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## FREDERICK ENGELS LETTERS January 1887 to July 1890

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# FREDERICK ENGELS

## LETTERS

January 1887–July 1890

# PREFACE

Volume 48 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains Engels' letters dated from January 1887 to July 1890.

It contains letters to participants in the working-class and socialist movement in many parts of the world, though the main focus is on Britain, France, Germany and the United States. In Germany Engels documents the struggles of the Social Democrats against the Anti-Socialist Law, and their increasing success in the Reichstag elections. He also welcomes to Britain the producers of the *Sozialdemokrat*, exiled from Zurich. In France he urges the Socialists to organise a proper daily paper, to be less fractious in their dealings with the international movement and to make more effort to communicate with other parties. In England he castigates the old-style trade unions and warmly welcomes the development of the new unions – a development in which Eleanor Marx played a major role. He is fairly dismissive of the SDF and Socialist League, seeing the new unionism as likely to produce new leaders for the socialist movement. Many of Engels' letters to the US concern a dispute over money between Edward Aveling and the Socialist Labour Party, in which Engels loyally takes the part of Aveling. Engels takes the view that the official socialist parties in both the US and Britain will be swept aside as the working class develops its own organisations. In summer 1888 Engels visited the US and he writes interestingly of what he observes.

Many letters in this volume concern the two 1889 International Paris Congresses organised by The Workers Party of France and the Possibilists. Engels comments trenchantly on the competing strands within the French and international movement. Following on from the success of the Worker's Party conference, an international celebration of Mayday was organised for the following year in many European countries, which Engels also documents. These events were the beginnings of the Second International.

Other letters contain information about Engels' work in carrying on the editing of Marx's writings, especially *Capital* Volume 2. Engels writes of

the difficulties of reading Marx's writing and hits on the idea of training others to decipher it. Engels also corresponds with his US publishers about his own work, particularly the American edition of the *Condition of the Working Class in Britain*. Other letters concern other publishing, translating and revising projects, of work by both Marx and Engels. On many occasions Engels bemoans the fact that his involvement in the shenanigans and intrigues of the socialist and working class movement keep him from his scholarly work – as do his increasing problems with his eyes.

A recurring theme in the letters is Engels' fear that rivalry between the great European powers will bring war, which will destroy the nascent socialist movement. He also comments on Bismarck's relations with three generations of German emperors – both William I and Frederick III died in 1888, to be succeeded by William II, of whom Engels had a very low opinion. He is critical of both German and French nationalism, and is critical in particular of the Boulangist current in the French workers' movement, which he see as part of the recurring French problem of Bonapartism.

These letters also show the personal side of Engels' life, particularly in his letters to Laura Lafargue. We hear of visits from Eleanor Marx, 'Pumps' Rosher (Engels' niece by marriage) Schorlemmer, and many others, and of holidays and celebrations. His affection for Helen Demuth (Nim) shines through, as does his fondness for all his (largely adopted) family, especially Marx's daughters. Although Engels could be a formidable opponent he was clearly a very good friend.

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This volume was largely edited by Progress Publishers in Russia but, due to the changing fortunes of that company, the work has been finished in the UK by Lawrence and Wishart. This accounts for some of the slight differences in format. We have made every effort – with slightly less resources than the old Progress Publishers – to keep to the high standards of previous volumes, and hope readers will bear with us as we complete the last volumes of the *Collected Works*.

\*\*\*

The translations for this volume were made by Peter and Betty Ross, Rodney Livingstone, K. M. Cook and Stephen Smith.

1887

1

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>1</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 January 1887

Herewith, registered, the English translation of *Das Kapital*.<sup>2</sup> Last week I sent you 1 parcel—2 *Commonweals*, 1 *To-Day*, etc. More to follow. Just received the *New York Herald* with the beastly article about the Avelings; this is most valuable for us since the Avelings would otherwise have still been unaware of the pack of lies the bourgeois papers over there are making up about them.<sup>3</sup> The Avelings got back a week ago, both of them very well and cheerful. The Lafargues are also here and send you their kindest regards. *Capital* is going terrifically well here and supplies for America are in hand. That will soon show the Yankees what our standpoint is.

Your

F. E.

A Happy New Year.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in England for the first time

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<sup>1</sup> Volume I

## 2

ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS<sup>4</sup>

## IN THE HAGUE

London, 11 January 1887

My dear Friend,

I see from the newspapers that the Court of Appeal has upheld your conviction. So no doubt you will shortly have to make your way to gaol.<sup>5</sup> I cannot let you go without taking my leave of you and assuring you that all my sympathy will go with you when you enter your cell, and that I hope you will return to us from your solitary confinement sound in body and unbroken in spirit to resume your activities. Please let me know whether it will be possible to communicate with you while you are in gaol, either by letter or by sending printed matter, and whether you are allowed books and to engage in literary work.

The Lafargues from Paris have been over here since Christmas, and a week ago the Avelings returned from America, bringing back a great deal of encouraging news.<sup>3</sup> The movement over there is forging ahead in fine style and nothing can stop it. From its inevitably muddled beginnings it has evolved with amazing speed into a political labour party. True, the programme—or rather the various programmes in New York, Chicago, etc.—are still far from clear, as is only to be expected. But the action is all that it should be and that is the main thing. When I consider how long it took the workers in France, Belgium, Spain, etc., to understand that a political organisation of the working class, separate from and opposed to all other parties, could alone lead them to victory, one must admire the action of the Americans who, six months after the birth of the movement, are operating an organised party, have received 68,000 votes in New York<sup>6</sup> and won important victories in the elections in the West.<sup>7</sup> But once the proletariat of a country has organised itself as a militant party, it will itself be driven onwards by the ups and downs of the battle, knowing as it does the conditions of its emancipation. And particularly for so eminently practical and anti-theoretical a people as the Americans, there is no other way to understanding than by trial and error, by acquiring wisdom from the consequences of their own mistakes. And that is something they will experience and master soon enough.

