with Bleichröder with a view to a new Russian loan.¹⁸² Ferry and Gladstone were the first to be taken in but, if Bleichröder supplies the

^a A little ceremony which precedes the use of *Du* (thou), the familiar form of address.

money, the same thing may happen to Bismarck and, once the fun begins in Russia, it will be all up with the lot of them.

Your
F. Engels

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

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65

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV ¹⁸³

IN PARIS

[London,] 3 March 1884
122 Regent's Park Road [N. W.]

My dear Lavrov,

Last Friday^a I sent you through the agency of Messrs Flageollet frères, 27 rue Paul Lelong, Paris a case containing the books you know about.^b *Carriage has been paid over here*; if they charge you for it, let me know. In case of non-arrival you should make enquiries at the above address.

It was despatched from here per Messrs Gittens & Co.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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

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Published in English for the first time

^a 28 February - ^b See this volume, p. 88.

66

ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH¹⁸⁴

IN GENEVA

London, 6 March 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

For me, as also for Marx's daughters, it will be a great day when the Russian translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* appears.¹⁸⁵ I need hardly say that I shall be glad to place at your disposal any material that might be useful to you. This is what I propose to do.

In addition to the German translation, a new French edition is at present being printed in Paris.¹⁶⁵ For these two editions I am preparing a few explanatory notes, the text of which I shall send you.

For the preface there is in existence an article by Marx on Proudhon in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat* (1865), which contains virtually all that is necessary. It will be printed at the beginning of the two new French and German editions. The only copy in existence is in our party archives at Zurich¹⁴⁴; if a second one doesn't turn up amongst my own or Marx's papers (I shall know about this in a few weeks), you will easily be able to get hold of a copy of it through Bernstein.

For the German edition I shall have to do a separate preface^a rebutting the absurd contention by reactionary socialists¹⁸⁶ that in *Capital* Marx plagiarised Rodbertus, and proving that, on the contrary, Marx had produced his critique of Rodbertus in the *Poverty* before Rodbertus wrote his *Social Letters*.¹⁸⁷ To my mind this is of no interest to a Russian public as yet unpenetrated by our pseudo-socialists. But you are the best judge; the thing is at your disposal should you think it suitable.

What you tell me about the increase in the study of books on socialist theory in Russia gives me much pleasure. The theoretical and critical spirit, which has virtually disappeared from our German schools, would indeed appear to have taken refuge in Russia. You ask me to suggest some books for translation. But you have already translated, or promised to translate, almost all of Marx's works and you have taken the best of mine. The remainder of our German books are ei-

^a F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'; see also this volume, pp. 101-02.

ther weak on theory or concerned with matters more or less restricted to Germany. The French have latterly produced some pretty good stuff, but this is still in its infancy. Deville's summary of *Capital*^a is good as regards the theoretical part, but the descriptive part was done in too great haste and is virtually unintelligible to anyone not familiar with the original; moreover it is too long for a summary. However I believe something worthwhile might be made of it if it were rewritten, and a summary of *Capital* would always be of use in a country where the book itself can only be obtained with difficulty.

It is true that, when I spoke of the situation in Russia,^a I was also thinking, inter alia, specifically of her finances — but not exclusively. For a government at bay, like the one in Petersburg, and a captive Tsar, like the hermit of Gatchina,^b the situation cannot continue without becoming ever more tense.¹⁸⁸ Nobility and peasantry both ruined, the army ruffled in its chauvinism and shocked by the daily spectacle of a *государь*,^c who hides himself away; the necessity for an external war as a safety-valve for 'evil passions' and for general discontent — at the same time the impossibility of embarking upon one for lack of money and of favourable political conjunctures; a powerful national intelligentsia impatient to break the fetters that bind it and, on top of all this, a total absence of money and an authority with the knives of the *дьятели*^d at its throat¹⁸⁹ — it seems to me that with every month the situation must become more impossible and that, were a bold and constitutionally minded grand duke to turn up, Russian 'society' itself must see that a palace coup would be the best way out of this impasse. Will Bismarck and Bleichröder now come to the rescue of their new friends?¹⁸² I doubt it. Rather, I wonder which of the two contracting parties will be cheated by the other.

Enclosed a manuscript of Marx's (copy) for you to use as you think fit. I no longer know whether it was in *Слово*^e or in *Отечественная записки*^f that he found the article 'Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr Zhukovsky'.^g This is the reply he wrote; it bears the stamp of a piece done for publication in Russia, but he never sent it to Peters-

^a See this volume, p. 65. - ^b Alexander III - ^c (Russ.) tsar - ^d (Russ.) activists - ^e (Russ.) *Slovo* (The Word), a journal. - ^f (Russ.) *Otechestvenniya zapiski* (Fatherland's Notes), a journal. - ^g N. [К.] М[ikhailovsky]. 'Карль Марксъ передъ судомъ г. Ю. Жуковскаго', *Отечественная записки*, No. 10, October 1877.

burg for fear that the mere mention of his name might compromise the existence of the review which published his reply.¹⁹⁰

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

Your translation of my pamphlet^a strikes me as excellent — what a beautiful language Russian is. All the advantages of German but without its ghastly coarseness.

First published, in Russian, in *Gruppa*
'*Osvobozhdeniye truda*', No. 1, Moscow, 1924

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

67

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹⁹¹

IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 March 1884

Dear Sorge,

After suffering continuously throughout the whole autumn and winter from a minor if very tiresome disorder, and spending 2 months resting in bed, I am at last sufficiently recovered to be able to work regularly and to pay off the letters I owe. I trust that you and your wife will also gradually get over the after-effects of your far more serious illness and then gradually resume your old way of life.

Since I am not yet completely mobile and my excursions are limited to the immediate neighbourhood, and not having anyone to send out on errands, I carried out your commission in rather a different way. Your copy of *Capital*, 3rd edition,^b and likewise one of Deville's *Le Capital*, were despatched to you in 2 parcels per BOOK POST; I shall send the photographs in the same manner, having now found out how to pack them. No doubt you will be able to obtain the other 2 copies of *Capital* easily enough over there.

^a *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - ^b the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

I have taken out a year's subscription to *To-Day* for you and you will, no doubt, be getting it regularly. The chaps are very well-intentioned but damnably ignorant; which may be all right for *To-Day*, but now the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION⁹⁹ is bringing out a weekly journal, *Justice*, which is conspicuous for the exceeding boredom of its invariably repetitive contents and for its total inability to get hold of the right end of the stick even when dealing with a question of the day. I shall send you a couple of issues; it's not worth taking. All in all, the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION cannot simply be taken on trust; it harbours all manner of dubious elements. Hyndman, who sets himself up as a party leader *in partibus infidelium*,^a is a pretty unscrupulous careerist, and only a few years ago stood unsuccessfully as a Conservative candidate for Parliament¹⁹²; moreover, he treated Marx very shabbily.¹⁰⁰ I will have nothing whatever to do with the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION, a handy excuse being want of time, and am on closer terms only with *To-Day*, more notably Bax. The latter is a very good chap, save only that he is most unseasonably swotting up on *Kant*. *If you have no objection*, I shall publish in *To-Day* an English version of the letter Marx wrote to you about Henry George.³¹ Then you will be able to make further use of it over there.

I shall hardly have time to enter into a debate with Stiebeling.¹⁹³ Such little tin gods can safely be left to their own devices. In any case, it will be years before anything can be done to inhibit sectarianism in America. Thus the great Most will, no doubt, eventually end up as Karl Heinzen II. I get the *Wochen-Volkszeitung*,^b but there's not much in it.

What the position is as regards Bebel's, Liebknecht's or anyone else's going to America, I don't know.²⁹ When they asked me, I told the chaps that it probably wouldn't do to go tapping America for election funds every third year. In Germany, by the way, the position is very good. Our lads are conducting themselves really splendidly. Everywhere the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ is involving them in local struggles with the police, to the accompaniment of all manner of jokes and dirty tricks, struggles which usually turn out in our favour and are a source of the best propaganda in the world. Every now and again one or other of the bourgeois papers vents a sigh about the enormous progress made by our people, and they all of them dread the coming elections.¹⁹⁴ A fortnight ago one of my nephews from

^a It means literally: in parts inhabited by unbelievers; here: nominally. - ^b *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*

Barmen was over here — a liberal conservative. ‘In Germany,’ I told him, ‘we have got to the stage when we can sit with our hands in our laps and let our opponents do the work for us. No matter whether you repeal, renew, tighten up or moderate the Anti-Socialist Law, whatever you do plays into our hands.’ ‘Yes,’ said he, ‘it is remarkable how circumstances are working for you.’ ‘To be sure they are,’ I said, ‘but they wouldn’t be if we hadn’t diagnosed them aright forty years ago, and acted accordingly.’ No reply.

In France, too, things have been going better since Lafargue, Guesde and Dormoy were released from prison.⁹ They are very active, spend much time in the provinces where, luckily, their chief strength lies, possess little news-sheets in Rheims and St Pierreles-Calais,^a and will be holding a congress at Roubaix in a month’s time.¹⁹⁵ Every Sunday, what is more, they give a very well-attended lecture in Paris, when Lafargue speaks on the materialist view of history, and Deville on *Capital*.¹⁷⁹ I shall write and ask them to send you the things, all of which are printed. It’s fortunate that they haven’t got a daily in Paris just now, since it’s much too early for that. A new edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* is coming out in Paris.¹⁶⁵ Likewise a German one in Zurich and a Russian in Geneva. I don’t believe I have yet sent you a copy of my *Entwicklung*,^b never having received more than one or two myself. (The oafs!) Now the thing has come out in a 3rd edition, as well as in French, Italian, Russian and Polish. Aveling wishes to translate it into English.^c He, too, is an admirable young man, but he has TOO MANY IRONS IN THE FIRE and is currently engaged in time-consuming strife with his former friend Bradlaugh; the socialist movement here is cutting the ground from under the latter’s feet — and with it his livelihood. That means he must fight for it, but it isn’t easy for that narrow-minded and rascally fellow.

So far, all is well with Tussy who generally comes here on Sundays. Lenchen is, as you know, keeping house for me. In a fortnight’s time I shall be able to settle down in real earnest to Volume II of *Capital* — another huge task, but I look forward to it.

You should read Morgan (Lewis H.), *Ancient Society*, published in America in 1877. A masterly exposé of primitive times and their com-

^a *La Défense des travailleurs* and *Le Travailleur* - ^b *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - ^c See this volume, p. 394.

munism. *Rediscovered Marx's theory of history all on his own*, and concludes by drawing communist inferences in regard to the present day.

Kindest regards to Adolf.^a

Your
F. E.

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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Published in English in full for the first time

68

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE ¹⁹⁶

IN PARIS

[London,] 11 and 15 March 1884

My dear Lafargue,

In complete agreement with almost all your alterations,¹⁹⁷ except for the following:

p. 6, wrong ideas about ... exchange value—you can't continue with an 'and'; what follows, his utopian interpretation, is *caused* by those wrong ideas; that causation must be shown.

p. 6, 'bottom: he deafens us, etc., has been unduly shortened; what is lacking is the *false* or *spurious* science. You must try to stick closer to the original.

p. 7, same objections; and also: 'but who, having to forego some of his pretensions to originality'—this corrupts the text. Marx says: 'There is in addition the clumsy repugnant show of erudition of the self-taught, whose natural pride in his original reasoning has already been broken'^b; he has, in fact, been an original thinker and is proud so to have been, but is so no longer, having discovered that what he be-

^a Adolf Sorge jun. - ^b K. Marx, 'On Proudhon', present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 30-31; here and below Engels quotes Marx's article in German.

lieved to be original and new had already been said by others before him; then he goes on to spurious science, etc. Your text *denies* the originality of Proudhon.

ibid. Cabet. You have no right to make Marx say more than he actually said: 'Cabet—worthy of respect for his practical attitude towards the French proletariat'.^a Marx says nothing of devotion, a word he abhorred, as you must know,—it might run: worthy of respect for the rôle he played amongst the French proletariat (or in the political movement of the French proletariat), etc., or something of the sort.

ibid. Can you say: to preach *throughout all 3 volumes?*

Ibid. bottom, *Thiers*: if you abridge in the way you do, you ought to add what the original says: 'Thiers, by his reply opposing Proudhon's proposals, *which was then issued as a special booklet*'.^b This is, I think, the famous book *De la propriété*, but I am not sure.

p. 8, *credit ... might accelerate*—not credit, but the application thereof; you should therefore say: might *serve* to accelerate, or some such turn of phrase.

p. 9, displays the cynicism of a moron to the greater glory of the Tsar? 'For the greater glory of the tsar he expresses moronic cynicism'.^c The extreme cynicism with which Proudhon addresses himself to the misfortunes of Poland pays court to the policy of the Tsar.¹⁹⁸ This is what needs to be brought out.

ibid. bottom. *On the one hand*, etc.—the *two contradicting tendencies* which govern the interests of the petty bourgeois, should not be omitted; your text appears to do away with them.

p. 10, rowdy would be better than scandalous.

15 March

Well, now! Try to be more faithful to the original; Marx isn't a man with whom one can afford to take liberties. I hope that Laura will insist upon the text's being well and faithfully rendered.

Herewith the £ 10.

We have all the books and BOOK-CASES^d here and, for the past 3 days, have been busy amalgamating the two libraries and setting them in

^a *Ibid.*, p. 31. -^b*Ibid.* -^c *Ibid.*, p. 32. -^d from Marx's library

order. It's the very devil of a task and Nim and I are both tired, so
WITH LOVE TO Laura FROM Nim AND MYSELF NO MORE AT PRESENT

FROM YOURS TRULY,
F. E.

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

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

69

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN⁹⁴

IN ZURICH

London, 24 March 1884

Dear Ede,

In great haste, a bit of gossip. We have at last wound things up to-day at Maitland Park¹⁵⁹ and handed back the old house to its owner.^a I, on the other hand, am still in the throes of sorting out the books and papers nor, until this has been done, shall I be able to embark on any regular work.

The demonstration of the 16th¹⁹⁹ caused two people to make fools of themselves — Hyndman and Frohme.

Hyndman, without having actually given his assent, had been proposed as speaker — by, it is said, Rackow. Not being convinced of success, he declared in *Justice* that 'a working man' must speak and that as for *him*, he would merely listen.^b The same issue of *Justice* contained an extremely impertinent notice on the last number of *To-Day* — amounting to a veiled declaration of war.²⁰⁰ Hyndman next proceeded to intrigue against the despatch of delegates to the Roubaix congress,¹⁹⁵ alleging that those responsible were in a minority and that one ought not to go meddling in internal French disputes.²⁰¹ But at a committee meeting of the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION⁹⁹ the following Tuesday,^c he was well and truly defeated; his most

^a Edwin Willis - ^b H. M. Hyndman, 'A Sad Anniversary. To the Editor of *Justice*', *Justice*, No. 8, 8 March 1884. - ^c 18 March

trusty followers took the floor against him, nor could he confess the real motives for his intervention; it was enthusiastically resolved to participate in both demonstration and congress, and Hyndman, who would *now* have gladly spoken in Highgate, had cut off his own line of retreat, the invitation to speak having passed to Aveling and been gladly accepted. That's what invariably befalls these clever-clever cliquists — they are hoist with their own petard.

Frohme apparently spoke very well in Highgate and, by contrast, quite atrociously at the Society.¹⁶² I am sending you the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* in which the philistine reporter naively betrays his delight at the way Frohme had, with his atrocious platitudes, voiced his inmost thoughts for him.^a This, apparently, was altogether too much of a good thing and gave rise to a tremendous row in the Society; Frohme was given a dressing-down and is said to have declared that he hadn't met a single socialist, let alone a *human being*, in London. He's unlikely to reappear for some time to come. He has left me alone, I'm glad to say.

Many thanks for the *Deutsches Tageblatt* which I return herewith. To reply to Bernhard Becker's balderdash would be doing him too great an honour. What the ex-president of mankind²⁰² writes and the *Tageblatt* prints is a matter of complete indifference, and even in Berlin it has long been forgotten. This kind of impotent malice chokes on its own bile. But what sort of press must it be to print such stuff? Even the Parisian Figaristes were more adept liars, albeit only during the period of general alarm immediately after the Commune.

All things considered, the March article was very good, with the right emphasis on essential points. So, too, was the one in the next issue, about the People's Party²⁰³ man preaching to the peasants, its only fault being to invoke the 'concept' of democracy.^b That concept changes according to the *demos* and hence does not get us one step further. What in my view should have been said is this: For the seizure of political power, democratic *forms* are also necessary to the proletariat for whom, however, like all political forms, they are only a means. But if, today, you want democracy as an *end*, you have to look for support to the peasants and petty bourgeoisie, i. e. to classes which are in decline and which, from the moment they try to preserve

^a 'Die Märzfeier in London', *Londoner Zeitung. Hermann*, No. 1316, 22 March 1884. -

^b [E. Bernstein,] 'Zum Gedenktage der Märzkämpfe', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, 13 March 1884 (leader); 'Zur Naturgeschichte der Volkspartei', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 12, 20 March 1884 (leader).

their existence by factitious means, are *reactionary* in their relations with the proletariat. Another thing that should not be forgotten is that the *logical* form of bourgeois rule is, precisely, a democratic republic which, however, has become too much of a risk only because of the progress already made by the proletariat, but which, as France and America go to show, is still feasible simply as bourgeois rule. Regarded, therefore, as 'definite, historically evolved', the 'principle' of liberalism is really just an illogicality; a liberal constitutional monarchy is an adequate form of bourgeois rule 1) at the beginning, when the bourgeoisie has not yet quite done with absolute monarchy, and 2) at the end, when the proletariat has already rendered a democratic republic too much of a risk. And yet a democratic republic is still the *final* form assumed by bourgeois rule, the form in which it comes to grief. And here I conclude this rigmarole.

Nim sends her regards. I didn't see Tussy yesterday.

Your
F. E.

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Published in English in full for the
first time

70

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 24 March 1884

Dear Kautsky,

You'd do best to order Morgan's book in America; the few copies printed for England in association with the firm of MacMillan appear to be sold out or unavailable—I got mine *second-hand* and then only with difficulty. I don't know the American publisher. Mine cost me 13/4d.

When I can find time I shall get out something on it for you for the

Neue Zeit, provided you are willing to print a separate copy in pamphlet form (it would be approx. 3 sheets); actually I am indebted to Marx for it and can incorporate his notes.¹⁷⁴

I have now agreed with Meissner that the 2nd book of *Capital* should appear separately at first; the 3rd,⁴ and the *Theories of Surplus Value*,¹⁷¹ will then follow on as the second half of Volume II. This will get the thing moving more quickly. Time for the post.

Your
F. E.

The Morris affair is of no significance; they are a muddle-headed lot.²⁰⁴

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71

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 31 March 1884

My dear Laura,

Even if it had not been for Paul's letter this morning, this afternoon was set apart for a letter to you. I am so bothered and pestered just now that not only my time, but also my room and my desk are not my own. On Monday last^a we got clear of 41 Maitland Park Road, paid Willis and gave him the key.¹⁵⁹ What furniture there was left, is in Gittens' hands, they offered £12.10.- but advised a sale—we are trying to get £15.- out of them to have done with it; this will be attended to this week. Then I have been busy with the books, and was getting clear—two more days would have settled the heavy work—when lo! the landlord sends the painters to do the house outside, and

^a 24 March

here we are, three dawdling fellows in the house, all windows open, every room invaded at the most unexpected hours, and to crown all, a bleak east-wind blowing inside as well as outside. That I got as fine a specimen of rheumatism as could be wished for, was only natural. Fortunately, if the dawdlers keep possession of the house even now, the east-wind has left us and so has, more or less, the rheumatism; and I am promised possession of my room for to-day,—on condition of giving it up to-morrow. So let us enjoy the present while it lasts.

Nim says there is such a weight off her mind now since the old house is done with that she at last can sleep again, it was a nightmare for her which even an occasional nightcap of 'Irish' could not drive away. Our place has much changed, two of my book-cases have gone below, the piano is in the corner between the fire-place and folding door (in the front room), the other corner filled up by one of Mohr's book-cases, while his large book-case (that behind his sofa) now takes the place where the piano stood in the back room. As soon as the painters will have cleared out, I shall finish the sorting of the last heap of books, and then try and get off the last box of books, for you, there is a nice little lot of things relating to the French Revolution, Loustalot, *Feuille Villageoise*, *Prisons de Paris pendant la Révolution*,²⁰⁵ etc., etc.

I have settled with Meissner that the 2nd book (*Zirkulationsprozess des Kapitals*^a) is to be published first separately; as soon as the *gross* work is finished, I can begin. The 3rd book will follow, along with *Theorien über den Mehrwert*,^b a long critical work forming part of the first ms. of the *Kapital* (1862) which I have discovered.¹⁷¹ The English translation is going on slowly, Sam has too much law-work to attend to, and is too conscientious to hurry on with it, 'regardless of quality'.⁵⁶

The movement here is showing more and more of its emptiness every week. *Justice* drives me to despair by its utter incapacity of tackling even one single question. *To-Day* will live this next month entirely by Davitt and Paul who you will have been glad to learn from *Justice* is the first living authority on French peasant property.²⁰⁶ These fellows cannot even give a man his due without trying to make him look ridiculous. Bax and Aveling are the only two, as far as I can see at present, of whom something can be made; but Bax has Kant on the brain and Aveling in order to live, has to keep a good many irons

^a *The Process of Circulation of Capital* - ^b *Theories of Surplus Value*

in the fire and is a perfect novice in everything relating to political economy. Paul will no doubt see Bax at Roubaix ¹⁹⁵; he and a workingman ^a have been delegated by the Democratic Federation, ⁹⁹ much against Hyndman's will who has lately made several attempts at forcing his personal plans and dodges upon them, but was ignominiously defeated: so he opposed sending delegates to Roubaix as he wanted to keep open the chance of a connexion with Brousse and Co. That fellow will not go far: he cannot bide his time.

I am afraid Paul will be disappointed with regard to a German delegate to Roubaix; unless Liebknecht does come ^b; but as he has promised to do so, it is not likely. The others do not speak French, except perhaps Bernstein, and him the deputies are sure not to send, as they mostly hate him, and would replace him in Zurich if they could and dared. Thanks to the great accession of petit bourgeois—*gebildete Schafsköpfe*, ^c our 'leaders' in Germany have become a sorry lot. Anyhow I hope Roubaix will be a great success *devant le public*, ^d it will help on enormously; in the meantime I enclose the cheque £ 10.- and send you plenty of kisses from Nim and your affectionate old cripple

F. Engels

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72

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 11 April 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Have got yours and Ede's letter. I hope to be done with Morgan next week ¹⁷⁴; cannot do much at the moment as Schorlemmer and

^a Harry Quelch - ^b See this volume, pp. 125 and 129. - ^c educated numbskulls - ^d in public

Moore are here. This will be my last job for some time; it is no joke making a résumé of so meaty and ill-written a book. If Tussy can find the letter, I shall also include an assessment of Richard Wagner by Marx²⁰⁷; what the connection is you must find out for yourselves.

Thereafter work will proceed uninterruptedly on Volume II^a as well as on revisions of: 1) your *Poverty*,¹¹⁸ 2) notes and preface¹⁶⁹ to the French ditto,¹⁶⁵ 3) revision of the English translation⁵⁶ which ought now to forge ahead. Besides that, 4), more *Dühring*²⁰⁸ and whatever else may be sent me from France for revision.

Fabian has been going for me with a persistence he would be quick to drop if he knew how much entertainment we over here derive from it. Some years ago he had suggested that we should write for a periodical to be founded by him and another great thinker,^b and this on the basis of a philosophical programme they had laid down ready cut and dried and consisting in a crabbed and misconstrued fourth generation Kantianism. After that he went for my dialectical approach to mathematics and complained to Marx that I had defamed $\sqrt{-1}$.²⁰⁹ And now the fun is beginning all over again. Let him roam the world arm in arm with von der Mark; he will not be read by me.

The Condition of the Working-Class. The last news I had about it from Liebknecht was that Freytag had told him that I was still bound by my contract with Wigand. You can't go by what Liebknecht says, and what he has done in this matter amounts to nil.^c I shall write to Freytag myself; it is the only thing to do.³⁹

However much Geiser may abuse the atheists, Bismarck certainly won't do him the favour of repealing the Anti-Socialist Law.³⁷ Whoever may have harboured any illusions on this point hitherto will doubtless now be rid of them, Bismarck having thrown in his last reserve, that old jackass Lehmann, in order to preserve it.²¹⁰

How delicious that the parliamentary group should have *forbidden* Liebknecht to write for a paper.^{d211} That beats the old Prussian censorship. Well, if Liebknecht stands for that, things have come to a pretty pass.

Rodbertus,^e etc., received, many thanks; will be returned next week. The relevant note in *Capital* is in the 2nd edition, p. 552^f and

^a of *Capital* - ^b Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg - ^c See this volume, pp. 19-20 and 102. - ^d *Berliner Volksblatt* - ^e K. Rodbertus, *Offener Brief an das Comité des Deutschen Arbeitervereins zu Leipzig*. - ^f See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Ch. XVIII (present edition, Vol. 35).

will, in the 3rd edition, be considerably qualified by me in an addendum; kindly attend to this.

You must now excuse me, as I still have to write to Ede.

Your
F. E.

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73

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN¹
IN ZURICH

London, 11 April 1884

Dear Ede,

Like you, I think it would be better to allow Frohme's massive tome^a to die a natural death.

A delegation to Roubaix would have done a great deal of harm at a moment when the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ was under discussion. The wailers¹²³ would have apportioned the blame for its renewal—in any case inevitable—to that delegation alone; this had to be avoided. Congresses are demonstrations and an occasion for useful personal encounters, and as such are of secondary importance, nor should more weighty considerations be sacrificed to them. I shall try to make this clear to the Parisians. In the circumstances, the address was the only thing possible and quite adequate.¹⁹⁵ The very thought of an international congress in London²¹² appals me. I should go away.

As regards the Rodbertus stuff, you would do best to wait until you have my preface to the *Poverty*^b; you can't possibly be aware of the most important works, namely those concerning England (alluded to

^a K. Frohme, *Die Entwicklung der Eigenthums-Verhältnisse*. - ^b F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

in *Poverty*, p. [...] ^a) from which it is plain that the socialist *application* of Ricardo's theory of value—Rodbertus' great hobby-horse—had been an economic commonplace in England since 1820 and one universally known to socialists since 1830. As I have, I believe, already written and told you, ^b I shall show, on the same occasion, that, far from purloining the least thing from Rodbertus, Marx had, in the *Poverty*, unwittingly criticised in advance all the said Rodbertus' works, both written and unwritten. I think we had best withhold our attack until the *Poverty* has come out in German, and then go it hot and strong (i. e. the main attack I mean; no harm at all in skirmishes to draw Rodbertus' fire).

I look forward to seeing the ms. ¹¹⁸ Notabene, should you have difficulty over the Hegelian expressions in the 2nd chapter, simply leave blanks in the ms. and I will fill them in; the German version must contain the terminology proper to that school, otherwise it will be incomprehensible.

There were *three* copies of the 3rd edition. ^c I racked my brains a bit over the *Dühring* that came with them and then simply laid it on one side, imagining it had got in by accident. That it might be a hint about a 2nd edition never occurred to me. I am delighted to find that this is so, more especially since I have learnt from various sources that the thing has been more influential—particularly in Russia—than I would ever have expected. So after all the tedium of a polemic with an inconsiderable opponent has not prevented the attempt to present an encyclopaedic survey of our view of the problems pertaining to philosophy, natural science and history from taking effect. I shall make virtually no changes but stylistic ones and, perhaps, add something to the section on natural science.—Its earlier publication in 2 parts was due to the way the thing came out (as a separate edition), otherwise there would have been absolutely no sense in it. ²⁰⁸

The cards for Nim you ask about have not yet turned up.

Your
F. E.

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^a A blank in the original. Apparently Engels had in mind pp. 49-50 of the first edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138). - ^b See this volume, p. 101. - ^c of the first volume of *Capital* in German

74

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 18 April 1884

My dear Laura,

Best thanks for your news about the children^a which were very grateful to all of us. Will hope the new arrangement may work at least for some time and without too much friction, though she^b looks, from what you say, a rough subject enough to create any amount of that.

As to our 'Socialist' group here, I too am of opinion and said so, that Bax and Aveling are the only ones worth having, they at least study with a will, though not always a well directed one. But the worst is, this little clique of *public* 'mutual admirators' and at least partially *secret* 'mutual detractors' (especially Hyndman) are getting a regular nuisance through their mischievous gossip. First we hear from Sam Moore that he has heard in Manchester that Hyndman was busy translating the *Kapital*. This mystery we have as yet not been able to sift thoroughly but it will probably turn out a *canard*. Now, before we are well over that, those two busybodies in Paris^c spread the report that Aveling was at it! The long and the short of this is as follows. Aveling, who studies the German text, has translated a few pages for his own benefit. When Hyndman was named as a possible competitor in the field, Sam at the same time declared that his own translation was getting on very slow, and he would be glad of some help. So Aveling was mentioned; I looked over his work and found it utterly useless. He was however very eager, and so, on his meeting Sam Moore here last week, it was arranged that he should try his hand at the chapter 'Der Arbeitstag',^d this being chiefly descriptive and free, comparatively, from difficult theoretical passages for which Aveling is totally unfit *as yet*, that is to say until he has worked himself through the whole book and understands it. But at

^a Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet - ^b a new housekeeper of the Longuets -

^c Ernest Belfort Bax and James Leigh Joynes - ^d 'The Working Day'

the same time I said to Sam that I made it a condition that you should be asked also to take a share in the work, of which Sam was very glad, and now I come to ask you to choose one. The matter stands at present as follows:

Sam is now doing the 1st *Abschnitt*^a from the beginning, we have gone over part of his 1st chapter and it is very good, though we shall revise it again. He intends going on to the end, page 127 (2nd edition) and the most difficult parts (p. 22-44) we shall each do independently and then compare.—From p. 128 to 221 (2nd *Abschnitt* and 3rd *Abschnitt*, chapters 5, 6 and 7) all is completed. Chapter 8th we will let Aveling try. All the rest is open to you to choose from. I do not think you will like to take the next 4th *Abschnitt*, *Kooperation, Teilung der Arbeit...*, *Maschinerie etc.*^b p. 318-529, this being rather technical, and so is the 6th *Abschnitt: der Arbeitslohn.*^c The 7th: *die Akkumulation*,^d I should suppose, would suit you best. But choose for yourself. Any technical terms for which it might be difficult to find the English equivalent in Paris, you might leave room for, we could hunt them up here or in Manchester and fill them in. As all parts of the translation pass through my hands, I can easily restore the unity of expression (the application of the same technical terms throughout the book). If you accept our proposal, as I hope you will, and choose a section for yourself, we shall have fulfilled at least partially Mohr's wish and have your name and your work associated with this translation which I am convinced more and more every day is an absolute necessity, if the present movement here is not to collapse like a pricked ball by its own inanity; and we shall also be able to hasten the publication. Tussy has undertaken to hunt up all the quotations from Blue Books¹⁶¹ and to transcribe the original passages so as to avoid re-translation and errors unavoidably connected with it. She will also see Kegan Paul as soon as possible, may be to-day (the Easter holidays stopped action in that direction), and arrange an interview for me with him when we hope we may be able to settle business matters; we shall then also know whether there is any truth in the Hyndman report.

So if you do say yes, at least something good will have to be connect-

^a part - ^b 'Cooperation', 'Division of Labour...', 'Machinery etc.' - ^c 'Wages' - ^d 'Accumulation'

ed with the gossiping reports of Bax and Joynes; for to tell you the truth I have no great faith in Aveling's *present* attempts.

Of Mohr's photographs there are about 450 small ones (*cartes*^a) 24/- per 100 and 250 large ones (cabinets) 50/- per 100 cost price. I shall send you a good parcel of them if you like as soon as I shall have time to pack them. At present I have still heaps of books to stow away. Sam left on Wednesday, Schorlemmer is still here till Monday.^b He sends kindest regards by the million.

The copy [of the] 3rd edition^c I sent to Danielson direct on 5th April, *registered*, and should be glad if Paul would mention this in his next letter to him. Lopatine had asked me to send it and given me the address.

Now I shall have to write to Paul. So until next time I remain

Your very affectionate

F. Engels

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75

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE¹⁹⁶

IN PARIS

London, 18 April 1884

My dear Paul,

A quarter to 5 — so must hurry!

My congratulations on the success of your Congress,¹⁹⁵ a success that is evident from the different way in which the earlier and later meetings are reported in the *Journal de Roubaix*. The Germans did right in not sending a delegate, for had they done so it would have

^a *Cartes de visite*; small photographic portraits mounted on a card - ^b 21 April - ^c of the third German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

unduly facilitated the further retention of the Exceptional Law³⁷ by the government and the bourgeoisie; the *moderates* in our party (very numerous among the leaders, very few among the masses, who are first-rate) would have exploited this; such a mistake would have been impermissible. In cases of this kind, demonstrations, even international ones, must be foregone.

When shall I get back the ms. of the translation³⁸? This time you really must try harder, I beg of you. It is essential that the thing should either be done well or not at all. And when will it be possible to begin printing? I ask this so that I can make arrangements to write a few notes and a short preface^b—if you like you can do a preface and send it to me here. You asked that you be given precedence over the German edition; but I have got a complete ms. of the first part of the latter and the Zurich people will begin printing the moment a manuscript reaches them.

What with this German text and the English *Capital* to revise,⁵⁶ my hands are full, and accordingly I wish to know how to arrange things so as to avoid unnecessary loss of time. For it's essential that I get down to the 2nd volume^c—and now Zurich has to inform me of the need for a 2nd edition of my *Anti-Dühring*²⁰⁸ and a 4th of the *Peasant War*,²¹³ which means further revisions and further prefaces to be done! And that's what I—and Mr Bismarck—have gained from the banning of my books in Germany!

Old William^d is more or less *in extremis*.^e He no longer recognises those who come to see him, nor can he repeat the phrases he has been taught to say by rote in reply to deputations.

Nim has just come back from shopping, she sends you her '*amours*' (LOVES) and as much as you want of them.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Twenty minutes past five.

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Translated from the French

^a of the French translation of Marx's 'On Proudhon' - ^b for the second French edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see Note 165) - ^c of *Capital* - ^d William I - ^e near death

76

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 22 April 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Letters and ms.¹¹⁸ received, similarly cards for Nim. More anon. Hard at work on Morgan,¹⁷⁴ having been able to return to it only today.

The purpose of this is the following:

Please inform the printers that I have *very major revisions* to make right at the beginning both of *Anti-Dühring*²⁰⁸ and the *Peasant War*²¹³ and so must insist that *no new edition is tackled before receipt of my manuscript*. I shall write at further length to Ede as soon as he can get back,^a i. e. in about a week, for he, after all, is the one who has to take care of these things.

So please see that not one line is set *under any circumstances*. I wouldn't be able to acknowledge it.

In haste,

Your
F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time

77

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY⁸⁸

IN ZURICH

London, 26 April 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I had made up my mind and told everyone here that I would play a trick on Bismarck and write something (Morgan)¹⁷⁴ that he would

^a See this volume, pp. 135-36.

positively be unable to ban. But with the best will in the world I found it impossible. The chapter on monogamy and the final chapter on private ownership as the source of class antagonisms and also as the detonator that exploded the old communal system I find absolutely *impossible* to couch in such a way as to comply with the Anti-Socialist Law.³⁷ As Luther said: Let the devil come and fetch me, I cannot do otherwise.²¹⁴

Nor would there be any point in the thing if I intended to write merely an 'objective' review and not deal with Morgan critically, if I did not try to evaluate the results recently achieved or present them in the light of our views and of what has already been achieved. Our workers would get nothing out of it. So — good and necessarily banned, or — permitted and execrable. The latter I cannot do.

I shall probably (Schorlemmer is here again until Monday^a) be finished next week. It will amount to a full 4 sheets or more. If you are then *willing* to risk publishing it in the *Neue Zeit* (after you have read it) may any blood that is spilt as a result be on your own heads and don't blame me afterwards. If you are sensible, however, and do not wish to jeopardise the whole periodical for the sake of one article, you will do better to print it as a pamphlet either in Zurich or in the same way as *Frau*.¹³⁸ But that is your own look-out.

I think the thing will have a particularly important bearing on our general view. Morgan enables us to present entirely new aspects by providing us, in the shape of prehistory, with a factual basis we have hitherto lacked. Whatever doubts you may still entertain about individual primitives and 'savages', with the gens the case has been largely resolved and prehistory elucidated. And that is why the thing should be thoroughly worked on, properly weighed up and presented as a coherent whole — but also dealt with *without regard for the Anti-Socialist Law*.

And there's another most important point: I must show how brilliantly Fourier has anticipated Morgan in so many things. It is thanks to Morgan that for the first time the brilliance of Fourier's critique of civilisation really comes across. And that will mean a lot of work.^b

I hope you got the letter I wrote on Monday on the subject of the

^a 28 April - ^b See present edition, Vol. 26, p. 276 (footnote).

new editions.^a Will you make sure that *absolutely nothing* is set up in type before my ms. arrives. The *Peasant War* is being *completely* rewritten.²¹³ In the case of *Dühring*, the alterations, etc., made to the *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* have to be inserted right at the beginning, there's a great deal to be corrected and some more stuff to be put in.

Apropos. I have here approx. 50 copies of *Dühring*. If you can use them I shall send them off at once, but you must tell me by what route, so that they don't go via Germany and get seized. They will certainly know about that over there. Let me have as full details as possible.

Your
F. E.

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78

ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 4 May 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Kugelmann,

My health is ALL RIGHT; it was a tedious and inconvenient affair though in no way serious, but to describe it to you would take pages. I received your card and also send my thanks for the Leibnitziad²¹⁵; unfortunately I cannot embark on incidental studies of this kind, as I have my hands full attending to Volume II^b and revising translations of Marx's things into German,¹¹⁸ English⁵⁶ and French.¹⁶⁵ On top of that there are new editions of two of my works.^c The 2nd book

^a The reference is probably to the previous letter which Engels sent on Tuesday, 22 April. - ^b of *Capital* - ^c *Anti-Dühring* and *The Peasant War in Germany*; see also this volume, pp. 130 and 131.

will probably appear separately, but, having lost so much time during the autumn and winter, I am very behindhand with everything and, as I am being solicited from so many quarters, I have resolved to make no more promises.

Your
F. Engels

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Moscow, 1935

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time

79

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE ¹⁹⁶

IN PARIS

London, 10 May 1884

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith cheque for £14.

Since I do not see any of the Paris papers, it is only from *The Standard* and from yourself that I know what is going on; your electoral tactics are just what I myself would have recommended ²¹⁶ — these people will do themselves in if left to their own devices; GIVE THEM PLENTY OF ROPE AND THEY ARE SURE TO HANG THEMSELVES. However, Bernstein wrote and told me that you had put up a candidate ^a in opposition to Joffrin, and that he thought this ill-advised; let me know what the circumstances are so that I can answer him.

Thank you for the article — it is only the first one and I cannot now remember if I wrote the sequel.²¹⁷

I have only seen the first number of Vaillant's translation. It is good and accurate, save that he does not always appear to be conversant with military terminology.

Your lectures and those of Deville are excellent ¹⁷⁹ but, at least for the published version, you should develop more exhaustively the con-

^a Louis Simon Dereure; see this volume, p. 141.

clusions of your second one on Darwinism. That part seems overwhelmed by the mass of premisses leading up to the conclusion, nor is the latter self-evident enough, while its detail is inadequately developed. I have not yet read the third one. As soon as the translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* has been completed in Zurich,¹¹⁸ I shall suggest that they bring out the lectures in German.

I shall now withdraw, having a rather important piece of work to complete: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*,¹⁷⁴ which I hope to have rid myself of by the end of next week. Until then I must soldier on.

Give Laura a kiss from me and from Nim, who also sends one to you.

Yours ever,
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L.
Lafargue, *Correspondance*, Vol. I, Paris, 1956

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN
IN ZURICH

[London,] 17 May 1884

Dear Ede,

The ms.^a will be finished today; there remains the checking and the polishing, which will take a day or two. Then you shall have it. I think that Kautsky is arranging for the *Neue Zeit* to print the chapter on the family (minus monogamy^b) as a sample and that the whole will be printed separately. You can let me have your suggestions about ways and means when you get it.

A word on the Paris elections^c and other matters as soon as I have time. At the moment I am impatient to be done with the ms. and

^a F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - ^b See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 170-82. - ^c See this volume, p. 141.

have left everything else, however urgent, on one side. It will be long — approx. 130 closely written octavo pages and is called *Die Entstehung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*.^a

Time for the post and a meal. Regards to Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

Amongst other vicissitudes, Pumps' little boy is very dangerously ill; I am very anxious about him.

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81

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN AND KARL KAUTSKY
IN ZURICH

London, 22 May 1884

My Dear Fellows,

Herewith the ms.^a with the exception of the final chapter which still needs revising. You will find that it is not suitable for the *open* market in Germany, so consider whether it ought to be printed in Stuttgart under a false style or then and there in Zurich, and let me know in writing. Since the Prussian schnapps affair,²¹⁸ *everything bearing my name has been banned*. If it goes to Stuttgart I shouldn't want it to be revealed beforehand to the Wise Men who hold sway there.²¹⁹ In any case I must read the *proof* myself and would ask you for the sheets *in duplicate*, on good paper with a wide margin, otherwise one cannot make proper corrections. Perhaps you would be good enough to send a postcard acknowledging receipt. I shall answer your letters tonight or tomorrow; I have put everything on one side in order to

^a F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

get the enclosed finished and must presently set off for the funeral of Pumps' little boy who died on Sunday.^a

Your old friend

F. E.

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82

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY ¹

IN ZURICH

[London,] 23 May 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I trust you will have received the ms. of chapters 1-8^b; it went off to you yesterday by *registered mail*. As I have already suggested, I think the best thing to do, if you want to use some of it for the *Neue Zeit*, would be to take the chapter on the family with the exception of monogamy.^c It anticipates the latter to the extent necessary to produce a fairly well rounded whole.

As to the ban, I have already written and told you that everything by me is banned on principle^d; 'Prussian Schnapps' was a personal insult to Bismarck and, now that Richter has used it to concoct a policy of his own for schnapps,²²⁰ the schnapps and wrapping-paper man will henceforward give me no rope at all. Anyhow all your arguments²²¹ fall to the ground with the successful endorsement of the Anti-Socialist Law²²² and with the banning of the *Süddeutsche Post* that immediately ensued.²²³ And the government can afford to be harsh when letting fly with its bans; proof of this is provided by the liberal press which is literally clamouring for vigorous action against us. You, as an Austrian, cannot possibly follow the reasoning that

^a 18 May - ^b of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - ^c See this volume, p. 135. - ^d See previous letter.

goes on in the minds of people like Bismarck, Puttkamer & Co.; for that you would have to be familiar with the Prussian police regime before 1848; to restore *this* to full bloom by means of the Anti-Socialist Law is the prime motive of these Junker bureaucrats. Everything else — at home — is secondary.

I have not yet heard anything further about the *Dührings* that are stored here.^a

I have Rodbertus' *Kapital*. Seems to be nothing in it. A repository of the most meagre material, endlessly repeated.

The things from the archives are being carefully looked after at my house and I shall be punctilious about returning them.²²⁴ As soon as I have polished off the final chapter and put various other things — books, etc. — in the house in order, I shall tackle the 2nd volume of *Capital* — in the *daytime*; in the *evenings* I shall first of all revise your *Poverty of Philosophy*¹¹⁸ and do the notes and preface for it.^b This apportionment is not only useful but absolutely essential, since one does not study Marx's handwriting by lamplight for any length of time unless one is intent on going blind. Moreover my critique of Rodbertus will be confined in the main simply to the accusation of plagiarism²²⁵ and all the rest — his social salvationist utopias, rent, mortgage relief for the landed aristocracy, etc., only mentioned in passing. So you will have sufficient material to administer a sound thrashing to this little Pomeranian exploiter of cottagers,²²⁶ who might have become a second-rate economist had he not been a Pomeranian. Now that the milksops, who cling to us on the one hand and to the armchair socialists⁵⁴ on the other with the intention of protecting both their flanks, have, *à la* Freiarsch Thüringer,^c played off the 'great'^d Rodbertus' against Marx, and now that Adolph Wagner and other Bismarckians have actually elevated the same to the rank of prophet of careerist socialism,²²⁷ we have absolutely no cause to spare this prodigy invented by Rodbertus himself and loudly extolled by Meyer (who knows nothing about economics and, in the former, possessed his own secret oracle). The man achieved absolutely nothing in the field of economics; he had much talent, but always remained a dilettante and, above all, an ignorant Pomeranian and arrogant Prussian. The most he ever

^a See this volume, p. 133. - ^b F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - ^c Freiwald Thüringer (Max Quarck) - ^d In the original: 'graußen' (South-German dialect).

achieved was to present a number of neat and correct points of view, but he was never able to turn them to good account. How can a decent chap actually come to be regarded as the apostle of the careerists of Bismarckian socialism? It is history's revenge upon this artificially inflated 'prodigy'.

Your news from Germany about internal matters is always very welcome.

But now I must write to Ede.

Your
F. E.

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83

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ⁸⁸

IN ZURICH

London, 23 May 1884

Dear Ede,

I trust your business trip was eventually crowned with success. All that is necessary to begin with, I think, is for the gentry to be thrown off the scent; once you have managed to do that, the old route, or parts of it, can again be made use of. The stupidity of the police will see to the rest. ²²⁸

I ordered Rodbertus' *Normal-Arbeitstag*, but it was out of print. I should be grateful if you could let me have the thing—on loan, of course,—since it contains the only authentic version of his proposed labour reforms.—I am now returning the issues of the old *Social-Demokrat* by REGISTERED MAIL, ²²⁴ having discovered that Lessner possesses them. The translation to be agreed with Lafargue is still pending, ^a which is why I had to have the original here; now, of course, it can be returned.

^a See this volume, pp. 116-17.

Singer has been over here and I informed him, amongst other things, of my views regarding the tactics to be adopted in the case of final ballots. For I consider it nonsensical to try and set up universally applicable rules for these which, when it actually comes to the point, are never adhered to. We have great potential power of which no use at all will be made if abstention from the polls is prescribed in all cases where none of our people are involved in the final ballot. As it happens, in all such cases electoral pacts—e. g. with the Centre²²⁹—invariably come into being automatically: We shall vote for you *here* if you vote for us *there*, and many a seat have we acquired thus. Blunders may result of course, but blunders will always be made, nor is this any reason for committing an even greater one. I therefore told him that, in places like Berlin, for instance, where the electoral campaign is virtually confined to ourselves and the men of Progress,⁹³ pacts *before* the general election were not out of the question—you cede us that constituency and in return we cede you this one—but only, of course, if one can count on their being observed. What I consider inept is, in effect, the attempt by congresses to formulate in advance universally valid rules for as yet non-existent tactical cases.