In other respects, too, the movement is progressing splendidly everywhere and I trust that when you get out of gaol you will find we have made a big step forward. All that can prevent us doing so is a European war, which would set us back enormously for a short while but which, like any other event, would turn out to our advantage in the end.

The English translation of *Das Kapital*<sup>a2</sup> has just come out, and at precisely the right moment for America.

And now, once again good-bye. The best wishes of us all will accompany you into your solitude. I hope we shall see one another again in London in a year's time.

With kindest regards from the Lafargues, the Avelings and

Your  
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Istoriĭ=marksist*, No. 6 (40), 1934 in Published in English in full for the first time

Printed according to the original

3

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI  
IN BENEVENTO

[Fragment]

London, 18 January 1887

*Caro Cittadino*,<sup>b</sup>

Your letter of the 9th of this month<sup>8</sup> was not altogether unexpected, since I knew that you were a government official and that sooner or later this would make your position untenable. Unfortunately I cannot hold out any favourable prospects for you either here or in America. If you don't speak fluent English, it will be impossible for you to find a *remunerative* occupation in either country unless you become adept in the colloquial use of the language. For educated people the usual, virtually

<sup>a</sup> Volume I – <sup>b</sup> Dear Citizen

the only, calling over here is that of language teacher, and for that very reason it is always overcrowded, even by people who speak and write the language of the country fluently. As to other kinds of teaching, there is such a large [...]ª

First published in the language of the original German, in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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

## 4

## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

## IN BENEVENTO

London, 26 January 1887

Dear Citizen,

I wrote to you on the 18th of this month<sup>b</sup> in reply to your kind letter of the 9th<sup>8</sup> and afterwards I received yours of the 21st.

I can only confirm what I said in my last letter: neither here in England nor in the United States of North America is it possible for someone who does not speak English to earn a living other than by manual work.

The Argentine Republic would perhaps provide more favourable hunting ground; there is a strong Italian colony and you would learn Spanish without much difficulty. But it is a long way away, the voyage would be costly, and it would be difficult to come back. The country is progressing, but that is all I really know. Not being familiar with Argentinian legislation, I do not know under what conditions one can live there from teaching in an elementary school.

As for commerce. I have been out of it for 18 years and I no longer have any relations with commercial firms or factories.<sup>9</sup> What is more, in some cases a reference from me would be worse than none at all (if one could find a firm whose partners still know me) because people know me not so much as a businessman of the past than as an active socialist

ª The end of the letter is missing – <sup>b</sup> See previous letter

of the present. And then there is the fact that all the big cities are swarming with commercial dealers not suspected of socialism who are looking for work and who are preferred because of their commercial education. I have for long considered whether it might not be possible to find some way out of this from here, but I cannot see one.

I am writing to Vienna (Austria) and Hamburg to try and find something, though without much hope. But we can only try, and I shall let you know the outcome.

You would do well to write to Lafargue too. He was here when your letter of the 9th arrived and was informed of its contents. He said he feared there was no hope of his finding a job for you in Paris; but when he is back among his friends he might get more information and change his mind. I shall write to him at the same time on your behalf.<sup>a</sup>

The great problem is that we socialists are not only politically but also civilly proscribed, and for the entire bourgeoisie it is both a pleasure and a duty to see that we starve. This anathema falls principally upon educated and cultured men, whom they consider to be deserters from their own class that have passed over to the enemy camp. This problem presents itself everywhere; we faced it ourselves in 1844 and 1849. How many times did Marx and I not wish that we knew some manual trade, for even the bourgeois cannot live without the products of manual labour!

Would it not be possible for you to find work with one of the Italian socialist newspapers, in Milan or elsewhere? I do not receive them, and I am therefore not well informed of the present state of the socialist party in your country. In any case it would be preferable if you could remain in Italy.

I repeat that I shall be pleased to do everything in my power to find a way out of the difficulties you are caught up in. I only regret I cannot open better vistas. I shall not forget what you have done to make our ideas and my writings known in Italy, and rest assured that, if something comes up for you somewhere, I shall not let it escape me.

With sincere greetings,

F. Engels

First published in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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Published in English for the first time

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.11.



ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>10</sup>

## IN NEW YORK

[London,] 27 January 1887  
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Herewith I send you, at last, the Preface.<sup>11,12</sup> No sooner had the Avelings returned<sup>3</sup> when I was seized with a slight conjunctivitis which was however sufficient to prevent all regular work especially as the short time I could each day devote to writing was unavoidably taken up by urgent correspondence. Although my eye is not yet quite free from inflammation, yet I have managed to get through the Preface and hope the delay will not have inconvenienced you too much.

As I have not been able to keep a copy I must request you to return me the MS when done with. I suppose you will be good enough to see it through the press.

I hope Dr Wischnewetzky has arrived safe after a good passage. I regret that I could not have him all to myself for a couple of hours, but he just dropped in at an evening when, for the time being, the old 'International' was made to undergo a practical revival.

The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the ocean. On the spot, personal bickering and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march, would be the consolidation of these differences into established sects. To some extent, that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better. And the Germans have most to guard against this. Our theory is a theory of evolution, not a dogma to be learnt by heart and to be repeated mechanically. *Je weniger sie den Amerikanern von Aussen eingepaukt wird und je mehr sie sie durch eigne Erfahrung—unter dem Beistand der Deutschen—erproben, desto tiefer geht sie ihnen in Fleisch und Blut Uber.*<sup>3</sup> When we returned to Germany in spring 1848, we joined the Democratic Party as the only possible

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<sup>3</sup> The less it is drummed into the Americans from outside and the more thoroughly they test it—with Germans' assistance—by personal experience, the more deeply will it penetrate their flesh and blood

means of gaining the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, but still a wing of it. When Marx founded the International, he drew up the General Rules<sup>b</sup> in such a way that *all* working-class socialists of that period could join it—Proudhonists, Pierre-Lerouxists, and even the more advanced section of the English Trades Unions; and it was only through this latitude that the International became what it was, the means of gradually dissolving and absorbing all these minor sects, with the exception of the Anarchists whose sudden appearance in various countries was but the effect of the violent bourgeois reaction after the Commune and could therefore safely be left by us to die out of itself, as it did. Had we from 1864–73 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform—Where should we be to-day? I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization. and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake.

I hope you are by this time perfectly restored to health and that your husband and children are well too. Kind regards to Dr Wischnewetzky.

Very truly yours

F. Engels

First published, in English, slightly 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

Reproduced from the original

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Provisional Rules of the Association*

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>13</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 28 January 1887

My dear Lafargue,

My eye is at last getting slightly better, but not yet well enough to enable me to shift the mountain of work and correspondence that has accumulated in the meantime. I can only write by daylight and then not all the time, but I am at least able to read for the better part of the evening.

If the Parisians are beginning to feel bellicose just now, they would be better advised to direct their wrath against Russia, which has used them to pull her chestnuts out of the fire and, now that they've burnt their fingers, is abandoning them to their fate. Can they not see that it is Russia which, through the Paris papers in her pay (the most dissolute being, it seems, the *Débats*<sup>a</sup>), has incited their revanchist rodomontade with the sole aim of getting Bismarck to capitulate to the Tsar<sup>b</sup>? And now she has got what she wanted; Bismarck has made his peace with Russia and has sacrificed Austria, while Russia has sacrificed her Parisian dupes to Bismarck.<sup>14</sup> The Russian alliance has its points!

Come to that, I do not believe that Bismarck *wants* a war which, no sooner begun, would become European. Once France and Germany had got to grips—and it would be a hard struggle and rather long—the Tsar would be *compelled*, willy-nilly, to march on the Balkans: Austro-Russian war. From that moment on, Bismarck would be at the mercy of unforeseeable circumstances, and I don't suppose he is so stupid to provoke such a situation in cold blood. But the Russian agency in Paris will continue its activities; it is in the interests of Russia to get France and Germany embroiled in a war; then she would have no one left to fight except Austria and, at most, England which would mean, in the opinion of the Russian chauvinists, who despise both England and Austria, a free hand for Russia in the East. And there lies the danger. If those gentry, Cyon & Co., succeed in pushing France into this war, they

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<sup>a</sup> *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires* –<sup>b</sup> Alexander III

will be cutting each other's throats for the benefit of the Tsar and the perpetuation of despotism in Russia.

As to the elections in Germany, our prospects are first-rate. I think we shall get 700,000 votes in all, maybe even more.<sup>15</sup> But when it comes to the majority in the new Reichstag, you have to reckon with the German philistine, and he's no angel, far from it.

Here it is being said that the *Daily News'* scoop was a scoop for Baring on the Stock Exchange. To Bismarck it must have seemed a most unpleasant manoeuvre, making a hash as it did of his electoral manoeuvres. He has been forced to issue a démenti.<sup>16</sup>

Martignetti has again written to me.<sup>a</sup> It seems that he in at his wits' end and he asks me to find some way out for him, putting forward the most impossible suggestions. I have written to Hamburg and Vienna on his behalf and have also promised him I would write to you. No doubt you will hear from him direct. There's nothing for him either here or in America, since he does not speak a word of English. Might there be some opening for him in France, as a teacher of Italian? As I see it, there is nothing else he could do. Or can you think of something better? He is about to be dismissed from his post. Do try and find some opening for the poor devil, either in Paris or in the provinces.

Pumps is a great deal better and her only serious complaint is intercostal rheumatism. When I saw her this morning she was quite cheerful.

Nothing's going on here among Socialists but inter-clique intrigue. According to Scheu, Champion is sick of Hyndman and would like to topple him, which accounts for his rapprochement with Bax. He ran into Aveling the other day and was as friendly as could be. We shall see how it all ends. In the meantime Aveling is going to hold up before the East End working men the example set by the Americans—that of a labour movement which is independent of the older parties, this being a method of agitation that may well be effective. Last week he spoke at a meeting in Farringdon Street, as did Tussy the day before yesterday, and this they will continue to do both there and elsewhere.

As soon as I have any time to spare I shall write to Laura. Meanwhile Nim would like to know if she has spoken to Longuet yet, and what his answer was.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp.5-7

*La Justice* has had a copy of *Capital*<sup>a</sup> in English; if Longuet has taken it, it would save us sending him the copy we have reserved for him. Could you find out? As regards the other copies Sonnenschein is supposed to have sent, we know nothing definite as yet. He is digging his heels in.

Yours ever,

F.E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>17</sup>

PARIS

London, 2 February 1887

My dear Laura,

I had finished *Bel Ami*<sup>b</sup> on Monday<sup>c</sup> night and was ruminating over the picture of Parisian journalism exhibited in it, thinking it must be exaggerated when lo—on Tuesday morning your letter and Paul's unroll to me a scene—from life—of *Bel Ami*, and so I must take off my hat to Guy de Maupassant. Well, this will do. *Faut-il donc être canaille pour avoir un journal quotidien à Paris?*<sup>d,18</sup>

This is now the second time that our friends have made a daily paper—for others. And this time worse than the first. Lissagaray was a free lance. acting on his own hook for his own advancement, and might be left to die his own political death. But here the Possibilists<sup>19</sup> step into the

<sup>a</sup> Volume I – <sup>b</sup> The novel by Guy de Maupassant – <sup>c</sup> 31 January – <sup>d</sup> Must one really be a bastard to publish a daily newspaper in Paris?

bed ready made for them; not only do they get a daily of their own but they get it through a victory over us. And as the *Cri* is bought for the *cancans*, the *scandale* and the *feuilletons* only, and the public which decide on its success or otherwise only take in the leaders because they are not compelled to read then, the high-falutin of Pyat, the dead dullness of Labusquière, the arrant and arrogant ignorance of Marouck will pass muster quite as much as the leaders of Guesde. Guebhard will still be paid in hard cash for his *cornes*<sup>a</sup> and Séverine and Labruyère *auront toujours de quoi se payer de bons déjeuners*.<sup>b</sup>

As to the *Voie du Peuple*—horrible dodging title!—I suppose it will go the way of the *Citoyen* after the coup d'état, and disappear after a few spasmodic efforts.<sup>20</sup> If there was any hope of a man with 100,000 fr., that should have been turned to account in time; now when our people arrive defeated and turned out of doors, I am afraid that individual will be still harder to find.