Au fond,^a I am glad that the Anti-Socialist Law has been renewed and *not* repealed forthwith.²²² The liberal philistine would have secured a tremendous electoral victory for the Conservatives²³⁰; in order to preserve the Anti-Socialist Law he would not only go through fire and water, but wade through the deepest of cess-pits. And it would only have resulted in another, more draconian law. As it now stands, it has probably been renewed for the last time and will, once old Wilm^b succumbs to his nephritis, soon cease to exist in practice. And the thorough discrediting of the German Free Thinkers²³¹ and of the Centre Party in the course of the division²³² is also of some value, though not as much as Bismarck's right to work.²³³ Now that that addle-pate has taken this up there's a chance of our ridding ourselves of the wailers¹²³ *à la* Geiser. Come to that, no one but a Bismarck could perpetrate such a blunder in the face of a workers' movement that cannot be kept down even by means of emergency laws. For the present our people are right to press for implementation and thus implicate him as deeply as possible; the moment the man has committed himself a bit more (though he is not likely to do so very soon), the whole imposture will resolve itself—into Prussian police

^a On the whole - ^b William I

chicanery. *Qua* electoral programme, the slogan by itself will do him damn' all good.

The right to work was Fourier's idea but realised in his case only in the *phalanstère*,²³⁴ and thus presupposes the adoption of the latter. The Fourierists—peace-loving philistines of *Démocratie pacifique*, as their paper was called—disseminated the slogan precisely because it sounded safe. The Parisian workers of 1848 swallowed it whole—it being something theoretically utterly unclear—because it seemed so practical, so non-utopian, so readily realisable. The government realised it—in the only way it could be realised in a capitalist society—in the form of preposterous national workshops.²³⁵ Similarly in this country, during the 1861-64 cotton crisis, the right to work was realised in Lancashire in the form of municipal workshops. And in Germany it is likewise being realised in those hunger and cudgel workers' colonies about which your philistine is now enthusing. Advanced as a *separate* demand, the right to work *cannot* be realised in any other form. The demand for its realisation by capitalist society can only be met by the latter within the terms of its *own* existence, but if the demand for the right to work be made of *that society*, then it is made on these specific terms and hence is a demand for national workshops, workhouses and [workers'] colonies. But if the demand for the right to work is to comprise *indirectly* the demand for the subversion of the capitalist mode of production, it is, in regard to the present state of the movement, a dastardly piece of tergiversation, a concession to the Anti-Socialist Law, a slogan whose only purpose can be to bemuse and befuddle the workers as to the aims they ought to pursue and the only terms upon which they can attain them.

In the Paris municipal elections, our people have in fact pursued the tactics recommended by you, only putting up Dereure against Joffrin because there was at first no Opportunist²³⁶ standing against him, so that in this instance opposition was pretty well obligatory. Simoneau did not come upon the scene until later, whereupon Guesde immediately demanded that Dereure withdraw; but at this point Dereure's courage failed him and thus he suffered a resounding defeat. Vaillant, on the other hand, triumphed over the Possibilists²³⁷ in his *arrondissement*, for Retiès was a tosspot (*poivrard*) of the worst repute and was deservedly defeated. And if Joffrin was defeated in the final ballot, it was not our people but his who were to blame. It will, by the way, be necessary to go on opposing the Possibilists until they

deign to come to an agreement with our chaps at election time; so long as they simply go on making themselves out to be the *parti ouvrier par excellence*,^a they will force our chaps into direct opposition. So either — or; it's for those gentlemen to decide.

As regards Joffrin in particular, his programme was so lousy and lukewarm that even the Radicals refrained from putting up a rival candidate, Joffrin's programme being, in essence, *their own!*

Over here *Justice* gets more wretched by the week.

Your
F. E.

I shall also set to work on the *Dühring*.²⁰⁸ When roughly do you want to start printing? Once I have begun, I shall be able to knock off some 6 to 8 sheets straight away, although it is precisely at the beginning that there is much revision to be done.

The Peasant War will be completely rewritten save for the account of military events.²¹³ I have learned a great deal about the subject in recent years and shall be including quite a lot of German history. This as soon as *Dühring* is ready!

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 26 May 1884

My dear Laura,

Since the receipt of your letter of the 15th we have had sorrowful times. On the 18th Pumps' little boy died and was buried on the 22nd.

^a workers' party *par excellence*

The child suffered from whooping-cough, bronchitis, convulsions and croup, there was but little hope a week before he died. I was under the impression Pumps or Percy had written to you, and they it seems relied on me for letting you know; well, I was busy finishing my pamphlet^a to which I postponed even the most pressing letters—and finishing it, as you may conceive, under difficulties of every sort. Well, it's done, the last sheets go off tomorrow. How long they will be over the printing of it, I don't know.

I am sorry you won't go in for the 'Akkumulationsprozess des Kapitals'.^b Think it over again. I am afraid we cannot do without help from without, and to tell you the truth I have deuced little confidence in what assistance I may get here. Aveling has *den besten Willen*^c but he is to translate strange matter *aus einem ihm unbekanntem Deutsch in ein ihm unbekanntes Englisch*^d; if it was natural science it would be easy enough, but political economy and industrial facts where he is not acquainted even with the commonest terms. And Sam^e who is doing the first chapter far better than I expected, takes such a time over it. And yet it is daily becoming a greater necessity to have it out, and Kegan Paul and Co. with whom I expect to come to terms soon, are pressing, but unless I can promise the ms. by say November, complete, I cannot well conclude anything. You might try a few pages and see how you get on. A German-English dictionary would be useless; the words *you* would have to look for, you would not find there; you could leave space for them, and I could fill them in, they will mostly be technical or philosophical terms.

Paul's *conférences*^f are a great success,¹⁷⁹ the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* brings them regular, their own translation, I believe. If the French had two or three people who could and would assimilate German publications in the same manner, it would help them on immensely. I foresee that when my *Ursprung der Familie etc.*^g comes out, Paul will be mad after translating it, there are things in it just in his line,^h but if he begins he will have to take the German words in their own sense and not in the sense he pleases to impart to them, because I shall have no time whatever to work at it. I shall now start with the 2nd volume [of] *Kapital* and work at it during daylight, the evenings

^a *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - ^b The reference is to Part VII of the first volume of *Capital*, see also this volume, p. 128 and Note 56. - ^c best intentions - ^d from unfamiliar German into unfamiliar English - ^e Samuel Moore - ^f lectures - ^g *The Origin of the Family etc.* - ^h See this volume, p. 293.

will be for the revision of the various translations in hand and threatened. This pamphlet I just finished will be the last independent work for some time to come. Will you please tell Deville that I have not as yet had the time to read his last *conférence*, but shall do so before the week is out and hope it is as good as its predecessors.

Now I must conclude, it is past eleven and Nim is moving for bed, she has got 'pains all over', *id est* slight muscular rheumatism in consequence of cold, and she must stand at the door while I post this letter, as Annie is in bed, so in order to keep Nim no longer from her much needed rest (she has slept a bit in her arm-chair already) I hope you will excuse the blank space at the foot of this.

By the way, it appears Liebknecht has been in Paris, the German papers tell the most extraordinary things about his mysterious proceedings, ²³⁸ also that he spoke at a banquet together with that muff Lecler.^a

Kisses from Nim and

From yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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Reproduced from the original

85

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 5 June 1884

Dear Ede,

Have spent a week at the seaside. ²³⁹ While there I got a nasty cut on my right index finger and hence can only write briefly and badly. So Kautsky will have to wait, the *Sozialdemokrat* being more important

^a Henri Leclère

than the *Neue Zeit* and, in the latter's case, the circumstances are such that it makes no difference anyway whether I stick my oar in or not. Besides I consider that all Kautsky's moves, in so far as he has told me about them and in so far as I am able to judge the situation, have been absolutely correct.²⁴⁰

As regards the *Sozialdemokrat*, it is a rather different matter. Now that their worshippers, the wailers,¹²³ have formally combined into a party and constitute a majority in the parliamentary group,⁴⁹ now that they have recognised, and are exploiting, the power they have acquired thanks to the Anti-Socialist Law,³⁷ I consider it to be more than ever our duty to defend all *our own* vantage points to the utmost, especially our vantage point on the *Sozialdemokrat*, which is the most important of all.

These people *live* off the Anti-Socialist Law. Were there to be free discussion tomorrow, I should be all for letting fly at once, in which case they would soon come to grief. But so long as there is no free discussion, so long as they control all the papers printed in Germany and their numbers (as the majority of the 'leaders') enable them to make the very most of gossip, intrigue, whispering campaigns, *we*, I believe, must steer clear of anything that might lead to a breach, or rather might lay the *blame* for that breach at our door. That is the universal rule when there is a struggle within one's own party, and now it applies more than ever. The breach must be so contrived that we continue to lead the old party while they either resign or are chucked out.

Then the timing. Just now everything is in *their* favour. We cannot, after the breach, stop them from slandering and reviling us in Germany, from posing as the representatives of the masses (for the masses do *elect* them after all!). We have only the *Sozialdemokrat* and the foreign press. They can gain a hearing, we can only do so with difficulty. So if *we* precipitate a breach at this moment, the great mass of the party will claim not without justification that we have sown discord, have disorganised the party at the very time when, beset by dangers, it is laboriously reorganising itself. If we can avoid it, the breach ought to be postponed, and this is still my view, until some change in Germany gives us rather more elbow room.

If a breach becomes inevitable nevertheless, it must not be of the personal kind, it must not involve any rows (or what could be represented as such) between e. g. you and the Stuttgarters²¹⁹; rather the occasion for it must be a quite specific point of principle, i. e. in this

case of an infringement of the programme. Rotten though the programme may be, a cursory perusal of it will enable you to find enough in it to support your argument.²⁴¹ The programme, however, is not subject to the jurisdiction of the parliamentary group. The breach must be prepared in advance to the extent that Bebel, for one, agrees to it and at once goes along with you. And, thirdly, you must know what you want and are *able* to do once the breach has been made. To allow the *Sozialdemokrat* to pass into the hands of these people would be to make the German party the laughing-stock of the entire world.

The worst thing of all in such a case is impatience; decisions made on the spur of the moment and dictated by passion always seem to oneself tremendously noble and heroic, but they regularly lead to blunders, as I know only too well from a hundred examples from my own practical experience.

So: 1) postpone the breach for as long as possible, 2) if it becomes inevitable, make sure that it emanates from *them*, 3) get everything ready in the meantime, 4) do nothing without Bebel, for one, and possibly also Liebknecht, who will again be good for something (possibly *too* good) once he sees that the thing is inevitable and, 5) defend your vantage point on the *Sozialdemokrat envers et contre tous*,^a down to your last cartridge. That is my view.

You could certainly repay the 'condescension' of these gentlemen a thousand times over. You're certainly never at a loss for a ready answer in other respects and can certainly confront those jackasses with enough irony as well as disdain to make them rue this behaviour. There can be no serious discussion with ignoramuses like these who glory in their own ignorance; rather, they must be derided, hoist with their own petard, etc.

Don't forget either that, should things come to a head, my hands are very much tied by the vast amount of work ahead of me and I shan't be able to join in the fray to the extent I might wish to do.

I should also be grateful if, instead of general complaints about the philistines, you could give me a few details of *what* they object to and *what* they demand. *Nota bene*, the longer you negotiate with them, the greater the amount of self-incriminating material they must inevitably supply you with!

Write and tell me how far I ought to go into these matters when

^a against all-comers

corresponding with Bebel; I shall have to write to him shortly and intend to put off doing so until Monday the 9th inst., by which time I may have had a reply from you.

Regards to Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

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86

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL ⁸⁸

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG ³⁴

London, 6 June 1884

Dear Bebel,

Have received your letter of the 4th inst. and shall attend to the enclosure. You do not say whether you got my registered letter of 21 April, ³⁹ in which I returned the *envelope*, its seal *broken*, of your letter of the 18th of that month. If it has been intercepted, then the Stieberising of letters has been doubly proven. ²⁴²

If everything were to go according to the wishes of the Conservatives ²³⁰ and Liberals, ²⁴³ and likewise accord to the secret yearnings of the progressist philistines, ⁹³ there can be no doubt that the Anti-Socialist Law ³⁷ would long since have been perpetuated as an institution in Germany and that it would so remain. But that can only happen if nothing happens elsewhere in the world, and everything remains as it is now. Despite all these philistine desires, the Law was on the very brink of disaster when friend Bismarck applied his two last and most powerful levers—Lehmann's direct intervention ²¹⁰ and the threat of dissolution. ²⁴⁴ Hence it would not even require a particularly violent convulsion of the present status quo, peaceful as it is, to put an end to the whole caboodle. And in my opinion this will surely happen before two years are out.

True, Bismarck has, for the first time, played a *really* nasty trick on us by procuring 300 million marks for the Russians.¹⁸² That will give the Tsar^a a couple of years' respite from an *acute* financial emergency and thus temporarily eliminate the danger that looms largest — the necessity of having to convene the Estates for the voting of subsidies, as in France in 1789 and Prussia in 1846. If the revolution in Russia is not to be put back by several years, there must either be some unforeseen complications or else a couple of nihilistic thunderbolts.^b Neither of these can be counted on to happen. All we may be sure of is that the recent borrowing operation cannot be repeated.

At home, on the other hand — as you yourself say — a change of monarch is imminent and is bound to make everything totter. Here again it is as it was in 1840, before the death of old Frederick William III. So many interests are bound up with the old familiar state of political stagnation that there is nothing the heart of Philistia as a whole desires more fervently than its perpetuation. But with the old monarch^c the keystone disappears and the whole artificial structure collapses. The afore-mentioned interests, faced with an entirely new situation, suddenly discover that the world of today looks completely different from that of yesterday, and that they will have to look round for new mainstays. The new monarch^d and his new entourage have plans that have long been suppressed; the whole body of those who govern or are capable of governing expands and changes; officials are perplexed by the new conditions, and the insecurity of the future, the uncertainty about who will be at the helm tomorrow or the day after, causes the action of the entire government machine to falter. That, however, is all we require. But we shall get more. For in the first place we may be sure that while, at the start, the new government may have liberalising aspirations, it will soon become frightened at its own daring, will vacillate hither and thither and eventually grope its way hither and thither, living from hand to mouth, from instance to instance, each decision conflicting with the next. Aside from the general effect of this vacillation, what will become of the Anti-Socialist Law if it is administered under these conditions? The slightest attempt to administer it 'fairly' would be enough to render it ineffective. Either it has to be operated as at present, purely at the whim of the police, or it

^a Alexander III - ^b Cf. this volume, pp. 256, 275. - ^c William I - ^d Crown Prince Frederick William

will everywhere be broken.— That is one aspect. But there is another, namely that then, at last, some animation will return to the bourgeois political scene, the official parties will cease to be the one reactionary mass they now are (which is no gain to us, but rather a dead loss), and again begin seriously combatting one another and likewise struggling for political supremacy. It will make a tremendous difference to us whether, on the one hand, both National Liberals and Crown Prince Free Thinkers²³¹ have a chance of coming to the helm, or whether, as now, the ability to govern is confined to the liberal Conservatives. We shall never be able to lure the masses away from the liberal parties so long as the latter are not given an opportunity of discrediting themselves in practice, of taking the helm and demonstrating their ineptitude. As in 1848, we are still the opposition of the future and must, therefore, have the most extreme among the existing parties at the helm before being able to confront it as the opposition of the present. Political stagnation, i. e. aimless and purposeless struggle between the official parties, as at present, can be of no service to us in the long run. What could, however, is a progressive struggle between those parties, with the centre of gravity gradually shifting to the Left. That's what is currently happening in France where, as always, the course of the political struggle has assumed a classical form. The successive governments are moving ever further to the Left, and a Clemenceau government is already in sight; it will not be the most extreme bourgeois government. With every shift to the Left, concessions accrue to the workers (cf. the recent strike at Denain in which, for the first time, the military did *not* intervene²⁴⁵) and, more important still, the field is being increasingly cleared for the decisive battle, while the position of the parties becomes more distinct and well-defined. This slow but inexorable progress of the French Republic towards its logical conclusion—the confrontation between radical would-be socialist bourgeois and genuinely revolutionary workers—I consider to be a manifestation of the utmost importance, and I hope that nothing will happen to stop it. And I am glad that our people are not yet strong enough in Paris (but all the stronger for that in the provinces) to be misled by the force of revolutionary phrases into attempting a putsch.— In muddle-headed Germany, needless to say, progress is not being made along the same purely classical lines as in France; we have lagged much too far behind for that, and everything we experience has already had its day elsewhere. But despite the

rotteness of our official parties, political life of some description would be of far greater advantage to us than the present political death in which action is confined to the secret intrigues of foreign policy.

Sooner than I expected, friend Bismarck has lowered his trousers and shown the assembled people the posterior of his right to work²³³—an amalgam of the Poor Act of the 43rd year of the reign of Elizabeth and the Bastille amendment of 1834.²⁴⁶ What bliss for Blos, Geiser and Co. who have, after all, been riding the hobby-horse of the right to work for some time now^a and who already seem to imagine that it was *they* who had roped in Bismarck! And, having once embarked on this topic, I feel impelled to tell you that the performance of these gentry, both in the Reichstag—in so far as one can judge from the inadequate newspaper reports—and in their own press, has increasingly convinced me that *I*, at least, do not even remotely share their standpoint or have anything at all in common with them. These allegedly 'educated' but in fact utterly ignorant and obstinately ineducable philanthropists, who were not only admitted in the face of Marx's and my long and oft reiterated warnings, but were actually shepherded into the Reichstag, would seem to me to be becoming increasingly aware that they are in a majority in the parliamentary group and that it is precisely they who, with their time-serving attitude towards every crumb of state socialism tossed to them by Bismarck, more than any one else, are concerned that the Anti-Socialist Law should remain in force and that it should be applied leniently, if at all, to well-meaning persons like themselves—again something which only people like you and I prevent the government from doing, for if these, the afore-mentioned philanthropists, were rid of us it would be easy for them to prove that there was no call for an Anti-Socialist Law where they were concerned. Their abstention as well as their general performance in connection with the Dynamite Bill was likewise typical.²⁴⁷ But what's going to happen at the next election¹⁹⁴ if, as seems probable, the safest constituencies fall to these chaps?

It is a great pity that, during the next few critical months, you will be so far away; now, with the elections upon us, we should certainly have had occasion to tell each other a great deal. Could you not let me have an address from which my letters could be forwarded to you? I also hope you may sometimes be able to send me some interesting information about your trip.

^a See this volume, pp. 55-56.

Apart from what seems to me steady progress and increasing cohesion on the part of the eddicated bourgeois elements of the party, I am not at all anxious about the course things are taking. I would, if possible, rather see a split avoided so long as we have no freedom of action. But if it has to be—and it is for you people to decide, then so be it!

A work of mine on the origin of the family, property and the state is about to appear. As soon as it comes out I shall send it to you.

Your old friend

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 20 June 1884

Dear Old Man,

I hereby notify you that I have today taken out a £5 money order on your behalf and hope the post office will have advised you of its receipt by the time this letter arrives—it goes off by the next post. I have long looked forward to being able to make the above available and am glad that the moment has now come.

However, I cannot, alas, write you a long letter since, in my particular condition, prolonged sitting at my desk is bad for me and consequently prohibited. Unfortunately I have again knocked myself up a bit by doing so, for I have had a great deal of work to get through; but resting in a prone position, as I have again been doing most assiduously for the past few days, will soon put me to rights again. I am now dictating the 2nd volume of *Capital*,^a and so far it has been go-

^a Presumably to Oskar Eisengarten (see this volume, p. 153).

ing quite quickly, but it's the devil of a job and will demand a great deal of time and, in parts, much brain-racking. Luckily my brain is in pretty good shape and quite up to the mark where work is concerned as you will, I hope, be able to see from a little book on the origin of the family, private property and the state soon to be published. The second book of *Capital* will also, I think, come out before the end of the year, and the third next year.

At Whitsuntide I spent a week with Borkheim²³⁹; he is still laid up, with one side half paralysed, gets up three times a day for meals and to do some writing, is writing his biography,²⁴⁸ and is in good spirits and surprisingly cheerful for one in his condition, but sometimes suffers terribly from boredom. Moreover, he cannot read anything that demands much effort — not that he ever really has done. I send him books and the like every so often. He asked fondly after you and, in fact, we talked a great deal about you and about the old days.

Amongst Marx's papers I have found a few military campaign journals and the like relating to German columns in Switzerland which, no doubt, form part of the papers you mention.¹²⁶ Some more may turn up. Everything is safely here, but is still in a state of complete disorder. For the time being I shall have to lock away all correspondence, etc., in a large trunk until I have time to sort the stuff out and put it in order. But now it is absolutely essential that a text, both printable and written in a legible hand, be produced of the final volumes of *Capital*. Neither of these things can be done by any one now alive save for myself. If I were to kick the bucket first, no one else could possibly decipher the things which Marx himself was often unable to read, although his wife and I could do so. The letters, on the other hand, are written in such a way that others can read them.

In three or four months' time we shall be having elections in Germany.¹⁹⁴ I am extremely optimistic. There are many milksops amongst the leaders, but my faith in the masses is unshakable.

Your old friend

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY²⁴⁹

IN ZURICH

London, 21-22 June 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I hope you are now back from your trip to Salzburg²⁵⁰ and will soon be able to tell me something about the outcome of the Stuckert^a-on-the-Neckar affair over the *Neue Zeit*.²⁴⁰ According to what I hear from Ede and also from August,^b something of a damper has since been put on the passions of the Wise Men.²¹⁹ It is high time, too, that I heard something definite concerning the fate of my ms.^c Ede dropped me a pencilled note and promised something more, but did = 0.

Your ms.¹¹⁸ still reposes here and has not yet been attended to for the following reason. After having completed the ms.^c I was like a cat on hot bricks until I could begin work on Volume II of *Capital*. I did so. Next, I proposed to set about revising your work, as also the English translation (of the 1st volume of *Capital*),⁵⁶ in the evenings. But I had reckoned without my host. I had been hard at it since Easter, often spending 8 or 10 hours at my desk and, as a result of the posture this involved, my former indisposition partially reappeared—this time in chronic, not in its previous sub-acute, form. So desk work was again forbidden, *sauf quelques exceptions*.^d I therefore took the heroic step of engaging Eisengarten so that I might dictate the ms. to him and, since the beginning of the week, he and I have been slogging away from 10 to 5 every day, during which time I lie on the sofa, recovering visibly (idiotic word—nothing to be seen, only felt) but, of course, slowly. The thing's going far better than expected. Eisengarten is intelligent and hard-working and puts his heart into the thing, the more so since he is just working his way through the 3rd edition of the 1st volume. But most of the mss. are such that I have to spend every evening going through what I have dictated if I am to produce a text that is even provisionally valid. At the moment this takes up all my available time. But I believe that things will improve, as we are

^a Stuttgart - ^b Bebel - ^c *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* -

^d save for a few exceptions

now coming to the original gospel written before 1870, which means that there will be less re-editing.¹⁷ Anyway, I couldn't very well have revised your ms. *lying down*. But if you are in a hurry, I shall find the time and do it all at one go. There could be no question of this, however, nor for that matter, any necessity for it, unless you had got almost all of it done. I shall then — if not before — also let you have the preface about Rodbertus.^a

For the rest, I shall not discuss in detail your complaints about the eddicated chaps; I have known these worthies in this guise or that for 40 years now and have already given Ede my opinion of them at some length.^b The main thing is not to let oneself be browbeaten and, at the same time, retain one's composure.

The dynamiters have at long last discovered just what to do. They are concerned with striking at the root of the old social order, and now it transpires that the root in question is in fact the tail. This profound truth with which they are imbued eventually enabled them to discover how best to set about it, and they went and blew up a pissoir.²⁵¹

Which reminds me that the man behind the Geneva-Carouge *Explosion* is none other than the Italian *mouchard*,^c Carlo Terzaghi, who had already been unmasked by us in *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy*.²⁵²

The expelled Austrian anarchists²⁵³ purport to be connected with the regular German charities which have long existed over here. One of them touched me for alms but was unmasked and, upon his returning today, was chucked out at top speed.

The 2nd book of *Capital* will give us even more headaches, at least to start off with, than the first one. But it contains quite admirable analyses that will, for the first time, show people what is money and what capital and much else.

But now it is time to lie down again. All things considered, and apart from the localised trouble, I'm as fit as a fiddle, and my brain is in first-class condition.

Regards to Ede.

Your
F. E.

^a F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - ^b See this volume, pp. 144-47. - ^c police spy

Sunday 22nd.

Postscript. Hyndman intends to *buy up* the whole of the little movement here. He has done everything he can think of to ruin *To-Day*. Bax, who advanced the money for the purpose, got his sums wrong and was soon cleaned out. Hyndman, who is rich and also has access to the resources of Morris, a very rich but politically inept art lover, will either take *To-Day* under his wing or let it perish. Either way, he believes, he will reign supreme. I am glad that I have remained aloof from the whole caboodle. Hyndman is shrewd and a good business man, but superficial and STOCK-JOHN-BULL; moreover his ambition far outruns his talents and achievements. Bax and Aveling have the best of intentions and are, besides, learning by degrees, but everything's at sixes and sevens, nor can these literati do anything on their own. The fact is that the masses are not yet going along with them. Once the chaps have sorted themselves out a bit it will be better.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY ¹⁸⁴

IN ZURICH

London, 26 June 1884

Dear Kautsky,

The anti-Rodbertus ms.²⁵⁴ goes back tomorrow by registered mail. I found little that called for comment and have made a few pencilled notes. Apart from these I would add the following:

1) Roman Law is the consummation of the law of *simple*, i. e. of precapitalist, *commodity production*, though the latter also embodies much of the legal system of the capitalist period. Exactly, that is, what our burghers *needed* at the time of their rise and, in accordance with local common law, did *not* get.

On p. 10 there are several things I object to: 1. Surplus *value* is

the exception only in the case of production by slaves and serfs. It ought to read surplus *product*, most of which is directly consumed but not *valorised*.

2) As regards the means of production, the matter is not quite as you say. In all societies based on a division of labour that has evolved naturally, the product, and hence also to some extent the means of production, dominates the producer—on occasion at any rate—as did, in the Middle Ages, the soil the peasant who was simply an appurtenance of the land and the tool the guild handicraftsman. Division of labour is the direct domination of the instruments of labour over the worker, although not in the capitalist sense.

Much the same applies to the concluding bit on the means of production.

1) You should not separate *agriculture* any more than *technology* from political economy, as you do on pp. 21 and 22. Rotation of crops, artificial fertilisers, the steam engine, the power loom, cannot be separated from capitalist production any more than the tools of the savage and the barbarian from *his* production. The tools of the savage condition *his* society just as much as do more modern ones capitalist society. What your view boils down to is that, while production does indeed determine the social institution *today*, it did not do so before capitalist production existed, because tools had not as yet been guilty of original sin.

The moment you say means of production, you say society and a society *determined* by, amongst other things, those means of production. Means of production *as such*, extraneous to society and without influence over it, exist no more than does capital *as such*.

But how the means of production, which, at earlier periods, including that of simple commodity production, exercised only a very mild domination compared with now, came to exercise their present despotic domination, is something that calls for proof and yours strikes me as inadequate, since it fails to mention one pole, namely the creation of a class which no longer had any means of production of its own, or, therefore, any means of subsistence, and hence was compelled to sell itself piecemeal.

In the case of Rodbertus' positive proposals, emphasis ought to be laid on his Proudhonism—after all he proclaimed himself Proudhon I, the forerunner of the French Proudhon. Constituted value, invented by Rodbertus as early as 1842,²⁵⁵ is to be established. His proposals here are lamentably retrograde by comparison with Bray

and with Proudhon's exchange bank. The worker is to get only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the product, but that is assured! We can discuss this later.

Repose (physical) is suiting me splendidly; I get better every day and this time the cure will be complete. The dictation of the 2nd book of *Capital* is going ahead splendidly. We^a have already reached Part II—but there are big gaps. The editing is only provisional, of course, but that too will get done. I can see my way ahead, *cela suffit*.^b

Ede's letter received with thanks. You will have to be patient with my letter-writing; I mustn't get run down again and a frightful amount of work and correspondence is piling up.

My regards to you both,

Your
F. E.

Wage Labour and Capital^c will go off as soon as the comparison is done, perhaps tomorrow.^d

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ENGELS TO EVGENIA PAPRITZ

IN LONDON

[London,] 26 June 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

The lithographed journal to which you have been so good as to draw my attention is already known to me by repute, although I have not yet been fortunate enough to see a copy of it.^{2 5 6}

Are you not, perhaps, being a trifle unjust towards your compatriots? Marx and I have not, for our part, found any cause for complaint in them. While certain schools may have been more noted for

^a Engels dictated Marx's ms. to Oskar Eisengarten; see this volume, p. 153.-^b that's enough -^c by Marx -^d See this volume, p. 159.

their revolutionary zeal than for their scientific studies, and while, here and there, some degree of trial and error may have been and may still be in evidence, we have, on the other hand, witnessed a critical spirit and a devotion to research, even in the field of pure theory, wholly worthy of a nation capable of producing a Dobrolyubov and a Chernyshevsky. And here I speak, not only of the active revolutionary socialists, but of the historical and critical school in Russian literature, which is infinitely superior to anything of the kind produced in Germany and France by way of official history. And even among active revolutionaries our ideas, and the science of economics as remodelled by Marx, have always met with an intelligent and sympathetic response. As you are doubtless aware, a number of our works have quite recently appeared in Russian translation, and are to be followed by others, notably Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*. His short work dating from before 1848, *Wage Labour and Capital* (Наемный трудъ и капиталъ), has also appeared under that title in this series.²⁵⁷

I am exceedingly flattered by your suggestion that a translation of my *Outlines etc.* might prove useful. Although still a little proud of this, my first work on social science, I am all too aware that it is now completely out of date and replete, not only with mistakes, but also with 'howlers'. The misapprehensions it could hardly fail to engender would, I fear, quite outbalance such good as it might do.

I shall be sending you by post a copy of *Dühring's Revolution etc.*^a

As for our old newspaper articles, it would be difficult to lay hands on them just now. Most of them have little relevance today; as soon as the publication of the manuscripts left by Marx allows me sufficient leisure, I intend to bring them out as a collection with explanatory notes, etc. But that will not be for some time to come.

I am not quite sure what you mean by the manifesto addressed to *English working men*. Might it be THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE, the International's manifesto on the Paris Commune^b? That I could send you.

If my health permitted, I should ask your permission to come and call on you; unfortunately I am not allowed to go out and about, though I feel reasonably well when *at home*.—Should you be willing

^a F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*. Herr Eugen Dühring's *Revolution in Science*.— ^b K. MARX, *The Civil War in France*. *Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association*.

to do me the honour of dropping in on me here, you would always find me at your service round about seven or eight o'clock in the evening.

I am, Madam,

Yours very truly,

F. Engels

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

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ⁶¹

IN ZURICH

London, 29 June 1884

Dear Ede,

1. I return *Wage Labour and Capital*^a herewith. The Silesian edition has certainly required a great deal of revision.²⁵⁸ I did not, it is true, have time to compare it with the original throughout, but only those passages that worried me most. However, you chaps have got it there and will be able to attend to that when correcting the proofs.

2. I shall get another portrait of Marx done by the same man who did mine, and let you have it. It is not a chalk drawing but an enlarged photograph. But how will a colour-print turn out if the chap has never seen Moor and his singularly dark complexion?²⁵⁹

3. A parcel of 40 *Revolutions*^b went off from here yesterday addressed to Volksbuchhandlung, 3 Kasinostraße, Hottingen-Zurich, Switzerland, 'BOOKS, VALUE £3 CARRIAGE FORWARD' (i. e. not prepaid) per CONTINENTAL PARCELS Express, which is the correspondent of the German Imperial Post Office and of the Swiss Post Office, and likewise of the French parcels offices. The association stuff [*Vereinssachen*] from Zurich also comes here by the same route. There is no parcel post be-

^a by Marx - ^b F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*; see this volume, p. 133.

tween England and the Continent, hence no 'postal packages à 5 kilos', or not, at any rate, for this country; splitting them up would mean doubling the cost *over here*. Not splitting them up into 2 parcels surely wouldn't raise the cost of consignment *there* as much as would splitting them up over here.

4. Schorlemmer writes to say that his brother Ludwig in Darmstadt has not yet received a single number of the *Sozialdemokrat* despite the fact that receipt of his subscription was acknowledged in the paper. Is this an isolated misfortune or general one? Please look into it.

5. I can't get hold of any socialist poems specifically by Weerth. There are some in Moses Hess' old *Gesellschaftsspiegel* of 1845, but I believe you have already seen those. I once heard something about a collection of his verse but have never set eyes on it.²⁶⁰ In any case, *he* never published such a thing any more than *we* did.

6. The archivist will have to wait; I haven't the time to get my own things in order. If I do get round to it, you may be sure he won't be overlooked.²⁶¹ But now the prime consideration is the completion of the 2nd volume of *Capital*. The thing's going swimmingly, the preliminary edition of about $\frac{1}{3}$ having been done, and is progressing by something like $\frac{1}{2}$ a printed sheet a day, or a little under. As soon as we get to the last part ('The Circulation of the Aggregate Social Capital'),^a Eisengarten can, with my help, copy out the existing ms. of 1878,¹⁷ while I can get on with the final editing of what has already been done. In this way we shall finish before so very long, and then go on to the 3rd, most important book.

Only then will it be possible to consider putting the old pre-'48 mss. in order and preparing extracts thereof for the press. It's not that I am unwilling, but this requires work, i. e. time.

So you, too, have finally come round to the view that we shall end up by coping quite successfully with the 'Wise Men'.²¹⁹ I sent for a few numbers of the *Neue Welt*, so as to meet the gentlemen *chez eux*^b for once. So far have only read the correspondence column. German schoolboy cheek which presupposes a very tame readership.

You should not, by the way, allow yourself to get worked up about pin-pricks; that is the golden rule in this struggle. And remember that

^a See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Part III: 'The Reproduction and Circulation of the Aggregate Social Capital'. - ^b on their own ground

Nothing gives one more delight
 Than one's antagonists to bite,
 Than making scurvy jokes about
 This uncouth clod, that clumsy lout.^a

Regards to Kautsky.

Your
 F. E.

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 first time

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ENGELS TO SARAH ALLEN ²⁶²

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, about 6 July 1884]

Madam,

In reply to your note of the 5th arrived to hand yesterday and an answer to which was retarded by my absence from town, I beg to say that I consider Mr E. Aveling quite a desirable tenant and have no doubt that you will not regret having let your premises to him.

Yours, etc.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 36,
 Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the original

^a G. Weerth, *Nichts Schöneres gibt es auf der Welt...*

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ENGELS TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

IN PARIS

London, 8 July 1884

My dear Citizen Deville,

Thank you for sending me your lectures ¹⁷⁹ — the last one reached me yesterday and I have not yet had time to read it. I have no doubt that it is no less excellent than its predecessors. I shall suggest to our friends that they translate them into German and publish them in the same way as you are doing in Paris; it's precisely what we need for propaganda just now.

Would you be so kind as to pass on the enclosed note to Lafargue *without Mme Lafargue's knowledge?* He'll tell you the reason for this — perfectly innocent, by the way.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 11 July 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I trust Ede will get over his feverish attack; give him my regards and tell him that I, too, shall be drinking to his health.

To have let Auer have the Hamburg stuff is perfectly all right so far as I'm concerned. I suggested Bebel and Dietz merely because I had

to tell the man to *whom* I intended to mention his name; needless to say this does not in any way restrict your freedom of action.

The matter of Dietz is becoming a bore. If he won't say either yes or no, then we can't go on waiting for him. My chief concern is that the thing^a should come out and, secondly, that it should not be instantly confiscated *en masse*. I. e. two things that are to be had simultaneously only in Switzerland. Printing in Austria should be considered only in *case of need*; 1) it would mean fresh delays and negotiations and 2) the thing would be banned *all the same*, you need be under no illusions as to that^b; and 3) not only could it be banned in Austria, but also seized (remember the Viennese affair you told me about last autumn). So do get something positive done at last.

There must still be something peculiar going on in the *Neue Zeit*, otherwise that wise man Schippel would certainly not have been allowed to talk of a 'Rodbertusian-Marxian theory', or of things that 'one has come to recognise since Rodbertus'; and without editorial comment at that.^c The Germans must have fallen low indeed if they have still not discovered that what Marx has in common with Rodbertus is nothing more than the *application égalitaire de la théorie ricardienne*^d mentioned by Marx on p. 49 of the *Poverty*^e and which has been a commonplace among English socialists since 1827! But that is very far from being surplus value as defined by Marx and applied by him to every aspect of the science of economics. Which is why the good English, and likewise Rodbertus, for all their borrowings from Ricardo, have made no headway at all in the matter of economics; the first advance in this field was made by Marx, who demolished all previous political economy.

Incidentally, if I am to tackle Rodbertus *properly*, I must have his piece of 1842,^f *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer Zustände*, or whatever it is called. You quoted from it.^g Could you let me have it for a day or two or, better still, buy it for me? To judge by some of the quotations, it

^a F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. -^b Cf. this volume, pp. 131-32. -^c M. Schippel, 'H. M. Hyndman. *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England*, London, 1883', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 7, 1884. -^d equalitarian application of Ricardian theory. -^e See K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138. -^f 1841 in the original. -^g K. Kautsky, 'Das Kapital von Rodbertus', *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 8-9, 1884, pp. 343, 389.

would seem to be the best, because the first thing that he wrote, his latter stuff being a mere rehash, hence increasingly flimsy.

Your
F. E.

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95

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY ²⁶³

IN ZURICH

London, 19 July 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Did not get the letter from you and Ede until this morning, although postmarked Zurich 17/7.

I agree to your proposals, provided the thing now goes ahead. If our workers can read Roman just as easily as German characters, I would myself, of course, prefer Roman. Format about the same as *Entwicklung*^a—Bebel's *Frau*¹³⁸ was too large. If you believe you can sell 5,000, I am quite agreeable. So just get on with it and let me have the proofs soon. The arrangement with Schabelitz is also quite satisfactory.²⁶⁴

So the only reward we get for the consideration we have shown Dietz is his regarding us all as his enemies!

That the *Neue Zeit* is to cease publication ²⁶⁵ is no misfortune for the party. It is becoming increasingly clear that the great majority of *literary* party men in Germany belong to the ranks of those opportunists and pussy-footers whom the Anti-Socialist Law,³⁷ adversely though it may affect their pockets, has placed in exactly the right *literary* atmosphere; they can express themselves uninhibitedly, whereas we are prevented from giving them a piece of our mind. Thus the very fact of having to fill up such a review every month demands considerable forbearance, and entails the gradual encroachment of philanthropy, humanism, sentimentality—in short all the anti-revolutionary vices

^a F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

of your Freiwalds,^a Quarcks, Schippels, Rosuses^b et al. People who refuse on principle to learn anything and who turn out nothing but literature about literature and à propos of literature (⁹/₁₀ of all German writing today consists of writing about other writing) will, needless to say, produce more sheets per year than those who mug up a subject and attempt to write about other books only when 1) they have mastered those other books, 2) the latter contain anything that is worthwhile. The preponderance of these gentlemen in literature published in Germany, a preponderance created by the Anti-Socialist Law, is unavoidable so long as that Law endures. On the other hand, we have a weapon of altogether different calibre in the shape of the literature appearing abroad.

It would be delightful if you were to come to this country. But I don't know whether you ought to count with such certainty on the New Yorkers. Over 3 months ago Aveling was taken on as London correspondent^c and, though he has written regularly, he has not yet had a penny. Here on the spot there's nothing to be earned. Neither *Justice* nor *To-Day* pay, and if there's anything to be picked up elsewhere in the press, everyone is on to it like a pack of wolves.

The clairvoyance in the *Neue Welt*²⁶⁶ is the best thing that could have happened. That sort of 'erudition' regularly degenerates into such-like nonsense. The cruder the better—it will be over all the sooner. I did so laugh when I got your postcard. A few more such audacious Geiseriads and the chap will have to pack his bags.

Hyndman's book,^d like the man himself, is a pretentious, impertinent jumble in which he, too, continually tries to pick holes in Marx (for not being an Englishman; Hyndman is the most jingoistic John Bull imaginable) and yet is so ignorant of English history that it's all wrong except for what he has learnt from the Germans. But Hyndman is about to come a cropper here; true he has, with his own and Morris' money, now bought up the entire movement, financially speaking (likewise *To-Day* which Bax is unable to carry on for want of resources, and which has now been transferred lock, stock and barrel to Hyndman), but his eagerness to play the dictator, his envy of all potential rivals and his persistent self-promotion, have rendered him suspect to even his surest friends, and his position in the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION⁹⁹ is growing shaky. *Cet homme n'ira pas loin, il ne sait pas*

^a Freiwald Thüringer—pen-name of Max Quarck - ^b Robert Schweichel - ^c to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* - ^d H.M. Hyndman, *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England*.

attendre.^a On top of that, *Justice* is becoming ever sillier, and I hope that this *initial* phase of the movement here will very soon be over^b; it is becoming dreadfully unedifying.

With your bacillum, you have given Geiser an opening²⁶⁷ which, however, he may with any luck be too stupid to exploit. Both forms, *baculus* and *baculum*, are current, hence either gender so far as the derivation is concerned. But bacillus has long since been exclusively adopted in biology.

As I shall probably be going to the seaside for a bit at the end of this or the beginning of next month, I should be grateful if I could have Rodbertus' *Zur Erkenntniss now*.^c I shall return it immediately, along with the *Normal-Arbeitstag*, etc., but it is necessary for me to have seen the thing because *he himself* maintained in 1879 that Marx had made use of it without due acknowledgment.¹⁸⁷ No such accusation could ever be brought against Marx save by people without any idea of the hair-raising ignorance it requires so much as to assert anything of the kind. Anyone who has read Ricardo—and even in Adam Smith there are passages enough to this effect—must after all know what is the 'source' of surplus value without having to read the great^d Rodbertus first.

Your
F. E.

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96

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 22 July 1884

My dear Laura,

'*La suite à demain!*'... *mais je l'attends encore, cette suite*^e which was to explain to me the many otherwise inexplicable things in your last let-

^a This man will not go far; he does not know how to bide his time.-^b See this volume, p. 236.-^c Ibid., p. 163.-^d In the original: 'graußen' (South German dialect).-^e 'More tomorrow!' ... but I am still waiting for this continuation

ter. Why, I thought you lived in one of the finest, airiest, healthiest, etc., quarter of Paris, at an elevation sufficient to raise you above all earthly things, and now all at once you are going to move, and that at this blessed hot time of the year, and Paul is going to Bordeaux, and the whole world is all sixes and sevens and the long and the short of it is that you are not coming²⁶⁸ but must spend the hot season in Paris, and will only leave Paris at that season when Heine admired it most:

die Sterne
sind am schönsten in Paris
Wenn sie eines Winterabends
Dort im Strassenkot sich spiegeln.^a

Well, Nim and Jollymeier who came on Friday,^b and myself have given this matter our most serious consideration and we have come to the unanimous, but so far not very satisfactory conclusion: that something must be wrong somewhere.

Anyhow: As *La Suite*^c won't come, I hope you will after all come yourself and let all these considerations go to the wind. If you wait for Paul's going to Bordeaux to start a paper, that may or may not come off these next 100 years. If he does not go, and it is absolutely necessary that you should move from 66 Boulevard de Port-Royal, well, then let *him* hunt for apartments and do the moving. So I do not see what should stop you from coming over — if only for 3 weeks say — and as soon as you tell me that you are coming, we will make the road as smooth for you as we can.

Tussy and Edward are off on honeymoon No. I, if not back already again — the grand honeymoon is to come off next Thursday.^d Of course, Nim, Jollymeier and I have been fully aware of what was going on for a considerable time and had a good laugh at these poor innocents who thought all the time we had no eyes, and who did not approach the *quart d'heure de Rabelais*²⁶⁹ without a certain funk. However we soon got them over that. In fact had Tussy asked my advice before she leaped, I might have considered it my duty to expati-

^a The stars
Are at their prettiest in Paris,
When they are reflected in the street filth
On a winter's evening.

Engels quotes from memory Heine's *Atta Troll*, Ch. II. -^b 18 July -^c continuation -

^d 31 July

ate upon the various possible and unavoidable consequences of their step — but when it was all settled, the best thing was for them to have it out at once before other people could take advantage of its being kept in the dark. And that was one of the reasons why I was glad that we knew all about it — if any wise people had found it out and come up to us with the grand news, we should have been prepared. I hope they will continue as happy as they seem now, I like Edward very much, and think it will be a good thing for him to come more into contact with other people besides the literary and lecturing circle in which he moved, he has a good foundation of solid studies, and felt himself out of place amongst that extremely superficial lot amongst whom fate had thrown him.

Jollymeier is very well and lively now — while I work he takes long walks — he is off now on one of them. Pumps has at last got over her bronchitis, etc., and will move to-day into her new house in Kilburn — beg pardon, ‘West Hampstead’ (I never knew Hampstead to reach as far as Edgware Road, but so it seems).

Nim is very well and lively — next week I suppose we shall have to move towards the sea, but where to? that grand question remains still to be solved. As to myself I am right enough on condition of keeping — for the present — within very narrow bounds both as to exercise, work and enjoyment — I hope the change of air will finally set me right.

And now for ‘*la suite*’, and let it be a good one, a *suite* that brings you over!

Paul’s *Blé* has arrived this morning. What a pity he does not follow the wise counsels of *la rédaction du^a Journal des économistes!*²⁷⁰

Very affectionately yours,
F. E

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^a the editorial board of

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

[London, not earlier than 25 July 1884]

Dear Ede,

You may send the enclosed to Auer if you wish; I have contrived it with that in view.

As regards the apportionment of constituencies,²⁷¹ I assure you that I, too, have often been annoyed about it, but it is due to the desire to proceed, in purely tactical matters, in accordance with general principles and this always happens at congresses where everything is made to look so nice and simple. Dual candidatures are, of course, useless as a rule; but if you reckon that in the doubtful constituencies the best people are more likely to get in than the others and you therefore put them up there, you must either tolerate dual candidatures in their case or run the risk of their not being elected at all. So if you're totally opposed to dual candidatures, you must put up the best people in the safest constituencies. But then it is odd that this relegation to doubtful constituencies never happens to Liebknecht but only to Bebel, and that e. g. at the last election Liebknecht had, if I am not mistaken, *two* quite good constituencies.^a *Enfin*^b such things cannot be avoided. Nor must one forget that a battle always has its ups and downs and hence not be put out if the downs sometimes tend to predominate.

At all events, this much is certain: so long as we have the *Sozialdemokrat*, their worships the opportunists may do as they wish; and even if they gained control of the parliamentary group (which is after all only possible if Bebel is not re-elected), they wouldn't have won, not by a long chalk. What are their intentions towards the masses? The latter keep pressing these same people onwards whether they like it or not. And if the Wise Men²¹⁹ also succeeded in gaining command of the *Sozialdemokrat*, this would be of shorter duration than the *Sozialdemokrat's* first weak-kneed period which at the outset also met with

^a See Engels' letter to Bernstein of 30 November 1881 (present edition, Vol. 46).-

^b Well

support, even among the better of the 'leaders', but was utterly rejected by the masses.