The lesson to be drawn from this is the same as before, that a weekly organ which belongs to us is worth ten times as much as a daily one which we make for others, to be kicked out when it suits them and to make room for M. Brousse & Co. And this seems now to be the established function of our people in the daily press, and no doubt it will be repeated for a third time and exactly with the same results. Anyhow I hope that our *ex-grands hommes*<sup>c</sup> from the grand journal will now condescend to pay a little more attention to the *Socialiste* which is after all their refuge during the entr'actes of their grand political drama.

I have given Nim your message, she thanks you very much and remains on the tiptoe of expectation, as the penny-a-liner used to say 30 years ago.

Tell Paul that I had already rummaged in my head the advisability of reducing the strength of my eye lotion, and after his letter, have doubled the quantity of water contained in it which seems to answer very well. I shall also use his hot water application and expect that between the two my remnant of conjunctivitis will disappear.

Edward was to lecture again to-night at Farringdon Hall (for the Clerkenwell Branch of the League<sup>21</sup>) on his American tour. He and Tussy have had there two crowded nights on Wednesdays. But he has got a sore throat, and maybe Tussy will have to replace him. He intended to speak out about the Anarchists tonight and expected a crisis.

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<sup>a</sup> horns – <sup>b</sup> will always have the wherewithal to pay for a good dinner – <sup>c</sup> ex-great men

How it will be now I do not know. He has already been invited by one Radical East Club<sup>22</sup> to lecture there.

The *Cri* affair will finally decide Hyndman & Co, if ever they were undecided with regard to the support to give to the Possibilists. Séverine's *blagues*<sup>a</sup> about attempts to kick out all other factions will be explained as the usual intolerance of the Marxists and no doubt the whole will be traced back to 'the hand that broke up the International', by which they mean, taking Eccarius' word for it, your humble servant. That is a thing which cannot be helped and is utterly indifferent to me. But it has been always our fate—and now our Paris friends share it—that the more we show that we are ready to work together with honest and sincere people so long as they stand on a truly working men's platform—no matter how imperfect—the rogues and adventurers whose company we decline denounce us as intolerant, domineering and exclusive. I hope that our Paris friends will have occasion to convince themselves that Brousse is no worse than Hyndman. Both have united round themselves all candidates they could lay hands upon.

Pumps is a deal better but—apart from the special troubles she has gone through—her stomach is much out of order and she suffers from sleeplessness. Nevertheless she is much more cheerful, she was on the sofa yesterday and this morning.

Fortin writes to say that he is quite agreeable to our plan and will send you the 2 last chapters of the *18th Brumaire*.<sup>23</sup> He sends me a resolution they have passed, on the war question. When the style of commercial letter-writing becomes *ampoulé*<sup>b</sup> it is something terrible.

Nim and little Lili who is here for a few hours—the children are with the old Roshers—send their love, and I ditto.

Yours affectionately

F. Engels

The Prussian government papers are awfully riled at the 6,000 Mark handed over to the Election Fund out of the profits of the *Sozialdemokrat*, they say it's a lie: 1) such profits were never made, 2) if they had been made they would have been stolen by the managers of the paper. *E pur si muove*.<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> lies – <sup>b</sup> high-faluting – <sup>c</sup> Still it does move

I enclose the cheque for £12.—which Paul writes for.

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first time

## 8

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>10</sup>

## IN NEW YORK

London, 9 February 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I reply at once to your letter, postmark 28th January. The preface<sup>11</sup> was sent on January 27th, and to your telegram received Sunday, February 6th, I replied immediately per cable: ‘Sent registered 27th January’.

As to the distorted passage from my letter which the irrepressible Baton could not refrain from publishing, it is no use for Rosenberg and Co. to saddle Aveling with it. The passage about the 100,000’s and the millions occurred in my letter to you<sup>a</sup> and in *no other letter*. So you will know who is responsible for this indiscretion and for putting this nonsense into my mouth. As far as I am concerned, I have no objection to your publishing the whole passage, indeed the whole letter.

Your fear as to my being unduly influenced by Aveling in my view of the American movement, is groundless. As soon as there was a national American working-class movement, independent of the Germans, my standpoint was clearly indicated by the facts of the case. That great national movement, no matter what its first form, is the real starting

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<sup>a</sup> See Engels’ letter to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 28 December 1886 (present edition, Vol. 47)



point of American working-class development; if the Germans join it in order to help it or to hasten its development in the right direction, they may do a deal of good and play a decisive part in it; if they stand aloof, they will dwindle down into a dogmatic sect, and be brushed aside as people who do not understand their own principles. Mrs Aveling, who has seen her father at work, understood this quite as well from the beginning, and if Aveling saw it too, all the better. And all my letters to America, to Sorge, to yourself, to the Avelings, from the very beginning, have repeated this view over and over again.<sup>a</sup> Still I was glad to see the Avelings before writing my preface, because they gave me some new facts about the inner mysteries of the German party in New York.

You appear to take it for granted that Aveling has behaved in America simply as a swindler; and not only that; you call upon me, upon the strength of the assertions and allusions contained in your letter, to treat him as such and to do all in my power to have him excluded from the literary organs of the party.<sup>24</sup> Now for all these assertions you cannot have any proof because you have not been able to hear any defence. Still you are better off than we here; you have at least heard *one* side, while we do not even know what the distinct charge is!

In the early hole-and-corner stages of the working-class movement, when the working men are still under the influence of traditional prejudices, woe be to the man who, being of bourgeois origin or superior education, goes into the movement and in rash enough to enter into money relations with the working-class element. There is sure to be a dispute upon the cash accounts and this is at once enlarged into an attempt at exploitation. Especially so, if the 'bourgeois' happens to have views on theoretical or tactical points that disagree with those of the majority or even of a minority. This I have constantly seen for more than forty years. The worst of all were the Germans; in Germany, the growth of the movement has long since swept that failing away, but it has not died out with the Germans out of Germany. For that reason Marx and I have always tried to avoid having any money dealings with the party, no matter in what country. And when the Avelings went to America, I had very strong misgivings on that point. Only when it was arranged that the tour should be made together with Liebknecht I felt more at rest,

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<sup>a</sup> See Engels' letters to F. A. Sorge of 29 November 1886 and Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 28 December 1886 (present edition, Vol. 47) and also his letter to her of 27 January 1817 (this volume)

because Liebknecht, as an old hand, would know how to deal with such complaints, and because any charges brought against him on that score would merely make the complainants ridiculous in Germany and in Europe generally. Well, the tour was arranged differently afterwards, and here is the result.

From this you will see that I look upon this matter a great deal cooler than what people seem to do in New York. But moreover, I have known Aveling for four years; I know that he has twice sacrificed his social and economical position to his convictions, and might be, had he refrained from doing so, a professor in an English university and a distinguished physiologist instead of an overworked journalist with a very uncertain income. I have had occasion to observe his capacities by working with him, and his character by seeing him pass through rather trying circumstances more than once, and it will take a good deal more than mere assertions and innuendos before I believe what some people tell about him now in New York.

But then. Had he tried to swindle the party, how could he do that during all his tour without his wife being cognisant of it? And in that case the charge includes her too. And then it becomes utterly absurd, in my eyes at least. Her I have known from a child, and for the last seventeen years she has been constantly about me. And more than that, I have inherited from Marx the obligation to stand by his children as he would have done himself, and to see, far as lies in my power, that they are not wronged. And that I shall do, in spite of fifty Executives. The daughter of Marx swindling the working class—too rich indeed!

Then you say: 'No one here imagines that Dr Aveling put the money in his pocket, or *spent it as the bills indicate*. They believe that he merely tried to cover his wife's expenses,'—That is a distinct charge of forgery, and this you give as an extenuating, charitable supposition. What then, if this be the attenuated charge, what is the full charge? And on what ground is this charge made? 'The ridiculous bills which Dr Aveling sent in.' I should like to see a few of these 'ridiculous' bills. For fifteen weeks they were sent every Sunday to the Executive who gave no sign of disapproval. Nor did they budge when the Avelings, December 19th, returned to New York. It was only on the 23rd when they were on the point of leaving, when they could no longer defend themselves against charges, real or trumped-up, that the Executive discovered these bills, to which, *singly*, they had never objected, were ridiculous when *added up*! That is to say they object, not to the bills, but to the rules of addition. Why, then, did the Executive, instead of shortening the tour, try to extend it,

and just at the close of it plan a second visit of the Avelings to Chicago which fortunately did not come off? It strikes me that in all this, it is not the bills which are ridiculous, but the Executive.

Well, at the meeting of December 23rd, the Avelings hear for the first time that their bills are ridiculous, and the Executive lay before them a statement of accounts drawn up by themselves. As soon as his statement is objected to, Aveling at once accepts that of the Executive, according to which—as I have seen myself in Rosenberg’s handwriting—a balance is due to him of \$176. Then, being again bullied by Walther, he refuses that balance, returns \$76 at once, and sends the rest from London. And then you say that ‘Dr Aveling returning the \$100 has not helped matters at all.’ Why what in the name of goodness do those people want then? Is Aveling to be treated as a swindler because the Executive appropriate \$176 which, *on their own showing*, belong to him?

Then the mystery with which the Executive envelops this matter, becomes darker and darker. When the article in the *New York Herald*<sup>a</sup> appeared and was cabled across, the Avelings sent the enclosed circular to the sections, and, at the same time, *to the Executive*.<sup>25</sup> That circular—unless I take Aveling to be a liar and a swindler, which I decline doing until further conclusive evidence—is in my eyes conclusive against the Executive, at least until I see their reply. But what do the Executive do? They get infamous attacks into the *Volkszeitung*.<sup>26</sup> They spread rumours and reports behind Aveling’s back, they call meetings of the sections and lay *their* version before them, and get them to vote resolutions in a matter which cannot be judged without an impartial audit of the whole accounts and a full defence of the absent accused. And having, as it appears, succeeded in their New York circle to slander Aveling, not as a man who has spent their money extravagantly (for such, rightly or wrongly, might be their honest conviction), but as a swindler and forger of accounts. They rise to the level of the occasion created by their own inventive genius, and promise a circular proclaiming Aveling a swindler and forger to the working-class of the whole world! And all this, mind you, behind the back of, and unknown to, the man whom they charge, and who can not only not defend himself, but not even make out the precise facts on which the charge is based! If this is the way people are to be judged in our party, then give me the Leipzig Reichsgericht<sup>27</sup> and the Chicago jury.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> ‘Aveling’s Unpaid Labor’, *New York Herald*, 30 December 1886

Fortunately we have passed that stage in the older parties in Europe. We have seen Executives rise and fall by the dozen, we know they are as fallible as any pope, and have even known more than one that lived sumptuously on the pence of the working-men, and had swindlers and forgers of accounts in its midst. In their circular, the Executive will not only have to define their charge – which perhaps will thus at last become known to us – but also to prove it. People on this side do not take the word of their own Executives for gospel, much less that of Mr Walter and Mr Rosenberg, be it ever so ‘official’.

In my opinion, the Executive have placed themselves in a very uncomfortable position. Had they grumbled at the accounts as merely extravagant, they might have secured a hearing outside their own circle; for that is more or less a matter of opinion. But having never objected to the accounts sent in, they felt they had cut the ground from under their feet, and, as weak people do under circumstances, exaggerated the charge in order to cover themselves. Thus they come to the fresh charge of swindling and forgery which they can never prove and must be content to insinuate. But an infamy insinuated to cover mere weakness, remains neither more nor less an infamy. And having swelled what was originally a mere trifling matter of disputed accounting into a criminal offence, they naturally feel bound to go before the various working-class parties with it. And naturally, they do it in a sneaking underhand way, preventing the accused from even hearing the charge. One mistaken step leads to another, and at last they arrive in a complete mess and are caught in their own net. And all that not out of inborn malice, but sheer weakness.