As to the Vast Erudition of the celebrated non-atheist,²⁷² I shall be highly delighted if it takes every possible opportunity to parade itself. An equally mysterious savant^a crops up in Paul de Kock's *Amant de la lune*; when, having gone to the utmost trouble, people finally get the measure of his erudition, they discover that it consists in a couple of conjuring tricks with corks. Think of all the trouble we went to before this celebrated man finally consented to provide us with just a few samples of his erudition! And how pretty they are! And he has actually got as far as clairvoyance.²⁶⁶ What more could we want?—*cela marche!*^b

Regards to Karl Kautsky, also from Schorlemmer.

Your
F. E.

Tell Manz, who has written to me, that a portrait just like mine is now being done for him and that he shall have it as soon as it is ready^c; in a sprawling city like London, however, I can't chase after things personally and must therefore depend on other people.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 26 July 1884

My dear Laura,

La suite, la suite de la suite et la conclusion par^d Paul Lafargue to hand. I have just sent my *amanuensis*^e home and have a few minutes

^a Saucissard - ^b He's doing well. - ^c See this volume, p. 159. - ^d The continuation, continuation of the continuation and the conclusion by; see this volume, pp. 166-68. - ^e secretary (Oskar Eisengarten)

left to say that I shall be very glad not only to revise Paul's article but also to offer suggestions as to points of attack.²⁷³ But for that I must have the book^a and to get it I must know the *exact title*—please let me have that at once so that I can order it.

It appears, then, that after all we shall have to do without you at the seaside.²⁶⁸ Well, I don't know—if this weather continues, whether France is not preferable. We have now, 5 p. m., hardly 17° Centigrade and plenty of rain so that poor Jollymeier has not been able to take his walk.

Pumps and Percy are just coming in for dinner so I must conclude. Love from all.

Yours affectionately,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London,] 28 July 1884

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Proofs^b returned herewith. Shall continue to return them promptly. But I would ask you to be rather more indulgent with my spelling; I have no cause in my advancing years to let myself be either civilised or centralised, let alone cited.^c Supposedly 'consistent' spelling is usually far less consistent and far less historical than the good old casualness.

I am in full agreement with your suggestions. However these are things you know more about than I do.

^a P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Le Collectivisme. Examen critique du nouveau socialisme.* - ^b F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* - ^c At that time *zivilisieren*, *zentralisieren* and *zitieren* were customarily spelt with a 'c'. In this letter Engels spells them with a 'z'.

I would now ask you to be good enough to let me have the final proofs and, when the book is ready, 25 copies of the deluxe edition and 5 of the other; I shall not be able to manage with less.²⁶⁴

To save postage, the ms. can be sent *with* the proofs in a stiff, strong wrapper; over here mss. and proofs are both charged as book post. They must, however, carry the *full* amount of stamps, otherwise they won't arrive here.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO JAMES LEIGH JOYNES
IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 30 July 1884

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I cannot at present give you my consent to a translation of my *Entwicklung etc.*^a for *To-Day*, as I am bound by a previous engagement to another gentleman.^b

As to my promise of an article for *To-Day*, that promise was given to Mr Bax and as far as I know Mr Bax is no longer one of the Editors of *To-Day*.^c

Yours faithfully,
F. E.

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^a *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - ^b Edward Aveling - ^c See this volume, p. 177.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

[London, July 1884]²⁷⁴

[...] ^a By way of self-sacrifice I looked through a few numbers of the *Neue Welt*. It was so deadly dull that it couldn't be done for long. As regards Mr Geiser, his 'erudition' is unassailable *there*. The very fact of a person's parading his erudition in a penny paper of this kind is proof enough that he has failed to take in anything at all. Even had he not invariably written cholera *baccillus* for *bacillus*, as though the word stemmed from *bacca* and not *baculus*. Besides, it's to be found in any Latin dictionary. The assertion that both materialism and idealism are one-sided and must be synthesised in a higher entity ^b is a hoary one and ought not to worry you; again, that atheism merely expresses a negation is an argument we ourselves had already advanced against the philosophers 40 years ago, only with the corollary that atheism, as the *mere* negation of, and referring only to, religion, would itself be nothing without it and is thus itself another religion. Typical of the remaining erudition is an article by Blos on the Greek and German gods ^c in which alone I noted the following bloomers:

1. The *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* are said to be by Reuchlin. While they did originate from his entourage, he had less of a hand in them than Ulrich von Hutten.²⁷⁵

2. The Greek gods 'feast on nectar and *quaff* ambrosia'!

3. 'Mead', alias 'Meed', ^d he explains in brackets, is 'beer', when every child knows that it is, and always has been, made, not with malt, but with honey.

4. Blos does not even know the names of the German gods; [he] ^e gives them now in early Nordic, now in German. Alongside the early Nordic Odin whose German name (early Saxon Wodan, Old High German Wuotan) he doesn't know, we find the Old High German Ziu. Odin is also said to have a wife called Freia; but in early Nordic

^a The first part of the letter is missing. - ^b A reference to the article by Bruno Geiser, 'Das Innere der Erde', *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 14 and 15, 1884. - ^c W. Blos, 'Die Götter in der Dichtung', *Die Neue Welt*, No. 10, 1884. - ^d In the original: 'Met', alias Meth. - ^e The manuscript is damaged here.

she is called Frigg, Old High German Fricka, something even Richard Wagner could have told him. There you have a little nosegay culled rapidly in the space of 10 minutes! Not even the meanest cur could be frightened by erudition of *that* sort. Just let them strut like peacocks in their penny paper; you only have to look behind their fans to see where the droppings come from!

Your
F. E.

Regards to Karl Kautsky.

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102

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE ²⁷⁶

IN PARIS

London, 1 August 1884

My dear Laura,

Leroy-Beaulieu duly arrived.^a Thanks. Have not had much time yet to look at it, but shall do now,^b Schorlemmer has gone to Germany yesterday.

We shall probably start on Monday^c for Worthing near Brighton—it's Percy's choice, and from all other people's reports a horridly dull place.²⁷⁷ All the same to me, but if Pumps does not like it, she will have to settle that with the husband of her bosom. Shall let you have exact address as soon as possible.

Have had a bad cold in consequence of the heat and exposure to drafts—have not smoked or tasted beer for nearly a week, but am on the right side of both again since yesterday.

^a P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Le Collectivisme. Examen critique du nouveau socialisme.*-^b See this volume, pp. 179-83.-^c 4 August

As Paul's article on the *blé*^a is not complete yet and they are almost sure to have a month between that and the attack on Leroy-Beaulieu,²⁷³ so that this latter article will only appear in the *October* No., there will be a bit of breathing time — at least I hope so. I do want a bit of rest, and shall have, besides this affair, plenty of translations to revise while at the seaside. The great thing for Paul will have to be — *conciseness*, limitation of the question *strictly to Leroy-Beaulieu's criticisms on Mohr*, leaving entirely out Lassalle, etc. — except perhaps when Leroy-Beaulieu gives occasion to show his glaring ignorance. However as soon as I have looked the book over I shall be able to judge better. Anyhow as the book is big and the place for reply small, the limitation to what is strictly necessary will be unavoidable.

Now I must conclude — it's blazing hot, I have written already five letters and have still to write to 'Mrs Aveling' and to Zurich.

Nim too has a bit of the cough and what I almost feel inclined to call a whooping-cough sometimes — but it is not bad. You know that Tussy caught a *regular whooping-cough* from little Lilian Rosher! It's positively true.

Tell Paul to give you a kiss each for Nim and me.

Very affectionately yours,

F. E.

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103

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 1 August 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Have today returned Rodbertus' *Zur Erkenntniss* by *registered mail*, and trust it will arrive safely. After receipt of this, don't send any

^a wheat; Engels is referring to Paul Lafargue's article 'Le blé en Amérique; production et commerce'.

more *letters* here. I shall be going to the seaside²⁷⁷ on Monday^a and might even be able to send you my new address *pro tempore* tomorrow.

Rodbertus' book is indeed by far the best thing he ever wrote — youthful work in both the good and the bad sense — the original version of subsequent flimsier ones — shows how close he came to the thing, if he had only followed it up instead of setting his sights on Utopias. I am *very glad indeed* to have seen it. Time for the post and lunch.

Your
F. E.

Regards to Ede, the ex-epididymitician.

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104

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN²⁶³

IN ZURICH

Worthing, 6 August 1884
48 Marine Parade

Dear Ede,

After all manner of vagaries I have at last landed up here, on the South coast, where I hope to stay for a good 3 weeks.²⁷⁷ At our door we have the whole expanse of the Channel, though at low tide it recedes a good 300 paces; on the whole a quiet, boring little spot where, between bouts of idleness, I shall probably find enough time to look through your and Kautsky's translation of the *Poverty*.¹¹⁸

Perhaps you would be so kind as to arrange for the proof-sheets^b to

^a 4 August - ^b F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

be sent me here until further notice. Eisengarten will arrange for the *Sozialdemokrat* to be forwarded from London.

The weather here is fine and hot and I still have to notify umpteen people of my new address. So no further news (in any case damned scarce) save that Hyndman has now succeeded in buying *To-Day* as well. Bax, who invested in it what little money he had — I warned him as early as October that it wouldn't be enough — was *au bout de ses finances*,^a at which juncture Hyndman interposed his attendant page, Champion, through whom he offered additional funds if he, Champion, became editor in place of Bax. Thus seized by the throat, Bax accordingly resigned, the result being that Hyndman now controls the whole of the so-called socialist press. But as in the case of all such little fellows whose ambition is disproportionate to their character and talents the moment of victory was also the moment of defeat. Outward success is matched by failure within his own faction. To an increasing extent Hyndman's following is coming to consist only of those he has bought outright, and/or people who are financially dependent on him. He is daily losing ground in the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION. The day before yesterday there was a conference of delegates²⁷⁸; what transpired there I cannot say since Aveling, though he attended it, is at present in Derbyshire. For he and Tussy have got married without benefit of registrar, etc., and are now revelling in each other's company amidst the Derbyshire hills. Nota bene: No publicity should be given to this; it will be time enough when, perhaps, some reactionary puts something into the papers about it. The fact is that Aveling has a lawful wife whom he cannot get rid of *de jure* although he has for years been rid of her *de facto*. The matter is fairly common knowledge over here, and has, on the whole, been taken well, even by literary philistines. My London is almost a Paris in miniature and it educates its people.

But enough for now. Regards to Karl Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

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^a at the end of his finances

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

Worthing, 6 August 1884
48 Marine Parade

My dear Laura,

Here we are and here is our address in as primitive a place as the British sea-side will admit of²⁷⁷ — the first lodgings we took we had to leave because the old Madam objected to smoking!!

No Lager Beer as yet, but Percy is hunting some up at Brighton — as soon as that is to hand I will try whether I can digest Leroy-Beaulieu²⁷³; it is blazing hot but fine continental heat and sea-breeze, the Channel is right before our noses but at ebttide about 1/4 mile away. Pumps and Nim just come in for beer, they say it is so hot they cannot stand it outside any longer and the house is indeed cooler.

Why, after all *ces pauvres parisiens*^a will be done out of their share of cholera! What a shame after all their preparations.

Nim just says she hopes she has come into a fortune on July 31st in that grand drawing in Paris. If so, you are to telegraph at once to the Baroness de Demuth at the above address, as she wants to come out with a grand treat.

I am lazy and have so many letters to write! So I hope I shall have good news from Paul, that is to say that the great Leroy-Beaulieu is not in such a hurry to pocket his thrashing.^b

Anyhow, I must take *beneficium caloris*^c and conclude.

The whole lot send any amount of loves, ditto

Yours affectionately,
F. E.

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^a those poor Parisians - ^b See this volume, pp. 174-75 and 179-83. - ^c beneficial heat

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE ¹⁹⁶

IN PARIS

[Worthing, about 11 August 1884] ²⁷⁹

p. 1. Beaulieu always writes Schoeffle: the gentleman's name is *Schäffle*.

p. 3, *nascent* capitalist system—? about 1780-1800? The *birth* of that system dates back to the 15th century, whereas *nascent* big industry merely led to its apogee.

pp.1 and 4. Maine does not in any way deserve to be cited in the same breath as Maurer; he discovered nothing and is merely a disciple of the disciples of Maurer; long before his day, the communal ownership of land in India had been known about and described by Campbell, etc.; that in Java by Money, that in Russia by Haxthausen.^a His only merit is to have been the first Englishman to have accepted and vulgarised Maurer's discoveries.

p. 5, must be entirely recast. The examples you give do not apply to the point under discussion. The peasant's plot which turns into capital would be *land as capital*, a very complex matter not discussed by Marx until the *3rd book*.^b Your slave-owner producing for the New Orleans market is no more a capitalist than the Romanian boyar who exploits forced peasant labour. No one can be a capitalist unless he owns the means of labour and *exploits* the free working man!

Rather you should say: the loom of the small peasant of pre-revolutionary times, which was used to weave clothing for his family, was not capital, nor yet is it capital when the peasant sells to the merchant the cloth he has been able to make during the long winter evenings; but if he employs a paid hand to weave those commodities for the merchant, and if he pockets the difference between the cost of production and the price of the sale of the cloth, then the loom is transformed into capital.—The object of production—to produce commodities—*does not impart* to the instrument the character of capi-

^a G. Campbell, *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government*; J. W. B. Money, *Java; or, How to Manage a Colony*; A. Freiherr von Haxthausen, *Die ländliche Verfassung Rußlands*.—^b of *Capital*

tal. The production of commodities is one of the preconditions for the existence of capital; but so long as the producer sells only *what he himself produces*, he is not a capitalist; he becomes so only from the moment he makes use of his instrument *to exploit the wage labour of others*. This also applies to p. 6. How can you possibly have failed to draw that distinction?

In place of your impossible slave-owner (don't be so *Réache!*), you might say: a feudal lord whose fields are cultivated by tenants subject to labour-rent, and who, moreover, collects tribute from them in the form of eggs, poultry, fruit, cattle, etc., is not a capitalist. He lives on the surplus labour of others, but he does not transform the product of that surplus labour into surplus value; he does not sell, but consumes, spends and dissipates it. But if the said lord, as he so frequently did in the 18th century, rids himself of some of those tenants, if he combines their plots into one big farm and rents it out to one big industrial farmer of the kind so beloved of the Physiocrats; if, in the cultivation of his farm, the said big farmer employs as wage labour those formerly subject to labour-rent, then agriculture is transformed from feudal into capitalist agriculture, and the farmer becomes a capitalist.

p. 6. The *direct* form taken by the circulation of commodities is, of course, its *primitive* form²⁸⁰; this clearly has to exist before the 2nd form can come into being. Compared with simple *barter* it is *not* primitive; but the circulation of commodities presupposes the existence of money; barter creates only fortuitous exchanges, not the circulation of commodities.

p. 7. Capitalist production is not some form or other, whether direct or indirect, of the circulation of commodities. Production and circulation are two different things. All capitalist production presupposes the circulation of commodities, this being the element in which it moves, but it is not itself circulation, any more than digestion is the circulation of the blood. You can delete the whole of that sentence, which contributes nothing whatever to the sense.

p. 11. The passage you underline, I find incomprehensible as well as wrong on all counts. Your average capitalist *does sell* and *can sell* for more than 10 frs what is produced at a cost of 10 frs.—Where you go wrong is over 'the *costs of production*'. But the costs of production, in the sense used by economists,^a include profit; they consist 1) of the amount the product has cost the capitalist and 2) of the

^a Engels is actually referring to the price of production.

profit; in other words: 1) of the amount which replaces the constant capital spent, 2) of the amount which replaces the wages paid, 3) of the surplus value, either as a whole or in part, created by the surplus labour of the wage earners. You should therefore take Beaulieu's sentence, his definition of value (p. 9, bottom), and compare the two expressions of value one with the other: either the cost price includes the profit, in which case the commodities are paid for 'in accordance with the social labour they contain'. In which case the price (or value) includes a *surplus value* created by living labour, over and above the wages paid, and appropriated by the capital. Or else the cost price does not cover the profit; in which case the value is determined, not by the social labour comprised in the object, but by the wages, whether high or low, paid for that labour—an outworn concept refuted at some length by Ricardo.

pp. 12 and 13. The *whole* value of the machine and of the cotton, *and even that of the waste*, is transmitted to the product; and therein lies the true nub of your argument. If the 115 lbs of cotton yield only 100 lbs of yarn, the price^a of the 115 lbs of raw cotton is added to the value of those 100 lbs of yarn. Perhaps it is this, the value of the 15 lbs which have disappeared *qua* material but have reappeared *qua* value, that Mr Beaulieu calls *surplus value*?

p. 13. If the capitalist were to *lend* his machinery, etc., to the workman, the product would belong to the latter—which is never the case.

pp. 13 and 14, 'engenders a gain called profit': cf. para. 1, p. 270, where Mr Beaulieu demonstrates that it is not the capitalist but rather the consumer who is the beneficiary of technical progress. He criticises Marx for forgetting competition; yet all through the chapter on manufacture and big industry, Marx demonstrates that machinery merely helps to lower the price of the products, and that it is competition which accentuates that effect^b; in other words, the gain consists in manufacturing a greater number of products in the same length of time, so that the amount of work involved in each is correspondingly less and the value of each proportionately lower. Mr Beaulieu forgets to tell us in what respect the wage earner benefits from seeing his productivity increase when the product of that increased

^a In this context Marx uses 'value', not 'price' (*Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Ch. VIII, present edition, Vol. 35). -^b See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Ch. XV (present edition, Vol. 35).

productivity does not belong to him, and when his wage is not determined by the productivity of the instrument.

pp. 14 and 15. The justification of profit here proffered by Beaulieu contains what is the quintessence of vulgar economics, namely its justification of the exploitation of the working man by the capitalist. The *creator of capital* demands his 'due' return for that creation (that is to say, the 'wages of abstinence' — see Marx^a), and that return has to be paid by the exploited working man in the form of unpaid labour. This you commend on the grounds that 'profit is the legitimate offspring of living labour'! 'The *managerial salary*' is represented and assessed in terms of the salary paid to a salaried manager, a salary with which no capitalist would rest content. Cf. *Capital*, 3rd German edition, pp. 171 and 172 (the French edition is not to hand), where you will find all these statements refuted in a few words.^b The insurance premium against '*risk*' is indeed taken out of surplus value, but it is reckoned *over and above* the profit; every year the capitalist sets aside a sum amounting to ... as a reserve for what he calls the '*ducroire*'^c (from the Italian *del credere*, that is, to cover himself against bad faith or bad debts). Finally, *rewards for greater efficiency*, for inventions not yet generally exploited, occur only in exceptional cases and may then yield an *extra* profit; but here we are concerned with ordinary, average profit such as is common to all industrialists. Come to that, you will find this type of profit discussed in *Capital*, 3rd German edition, pp. 314-17.^d

By taking these statements of Beaulieu's in earnest, by declaring that profit thereby becomes 'the legitimate offspring of living labour' (*not of the working man, but of the labour of the capitalist!*), you endorse, on Marx's behalf and in Marx's name, those doctrines of vulgar economics which he combatted always and everywhere. You must, therefore, completely change your mode of expression so as to exclude even the semblance of such a meaning. Otherwise it will be you who falls into the trap.

Your assertion on p. 16 that 'when the products ... capitalist profit is nil or all but nil', runs completely contrary to the facts. For in that case, where is the exploitation of the workers? What are you complaining about? And what do the capitalists live and grow fat on, or dissipate? Where the deuce did you light on such an idea, never expounded even by vulgar economists and which, furthermore, is not

^a Ibid., Part VII, Ch. XXIV, Sect. 3. - ^b Ibid., Part III, Ch. VII, Sect. 2. - ^c guarantee - ^d K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Chs. XII-XIV (present edition, Vol. 35).

even to be found in Beaulieu? And you call it a general law! What is true is that, with machines making 100 metres of cloth with the same expenditure of labour as manual labour on its own would require for 1 metre, the capitalist can spread his profit over 100 metres instead of concentrating it on only one; the result being that, while every metre carries only $\frac{1}{100}$ of the profit, the profit on the sum total of labour expended may stay the same, if not actually increase.

p. 16. Marx would protest against 'the political and social ideal' attributed to him by you. When one is an economist, 'a man of science', one does not have an ideal, one elaborates scientific results, and when one is, to boot, a party man, one struggles to put them into practice. But when one has an ideal, one cannot be a man of science, having, as one then does, preconceived ideas.

In short, the article will have an effect if you eliminate the chief errors I have indicated. But for the purpose of your riposte,²⁸¹ which must be of a far more serious nature, I am firmly of the opinion that you must seriously re-read *Capital*, from cover to cover, with Beaulieu's book beside you; and that you should mark all the passages relating to vulgar economics. I say *Capital* rather than Deville's book^a which would be wholly inadequate because of grave defects in the descriptive section.

Again, you must not forget that these gentry, Beaulieu and others, are far better versed than you are in the ordinary literature of economics, and that this is a field in which you will not be able to combat them on equal terms; it is their business to know such things, not yours. So do not venture too far into that field.

I have spoken frankly and hope you will not take it amiss. It is too serious a matter and, if you were to put a foot wrong, the whole party would suffer as a result.

We are dying of heat here, but are pretty well, nonetheless. Everyone sends a thousand greetings to Laura and yourself. Unfortunately our stock of Pilsener is nearly exhausted and takes two days to be replenished from Brighton! We are right out in the wilds here.

Yours ever,
F. E.

^a G. Deville, *Le Capital de Karl Marx* (see also Note 81).

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ENGELS TO GEORG HEINRICH VON VOLLMAR

IN MUNICH

Worthing, England, 13 August 1884
48 Marine Parade

Dear Comrade,

It was not till yesterday that your esteemed letter was sent on to me from London, hence my delay in replying.

The question you put to me²⁸² is difficult, or rather only to be answered in the negative. No science is so botched today as economics, and this at every university in the world. Not only is there no one anywhere who expounds the old classical economics along the lines of Ricardo and his school; it would actually be difficult to find any one who expounded common-or-garden free trade, i. e. so-called Manchesterism *à la* Bastiat,²⁸³ in unadulterated form. In England and America, as in France and Germany, the pressure of the proletarian movement caused bourgeois economists, almost without exception, to acquire an armchair-socialist cum philanthropic complexion,⁵⁴ while an uncritical, benevolent eclecticism is everywhere in evidence — a soft, elastic, gelatinous substance that can be compressed into any desired shape and, for that very reason, exudes an excellent nutrient fluid for the culture of careerists just as does real gelatine for the culture of bacteria. The effect of this insubstantial, enervating, intellectual pap has made itself felt in Germany, at any rate, as also here and there among German Americans, even within the very confines of our party, while on the periphery it luxuriates unchecked.

Such being the case, I would find it difficult to discover any appreciable difference between the various universities. Independent and thoroughgoing study of classical economics, from the Physiocrats and Smith to Ricardo and his school, as also of the Utopians Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen and, finally, of Marx, combined with the constant use of one's own judgment, would probably yield the best results. I am assuming that your friend would study the actual sources and not let herself be led astray by text-books and other secondary sources. In *Capital* Marx has indicated the most important sources of information on actual economic conditions. How the official statistics of

the various countries should be evaluated, and to what extent they are or are not useful, can best be learnt from an actual study and comparison of them. And in just the same way, one's individual studies, the more advanced they become, provide the best guidance as to the ways and means of learning more, always supposing one has started off with genuinely classical texts and not with the most worthless of all — German economic text-books and/or the lectures of their authors.

That is about all I can say on the subject. And I shall be delighted if Miss Kjellberg finds anything here that can be of use to her.

I look forward, by the way, to the general elections¹⁹⁴ and remain

Very sincerely yours,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO MARYA JANKOWSKA (S. LEONOWICZ)²⁸⁴

IN GENEVA

[Draft]

[Worthing, mid-August 1884]

Yes. The only condition I must impose on you — and this categorically — is that you should publish *nothing* in Polish before the German edition has been completed. The work would be instantly banned in Germany and the least indiscretion or premature allusion could only result in alerting the German police and in hampering the circulation of the original, if not in causing a large part of the edition to be confiscated. Perhaps you would be so kind, then, as to acknowledge receipt

of this letter and to give me your assurance that you will abide by a condition which, unfortunately, cannot be dispensed with.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY ¹

IN ZURICH

(please omit Brighton from the address, makes the post office here do silly things)

Worthing, England, 22 August 1884
48 Marine Parade

Dear Kautsky,

Have just received your letters which were somewhat delayed, as you did not put the number of the house; also the mental faculties of our postal drudges over here are of the very lowest order.

Poverty.¹¹⁸ The manuscript I have here has now been revised. Apart from slight misinterpretations of those niceties of French that can only be properly learnt in France itself, there was not much to alter. For *rappports*^a I usually put *Verhältnis* rather than '*Beziehungen*' because the latter is too indefinite and also because Marx always rendered the German *Verhältnis* as *rappport* and vice versa. Moreover in *rappport de proportionnalité*, for instance, *rappport*, being *quantitative*, can only be rendered as *Verhältnis*, since *Beziehung* has primarily a qualitative meaning. I must make a few more notes on this subject. I await your next manuscript. The passages relating to Hegel and things Hegelian can only be gone through in London, as I shall need my Hegel for the purpose. I shall do all I can to finish it as quickly as possible. But *Capital*, Book II, ought also to be finished at the same

^a relations

time and there is a hell of a lot still to be done to it; and in *this* particular clash of interests the latter must, after all, take precedence! However I shall do my utmost. But when must you have the preface? I shall reply twice to Rodbertus, once in the preface to *Capital*, Book II,^a and again in that to the *Poverty*.^b There is no other way, since both works will be appearing more or less simultaneously and Rodbertus' accusation was couched in such formal terms.¹⁸⁷ In *Capital* I must assume an air of dignity, whereas in the preface to the *Poverty* I shall be more at liberty to speak my mind.

If you leave Zurich, you would certainly do better to come here rather than go anywhere else, with the possible exception of Paris. Obviously the material aspect enters into it since you, having been duly installed as a married man, can no longer afford to take the risks a bachelor would. Besides, Paris is said to be just as expensive a place to live in as here. And for study the BRITISH MUSEUM is, after all, incomparably better; the Paris library cannot hold a candle to it so far as people like us are concerned, partly because of the difficulty of using the place, shortage of catalogues, etc., etc. I trust the matter can be arranged.

As to what you want to do in regard to my pamphlet, you are bound to be a better judge than I; so do what you think appropriate.²⁸⁵ However I'm prepared to bet that the thing will be banned.

Like Ede, I believe that in regard to Bebel you have allowed yourself to be much too much influenced by first impressions. True, his last letter also evinced a certain lassitude and a desire to rest. If there is no other way he ought to be allowed to do so for a time; but would he be able to, even if he were temporarily to absent himself from the Reichstag? This much is certain: he is irreplaceable in Germany and must be kept going, must, if necessary, spare himself, so as to be fit for action at the crucial moment.

It also seems to me that you are too censorious about the people in Germany—i. e. the masses. Since time immemorial, progress has been damned slow in the case of the new blood; most of them were à la Geiser and Viereck. That the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ does more harm than good in this case is certainly not in doubt. However so long as so much forbidden literature gets into the country, the ground will be prepared nevertheless and, when the air has cleared again, it should be possible to speed things up in this respect also, and to do so

^a See present edition, Vol. 36.-^b F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

more quickly than would have been the case had there been no interruption.

But now I must write to Ede. It is one o'clock and the post goes at two!

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ¹

IN ZURICH

[Worthing, 22 August 1884]

[...] ^a index for *Capital* would be highly desirable.²⁸⁶ But why not all at one go when the whole thing is done? That will be next year for sure, provided I don't collapse, of which there is no prospect at present. For your own information, *The History of Theory* has also been largely completed. The ms. of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* of 1860-62 contains, as I think I showed you when you were here, approx. 500 quarto pages on *Theories of Surplus Value*, a great deal of which must, it is true, be deleted because it has since been rewritten, but there will still be enough of it.¹⁷¹

In his *Schulze-Bastiat*, Lassalle cited Rodbertus in a connection that might in anyone else's case have earned him intense hostility, i. e. as the authority for and/or discoverer of a trifle. The *Briefe* ^b may, it is true, have contributed to the Rodbertus cult. But what has done so more than anything else is, firstly, the desire among non-communists to set alongside Marx a rival who is himself a non-communist and, secondly, those people's unscientific confusion. To all those who loiter on the state socialist fringes of our party, make sympathetic speeches

^a The first part of the letter is missing.- ^b The reference is probably to Rodbertus' *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsätze*.

but nevertheless want to avoid the hostility of the police, His Excellency Rodbertus is a godsend.

The move of the *Neue Zeit* to Hamburg may after all be only the prelude to its end.²⁶⁵ Of course I know nothing about those presently in charge of the Hamburg office.

Last Tuesday^a we had a revolution here in Worthing. A shop belonging to a Salvation Army fanatic was attacked and broken up; the man fired his revolver, wounding three people. Next day windows were smashed in the lock-up; that same evening 40 dragoons and 50 police moved in (the little place has about 10,000 inhabitants) to clear the streets, whereupon the good citizens, knowing themselves to be innocuous, refused to budge and in several instances received a merciless beating; now all is calm. Really, the tomfoolery one witnesses. *Both sides*, SALVATIONISTS and ANTI-SALVATIONISTS, *are secretly in the pay of the bourgeoisie*.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY ²⁸⁷

IN ZURICH

[Worthing, 30 August 1884]

Letters received. Have ordered G. Adler's little pamphlet: will doubtless be able to get hold of it in London.²⁸⁸ Thank you for the particulars. The man shall be dealt with. Am busy with the *Poverty*¹¹⁸ and hope to finish it while still here. A good deal of the philosophical part needs to be translated into the appropriate Hegelian jargon.

There is no hurry about Bachofen's *Antiquarische Briefe*. Meleager

^a 19 August

has already figured in his *Mutterrecht*; this aspect is of importance to me in the present instance only in conjunction with the view I have put forward.^a

Over here 4 musicians, with the help of misleading music, are making propaganda for Bismarck by informing the English in a brand of Rhenish-Franconian totally incomprehensible, even to me, that they pledge their souls and bodies to live for thee alone, etc., and that Strasbourg is a city wondrous fair.^b Regards to Ede.

Your
F. E.

*Send things to London from now on. We go back on Tuesday.*²⁷⁷

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 13-15 September 1884

Dear Ede,

I have been back here a fortnight (all but).²⁷⁷ During my absence Eisengarten was supposed to be making a fair copy of that part of the ms. of Part II^c that was ready. The great heat, however, led him, now to dawdle, now to write so beautifully, if so slowly and so little, that I dare not send what has been done to Meissner because I would not be able to follow it up quickly enough. So that puts paid for the present to early publication; what Meissner will do now, I don't know. In some respects I'm not sorry, for in this way I can be

^a See present edition, Vol. 26, p. 238.- ^b An allusion to two traditional German airs. - ^c the second volume of *Capital*

all the more certain that nothing will have to be done in too much of a hurry.

What you say about the translation of my pamphlet^a is all very well. But *how* does Lafargue translate? He consults neither his wife nor the dictionary; he does everything on his own, decrees that such and such a German word is so and so in French, and then, proud of his masterpiece, sends me the ms. I could do it just as well myself. He, of course, wants to set to at once — however, *nous verrons ce que nous verrons*.^b As for an English version, Aveling has enough on his hands for the time being,^c and also proposes to translate my *Entwicklung*.^d But what publisher will pay for it? And in his position he can't do more unpaid work than he already does. Nor is there any particular hurry about this. Our prime concern must be to put *Capital* into English, and that will give us work and to spare.

I was greatly tickled by the way you took Bahr and Fabian, not to mention friend Gumbel, to task over the stock exchange taxes²⁸⁹ (I always know my Gumbel, whether he's vindicating his respectable toping companions, the Heilbronn philistines, or whatever). In Bahr and Fabian you have two fine examples of German 'erudition', something I am always glad to see harshly taken to task. One aims at Bahr the blow intended for Geiser. What particularly pleased me, however, was the way you struck home, putting emphasis on essential points, and also your verve.

Now I must break off; I can only spend a short time sitting at my desk. I took some cold sea-baths that did me more harm than good. Till tomorrow then.

14 September. I returned the ms. of *Poverty*¹¹⁸ to you last week, 4 September, by registered post, together with my comments. I presume you received it. When you [and Kautsky] compare my amendments with the original you will find that certain turns of speech had not, in fact, been correctly understood (in some cases I have made comments), but that is inevitable unless one has spent a good deal of time in the country concerned.

I have at last been able to get hold of a copy of my enlarged photograph for the artist^e — I forget his name and have mislaid his letter —

^a Clearly *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. — ^b we shall see what we shall see. — ^c Aveling was translating into English the first volume of *Capital* (see also Note 56). — ^d *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. — ^e Karl Manz-Schäppi

who wishes to make a colour-print of Marx.^a I shall send it to you tomorrow or the day after.

Since the present elections will have a major impact¹⁹⁴ we must all make an effort and so I am sending you herewith a money order for £25 for the election fund.

Sorge has sent me Gronlund's *The Cooperative Commonwealth*; his exposé of theory rather flat after Marx's, but comprehensible to philistines; the main object is, apparently, to present his model of the future as true GERMAN SOCIALISM, but I found it too boring to read. Marx is not quoted, the only reference to him being SUCH NOBLE JEWS AS MARX AND LASSALLE! Crikey!

Under Hyndman's direction *To-Day* gets worse and worse. To make it more interesting they accept anything and everything. The editor has written to me saying that the October issue will contain a critique of *Capital!!!*,^b and invites me to reply—which I refused with thanks.²⁹⁰ Thus a socialist organ has turned into an organ in which the pros and cons of socialism are discussed by every Tom, Dick and Harry.

I am sending you a *Kölnische* from which you may see what methods are used in Africa even by Stanley-Leopold of Belgium's humane, civilising Association Internationale.²⁹¹ Then what may we not expect of the Portuguese and French,—not to speak of our flog 'em-and-shoot 'em Prussians—when they get going? Come to that, Bismarck has pulled off a thundering good electoral coup with that colonial racket of his.²⁹² Not a philistine will be spared, they'll fall for it *en masse*. No doubt he will again succeed in obtaining a double majority of his own choosing—Conservatives²³⁰ + National liberals²⁴³, or should the latter again prove peevish, Conservatives + the Centre.²²⁹ It's all one to us.

If I have the time, I shall enclose a line or two for Karl Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

15 September. No time, K. K. will have to wait a bit.

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^a See this volume, p. 170.- ^b Ph. H. Wicksteed, 'Das Kapital. A Criticism', *To-Day*, No. 10, October 1884.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY¹

IN ZURICH

London, 20 September 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I return the mss.²⁹³ herewith by registered post.

Your article on Rodbertus was very good in regard to economics; what I would take issue with here again are your apodictic assertions in fields where, as you yourself know, you are not on firm ground, and in which you also lay yourself open to attack by Schramm who has been astute enough to seize on that opportunity.

This applies particularly to 'abstraction' which you undoubtedly come down on far too heavily in a general way. The distinction here is as follows:

Marx reduces the common content shared by things and circumstances to the most general conceptual expression, hence his abstraction merely reproduces in conceptual form the content already inherent in things.

Rodbertus, on the other hand, concocts what is a more or less imperfect conceptual expression and measures things against that concept to which they must conform. He is looking for the true, *eternal* content of things and of social conditions of which, however, the content is essentially transient. Hence *true* capital. This is not capital *as it is today*, which is only an imperfect realisation of the concept. Instead of deducing the concept of capital from capital as it is today—the only sort, after all, that really does exist—he seeks to arrive at true capital from present-day capital by the device of taking an isolated individual, and asking what might figure as capital in that individual's production. Namely, the simple means of production. In this way *true* capital is simply lumped together with the means of production which, depending on circumstances, is or is not capital. In this way all the *bad* properties of capital, namely all the *real* properties, are eliminated therefrom. He can now demand that real capital

should conform to this concept, i. e. merely continue to function as a simple, social means of production, discard everything that makes it capital, and yet remain capital, indeed become true capital precisely as a result of this.

You do the same kind of thing in the case of *value*. Present value is that of the production of commodities, but with the suppression of the production of commodities, value ‘changes’ or rather, *value as such* remains and merely changes its form. But in fact economic value is a category that appertains to the production of commodities, *disappearing* with it (cf. *Dühring*, pp. 252-62^a), just as it did not exist before it. The relation of labour to product prior to and after production of commodities no longer expresses itself in the form of *value*.

Fortunately Schramm is also a bit shaky in the matter of philosophy, and lays himself open to attack, as you have perfectly well apprehended and demonstrated.

Further:

1) Schramm recognises material interests that do not derive—either directly or indirectly—from the mode of production. On this, cf. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique*, preface,^b where the matter is presented concisely and cogently in 20 lines.

2) Long before Rodbertus, the English and French Utopians had criticised existing society just as well as, if not better than, he, as had the post-Ricardian school of socialist economists on the basis of Ricardo’s theory of value; Marx cites some of these in the *Poverty*, pp. 49 and 50.^c

3) The Robinson mentioned by Marx^d is Daniel Defoe’s *genuine*, original Robinson Crusoe, whence the attendant circumstances—the objects salvaged from the shipwreck, etc.—are also taken. Later on he, too, has his Freitag (FRIDAY); he was also a shipwrecked merchant who, unless I am mistaken, likewise engaged from time to time in the slave trade. A proper ‘bourgeois’, therefore.

4) To talk of the Marxian *school of history* was certainly most premature. I should curtail that part of your reply and refer primarily to *Marx himself*,—the above-mentioned passage from *A Contribution to the Critique*, and also *Capital* itself, in particular primitive accumula-

^a F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 286-98.-^b Ibid., Vol. 29, pp. 263-64.-^c Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 138.-^d See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Ch. 1, Sect. 4 (present edition, Vol. 35).

tion,^a in which Schramm can find out for himself about the chicken and the egg.

In other respects it's really fortunate that all the bourgeois elements should now be rallying to Rodbertus. We could ask for nothing better.

You will have got your *Poverty* ms.¹¹⁸ As will Ede my letter of last Sunday containing the contribution to the election fund.^b

Tussy asks that in future the *Sozialdemokrat*, etc., be sent to her at the following address:

Mrs Aveling
55 Great Russell Street, London, W. C.

Your

F. E.

I return Bebel's letter herewith.

So we can expect you here in January or February.

To-Day has simply become a 'symposium', i. e. a review in which anybody can write for or against socialism. In the next number there's to be a critique of *Capital!*^c The idea was that I should answer this anonymous piece but I politely refused.²⁹⁰ Dr Drysdale has also written for the paper, invoking you.²⁹⁴ There's a reply from Burrows asking about you. I attended to this, but somewhat cautiously, not knowing whether Drysdale mightn't have your book.

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^a See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII (present edition, Vol. 35).-^b See previous letter.-^c Ph. H. Wicksteed, 'Das Kapital. A Criticism', *To-Day*, No. 10, October 1884.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER ²⁹⁵

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London, 1 October 1884]

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Proofs^a received with thanks and returned. I now only await clean proofs 8-9. Should they contain no mistakes to speak of, a list of printing errors will not be necessary.

Rodbertus' *Erkenntniss etc.*^b is advertised by Fock of Leipzig à 4.20 marks. I should be glad to buy a copy at this price, if not less.

There does exist a *French* speech by Marx on the subject of free trade^c but none, so far as I am aware, on protective tariffs. It would hardly be suitable for translation as a book on its own, but if Ede wishes to use it as an appendix to the German *Poverty*,¹¹⁸ it wouldn't be a bad idea and I could send my copy.

Yours sincerely,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER ²⁹⁶

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London,] 3 October 1884

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Everything gratefully received.^a Just the following misprints:

^a F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - ^b J. K. Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände*, Berlin, 1885. - ^c K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

p. 134, line 8 from top *Gesellschaft*^a for *Lesellschaft*
 line 9 " " *Lebensbedingungen*^b for *Gebensbedingungen*
 p. 144, line 2 " " *platte*^c for *glatte*.
 You will have had my postcard.^d
 In haste,

Yours ever,
 F. E.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL ²⁶³

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 11 October 1884

Dear Bebel,

I really must apologise for not having got round to answering your two letters of 8 June and the 3rd inst. until today. But since the beginning of June I have been able to sit at my desk and write only at the cost of some pain and in defiance of doctor's orders. For almost 18 months now, my movements have been hampered by a peculiar ailment which somewhat mystifies the doctors; I have had to abandon completely my old way of life, which entailed much movement, and have, in particular, been prevented from writing. Only for the past 10 days or so have I been enabled by mechanical appliances to move about with a certain amount of freedom and I believe that, once these appliances have been properly adjusted, I shall be more or less my old self again; apart from the discomfort I have suffered, the thing is of no great significance and will, I hope, gradually disappear altogether.

However, if I could not write, I could at least dictate—I dictated the whole of the 2nd book of *Capital* from the ms., and practically got

^a society - ^b conditions of existence - ^c outright - ^d See previous letter.

it ready for the press, as well as revised the first $\frac{3}{8}$ of the English translation^a and have, besides, perused all kinds of other things, so that I have got through quite a fair amount of work.

At the same time as this, you will be getting a copy of my newly published work^b; I shall make sure it goes off.

All day my head has been full of electoral agitation.¹⁹⁴ Our great triennial trial is an event of European significance by comparison with which the anxious journeyings of no matter how many emperors²⁹⁷ are as nothing. I well remember how thunderstruck Europe was in 1875 by our people's electoral victories²⁹⁸ and how Bakuninist anarchism was banished from the scene in Italy, France, Switzerland and Spain. And just now another such result is urgently required. In Europe, at any rate, those caricatures of anarchists *à la* Most, who have already sunk from the level of a Rinaldo Rinaldini to and below that of a Schinderhannes^c if not lower, would in their turn — at least so far as Europe was concerned — succumb to a similar knock-out blow, and thus save us a deal of toil and trouble. In America, where sects continue to proliferate, these could then simply be allowed to die off gradually; after all, did not Karl Heinzen manage to remain alive there for 25 years after he was dead and buried in Europe?^d The French in the provinces, who are forging ahead most manfully, would be considerably encouraged and the Parisian masses be given a further impulse towards emancipating themselves from their position as appendage of the extreme Left. Here in England, where the Reform Bill has given new power to the workers,²⁹⁹ the impulse would come just in time for the next elections in 1885 and might provide the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION³⁰⁰ — which merely consists on the one hand of literati, on the other of the remnants of old sects and, thirdly, of a sentimental public — with the opportunity of becoming a *real* party. In America, it only requires an event of this kind to make the English-speaking workers at last realise what power is theirs if they choose to make use of it. And in Italy and Spain it would deal a fresh blow to the doctrinaire anarchist rhetoric which still continues to flourish there. In short, the victories you achieve will take effect, from Siberia to California, and from Sicily to Sweden.

But how will the new 'parliamentary group' turn out? Many of the new prospective candidates are quite unknown to me and what

^a of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - ^b *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - ^c Johann Bückler - ^d Cf. this volume, p. 114.

I know of the majority of 'educated' ones is not altogether to their credit. The Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ makes it all too easy for bourgeois and bourgeois-inspired socialists to satisfy the electorate and to indulge their own urge for self-advancement. Not that it isn't perfectly in order for such men to be put up and elected in comparatively backward constituencies. But they are likewise invading the old constituencies, which deserve better representatives, and in this they are supported by people who ought to know better. I am not at all sure how the new parliamentary group will turn out, and still less what it will do. The division into proletarian and bourgeois camps is becoming ever more pronounced and, once the bourgeois elements have plucked up the courage to outvote the proletarian, a breach might be provoked. This is a possibility which should, I think, be kept in view. If *they* provoke the breach — something that will call for a bit more Dutch courage — it won't be too bad. I am still of the opinion that, so long as the Anti-Socialist Law continues in force, the breach should not be provoked by us; but if it does come, then you should go to with a will, in which case I shall also put my shoulder to the wheel.

I am glad to hear that the colonial racket is not proving attractive.²⁹² It is the best card Bismarck has played, nicely calculated to appeal to the philistine and replete, not only with illusory hopes but also with horrendously heavy costs, which will be recovered only by degrees. Bismarck and his colonies remind me of the crazy (really idiotic) last Duke of Bernburg^a who remarked in the early forties: I am going to have a railway, even if it costs me a *thousand talers*. What 1,000 talers are to the cost of a railway, so the colonial budget adumbrated by Bismarck and his fellow-philistines is to the actual costs involved. For in this case I consider Bismarck fool enough to believe that Lüderitz and Woermann would bear the costs.

Apropos Bismarck. At a conference of engineers, a friend of ours met Bismarck's partner in the Varziner Paper Mill (Behrens), and from him learned a good deal about Bismarck's uncouth behaviour. A true Prussian Junker, on rare occasions and by a painful effort capable of good manners at most in the drawing-room, but who otherwise allows his brutality free rein. You know all about that, however. Having asked a factory inspector what his salary was and learned that it was 1,000 talers, he remarked: 'In that case you are dependent on bribes.' But the really interesting thing was Bismarck's telling the afore-mentioned Behrens that the only speaker in the Reichstag

^a Alexander Karl

worthy of the name, and one to whom everyone always listened, was August Bebel.

The more often you write and tell me about the situation in Germany, and in particular about industrial developments, the better pleased I am. If I do not always reply in detail it is because, in this instance, I am merely your pupil — the more gladly in that the only information I can regard as wholly reliable is that provided by you. On the whole, German industry remains what it has always been: it manufactures those articles which the British consider too insignificant, and the French too common, but does so on a very large scale; German industry still depends for its subsistence on 1) the theft of patterns from abroad and 2) the free gift of ordinary surplus value to the purchasers, whereby it is alone enabled to compete, and the exaction of inordinate surplus value by forcing down wages, which alone enables it to exist. This means, however, that while the struggle between worker and capitalist may stagnate in some places (where abnormal wages have already become the norm), in most it is growing more acute by reason of ever-rising pressure. At all events, 1848 marked the beginning of an industrial revolution in Germany which will yet give the worthy bourgeois pause for thought. Goodbye for now.

Your old friend

F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY ²⁸⁷

IN ZURICH

[London,] 13 October 1884

In great haste. The sheets have been returned to Dietz after restoration of h, tz and the botched foreign words.³⁰¹ Wrote telling

Dietz³⁹ that both of you^a had protested and that I had concurred and had made the above-mentioned reinstatements in agreement with you. I would, I said, no more have spelling imposed upon me than I would a woman and hence if the proofs were not corrected in accordance with my demands, I should 1) call for the deletion of all my notes and 2) not provide a preface,^b as I couldn't possibly have two kinds of spelling for my stuff.

Do you really not wish to put your names on the title page as translators? The title should in any case be so worded that I simply appear as the author of the notes and preface unless you expressly insist on the revision mentioned, though I consider this quite unnecessary.

Another whole day has been wasted thanks to these asininities. Right in the middle of election time,¹⁹⁴ what's more.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 15 October 1884

Dear Old Man,

I sent off to you yesterday my little book on the origin of the family, etc.,^c and have today taken out a money order for five pounds. I trust you will get both very shortly.

I was glad to hear from you that Bebel had visited you during the summer. Your opinion of him is exactly the same as mine. There is no

^a Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein - ^b F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. -
^c *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

more lucid mind in the whole of the German party, besides which he is utterly dependable and firm of purpose. What is unusual is that his great oratorical talents — all the philistines recognise these and do so readily, while Bismarck told Behrens, a partner in his paper mill, that Bebel was the only orator in the whole of the Reichstag — have not trivialised him in any way.^a Nothing of the kind has happened since Demosthenes. All other orators have been shallow-pated.