You will now see that I must most distinctly decline following your advice as to ‘giving Kautsky a hint, not to let the letters appear which are advertised in the name of Dr Aveling’, because the Executive are going to launch ‘an official circular’ against Aveling, and ‘his name as one of the staff can only injure any organ’. Neither Kautsky nor myself have, I believe, ever given any grounds for anyone to suppose that we would treat thus the friends we have worked with for years, upon the strength of mere assertions and innuendos. And if I was to say anything of the kind to Kautsky, I should simply drive him to the conclusion that I was either falling rapidly into dotage, or that I was no longer to be trusted across the road. Indeed I feel certain you regretted having written this passage as soon as the letter had gone.

I see very well that you wrote your letter in what you considered the interests of the party, and thus were led to represent to me the case of

Aveling as hopeless and judged without appeal. But so far he is judged by nobody but the Executive who are themselves parties, accusers, judges and jury all in one; for the resolution of the New York sections, whatever it may be counts for nothing. What the other sections may say remains to be seen, but even they, if impartial, can only declare themselves incompetent until they have the full facts and until the accused has been heard. And I for one consider it utterly ruinous to the party to introduce into it, and even to outdo, the kind of justice practiced by Bismarck and by the American bourgeois, who do at least respect forms and give the prisoner at the bar a hearing—and for us to act thus at the very moment we protest against these infamous proceedings.

No doubt it may suit the Executive, under the pretence of avoiding public scandal, to shirk publicity. But that will not do. Either they must retract the dishonouring charge, reduce the case to its simple dimensions of a dispute about accounts, and settle that honourably and straightforwardly; or they must come out publicly with the charge and have it fought out. There has already too much of it been allowed to leak out, and it cannot remain where it is; nor is Aveling the man to leave it there. And as I cannot allow the Avelings to be accused of infamies behind their back, it was my duty to communicate your letter to Mrs Aveling (he being too ill at present) and to read to her my reply. And if at any time circumstances should require the publication of this my letter, you are at liberty to publish it *in full*, while I reserve to myself the same right, of course without dragging in your name, unless other people should have done so previously.

I am, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,  
very truly yours  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>29</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 February 1887

Dear Sorge,

Got your letter of 30 January yesterday, and the day before yesterday sent off sundry items to you. More to follow in a few days' time. *Capital* in English<sup>a,2</sup> is selling very well; the jackass of a publisher,<sup>b</sup> who had no idea what he had got hold of, is quite astonished.

I trust your health is improving. Abstemiousness is something I, too, am obliged to observe; every day brings some little physical contretemps that cannot be ignored and interferes with one's customary *devil-may-care* way of life. Well, that's something that can't be helped.

When Lafargue was here at Christmas he promised me to send you the *Socialiste* regularly. Not until *after* his return did I get a few extra copies of the article *Situation*, etc.<sup>c</sup> It has opened the eyes of the French to the fact that, for them, war would mean the end of the Republic—unless, of course, circumstances were *quite* exceptionally favourable, so that it might provoke a European revolution, which, however, is wanted neither by the bourgeois, the petty bourgeois nor the peasants. No one had thought of this before and now everyone's saying it. I am now reading the article in Romanian, in *Revista Sociala*, a muddle-headed publication, appearing in Jassy, and learning the language as I go along.

The gentlemen of the Socialist Labor Party's Executive are behaving quite outrageously towards the Avelings.<sup>24</sup> When, thanks to their indiscretion, if not at their instigation, the article appeared in the *Herald*, another quite outrageous article, for which, at the moment, I can only hold Mr Douai responsible, appeared in the *Volkszeitung*.<sup>26</sup> The Avelings' reply to the calumny in the *Herald* was the enclosed circular, which was sent off from here on about 18 January to all sections and also to the Executive.<sup>25</sup> Well, on the 28th January the latter induced someone,<sup>a</sup> whom I may not name for the present and whose identity you

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<sup>a</sup> Volume I – <sup>b</sup> William Swan Sonnenschein – <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'The Political Situation in Europe'

must therefore guess, to write me an embarrassed letter in which it is stated as fact, indubitable fact, that Aveling had attempted to swindle them and that—or so their Christian charity led them to suppose—he had fiddled the accounts he submitted in order to cover his wife’s hotel expenses (the party *only* paid Tussy’s rail fares), nor did the return of the \$176 alter the case, for that was in no way the point at issue, etc. Nothing but insinuations and not one solitary fact, not even a *definite accusation*. Then it goes on to say that a resolution had already been obtained from the New York sections and was to be endorsed by the remaining sections after which a circular denouncing Aveling would be issued to all the European parties. And I am requested to warn Kautsky against printing anything else by a blackguard like Aveling, who in to be chucked out of all the party organs!

You can imagine what kind of reply I made to these base assertions.<sup>b</sup> If I can find someone to copy out the letter, I shall send it to you for, having an inflamed eye, I cannot make a third copy. These people haven’t the shadow of a pretext. For on 23 December, when Aveling first learnt in a letter from Rosenberg that the Executive proposed to query some of the items in his account, he at once replied to Rosenberg, sending the following letter per special messenger:

‘I cannot discuss money matters with the Party, and am ready to accept anything without discussion that the National Executive of the Socialist Labor Party thinks right!’

And that was before he knew what they were going to say and how they would treat him! And then the chaps go and pocket the \$176, which, by their own calculation, belongs to the Avelings, and declare, *for that very reason*, that not they, but Aveling, is a swindler!

Well, we shall clear the matter up all right. But unfortunately we over here don’t know anyone in New York save for yourself on whom we can rely, now that even the *Volkszeitung* has behaved so egregiously. I should be grateful if you could let us know how Shevich and the others are behaving and whether or not they have already succumbed to the lies of the Executive. Then we should at least know to whom we could turn in New York without having to bother you. But I can’t help wondering how it is that those same New Yorkers who fulminate against the Chicago jury<sup>28</sup> should, in this instance, outdo the jury in turpitude, and pass judgment on people without even

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<sup>a</sup> Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky – <sup>b</sup> See previous letter

giving them a hearing or, for that matter, telling them what they are charged with.

Your

F.E.

First published, slightly 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. XIVII, Moscow, 1935

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 16 February 1887

My dear Lafargue,

My congratulations to our friends on the occasion of the *Voie's* resuscitation<sup>18</sup>; let us hope that this time its way<sup>a</sup> will be a triumphal one. Such of the *Cri* as Laura has sent me to look at is deadly dull; not even Bismarck's German reptiles<sup>30</sup> are as capable of sending us to sleep on our feet. Let us hope that the Parisians will refuse to stomach such LEADERS, even when spiced with gossip column and feuilletonist sauce.

I have read Laura's letter about Lavrov to Tussy; she will attend to the matter, although her hands are very full just now.<sup>31</sup> To begin with Aveling has been suffering from QUINSY (which he himself instantly diagnosed as diphtheria) and, as a patient, he is as intractable as Pumps. Furthermore, she has had no sleep for three or four nights and has had to concern herself with the affairs of him, Edward (a Roumanian construction into which my pen has lapsed thanks to my present preoccupation with that language), so that she has not had time to run errands in connexion with Lavrov's books. And, on top of that, something else has happened. First, I got a long letter from *la* Wischnewetzky,<sup>b</sup> from

<sup>a</sup> *Voie du peuple*, the full name of the paper, means 'the way of the people' –

<sup>b</sup> This refers to her letter to Engels of 28 January 1887



which I gather that the idiots on the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party intend to bring an action of some sort against Aveling, whom they accuse of having tried to defraud the Party over his travelling expenses, that they intend to get the sections to pass resolutions against him and, afterwards, to denounce him as a *swindler* in a circular addressed to the working men's parties of Europe. She even had the cheek to suggest I tell Kautsky that he would be well-advised not to print anything further of Aveling's. And, withal, never the slightest suggestion that the accused might at least have a right to be heard! You can imagine what my reply was!<sup>a</sup> Well, what should arrive the day before yesterday but the Executive's first circular, full of ridiculous accusations against Aveling<sup>32</sup> and not very difficult to demolish. But there is no time to be lost; the American sections have got to send their votes to New York on 15 March; and the Executive has delayed sending the circular to this country so long that putting up a defence is virtually impossible. Aveling is in Hastings, whither he was sent by the doctor, and will be home on Friday. In the meantime we are sending out a circular announcing his intention of defending himself and asking that the vote be suspended until then. As soon as he returns we shall set to work on the defence. I enclose Aveling's first circular on this affair which is conclusive enough so far as fundamentals are concerned. It would be useful to know whether the Executive has sent its circular to the *Parti ouvrier*<sup>33</sup> or to the Germans in Paris; in Zurich Kautsky has already taken what steps are necessary. But, with all this going on you will realise how exceedingly busy Tussy is.

I no longer remember whether I wrote and told you that Fortin is satisfied with the arrangement with Laura in regard to his manuscript,<sup>23</sup> so all that remains to be done is to let Lavigne know that his manuscript is with you, and this I would ask you to do since I do not know whether his old address is still the right one and am therefore unable to write to him.

I do not know whether you have seen *Materialismul economical lui Karl Marx de Lafargue*.<sup>b</sup> I have seen a notice of it in the *Jassy Revista Sociala*, of December, in which there is a translation of my *Socialiste* article<sup>c</sup>—pretty crude as it happens. Roumanian is a funny sort of language. Their term for 'to work' is '*lucrare*'—in Latin *to appropriate surplus value*; the working man, on the other hand is '*muncitorul*', a word of Slav

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp.15-20 – <sup>b</sup> The Roumanian translation of Paul Lafargue's book *Le Materialisme économique de Karl Marx*, Cours d'Économie sociale – <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'The Political Situation in Europe'

origin of which the literal and etymological equivalent is the Russian *moutchitel*, meaning *martyr*. For rebellion they use the Slav word *rascaole*, that is to say, ecclesiastical schism (Russian *raskolnik*, schismatic, heretic). In fact, for a Latin language it is fairly difficult, since they maltreat Latin and Slav (from which many of their words and sounds are derived) with disarmingly impartial nonchalance. Bulgarian (a Bulgarian Journal has been sent to Kautsky) is much easier for anyone familiar with Russian or Serbian.

Laura will have seen our reply to Professor Menger<sup>34</sup>, in the February number of the *Neue Zeit*.

From all that I have seen the French press is adopting an excellent attitude towards Bismarck's foolish provocations.<sup>14</sup> The man's temperament is such that it's impossible to say whether he does or does not want war. But anything that forces upon him the necessity either of staying pacifically at home or of becoming an overt aggressor can only benefit ourselves. He has today reached the same stage with France as he had reached with William<sup>a</sup> in May 1866, after paving the way for the Austrian war<sup>35</sup> which the latter abhorred: 'I have succeeded in leading the old horse to water, but I cannot make him drink.' And if the French stand their ground Bismarck will be in the devil of a mess. He already hopes to attain a majority with the help of the people. The Pope<sup>b</sup> will have ensured his septennium (having voted him the new regiments for three years, they will let him have them for seven)<sup>36</sup> but, if the majority in the Reichstag remains in opposition on all other issues, Bismarck will not get a farthing. In the meantime everyone is agreed that all parties in Germany have reason to fear electoral defeat save for the Socialists, who are certain to have a resounding victory.