Don't worry about my health; it is a localised and sometimes troublesome complaint but there are no general after-effects whatever and it is not even necessarily incurable; at worst it renders me unfit for active service though I may be able to mount a horse again in a few years' time. Having been incapable of writing for the past 4 months I have dictated instead, and am now pretty well done with the 2nd book of *Capital*; have also gone through the English translation (as far as it has got — about $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of the whole) of the 1st book.⁵⁶ Moreover I have now discovered a device which is helping me to get more or less back on my feet again and I hope to make still further progress before long. Rather, my misfortune is that since we lost Marx I have been supposed to represent him. I have spent a lifetime doing what I was fitted for, namely playing second fiddle, and indeed I believe I acquitted myself reasonably well. And I was happy to have so splendid a first fiddle as Marx. But now that I am suddenly expected to take Marx's place in matters of theory and play first fiddle, there will inevitably be blunders and no one is more aware of that than I. And not until the times get somewhat more turbulent shall we really be aware of what we have lost in Marx. Not one of us possesses the breadth of vision that enabled him, at the very moment when rapid action was called for, invariably to hit upon the right solution and at once get to the heart of the matter. In more peaceful times it could happen that events proved me right and him wrong, but at a revolutionary juncture his judgment was virtually infallible.

Marx's youngest daughter^b has married a really excellent Irishman, Dr Aveling; they come here every Sunday. The other daughter,^c whom you know, is also with me just now and sends you her kindest regards. She still talks a lot and fondly about the day she spent with you in Geneva.

I trust your health is still progressing satisfactorily. But if anything should happen to you again, you must let me know at once, on the

^a Cf. this volume, pp. 199-200. - ^b Eleanor - ^c Laura Lafargue

last occasion a great deal of time elapsed before I knew the least thing about it and you must not err in that way again.

I shall hunt out your letters, etc.,¹²⁶ as soon as I can really get at the papers. Since May I have been physically incapable of doing so and just now there is so much urgent work to be attended to that I can't even consider it. There are over 6 large boxfuls to be sorted out and not even the books are arranged in such a way as to enable me to make full use of them.

Well, take care of your health (there's no need to tell you to keep your chin up) and be assured of the good wishes

Of your old friend

F. Engels

Borkheim sends his regards. He wrote to me a week ago—it's always the same old story with him. No change.

First published abridged in *Prosveshcheniye*, Nos. 7-8, St Petersburg, 1913 and in full in *Der Kampf*, Nr. 12, Wien, 1913

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119

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ZURICH

London, 15 October^a 1884

Dear Kautsky,

You will have got my postcard.^b If possible I shall set to work on the preface^c tomorrow; there are interruptions every day; today, for example, the whole of my time will be spent on correspondence and I'm still not allowed to sit for too long at my desk. Once I settle down to it I shall be done in a day or two.

^a August in the original.- ^b See this volume, pp. 200-01.- ^c F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'

So Geiser is the inventor of this marvellous spelling! Another feather in his cap. I must confess that my aversion to this procrustean bed was to some extent responsible for my failing to get a move on with contributions to the *Neue Zeit*. But do tell me whether this splendid system was obligatory in the case of other *books* published by Dietz—in that of Bebel's *Frau*¹³⁸ it was not; it is important that I should know this in the event of my replying to Dietz.

Having protested to Dietz³⁹ about Geiserianism so categorically, I cannot now submit to it in the *Neue Zeit*—nor yet where the printing of the preface is concerned. Elsewhere I have no objections, of course.

For Ede: Wehner writes to say that the person did not *demand* the money on behalf of our people, he having sent it of his own free will; however the said person says that they had *accepted* it. This amounts to the same thing.

I have not read Rodbertus' *Creditnoth*^a either; however it can only contain what we know already, namely that mortgages are not redeemable, not repayable in capital, but merely intended to establish a claim to 'rent', i. e. regular payments of interest; if these payments are not forthcoming, an order may be made for the sale of the property; the mortgagee has no further claim. This is Rodbertus' 'principle of rent', intended to enable the Junkers to produce, bourgeois-fashion, 5,000 talers per annum and expend, aristo-fashion, 10,000 talers and still not ruin themselves. How it's done remains a mystery. I had to laugh when I saw Schramm trying to find something significant in it.^b

Marx's photograph went off to Manz today.^c I understand he wants to know about the colour. You will be able to help him there of course. As swarthy as any southern European might be, not much red about the cheeks (when you saw Marx he was already a very sickly yellow; that wasn't normal), moustache jet black, streaked with white but without a trace of brown; save for grizzled hairs, hair and beard snow white. The picture—a retouched photographic enlargement—is a speaking likeness, and he will get it per the Swiss post office.

Apart from the Polish translation of the *Origin*, Vera Zasulich has applied to do the Russian and Anderfuhren (from Meiringen), a law

^a [J. K.] Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erklärung und Abhülfe der heutigen Creditnoth des Grundbesitzes*.- ^b C. A. S[chramm], 'K. Kautsky und Rodbertus', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1884.- ^c See this volume, pp. 191-92.

student in Berne, the Italian.³⁰² Do you know anything about this man? Dr Cerioli, his teacher, an Italian and socialist, will go over the translation.

I sent copies^a to you and Ede yesterday. Over 30 have already gone off to all parts of the world. I have sent it to *To-Day* and *Justice* and no doubt you will attend to the other review copies. My sincerest thanks to you and Ede for all the trouble you've taken over the thing.

Your
F. E.

What news of your coming here^b? I am speaking not of *origo*^c but of *adventus*.^d

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY²⁸⁷

IN ZURICH

[London,] 17 October 1884

Dietz tells me that the spelling has been changed.³⁰¹

'Had Kautsky,' he writes, 'added a brief comment when sending the ms., you and I would have been spared the task of alteration.'

Not a word about the thing being kept quiet until 3 whole sheets had been printed (though this may not have been Dietz's fault).

Is old Bachofen still alive and is he still in Basle? I should like to inscribe a copy to him.

^a F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - ^b The word used is *Herkommen* which can mean either 'coming here' or 'origins'. - ^c origins - ^d arrival

The preface^a is in course of preparation, i. e. I am first of all ploughing through the whole of *Zur Erkenntniss*^b again. It will repay the trouble; only by a really close investigation does one properly appreciate the stupendousness of the nonsense preached here, nonsense that literally overwhelms the few flashes of insight which, though admittedly not new, are nevertheless accurate and, for Germany, commendable. *Capital*, Book II, will be *very* illuminating on this point. Regards to Ede.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY^{2 6 3}

IN ZURICH

London, 20 October 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Have sent you by *registered mail* proofs and pp. 49-96 of the *Poverty* ms.³⁰¹ I did no more than skim through them, nor was I able to compare them with the ms. Please get this done at once. I am asking Dietz to send the remainder to you and only the proofs of the *preface*^a to me; I should have begun this today had I not again been robbed of my best working time by the afore-mentioned proof-correcting. But tomorrow I shall get down to it; my preface will, I think, come first, then Marx's article from the old *Social-Demokrat* as locum tenens for his preface.^{1 5 1}

I was on the point of asking you about Nonne, Mme Lafargue being anxious to know something about this neighbour whom they regard-

^a F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.^b [J. K.] Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände*.

ed with suspicion. Then came the 'Execution' in the Paris press.³⁰³ Everyone is astonished that the Prussians should have appointed and paid (?) such a clumsy brute.

Joynes of *To-Day* has just been to see me. They have been wanting for some time to publish an English version of the *Entwicklung*,^a the rights to translate which I had long since conceded to Aveling.^b They don't want him, however, he and Hyndman being \pm ^c rivals, and tried to insist upon my accepting Shaw, who does not know German and proposes to translate from the French. This I took the liberty of declining and referred him to Aveling whom, in any case, I like better every day. These little literary intrigues make up the greater part of the internal history of the movement in this country. Nor is this their only trouble. A week ago last Tuesday^d Mme Lafargue attended a meeting of the COUNCIL of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION³⁰⁰ during which they were bickering about some trifle or other to such good purpose that the air was buzzing with cries of DAMNED LIAR. Great fun, it seems. The only men in whom I have any confidence are Bax and Aveling, both thoroughly good chaps, intelligent and sincere, but in need of a great deal of help. I don't give much for the others, in so far as I have had the opportunity to judge them.

I have now also got Mr Mommsen just where I want him. In his *Römische Forschungen* he wrote a lot of nonsense about *enuptio gentis*^e; I went into the matter and have now extracted all the relevant passages.^f If anyone of the Mommsen school should try to fault me in regard to Roman history (quite possible in regard to *form*, but not substance), I shall be able to oblige.

Hirsch has sent me the *Frankfurter Zeitung* with a feuilleton on Lipper's *Geschichte der Familie*.^g The book is obviously barefaced plagiarism from Morgan and Bachofen, with a few trimmings from other easily discoverable sources.

Warmest regards to Ede.

Your
F. E.

^a F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - ^b See this volume, p. 400. - ^c more or less - ^d 14 October - ^e exogamy - ^f See F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 225-28). - ^g H. Kaltenboeck, 'Familie und Ehe', *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, No. 278, 4 October 1884 (morning edition).

Another thing I haven't yet seen is your feuilleton in the *Fränkfurter Zeitung*.^a Have you still got it? I will send it back.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 22 October 1884

Dear Ede,

I am laying aside my preface^b to inform you:

1. That I am sending you herewith, by registered mail, Marx's 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'. This irreplaceable copy, acquired with much difficulty at second-hand, must be returned to me after use.

2. That I consider it necessary to print in the form of an appendix at the end of the *Poverty* the passage from *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* concerning *John Gray*, the first precursor of Proudhon and Rodbertus, from p. 61, 'the theory that labour time', etc., up to the end of the section on p. 64.³⁰¹ Would you be so kind as to send it to Stuttgart forthwith? I refer to this appendix in the preface. *Between us* we shall have *completely* demolished the whole of this aspect of petty-bourgeois socialism and disposed at the same time of the reply to Rodbertus' Utopia, for I shall use the preface to make good any other deficiencies.

Whether or not you use the '*libre échange*'^c as an appendix is for you to decide; I can't think where else to put it, and can hardly imagine it would be effective simply as a pamphlet — as to which you are better judges than I.

If Dietz should raise any difficulties regarding the Gray appendix, it might be included after the preface and the article on Proudhon

^a K. Kautsky, 'Aus dem Nachlasse von Carl Marx', *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, No. 263, 19 September 1884 (morning edition). - ^b F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - ^c 'free trade'; Engels is referring to Marx's 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

from the *Social-Demokrat* (the old one). But included it must be, as you yourselves will find.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 23 October 1884

Dear Ede,

Herewith the preface.^a If you are going to add the '*libre échange*'^b to it, include what I have appended on the last page, otherwise alter it.^c

I have also taken out a money order for £ 1 in your favour, this being Schorlemmer's contribution to the election fund. You are probably already aware that Schorlemmer was charged in Darmstadt. When the arrest was made at Haug's house in Freiburg, they also found a copy of the *Sozialdemokrat* addressed to his brother^d—ergo domiciliary search, resulting in the discovery of letters from Schorlemmer which contained indifferent jokes about Bismarck—resulting in further inquiries about him at his mother's house and at Höchst where he then happened to be. To spare his mother unpleasantness he took his departure. Caused a great furore in Darmstadt.³⁰⁴

At Bebel's suggestion I have sent Schumacher some information about Rittinghausen in 1848.

What has by now, alas, become a very lengthy preface does not see the end of Mr Rodbertus; in the preface to the 2nd book of *Capital*^e I shall mount another attack on his 'discoveries' about surplus

^a F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - ^b 'free trade'. - ^c See previous letter. - ^d Ludwig Schorlemmer - ^e See present edition, Vol. 36.

value. Odd that Ricardo should be so completely forgotten in Germany! Regards to Karl Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

Should Dietz send the manuscript and proofs of the preface to Zurich, kindly send them on here.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL ³⁰⁵

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 29 October 1884

Dear Bebel,

Your telegram arrived here a minute or two after six and was hailed with cries of delight.³⁰⁶ I at once sent off postcards to people here and in the provinces to make its contents known and also advised Paris³⁹ where the first news they hear of anything is invariably garbled and contradictory. Very many thanks for sparing me a thought in the midst of the electoral hurly-burly. I have also informed³⁹ the Society.¹⁶²

It is more than I expected. I am less concerned just now with the number of seats that will eventually be won; the obligatory fifteen are assured³⁰⁷ and the main thing is the proof that the movement is marching ahead at a pace that is as rapid as it is sure, that constituency after constituency has been carried away by it and has ceased to be a safe seat for the other parties. But what is also splendid is the way our workers have run the affair, the tenacity, determination and, above all, humour with which they have captured position after position and set at naught all the dodges, threats and bullying on the part of government and bourgeoisie. What Germany could damned well

do with is reinstatement in the world's esteem; Bismarck and Moltke can make her feared; respect, genuine esteem, such as is only accorded to free, self-disciplined men — that respect will only be exacted by our proletarians.

The effect on Europe and America will be enormous. I have hopes that in France it will provide fresh impetus for our party. Over there people are still suffering from the aftermath of the Commune. Great though its influence on Europe may have been, it has also seriously set back the French proletariat. To have been in power for three months — and in Paris at that — and not to have radically altered the world but rather have come to grief through their own incompetence (such being the biased fashion in which the matter is understood today) — is proof that the party is not viable. That is the specious argument usually advanced by people who fail to realise that, while the Commune was the grave of *early* specifically French socialism, it was, for France, also and at the same time the cradle of a new international communism. And this last will be duly set on its feet by the German victories. Mme Lafargue, who is here and sends you her warm regards, is also of this opinion.

Similarly the news will make a strong impact on the English-speaking proletariat in America.

You will have received my registered letter³⁹ as also my postcard¹¹¹ of the day before yesterday.

My main worry just now is whether you yourself have pulled it off in your doubtful constituencies.³⁰⁸ In view of the many new elements who are in any case joining the parliamentary group, it is precisely at the beginning that you are so urgently needed, lest you find yourself subsequently presented with *faits accomplis* in which you had no part. I also know you are not in the best of health and you must at all costs conserve yourself for the party and the more critical times that lie ahead of it. But no doubt everything will work out satisfactorily.

I wanted to tell you more about the Rodbertus business, but it's no longer possible this evening. As for Schramm himself, he will already have had an adequate dressing-down from Karl Kautsky.^a In the preface to the *Poverty*^b I have already clarified Rodbertus' attitude towards us and this will, I think, suffice until I am able to deal with him more thoroughly in the preface to *Capital*, Book II.^c Should it prove

^a See this volume, pp. 193-95.- ^b F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.- ^c See present edition, Vol. 36.

necessary to do so in the interim, I can step in again. More about this anon.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY²⁶³

IN ZURICH

London, 8 November 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Between the time your letter arrived and today the elections—i. e. five years—have supervened.³⁰⁹ So I shall revert to it only briefly.

Herewith Liebknecht's letter—typical. Why you should not be able to edit the *Neue Zeit* just as well from London as from Zurich is inconceivable. Equally so, why your being in London should mean that you'll be lost to the German party. However, this letter provides no proof that Liebknecht—under the influence of different surroundings and a different frame of mind—might not very soon think and write quite differently. The fact that he was only partially successful at Offenbach—we over here don't yet know the results of the second ballot—may have given him reason to pause.³¹⁰ The bit about the 'impregnable' position in Stukkert^a is killing. Like the NCO in the French revolutionary army telling his bare-footed squad about the speech made by the people's representative: *Le représentant a dit: Avec du fer et du pain on va jusqu'en Chine. Il n'a pas parlé de chaussures.*^b Impregnable—if there were no police!

I am writing to Dietz³⁹ telling him to send me the proofs of the preface^c in galley form since a number of alterations will be neces-

^a A reference to the editorial offices of *Die Neue Zeit* in Stuttgart.-^b The representative said: With iron and bread we can get as far as China. He didn't mention *boots*. -^c F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.

sary. With this sort of thing, one cannot be too careful about one's mode of expression if one is not to find oneself pinned down to some ill-chosen or ambiguous word.

The elections will elicit an echo throughout Europe and America. And what a triumphant day it was! The *Kölnische* concedes us $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million votes and, in the hope of obtaining their support in the second ballot, is grovelling before the 4,000 who voted for Bebel in Cologne.³¹¹ To me the *Kölnische* is more important than any other paper because the Rhenish bourgeois are still the most advanced bourgeois in Germany and the *Kölnische* is their mirror. And hence this complete volte-face, this sudden respect for a new power, is all the more significant.

But how truly splendid it is! For the first time in history a strong, coherent workers' party exists as a real political power, evolved and come of age amidst the harshest persecution, irresistibly capturing one position after another, free of all philistinism in the most philistine, free of all chauvinism in the most cock-a-hoop country in Europe. A power the existence and rise of which is as incomprehensible and mysterious to governments and the old ruling classes as was the rising tide of Christianity to the authorities of the declining Roman Empire, but which is working its way to the fore as certainly and inexorably as once Christianity—so certainly that the rate at which its velocity will increase, and hence the actual time of its ultimate victory, already permits of mathematical calculation. Helped on its way rather than suppressed by the Anti-Socialist Law,³⁷ it deigns only to spurn Bismarck's social reform³¹² and the last desperate measure to suppress it momentarily—by fomenting a premature coup—would elicit nothing but immortal laughter.

It's strange. The best aid to our progress is precisely the backwardness of Germany's industrial position. In England and France the transition to large-scale industry is pretty well complete. The conditions in which the proletariat now finds itself have already become stable; agricultural districts and industrial districts, large-scale industry and cottage industries have become separated and, as far as is in fact possible in modern industry, firmly established. Even the fluctuations inseparable from the ten-year cycle of crises have become habitual conditions of existence. The political, if not actually socialist, movements that arose during the period of industrial revolution—immature as they were—have failed, leaving behind them discouragement rather than encouragement. Bourgeois capitalist develop-

ment has proved stronger than revolutionary counter-pressure; if there is to be another revolt against capitalist production there must be another, more powerful impulse, such as the ousting of England from the dominant position she has hitherto occupied in the world market, or some special revolutionary opportunity in France.

In Germany, on the other hand, large-scale industry goes back no further than 1848 and is the greatest legacy of that year. The industrial revolution is still going on, and doing so under the most unfavourable conditions. Cottage industries, based on small-, free- or lease-holdings, still continue to struggle against machinery and steam; the foundering smallholder looks to a cottage industry as his last sheet anchor, but no sooner is he industrialised than he is again subjected to pressure from machinery and steam. Subsidiary income from the land, the domestic potato plot, provides the capitalist with the most powerful pretext for depressing wages; he can now present his foreign customers with the entire normal surplus value — the only way he can compete in the world market — the whole of his profits being derived from what he deducts from the normal wages. Alongside this there is the complete subversion of all living conditions in the industrial centres as a result of the enormous strides made by large-scale industry. Thus the whole of Germany, with perhaps the exception of the Junker-dominated North-East, is becoming swept into the social revolution, the smallholder drawn into industry, and patriarchal circles being precipitated into the movement, and thus is far more fundamentally revolutionised than England or France. This social revolution of which the eventual outcome is the expropriation of the smallholder and handicraftsman is, however, taking place at the very time when a German, Marx, was destined to make a theoretical analysis of the results of historical developments, both theoretical and practical, in England and France, to elucidate the whole nature of capitalist production and hence its ultimate historical fate, and thus provide the German proletariat with a programme such as the English and the French, its precursors, have never possessed. A more fundamental revolutionising of society on the one hand, greater lucidity of intellect on the other — that is the secret of the irresistible progress made by the German workers' movement.

I had meant to write to Ede as well, but it has grown too late — moreover Pumps has arrived with her little girl with whom I shall have to play. Aveling and Tussy are arriving at 5 and at 7. Morris

wants to hold a grand consultation with me. So for the time being Ede will have to content himself with my good wishes.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 8 November 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

On receiving your kind letter of 27th last³¹³ I sent you a copy of my pamphlet *The Origin etc.*,^a and I would have sent it sooner had I known for certain that your last address was still valid.

I congratulate you on the splendid progress you have made in your study of the German language. I entrust you with the Italian translation of *The Origin* with pleasure and confidence. I have received in the meantime an earlier and similar offer from another quarter,^b which I have not yet accepted. In order to reject it definitively, it would be useful for me to know whether you have at your disposal a publisher who will print and publish your translation without delay.³¹⁴

I remain with respect your devoted

F. Engels

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^a *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* - ^b See this volume, pp. 204-05

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 11 November 1884

Dear Ede,

The inquiry in your letter about Marx's article on Proudhon^a has been dealt with in my preface^b where I made direct reference to it. You must now let me know how you propose to arrange the whole³⁰¹; I may receive the proofs of the preface any day and shall proceed accordingly in regard to the above article, the excerpt from *A Contribution to the Critique*^c and possibly the 'Speech'.^d

You did right to stress in the *Sozialdemokrat*^e that we are the only serious opponents of the Centre.²²⁹ Only by penetrating the strongholds of the Centre—Munich, Mainz, Cologne, Aachen, Düsseldorf, Essen, etc.—shall we be able to disperse this artificially united omnium-gatherum of opposing views and compel every one of them to show their true colours. And then it will transpire that the *genuinely* Catholic group is simply the Catholic wing of reaction, just as in Belgium and France it constitutes the *whole* of reaction. And no one would suffer more from this dispersal of the Centre than Mr Bismarck, who can darned well do with a hotchpotch of a party like that.

I get little news of how the second ballots are going and then only belatedly.³⁰⁶ I hope that at this juncture a good many will turn out well, for the more new elements there are in the parliamentary group just now the better. The worst of them (the eddicated) have already been elected; those still to come are most of them working men and they can only improve the company.

Judgment has been passed on the Anti-Socialist Law.³⁷ State and bourgeoisie have been made to look fearful asses vis-à-vis ourselves. But they are nevertheless going merrily on their way and anyone who thinks that the Law will necessarily receive its quietus as a result of

^a K. Marx, 'On Proudhon'.- ^b F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'.- ^c K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.- ^d K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.- ^e 'Unsere Bilanz', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 45, 6 November 1884 (leader).

this could be badly mistaken. Over here old John Russell carried on as Prime Minister for 20 years after his political demise. To abolish the Law does, after all, require a decision, and they are unlikely to make the necessary effort. At best there would be penal clauses which would cause us heavier casualties than would the Anti-Socialist Law.

We must now put forward positive proposals in regard to legislation.³⁰⁷ If they are couched emphatically, i. e. without regard for petty-bourgeois prejudices, then they will be very good. But if they are Geisered and Vierecked, then they will be bad. Normal working day (10 hours gradually reducing to perhaps 8), domestic and international factory legislation (in which the domestic could go further than the international), radical revision of the legislation affecting employers' liability, accident, sickness, disabled workmen, etc.—these will provide enough and more to go on with. *Nous verrons.*^a

The 1884 elections are for us what those of 1866 were for the German philistine. Then, all of a sudden, he became a 'great nation' without having had anything to do with it and, indeed, against his will.^b Now we have become a 'great party', but by our own hard work and at the cost of heavy sacrifices. *Noblesse oblige.* We cannot bring the mass of the nation over to our side unless that mass undergoes a gradual process of development. Frankfurt, Munich, Königsberg, cannot suddenly become as pronouncedly proletarian as Saxony, Berlin, the industrial Ruhr. Just now the petty-bourgeois elements among the leaders may find here and there among the masses the backing they have hitherto lacked. What has hitherto been a reactionary tendency in the case of individuals may now reproduce itself as a necessary developmental element—localised—in the case of the masses. That would call for a change of tactics if the masses are to be helped on their way without, at the same time, allowing the bad leaders to gain the ascendant. Here again we shall have to wait and see.

Tomorrow I shall attend to the very tricky final editing of Part III of the 2nd book of *Capital*.^c As soon as I have finished I hope to find time to rewrite the *Peasant War*²¹³ which this time will appear as a turning-point for the whole of the history of Germany and hence calls for important historical additions both at the beginning and the end. Only the account of the actual war will remain more or less as it stands. I feel that it is more important to print the *Peasant War* first rather than the *Dühring* which I shall alter little, simply adding notes

^a We shall see.- ^b See this volume, pp. 221-22.- ^c See present edition, Vol. 36.

or appendices. What arrangements do you propose to make about the printing?

Whatever becomes of the Anti-Socialist Law, the paper^a and the press in Zurich must, in my view, continue to operate. They will never restore freedom to us, even of the pre-1878 variety. Your Geisers and Vierecks will be allowed complete freedom and they in turn will trot out the pretty excuse that they went as far as they could. But in our case, the requisite freedom of the press is only to be had abroad. Come to that, it is even possible that attempts will be made to curtail universal suffrage; cowardliness makes people stupid and the philistine is *capable de tout*.^b Admittedly we shall receive compliments from left, right and centre and they won't in every case fall on stony ground. For friend Singer might feel inclined to show proof that, despite or because of his paunch, he is no ogre.

Karl Kautsky will have received my letter of yesterday.^c

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS³¹⁵

IN BARMEN

London, 11 November 1884

Dear Hermann,

The sad news of Emil's^d illness brought to me by your letter of 25 September did not come as a complete surprise. He himself had written to me from time to time about the state of his health and about the necessity he was in of spending the winter in the south; moreover

^a *Der Sozialdemokrat* - ^b capable of anything - ^c See this volume, pp. 212-15. -

^d Emil Engels, Frederick Engels' brother

your earlier letters also contained a number of allusions that gave me cause for anxiety. If tubercles have now finally appeared—not exactly common at our age—it is certainly a very bad sign, but I trust he will still be able to remain among us for a time and in a condition that does not make life too much of a burden to him. Nevertheless one pleasure he has still been able to experience, as I saw not long ago in the paper, is the opening of the Aggertal railway^a to which he devoted so many years of incessant toil. Even though this little branch line may be far from what he had in mind, it is nevertheless better than nothing and will bring quite a different kind of life into the valley and Engelskirchen than has been the case hitherto.

I should have written to you sooner had not Hermann's^b wedding intervened, at which time I wasn't absolutely sure where you were; since then there have been numerous interruptions and, on top of that, I have been up to my eyes in work. Moreover, for the past 18 months I, in my own person, have been sharply reminded of the frailty of the human body. What was actually wrong I shall probably never discover, but suffice it to say that the thing now seems to be righting itself and developing into some kind of hernial trouble (what is involved is not the prolapse of a piece of gut, but water in the abdomen). Besides, I have found a very efficient bandage-maker who has treated many cases of this kind, which are pretty rare as a rule, and has constructed a highly practical but in no way uncomfortable appliance for it. After lengthy experiments I can now manage it pretty well and am at last able to move about again and, what had hitherto proved a virtual impossibility, work at my desk. If things carry on like this, I shall be content; apart from relaxed muscles and ligaments, which is only natural after one has lain motionless on a sofa for so long, I no longer feel anything and am gradually becoming my old self again.

I trust you are all keeping well otherwise. Rudolf^c would also seem to be on the mend again. He seems to have inherited father's constitution in many respects, for he too had constant trouble with his stomach until his forties but was then perfectly all right and would doubtless still be alive had not typhoid reft him away.

^a See 'Lübeck-Büchenbahn', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 314, 11 November 1884 (second edition).- ^b Hermann Friedrich Theodor Engels.- ^c Rudolf Engels

Please let me know soon how Emil and the rest of you are getting on and what Hedwig^a is doing. No doubt Hermann will soon be returning from his honeymoon.

Fondest regards to all of you, brothers, sisters, Emma,^b your children and you yourself.

Your
Friedrich

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL³¹⁶

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 18 November 1884

Dear Bebel,

I had meant to write to you about the Rodbertus business but, now that my preface to *The Poverty of Philosophy*^c is to appear in the *Neue Zeit*, you will find the essentials set forth better there than could be done in a letter. The rest will follow later, in the preface to *Capital*, Book II.^d

There is, however, another point about which I should like to give you my opinion, and which seems to me more urgent.

Such is the respect we have inspired in liberal philistines generally that they all exclaim with one voice: 'All right, only let the Social Democrats place themselves on a *legal* footing and abjure *revolution*—then we shall support the immediate repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law.³⁷' Hence there can be no doubt that this insolent proposal will be put to you forthwith in the Reichstag. The reply you make is of importance, not so much to Germany where our stalwart lads have already given it at the polling booths, as to other countries.

^a Hedwig Boelling, née Engels - ^b Emma Engels - ^c F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - ^d See present edition, Vol. 36.

A *tame* reply would immediately destroy the tremendous impression created by the elections.³⁰⁶

As I see it, the case is as follows:

The political situation now obtaining throughout Europe is the result of revolutions. Everywhere the fundamental laws, historical laws, legitimacy, have been infringed a thousand times over, if not actually subverted. It is, however, in the nature of all parties and/or classes that have come to power by revolutionary means to demand that the fundamental laws newly created by the revolution be unconditionally recognised and held sacrosanct. The right to revolution *has* existed — otherwise those who now rule would, after all, not be entitled to do so — but from now on it is to cease to exist.

In Germany the present situation is based on the revolution that began in 1848 and ended in 1866. 1866 saw a complete revolution. Just as Prussia became what it is only by betraying and making war on the German Empire in alliance with other countries (1740, 1756, 1795³¹⁷), so, too, it was only by the forcible subversion of the German Confederation and by civil war that it brought into being the Prusso-German Empire.³¹⁸ Its assertion that it was the others who broke the federal treaty in no way alters the fact. The others maintain the contrary. No revolution has ever yet lacked a pretext of legality — vide France in 1830 when King^a and bourgeoisie each claimed to be in the right. In short, Prussia fomented civil war and, with it, revolution. After its victory, it overthrew *three thrones* ‘*by the grace of God*’ and annexed their territories, together with the once free city of Frankfurt.³¹⁹ If that was not revolutionary, then I don’t know what the word means. Not content with that, it confiscated the private property of the princes it had driven out. That this was not legal, hence revolutionary, it admitted when it induced an assembly — the Reichstag — to approve the deed in retrospect, though the said assembly had no more right than the government to dispose of those funds.³²⁰

The Prusso-German Empire, as the consummation of the North German Confederation forcibly created by the events of 1867,^{b 321} is a wholly revolutionary creation. I am not complaining about that. What I do reproach the chaps for — the ones responsible for it — is for having been no more than pusillanimous revolutionaries, for not hav-

^a Louis Philippe - ^b 1866 in the original.

ing gone much further and annexed the whole of Germany to Prussia straight away. But anyone whose instruments are blood and iron, who overthrows monarchies, engulfs entire states and confiscates private property, should not damn other people as revolutionaries. Should the party merely retain the right to be neither more nor less revolutionary than the imperial government has shown itself, it will have obtained all it requires.

Not long since, it was officially stated that the imperial constitution was not a compact between the princes and the people, but only a compact between the princes and the free cities for which a new one could at any time be substituted. Thus, the government organs that expounded this were demanding for the governments the right *to subvert the imperial constitution*. They were not subjected to an emergency law, nor were they prosecuted. Very well—neither do we demand for ourselves, in the most extreme case, more than is demanded for the governments in this one.

The Duke of Cumberland is the rightful, undisputed heir to the throne of Brunswick. The King of Prussia has no more right to reign in Berlin than is claimed by Cumberland in Brunswick. Anything else that is wanted of him can only be laid claim to after Cumberland has taken possession of his rightful, legitimate throne. This the revolutionary German imperial government is forcibly preventing him from doing. Yet another revolutionary act.

And what is the position as regards the parties?

In November 1848 the Conservative Party did not hesitate to infringe the legality constituted in March of that year.³²² In any case, it accords only provisional recognition to the present constitutional state of affairs and would joyfully acclaim any feudal and absolutist coup d'état.

The Liberal Party of all shades participated in the revolution from 1848 to 1866, nor would it today allow anyone to deny it the right to counter the forcible subversion of the constitution with force.

The Centre²²⁹ recognises the Church as the supreme power transcending the state; a power, that is, which might, in certain circumstances, make revolution a *duty*.

And these are the parties which demand of us that *we and we alone out of all the rest* should declare that we would *in no circumstances* resort to force, would submit to any pressure, any outrage, not only when these have a veneer of legality—*are* legal in our opponents' view—but also when they are downright illegal.

No party, unless it was lying, has ever denied the right to armed resistance *in certain circumstances*. None has ever been able to renounce that ultimate right.

But once the debate begins to turn on the *circumstances* in which a party may reserve that right, the game is already won. The whole thing becomes progressively more nonsensical. Particularly in the case of a party that has been declared illegal and is thus actually reduced by higher authority to resorting to revolution. And such a declaration of illegality, having been made once already, might recur any day. To demand an unconditional statement of this kind from such a party is utterly preposterous.

Nor, for that matter, have the gentlemen anything to worry about. The military position being what it now is, we shall not go into action so long as we have a military power against us. We can bide our time until that military power ceases *to be a power against us*. Any revolution prior to that, even a victorious one, would bring to power, not *ourselves*, but the most radical elements of the bourgeoisie and/or petty bourgeoisie.

In any case, the elections have shown that we can expect to gain nothing by submissiveness, i. e. concessions to our opponents. It is only defiant resistance that has gained us their respect and turned us into a power. Only power is respected and only so long as we remain a power will your philistine respect us. Anyone who makes concessions and is therefore no longer a power, he will despise. You can let them feel the iron fist in the velvet glove, indeed you must. The German proletariat has become a powerful party—may its representatives be worthy of it!

Your
F. E.

(Time for the post.)

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 23 November 1884

My dear Laura,

Glad you arrived safe and well²⁶⁸ and Paul liked his cake — but Nim can't get over his insisting to eat cheese along with it. Nim has suffered much from tooth-ache — a sound tooth, but loose. Yesterday she took an old pair of small tongs which she brought from Maitland Park and wrenched it out with it, rewarding her courage with a drop of brandy, and is now quite lively again.

Friday last^a the Social Democratic Federation³⁰⁰ had a benefit. Tussy and Edward played in a piece — I did not go, as I do not as yet see my way to sitting three hours consecutively in a stiff chair. Nim says they played very well — the piece was more or less, she says, their own history. Mother Wright read — very well — Bax played the piano — rather long — Morris who was here the other night and quite delighted to find the Old Norse Edda³²³ on my table — he is an Icelandic enthusiast — Morris read a piece of his poetry^b (a 'refonte'^c of the Eddaic *Helreid Brynhildar*^d — the description of Brynhild burning herself with Sigurd's corpse), etc., etc.; it went off very well — their art seems to be rather better than their literature and their poetry better than their prose.

Paul's reply to Block is excellent, not only in style but in subject-matter.²⁸¹ People have different ways of learning things, and if he learns political economy by fighting, it's all right so that he does learn it. He was quite right in bearing out the question of the equal price of corn which costs different amounts of labour — that is too complicated and is solved only in Book III, *Kapital*. But what he may return to, when he has an opportunity, is the stupid calumny of Block, page 131, note: that Mohr *insiste surtout sur le capital employé dans le commerce, tant sous la forme argent (espèces) que sous la forme mar-*

^a 21 November - ^b W. Morris, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Nibelungs*. - ^c 'variant' - ^d Brynhild's raid into the hell

chandises.^a This is a direct lie or a proof that he does not know what he is writing about. Mohr mentions interest-bearing capital and merchants' capital only as historical *facts*, but expressly *excludes* them from all economical discussion in Book I, where capital is only considered in its simplest form as industrial capital.

A slip of the pen of Paul's p. 285: *la grandeur de la plus-value est en rapport direct avec la longueur de la journée de travail, mais en rapport inverse avec le taux du salaire*.^b

Du reste,^c you know that my only objection to Paul's replying to Block was the fear that it might 'block' his ultimate reply to Leroy-Beaulieu.^d— If he has *ingeseift*^e Molinari to that extent, that he allows Paul to reply anything to anybody, all the better.

The report of the meeting in favour of the Germans in the *Sozialdemokrat* as well as the extracts from *Lyon-Socialiste*³²⁴ given there will have a capital effect in Germany and everywhere. Nothing can strike the philistine and also the workmen of other countries more than this cordiality and working hand in hand of the proletarians of the two '*erbfeindliche Nationen*'.^f It ought to be *mis en avant*^g as much and as often as possible.

As to poor Brousse, the man without a programme, being in doubt about the programme on which our people have been elected, the proclamation of Müller in Darmstadt which I was glad Guesde worked up in the *Cri du Peuple* will have answered him. Better still is the Hanoverian programme in this week's *Sozialdemokrat* No. 47.³²⁵ I wish Guesde would make use of that. These two proclamations, and the fact that they were issued in *new* districts — Darmstadt and Hanover, where our people might be expected to coax votes, have given me quite as much pleasure as the elections themselves. They show how thoroughly the revolutionary spirit has been evoked by Bismarck's persecutions. I was almost expecting that the new districts might send 'moderate' men, but no fear of that now. Also Sabor the Jewish schoolmaster from Frankfort belongs to the *Bebel* wing of the party.

Bernstein's letter to Paul about Lassalle³²⁶ finds its explanation in this, that in *Paris*, as in London and New York, the old Lassalle set is still strongly represented among the Germans. They have mostly

^a especially insists on commercial capital both in its *money* form (coinage) and in its *commodity* form - ^b The amount of surplus value is in a *direct* ratio to the length of the working day and in an *inverse* ratio to the size of wages. - ^c Besides - ^d P. Lafargue, 'La théorie de la plus-value de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu'. - ^e cheated - ^f 'traditionally hostile nations' - ^g emphasised

emigrated, Germany is too hot for them and won't listen to them. But as they are comparatively harmless abroad, and form a useful international cement, besides finding funds for the Germans at home, *on les ménage un peu*.^a

Loria takes good care not to send me his expectorations.^b As a true 'Kathedersocialistischer⁵⁴ Streber'^c he robs us right and left. By the bye, what Paul intends doing if he should reply to him, *donne de côté*.^d Loria knows that as well as ourselves, *why* capitalists go as well into one branch of industry as another. But the real question is as I stated it, and one which is not so easy, in fact, it broke down classical economy which could not solve it. The *déroute*, as Mohr's manuscript calls it,^e of the Ricardian school on this very question^f opened the door to vulgar economy.

My walks with you have done me a deal of good — I extend them every day, and my muscles are hardening again.

Kind regards to Paul. Love from Nim.

Yours affectionately,
F. E.

Poor old Mother Hess!

'Wir waben, wir waben!'^g

Hope she is suited at last.

Now before concluding I want to ask you a favour. Paul has from me: 1) Darwin's *Origin of Species*, 2) Thierry, *Histoire du tiers état*, 3) Paquet, *Institutions provinciales et communales de la France*, 4) Buonarotti, *Conspiracy of Babeuf*. Now, Jenny had from me: 1) *Die 'Edda'*, *poetische und prosaische*, and 2) *Beowulf*, both in Simrock's New High German translation. The latter two books and Darwin I am in especial want of. Could you get them together if they can be found (Thierry and Paquet I also have use for and Buonarroti is not to be had now) and send them in a parcel to me? The agents of the Continental Parcels Express (*agence Continentale*), are

E. d'Odiardi, 18 rue Bergère and

P. Bigeault, 23 rue Dunkerque, opposite the station du Nord.

The carriage *not* to be paid, as the delivery will be all the safer; and

^a they are spared a little - ^b A. Loria, 'La théorie de la valeur de Karl Marx', *Journal des Économistes*, No. 10, October 1884. - ^c 'armchair-socialist careerist' - ^d stand aside - ^e disintegration - ^f See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 258-373. - ^g 'We weave, we weave' (South German dialect); Engels quotes from Heine's *Die schlesischen Weber*.

mind, I am not in such a hurry that you should rush off post haste to Argenteuil to look the books up.

Clemenceau seems to be going down morally while going up politically — this appears unavoidable in French bourgeois politics. His visit to Gladstone and the rubbish he talked there is one symptom, the other is his silence in the chamber with regard to the *Socialistenhetze*^a and the atrocious judgments of Lyon, Montluçon, etc.

As to Paul's wish to have an Irish paper, there is none that can be recommended. Besides if the *Égalité* writes up every murder, be it ever so stupid, as *une exécution*, Havas' telegrams are quite sufficient. For other things the *Daily News* Irish correspondence will be found sufficient.

If Paul sees that the *Égalité* is regularly forwarded to the *Sozialdemokrat* at Zurich, that paper will be duly sent in return, but I shall write to Bernstein to send it to *your* address, so that *you* get it, and not those that do not understand it.

Kind regards to Paul.

Yours very affectionately,
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON³²⁷

IN LONDON

[London,] 28 November 1884
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I received your note only this morning owing to the No. being stated wrong on the address (132 instead of 122).

^a persecution of socialists

If you will be good enough to call on me to-morrow Friday night from 7 to 8, I shall be glad to hear what you have to communicate to me.³²⁸

Yours truly,
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO CHARLOTTE ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 1 December 1884

Dear Lottchen,

Your telegram arrived this morning shortly before ten. I had been prepared for this news for some time, ever since Hermann wrote to me in some detail about Emil's condition^a and especially since the week before last when your brother-in-law Colsman visited me. We talked a great deal about Emil, Colsman being fully conversant with the medical circumstances of the case. There was, I gathered, no more hope, the verdict had been given and the consummation could only be a matter of weeks. And yet I had not expected that it would be so quick. It has happened, and we must resign ourselves to it.

It has been a period of your life, dear Lottchen, such as you will never again experience; a line has been drawn through a whole chapter of happiness, now irrevocably brought to an end. I know how bleak and empty the world must seem to you at this moment, and I know that in your heart of hearts you wish that chance may enable you presently to be laid to rest beside your Emil. That is natural and is what anyone who stands beside the bier of a beloved spouse would

^a See this volume, pp. 218-19.

wish. But remember that my mother had to endure this too. She had 41 years of happiness and then was widowed. And there are few women who loved their husbands more ardently than she my father. And yet with her children and among their children and children's children she acquired a new lease of life and lived among us, at any rate not unhappily, for the next 14 years. And she was older than you are and all her children were grown-up and provided for, whereas you still have several for whom there are duties to fulfil of a kind only a mother can fulfil and which weigh all the more heavily for their now being fatherless.

I always had a particularly intimate relationship with Emil and, however far our views may have diverged, one thing we still had in common was our preoccupation with scientific matters, irrespective of whether or not they had any immediate practical application. One episode I shall never forget. When, after father's death, I had to cope with a most difficult state of affairs while physically so indisposed that I was incapable of making one single urgent decision in a sound frame of mind and with faculties unimpaired, there was Emil, clear of eye, firm of resolve and in full command of the situation, to extricate me and bring the negotiations in Manchester, upon which my whole future depended, to a successful conclusion.³²⁹ If I now live here in London, a man of independent means, this is thanks not least to Emil.

Nor would my uncertain state of health deter me from leaving tonight to pay my dear brother my last respects. But there is the possibility, indeed probability, that my presence would lead to harassment by the police and nothing in the world would induce me to expose you and the others to such a thing at this particular moment. After all, was not a universally renowned chemist,^a naturalised Englishman and member of the British Royal Society, harassed in Darmstadt, his native city, a few months ago simply because he had attended Marx's funeral, harassed to the extent that he at once departed?^b What might I not expect? Once again I shall doubtless have to regard myself as a political refugee for the time being.

Well, dear Lottchen, one thing I do know and that is that you women are stronger and pluckier than we men. Whatever you endure, if endure it you must, you do so better than we do. You, yourself, with the marvellous self-control that I have often envied, will be able

^a Carl Schorlemmer - ^b See this volume, p. 209.

to overcome even this most grievous blow, the grief we all of us share with you and of which you must bear the brunt.

A kiss from me for the children. With all my love.

Your trusty old
Friedrich

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Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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Published in English for the first
time

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY ³³⁰

IN VIENNA

[London, 9 December 1884]

Dear Kautsky,

It goes without saying that you can have your letters addressed to 122 Regent's Park Road as often and for as long as you wish. I hope this will still catch you in Vienna; in my haste I had overlooked your inquiry and for the past week I have had many interruptions.

Why you and the others do not settle the matter of the 'Speech'^a when you yourselves are certainly better able to decide such matters than I am, is more than I can understand. I am writing to Dietz to tell him to attend to it himself.

Your
F. E.

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^a K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL^{316; 331}

[IN BERLIN]

London, 11-12 December 1884

Dear Bebel,

The point of my last letter^a was as follows:

Among the newly elected members some were known to me, who, by education and temperament, would throw in their weight with the *right*, bourgeois wing of the parliamentary group. In view of the tremendous blandishments suddenly extended to us after our victories by all the other parties, it seemed to me not impossible that the said gentlemen might fall for the bait and be prepared to make a statement such as that demanded of us by, for instance, the *Kölnische Zeitung* as a condition of the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law³¹¹ — a statement would only have to go a hair's breadth further to the right in surrendering the party's revolutionary character than did, for instance, Geiser's speech during the Anti-Socialist Law debate, which Grillenberger printed alongside yours.³³² The gentlemen of the Liberal Party are soft and would be content with very little; a small concession on our part would have satisfied them, and it was that small concession I feared since it would have discredited us beyond all measure abroad. I knew, of course, that it would not be made by you. But you, i. e. we, might have been outvoted. Indeed, the least sign of a split — in speeches — would have done enormous harm. That is the reason — and the only reason — I thought it my duty to provide you with support against such an occasion by supplying you with a few handy historical arguments which, perhaps, might not be so fresh in your mind as in mine. And so that you might show the letter to others if you thought fit, I omitted all allusions to those for whom it was, ultimately, intended.

Nobody is gladder than I that my fears have proved unfounded and that the power of the movement should have been such as to carry away even the bourgeois elements of the party and that the parliamentary group had kept abreast of the electorate. And I must con-

^a See this volume, pp. 220-23.

fess that I find Singer, who spent a short while here this Sunday^a and will be coming to see me again next Sunday, a completely changed man. He is beginning to believe (quite literally) that he might yet experience something in the nature of a social transformation. I trust that it will last and that our 'edicated' chaps will ultimately resist the temptation of showing the other parties that they're not ogres.

I have never been mistaken about our proletarian masses. The progress of their movement — assured, confident of victory and, for that very reason, cheerful and good-humoured — is exemplary and beyond compare. No European proletariat could have stood the test of the Anti-Socialist Law so splendidly nor, after six years of oppression, have responded by demonstrating how greatly its power had increased and its organisation been consolidated. None could have brought that organisation into being, as was done here, without any pretence at conspiracy. And, now that I have seen the electoral manifestos of Darmstadt and Hanover,³²⁵ I have ceased to worry about the possibility of having to make concessions in the new districts (constituencies). If, in both those towns, they could speak in such revolutionary and proletarian terms, then all is won.

It is greatly to our advantage that in Germany the industrial revolution should not really have got going until now, whereas in France and England it is for the most part complete. In those countries, the division into town and country, industrial districts and agricultural districts, is complete to the extent that such further change as there is will be very gradual. The bulk of the people grow up in the conditions in which they will subsequently have to live; they are so used to them that even fluctuations and crises come to be regarded almost as a matter of course. Added to which is the memory of earlier, unsuccessful movements. In Germany, by contrast, everything is still in a state of flux. What remains of the old, self-sufficient rural industrial production is being superseded by capitalist cottage industries, while elsewhere capitalist cottage industries are in their turn making way for the machine. And it is the very nature of our industry, lagging as it does far behind all the rest, that makes the revolution^b such a fundamental one. Since large mass-produced articles, for the popular as well as the luxury trades, are already monopolised by the British and French, pretty well all that is left for our export industry is the insignificant stuff which, however, also runs into very large quantities, and is first manufactured by cottage industries, not being machine-made

^a 7 December - ^b Altered in an unknown hand to 'social revolution'.

until later when it is produced in bulk. In this way cottage industries (capitalist) are introduced into far wider fields and make an even cleaner sweep. If I except the Prussia of the Eastern Elbe area, i. e. East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen and the larger part of Brandenburg, as well as Old Bavaria,^a there are now few districts where the farmer is not being increasingly caught up in cottage industries. The area thus^b revolutionised will,^c in Germany, be larger than anywhere else.

Furthermore, the fact that the worker in a cottage industry usually goes in for a bit of agriculture makes it possible to depress wages to an extent unknown elsewhere. What used to be the small man's good fortune—the combination of agriculture and industry—has now become the most effective means of capitalist exploitation. The potato plot, the cow, the little bit of husbandry, makes feasible the sale of labour power below its proper price, indeed *necessitates* this because it binds the worker to the soil which, after all, provides part of his nourishment. Hence, in Germany, industry becomes capable of exporting because the customer, more often than not, is presented with the entire surplus value, while the capitalist's profits derive from deductions made from the normal working wage. This applies to pretty well all rural cottage industries, more so in Germany than anywhere else.

Moreover, our industrial revolution, set in train by the revolution of 1848 and its bourgeois advances (puny though these were), was enormously speeded up 1) by the removal, between 1866 and 1870, of internal obstacles^d and 2) by the French milliards, destined as these were for capitalist investment.³³³ In this way we have achieved an industrial revolution that is more thorough-going and fundamental, more extensive and comprehensive than in any other country; we have done so with a completely fresh, intact proletariat, undemoralised by defeat and, finally—thanks to Marx—with an insight into the causes of economic and political developments and into the prerequisites for the impending revolution such as none of our predecessors possessed. But for that very reason we are *under an obligation* to win.

As regards pure democracy and its future role, I am not of your opinion. That it plays a far more subordinate role in Germany than in countries long since industrialised, goes without saying. But that will not prevent it *qua* extreme *bourgeois* party—which, after all, it

^a Old Bavaria: Upper and Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate. - ^b 'industrially' inserted in an unknown hand - ^c 'hence,' inserted in an unknown hand - ^d See this volume, pp. 221-22.

had already made itself out to be at Frankfurt — from acquiring, at the moment of revolution, a temporary significance as the last sheet-anchor of the bourgeois and, indeed, feudal economy generally.³³⁴ At such a moment the entire reactionary mass will align itself behind it and swell its ranks, whereupon all erstwhile reactionaries will act as though they were democrats. It was thus that, from March to September 1848, the entire feudal-bureaucratic mass swelled the ranks of the Liberals in order to keep down the revolutionary masses and, having done so, kick out the Liberals as a matter of course. It was thus that in France in 1848, from May until Bonaparte's^a election in December, the purely Republican party of *Le National*,³³⁵ the very weakest of them all, was able to hold sway thanks only to the forces of reaction, all of which rallied to its defences. It has always been thus in every revolution: The tamest party still capable of governing takes its turn at the helm precisely because the vanquished look to it as their last hope of salvation. Now we cannot expect to have the majority of the electorate, i. e. of the nation, already at our backs when the crucial moment comes. The whole of the middle and the residue of the feudal, land-owning class, and the better part of the petty bourgeoisie as of the rural population, will then rally round the most extreme bourgeois — in word by now the most extreme revolutionary — party which will, I think, most probably be represented in the provisional government, indeed might actually form its majority for a time. How, as a minority, one ought *not* to act in such a case was demonstrated in Paris in 1848 by the Social Democratic minority in the February government.³³⁶ However, for the moment this question remains an academic one.

Now in Germany matters might take a different course, and this for military reasons. As things are at present, an impulse from without would be unlikely to come from anywhere but Russia. Should it fail to come, and the impulse emanate from Germany, the revolution could only emanate from the army. An unarmed population confronted by a modern army is militarily an altogether infinitesimal quantity. In that event — when our reserves of 20- or 25-year-olds, who do not vote, but train, would go into action — pure democracy might be given a miss. But here again the question is, at present, still academic although I, as representative, so to speak, of the party's Great General Staff, am obliged to bear it in mind. At all events, on the crucial day and the day after that, our only adversary will be *collective reaction centred round pure democracy* and this, I think, ought never to be lost from view.

^a Napoleon III

If you people table motions in the Reichstag, there is one thing you should not forget. State-owned land is for the most part rented out to big farmers, only very little being sold to smallholders whose plots, however, are so diminutive that these new smallholders are reduced to hiring themselves out by the day to the large farms. What should be demanded is the *leasing of large, undivided estates to cooperatives of agricultural workers to be farmed communally*. The Empire possesses no estates and this will presumably provide a pretext for throwing out any such motion. But I believe that this firebrand ought to be cast among the agricultural day labourers, which is quite possible in view of the many debates about state socialism. This and this alone will enable you to rope in the agricultural workers. It is the best way of showing them that they are ultimately destined to run the big estates of those who are now their lords and masters, and to run them for the common weal. And with this friend Bismarck and his demand that you make positive proposals ought to be satisfied for a while.

Warmest regards.

Your
F. E.

12 December 1884

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE ³³⁷

IN PARIS

[Excerpt]

[London, mid-December 1884]

In Germany there are far too many soldiers and non-commissioned officers belonging to the party for one to be able to preach a riot with the slightest chance of success. They know that it is in the ranks of the

army itself that the *demoralisation* (from the bourgeois point of view) must take place; given modern military conditions (rapid-firing arms, etc.), the revolution is bound to begin in the army. At any rate it will begin there in our country. No one knows better than the government how the number of socialist conscripts is growing year after year. Our universal suffrage does not begin until the age of twenty-five; if the great reserve of the 21- to 25-year-olds does not figure in the voting, it is present in the army.

First published in *Lyon-Socialiste*, No. 15,
21 décembre 1884

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN ³³⁸

IN ZURICH

London, 29 December 1884

Dear Ede,

From Kautsky I learn that you have lost not only your sister but also your father. Let me assure you of my warmest sympathy. It is one of the more sombre aspects of exile which I, too, have come to know. The fatherland as such is something one can easily dispense with, but —

Now for events over here. On Saturday the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION ³⁰⁰ happily disintegrated. The bubble burst somewhat sooner than I had expected, but it was bound to come.

Hyndman, a political adventurer with aspirations to a *carrière* in Parliament, had long since gained control of the whole business. When, a year ago, Bax launched *To-Day*, there was not enough literary talent to keep the little affair going, let alone a weekly, but a weekly Hyndman must needs have. Hence *Justice* was founded — with money given by two enthusiasts, Morris and Carpenter; it was edited by Hyndman with the aid of a few young literati who were on the look-out for some new movement capable of paying them (Fitzgerald and Champion) and one Joynes, a teacher dismissed from Eton

for agitation conducted in company with Henry George,^a and hence a socialist, willy-nilly. These men were paid, directly or indirectly — Hyndman is rich but tight-fisted —, the rest had to contribute gratis. All the FEDERATION'S papers went to Hyndman, Fitzgerald and Champion, who placed before the Council only what they thought fit, and corresponded off their own bat in the FEDERATION'S name; in short, Hyndman treated the Council as Bismarck treats the Reichstag. Loud complaints; they even reached me. I said: 'Give the man his head. He's a petty-minded chap and won't last long, *for he cannot wait.*'^b And he has come a cropper sooner than I thought he would.

Morris, who was in Scotland a fortnight ago, uncovered there such intrigues on Hyndman's part that he said he could no longer continue to work with the fellow. He had long had his suspicions. An interview with Andreas Scheu in Edinburgh brought matters to a head.³³⁹ Hyndman had defamed Scheu by calling him an anarchist and dynamiter — Scheu was able to provide Morris not only with proof to the contrary, but also of the fact that Hyndman knew this. Similar machinations of Hyndman's in Glasgow, where the branch had received letters from the secretary, Fitzgerald, bearing the FEDERATION'S stamp but which had not only not been written at the behest of the Council, but actually in defiance of its resolutions. Furthermore, Hyndman had told several people that a somewhat mysterious letter to the Council in Paris was a forgery concocted by Mme Lafargue and Tussy with a view to laying a trap for him. However, he had withheld the actual letter from the Council. Finally, in addition to having repeatedly stirred up strife between members of the Council, he was shown to have fabricated a provincial branch which did not exist at all.

In short, last Tuesday^c things came to a head. Hyndman was attacked from every side, Scheu himself was there, documents in hand. Tussy had a letter from her sister about the alleged forgery. There was a row. Meeting adjourned till Saturday. Morris and Aveling came to see me beforehand, when I was able to give them some further advice. Big debate on the Saturday. None of the facts could be denied, either by Hyndman or by the supporters he had drummed up. Motion of censure on Hyndman adopted. Whereupon the majority resigned from the FEDERATION. The grounds for this were, 1) that

^a See this volume, pp. 74-75. - ^b Ibid., pp. 165-66. - ^c 23 December

at a congress, Hyndman might fabricate a majority with the aid of his BOGUS branch, while they would be unable to prove the non-existence of that branch, or at any rate not until it was too late, 2) — and this was the main reason—*because the entire FEDERATION was, after all, no better than a racket.*³⁴⁰

Those who resigned were Aveling, Bax and Morris, the only honest ones amongst the literati, but also three as unpractical men — two poets and a philosopher — as it is possible to find. Also, the cream of the better-known working men. They intend to do the rounds of the London branches in the hope of winning over the majority, whereupon they will let Hyndman and his non-existent provincial branches go whistle. Their organ is to be a little monthly.^a At last they are going to operate modestly and in accordance with their powers, and not go on pretending that the English proletariat must instantly jump to it the moment the trumpet is sounded by a few literary converts to socialism. (In London, according to Morris' admission, they were 400 strong at the outside and barely 100 in the provinces.) The circulation of *Justice* is about 3,500.

Hyndman is retaining *Justice* and *To-Day*, together with his speculative literati Fitzgerald, Champion, Burrows, Shaw and possibly also Sketchley who, as a former Chartist, presumably considers himself entitled to a pension. Add to that what remains of the old democratic or socialist sects. Whose prize the other remnants of the FEDERATION will be, remains to be seen. But since Hyndman will no longer be getting any money either from Morris or from Carpenter for his unprofitable organs, he will either have to pay up himself, or sell himself, his organs and the remnants of his faction to the CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS or — to Lord Randolph Churchill and Tory DEMOCRACY. He'll have to look sharp if he wants to stand for Parliament in the elections next autumn.

I have the satisfaction of having seen through the whole racket from the outset, correctly sized up all the people concerned and foretold what the end would be, and similarly that the said racket would eventually do more harm than good.

Your
F. E.

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^a *The Commonweal*

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT ³⁴¹

[IN BERLIN]

[Excerpt]

[London, 29 December 1884]

Should the parliamentary group not wish to adopt a merely negative attitude, they can, or so it seems to me, *only give their consent* to state aid for the bourgeoisie,³⁴² from which the workers might *conceivably* derive some indirect advantage (something that still remains to be proved, however) *if the workers are assured of similar state aid.*^a 'If you give us 4 to 5 millions a year for *workers' cooperatives* (not a loan but a gift, as for the shipowners), then we're prepared to discuss the matter. If you give us guarantees to the effect that in *Prussia state-owned land* will be leased, not to big farmers or to peasants who cannot exist without hiring day labourers, but to *workers' cooperatives*, and that *public works* will be put out to *workers' cooperatives* instead of to capitalists, very well, we'll see what we can do. But not otherwise.'

Provided the parliamentary group makes proposals of this sort for which, of course, the right wording must first be found, no one will be able to reproach the Social Democratic deputies with neglecting the present needs of the workers for the sake of the future.

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*,
Nr. 2, Zurich, 8. Januar 1885

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^a See this volume, pp. 241-42

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 30 December 1884

Dear Bebel,

I hasten to reply to your letter.

Friend Singer would seem to have digested only such of my remarks as accorded with his own views: one soon learns how to do this in business where it may sometimes help, but in politics as in science one should, after all, learn to take an objective view of things.

To begin with, I told Singer that I had not yet by any means given the matter adequate thought (my attention having been drawn to it only the evening before by the *Sozialdemokrat*),³⁴² and that what I was saying could *by no means* be regarded as *my final verdict*.

Next, I went on to say that, *under certain circumstances and on certain conditions*, it might be *admissible* to vote for it, i. e. if the government were to *undertake* to accord to the workers the same state aid it was now prepared to accord to the bourgeoisie. In particular, that is, the leasing of state-owned land to workers' cooperatives, etc. Since I know very well that the government will not do so, this is another way of saying that those who *would like* to vote for it should be shown how they *can* vote against it with a semblance of decency and without doing violence to themselves.

I further told Singer — and this seemed news to him — that in parliamentary life one may often find oneself in the position of having to vote *against* something which one would privately like to see carried.

Well, yesterday I wrote to Liebknecht about other matters and took the opportunity of giving him what was now, after long reflection, a considered view of the case.^a In many respects it tallies almost word for word — get him to read you that bit of my letter some time — with what you say, although your letter did not arrive until this morning. Where I diverge from you is, briefly, as follows:

1. You are above all a party versed in economics. You, or some of you, have at various times made a great show of the party's superi-

^a See previous letter.

ority in this field, yet as soon as you were confronted in practice with your first economic question, you fell out — over protective tariffs.³⁴³ But if the same thing is going to happen each time an economic question crops up, what is the point of having a parliamentary group at all?

2. On principle, you ought to vote against it. I told Liebknecht so plainly enough. But suppose the majority want to vote for it? In that case, the only thing to do is to persuade them to attach such conditions to their vote as will excuse it, at any rate to the extent that no odium attaches to them in the eyes of Europe, as would otherwise inevitably happen. Those conditions, however, are, and can only be, such that the government cannot agree to them, i. e. that the majority of the parliamentary group, should they attach those conditions to their vote, will not be able to vote for it.

Needless to say, I could never have considered an unconditional vote in favour of presenting the bourgeoisie with working men's pennies. But neither, for that matter, could the cardinal question — the disruption of the parliamentary group — have been envisaged in this context.

To my mind, your best way of dealing with all such questions, if you want to take account of the voters' petty-bourgeois prejudices, is to say: 'On principle we're against it. But since you wish us to make positive proposals and since you maintain that these things would also be of benefit to the workers, which we contest in so far as anything more than a microscopic advantage is concerned — well and good. You must place workers and bourgeoisie on an equal footing. For every million you take from the worker's pocket and give to the bourgeoisie, directly or indirectly, you must give the workers a million; the same applies to loans made by the state.' I. e. more or less as follows (only by way of an example and without regard for the particular form it would have to assume for Germany, since I am too little acquainted with the details of existing legislation):

1) The granting of subventions and advances to workers' cooperatives, not for the purpose, or not so much for the purpose, of starting up new businesses (which would be no better than Lassalle's proposal, with all its deficiencies) as, in particular, in order to

a) take on lease and farm cooperatively state-owned land (or other types of landed property);

b) purchase for their own or the government account and operate as cooperatives factories, etc., which, at a time of crisis or, perhaps,

due to bankruptcy, have been shut down by their owners or have otherwise come on the market, and thus pave the way for the gradual transition of all production to cooperative production.

2) Preference to be given to cooperatives over capitalists and the latter's associations in all public contracts, and on the same terms; i. e. as a general principle, contracts for public works to be accorded wherever possible to cooperatives.

3) The removal of all legal obstacles and difficulties that still stand in the way of free cooperatives, i. e. above all the reinstatement of the working class within the common law — pitiful though this may be — by the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ which, after all, is the ruin of all trade associations and cooperatives.

4) Complete freedom for trade associations (TRADE UNIONS) and their recognition as *legal persons* with all the latter's rights.

By demanding this, all you demand is that equal consideration be accorded to workers and bourgeois alike; and if gifts to the bourgeois will allegedly boost industry, will not gifts to the workers boost it far more? *Without* any such quid pro quo, I fail to see how a Social Democratic parliamentary group could vote for anything of the sort. If you confront the people with such demands, the electorate, too, would soon stop pestering you about state aid for industry in the shape of gifts to the bourgeoisie. All these are matters which could be initiated here and now and actually set in train within the year, being obstructed only by the bourgeoisie and the government. And yet, as things now are, these are important measures whose impact upon the workers would be a very different affair from that made by steamship subsidies,³⁴² protective tariffs, etc. And the French are demanding essentially the same.

But now for something else which has only just come to light. The outcome of the division will, as likely as not, be determined by the Social Democrats. And what utter asses you would look in the eyes of the whole world if this business of donations to the bourgeoisie were to be the work *of your votes!* And without any quid pro quo! I really do not know what, in that case, I should tell the French and the people over here. And what a triumph for the anarchists, who would say exultantly: 'There you are — they're out-and-out philistines!'

I shall go into the other matters another time, since I am anxious that you should not for a moment be in doubt as to my views on this

point. I trust that the change in your business affairs³⁴⁴ will above all be beneficial to your health. With all good wishes to you and your family for the New Year.

Your
F. E.

That there won't be enough money is clear as day. And another thing I told Singer was that anyone who votes for it must, if he is to be consistent, also vote for colonies. As regards the point about money, see my letter to Liebknecht.^a

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 30 December 1884

Dear Sir,

Unfortunately it is not till now that your latest letter dated 18 November has received a reply from me.³⁴⁵ Please excuse me; I am overwhelmed with work and things to be done.

My *Peasant War* is a pamphlet which is only of interest to Germany. Besides, I must prepare a completely reworked edition,²¹³ and I cannot begin before February or March. The book would be published around July (I know what to expect from our party press). Finally, what it deals with has nothing to do with the subject of *The Origin etc.*^b

I think therefore that it will be better to publish the latter separately; as for the way in which it is published, I leave the decision entirely in your hands.

^a See previous letter. - ^b F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*

As soon as *The Peasant War* is published, I shall be honoured to send you a copy. You can then judge whether it is worth the trouble of translating. I doubt it.

I remain with respect your devoted

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE ²⁶³

IN HOBOKEN

London, 31 December 1884

Dear Sorge,

I trust that your health has improved, as mine has, although I am not yet quite my old self again,—very nearly, however.

Capital, Book II (some 600 pages of print) will go to press in January. The editing will have been completed in about 10 days' time, after which all that will remain to be done is the revision of the fair copy. It's been quite a task—there were 2 complete and 6 partial texts! ¹⁷

Then, as soon as I have attended to a few urgent intermediate jobs, it will be the turn of Book III. ^a There are 2 complete texts and a notebook of calculations ^b; this, too, will run to some 600 or 700 pages.

Finally, Book IV, *Theories of Surplus Value*, from the earliest manuscript of 1856-61. ¹⁷¹ It is still in limbo and cannot be taken in hand until everything else has been completed. There are about 1,000 closely written quarto sheets.

I am completely revising my *Peasant War* ²¹³ and making it the

^a See this volume, pp. 88-89.—^b See present edition, Vol. 37 (Engels' Preface).

pivot for my whole history of Germany. It will be some task. But the preliminary studies are as good as finished.

The English translation of *Capital* is coming along slowly, more than half having been finished. Tussy's husband, Aveling, is helping with it, but doesn't do it as thoroughly as Sam Moore, who is doing the main part.⁵⁶

This summer Schorlemmer was subjected to a domiciliary search in Darmstadt for suspected distribution of the *Sozialdemokrat*.³⁰⁴ Great uproar amongst the philistines has earned us some 500 votes.

On Saturday the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION here was disrupted.³⁰⁰ Hyndman, an adventurer who had gained control of the whole affair, was unmasked as a fomenter of strife between the members, a withholder of correspondence intended for the COUNCIL and a founder of BOGUS BRANCHES in the provinces so that meetings and congresses might be packed with his own creatures. Though a vote of censure was passed on him, the majority resigned, mainly on the grounds that the whole organisation was simply a *racket*. And it's true. They haven't got 400 paid-up members, and their readers consist of sentimental bourgeois. They now intend to start a new organisation (Morris, Bax, Aveling, etc.)³⁴⁶ and leave *Justice* and *To-Day* to Hyndman and his lot (Fitzgerald, Champion, Burrows, etc.), while they themselves, having at last recognised the weakness of their own effectives, will start off with a little MONTHLY.^a As the capitalists who provided the money have also resigned (they, more than anyone else, were sensible of their exploitation by Hyndman) he, Hyndman, will either have to pay for his own unprofitable papers himself or else sell the entire party, in so far as it adheres to him (this will transpire in a week's time), to the highest bidder. And, being intent on getting into Parliament at the next elections, he will have to hurry.

Petty-bourgeois prejudice of every kind is to be found among the German deputies, as, for instance, the desire of the majority to vote for the steamship subsidies 'in the interests of industry'.³⁴² Which provides me with correspondence and to spare. Luckily we have Bebel there who invariably gets hold of the right end of the stick, and I therefore hope that the whole thing will go off without our being discredited. Ever since I have conducted the 'official' correspondence with Bebel instead of with Liebknecht, not only does all go smoothly, but something actually comes of it, and my views are presented to the

^a *The Commonweal*

chaps in their entirety. Bebel is a really splendid fellow and I hope he won't ruin his health which is none too good.

But now here's to a Happy New Year and an improvement in your own health—regards to Adolf.^a

Your
F. E.

Thank you for the *Volkszeitung* in which the wise man expresses his reservations about the abolition of the state. If I were to try and reply to such doubts, I would simply have to shelve my other work. Apropos, the *Volkszeitung* is no longer sending me its weekly edition.^b So if there's anything interesting in it, I should be obliged if you could possibly let me have it.

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

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ENGELS TO JOSEPH DIETZGEN³⁴⁷

IN NEW YORK

[Excerpt]

[London, 31 December 1884]

So for the time being I can hold out no prospect of being able to contribute to your paper. But should I happen to take a holiday, and should something then turn up, or if events were to take place which would render my assistance of real use, it goes without saying that I should at once make myself available.

First published in *Der Sozialist*, Nr. 4,
New York, 24. Januar 1885

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^a Adolf Sorge jun. - ^b *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*

1885

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 1 January 1885

My dear Laura,

In all haste a few lines. Moore and Jollymeyer are off to Tussy's and so I have profited of the occasion to shake off a lot of business letters—a few moments remain before 5.30.

I had paid for your *Justice* up to 31 December, but as I had no proper receipt, could not do much—besides every letter of mine to anybody at that office was followed by an application from them for an article of mine, so that I really could not write to them even on business. However Edward says he pays to the Modern Press and so I have sent the money today for both you and myself for 6 months' *Justice* and *To-Day* and hope you will get it. What we can get of back numbers you shall also have, but there is not much in it worth your notice, the leaning towards the Possibilists is of quite recent date and not at all pronounced, except last No. [with] a letter from Adolphe Smith.³⁴⁸ Now however it's sure to bloom out.

Last night we were at Pumps', she is uncommonly well but overdoes it a little—the baby all right.

I am sorry the crisis in the Social Democratic Federation^a could not be retarded a little longer; Hyndman would have got deeper into the mud, and the personal element would have been thrown more into the background. However it could not be helped. The reason why the majority, instead of following up their victory, *resigned*, and starts a new organisation³⁴⁶ was this chiefly, as Morris said to me:

^a See this volume, p. 245.

that the old organisation was not *worth having*. The London branches are about 300 strong in all and those they hope mostly to get, and as to the provinces, it's all bosh and bogus.

Well we'll see what they will make. There is this to be said in their favour: that three more unpractical men for a political organisation than Aveling, Bax and Morris are not to be found in all England. But they are sincere.

Again Happy New Year to both of you and to the poor little ones^a at Argenteuil when you see them, from Nim and myself.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 1 January 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I have received your esteemed note of the 10th as well as Mrs Kelley-Wischnewetzky's ms.³⁴⁹: I have advised her of its receipt and told her I hope to be able to revise it next week.

The Condition of the Working-Class has not as yet been entirely prised out of Wigand's hands. From what Freytag the lawyer said, the old contract, which envisaged a second edition, was still in force about 10 years ago.⁴⁰ Since then I have on several occasions tried to find out from Freytag how I stood with Wigand under Saxon law but have never received an answer. So long as I remain in

^a the Longuets' children

doubt on this point I shan't know what steps I can take. I have also told Dietz as much³⁹ but heard nothing further after that; he spoke of bringing out a new edition but I was not told anything definite.

However a new edition would not be possible without various notes by me, which in turn would involve consulting sundry works of reference and, in places, call for study and this I cannot take on at the moment as I have more than enough to do. I might consider it towards the middle of the year. So I think the best thing would be simply to let the matter rest till then.

Now, however, Ede tells me that my *Anti-Dühring* ought to be reprinted.²⁰⁸ After considerable thought I have decided that it should be brought out *unaltered*. I owe this to my opponent and shall simply provide a new preface,^a also appendices to some of the chapters, which can go together at the end. Then a new preface. This, too, I shall find time for. So if you want work for the press, I would suggest you start with that. Besides, the thing is not particularly urgent and can therefore be printed at your convenience.

I hope to finish Marx's *Capital*, Book II, in January and then proceed at once to rewrite the *Peasant War*.²¹³ That will take a good 6 weeks. But I must be quit of it so as to get on with *Capital*, Book III. To begin with, this will be a purely daytime occupation, leaving my evenings to some extent free, when I can attend to the *Condition of the Working-Class*—if, that is, the revision of sundry translations, attending to proofs, etc., leaves me time for it.

So think the matter over and let me know what you have decided. I shall gladly do all I can to help you.

Kindest regards and a Happy New Year to the colony at large.

Yours,
F. Engels

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^a See present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 8-15.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 13 January 1885

Dear Kautsky,

I trust this will still catch you in Vienna.

It was only a day or two ago that I received the 1st number of the *Neue Zeit*. Can you get hold of about 2 or 3 more copies for me? Having promised Rudolf Meyer my critique of Rodbertus,^a I can hardly send him a copy—the poor conservative social muddle-head is on tenterhooks—without also doing Mme Lafargue and Tussy the same service.

I would also ask you to send me copies of the *Poverty of Philosophy* for the above. The thing is advertised as having ‘appeared’.

Groß would appear to be a blockhead, though an honest one. I have nothing against the biography; if you intend to lambast him for his confusion over theory, I don’t envy you your task.³⁵⁰

Give Frankel my kind regards. No doubt you will tell me what he is in fact up to.

The New Year’s card he and the others sent me gave me much pleasure.

Well, that’s all until you come over here.

Your
F. E.

With an editor like □^b you wouldn’t have stuck it even for a fortnight. Better to come over here, rather than make yourself yet another deadly enemy in the parliamentary group.³⁵¹

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^a The first issue of *Die Neue Zeit*, 1885, carried Engels’ preface to the first German edition of Marx’s *The Poverty of Philosophy*, entitled ‘Marx and Rodbertus’.-^b Louis Viereck (*Viereck* = square in German)

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 13 January 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

By all means start with the *Anti-Dühring* as soon as convenient.^{20a} I have not read the philistine's reply,^a nor do I wish to do so. Reply he cannot and he's welcome to lay about him with as much insolent verbiage as he wishes.

I have long been searching in vain for the *Rheinische Zeitung Revue*. I only have numbers 3, 5 and 6; 1, 2 and 4 are missing.³⁵² There are virtually no articles in them worth reprinting. Numbers 1-4 contain Marx's history of the French Revolution from 1848 to 1850^b (comprised in the *18th Brumaire*) and my account of events in May 1849 in the Rhineland and Baden-Palatinate.^c Then the *Peasant War*^d (5 and 6) and short critical essays, as also a review of daily events.^e The right to work is not touched on other than very briefly in, I think, Number I^f; Marx wasn't much interested in catchphrases:

It would be quite a good idea for you to inquire from Wigand in your own name about a new edition of the *Condition etc.*,⁴⁰ but that won't get us very much further. I have got to know how I stand with him in law and shall inquire again from Freytag. N. B. I am assuming that, as soon as the matter is sufficiently advanced, you will come to an understanding with Dietz, as he does in fact have, or might assert, a prior claim.

Regards to Ede.

Yours faithfully,

F. Engels

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^a E. Dühring, *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Socialismus*. -

^b K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. - ^c F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. - ^d F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - ^e K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review, January-February 1850'; 'Review, March-April 1850'; 'Review, May to October 1850'. - ^f See K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 55-56).

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 17 January 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

As regards the *Anti-Dühring*, I would further advise you that 1) the old preface is followed by another to the 2nd edition which, however, I can't really do as yet; so doubtless you will, as usual, begin with the actual text and leave preface and title to the last; 2) such additions as there are will appear as an appendix.^a

I have heard from Bonn^b that the *Origin of the Family etc.* is not obtainable in the bookshops; according to the booksellers they have had word from Switzerland—from the publisher—that the book has been *banned* and various friends have been bombarding me with inquiries as to where the book may be obtained. Since there has, to my knowledge, been no *public* ban, while a *secret* ban would be nonsensical, and since the assumption that Zurich has been spreading rumours of a ban is even more nonsensical, I find the matter puzzling. Could it be that the government, to spare itself the ridicule that would come of a public ban, has persuaded Schabelitz's agents in Leipzig to spread such things about and thus make sales more difficult? Perhaps you would be good enough to start inquiries over there and let me know the result; I shall also try to find out whether the same tactics are being pursued elsewhere.

What is Ede doing? I have had neither sight nor sound of him.

Yours faithfully,

F. Engels

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^a See present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 630-42. - ^b in a letter Hagen wrote to Engels

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 19 January 1885

Dear Bebel,

I hope you have had my last registered letter concerning the matter of the Steamship Bill (of 30 or 31 December).^a Today I must trouble you with an inquiry. Mr Franz Mehring has now written to me for the second time asking me to place at his disposal material for a biography, etc., of Marx and, amongst other things, has the nerve to presume that I send him 'on loan' to Berlin irreplaceable editions of ours which he is unable to procure over there! I shall not reply, but send a message via Hirsch. But if I am to strike the right note, I ought to know something more definite about his past and present and about his attitude towards the party. Generally speaking, all I know is that, some time before 1878, he was pretty roundly taken to task in the *Volksstaat* and the *Vorwärts* for being a reptile³⁵³ and a defector from the party and, from the few writings of his which have fallen into my hands, I have seen that he was making literary use of such intimate knowledge as he had of the movement to dole out liberal portions of 'truth and fiction'^b about it to your philistine, and to pass himself off as an authority in such matters. If he has done anything especially underhand that might single him out from the rest of the literary rabble, it would be most helpful for me to know it.³⁵⁴

Then there's another thing. I am being strongly urged to bring out a new edition of my *Condition of the Working-Class*. I can do absolutely nothing about it before finding out what my legal position is in regard to Wigand, the previous publisher.⁴⁰ I have asked Liebknecht about this umpteen times, and on each occasion he has undertaken to obtain the information for me from Freytag, but none has ever been forthcoming. And who was the first to express surprise that nothing had been settled? Why, Liebknecht, of course. Now since it would be

^a See this volume, pp. 240-43. - ^b 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' in the original, which is a paraphrase of the title of Goethe's autobiographical book *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 'Dichtung' meaning 'poetry, fiction'.

folly to entrust him with any further errands, I must once again bother you, and ask you to obtain for me from Freytag, or some other *Saxon* advocate, a reply to the enclosed questions. As soon as I have that reply I can, and intend to, proceed.

To return to Germany's industrial position, I readily concede that enormous progress has been made since 1866, and more especially since 1871. But the contrast with other countries still remains, nonetheless. England had had the monopoly of mass-produced articles and France that of the *finer* luxury and fashion goods, and in this respect there has not, after all, been any change worth mentioning. In iron, it is true, Germany is, together with America, second only to England; but she is very far from attaining the level of English mass-production and can only hope to compete by selling *at a loss*. In cotton, Germany manufactures only subsidiary articles for the world market. The massive quantities of yarn and other woven goods (SHIRTINGS and other mass-produced articles) for the Indian and Chinese market are still an English monopoly, and such competition as there may be in this sphere comes, not from Germany but from America. In woollen goods, too, England still dominates the world market, ditto in linen (Ireland). Birmingham is still the centre for hardware for domestic use, etc., as Sheffield is for cutlery, and the greatest threat of competition is still posed by America, not Germany. Machinery (with the exception of locomotives), England and America.

In the matter of fashion goods, France has lost a lot of ground. Here, too, fashion has changed considerably, and this certainly applies to Germany also. Both countries, however, and Germany in particular, produce in the main 2nd, 3rd and 4th class goods and still to a large extent depend on the Paris fashions. Meanwhile it is obvious that, in the case of buyers who consist almost exclusively of parvenus, 2nd and 3rd class articles play a considerable role and can be sold to these boors as 1st class goods.

One thing, however, is certain: the large bulk of German exports is composed of a mass of what, seen individually, are more or less insignificant articles, the manufacture of which, in so far as fashion comes into it, depends largely on the theft of Parisian patterns—e. g. the women's coat trade in Berlin—as is openly admitted in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Moreover, foreign cloth is largely used for the purpose.

I believe the world market can be more accurately sized up from this country than from over there; but in doing so I have regularly followed the specialised German trade reports and hence see both sides of the picture. I wish I could sometime spare a moment to write something from this standpoint on the subject of protective tariffs in Germany. They are completely cock-eyed. German industry developed and became capable of exporting under a system of free trade more comprehensive than in any other industrial country save England — and it is being restricted by protective tariffs in the very sphere in which it is capable of exporting! That the *exporters* should be demanding protective tariffs is characteristic of Germany — we must have them so as to be able to sell to other countries at a loss and yet show a profit at the end of the year! What we give to other countries must be paid back to us at home, just as we present other countries with the surplus value and make our profits from deductions made on wages!

N. B. That worthy citizen Mehring is the author of the 'leading articles' in the *Demokratische Blätter*, which he sends me as an earnest of his principles.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE 196:355

IN PARIS

[Excerpt]

[London, about 25 January 1885]

You know what efforts the Russian government has been making for years past to wrest from England and France — but from England

in particular—their assent to the extradition of the heroic nihilists.³⁵⁶ Once these two countries had been won over to such a cause, the rest of Europe was bound to follow suit. There was even reason to hope that America might also be moved to act in similar fashion.

Now, *The Pall Mall Gazette* of 15 January contained an article by Mme Novikov, devil's advocate of tsarism, appealing yet again to England to desist from giving asylum to the Gartmans, the Stepnyaks and all those who 'organise assassination in Russia'.^a The English, she goes on, are now threatened with similar chemical attacks; the refuge they afford to the Russian dynamiters is likewise afforded by America to the Irish dynamiters. What England is asking of America is precisely what Russia is asking of England.

All this is plain enough. But there is better to come. On the morning of 24 January all the newspapers carried the text of an agreement, concluded through diplomatic channels, between St Petersburg and Berlin whereby the extradition of political offenders was to be extended to Germany and thence to the rest of Europe.³⁵⁷

And on the afternoon of that same day, the 24th of January, London was terrorised by a threefold explosion, one in the House of Commons, directed against the legislature, one in Westminster Hall directed against the judiciary, and one in the Tower, directed against the executive. This time it was no longer a matter of blowing up public lavatories or of frightening travellers on the underground railway.³⁵⁸ Rather it was a concerted attack upon the three great powers of state, symbolised by the buildings in which they assemble.

Is this no more than an act perpetrated by a handful of Fenian hotheads? Might it not rather be the great coup tsarism needed to bring off if it was to compel England to join the ranks of its anti-revolutionary league? If the dynamite was of Russian origin, and handled by Russian agents, could it, I ask, have exploded, at a time better calculated to prostrate a terrified and repentant John Bull at the feet of Alexander III?

First published in *Cri du Peuple*, No. 461,
Paris, 31 janvier 1885

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Translated from the French

^a O. Novikova, 'The Russification of England'.

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

IN HEIDELBERG

London, 4 February 1885
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

I hope you have received the letter I wrote to you about the time of the New Year.³⁹

I now forward to you, *registered*, the ms. you sent to me, and only regret that press of work prevented my returning it earlier.³⁴⁹ I have looked it over carefully, and entered some corrections and suggestions in pencil, in order to show you how I should like it translated. Here and there you may find that my suggestions, taken together with the rest of the sentence, will not turn out to be correct English; in these cases I left it to you to set that right.

As for the technical terms, if you will be good enough to forward me from time to time a list of them with the pages on which they occur, I shall be glad to give you the English equivalents.

The German preface (as well as the English dedication)³⁵⁹ I would, in your place, leave out entirely. They contain nothing of interest *now*. The first part of the preface refers to a phase of intellectual development in Germany and elsewhere which is now almost forgotten, and the second part is in our days superfluous.

As to translations of my other writings you will understand as a matter of course that I cannot now take any positive engagements. There are people here who wish to translate one thing or another, and I have consented conditionally, that is to say if they find a publisher and really undertake the work.

The English preface I shall write³⁶⁰ when things are a little more advanced.

In the meantime I remain

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG³⁴

London, 4 February 1885

Dear Liebknecht,

So you have sent me that literatus after all; I trust it is the last of its kind. Surely you can see for yourself how these impudent rascals are misusing you. The man is quite incorrigible, just like his friend Quarck — they're both *Quark*^a—, and if they fall into line with you people and you accept them, I shall fall somewhat out of line. Won't you ever get it into your head that this semi-educated pack of literati can only spoil and adulterate the party? From what you say, Viereck ought never to get into the Reichstag either! The petty-bourgeois element in the party is increasingly gaining the upper hand. They want to suppress Marx's name as much as possible. If things go on like this, there will be a split in the party, on that you may depend. You blame it all on their worships the philistines having been affronted. But there are moments when that must be done or else they get above themselves. Is then the subsection on German, or true, socialism^b to become applicable again 40 years later?

For the rest I am keeping well, though I have a hellish lot to do and cannot write long letters.

Your
F. E.

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Published in English for the first
time

^a 'Quark' = curd or cottage cheese; fig. rubbish in German. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 510-13).

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN HEIDELBERG

London, 10 February 1885
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Madam,

I herewith return Mr Putnam's letter—of course it would be a splendid success if we could secure publication^a by that firm—but I am afraid Mr Putnam will stick to his objections, the great strength of which, from a publisher's standpoint, I fully recognise. Perhaps the fact that a new German edition of my work is in actual preparation, may shake him a little. My friends in Germany say that the book is important to them just now because it describes a state of things which is almost exactly reproduced at the present moment in Germany; and, as the development of manufacturing industry, steam and machinery and their social outcrop in the creation of a proletariat, in America corresponds at the present moment as nearly as possible to the English status of 1844 (though your go-ahead people are sure to outstrip the old world in the next 15-20 years altogether) the comparison of industrial England of 1844 with industrial America of 1885 might have its interest too.

Of course in the new preface to the English translation³⁶⁰ I shall refer as fully as space will permit to the changes in the condition of the British working class which have taken place in the interval; to the improved position of a more or less privileged minority, to the certainly not alleviated misery of the great body, and especially to the impending change for the worse which must necessarily follow from the break-down of the industrial monopoly of England in consequence of the increasing competition in the markets of the world, of Continental Europe and especially of America.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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

Reproduced from the original

^a of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

152

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON
IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 11 February 1885

My dear Sir,

I shall be glad to send you the proof-sheets of Volume II as soon as you let me know whether I shall send them '*sous bande*' (per book-post) or in a closed envelope as a letter.³⁶¹ The fact is, that if one gets lost, it will be impossible to replace it until the work is completed. By the time your answer arrives I expect to have two or three for you.

I thank you very much for the offer you made me some time ago to place at my disposal the letters you have from Mr Williams.^a At present the manuscripts claim all my time and attention, but the moment is sure to come when I shall take advantage of your kind offer.

Have you any news from our mutual friend^b since the accident which happened to him some time ago?³⁶²

Be kind enough to address in future as stated at foot.

Yours very sincerely,

P. Rosher³⁶³

Mrs Rosher
6 Richmond Villas, Messina Avenue,
West Hampstead,
N. W. London

First published, in Russian, in *Minushiye gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Marx's pseudonym - ^b Hermann Lopatin

153

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV¹

IN PARIS

London, 12 February 1885

My dear Lavrov,

I hasten to reply to your questions.³⁶⁴ The item about the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue*, edited by Karl Marx, Hamburg and London, 1850, is absolutely correct. It appeared in *Heft*^a I-VI and was published by Schuberth in Hamburg. You yourself asked me a few months ago for information about the articles by Marx which appeared in the *Revue* on the subject of the February revolution and the events that followed it.¹⁵⁶ I possess only 3 of the instalments and have tried in vain to get hold of the complete set. The other facts provided by Groß are also correct, if memory serves me aright (Tussy has got my copy, so I can't compare it). Needless to say, I in no way agree with his silly strictures on Marx's theories. He was recommended to me by the Viennese socialists and, in reply to some biographical questions he put to me, I gave him the facts.

The German translation of the *Poverty* contains just a few explanatory notes by me,¹¹⁸ but also an article written by Marx in 1865 on Proudhon and his speech of 1847 on free trade.

The 2nd volume of *Capital* is now being printed; yesterday I corrected the 4th sheet. The rest of the manuscript goes off from here in a fortnight's time. The 3rd volume will be the most important one, and I shall get to work on it as soon as the 2nd has been well and truly launched.—The English edition is dragging its feet, the two translators^b being too busy with other matters to work at it with the proper ardour. It will be finished, I hope, come the summer.⁵⁶

I had already heard that you were having trouble with your eyes. Would it not be wise to give up working for a time so as not to tire your eyesight unduly? I find that, at our age, it is always best to tackle morbid symptoms when they first occur. Let's hope that you will be able to let me have better news before too long.

^a issue - ^b Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling

In the preface to the 2nd volume of *Capital*, I again revert to Rodbertus in order to show that the objections he raises against Marx result from his quite unbelievable ignorance of classical political economy.^a

Yours ever,
F. Engels
(Федоръ Федорычъ^b)

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154

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON³⁶⁵

[London,] 14 February 1885

Dear Kautsky,

I forgot to remind you day before yesterday that we are, as usual, expecting you and your wife to a meal this Sunday (tomorrow the 15th inst.), i. e. if you have nothing better to do, and you are hereby given a standing invitation to take potluck with me on Sundays.

Your
F. Engels

First published in *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky*, Wien, 1955

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Published in English for the first time

^a See present edition, Vol. 36; see also F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus'. - ^b (Russ.) Fyodor Fyodorych

155

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 22 February 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I look forward to seeing the proof-sheets of the *Anti-Dühring*.²⁰⁸

In Wigand's case⁴⁰ matters stand thus: it had already been noted in Leipzig in 1875 or 1876 that no more copies of the *Condition* were available and I possess the original invoice marked 'last copies'. However no harm can be done if confirmation of this is once again provided by the other party. I have at long last been given a legal opinion from which I gather that the matter is by no means as simple as had appeared at first glance. Now that I know how I stand, I shall take further steps and advise you as soon as I receive a positive reply from Wigand.

I knew Schabelitz even before 1848 when he was here in London and belonged to the Communist Society.¹⁶² Give him my kindest regards when you see him. Your explanation re the alleged 'ban' was just what I wanted³⁶⁶; it is quite typical of the German book trade. Obviously nothing can be done about it so long as not one agent can be found who is possessed of pluck. But the bulk of bourgeois readers don't buy our stuff, so in this case pluck is not a particularly paying proposition. It was a different matter when banned books were merely liberal or radical, or even when, prior to 1848, communism was still a cause with which the bourgeoisie flirted.

The last ms. of the 2nd book of *Capital* goes off tomorrow, and day after tomorrow I shall start on the 3rd book. So long as I have it on my conscience, I shall be unable to give serious thought to anything else.

Please tell Ede that I shall write to him as soon as I have a spare moment.

Kindest regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

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time

156

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 8 March 1885

My dear Laura,

Somehow or other I have to-night a few free moments and so sit down to write to you — hoping that nobody will drop in. For evening calls are getting rather frequent of late, more than is desirable sometimes, when there is work to do. And the dictated portions of the *Capital*^a I am obliged to look over while the thing is fresh in my mind and the original at hand ready to correct mistakes. Moreover, there are still translations to revise (last week part of a Danish one of my *Ursprung*^b — very fair) and Russian pamphlets to decipher (Vera Zasoulitch has sent me one of Plechanoff, polemical against Lavroff and Tichomiroff,^c and wants me to give her my opinion,^d and besides these Russian quarrels are not uninteresting) and such like, so that besides the current small fry I have not had time to read a book for months.

The 3rd book [of] *Capital* is getting grander and grander the deeper I get into it, and I am only (having passed over entirely about 70 pages, more or less superseded by a later manuscript) at page 230 out of 525. It is almost inconceivable how a man who had such tremendous discoveries, such an entire and complete scientific revolution in his head, could keep it there for 20 years. For the ms. I am working at, has been written either before, or at the same time as the *first volume*; and the essential part of it is already in the old manuscript of 1860-1862.¹⁷¹ The fact is, first the intricacies of the 2nd book (which he wrote last and which alone he touched after 1870) kept him fast, as he of course would have to publish his 3 books in regular order; and then, his Russian and American material for the theory of the rent of land⁸⁰ would have required working up into the old manuscript and would probably have nearly doubled its size.

^a of the third volume - ^b *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* -

^c [Плеханов] Г. Плехановъ, *Наши разногласія* (Our Differences). - ^d See this volume, pp. 279-81.

Here the two socialist bodies³⁴⁶ are so far jogging on alongside each other without collision, but the foreign department will very likely embroil them. You may have seen in No. 9 of the *Sozialdemokrat* a letter from Varenholz, dictated by Hyndman. This rather *schmoddrige*^a effusion required a reply which we have concocted and which will come, if possible, in next Saturday's *Sozialdemokrat*. This time, of course, Aveling had to speak out, and that strong enough to stop Hyndman's game once for all.³⁶⁷

We have Kautsky here³⁶⁵ whom I think you saw before, with a young Viennese wife, a nice little body.^b They intend settling down here for the present — and live in Maitland Park; just out of the Crescent. So there is always some connection going on with the old place.³⁶⁸

Pumps and Percy are getting on as usual. On Sundays there is here now a great cardplaying company, some play whist if there are 4 to be got for that, the rest 'Mariage' and 'Nap', games introduced by the noble Percy. His firm had a law-suit which they lost but it is nothing serious, only I hope that it will damp poor Percy's ardent faith in English law. The little ones are getting on very well upon the whole; Lily is very amiable and jolly. She has an extremely sharp ear and retentive memory for *des jurons*,^c and you may be sure, that she finds many an opportunity to catch them.

On Saturday^d Nim and Tussy as well as Pumps will go to Highgate.³⁶⁹ I cannot go, I am still very changeable with respect to capacity for movement, and have just had a little bit of notice to keep quiet. Anyhow I shall continue working at the book which will be a monument to him, made by himself, grander than any that other people could set for Mohr. Two years already on Saturday! And yet I can truly say that while I work at this book, I am in living communion with him.

The 2nd book is getting on well. 13 sheets corrected. Will you please ask Paul *to send* me at once the address under which he writes to Danielson. I have had a letter from him and want to send the proof-sheets,³⁶¹ but am not certain as to address which may besides have been changed.

How is the Montceau Brenin Thévenin affair going on?³⁷⁰ And has the *Cri du Peuple* cried his last?

^a shabby - ^b Louise Kautsky - ^c swear-words - ^d 14 March

Amitiés à Paul.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

Nim's love!

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO RICHARD STEGEMANN
IN TÜBINGEN

[Draft]

[London,] 26 March 1885

Dear Sir,

I hardly imagine that I would be capable of acceding to your request.³⁷¹ You might, it is true, be able to produce a fairly clear portrait of Marx the man from all the activities, both literary and political, Marx engaged in; information on these activities is of course freely available to the world at large, with the single exception of Germany, most of the requisite material having appeared abroad. On the other hand, a character sketch by me would necessarily be brief, hence not only inadequate but \pm ^a dogmatic and likewise 'belletistic', hence worse than nothing at all. Besides I cannot presume that my assessment should be taken by you for gospel, and so could not tell what would ultimately become of my contribution, even having regard to your indisputable bona fides. If, however, you proceed on the assumption that Marx was the exact opposite of the German philistine in every conceivable respect, you can't go far wrong.

Whether this is now the precise moment for a critique of Marx,

^a more or less

what with the 2nd book of *Capital* due to appear in a month or two and with work proceeding on the 3rd, is for you to decide. At all events you are right in saying that criticism and so-called 'scholarship' have disclosed nothing hitherto save a 'general lack of judgment', and no one was more amused by that than Marx himself. I can still see him laughing over the despairing sighs of Mr Schäftele who had studied *Capital* for ten years and still hadn't understood it.^a

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158

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER¹

IN GENEVA

London, 2 April 1885

Dear Old Man,

So that you shouldn't think you had been forgotten, I have taken out a money order for five pounds for you and trust you will get the money at once. So far I am pretty well, though not, it is true, as yet fit for active service, nor am I likely ever to be able to mount a horse again, but I am still perky enough for peacetime work. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the second volume of *Capital* have been printed and the book will be appearing in some 2 months' time, while work on the third volume is well advanced. This last, which contains the final conclusions and, indeed, some quite brilliant stuff, will revolutionise economics once and for all and create a tremendous sensation.

In the meantime things are beginning to liven up again. Ferry's fall³⁷² opened the proceedings, now it's Gladstone's turn, and Bismarck's will follow as soon as that jackass William^b kicks the bucket.

^a See [A. Schäftele,] *Die Quintessenz des Socialismus*, Gotha, 1875, p. 5; see also Engels' letter to Eduard Bernstein of 12 March 1881 (present edition, Vol. 46, p. 74). -

^b William I

For us, the most favourable situation will arise when, at the moment of revolution, the most radical elements of the bourgeoisie are everywhere at the helm — Clemenceau in France, Dilke and Chamberlain in this country and Richter in Germany—so that when they have ruined themselves, the revolution will be carried out against them and not for their benefit. It looks as though this might come about, provided no premature action is taken in Paris.

As was inevitable in the circumstances of the Anti-Socialist Law,³⁷ a number of thoroughgoing philistines have been returned to the Reichstag by our people and are beginning to give themselves airs because they constitute a majority in the parliamentary group.³⁷³ We shall now have to wait and see how far they go; they can be tolerated for a time if in tow, but not when in the lead. They know that they haven't got the masses behind them, but they also know that, at the moment, the hands of the masses are very much tied. Of one thing we may be certain. If they gain the upper hand, I shall continue to cooperate up to a certain point, but beyond that it will be *bon jour, messieurs*.^a Being overwhelmed with work, I cannot unfortunately go into the attack as I should like to do, but perhaps it is a good thing to allow these gentlemen a little latitude. The matter of the Steamship Subsidies³⁴² went off pretty smoothly on the whole, after several of them had made real fools of themselves. Now they are out for the blood of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat*,³⁷⁴ which is rather more serious. For it's bad enough to be made to look a fool in the eyes of the gentlemen in the Reichstag, but in the eyes of the whole of Europe—that really is a bit thick! If Bebel were in good health, none of this would matter a great deal, but he is nervy and debilitated, on top of which he has to work himself to the bone on his family's account.

But everything will come right when old William pegs out. The Crown Prince^b is a weak, irresolute fellow, as if destined for decapitation, his wife^c ambitious, with a clique of her own—in short, there will be all manner of changes that will play havoc with the existing order of things and bemuse and unsettle the civil service, while the bourgeoisie will at last be compelled to clear away some of the old lumber and play a political role—as it damned well ought. Only let the political scene at home come to life again and we shall need nothing more. But the rotten bourgeoisie has so greatly deteriorated that

^a good day, gentlemen - ^b Frederick William - ^c Victoria

what it should do voluntarily and in its own interests as a class, it will do only under compulsion — the compulsion of the historical circumstances imposed upon it. And so long as the old jackass lives, it will be under no compulsion to get moving, which is why I hope that he will kick the bucket and do so in the way of nature, thus leaving his successor free to choose what stupidity to indulge in first. And with this pious wish, it being almost time for the post, I shall now conclude. Borkheim was rather less well during the winter, but has now improved again, i. e. he's much as before.

Fraternal greetings,

From your old friend

F. E.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 4 April 1885

Dear Bebel,

Since you happen to be at home now and I, too, am granting myself a bit of a holiday, I shall take advantage of the opportunity to remind you of my existence.

So those gentlemen who form the majority of the parliamentary group are intent on setting themselves up as a 'power' to judge by their statement in today's *Sozialdemokrat*.³⁷⁴ The endeavour as such is feeble, and is basically an admission of their own ineptitude. 'We are,' they say, 'annoyed by the paper's attitude; it conflicts with ours, we are to be held responsible for an opinion that is the opposite of our own, and we really don't know what to do about it. Are we not to be pitied?' But it is their first step towards the establishment of the petty

bourgeoisie as the dominant, official element in the party, and the relegation of the proletariat to the status of one that is barely tolerated. How far along this road they will dare to travel remains to be seen. If they gain control of the *Sozialdemokrat*, it will no longer be possible for me to vindicate the party abroad through thick and thin as single-mindedly as I have always done. And their committee of inquiry would seem to betray a certain desire to take over the organ. Come to that, their main grievance would seem to lie in having been compelled in the end to vote against the Steamship Bill upon which they had set their hearts.

For the rest, things in general are going very well. The year 1885 has got off to an excellent start. In France, Ferry topples, colonial policy, dictated by stock-market speculators, collapses,³⁷² new elections in the offing consequent upon new electoral legislation.³⁷⁵ In Paris, what's more, a state of ferment, provoked by the rapacity and inefficiency of the ruling middle class and exacerbated by the infamies of the police (everything they do, however base, is condoned, provided they keep the masses at bay); we can only hope that things won't come to a head there in the form of attempted coups. If they take a peaceful course, radicalism — i. e. Clemenceau — is bound to come to the helm before very long. Should he come to power peacefully and not as the result of rioting, and thus be compelled to keep his promises and put his radical *panacée* into practice, the Parisian workers will quickly be cured of their belief in radicalism. In addition, there will be the new elections consequent upon the new electoral legislation, and thus stagnation will again give way to activity.

In England, with her thoroughly effete government,³⁷⁶ there will also be new elections consequent upon the new electoral legislation.²⁹⁹ And in Germany, a change of monarch that may occur any day now and which, in a country as chockful of traditions as Prussia-Germany, always ushers in a new period of activity; in short, things will begin to liven up everywhere, and this on the economic basis of universal and incurable overproduction, a state of affairs that is gradually leading up to an acute crisis.

Kautsky has just arrived with a long letter from Ede about his conflict with the parliamentary group. I have told Kautsky that in my view it was in fact Ede's duty to let the party at large have their say in the paper, and that the parliamentary group has no right to prevent this. If he adopts this standpoint, the group won't be able to touch

him. Secondly, he mustn't let the group press him into posing the cardinal question; to be rid of him is exactly what the chaps are after, and he could do them no greater service. In the third place, he should not take upon himself responsibility for other people's articles unless he reserves the right to name them. You know whom I mean and who it was that wrote most of the articles about the steamship affair — the ones that so enraged the majority and for which Ede appears to have assumed responsibility.³⁷⁷ After all, he has long had to do battle with the petty-bourgeois lot; now the struggle has simply assumed a different form, but the cause is still the same and, like you, I think it improbable that these gentlemen will take things to extremes, much though they would like to exploit the position the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ affords them, namely immunity to official and genuine opposition or criticism on the part of their voters.

The matter would, in my view, take a smoother course were the *Sozialdemokrat* to discard the *official* character that has been attached to it. Though not undesirable at one time, this no longer serves any purpose. Whether and how such a thing can be done, you will know better than I.

25 sheets (out of 38) of *Capital*, Book II have been printed. Book III is in hand. It is quite extraordinarily brilliant. This complete reversal of all previous economics is truly astounding. Our theory is thereby provided for the first time with an unassailable basis while we ourselves are enabled to hold our own successfully against all comers. Directly it appears, the philistines in the party will again be dealt a blow that will give them something to think about. For it will again bring general economic questions to the forefront of the controversy.

Time for the post. Unless I send this off, it won't leave till Monday^a and, perhaps, no longer find you at home. My warm regards, then, and mind you keep well and look after yourself; we don't just need a Bebel, but a Bebel sound in wind and limb.

Your
F. E.

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time

^a 6 April

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 11 April 1885
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I am writing these few lines just to tell you that I have received the translation^a and am dealing with it. I hope to be able to return it with my comments and suggestions in ten to fifteen days' time. What I have managed to read so far seems very well done.

Thanking you cordially, I remain your devoted

F. Engels

First published in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 April 1885

Dear Kautsky,

Lenchen has a touch of bronchitis and has been ordered to bed by the doctor, so our usual Sunday dinner must, alas, be given a miss.

^a The Italian translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see also this volume, p. 215).

I trust your wife is at last rid of her headache.
Kind regards.

Your
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS

London, 16-17 April 1885

My dear Laura,

It has struck me, since I wrote last,^a that something might be done in the matter of Lawroff's Russian friends, if they are willing to risk some money on preliminary expenses. 1) If the man died in London and the date of his death, locality, etc., is approximately known, these particulars might enable some one to trace the authentic record of the death. 2) Having that, it will be easy to ascertain at the Court of Probate whether there was a will proved, or whether some one, and who, took out letters of administration and appropriated the gold the man is supposed to have left.

These two steps will in any case be the first two steps that have to be taken, and will put the inquiring parties in a position where they can better judge whether it is worth while proceeding any further. I think Percy might be entrusted with this preliminary part of the matter, and I would see that his charges are no more than what is usual. They would depend, of course, upon the amount of trouble he would be put to.

^a See this volume, pp. 264-66.

How is poor old Lawroff getting on with his eyesight? It must be terrible for him to be debarred from the use of his books.

Here is another patient: old Harney has been hovering about all parts of England and Scotland ever since July last and everywhere persecuted by articular rheumatism and bad weather—and now at last turned up in London. He has gone through all sorts of semi-quack treatments—Turkish baths, brine-baths, magnetic belts, etc., and all of course no use, and now has put himself again in the hands of an advertising ‘specialist’ who exploits the uric-acid-gout theory (which in itself is quite correct) in what looks to me an extremely quackish way. However I’ll hope the best, and the poor old fellow is much in want of it. He is shaky enough in arms, hands, legs and feet, and of course much reduced by the treatment he has undergone. I saw him this afternoon (he stays somewhere near the Brecknock) and he speaks of nothing but his sufferings, though here and there with a dash of his old dry humour. His treatment has of course cost him an awful lot of money and he seems to dread the necessity of returning to America. From all this you see how much eight months of continuous pains and gradually sinking hopes of relief have brought the old chap down. I hope the spring weather which anyhow must come sometime, will bring him at least some relief.

It’s nothing but patients today. Tussy may have informed you that Edward fell ill about 10 days ago and that Donkin says it is a calculus in the kidney—he is at Ventnor at present and rest, we hope, will allay the irritation. Of course, there are a good many people loafing about with such a thing in their kidney but it is not pleasant certainly.

The next patient is not so bad, but it is Nim, she had a severe cold, and as one could not keep her out of the kitchen, it turned into a—so far slight—attack of bronchitis. Anyhow I got her to consult the doctor today who told her the shortest way to get over it at once was to go to bed, so there we got her with a fire in the room and 64 degrees Fahrenheit and hope she will be able to get up about Monday.

So now I have come to an end of my sick-list, it is the longest I have had for some time and a mighty pleasant subject to write about, and more pleasant still for the reader!

Paul’s article for Kautsky goes in German into the *Neue Zeit*^a and in

^a [P. Lafargue, ‘Die Krisis in Frankreich. Der Krieg in Tongking,’] *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 5, 1885.

English into next *Commonweal*.^a I do not know whether you get this regularly. The business arrangements are as usual awfully defective, everything is put upon Edward's shoulders and as he cannot supervise every detail, nobody knows whether the paper is really forwarded to all those people abroad who ought to have it. The whole Socialist League³⁴⁶ is now in an awful excitement about the Afghan scare — they see not only war, but England defeated, India in revolt and last, revolution at home, Socialism triumphant — hooray! Poor Bax was going to write in this style but Tussy told him he had better see me about it, and I have done my best to cool him down a bit.³⁷⁸ Whenever an Englishman does get free of Jingoism thoroughly, he seems to get a positive hatred of his own nationality. This is not such a bad quality, only rather misplaced in the case of a war with the Russian Tsar.^b The Socialist League will not as yet set England in a blaze, but the Russian Nihilists³⁵⁶ may Russia — with the help of an unsuccessful war.

You will have seen the stupid proclamation of the German deputies in the *Sozialdemokrat*.³⁷⁴ The petit-bourgeois element has decidedly got the majority among the deputies, as I feared from the beginning. This is owing to the Socialist Law³⁷ which gives them exceptional facilities in pushing their candidatures. But they will soon find out their mistake, if they have not already done so. I am rather glad they have come out so soon and so stupidly. The separation from this element which has been pushed and cajoled principally by friend Liebknecht — with the usual best intentions, of course — will come, but I do not want to provoke it while the Socialist Law is in force, because that prevents us from fighting it out. It gives these people a certain advantage but that we must put up with for the time being. And I do not think they will push things to a crisis.

Now a word for Paul.³⁷⁹ No doubt *lex*^c is derived from *legere*^d and νόμος^e from νέμω,^f and so a certain connection can be established between agricultural and political terms. And this cannot be otherwise. The first social regulations which were put in force, necessarily referred to production and the means of getting the livelihood. That this is confirmed by the development of the language, *rien de plus naturel*.^g But now to go further, and to work the derivation of *legere* and νέμω into a complete system, cannot lead but to fanciful

^a P. Lafargue, 'The Tonkin War and Socialism', *The Commonweal*, No. 4, May 1885. - ^b Alexander III. - ^c law - ^d to gather - ^e pasture - ^f tending grazing cattle - ^g nothing more natural

results — if only for the reason that we do not know at what time each particular derivate was formed and still less at what time it received the meaning at which it was handed down to us. And moreover, old etymologists like Vico are bad guide, *ilex* has the root *il*, and nothing to do with *lex*. Etymology like physiology and any other -ology must be learned, cannot be invented. And this leads me to the Roshers. You recollect Charley went in for a new railway carriage by which in case of a collision you could get smashed in a new way. Well, that is exploded. But Charley's younger brothers (one 20, the other 18) have invented a new carriage, have patented it, and old Roshers does not seem much disinclined to go in for this thing! What a family of geniuses!

Sur ce,^a I shut up. Kind regards to Paul.— Hope 'better news next time'.

Affectionately yours,
F. E.

17th April. The 'doctor has been. Nim is better, and can get up in a couple of days.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

[London, after 16 April 1885]

Dear Ede,

Thanks. Letter from August^b: the parliamentary group, whose authority August contested, resolved *unanimously* after a 3 days' debate

^a And here - ^b August Bebel

that the *personal* controversy be dropped and the non-personal be postponed until *after* the Reichstag sitting, and with this August concurred.³⁸⁰ So the news of a defeat was false; we have won all along the line.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON
IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 23 April 1885

Dear Sir,

I have received your kind letter of the 9/21 last month and am very much obliged for the very interesting information it contains.³⁸¹ That the law of wages being in inverse proportion to the length of working time should also be verified in Russia is a very interesting fact indeed. So also is the rapid disintegration of the *миръ*^a by the progress of modern industry and financing, as shown in the increasing number of the *безхозяйственные хозяева*.^b All such facts are of the highest importance to me, and I shall feel very much obliged if you will communicate to me, from time to time, what you may know about the economical condition and development of your great country. Unfortunately at present all my time is taken up with the publication of the manuscripts,^c so much so that I have to interrupt not only independent work but even my studies, and can scarcely find

^a (Russ.) rural community - ^b (Russ.) farmless peasants - ^c of the third volume of *Capital*

time for correspondence; so you see I cannot take advantage just now of your kind offer to send me original Russian works on economical subjects, I should really not have the time to make use of them. But I hope you will not blame me, if hereafter at the first opportunity I take the liberty of reminding you of your kind promise. In the meantime these inestimable manuscripts are to me a source of the highest scientific *Genuss*,^a and no doubt so will the proofs be to you.³⁶¹ Of these I forwarded to you Nos. 5-9 about 3 weeks ago 27th March and yesterday Nos. 10-14. I shall again forward a set shortly, always *registered*. The whole of No. II will be about 37 sheets and will be out by end of May. I am now busy with No. III which is the concluding and crowning part, and will eclipse even No. I. I dictate from the original, which is positively illegible to any living man except myself, and shall have no rest until it is all transferred to a manuscript which at all events will be legible to others. Then I can take my time with the final redaction, which will be no easy task, seeing the imperfect state of the original. But anyhow, even if I should not be spared to finish that, it would be saved from being utterly lost, and could be published as it is in case of need. This No. III is the most astounding thing I ever read, and it is a thousand pities that the author did not live to work it out and publish it himself and see the effect it is destined to create. After this lucid exposition, no candid opposition is any longer possible. The most difficult points are cleared up and disentangled as if they were a mere child's play, and the whole system acquires a new and simple aspect. I am afraid this No. III will fill two volumes. Besides that I have an old manuscript which treats the history of the theory and will also require a good deal of work.¹⁷¹ So you see I have my hands full.

Very sincerely yours,

P. W. Rosher³⁶³

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^a enjoyment

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ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH^{316; 382}

IN GENEVA

London, 23 April 1885

Dear Citizen,

I still owe you an answer to your letter of 14 February. Below you will find the reasons for my tardiness, which can certainly not be attributed to idleness on my part.

You ask me to give you my opinion of Plekhanov's book *Наша разногласія*.^a To do this I should have to have read it. I find little difficulty in reading Russian when I have spent a week devoting myself to it, but six months or more may go by without my having any opportunity to do so; then, having lost the habit of it, I am compelled to learn the language all over again, as it were. And that is what has happened with the *Разногласія*. Marx's manuscripts, which I dictate to a secretary,^b take up the whole of my day; in the evening people come to call who cannot, after all, simply be shown the door. Also there are proofs to be read, a great deal of correspondence and, finally, translations (into the Italian, Danish, etc.) of my *Origin etc.*,^c which I am asked to look over and whose revision sometimes turns out to be neither easy nor superfluous. Well, all these interruptions have prevented my progressing further than page 60 of the *Разногласія*. If only I could have three days to myself, the job would be done and, what is more, I should have brushed up my Russian.

However, the little I have read is, I think, enough to put me more or less *au fait* with the dispute^d in question.

To begin with, let me repeat how proud I am to know that there exists among the younger generation in Russia a party which frankly and unreservedly accepts the great economic and historical theories evolved by Marx, and which has broken for good with all the anarchic and to some extent Slavophil traditions of its predecessors.³⁸³ And Marx himself, had he lived a little longer, would have been no less proud than I. It marks a step forward which will be of the utmost

^a See this volume, p. 264. - ^b Oskar Eisengarten - ^c *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*; see also this volume, pp. 264 and 272. - ^d Crossed out in the draft: 'between your group and the Narodnaya Volya members'³⁵⁶.

importance to the revolutionary development of Russia. In my eyes, Marx's historical theory is fundamentally essential to revolutionary tactics, if these are to be *consistent* and *logical*; to discover what those tactics ought to be, all one has to do is to apply the theory to economic and political conditions in the country concerned.

But to do so demands familiarity with those conditions, and I, for my part, am too ignorant of the present situation in Russia to suppose myself competent to assess in detail the tactics that might be required at any given moment. Again, the internal and intimate history of the Russian revolutionary party, in particular that of the last few years, is to me a closed book. My friends among the Narodnaya Volya members have never discussed it with me. Yet this is an element which, if one is to form an opinion, cannot be ignored.

What I know, or believe I know, of the situation in Russia leads me to think that that country is nearing its 1789. Revolution is *bound* to break out some time or other; it *may* break out any day. In conditions such as these the country is like a charged mine, all that is needed is to apply the match. Especially after what happened on 13 March.¹⁸⁸ It is one of those special cases where it is possible for a handful of men to *effect* a revolution, that is, to bring about at one stroke the collapse of an entire system whose equilibrium is more than labile (to use Plekhanov's metaphor^a),³⁸⁴ and to release, by a single and intrinsically insignificant act, explosive forces which later become uncontrollable. Well, if ever Blanquism, the fantasy of subverting the whole of a society through action by a small group of conspirators, had any rational foundation, it would assuredly be in St Petersburg.^b Once the match has been applied to the powder, once the forces have been unleashed and the national energy has been converted from potential to kinetic (another of Plekhanov's favourite and, indeed, excellent metaphors)³⁸⁵ — the men who have sprung the mine will be swept off their feet by an explosion a thousand times more powerful than they themselves, one which will seek whatever outlet it may find in accordance with the prevailing economic forces and resistances.

Suppose that these men imagine they will be able to seize power, what of it? Providing they make the hole which causes the dam to collapse, the resulting torrent of water will soon put paid to their illusions. But what if those illusions succeeded in endowing them with an ex-

^a The draft had 'pet metaphor'. - ^b Crossed out in the draft: 'I do not say "in Russia" because in the provinces, far from the administrative centre, it [such action] is not necessary.'

ceptional strength of will? Would that be any cause for complaint? Men who have boasted of having *effected* a revolution have always found on the morrow that they didn't know what they were doing; that once *effected*, the revolution has borne no resemblance at all to what they had intended. That is what Hegel calls the irony of history, ³⁸⁶ an irony which few historical *дѣятели* ^a can escape. ^b You have only to look at Bismarck, a revolutionary in spite of himself, and Gladstone, who ended up by falling out with his beloved Tsar. ^c

What, in my view, is important in Russia is that the impulse should be given, that revolution should break out. Whether it is this or that group that gives the signal, whether it be under this flag or that, is of little concern to me. Even if it were ^d a palace plot, its instigators would be swept away on the morrow. In a place where the situation is so tense, where revolutionary elements have accumulated to such a degree, where the economic situation of the vast mass of the people becomes daily more impossible, where every degree of social development is represented, from the primitive commune to modern big industry and high finance, and where all these contradictions are forcibly pent up by an unheard-of despotism — a despotism increasingly unacceptable to a younger generation in which are combined the nation's intelligence and dignity — in such a place 1789, once launched, will before long be followed by 1793.

I say 'good-bye', dear Citizen. It is half past two in the morning. Tomorrow before the departure of the courier I will hardly have time to add anything. If you prefer, do write to me in Russian, but please bear in mind that Russian *handwriting* is something I do not read every day.

Your devoted

F. Engels

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^a (Russ.) Here: figures. - ^b Crossed out in the draft: 'Maybe the same thing will happen to us all.' - ^c Alexander III - ^d Crossed out in the draft: 'a clique of the nobles or of money-bags — well, all the best ... until'.

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ENGELS TO RICHARD STEGEMANN
IN TÜBINGEN

[Draft]

[London,] 5 May 1885

Dear Sir,

Mature reflection has shown that I cannot possibly comply with your request.³⁸⁷

Either the work you want must be *short*, in which case it could contain nothing but asseverations on my part, and thus merely be assertive and belletristic.

Or I should have to supply documentary evidence, in which case it would turn into a book, and that would not suit your purpose; moreover, I could not write it in so off-hand and casual a manner, for which my material is far too abundant.

A further consideration is that I should be more or less committing myself to co-editing a work about which I know nothing save the brief account provided by you.

In addition, the thing would—within the limits prescribed—be utterly useless. However vigorous my protestations, they would utterly fail to move the semi-educated vulgarian whose prejudices you wish to combat. People who say that Marx ‘died friendless’ must, presumably, harbour the belief that I do not exist at all. In which case, what magical effect could asseverations on my part be expected to have?

The old fairy-tales invented by the vulgar democratic emigration of 1850-59, and further elaborated by Bonaparte’s paid agent, Karl Vogt,—*il lui a été remis en 1859^a 40,000 frs*, according to the Tuileries papers,³⁸⁸ may perhaps be more in vogue in your district than elsewhere because the Swabian People’s Party²⁰³ is the direct descendant of that same democratic emigration, certain of its leaders having been on intimate terms with the afore-mentioned Vogt. Since all this was dealt with by Marx in *Herr Vogt*, there would seem to be

^a in 1859 he was paid

no reason for me to hark back to it at this particular juncture. Vast numbers of lies were told about Marx to which he never saw fit to reply. The time may, perhaps, come when it will behove me to do so on his behalf, but the choice of time, place and modus operandi will be my affair. Which will, of course, only serve to revive my reputation for 'callousness'.

In any case, I haven't got time just now to do anything along these lines that would either be to the purpose or satisfy my own requirements in regard to such a work. My entire time is taken up with editing Marx's manuscripts, and I shall be acting wholly in his spirit if, in view of this obligation, I treat all this philistine carping with contempt.

I remain, Sir, very sincerely

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN
IN ZURICH

London, 15 May 1885

Dear Ede,

I think it's about time to drop you a line or two again, otherwise you will grow far too melancholy. You and Kautsky seem to evoke from one another so many doleful laments that a complete concert in the minor key could be produced therefrom; it's like the trombone in Wagner that always sounds forth whenever something dire is going to happen. Each time you get bad news, the pair of you always forget the old adage about a dog's back being worse than its bite.

The general and inescapable impression left by the whole shindy between 'parliamentary group and editors' is that the parliamentary group have made fools of themselves. And should the parliamentary

group insist on doing it again, they ought not to be prevented. Had you immediately published the first written communication,³⁸⁹ as they demanded, they would have made complete and utter fools of themselves, and a 'storm of indignation' would have broken out on all sides. Not, of course, that this could very well have been asked of you at the start, but there can be no doubt at all that it is not in our interests to prevent the parliamentary group from *showing themselves in their true colours*. As things are, 'parliamentary group and editors' confront each other as equals—in the eyes of the public—, this being the result of the last, lengthy middle-of-the-road statement,³⁹⁰ and what happens next, we shall have to see.

I had Singer here on Sunday,^a and cut short all his speechifying. The parliamentary group's first statement, he said, was directed not so much against the articles in the paper,³⁷⁷ as against the (alleged) attempt to try and arouse a storm of indignation against the parliamentary group. That, I said, was something the public couldn't have known; if you make a public statement, it can only refer to publicly available facts. But if you hit out at the paper on account of things that have never appeared in it, the public may justifiably ask: 'What are these gentlemen after, if not the suppression of free speech?' This he had to admit. Next I said that, to judge by what was to me a very familiar style, most of the objectionable articles had been by Liebknecht.—Singer: 'Quite right, and we gave Liebknecht a proper dressing-down for it in the parliamentary group.' I: 'But to censure the paper in public for printing things that actually emanated from the parliamentary group simply won't do. You ought to have settled the matter amongst yourselves. Instead, you publicly attack the editors for matters that are solely the private concern of the parliamentary group. To whom, then, are the editors to look?' Here again he could raise no objection. 'In short, you have, by your ill-considered action, made fools of yourselves, and if anyone has come off best in the eyes of the public, it is the editors.' This, too, he had to concede indirectly. Since I stuck to the main points and disregarded all his personal tittle-tattle, of which he had ample store, we concluded our business in ten minutes.

That's not the end of the matter, of course. But we now know what the gentlemen's weak side is. If I were editor of the *Sozialdemokrat*, I should, from the editorial point of view, let the parliamentary group

^a 10 May

stew in its own juice, i. e. in the Reichstag, entrust any criticism thereof to the members of the party, on the strength of the oft-cited 'free expression of opinion', and tell Liebknecht once and for all that he must himself be answerable to the parliamentary group for his articles, thus putting an end to his double-dealing, in this respect at any rate. Then, provided the paper continues to be edited along the lines already laid down, that is enough for us. It is far more important for us to maintain our theoretical standpoint in the face of the rubbish that is printed in Germany than to criticise the parliamentary group's mode of action. For after all, those who have been elected are themselves doing everything in their power to enlighten the electorate as to the character of the elected. And for that matter, day to day events provide opportunity enough to make clear what our standpoint is, even if we leave it to the parliamentary group and party members to take care of the parliamentary group. It is, however, that very standpoint that vexes them most of all, and it is something they dare not publicly attack.

The Reichstag will soon be going home. In the meantime the gentlemen — although almost all of them are secret protectionists — will have seen what havoc is wrought by a policy of protective tariffs.³⁹¹ That is but the first of many disappointments that lie in store for them. Not that it will change their philistine character, but it will probably shake their confidence and cause them to fall out over philistine questions that necessitate their declaring themselves for or against. Only give such types a little rope, and they'll hang themselves.

In short, our policy is, I believe, to temporise. The Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ is working in their favour and if, while it remains in force, they can only find an opportunity to show themselves in their true colours, that is really all we need for the present. In the meantime we must defend every position to the utmost, particularly in the press, and this will not always call for active resistance. To outflank an enemy is also a defensive manoeuvre but one that has offensive connotations. At the moment we have much against us. Bebel is ill and has, so it seems, lost heart. Nor shall I be able to help as much as I would like until I have finished with Marx's manuscripts. So you and Kautsky must bear the brunt of the battle. But don't forget the old rule — never to allow the actualities of the movement and of the struggle to make you forget the movement's future. And that belongs

to us. The third volume of *Capital* will do in all these chaps at one blow.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER ³⁹²
IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 15 May 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

As regards the poems ³⁹³:

The *Marseillaise* of the Peasants' War was *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* ³⁹⁴ and, vainglorious though its words and tune may be, it neither should nor need be taken in the same spirit today. Other songs of that time are to be found in anthologies of folk songs, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*,^a etc. You might perhaps find something there. But even at that time the *Landsknecht*^b exercised a virtual monopoly over our popular poetry.

Of foreign songs, the only one I know is the beautiful old Danish song about Herr Tidmann, which I translated for the *Berlin Social-Demokrat* in 1865.^c

There were all kinds of Chartist songs, but they are now no longer to be had. One began:

* Britannia's Sons, though slaves you be,
God your creator made you free;
To all he life and freedom gave,
But never, never made a slave.*

^a compiled by L.A. von Arnim and C. Brentano - ^b mercenary soldier - ^c See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 34-35.

I don't know how it goes on.

All that stuff has been forgotten and in any case wasn't up to much as poetry.

In 1848 two popular songs were current and were sung to the same tune.

- 1) Schleswig-Holstein.
- 2) The Hecker song³⁹⁵:

Hecker, may thy name resound
Up and down the German Rhine,
Thy generous heart nay, e'en thy look
Inspired confidence in mind.
Hecker, a German man and free
Who'd give his life for liberty.

That, I think, suffices. Then there's another version:

Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz and Blum
Slay the German princes.

In general, the poetry of past revolutions (always excepting the *Marseillaise*³⁹⁶) seldom has much revolutionary impact later on because, if it is to influence the masses, it must reflect the mass prejudices of the day—hence the religious nonsense found even in the Chartists.

Now as to Marx's shorter pieces, this is a matter upon which others beside myself have to decide, while I for my own part must make quite sure that nothing is done that might interfere with the proposed edition of the *Complete Works*. The things appertaining to the International, the *Inaugural Address*, *Civil War*, *Hague Report*,^a etc., like the *Manifesto*,^b I do not regard as forming part of these, though I should like to reserve the right to provide a few words of introduction. As regards the articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, you must first find out which were written by Marx. For instance, only one, an outstanding article on the June insurrection was by Marx,^c while the account of the struggle, etc., was entirely mine.^d Likewise the anti-Bakunin and anti-Pan-Slavism articles.^e The things Marx and I wrote at that time are on the whole almost indistinguishable owing to our systematic division of labour.

^a K. Marx, *Report of the General Council to the Fifth Annual Congress...* - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^c K. Marx, 'The June Revolution'.

^d F. Engels, 'Details about the 23rd of June'; 'The 23rd of June'; 'The 24th of June'; 'The 25th of June'; 'The June Revolution (The Course of the Paris Uprising)'. -

^e F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism'.

As I have said, I shall certainly not place unnecessary obstacles in your way, but I should be glad all the same if you could let me have a rather more detailed idea of your plan before I say anything definite about it. At all events, it would hardly do to publish stuff from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and on the International side by side, i. e. in one volume; there was an interval of some 15 or 20 years in between.—The *Cologne Trial*^a would run to a goodly volume on its own, and I would write you an introduction to it.^b But please note that in that case I must know when it is *really needed* and, what with the luckless *Dühring*,^c you have after all enough to print just now. You will have received the two sheets, 4 and 5.

Apropos, my intention is that the chapter 'Theoretical' from the section *Socialism* should be printed according to the revised text of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. When it has got to that stage I shall send you what is necessary. This is merely to notify you in advance.

For the rest, warm regards from

Yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 19 May 1885

My dear Lafargue,

The Lissagaray affair pleased me greatly and I trust he will be chucked out of the *Bataille*.³⁹⁷ The irony of history is without mercy, even to revolutionary stink-bugs.

^a K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^b F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - ^c F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

I must repent, must repent me,
Where my sins were most committed^a

as good king Don Rodrigo said while snakes devoured his vital parts. Brousse at the head of a daily paper would be too comical, he would never last. It would be all he needed to cut his own throat.

The idea that life is simply the normal mode of existence of albuminous bodies and that as a result the protein of the future, if the chemists ever contrive to manufacture it, must display signs of life, appears in my anti-Dühring book where it is developed to some extent on page 60, etc.^b By assuming responsibility for it Schorlemmer did a bold thing, for if it falls flat, the blame will be his, whereas if it catches on, he will be the first to give me the credit.³⁹⁸ Moreover your Grimaux must be an imbecile if he really said that

'we have nothing to show us how this initial movement is acquired whereby an albuminoid is organised into a living cell'.^c

So the good man appears to be unaware that there is a whole army of living things which are still very far removed from the organisation of a cell, being no more than '*plasson*', as Haeckel has it,^d albuminoids that have no trace of organisation, yet are alive—for example protamoebas, siphonales, etc. The poor albuminoid has probably worked for millions of years in order to organise itself into a cell. But your Grimaux doesn't even see the point at issue. Moreover he betrays his ignorance of physiology still further by comparing with a primitive protoplasm, the source of all life on earth, a product as specialised as the egg of a vertebrate.

We have had poor Harney here for the past 10 days. He suffers badly from chronic rheumatoid arthritis of a \pm ^e gouty nature. Nim has had her work cut out looking after him. If the weather improves he hopes to set off for Macclesfield on Saturday.^f On that same Saturday we are expecting Sam Moore with his translation^g—alas, as yet uncompleted.

The 2nd volume has been printed with the exception of my preface, the proofs of which should arrive any day. The consignments sent to Danielson have so far all arrived and 7 sheets have been translated.³⁶¹ I have dictated more than half of the 3rd volume, but two

^a Engels quotes in Spanish. - ^b F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 75-77. - ^c É. Grimaux, 'Les substances colloïdales et la coagulation', *Revue scientifique*, No. 16, 18 April 1885, p. 500. - ^d E. Haeckel, *Die Perigenesis der Plastidule...*, Berlin, 1876, pp. 76, 77. - ^e more or less - ^f 23 May; see also this volume, p. 292. - ^g of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56)

sections³⁹⁹ are going to give me a fine old time. The one on bank capital and credit is in such disorder as to strike terror into the heart of a better man than me, but that is how it is. I am now at land rent. It is quite superbly done. But this will entail even more work, for the manuscript dates from 1865 and I shall have to consult his extracts made between 1870 and 1878 both for the banks and for landed property in America and Russia. And there are not a few of them. This means that the 3rd volume will have to wait another year at least.

The storm in a teacup that has disrupted our ranks in Germany³⁷⁴ will doubtless calm down for the time being. Now that the Reichstag has been sent about its business, the gents of the 'socialist group' have dispersed. The Social Democrats have won a moral victory over the 'group'. But that is not the end of the matter and there may be a recurrence. Were it not for the Anti-Socialist Law,³⁷ I should have been in favour of an outright split. But so long as it is in force, it deprives us of all our weapons while enabling the party's petit-bourgeois section to reap all the benefit. And, in any case, it is not our business to provoke it. The thing was inevitable; it was bound to come sooner or later. But it would have come either later or under circumstances more favourable to ourselves had it not been for the incredible stupidities of Liebknecht, who has not only wavered between the two sections and invariably protected the petit bourgeois, but has also been prepared on more than one occasion to sacrifice the proletarian nature of the party for a simulacrum of unity that is credible to no one. It would appear that his own protégés, the representatives of the petit-bourgeois side, have now had enough of his double dealing. Liebknecht always believes what he says when he is saying it, but believes something quite different whenever he speaks to someone else. Over here he is all for revolution, over there all for circumspection. That won't prevent his being on our side on the crucial day and telling us: Didn't I always tell you so! *This is between ourselves*. A kiss for Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI ⁴⁰⁰
 IN BENEVENTO

[Draft]

[London, 19 May 1885]

Dear Citizen,

...on the etc. I sent you, by registered mail, the translation^a with my comments. I am very sorry that my limited practice of Italian has not enabled me to do them better, but I hope they will be intelligible nonetheless. I am amazed that, without having lived in Germany and learned the language there, you have been able to render my thoughts so well. I only found a few abbreviated, idiomatic and proverbial expressions where there was an error; and even these are impossible to understand properly for someone who has not spoken the everyday language and even the dialects of the country -- things which are not to be found in grammars and dictionaries. And in several cases when you have understood the meaning well, I think you could be a little freer and more adventurous.

I fear that the note about 'Mark' is not very clear. It is the only note which I think should be printed. The others are for your information only. If therefore you have any doubts about that note, please let me know and I shall try and rewrite it.⁴⁰¹

Please excuse the long time it has taken me to do the revision. But my days are taken up with dictating Marx's manuscripts, and my evenings are not always free. In addition, I have had a Danish translation^b to check at the same time, not to mention the English translation of *Capital*.⁵⁶

Thanking you again for the considerable work you have done on my behalf, I remain

Your devoted

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Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,
 Moscow, 1935

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

^a the Italian translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*
 - ^b of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 29 May 1885

My dear Laura,

So then at least one thing is settled, and that is poor Paul in his *Kittchen*^a in Ste Pélagie.⁴⁰² Hope it will not be for four months—the four best of the year too! Anyhow, what a consolation it is for him, to be no longer crucified between the *braconnier*^b on one side and the *vol avec effraction (de puanteur)*^c on the other! And to consider it a hard-fought victory that he can have his old *Kittchen* again in company with a spouting anarchist. Well let us hope Révillon and a few more deputies will make it hot for the Liberal ministry and procure his release.

Harney is gone to Macclesfield yesterday, and arrived safely. He is a good deal better, intrinsically, but of course the pains do not go all at once, and as soon as he is a bit better, he begins stirring about in cabs; he did so for two days before he left, then the journey, and of course arrived worse. I am afraid he will never get quite over it, partly because the complaint is too inveterate and partly on account of his inconsistency and listening to everybody who has a remedy to propose. It has been a hard time for poor Nim, and I am glad for her sake it has come to an end. Sam Moore had to go to Pumps', I think he rather liked it this time as he was bent on exhibitions, picture galleries, Royal Academies and the like, and so he and Pumps have a fine time of it. Today they are gone to see a cricket match at Lords.^d

I had this morning the last proof-sheet of my preface to Second Volume,^e so from that you see that the report of its being out is another canard. You may be sure that as soon as it is out and we get copies, you have one sent the same day. The 3rd edition of the *18th Brumaire*^f is in the press, two sheets printed.

^a jail (slang) - ^b poacher - ^c burglar (stinking) - ^d Lords Cricket Ground in London - ^e of *Capital* - ^f K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

The Italian translation of the *Ursprung* is also in the press. But you will at once see that it will be hardly possible to translate from that into French. ⁴⁰³ If Paul uses it merely to facilitate to him the comprehension of the original, well and good; otherwise it would only enable him to give a very enfeebled *Abklatsch*^a and poor *rechauffé*,^b and I have no ambition to appear before the French public in that shape. The man^c has done his best and some passages are really good. But it is not to be expected from him, who learnt German without assistance in Benevento, that he should put idiomatic German into equally idiomatic Italian. And that defect I could not remedy, as my idiomatic Italian is not Italian but only Milanese, and that, too, nearly forgotten.

I hope there will not be much more of that fighting about red flags, etc., in Paris — the police *want* a few barricades, and if they get them, there will be a jolly massacre — the people have not a ghost of a chance of victory. ⁴⁰⁴ Even if the government should show hesitation, the reactionary military chiefs will take care to be ready for action and to act.

There is one consolation for Paul — that he will be virtually 'out of Paris' on the day of the French Grand Old Man's^d funeral.

What with proof-sheet, and writing to Harney³⁹ and making parcels up for him and writing to a confectioner from Colmar^{e 39} who asked my advice as to his finding work in London (answer: certainly not) and one thing and another, it has become 5.20, and so I must close if I want to catch this post. So with hopes that Paul will not be too unhappy, nor too long where he is, and that you will keep up, in spite of all, your state of, in Paris, *abnormal* health, here is the conclusion.

Love from Nim.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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^a copy - ^b concoction - ^c Pasquale Martignetti - ^d Victor Hugo - ^e Wegmann

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON ⁴⁰⁵

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 3 June 1885

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 24 [April]/6 May and hope you will have received the sheets 21/26 forwarded to you 13th May. ³⁶¹ To-day I forward 27/33, the conclusion. In a few days I hope to be able to send you the preface, etc. From that preface you will see that the ms. of Volume III has been written as early as 1864/66, and thus before the period when the author, thanks to your kindness, became so intimately acquainted with the agricultural system of your country: I am at present working at the chapter on the rent of land, and have so far not found any allusion to Russian conditions. ⁴⁰⁶ As soon as the whole manuscript shall have been transcribed into a legible handwriting, I shall have to work it out by comparison with what other materials have been left by the author, and there are, for the chapter on rent, very voluminous extracts from the various statistical works he owed to you — but whether these will contain any critical notes that can be made use of for this volume, I cannot as yet tell. Whatever there is, shall be used most conscientiously. At all events the mere work of transcription will occupy me far into autumn, and as the manuscript is nearly 600 pages in folio, it may again have to be divided into two volumes.

The analysis of rent is theoretically so complete that you will necessarily find therein a good deal of interest for the special conditions of your country. Still this ms. excludes the treatment of the pre-capitalistic forms of landed property; they are merely alluded to here and there for the sake of comparison.

Yours very sincerely,

P. W. Rosher ³⁶³

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE ⁴⁰⁷

IN HOBOKEN

London, 3 June 1885

Dear Sorge,

I was sorry to hear that you have been incapable of writing and trust that the thing has subsided. The Gronlunds and Elys, ^a as also the newspapers, gratefully received. Ely is a well-meaning philistine and does at least take more trouble than his German fellow-sufferers and fellow-blockheads which, after all, deserves recognition. Gronlund, on the other hand, strikes me as being speculative: his boasting of our stuff, in so far as he does or does not understand it, is clearly aimed at palming off his own utopian fiddle-faddle as REAL LIVE GERMAN SOCIALISM. A symptom at any rate.

As regards *To-Days* and *Commonweals*, I am sending you the former from March onwards and the latter from the beginning. ^b However their administrative side is not particularly efficient; should the paper (*The Commonweal*) fail to reach the *Sozialist* regularly, I should be *very grateful* if you would advise me so that I can provide *proof* of inefficiency, this being invariably denied by the secretary, though it undoubtedly exists.

You would do best to ignore Fabian completely; the man feels a need to get himself talked about and there is no necessity to encourage that. ^c His chief grievance against me is that I maliciously defamed $\sqrt{-1}$ in the *Anti-Dühring*, a point on which he complained to Marx by letter. ²⁰⁹

You have had the same correct presentiment about the Reichstag laddies as I have — the case of the Steamship Subsidies ³⁴² has revealed the immensity of their philistine aspirations. It almost came to a split, which would not be desirable at present, so long as the Anti-Socialist Law ³⁷ remains in force. As soon as we get a bit more ELBOW-ROOM in Germany, the split will doubtless come and can then only do

^a L. Gronlund, *The Cooperative Commonwealth in Its Outlines*; R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism in Modern Times* (see also this volume, p. 192). - ^b See this volume, pp. 298, 312. - ^c *Ibid.*, p. 124.

good. A petty-bourgeois-socialist parliamentary group is inevitable in a country like Germany where philistinism, even more than historical right, 'doesn't have no date'.⁴⁰⁸ It will also be useful once it has constituted itself a body separate from the proletarian party. However such a split could only do harm just now if it were provoked by *us*. But if they do in fact renounce the programme, so much the better; we shall then be able to let fly.

You in America also suffer from various great savants of the kind possessed by Germany's philistine socialists in the persons of Geiser, Frohme, Blos, etc. The historical digressions in the *Sozialist* by your Stiebelings, Douais, etc., on the subject of Völkerwanderung^a amused me greatly, for these people have studied the whole thing far better and far more thoroughly than I have. Douai, in particular, gives himself colossal airs. For instance in No. 13 of the *Sozialist*, apropos the German conquests in Italy, etc., he tells us that the King acquired $\frac{1}{3}$ of the land and the officers and soldiers $\frac{2}{3}$, of which $\frac{2}{3}$ passed in turn to the former slaves, etc. 'This we learn from *Jornandes and Casiodorus*.'⁴⁰⁹ When I read that I was completely bowled over. 'Precisely similar accounts,' he goes on, 'are provided about the Visigoths. Nor was it otherwise in France.' Well, the whole thing is an invention from start to finish and you won't find a word of it either in *Jornandes* or in *Casiodorus* or in any other contemporary source. It reveals at once colossal ignorance and impudence to confront me with such utter rubbish and to say that I am 'demonstrably in the wrong'. The sources, and I know practically all of them, state precisely the opposite. I have let it pass this time, as it was written in America where one can hardly make an issue of that kind of thing. But Monsieur Douai had better watch out in future; I might well lose patience some day.

The 2nd volume of *Capital* will be out shortly; all I am awaiting is the last half proof-sheet of the preface where Rodbertus receives a further broadside. The 3rd book is going ahead merrily, but will take a long time. Not that that matters, as the 2nd volume must be digested first. The 2nd volume will cause great disappointment, being a purely scientific work with little in the way of agitation. By contrast the third volume will again have the effect of a thunderbolt, since the

^a G. C. Stiebeling, 'Reform oder Revolution', *Der Sozialist*, No. 7, 14 February 1885; A. Douai, 'Eine Entgegnung auf Dr. Stiebeling's Artikel', *Der Sozialist*, No. 13, 28 March 1885.

whole of capitalist production is dealt with in context for the first time and all official bourgeois economics rejected out of hand. But it will be quite a task. Since the New Year I have dictated more than half of the final version and expect to finish this preliminary work in about 4 months. But after that there will be the actual job of editing, which won't be easy as the most important chapters are in some disorder—so far as form is concerned. However everything will work out all right, though it will take time. As you can imagine, I shall have to leave everything else on one side until I have finished, and hence neglect my correspondence; nor can there be any question of writing articles. But you would oblige me if you would see to it that nothing of what I have said about the 3rd volume gets into the *Sozialist*. That would inevitably give rise to unpleasantnesses in Zurich and elsewhere. Whatever the readers need to know will appear in my preface to the 2nd volume.

All is well with Tussy so far. The two of them^a are very happy together, though unfortunately they are not always in good health. Lafargue must now do another 4 months on account of the same old fine and costs.⁴⁰² The police were intent on fomenting a riot in Paris on 24 May, but nothing came of it and the ministers took fright.⁴⁰⁴ So the Victor Hugo business went off quietly after all, and that is just as well. As there is no Garde Nationale, no weapons are to be had and any attempted coup would inevitably be crushed. One just has to adapt one's tactics to the circumstances. Regards to Dietzgen and Adolf.^b

Your
F. E.

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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^a Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling - ^b Adolf Sorge jun.

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ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON ⁴¹⁰

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, between 10 and 12 June 1885]

Postage - - 6d.

Stamps enclosed - 3.2

Please *forward me the 2nd copy at once* Nos. 1 to 5,^a they are for a friend in America.^b

If the above be not correct please let me know what else there may be to pay.

Yours truly,
F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 13 June 1885

Dear Sir,

Kindly send me *six* copies of your translation.^c These will be enough.

^a of *The Commonweal* - ^b Friedrich Adolph Sorge - ^c the Italian translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

I hope you have received the letter I sent about ten days after the translation.^a

Your devoted
F. Engels

I am also sending you a copy of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party of 1847* (by Marx and Engels).^b Old as it is, I believe it still deserves to be read.

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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER²⁶³

IN GENEVA

London, 15 June 1885

My Dear Old Fellow,

I was delighted to get your letter; it is indeed a damned shame that we should be so far apart. However the time will doubtless come when the likes of us will again be able to travel about untroubled by too great a pressure of work or the harassments of the continental police. Then I shall pack my bags and pay you a visit.

Meanwhile the world goes very gently on its way, though it may well speed up a bit shortly. Old William^c would long since have kicked the bucket had he not been informed from on high that the angels' drill still left something to be desired and, in particular, that when ordered to goose-step they were still failing to throw their legs in the air as prescribed in the regulations. Accordingly he could not yet be re-

^a See this volume, p. 291. - ^b written in December 1847-January 1848
- ^c William I

ceived with the appropriate honours. That is why he has now despatched Frederick Charles to carry out an inspection.⁴¹¹ It is hoped he will be able to report that Field-Marshal Michael Archangel has succeeded in training the heavenly host to the standard of perfection sought by the Prussians, in which case old William will doubtless make haste to take the heavenly guard-mounting parade in person.

You are quite right, radicalism in France is rapidly becoming more and more threadbare. There is only one man left who has yet to become so and that is Clemenceau. If he gets in he'll shed a whole mass of illusions, above all the illusion that nowadays a bourgeois republic can govern in France without thieving and causing others to thieve. It is just possible that he will then go further. But that is not necessary. All that is necessary is that this last sheet-anchor of the bourgeoisie should show what he is capable of—which, given his present point of view, is nothing.

Here in England the cause is progressing pretty well, even if not in the form that is customary at home. Since 1848 the English parliament has unquestionably been the most revolutionary body in the world and the next elections will mark the beginning of a new epoch, even though it may not necessarily manifest itself as quickly as all that.^a Workers will appear in Parliament in growing numbers, each one worse than the last. But that is necessary over here. All the scoundrels who at the time of the International played at being bourgeois-radical philistines must appear in Parliament for what they are. Whereupon the masses will become socialist here too. Industrial over-production will do the rest.

The rumpus in the German party came as no surprise to me.³⁷⁴ In a philistine country like Germany the party must also have a philistine 'educated' right wing³⁷³ which it will shed when the time comes. In Germany philistine socialism dates back to 1844 and was criticised in the *Communist Manifesto*. It is as immortal as your German philistine himself. So long as the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ remains in force, I am not in favour of *our* provoking a split, since there is no parity of weapons. Should these gentlemen, however, themselves bring about a split by attempting to suppress the proletarian nature of the party and replace it with a crudely aesthetic form of sentimental philanthropy

^a See this volume, p. 367.

without guts or substance, then we shall just have to take it as it comes.

I am still engaged in dictating the third volume of *Capital*. It is a magnificent book and as a work of science puts even the first one in the shade. As soon as I have it in a ms. other people can also read, I shall be able to devote some time to sorting the papers. I shall then look out your things.¹²⁶ Until that time—round about the autumn—I shall have absolutely no chance to turn my hand to anything else. The second volume has been printed and I shall probably be able to send you a copy in a fortnight or so.

Marx's daughters have been keeping well so far. Mme Lafargue's husband is back in jail for another 4 months (for non-payment of a fine),⁴⁰² while Mrs Aveling is working hard at propaganda over here, though it may be some time before there is any great success.

I have taken out another five pound money order for you, of which you have doubtless already been advised. I trust it will prove welcome. Well then, take care of your health so that you can join in the little bit of fun that is bound to come pretty soon. I have been keeping well so far, though the doctors say I'm unlikely to be able to mount a horse again—hence unfit for active service, dammit!

For the rest I remain

Ever your old friend

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN
IN ZURICH

London, 16 June 1885

Dear Ede,

Last week I returned to you *by registered mail* Rodbertus' two pamphlets from the archives, which I trust you have received.^a Yesterday

^a One of these was apparently Rodbertus' *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsätze* which Engels asked to be sent in a letter to Bernstein of 8 February 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 46, pp. 431-34).

Karl Kautsky received the complete set of *Frankfurter Zeitungs* containing the various statements.⁴¹² Most amusing. But I'm prepared to bet that even so they will let all this fuss die down again, and that the majority in the parliamentary group will reassure themselves by pointing out that there were mistakes on both sides. The whole thing is primarily just another flash in the pan, but that, too, is a symptom.

Today Frederick Charles inspected the heavenly host and grumbled about the slovenliness of their goose-step.⁴¹¹

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 16 June 1885

My dear Laura,

Well, you have the same troubles as I have myself! Visitors, on the whole agreeable in themselves, but damned in the way when you have more work to do than they. Here I have been settling down every evening for the last week to write to you, and either visitors or urgent business correspondence steps in. And even now, at half past one in the morning, I have to snatch a few moments to write to you a few lines which will cut a sorry figure alongside of your amiable and lively letters! Well it cannot be helped and you must put up with my scrimmage.

The particulars about Lawroff's dead man might be found out, I think, without much difficulty. But what am I to do in the matter?

Percy is as good as anybody to find that out, but of course he must be paid for his work at the common London price.^a

Tussy was not here last Sunday^b — they^c went on the river somewhere with a chap who has a boat and a tent and they both want as much fresh air as they can get. The British Museum is a nice place enough but not to live opposite to. So I shall not see them before next Sunday.

Kautsky has received and translated Paul's article about *le coeur du coeur du monde, qui vient de cesser de battre* (coeur No. 1 I mean).^d

Very glad the Germans send some money for the French elections. Though I am sorry that it is the Hamburgers who have done it; because this is intended as a bribe for Liebknecht, to induce him to take their side (the *kleinbürgerliche Seite*^e) in the present storm in a — pot now going on amongst the German parliamentarians.⁴¹³ I believe this storm will blow over, for the present at least, but it's a symptom. If the Socialist Law³⁷ was abolished and we had elbow-room, and if the 3rd book of the *Kapital* was finished I should not care a bit to have it out at once. As it is, I am for a temporising policy. But the split will come some day, and then we shall give the *Spiessbürger*^f the necessary kick. By the bye I see also from the New York *Sozialist* that there too money has been collected for the French elections.

Poor Paul! I am afraid he will have to pass *la belle saison*^g in *quod*. Once nailed,⁴⁰² I do not see how anything but an *acte de grâce* of old Grévy could get him out. At all events he has now had about one month of it and his elasticity must carry him over the rest.

From Petersburg I hear that the whole of the proof-sheets have arrived and that 18 sheets out of 33 are already translated.³⁶¹ This work is almost too quick to be good.

You have no idea how comfortable John Bull feels under his ministerial crisis.⁴¹⁴ Not a bit of excitement. Evening papers, special editions, etc., do not sell at all. The Grand Old Man, as they call Gladstone, disappears from the political foreground quite unnoticed. The ingratitude of this world is shocking indeed. The fact is, Whigs and Radicals have found out, just before the new elections by a revolu-

^a See this volume, p. 273. - ^b 14 June - ^c Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling - ^d the heart of hearts of the world which has ceased to beat (the heart...); see P. Lafargue's obituary on the death of Victor Hugo published anonymously in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 8, 1885. - ^e petty-bourgeois side - ^f philistines - ^g the fine season

tionised constituency,²⁹⁹ that they cannot get on together any longer.⁴¹⁵ So there is hope that after the autumn elections Tories and Whigs will coalesce.^a And then we have *all* landed property on one side, *all* industrial capital on the opposite side, and the working class compelled to face them both—the basis of a revolutionary situation.

Today there is a grand review in heaven. Frederick Charles is inspecting the hosts of the Lord of hosts.⁴¹¹ I am afraid he will find very great fault with their *Parademarsch*,^b and send word to old William^c that they are not yet fit to parade before him. If the Archangel Michael could only have been sent to do duty for a few years with the Prussian Guards!

Nim complains of rheumatism and threatened to drop beer but I told her that was rubbish, and I think she will believe me. Pumps and her children are very well. Percy has the usual rows with his parents. The cheque £ 10.- is enclosed. And herewith—*sur ce*—I remain your old affectionate

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 16 June 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

1) The two trials at Assizes — that of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and that of the democratic committee — of 1849 both appeared at the time as *Zwei politische Prozesse* and were based on the newspaper report. If you wish to republish one or both, it could be quite effective, and I should write you a foreword to it.⁴¹⁶

^a See this volume, p. 317. - ^b goose-step - ^c William I

2) It might also be a good thing to republish the *Communist Trial*^a; for one thing, it will once again show the old Lassalleans that something was already afoot in Germany before the great Ferdinand's^b time and, for another, the proceedings of the Prussians did, in fact, even then set the pattern for what the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ has now made the norm. A preface^c will be available for this as well, the moment printing is actually in progress; unfortunately my time does not permit me to work in advance and on spec. Again, I haven't got a copy of the Leipzig edition with Marx's later notes.^d It is typical of the way they used then to conduct their affairs that neither Marx nor I should ever have been sent a copy!

Do you have in your archives Stieber and Wermuth, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*^e (Berlin, Hayn, 1853, 2 parts) — the so-called 'black book'? It contains two addresses from the Central Committee to the League^f which you might print as an appendix.

3) If I understand you aright, you are thinking of publishing the series of articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on the Paris battle in June 1848.^{g 417} It's not a bad idea. I could arrange the relevant passages for you, interspersed with a few notes to provide a context, and also whatever is needed from Marx's article in the *Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*,^h etc. Being the *only* contemporary account of the Paris proletariat's battle to take the side of the June fighters, the thing has a certain importance. Nor can the masses be reminded too often of the event. But it's a task that would take at least a week, and I cannot embark on it until the autumn.

4) Various other things from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* might follow, but just now I simply haven't got the time to look them out; if you could make some suggestions, we might be able to see. The same applies to other, lesser works of that period by Marx and myself. As soon as the rough ms. of the 3rd volume of *Capital* has been transposed into a legible one — in the autumn, that is — I shall have to put

^a K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^b Ferdinand Lassalle - ^c F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - ^d K. Marx, 'Epilogue to *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*'. - ^e Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. - ^f K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850'; 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - ^g 1849 in the original. - ^h K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*.

the papers^a in order. Only then shall I once more obtain a general idea of what is in fact available and be able to look out some suitable stuff. Up till then I shall be more or less working in the dark. So long as the dictation of *Capital*, Book III remains incomplete, my days will be taken up from 10-5, while in the evenings, apart from visitors, I not only have to deal with an ever-increasing volume of correspondence, but also to read over what I have dictated, in addition to revising the French, Italian, Danish and English translations of our things (including the English one of *Capital*⁵⁶), and how, I should like to know, am I to find time for anything else? Hence—as you must realise—I cannot let myself in for anything, unless it is of the utmost urgency.

Besides the afore-mentioned edition of the *Communist Trial*, I would ask you to send me:

3 copies of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*.

6 *Communist Manifestos*, Zurich edition, and charge them up to me. I should also be grateful to have a statement of account so that I may know how we stand. We still have copies of Marx's photograph here in both sizes.

Kindly give the enclosed to Ede.

Most cordially yours,

F. Engels

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time

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL¹

IN PLAUEEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 22-24 June 1885
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Bebel,

I hasten to answer your letter of the 19th, received this morning, so that my reply may reach you before you set off on your long journey.

^a Marx's manuscripts

Generally speaking I have been kept informed about recent events, at least so far as public pronouncements are concerned, and have thus been able to read the various effronteries of Geiser and Frohme, as also your short, trenchant replies.⁴¹²

All this mud-slinging is largely attributable to Liebknecht, with his predilection for educated know-alls and for men in bourgeois occupations who can be used to impress your philistine. Nor can he resist a literary or business man who flirts with socialism. But in Germany these are the very people of whom one should most beware, and it is they whom Marx and I have ceaselessly combatted since 1845. Once you've let them into the party, in which they everywhere push themselves to the fore, dissimulation becomes the rule, either because their petty-bourgeois standpoint is in perpetual conflict with that of the proletarian masses, or because they try to vitiate this latter standpoint. Nevertheless, I am convinced that, if things ever really come to a head, Liebknecht will be on our side,—asserting, what's more, that he had never said anything else and that it was we who had stopped him from letting fly any sooner. However, a little object-lesson will have done him no harm.

The split will come as sure as eggs is eggs, but I still maintain that we must not provoke it while the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷ is in operation. If it is forced upon us, then there'll be nothing for it. But we must be prepared. And that, I think, means hanging on for all we're worth to three positions: 1) the Zurich press and bookshop, 2) the management of the *Sozialdemokrat* and 3) that of the *Neue Zeit*. These are the only positions still in our hands and, notwithstanding the Anti-Socialist Law, they suffice to keep us in touch with the party. All the other positions in the press, though held by philistines, count for very little by comparison with these three. You should be able to foil many of the plots against us. In my opinion, you ought to do everything you can to ensure that, by hook or by crook, these 3 positions remain in our hands. How to set about it you will know better than I. Not surprisingly Ede and Kautsky feel very insecure in their editorial seats and are in need of encouragement. That people are busily intriguing against them is obvious. And they're a couple of competent and really first-rate chaps. In matters of theory, Ede is a very clear-sighted man and, what's more, is witty and has a gift for repartee, but he is still somewhat lacking in self-confidence—nowadays a most unusual trait and, if you consider the megalomania common to even the most insignificant lettered nitwits, a very fortunate one,

relatively speaking. Kautsky has picked up a frightful lot of rubbish at university but is doing his utmost to unlearn it again, and both men are reliable, able to tolerate honest criticism and have a correct grasp of essentials. In view of the appalling new generation of literati that has attached itself to the party, two such people are pearls beyond price.

I entirely agree with what you say about our parliamentary representation generally and about the impossibility — in time of peace, as at present — of creating any really proletarian representation. The necessarily more or less bourgeois parliamentarians are an evil no less unavoidable than the professional agitators foisted upon the party from amongst those workers boycotted by the bourgeoisie and hence unemployed. This was a phenomenon already strongly in evidence among the Chartists during the 1839-48 period, and was apparent to me even at that time. If remuneration for deputies is introduced, these fellows will range themselves alongside the predominantly bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, i. e. the ‘educated’, representatives. But all this will be overcome. My confidence in our proletariat is as absolute as my mistrust of the utterly abject German philistines is unlimited. And when things liven up a bit, the struggle will similarly become keen enough to be conducted *con amore*,^a while the irritation caused by the pettiness and philistinism with which you now have to contend *en détail* and with which I am familiar from long experience, will evaporate in the wider dimensions of the struggle and then, too, we shall get the right sort of men in parliament. But it’s all very well for me to talk — I’m over here, while you are having to do the dirty work, and that is certainly no joke. Anyhow, I am glad that you are physically fit again. Spare your nerves for better times; we shall need them.

The greater part of *Capital*, Book III, has now been dictated from the manuscripts and set out in a legible hand. This preliminary work will be pretty well complete in 5 or 6 weeks’ time. Then there will be the very difficult final editing which will require a considerable amount of work. But the thing’s brilliant and will have all the impact of a thunderbolt. I daily await the first copies of Book II,^b one of which will instantly be forwarded to you.

Your old friend

F. E.

^a Here: with enthusiasm. - ^b of *Capital*

23 June. Too late to register this today, so won't go off till tomorrow.

24 June. *Berlin papers received with thanks.*

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 1 July 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Herewith the preface to the *Trial*.^a I have made a note of the other items. It is unlikely that I can do a preface^b and notes for the *Communist Trial*^c before the beginning of September. In July I shall not have a moment to spare and in August I must relax at the seaside for a while.

After which I shall also be able to tackle the *June Insurrection*.⁴¹⁷

I should be *delighted* to see the *Schlesische Milliarde* republished. In addition, you should reprint my biographical note on Wolff from the *Neue Welt* (about 1873 I think), to which I should also do an introduction.⁴¹⁸

I am still waiting for Volume II of *Capital*. I can't really do anything for you where Meissner is concerned; I have no right to meddle in these matters, and the chap is meticulous.⁴¹⁹

There are still several hundred portraits of Marx available, in both sizes.

On the whole, everything is going quite well in Germany; our working men will see to it that everything turns out all right.

Yours sincerely,

F. E.

^a F. Engels, 'Preface to the Pamphlet *Karl Marx Before the Cologne Jury*'. -

^b F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - ^c K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

Please let me have clean sheets of the *Dühring*²⁰⁸ so that I can draw up a list of printer's errors. I would also ask that in future you let me have 2 clean proofs, as is customary and, indeed, essential.

If you wish to call the things 'From the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*', Vols. I, II, etc., I am quite agreeable, of course.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS

London, 4 July 1885

My dear Laura,

Herewith the cheque £ 15.- as desired by Paul who I hope does not suffer too much from the heat which ought to be rather trying in Ste Pélagie⁴⁰² by this time.

Your adventure with the Russians vividly recalled to me the times when one was never sure that Dupont would not drop in about half past one in the morning with one or two *citoyens*^a (something in a lightly elevated state) whom he then and there deposited for the night.

Justice announces, as you may have seen, that Reeves (a rather impecunious small man of Fleet St.) is going to publish a translation of Deville's extract of the *Capital* in 'numbers'. This is a dodge against our translation.⁴²⁰ If it comes out I shall have to declare that Deville's extract is anything but faithful or rather too faithful in the second half, giving all the conclusions and leaving out most of the premises and all the qualifications.

Fortin of Beauvais sends me the beginning of his translation of *The 18th Brumaire*.^b I have not yet had time to look at it.

I have nearly done dictating of the 3rd volume^c— what can be dictated. Then, after my return from the seaside (end of August)⁴²¹ comes first the sorting of the letters, etc. (and also of the books), and

^a citizens - ^b See this volume, pp. 62-63. - ^c of *Capital*

then the real work with the 3rd volume. Of the 2nd volume no news. If it does not come next week I shall write. These publishers always have some business pretext why a thing should not be brought out at once.

Mohr's trial at Cologne^a is being reprinted in Zurich.

Of the Russian translation [of] 2nd volume 18 sheets out of 33 are already done.³⁶¹

Now I must go to town on urgent private affairs (cash), so no more today from

Yours ever affectionately,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO GERTRUD GUILLAUME-SCHACK¹⁸⁴

IN BEUTHEN

[Draft]

[London, about 5 July 1885]

Dear Madam,

In reply to your inquiry, I can only say that I am not entitled to provide any information ultimately intended for publication with regard to Marx's and my collaboration on those political writings which we were asked to do *in confidence*. Nor can I accept any responsibility, either in my own or Marx's name, for the French programme as a whole^b the very nature of which meant that^c we were at most acting in an advisory capacity. I can, however, tell you *in confidence*, that the *Preamble* of the programme of the *Parti ouvrier*, of the *Roanne* trend, originated with Marx.⁴²²

If the French are less inclined than the Germans to demand the li-

^a *Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen. Prozeß gegen den Ausschuß der rheinischen Demokraten...* - ^b 'Programme électorale des travailleurs socialistes', *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 30 June 1880. - ^c Crossed out in the draft: 'we were only represented as advisers'.

mitation of female labour, this is because in French industry, more especially in Paris, female labour plays a comparatively subordinate role. Equal wages for equal work regardless of sex are, so far as I know, demanded by all socialists until such time as wages are totally abolished. That the working woman, because of her particular physiological functions, requires special protection against capitalist exploitation seems clear to me. Those Englishwomen who championed a women's formal right to allow themselves to be as thoroughly exploited by capitalists as men are, have, for the most part, a direct or indirect interest in the capitalist exploitation of both sexes.^a As for myself, I must confess that I am more interested in the health of the coming generation than in absolute, formal equality between the sexes during the final years of the capitalist mode of production. True equality between men and women can, or so I am convinced, become a reality only when^b the exploitation of both by capital has been abolished, and private work in the home been transformed into a public industry.

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184

ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON⁴²³

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, not earlier than 11 July 1885]

6d. stamps enclosed. Will feel obliged if you send the one copy to America as per address herewith:

F. A. Sorge
Hoboken, N. J.
U. S. America

1 copy 'Commonweal'
from July 1st.^c

Published for the first time

Reproduced from a copy of the
draft

^a This refers to members of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. - ^b Crossed out in the draft: 'capital that has evolved on the basis of male predominance'. - ^c See this volume, p. 298.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 23 July 1885

My dear Laura,

Very glad to learn that our prisoner^a is going soon again to breathe *l'air pur de la liberté (sans égalité et fraternité)*^b and [...]^c

Of course Deville is quite innocent of the trick of Hyndman and Co.⁴²⁰ — for it is said that the 'John Broadhouse' who figure-heads as translator, is the immortal Hyndman himself — and I hope the thing may blow over. Perhaps it was merely concocted between Hyndman and Kegan Paul to set us on, for Kegan Paul has not heard from me for a long time, considering that I cannot as yet fix a date when we shall be ready. At all events we cannot have anything about this pretended publication. Of course it would be best if it turned out a mere *Schreckschuss*.^d But if not, I am bound to declare publicly that the latter half of the résumé does *not* render the original correctly. I told Deville so, before it was printed,^e and yet it was printed in the old shape, 'because the publisher would not wait'. That could be allowed to pass unnoticed in France, where the French edition is in the market. But it will never do here, so long as there is no English translation out,⁵⁶ or so long as it is brought out in competition to that.

The little squabble amongst the German deputies has on the whole had excellent effects. The workingmen have everywhere shown such an energetic front against these ridiculous pretensions that the big men in Parliament are not likely to repeat their attempt at domineering.³⁷⁴ This our men have done in the most unmistakable way and in spite of all the trammels of the Socialist Law.³⁷ In the meantime poor Liebknecht is hurrying from one end of Germany to the other preaching concord and telling everybody that there are no differences of principle, that it's all personal squabbles, that both sides have com-

^a Paul Lafargue - ^b fresh air of freedom (without equality and brotherhood) -

^c The next two lines in the original are crossed out by an unknown person and cannot be deciphered. - ^d false alarm - ^e See this volume, pp. 61, 63.

mitted faults, etc.—the hen that has hatched ducklings. He has been hatching ‘heducated’ socialists for the last twenty years and now obstinately refuses to see that the chickens are ducklings, the socialists are philanthropic *Spiessbürger*.^a

Most happy am I to see that the *scrutin de liste*³⁷⁵ invented to perpetuate Opportunist government, is likely to smash up Opportunism altogether.²³⁶ If Clemenceau keeps only one half of what he promises, if he merely *initiates* the break-up of the vast French bureaucracy, it will be an immense progress. On the other hand, even supposing him to really intend being sincere and a man of his word, he will find so many real obstacles, he will so soon be brought to a standstill, that to the Paris electors he will always appear as a traitor. It is a delusion to think that in France Anglo-Saxon, especially American local self-government can be introduced without upsetting the whole bourgeois régime. So, very soon he will have to choose: either drop his reforms and remain bourgeois *avec les bourgeois*^b or go on and revolutionise himself. I think he will remain bourgeois, and then our time may come.

Schorlemmer is here, has as yet no definite projects for Continental tours, but keeps his mind’s eye on Paris. He is out at present, may return before I close this.

Here too we shall have a peaceable revolution in November. The new electorate is sure to change the whole basis of old parties.²⁹⁹ The Whigs have already declared through their great mouthpiece *The Edinburgh Review* that there must be now ‘a parting of the waters’: the Radicals are to shift for themselves and the Whigs intend joining the Tories who, they find, are not so bad after all.⁴²⁴ Whether the Tories will accept them, and on what terms, remains to be seen. The fact is that this alliance has been on the tapis for the last 10 years, but always broke down on the question of the division of the spoil. Another progress: we shall very likely get all the rotten ‘representative working men’ into Parliament. That is just the place where we want them.

Pumps wants us to go Jersey this year; if we do, and Paul is out, will you come and join us there, and then come over to London? Steamers from *St Malo*—or will you wait in Paris till Jollymeier comes and brings you over? You might ruminare that a bit and let me know. We

^a philistines - ^b with the bourgeois

cannot leave before 8th or 10th August on account of Percy's business.⁴²¹

Love from Nim and Jollymeier.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL²⁶³

IN ZURICH

London, 24 July 1885

Dear Bebel,

I shall try and see whether this letter finds you in Zurich on the 26th, as you lead me to suppose.

So far as I can see from here, the row in the party is taking just the course we wanted. Frohme has got his comrades into as nasty a fix as possible, which cannot but please us, but luckily Liebknecht is there to save their bacon; he has notified the Society over here that *he* will now go to Frankfurt and put everything to rights⁴²⁵ but that should this fail, Frohme will have to be thrown out. The part being played by Liebknecht in all this business is the entertaining one of the hen that has hatched out ducklings: he had thought he was rearing 'edicated' socialists and lo! what emerged from the eggs but a clutch of cits and philistines! And now the worthy hen would have us believe that it's chickens after all, and not ducks, swimming about out there in bourgeois waters. Not that there's anything we can do except take him for what he is, illusions and all, but at Offenbach, if one is to believe the newspaper account, he really has gone a bit too far.⁴²⁶ Well, little will come of the whole affair save the party's awareness that it harbours two tendencies, *one* of which determines the course taken by the masses, the other that taken by the majority of the self-styled

leaders, and that these two courses must increasingly diverge. This will pave the way for an eventual split, and that is no bad thing. Our friends of the Right will think twice before promulgating another ukase.

You have put your finger unerringly on Kautsky's principal weakness. His youthful tendency to make hasty pronouncements has been further reinforced by the lousy methods of teaching history at universities — particularly those in Austria. There, students are systematically taught to produce historical papers with material which they know to be inadequate but are *expected to treat as adequate*, i. e. to write things they themselves must be aware are wrong but yet are supposed to regard as right. Kautsky, of course, began by doing this with considerable brashness. Then came literary life — writing for money, and copiously at that. So that he had absolutely no idea what is meant by really learned work. He thus burnt his fingers badly on a couple of occasions, first with his demographic thing and later with his articles on marriage in primitive times. Indeed in the friendliest possible manner and without mincing my words, I told him as much, nor do I spare him in this regard, mercilessly criticising all his stuff from *that* point of view.⁴²⁷ Luckily I am able to add by way of consolation that in my callow youth I did exactly the same thing, and that it was only from Marx that I learnt how one ought to work. In fact, it would already seem to have helped quite a lot.

The articles in the Berlin *Zeitung* are undoubtedly by Mehring; I, for one, don't know of anyone else in Berlin who writes so well.⁴²⁸ The chap has a great deal of talent and a lucid brain, but he's a calculating scoundrel and a born traitor. I hope you will bear this in mind should he return to our midst, as he surely will the moment times have changed.³⁵⁴

Walther and his wife came to see me, bringing with them papers with news of the row in the party. They are coming again on Sunday.^a

I sent off *Capital* II to you in Dresden as soon as it arrived. I have finished dictating the manuscript of III in so far as this was possible, and in the autumn, as soon as I have had a bit of a holiday and attended to all manner of other urgent work, I shall embark on the final editing. However, my mind is at rest, the ms. is now available in a legible hand and can, if the worst comes to the worst, be printed as it stands, even if I were to kick the bucket in the meantime. Until this

^a 26 July

had been done I was constantly on tenterhooks. Not that the editing of 3 very important parts, i. e. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole, won't involve a hell of a lot of work. But it will all come right in the end, and I look forward to the hullabaloo it will create when it appears. In the autumn we shall see two peaceful revolutions—the elections in France and over here.

In France, the *scrutin de liste*³⁷⁵ invented by the out-and-out Republicans and introduced by the Gambettists so as to make sure of remaining perpetually in power by means of the enforced election of lawyers and journalists, especially Parisians, will probably lead to the wholesale ejection of the Gambettists and will almost certainly bring Clemenceau and the Radicals⁴²⁹ to power, if not immediately, then in the near future. Of the bourgeois parties that now exist, they are the only *remaining possibility*. Clemenceau's panacea is departmental and communal self-government, i. e. decentralisation of the administration and abolition of bureaucracy. The very fact of embarking on this would, in France, be a revolution greater than any that has happened since 1800. But government by the Radicals in France means above all the emancipation of the proletariat from the *old* revolutionary tradition and a direct struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, i. e. the establishment of an ultimate, unequivocal state of hostilities.

In this country the new suffrage²⁹⁹ will completely upset the old state of the parties. The alliance between Whigs and Tories⁴³⁰ to form one big Conservative party, having for its basis landed property *as a single whole* rather than divided into two camps as hitherto, and comprising all the conservative elements of the bourgeoisie—banks, high finance, trade and some of the industries; alongside this, on the other hand, the radical bourgeoisie, i. e. the bulk of large-scale industry, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat as a tail for the time being, awakening once more to political life—that is a revolutionary starting-point such as England has not seen since 1689.⁴³¹

And on top of all that, old William,^a now on his last legs. It promises great things. You'll see.

Your
F. E.

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^a William I

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN
IN ZURICH

[London, 24 July 1885]

Dear Ede,

Bebel has written to say he will be in Zurich on or about the 26th inst.—the enclosed lines are for him^a; if he doesn't turn up, you will know how to deal with it.

Schorlemmer sends his regards.

The coming autumn elections in France^b and England²⁹⁹ will be the beginning of the end, and I trust we shall also see the end of old William.^c Now that the Russians seem to have come to a standstill, we shall doubtless have to make a start ourselves. And, if the three great Western nations begin to move, that will also do.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON¹
IN ST PETERSBURG⁴³²

London, 8 August 1885

Dear Sir,

I have considered your proposal to write a special preface for the Russian edition, but I do not see how I could do so in a satisfactory way.⁴³³

^a This probably refers to the previous letter. - ^b See this volume, pp. 320 and 330. -
^c William I

If you consider that it will be better not to refer to Rodbertus at all, then I would propose that you leave out the whole of the second part of the preface. As an exposition of the author's^a place in the history of economical science, it is far too incomplete, unless justified by the special circumstances under which it was written, viz. the attacks of the Rodbertus clique. This clique is extremely influential in Germany, makes a deal of noise, and will no doubt soon also be heard of in Russia. It is such a very cheap and convenient way of settling the whole question, to say that our author merely copied Rodbertus,²²⁵ that it is sure to be repeated everywhere where our author is read and discussed. But of all these matters you are the best judge, and so I leave the matter entirely in your own hands, the more so as I have not the remotest idea what your censorship would allow to pass and what not.

There are some favourable rumours spread here about our mutual friend³⁶²; can you give me any news?

Yours faithfully,

P. W. Rosher³⁶³

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 8 August 1885

My dear Laura,

To my astonishment I find that in all copies^b I can lay my hands on, the index has been omitted in the binding. I have at once written to Meissner for explanations and shall send you a copy as soon as received.

^a Marx's - ^b of the second volume of *Capital*

It is quite right that you should go to see Mother Vaillant at Viller-ville but that is no reason why you should not see us. We intend leaving here on Tuesday 11th, and shall be back September 11th at latest.⁴²¹ Schorlemmer will leave about same time for Germany and return via Paris about middle of September, and we cannot see any reason why you should not then come over with him. If Paul cannot go to Bordeaux *now*, he may manage to go *then* and so everything would be for the best.⁴³⁴

Your letter reminds me that indeed Deville's publisher can stop the translation for *one* year after publication of the original.⁴³⁵ But that year has passed, as it is now two years since I had the manuscript at Eastbourne,^a after which time it was brought out almost immediately. The man who is to bring out the translation is William Reeves, 185 Fleet St., but we cannot either procure a copy or hear anything more about it.

Tussy and Edward were to leave yesterday for Deal, but I have not yet had a note from them with their address. They intend staying from 10-14 days. The Kautskys have gone to Eastbourne. The mother Kautsky is a singularly unaffected woman for a German authoress. I have read one of her novels,^b it is not at all bad. However I advised her to study Balzac and she has taken a few volumes, but will her French be up to that sort of reading?

The *scrutin de liste*³⁷⁵ is no doubt at first against our people, but that does not matter so long as our people are not more numerous. If they succeed in making a decent show in Paris and some great provincial centres, there will be a necessity for the Radicals next time to make a combined list with them in some places, and then some may get in; besides by that time, they will be a good deal stronger, and a good many of the outside sects, Possibilists,²³⁷ etc., will be broken up. If this next election^c brings Clemenceau into office, I shall be quite satisfied. He is the last man, as far as I can see, that the bourgeoisie has to put forward. After him *le déluge*.⁴³⁶ And at the same time the elections here with an entirely new electorate²⁹⁹ which must be the beginning of the end; and old William^d on his last legs (he fell upstairs again yesterday at Gastein) — we shall see what we shall see.

After the elections here — which will, I hope, carry all the Potters, Cremers and other *faux frères*^e into Parliament — the basis for a so-

^a See this volume, p. 46. - ^b M. Kautsky, *Stefan vom Grillenhof*. - ^c See this volume, p. 330. - ^d William I - ^e false brothers

cialist movement here will become broader and firmer. And therefore I am glad to see that Hyndmanite movement will not take serious roots anywhere and that the simple, clumsy, wonderfully blundering, but *sincere* movement of the Socialist League³⁴⁶ is slowly and apparently surely gaining ground. *Justice* is of an increasing vacuousness, and *To-Day* is dying, if not dead.

Good-bye—I have to write a heap of letters yet—love from all of us.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY⁴³⁷

IN EASTBOURNE

[Jersey,] Sunday [16 August 1885]

Dear Kautsky,

After sundry vagaries we landed here the day before yesterday morning and, after some difficulty, found accommodation.⁴²¹ The little place has not changed much in 10 years and is still quite pleasant when the weather is fine. We had a very good passage, though towards morning Nim, Pumps and Lily were somewhat overcome, or rather only the last two; Nim lay down and felt better. In Guernsey we unloaded some 10 calves and 20 sheep, a pitiful sight, for all of them were sea-sick. A supply of Pilsener beer has been discovered and is being rapidly consumed; there is also very good red wine at 10d. a bottle. I shall now leave the party to its own devices, but if you have anything of interest to tell me I shall be glad to hear about it. Address

2 Royal Crescent, Jersey. Kind regards from us all to you, your wife and your mother.^a

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON
IN ST PETERSBURG

Jersey, 25 August 1885
31 Roseville Street

Dear Sir,

I have received your letters 6/18 and 9/21 August to which I shall reply on my return to London.⁴²¹ In the meantime herewith the letter for the Editor of the *Сверный вестник*.⁴³⁸ The reply you have, I suppose. If not, please write as before to London, when on my return in 14 days hence I will send a fresh copy.

Yours truly,
P. W. Rosher³⁶³

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER⁴³⁹
IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

Jersey, 26 August 1885
31 Roseville Street

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Sheets 16 and 17^b arrived in London after I had left — the Kaut-

^a Louise and Minna Kautsky - ^b of the second edition of Engels' *Anti-Dühring*

skys and Avelings were also away so there was no one there capable of sending on the large quantity of incoming printed matter in some semblance of order. It was not until Monday that Mrs Aveling arrived at my house and posted me the sheets. These went back to you corrected yesterday, Wednesday. A lot of words had been inserted that do not appear in the original and they completely distort the sense. And on sheet 17 in particular the pages are in a complete muddle: 257, 262, 263, 258, 259, 264, etc., which is totally inadmissible in this, the most important chapter of the book, and that is why I have taken the precaution of writing to you.

I shall be staying here for another fortnight.⁴²¹ *After Saturday, 3 September* everything had best be sent to London again.—We are literally stifling here during the present spell of fine weather, for the lack of rain has led to a serious water shortage on this pretty little island. I neither see nor hear anything of the party, which, if the latest storm in the parliamentary tea cup³⁷⁴ is anything to go by, is no calamity. Kindest regards to Ede.

Yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[Jersey,] 6 September 1885

Dear Kautsky,

We leave here^a on Thursday^b and therefore hope to see you both at our house on Sunday as usual. The *Volks-Zeitung* and □^c received

^a See this volume, p. 325. -^b 10 September. -^c This may refer to one of Louis Viereck's articles (Viereck = square in German).

with thanks. The chap wants to ingratiate himself with his papa.⁴⁴⁰ The latter, however, has better things to do. Not content with having created a French republic in 1870,⁹² he must now do his utmost to create a Spanish one.⁴⁴¹ I hope he succeeds. What jackasses these great men are!

Kindest regards to your wife and yourself from all of us.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER⁴³⁹

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

Jersey, 9 September 1885

Final *Dühring* proof received yesterday.²⁰⁸ I shall be going home tomorrow⁴²¹ and hence can do nothing with it here, especially as sheet 18 is in London, still to be corrected. The re-direction to this address of stuff sent to London has been handled very badly this year, hence the delay. My first task will be to see to these corrections as well as the preface.^a The rest has been taken note of and will follow. Please send the Wolff biography from the *Neue Welt* to London straight away; it, too, will then be promptly dealt with.⁴¹⁸ Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

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^a F. Engels, 'On the History of the Prussian Peasants. Introduction to Wilhelm Wolff's Pamphlet *The Silesian Milliard*.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[Jersey,] Thursday [10 September 1885]

Dear Kautsky,

We are still here thanks to a violent storm and while it lasts I cannot be responsible for allowing the children to sail. Nor is it likely that we shall be able to leave tomorrow.⁴²¹ So that puts paid to the prospect of seeing you both again at my home on Sunday.^a Kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 22 September 1885

My dear Laura,

Yesterday when I was going to write to you, people came in and made one miss the post. So I can only today send you the cheque £ 10. - which is all I can spare until I get some more money in which I hope won't be long. I have not heard from Schorlemmer but sup-

^a 13 September; see also this volume, p. 323.

pose you must as you expect him, and this being the case I naturally pass a step further and give expression to the expectation that he will bring you over with him which will be some time next week. We are quite ready for you.

While you had a fine row in Paris last Sunday,⁴⁴² Tussy and Aveling had one here in the East End, I will forward you *The Daily News* which has the best report and a leading article.⁴⁴³ They were here this morning, my opinion is that unless they can get the Radicals⁴¹⁵ who are very eager, apparently, on their side, to take the matter up, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*.^a The Socialists are nowhere, the Radicals are a power. If the question can be made one for which a dozen Radicals will have themselves arrested, the government will give way — if only in view of the elections.^b If only Socialists are the victims, they will go to prison without any effect.

I like the systematic and theoretically correct way in which the French go about working the *scrutin de liste*.³⁷⁵ Each party makes a complete list of its own. The consequence will be that everywhere the relatively strongest party will get all their own men in, the rest none. But at the same time each party will count itself and know its strength. And at the next elections, the necessary result will come out: that the parties nearest to each other will combine for a joint list according to their relative strength — unless indeed this is not already done now on the eve of the voting. *Scrutin de liste* compels Radicals⁴²⁹ and Socialists to have a joint list, as it will gradually compel Opportunists and Monarchists to join in a common list, at least in sundry departments. But it is characteristic of the *génie français*^c that this can only come out as the result of actual experience. It is this ideological, absolute character which gives to French political history its classical form, as compared to the muddled politics of other nations.

I am overwhelmed with proof-sheets, revisions, prefaces to write, etc., etc., so that I have not had the time yet to look seriously at your translation of the *Manifest*.⁴⁴⁴ As soon as the most urgent business is off, end of this week I hope, I shall go at it and then we can discuss the matter here. I am glad you are at last taking the bushel off your light and helping us to get some good things translated into French, our own native Frenchmen being apparently unable to understand Ger-

^a The game is not worth the candle. - ^b See this volume, p. 361. - ^c French mind

man. When you are once at it, you will continue by the law of the force of inertia, and gradually begin to like the treadmill.

Now the post-time is up and so good-bye until we see you here when I hope you will bring the rest of your translation.

Nim sends her love.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 23 September 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I. You will have received all the proofs of the *Dühring*.²⁰⁸ They were sent off from here on the 13th and 14th. If anything is missing kindly let me know; the type-setting was such that there could be absolutely no question of its being printed unless corrected by me.

The last clean proof to arrive here was No. 14. I await the remainder for the list of printing errors. Enclosed a provisional list which corrects a great deal of nonsense, much of which I myself had doubtless allowed to stand. However I shall go through the whole thing once again.

Herewith also and at long last the preface^a which caused me much toil and sweat. In the first place there were numerous interruptions. But then again my knowledge of natural science was very rusty and there was much I had to look up.

^a Engels' preface to the second edition of *Anti-Dühring*.

II. Please send me if possible (along with the preface) proofs (in duplicate) of *Marx vor den Geschwornen*,^a or at any rate clean proofs for the list of printing errors. The original edition is not devoid of bad errors; indeed, the worthy compositors sometimes exercise their minds more than the author would wish.

III. 'Preface',^b etc., to the *Communist Trial*^c will follow this week provided there are no interruptions.

IV. Immediately after that I shall put Lupus'^d biography to rights for the *Schlesische Milliarde* as well as anything else appertaining to it.⁴¹⁸ This will follow in a few days.

Please send me clean proofs of everything as well as proofs of my prefaces, etc. Also 12 copies of each of the above.

I am also seeing to Marx's photograph.

Then I shall get on with re-writing the *Peasant War*²¹³ as soon as I have got the revision of the French⁴⁴⁴ and English translations^e off my back.

Now that I am back home⁴²¹ the correction of proofs will be attended to speedily and punctually.

I have had a good few bones to pick with Mr Meissner about the get-up of the 2nd volume of *Capital*. In the preface and text the type is all jumbled up, although I had already gone a long way towards sorting this out in the proofs, so far as it was possible to do so. No excuse for that. Moreover, there are 500 copies with no index at all. I enclose one copy for the archives.¹⁴⁴

□^f is incorrigible.⁸ His appeal to his papa is touching⁴⁴⁰; the old man will take a stick to him.

With best wishes,

Yours,
F. Engels

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^a *Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen* - ^b F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - ^c K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^d Wilhelm Wolff's - ^e of the first volume of *Capital* (see also Note 56) - ^f Louis Viereck (Viereck = square in German) - ⁸ See this volume, pp. 323-24.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 8 October 1885

Dear Ede,

I enclose herewith the introduction^a to the *Revelations Concerning the Trial in Cologne*.^b If you want to print it initially as a feuilleton in the *Sozialdemokrat*, I should have no objection. Only you must come to some arrangement with Schlüter, who is probably awaiting it anxiously. Tell him he will be getting the notes and the proofs of Marx's text tomorrow, as also instructions about what to print of the enclosures^c from Stieber.^d

Karl Kautsky will be sending you a few *Kölnische Zeitungs* containing the first rational report on events in Bulgaria.⁴⁴⁵ The correspondent is in Belgrade and is well-informed, and since as yet Bismarck's interests have not provoked a hushing-up order, the report can, in fact, be regarded as an honest one. So the Russians have fallen into their own trap. They forgot that, as a lieutenant in the Prussian Guards, Alexander Battenberg is rightly relying on his 'comrade' William.^e

You worry too much about someone 'succeeding' you on the *Sozialdemokrat*. But the best of it is that they couldn't really put anyone in your place; any attempt on the part of those gentry to put one of their milksops would fail because 1) no one of that ilk would voluntarily go into exile, 2) the party would soon put a stop to it, nor would they continue to support such a paper. If you go, the *Sozialdemokrat* goes with you, and this coincidence is all to the good. August^f is likewise of the opinion that the Zurich establishments^g should in all circumstances remain in our hands, as indeed they probably will, since they would only be a burden to others. It is up to you, I believe, to ensure that we retain the press and bookshop, in which case the matter of the

^a F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - ^b K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850' and 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - ^d Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. - ^e William I - ^f Bebel - ^g the editorial board, bookshop and the press of the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*

Sozialdemokrat will resolve itself—if the worst comes to the worst—through the issue of a new paper after the demise of the present one. But you rate these gentlemen's offensive power too high.

The acquittal in Chemnitz is splendid.⁴⁴⁶ So it was too much of a good thing even for a Saxon judiciary.

The French elections mark a great advance. As I had previously said,^a the *scrutin de liste*³⁷⁵ has eliminated the Opportunists.⁴⁴⁷ But that it would eliminate them so thoroughly, that the upper, middle and part of the lower middle classes would take refuge with the Monarchists, and do so *en masse*, was something that could not have been foreseen—not, at any rate, outside France. The Opportunists played at being a 'Directory' and such was their corruption that it far outstripped even that of the Second Empire. But they didn't guarantee your bourgeois the peace and quiet that would be guaranteed him by a monarchy. The relapse into monarchism, here dubbed *Orleanism*, was all the more natural in that the entire *Centre gauche*^b (Ribot, *Journal des Débats*, etc.) are simply Orleanists disguised as Republicans; so that people prefer genuine Orleanists, and are even content, if there is no other alternative, with Bonapartists and Legitimists. The second ballots may already witness a setback, the bourgeois having taken fright at his own electoral victory, and hence a swing to radicalism. If not there will soon be a set-to.⁴⁴⁸

This much, at any rate, has been won—the ousting of the parties of the Centre, Monarchists versus Radicals, the few Centre Party deputies compelled to choose between joining one or the other. The situation is thus a *revolutionary* one. No one in France seriously believes in the monarchy as such, if only because of the vast number of Pretenders. But there is some possibility of the Orleanists attempting a coup, in which case there would be a show-down. At all events, this is how the question is presented: either *la république en danger*,^c or the setting up of a 'radical' republic. There would seem to be every probability that the latter will prevail. But then the Radicals⁴²⁹ will not only have to abide by their promises^a and replace Napoleon's centralised administration with the kind of self-government exercised by the departments and communes between 1792 and 1798; they will also have to rely on the support of the Socialists. We could wish for no more favourable situation. France remains faithful to her own logico-dialectical course of development. Contradictions are never sup-

^a Cf. this volume, p. 317. - ^b left centre - ^c Here: endanger the Republic.

pressed for very long, but are constantly being fought out. And we can wish for nothing better.

That the Socialists have so few votes (a source of considerable chagrin to Lafargue) is perfectly natural.⁴⁴⁹ The French working man does not chuck away his ballot paper. And since in France there are still *living* parties and not, as in Germany, only dead or dying ones, it is far from politic to vote for a Socialist who has no prospects, if by so doing one puts a Radical in the minority and an Opportunist in the majority. The fact is that there are considerable drawbacks to the practice of nominating candidates as a measure of strength in France, as there may be in some parts of Germany as soon as life returns to the political scene there. When once the course of things in France enables the Socialists to become a political opposition, i. e. when Clemenceau finally comes to the helm, we shall instantly gain millions of votes. But one shouldn't try and insist upon the French developing along *German* lines, although that is what many of our best men in Germany are doing.

A final verdict will not, of course, be possible until the second ballot is over.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 9 October 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Yesterday I sent the introduction^a to the *Cologne Trial*^b to Ede in case he wished to print it beforehand in the *Sozialdemokrat*, in which

^a F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - ^b K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

case he would have to arrange matters with you. ^a Herewith now the list of contents to show you how it has been arranged; also printing errors in, and notes on, the Leipzig edition of 1875. ⁴⁵⁰ I have included only the London Central Authority's two Addresses of March and June ^b; the *Cologne Address* of December 1850 ^c offers nothing new in the way of theory, being a detailed account of the party's break-up which today would be of importance only in a *circumstantial* history of the movement of those days.

The thing has got badly behindhand—through no fault of my own. *La bravoure, c'est dans le ventre*, ^d as Marshal Davout once said to his host, Marx's father-in-law, ^e when the latter congratulated him on his appetite. *L'esprit, c'est dans le ventre* ^f is what I say, after discovering to what depths of stupidity and incapacity one can be reduced by catarrh of the stomach. To sweat away for five hours at one page and then furiously consign what one has written to the flames—WELL, it's all over now, not to return for a very long time, or so I hope.

Tomorrow I shall tackle the introduction to the *Schlesische Milliarde*. ⁴¹⁸

As regards the June battle, however, there's nothing doing yet. I have become convinced that the things from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* can't be printed on their own without a *real* history of events. ⁴¹⁷ But this would call for specialised studies which can't be done until I have sorted out the piles of Marx's pamphlets, because only then shall I know *what* stuff I have yet to procure for the purpose. And only then could I embark on my studies. So for the time being this will have to be shelved.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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^a See this volume, p. 329. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850'; 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - ^c 'Proposal from the London District of the Communist League to the Central Authority in Cologne'. - ^d Bravery begins in the stomach. - ^e Ludwig von Westphalen - ^f Thinking begins in the stomach.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS

London, 13 October 1885

My dear Laura,

I return you by this post the first ten leaflets of the *Manifest* ^{***} — I was compelled to break off, firstly because it is 5 o'clock and secondly because there is a *lacune* of considerable extent which I cannot fill up. Paul I hope will send me what is wanting at once, and I will return it if possible same day. For I see now that it will not take me long. To tell you the truth, a translation of the *Manifest* always frightens me — it reminds me of weary hours spent in vain on that most untranslatable of documents. But you have hit the nail on the head. There are only two passages where you evidently were interrupted and did not catch the exact meaning. Otherwise the work is excellently done, and for the first time the pamphlet will appear in French in a form that we can be proud of and that will give the reader an idea of what the original is. As you go on towards the end, practice will make you still more perfect, and you will more and more, not translate, but reproduce in the other language. You will therefore take my notes — where the meaning is not in question — as mere suggestions on the value of which you will have to decide. I am so out of practice in speaking and writing French that positively an hour's chat with Johnny ^a acts upon me as a refresher upon a German Counsel, and really revives my capacity of thinking in French more than ever I should have dreamt.

I am glad indeed that you have taken this job in hand; that you would succeed if you once put your shoulder to the wheel, I never doubted, but I am glad to read the *thing done*. Now we have got you in harness and will do our best to keep you in it. It will be of infinite use to the movement in France,⁴ for you may be sure the learning of German will not make much progress for some time amongst them, and even those that do learn it, learn it like schoolboys and without perhaps ever speaking to a native. Poor Fortin's translation ^b do give me trouble enough — the German words are mere skeletons to him, no

^a Jean Longuet - ^b the French translation of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

flesh and blood—how can he reproduce them in French! And Mohr's vigorous German too!

Well here's to your health and success, after the *Manifest* anything you may tackle will appear child's play!

Dinner bell—so good-bye,

Yours ever,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[London, 14 October 1885]

The latest act is called:

* 'The Factory and Workshops Act, 1878, 41. Victoria, Chapter 16' *—and is obtainable from

* P. S. King & Son

Canada Building

King St., Westminster. *

Published with commentary in:

* 'The Factory & Workshops Act 1878'—by Alex Redgrave, Her Majesty's Inspector of Factories. 2nd ed., London, Shaw & Sons, Fetter Lane and Crane Court, Law Printers and Publishers. * 1879. 238 pages small octavo. 5 shillings.

The act itself costs a shilling at most.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935

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Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Zweiter Band.

Buch II: Der Cirkulationsprocess des Kapitals.

Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

A mon ami P. Lavrov
F. Engels
Hamburg 11. Juli 1885.

Hamburg

Verlag von Otto Meissner.

1885.

Зах. 674 oppo. 702. нолитупъ Писба Свеморопа

Title page of the first edition of Marx's *Capital*, Volume II, with Engels' dedication to Pyotr Lavrov

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV ⁴⁵¹

IN PARIS

[London,] 20 October 1885

My dear Lavrov,

Greatly to my annoyance I am unable to help you with sources for a history of Chartism. ⁴⁵² All my papers, books, journals, etc., which date back to that period went astray during the upheavals of 1848-49. The chief source, *The Northern Star*, is nowhere to be found, even in the north of England (Harney, its former editor-in-chief, is seeking in vain to get hold of a set). What the bourgeois have written on the subject is for the most part false; nor have I ever concerned myself with such literature. It's unfortunate, for if Harney doesn't write his memoirs, the history of the first great workers' party will be lost for ever. ⁴⁵³

Yours ever and with regret,

F. E.

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ENGELS TO SALO FAERBER

IN BRESLAU

London, 22 October 1885

Dear Sir,

I have received your esteemed note of the 15th, ⁴⁵⁴ though the seal was badly damaged; this I enclose herewith to the greater glory of Mr Stephan. ⁴⁵⁵

Since 1848 I, too, have frequently maintained that Russian tsardom is the last refuge and chief military reserve of European reaction. However there have been many changes in Russia over the past 20 years. The so-called emancipation of the peasants has created a thoroughly revolutionary situation in that it has placed the peasants in a situation in which they can neither live nor die. The rapid development of large-scale industry and its means of communication, the banks, etc., have merely aggravated this situation. Russia is faced with its own 1789. The Nihilists, ³⁵⁶ on the one hand, and a financial crisis on the other are symptomatic of this situation. Prior to the last loan, things had got to such a pitch that the Russian government was unable to raise money even in Berlin unless the loan was guaranteed by a representative assembly. Even Mendelssohn imposed this condition. At this point, when tsardom was in dire straits, Bismarck stepped in and authorised a loan, admittedly of a paltry 15 million pounds, a drop in the ocean, but enough to provide a few years' respite. ¹⁸² By doing so, Bismarck subjugated Russia, which even today cannot get money without him, but by the same token he also put off the Russian revolution and that certainly did not suit his book either. It is the first time Bismarck has done something that has not indirectly and contrary to his will turned out to our advantage and if he carries on in the same way we may no longer have any use for him.

So whether the Russians are to get any more money depends primarily on Bismarck and, if he consents, the financial philistines of Germany will be only too delighted to fall into the trap set for them. The fact that they will lose their money in the process concerns me not at all; on the contrary, it will serve them right, nor will the so-called German national capital suffer much in the process, since the portion we are interested in consists of ironworks, factories and other instruments of production, which can hardly be loaned to the Russians. The so-called money capital that is being lent is to a great extent bogus capital, lines of credit, and this is of little consequence. What would be of far greater consequence would be to make it difficult, if not impossible, for the Russians to obtain credit, but on this score your typical German punter has more faith in Bismarck than in us. At the moment it's quite impossible for me to spend time on an attempt to reduce the question of Russian state credits to the size it deserves; a work of that kind, however timely and worthwhile, would nevertheless call for a study of Russian conditions from Russian sources. As regards the actual financial side, a table showing the Russian

national debt for the past few years together with lists of stock market prices would suffice, but in the case of economic conditions within the country itself a great deal of study would be necessary if one was to form an accurate opinion. One of the main works is a survey carried out by the Russian War Ministry under the title *Военно-статистический сборник IV. Россія*,^a St Petersburg, 1871.

Also:

А. Скребицкий, *Крестьянское дѣло въ царствованіе Императора Александра II*,^b Bonn, 1862-68, 4 volumes, about 5,000 pages in all.

Also the сборники статистическихъ свѣдѣній^c of the individual *gouvernements*,^d in particular Moscow and Tver, and Янсонъ, *Сравнительная статистика Россіи и западно-европейскихъ государствъ*,^e St Petersburg, 1880, several volumes.

The Russian budgets aren't worth the paper they are written on. Sheer lies and invention, more so even than those presented in Prussia prior to 1848.

As to an evaluation of the armies now reorganised along Prussian lines, this is a sheer impossibility. We do know, however, that Austria and, to an even greater extent, Russia, lack the large educated class which alone can supply an adequate number of officers suitable for employment in armies of this size, and that, according to the account of their own General Kuropatkin,^f the Russians' conduct of operations in 1878 in Turkey was inferior to that of the Prussians in 1806.⁴⁵⁶

Liebknecht's letter returned herewith.⁴⁵⁷

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

F. Engels

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^a *Military Statistical Miscellany IV. Russia* - ^b A. Skrebitsky, *Peasants' Question during the Reign of Emperor Alexander II*. - ^c statistical miscellanies - ^d gubernias - ^e Yanson, *Russia and West European States: Comparative Statistics*. - ^f [Куropаткин] А. Куропаткинъ, *Ловча, Плевна и Шейново. (Изъ исторіи русско-турецкой войны 1877—1878 гг.)* (Lovech, Pleven and Sheinovo. (From the History of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78)); idem, *Дѣйствія отрядовъ генерала Скобелева въ русско-турецкую войну 1877—1878 годовъ. Ловча и Плевна* (Actions of General Skobelev's Detachments during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Lovech and Pleven).

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL ²⁶³

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 28 October 1885

Dear Bebel,

Liebknrecht's defeat in Saxony makes me feel sorry for him as a man, but in other respects it can do him no harm. He sets far too much store by popularity, to which he is prepared to sacrifice more than is proper, and it will therefore do him good to see for once that no amount of concessions to the Right will be of any avail, particularly when suffrage is qualified by age and property, in which case they won't even earn him the vote of the petty bourgeoisie. ⁴⁵⁸

Your news about the independent spirit of the masses gave me much pleasure. However, the gentlemen of the right wing will refuse to credit it until some of them have been made an example of; they live within the orbit of small cliques and what they hear they assume to be the voice of the people. The scales will soon fall from their eyes.

Chronic pressure on all the crucial branches of industry continues without remission, not only in this country, but also in France and America. Particularly in iron and cotton. It is an unprecedented state of affairs, for all that it is the inevitable consequence of the capitalist system: overproduction on such an enormous scale that it can't even manage to produce a crisis! The overproduction of disposable capital seeking investment is so great that the discount rate here actually fluctuates between 1 and 1½% per annum, while for money invested in short-term loans which can be paid off or called in any day (MONEY AT CALL) barely ½% per annum is obtainable. But the very fact that the financial capitalist prefers to invest his money thus rather than in new industrial enterprises amounts to an admission that the economy is, in his eyes, rotten to the core. And this fear of new investment and any kind of speculation, already a feature of the 1867 crisis, is the main reason for the inability to bring about an acute crisis. But sooner or later it is bound to come and then, with any luck, it will put paid to the old trades unions over here. These cheerfully retain the same old guild character which has attached to them from the start and becomes daily more unbearable. You might suppose that any

worker would be admitted without more ado by the engineers, carpenters, masons, etc., if he practised the relevant trade. Not a bit of it. Anyone seeking admission must have been bound apprentice for a number of years (usually 7) to a workman belonging to the trades union. This was supposed to restrict the number of workers, but served no other purpose, unless to bring in money to the master, in return for which he in fact did nothing at all. This may have been all right up till 1848. But since that time the tremendous growth of industry has created a class of workers as, if not more, numerous than their 'skilled' counterparts in the TRADES UNIONS, and who do as much, if not more, work than they, yet can never be admitted as members. These people have been *virtually brought into being* by the guild regulations of the TRADES UNIONS. But do you suppose the UNIONS have ever thought of doing away with this antiquated rubbish? Not on your life! I cannot remember ever reading about a proposal of that kind at a TRADES UNIONS Congress. The idiots want to reform society in accordance with their own set-up, not their own set-up in accordance with society's process of development. They cleave to their traditional superstitions, which harm only themselves, instead of getting rid of the lumber and thus doubling their numbers and strength to become in fact what they daily resemble less and less, namely anti-capitalist associations of all the workers of a particular trade. This will, I think, help you to understand much in the behaviour of these privileged working men.

What is really essential here is for the official labour leaders to get into Parliament *en masse*. That would speed things up all right; they'd quickly show themselves for what they were. The elections in November should prove a great help since 10 or 12 of them are sure to get in, provided their Liberal friends don't play some trick on them at the last moment.^a The first elections under a new system²⁹⁹ are always a kind of lottery and reveal only the least part of the revolution they usher in. But universal suffrage — and its recent introduction here will, in view of Britain's industrial lead and the absence of a peasant class, lend the workers as much power as it did in Germany — is today the best lever a proletarian movement can have, and so it will prove in this country also. That's why it is so important to smash the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION³⁰⁰ at the earliest opportunity, for its leaders are nothing but adventurers, literati and political careerists.

^a See this volume, p. 361.

Hyndman, their boss, is doing all he can to further this end; he can hardly wait for the little bell to strike twelve, as the folk song has it,^a and makes more of an ass of himself every day, so frantically does he pursue success. He's a wretched caricature of Lassalle.

I don't believe your opinion of the French is altogether fair. The masses in Paris are 'socialist' in the sense of a neutral middle-of-the-road socialism distilled over the course of years from Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux, etc. The only experience they have had of communism was that of Cabet's utopia, which culminated in a model colony in America, i. e. in flight from France and discord and semi-bankruptcy in America.⁴⁵⁹ Anything over and above that they derive from Germany, nor is it surprising that France which, from 1789 to 1850, was in every case the first country, not only to give clear expression to political ideas, but also to put them into practice, should be somewhat reluctant to endorse her own abdication as leader in matters of revolutionary theory; particularly after the glorious Commune and, what is more, vis-à-vis a Germany that was, to all intents and purposes, defeated by the Paris workers in 1870, seeing that the German army did not dare occupy Paris—a case, be it noted, unprecedented in the history of warfare. Then again, you should ask yourself how the French workers are to increase their discernment. Even the French edition of *Capital* is to them a sealed book; and not to them alone, but to a large part of the educated class as well. The only thing they are familiar with is my *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*⁴⁶⁰ which, in fact, has proved surprisingly influential. None of the leaders know German, except Vaillant whom I don't count because being a Blanquist, his tactics are totally different from our own. Mme Lafargue is now at last translating the *Manifesto* into good French.⁴⁴⁴ Even the leaders' knowledge of theory still leaves something to be desired and, if you knew Paris, you would realise how easy it is to live and agitate, as opposed to doing any serious work there. So whence is discernment to come to the French workers?

And now a further word about the elections. In Germany it is easy to vote for a Social Democrat because we are the only real opposition party and because the Reichstag has no say in things, so that ultimately it doesn't matter whether one votes at all, or for which of the 'dogs that we all are'⁴⁶¹ one does vote. The only other party to have

^a Engels refers to the poem *Kurzweil*, published in *Die Volkstlieder der Deutschen*, Vol. 4, Mannheim, 1835, pp. 174-75.

a policy of its own is, perhaps, the Centre.²²⁹ But in France, things are altogether different. There, the Chamber is the effective power in the land and there can be no question of chucking away one's ballot paper. Besides which it must be remembered that every time the Gambettists pit themselves against the Monarchists, and the Radicals⁴²⁹ against the Gambettists, a step forward is made. And indeed practice proves this to be the case. In Germany Junker-style reaction has flourished since 1870 and everything is retrogressing. In France, they have the best schools in the world with compulsory education to match, and whereas Bismarck cannot get rid of the clergy,⁴⁶² the French have already ousted them completely from their schools. Our German army, apart from the growing Social Democratic element, is a more infamous tool of reaction than ever before. In France, general conscription has brought the army infinitely closer to the people, and *it is primarily the army* that makes monarchy impossible (cf. 1878).⁴⁶³ And if the Radicals come to the helm and are compelled to implement their programme, there will be decentralisation of the administration, self-government for departments and communes, as in America and in the France of 1792-98, and separation of Church and State, every man to pay his own parson. We are not yet in a position to direct historical developments either in Germany or in France. This does not mean that those developments are standing still, however, but only that in the German Empire they are temporarily retrogressing, while in France they are for all that advancing. But our turn will not come — such is the slow but sure course of history — until the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, having demonstrated, publicly and in practice, their inability to govern the country, find themselves up a gum tree. (After a French revolution we might, somewhat *anticipando*,^a come to power in Germany but *only if carried there by a European tidal wave*.) That is why the instinct of the Paris workers in always supporting the most radical party *possible* is right from one point of view. As soon as the Radicals come to the helm, the same instinct will drive the workers into the arms of the Communists, for the Radicals are pledged to their *old*, muddled, socialist (*not* communist) programme and this will be their undoing. And then instinct and reason will coincide; the most radical party possible will then be the party of the proletariat as such, and things will happen fast. But the

^a before our time

fact is that the English and the French have long since forgotten their pre-revolutionary state of virginity, whereas we Germans, not having had a revolution *of our own*, are still trailing around with this sometimes very awkward encumbrance. Both conditions have their advantages and disadvantages; but it would be most unjust to use the same one-sided standard in assessing the varying attitudes of the workers in those three countries.

Kautsky has given me Adler's very superficial book^a which is largely based on Stieber.^b I shall help him write the review.^c

Won't you come over here some time? Should business take you to the Rhine, you could be here in no time.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 7 November 1885

My dear Laura,

I have no objection whatever to write a short introduction to the *Manifesto*. But in order to enable me to do so, I ought to know what passages in the old preface^d would appear objectionable to the delicate ears of your Parisian public. I confess I cannot find them out, unless it is one about the Commune which was put in by Mohr himself and on which he particularly insisted.⁴⁶⁴ Although in my opinion our Paris friends give way by far too much to these susceptibilities, which ought to be put down as much as possible, I am quite willing

^a G. Adler, *Die Geschichte der ersten sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland...* -

^b Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. - ^c See this volume, p. 362. - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'.

um des lieben Friedens willen^a to please them as much as I can, without thereby falsifying history or strengthening the belief that all light necessarily comes from Paris. It is in my opinion utterly impossible for the *Manifesto* to go out in any language without stating how it originated. The conclusion of II, and the whole of III and IV are utterly incomprehensible without that.

'Mr Broadhouse' has actually had the impudence of having Aveling asked — through Reeves, the publisher — whether I would not collaborate with him in the translation of the *Capital!*^b I suppose you have received the last No. of the *Commonweal*? If you will let me know what Nos. you are short of, I'll see that you get them.

Nim is as jolly as ever, we have just had a bottle of Pilsener together. She was last night at the Lyceum with Pumps to see 'Olivia',⁴⁶⁵ says it is a regular *Rührstück*,^c Irving no great shakes, Ellen Terry very good.

Lavigne says he sent his translation of the *18 Brumaire* to Paul but nothing came of it, what was the reason? I have the thing here, but as I am under an engagement with Fortin,^d dare not look at it, otherwise I might be accused of having made undue use of it, so I cannot form a judgment as to its merits.⁴⁶⁶

Next week the grand political spree begins. On the 10th the French Chambers, on the 19th or thereabouts the German Reichstag, and a week later the elections here.^e Whatever they may turn out in the shape of a Parliament, two things are certain: the Irish will command the whole by their 80-90 votes, and the Great Liberal Party will come, at last, to an end by the separation of the Whigs from the Radicals and the preparation if not the completion, of the Union between Whigs and Tories.⁴¹⁵

Kind regards to Paul (11,500 votes)⁴⁶⁷ which I hope have not quite crushed him. He'll have better luck next year.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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^a for the sake of peace - ^b See this volume, p. 313. - ^c melodrama - ^d See this volume, pp. 358-59. - ^e *Ibid.*, p. 361.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 11 November 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Have received clean sheets of *Dühring* up to 20 incl. ²⁰⁸; ending and prefaces are still to come. As soon as these arrive you will be sent the list of printing errors.

The introduction to the *Schlesische Milliarde* ⁴¹⁸ is in hand and would have been finished long ago but for a series of interruptions of all kinds. It has been lying heavily on my conscience, so you may be sure that it will not be held up for a moment longer than is absolutely necessary.

You will have received the corrected proofs of the *Communist League*. ^a You might be good enough to tell Ede that I had already received via Kautsky the book by a sparrow calling itself 'Adler', ^b and had deliberately not mentioned it because it, too, draws on Stieber ^c as the final authority. The passage about Buttermilch-Born was worded in that way precisely because the book left me in no doubt that Born had surreptitiously poured out some buttermilk ^d for Adler but had refused (see preface) to allow his name to appear. ⁴⁶⁸ Hence he had to be given a kick or two in the pants.

Dietz has written to Kautsky saying he wants to take over publication of my *Origin* ^e now and asking whether I would have any objection. I have told him I have no objection provided he comes to an agreement with you and Schabelitz. So you should act in whatever way you think best. All being well, Dietz promises to place the work in the bookshops, which would of course be most acceptable to us, but then, too, Zurich ^f is also entitled to say now that it has been circulating for

^a F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League'. - ^b Adler = eagle in German; this refers to G. Adler, *Die Geschichte der ersten sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland...*; see also this volume, p. 344. - ^c Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. - ^d Born's real name was Buttermilch = buttermilk in German. - ^e *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - ^f The editorial board and the press of *Der Sozialdemokrat* were located in Zurich, as well as the bookshop (Volksbuchhandlung).

a year without being banned. On the other hand it was his shilly-shallying which caused the printing to drag on for months; it's all very well for him to talk after arriving belatedly on the scene when others have already taken the risks. Moreover I'm not acquainted with the actual details of what was discussed at the time and hence have no alternative but to refer him to you. So please settle the affair in any way you think fit.

I have found another whole mass of printing errors in the *Dühring* — all of which I myself had allowed to stand. I have become so accustomed to correcting *two* proofs — one for the meaning, the other for individual errors — that when there isn't an opportunity of doing so I allow utter nonsense to stand. Hence most of them were in the first 11 sheets which were, moreover, corrected in difficult circumstances.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON
IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 13 November 1885

Dear Sir,

I received your two letters 6/18 and 9/21 August while I was in Jersey^a and immediately sent you the letter you desired for the *Сверфный вестникъ*.⁴³⁸ Since then I have been prevented by press of work from replying more fully to these letters as well as that of the 25 August/5 September.

^a See this volume, p. 322.

I had no doubt that the 2nd volume^a would afford you the same pleasure as it has done to me. The developments it contains are indeed of such a superior order that the vulgar reader will not take the trouble to fathom them and to follow them out. This is actually the case in Germany where all historical science, including political economy, has fallen so low that it can scarcely fall any lower. Our *Kathedersozialisten*⁵⁴ have never been much more, theoretically, than slightly philanthropic *Vulgärokonomen*,^b and now they have sunk to the level of simple apologists of Bismarck's *Staats-Sozialismus*.^c To them, the 2nd volume will always remain a sealed book. It is a fine piece of what Hegel calls *die Ironie der Weltgeschichte*,^{d 386} that German historical science, by the fact of the elevation of Germany to the position of the first European power, should be again reduced to the same vile state to which it was reduced by the deepest political degradation of Germany, after the Thirty Years' War.⁴⁶⁹ But such is the fact. And thus, German 'Science' stares at this new volume without being able to understand it; only, a wholesome fear of the consequences prevents them from criticising it in public, and so, official economic literature observes a cautious silence with regard to it. The 3rd volume^e will however compel them to speak out.

Of that 3rd volume, I have completed the first transcript from the original into a legible manuscript. Three-fourths of it are almost fit for publication as they are; but the last fourth, or perhaps third, will require a great deal of work: the first section (relation of *Mehrwertsrate* to *Profiträte*)^f and then the subsequent sections on credit and partly also on *Grundrente*^g; besides certain portions of almost all the other sections. For the last two months I have been compelled to attend to a good deal of other work which had been neglected by my exclusive attention to the 2nd and 3rd volumes.⁴ This will continue for some time yet, and then, maybe, the revision of the English translation of Volume I⁵⁶ which is nearly completed, will occupy me for a month longer, but then I shall start with the 3rd volume and carry it out to the end. Maybe it will be published in 2 sections, as it will contain about 1,000 pages.

I thank you very much for your extracts from the author's letters from 1879 to 1881.⁴⁷⁰ I could not read them without a sorrowful

^a of *Capital* - ^b vulgar economists - ^c state socialism - ^d the irony of world history - ^e of *Capital* - ^f rate of surplus value to rate of profit - ^g ground rent (or rent of land)

smile. Alas, we are so used to these excuses for the non-completion of the work! Whenever the state of his health made it impossible for him to go on with it, this impossibility preyed heavily upon his mind, and he was only too glad if he could only find out some theoretical excuse why the work should not then be completed. All these arguments he has at the time made use of vis-à-vis *de moi*^a; they seemed to ease his conscience.

After completing the 3rd volume and selecting from the other ms. the portions fit for publication, I shall very likely try to collect such of the author's correspondence as is scientifically important, and there his letters to you rank amongst the first. When that time comes, I shall therefore avail myself of your kind offer of placing at my disposal copies of these letters.

I am often in the case of forwarding to you pamphlets, etc.—republications of the author's and my own writings, etc., but do not know whether it would be safe to send them direct to you. I should be much obliged if you would tell me what to do.

I hope our mutual friend's^b health is improving, notwithstanding the bad prognosis of his doctors.³⁶² Any news with regard to him will always be welcome.

That crisis of which the author speaks in his letter, was indeed an exceptional one.⁴⁷¹ The fact is it continues still, all Europe and America suffer under it to this day. The absence of the financial crash is one cause of it. But the principal cause is undoubtedly the totally changed state of the *Weltmarkt*.^c Since 1870, Germany and especially America have become England's rivals in modern industry, while most other European countries have so far developed their own manufactures as to cease to be dependent on England. The consequence has been the spreading of the process of overproduction over a far larger area than when it was mainly confined to England, and has taken — up to now — a chronic instead of an acute character. By thus delaying the thunderstorm which formerly cleared the atmosphere every ten years, this continued chronic depression must prepare a crash of a violence and extent such as we have never known before. And the more so as the agricultural crisis of which the author speaks, has also continued up to now, has been extended to almost all

^a myself - ^b Hermann Lopatin's - ^c world market

European countries; and must continue while the virgin чернозем^a of the Western American prairies remains unexhausted.

Very faithfully yours,

P. W. Rosher³⁶³

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE⁴⁷²

IN PARIS

London, 14 November 1885

My dear Lafargue,

Thanks for the portrait — what a surly face they make me pull in France, a country where they nevertheless laugh from time to time, or so it is said. Perhaps they will laugh at me too. Nim says it makes me look ten years older, out of flattery no doubt.

The insurrections of May 1849 were provoked by the refusal of most of the German governments to accept the constitution for Germany as a whole approved by the National Assembly at Frankfurt.⁴⁷³ This assembly, which never had any real power and neglected any steps to acquire some, also contrived to lose the last vestige of its moral power just at the moment when it had realised on paper its somewhat romantic 'constitution'. Nevertheless that constitution was then the sole banner under which it was still possible to try to launch a new movement — if they were not to deprive themselves of one after victory had been achieved. In the smaller states, therefore, they sought to compel the governments to recognise it. There followed the insurrections in Dresden (3 May) and, a few days later, in the Bavarian Palatinate and the Grand Duchy of Baden where the Grand Duke^b took flight, the army having declared itself for the people.

The Dresden insurrection was put down after a heroic resistance — the fighting went on for four days — with the help of Prussian troops.

^a (Russ.) black earth - ^b Leopold

(In Prussia reaction had gained the upper hand as a result of the coup d'état of November 1848; Berlin was disarmed and placed under a state of siege.) But to subdue the Palatinate and Baden an army was needed. So in Prussia they made a start by calling the *Landwehr* ⁴⁷⁴ to arms. At Iserlohn (Westphalia) and Elberfeld (Rhenish Prussia) men refused to march. Troops were sent, who found the towns barricaded and were repulsed. About a fortnight later Iserlohn was taken after two days' resistance. Elberfeld offered relatively few opportunities for defence and so, with troops bearing down on them from every side, the defenders, about a thousand in number, resolved to fight their way through to the states that had risen in the south. They were cut to pieces en route, but a fair number managed to get down there with the help of the population. I was aide-de-camp to Mirbach, the commandant at Elberfeld. Before carrying out his plan he sent me on a mission to Cologne, in other words into the enemy's camp, where I hid in Daniels' house. The truth is that he did not want to have a known communist in his corps for fear of alarming the bourgeoisie of the regions through which he was to pass. He made a rendezvous with me in the Palatinate but failed to turn up, having been taken prisoner (acquitted by the Elberfeld jury a year later). Mirbach had gone through the campaigns in Greece from 1825 to 1829 and Poland from 1830 to 1831; he later again returned to Greece where he died.

Meanwhile the insurrection in the south was gathering strength, but it made the fatal blunder of not attacking. The troops of the small adjacent states were only looking for a pretext to join the insurrection, at that time they were determined not to fight against the people. A pretext was then provided, namely that they should advance on Frankfurt in order to protect the assembly against the Prussian and Austrian soldiers who were surrounding the place. After the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Marx and I had gone to Mannheim to recommend this move to the leaders. But they produced all manner of excuses — that the army was disorganised by the flight of their former officers, that they were short of everything, etc., etc.

About the beginning of June the Prussians on the one hand and the Bavarians on the other, reinforced by those same troops from the smaller states whom we could have won over with greater daring, but who saw themselves drowned in an ocean of reactionary armies, advanced on the insurgent areas. It took them no more than a week to clear the Palatinate — there were 36,000 Prussians against 8-9,000 insurgents, and the two fortresses of the country were in reactionary

hands. We withdrew to the troops in Baden, some 8,000 men of the line and 12,000 irregulars, themselves beset by 30,000 reactionary troops. There were four general engagements in which numerical superiority and the violation of Württemberg territory, a move that enabled them to outflank us at the decisive moment, gave the reactionaries the advantage. After six weeks of fighting the remains of the rebel army had to cross over into Switzerland.

During this war I was aide-de-camp to Colonel Willich who commanded a corps of irregulars of marked proletarian character. I took part in three minor engagements and also in the last decisive battle of the Murg.

That, I trust, will enable you to sum the whole thing up in a few lines if you absolutely insist on writing a commentary on Citizen Clarus' fine work.

I trust your interesting furuncle will discharge its purulent contents before long. Wash the sore with 2% carbolic acid in 98% water; it's a capital way of killing suppurating cells.

A kiss for Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN BERLIN

London, 17 November 1885

Dear Bebel,

Just another word or two before you take your seat in the Reichstag.⁴⁷⁵

In answer to Schumacher's long letter defending his attitude to the Steamship Subsidies, ⁴⁷⁶ I have written to him at equal length ³⁹ to say that I adhere to my old standpoint, namely, that if in order to respect the alleged prejudices of certain voters, you do not want to vote *unconditionally* against state aid paid to the bourgeoisie out of the workers' and peasants' pockets, you may, in my view, vote in favour only if a like amount of state aid is directly allocated for the benefit of the workers, both urban and rural — primarily for agricultural workers' cooperatives on state-owned land.

To avoid misunderstandings I have asked him, in the event of his discussing this letter with other comrades, always to show them *the whole letter*.

Liebknecht has certainly come most bravely to the fore all of a sudden. His 'collection' written in jail, ⁴⁷⁷ his study of the all but forgotten *Capital*, and the prospect, suggested to him by the Right, of falling between two stools, seem to have proved extremely beneficial. I shall be very happy if only it lasts. He will certainly be in the right place when the crucial moment comes, but until then he will cause the rest of us an appalling amount of trouble with that habit he has of hushing things up, which he regards as diplomacy and at which he is, it is true, far more adept than the rest of us.

War in Europe is beginning to pose a serious threat to us. So those miserable remnants of what once were nations, the Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and other rapacious riff-raff on whose behalf your liberal philistine enthuses in the interests of Russia, are begrudging one another the very air they breathe and must inevitably slit each other's greedy throats. That would be marvellous and would serve the philistine nationality-mongers right, were it not for the fact that each of these pigmy tribes holds the key to peace or war in Europe. The first shot has been fired at Dragoman, ⁴⁷⁸ but when and where the last will be fired, no one can say.

Our movement is getting on so splendidly, everywhere and without exception circumstances are turning out so much in our favour and our need for another few years of undisturbed development and consolidation is so great, that the last thing we want is a big political row. It would consign our movement to the background for years on end, after which we should doubtless have to start belatedly all over again, as after 1850.

On the other hand, a war might bring about a revolution in Paris

which in turn would indirectly provide fuel for the movement in the rest of Europe, and in that case the French—no doubt violently chauvinist in the circumstances—would assume the leadership, a role for which their level of theoretical development qualifies them least of all. A few peaceful years of Radical rule⁴²⁹ would be the very thing for the French who, since 1871, have made very good progress politically thanks to the instinctive, logical consistency that is peculiar to them. For these Radicals have adopted in its entirety the current middle-of-the-road, jumbled-up socialism deriving from Louis Blanc, Proudhon, etc., and it would be of inestimable value to us were they to be given the opportunity to demolish such empty verbiage in practice.

On the other hand, should a major war break out, it will place six million men in the field and cost an unprecedented amount of money. There will be bloodshed, devastation and, finally, a state of prostration such as has never been known before. That's why all these gentlemen are so afraid of it. One may further predict that if this war comes, it will be the last one; it will mark the end of the class state politically, militarily, economically (as also financially) and morally. It could lead to a situation in which the war machine turns rebellious and refuses to engage in prolonged mutual slaughter for the sake of the lousy Balkan nations. The watchword of the class state is *après nous le déluge*⁴³⁶; but after the deluge it's we who shall come and only we.

So everything remains as it was: whatever happens, it will ultimately provide a means for bringing our party to power and putting paid to all the old nonsense. But I must say I hope it will happen without this massacre; there's no need for it. If it's got to be, however, I only hope that when the moment arrives my old disability won't prevent me mounting a horse.

Your old friend

F. E.

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ENGELS TO MINNA KAUTSKY ⁴⁷⁹

IN VIENNA

London, 26 November 1885

Dear Mrs Kautsky,

(You will, I hope, permit me to use this simple form of address, for why should two people like ourselves continue to stand on ceremony?) First of all, very many thanks for your kind references to myself. ⁴⁸⁰ I was very sorry not to have been able to spend more time with you while you were here; it gave me infinite pleasure, I do assure you, to meet for once a German authoress who had also remained a simple woman — in this respect it has been my misfortune to meet only affected, ‘edicated’^a Berlin ladies of the kind one would not urge to take up the kitchen spoon again, if only because they would eventually wreak more havoc with it than with the pen. So I hope that it won’t be too long before you cross the Narrow Seas again, when you and I shall be able to ramble gently round London and its purlieus, exchanging light-hearted banter lest our conversation should become altogether too serious.

That London didn’t please you, I can readily believe. Some years ago I used to feel much the same. It is difficult to accustom oneself to the gloomy atmosphere and, for the most part, gloomy people, to the reserve, the class distinctions in social life, to living shut up indoors as the climate demands. One has to temper somewhat the animal spirits imported from the Continent and let the barometer of *joie de vivre* fall from, say, 760 to 750 millimetres, until one finally becomes acclimatised. Then one gradually reconciles oneself to the whole thing, discovering that the place has its good points, that people are on the whole more straightforward and reliable than elsewhere, that no city is better suited to the writing of learned works than London, and that the absence of harassment by the police makes up for a great deal. I know and love Paris but, given the choice, I would rather settle permanently in London than there. Paris can only be enjoyed properly if you become a Parisian yourself, with all the prejudices of a Parisian, if

^a In the original ‘jebildete’ (Berlin dialect).

you confine your interests primarily to things Parisian and accustom yourself to believing that Paris is the centre of the world, the be-all and end-all. London is uglier yet more grandiose than Paris, and is the true centre of world trade; it also offers a far greater variety. But London also permits one to maintain a completely neutral attitude towards one's surroundings as a whole, as is essential to scientific and, indeed, artistic impartiality. One adores Paris and Vienna, detests Berlin, but towards London one's feelings are those of neutral indifference and objectivity. And that also counts for something.

Apropos Berlin. I am glad to hear that that wretched place is at last succeeding in becoming a metropolis. But as Rahel Varnhagen said as much as 70 years ago: In Berlin everything becomes *shabby*, so that Berlin would seem to be trying to show the rest of the world just how shabby a metropolis can be. Only poison all eddicated Berliners, conjure up at least tolerable surroundings there, and rebuild the whole place from the foundations up, and something decent might be made of it. But not, I think, so long as *that* dialect continues to be spoken there.

I have now also read *Die Alten und die Neuen*,^a for which many thanks. The descriptions of the life of the salt miners are as masterly as were those of the peasants in *Stefan*.^b Again, your descriptions of life in Viennese society are also very good on the whole. Vienna is, after all, the only German city that has a society, whereas Berlin has only 'certain circles' and even more uncertain ones, which is why it is productive only of novels about literati, civil servants and actors. Whether the action in this part of your book does not move rather too rapidly in places you are better able to judge than I; much that appears to do so to the likes of us, may seem perfectly natural to you in Vienna because of that city's peculiarly international character with its admixture of southern and east European elements. In both spheres, too, I find your customary clear-cut individualisation; each character is a type but at the same time a definite individual, a 'This One' as old Hegel puts it, and that is how it ought to be. But now, if only for the sake of impartiality, I really must find something to criticise, and this brings me to Arnold. The latter is indeed altogether too well-behaved and, when he is finally killed in a landslide, one can only reconcile it with poetic justice by telling oneself, for instance, that he was too good for this world. It is always a bad thing, however,

^a a novel by Minna Kautsky - ^b M. Kautsky, *Stefan vom Grillenhof*.

for an author to dote on his own hero, and you would seem to me to have erred somewhat in this direction. With Elsa, individualisation is still in evidence, if not altogether devoid of idealisation, but with Arnold the man tends rather to be absorbed into the principle.

The source of this failing, however, may be discovered in the novel itself. In this book you obviously felt impelled to take sides openly, to testify to your convictions before the whole world. Now that you have done so, it is something you can put behind you and have no need to repeat again in the same form. I am not at all opposed to tendentious poetry as such. The father of tragedy, Aeschylus, and the father of comedy, Aristophanes, were both strongly tendentious poets, as were Dante and Cervantes, and the best thing about Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* is that it was the first politically tendentious drama in Germany. The Russians and Norwegians of today, who are producing first-rate novels, are all tendentious writers. But I believe that the tendency should spring from the situation and action as such, without its being expressly alluded to, nor is there any need for the writer to present the reader with the future historical solution to the social conflicts he describes. Furthermore, in present circumstances, the novel is mainly directed at readers in bourgeois—i. e. not our own immediate—circles and, such being the case, it is my belief that the novel of socialist tendency wholly fulfils its mission if, by providing a faithful account of actual conditions, it destroys the prevailing conventional illusions on the subject, shakes the optimism of the bourgeois world and inexorably calls in question the permanent validity of things as they are, even though it may not proffer a solution or, indeed, in certain circumstances, appear to take sides. Your detailed knowledge and your wonderfully true-to-life descriptions, both of the Austrian peasantry and of Viennese 'society', provide ample material for this, and you have already shown in *Stefan* that you are also capable of handling your protagonists with a nice irony which testifies to the command an author has over his creatures.

But now I must desist, otherwise you'll think me altogether too prolix. Over here everything goes on much as usual; Karl and his wife^a are learning physiology at Aveling's evening classes and are also busily engaged in other respects; I, too, am up to my eyes in work; Lenchen, Pumps and her husband^b are going to the theatre tonight to see a melodrama and meanwhile old Europe is beginning to bestir herself

^a Karl and Louise Kautsky - ^b Percy White Rosher

again, and high time too. I only hope I shall have time to complete the third volume of *Capital* and then the fun can begin.

Assuring you of my cordial feelings and sincere regard, I remain,
Madam,

Yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAVIGNE ⁴⁸¹

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London,] 1 December 1885

Citizen,

When I received your letter of 8 August, ⁴⁶⁶ together with your manuscript, I was on the point of leaving for Jersey, whence I did not return until 14 September. ⁴²¹ Since then I have had so much urgent work to deal with that I was unable to revert to the French translation of the *18th Brumaire*. Now, having at last had time to come back to it, I find myself placed between two rival mss. ⁴⁸²

To begin with, it is impossible for me to set myself up as judge in a dispute when I am unable to make a careful investigation either of its causes or of its substance. All I know is that Fortin had been in correspondence with Marx for a number of years prior to the death of the latter, ⁴⁸³ that he asked me to revise his translation, that I promised him I would do so and that I have already attended to the revision of part of his ms. Accordingly I feel I am committed to him. Such being the position, I do not consider that I have the right to use your work in any way. I shall take good care not to read a single page, for were it to prove better than Fortin's, I should be unable to prevent

myself from introducing some of your turns of speech into his ms. And that would be unfair to you and also, perhaps, to Fortin, since the two of you no longer get on with one another. Much to my regret, the need for me to be impartial prevents my familiarising myself with your work.

I am holding the ms. at your disposal.

The translation of the 2nd volume of *Capital* is an extremely difficult business. Moreover it will be absolutely impossible for me to undertake any revision at all next year. And then there are still many other things to consider. At the moment I cannot commit myself to anyone; that must lie in the future.

Yours sincerely

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT ⁴⁸⁴

IN BERLIN

London, 1 December 1885

Dear Liebknecht,

As regards Russia's finances, ⁴⁸⁵ see Kolb's *Statistik*, 1875 ed.,^a p. 499 et seq. The last loan shown therein is that of November 1873 for 15 million pounds. After that a further loan of 15 million pounds was raised with great difficulty in 1875, but the Russians were also advised by the bankers that this would be the last time, failing a guarantee by a representative assembly. For after provisional arrangements had been made in 1869 in respect of the funds appropriated for railway purposes, there were further borrowings:

^a G. Fr. Kolb, *Handbuch der vergleichenden Statistik — der Völkerzustands- und Staatenkunde*.

1870	—	12	million	pounds
1871	—	12	”	”
1872	—	15	”	”
1873	—	15	”	”
1875	—	15	”	”

i. e. between 1870 and 1875, six years, 69 million pounds = 1,380 million marks. They now had to think up some new dodges. Hence, 1) an *internal* loan. Though this was in fact a forced loan, it proved an almost complete flop. For there was little capital available in the country and the government was therefore compelled to lend its own money (paper money) to itself so as to give the impression that the loan had nevertheless been over-subscribed. 2) The Transcaucasian Railway Loan of £ 8,904,200. This was raised (1880 or 1881?) abroad on the security of the Poti to Baku line, but most of it had to be expended on the construction of the line itself; hence the financial straits persisted. Throughout this time repeated approaches were made to the bankers, all of them in vain. Finally the Minister for Finance^a set off for the West in person — Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam; London was omitted from the itinerary as being quite hopeless. Everywhere he met with a rebuff; even Mendelssohn, the court banker in Berlin, is said to have asked for a parliamentary guarantee point-blank; in any case he, too, turned him away. The only remaining question was whether the Russian Duma ought to be convoked a year sooner or a year later; there was no other way out. Giers then visited Friedrichsruh and abased himself, whereupon Bismarck got hold of 15 million pounds for him in Germany, thereby postponing the evil day a little longer.¹⁸²

(One of the conclusions we may draw from the above is that Russia won't be able to start a war without Bismarck's permission, for it can only raise money under his protection and the 15 million have long since been frittered away. So if it starts a war after all, or seriously threatens to do so, Bismarck will be directly responsible.)

I don't read *The Economist*, nor do I know where a run of them is to be found, for the many clubs have been the ruin of nearly all the reading-rooms here. I shall ask Kautsky to try and see if he can lay his hands on the *Economist*, *Statist*, *Bullionist* and *Money Market Review* and make extracts for you.

^a Nikolai Bunge

Although your letter of 26 November was posted between 11 and 12 in the morning, it didn't reach me until the morning of 28 November; moreover the gum had been tampered with, as you will see from the envelope which I return herewith. It ought to have arrived here on the evening of 27 November. A bible is surely placed on the altar for the sole purpose of being *opened*.⁴⁵⁵

Your speech at the first budget reading was sent to me by Bebel from Dresden. It was very good; I'm only surprised that you had so few interruptions. After all, you did elicit the obligatory call to order.⁴⁸⁶

Your
F. E.

The seal on this letter is a count's coronet and the monogram JC intertwined.

The elections here are going very nicely.⁴⁸⁷ For the first time the Irish in England have voted *en masse* for *one* side, to wit the Tories. In doing so they have shown the Liberals to what extent they can tip the scales, even in England. The 80 or 85 HOME RULERS OVER here — one of them has actually been elected in Liverpool! — correspond to the Centre²²⁹ in the Reichstag and are capable of rendering any government powerless. Parnell must now show what he is worth.

Incidentally, the *new* 'Manchesterism' is also proving victorious, in other words the theory of retaliatory tariffs, which is, of course, even more senseless in this country than in Germany, but has been taken up by the new generation of manufacturers after eight years of rotten trade.⁴⁸⁸ Next there is Gladstone's opportunist weakness and then, too, Chamberlain's inept manner, first aggressive, then ingratiating, which evoked the cry THE CHURCH IN DANGER!⁴⁸⁹ Lastly Gladstone's deplorable foreign policy. The Liberals would have us believe that the NEW COUNTY VOTERS will vote liberal. These are of course an unknown quantity but, if the Liberals are to obtain an absolute majority, they will have to win more than 180 of the 300 seats still to be decided and there's no likelihood of that. Parnell will almost certainly become dictator of Great Britain and Ireland.

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