Zetkin has asked me to let him have a letter for the meeting of the 19th. I shall send it you tomorrow. I don't know yet what to say.<sup>37</sup>

Give Laura a kiss from me,  
Yours ever  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> William I – <sup>b</sup> Leo XIII

11

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON<sup>17</sup>

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 19 February 1887

Dear Sir,

I was glad to receive your letter of 22/3rd of this month<sup>38</sup> because I saw from it that the publisher<sup>a</sup> instead of sending you a copy of the English *Capital*,<sup>b</sup> had merely forwarded a prospectus. There have been several of these irregularities which cause us all sorts of vexation and uncertainty as to what has been done. However I have at once forwarded to you per post a copy, *registered*, on February 12th, and hope you received it safely. I am glad to say the book sells uncommonly well. The high price for the *first* edition was an unavoidable evil, but as the book is stereotyped, a cheap edition at about one-third of the price of the first will be brought out after some time; at the present moment the high price in no great obstacle *here*, though it is so to a certain extent in America.

I think you will be doing a good work in showing to the public of your country the application of our author's<sup>c</sup> theory to *their* circumstances. But perhaps you had better wait, as you say, until the completion of his work. The chapter on the Rent of Land,<sup>d</sup> although written before he had studied Russian economic conditions, and written without reference thereto, will still be very necessary to you. The 3rd volume will be taken in hand after clearing off some other accumulated work; with the exception of three *Abschnitte*, the greater part is almost ready for press.

I thank you very much for the *Fairy Tales* of Scedrin which I shall take in hand as soon as ever possible; a slight conjunctivitis of the left eye prevents me reading it at present, as the Russian type very much strains my eyesight.

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<sup>a</sup> William Swan Sonnenschein – <sup>b</sup> Volume I of the English edition – <sup>c</sup> Marx's –  
<sup>d</sup> See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Book Three: 'The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole,' edited by Frederick Engels, Part VI: 'Transformation of Surplus Profit into Ground Rent' (present edition. Vol. 37)

Up to the present no reviews of the English edition have appeared. The professional reviewers evidently do not know what to make of the book, and are afraid to burn their fingers.

Yours sincerely  
P. W. Rosher<sup>39</sup>

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 24 February 1887

My dear Laura,

The *Révolution en Allemagne-Prise de Berlin*<sup>a</sup>—does not exactly come off in the way depicted in the *Way of the People*. The *Voie du peuple* on the other side of the Vosges is not exactly along the Boulevards of beautiful Paris. Not to speak of their mistakes about seats lost and gained, etc., the success of our German friends lies in another direction than where they seek it.<sup>41</sup> First of all, we have so far lost seats and not gained any, but that, though a fact, counts for nothing. The decisive fact is that, while we are very slowly losing ground in the Saxon districts of *hand-weaving* (which is dying out) and which were our original strongholds, we are gaining far more rapidly not only in the large towns but in all rural industrial districts. I have the exact figures of 43 districts with one deputy each, including Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, Munich, Leipzig, Hanover, Magdeburg, Elberfeld, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Nürnberg, Stuttgart, Frankfurt etc, mostly large towns of course.

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<sup>a</sup> Revolution in Germany—Capture of Berlin

In these we had in all votes	408,360
in the same places in 1884	321,876
Gained	86,484

or 27 per cent on the votes of 1884, in 3 years; and these include 5 districts in which we lost votes. In a day or two I shall have more data to extend my list which comprises all districts the figures of which I know. Berlin has come out splendidly and I begin to have some confidence in that otherwise ridiculous town.

The pressure brought to bear on our people was tremendous. Not even public proclamation of their candidates was allowed. Every one who took a part in the election by distributing *bulletins de vote*<sup>a</sup> etc. was noted—which means expulsion in the numerous towns under state of siege. Wherever possible, the manufacturers conducted them to the poll and saw that they voted for Bismarck unless they wanted immediate discharge from work. And all this will be repeated and increased on the day of balloting where we expect to secure most of our seats.

Singer is the Lockroy<sup>42</sup>—*le premier élu de l'Allemagne*.<sup>b</sup> He had 32,227 votes which no other member can boast of. Bebel is in for Hamburg, Liebknecht out for Offenbach<sup>c</sup>; had he had 50 more votes, he would have been in the ballot at Bremen and then sure of election. But there are sure to be double elections so that he will not want the place whereon to rest his hind quarters.<sup>43</sup> The exact number of ballots in which we are interested I do not know; 16 at the least. These we shall almost all carry, as far as I can see—and unless we are left in the lurch by the Centre<sup>44</sup> or Progressists,<sup>45</sup> which is quite on the cards.

While ordinarily but 55 to 65% of the voters polled, this time the philistine came up in force; 85 to 90% of the number on the list. And this accounts for many defeats.

I am extremely glad of the Alsatian vote.<sup>46</sup> That will help us to get rid of these non-descripts—neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring—all the easier.

In a day or two you will get a printed circular with Aveling's reply to the charges of the New York Executive.<sup>47</sup> If this circular has not been sent to the German club in Paris, then it has not been sent to Paris at all. It is nothing but the usual complaint of *Knoten*<sup>d</sup> against *Gelehrte*<sup>e</sup> that

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<sup>a</sup> polling cards – <sup>b</sup> the top candidate in Germany – <sup>c</sup> Engels has: Offenburg – <sup>d</sup> louts – <sup>e</sup> the educated

they lived extravagantly on the pence of the working man. Fortunately we have a good reply.

Tell Paul that his discovery about Oriental Circumcision<sup>a</sup> shares the fate of many of my discoveries in natural science viz. that it had been made before. I have read the same thing long ago in German books and should not wonder if it was already in old Creuzer's *Symbolik*<sup>b</sup> which is as old as the battle of Waterloo.

Poor Edward had an awful shock about these ridiculous accusations, so soon after his quinsy. He is not over-endowed with power of resistance to malady, and so this threw him back very much. He has been off and on at Hastings and is going off again to-night.

The last page of the *Voie* to-day<sup>c</sup> looks rather queer, all *Bel Ami*<sup>d</sup> and no advertisements.<sup>48</sup> Rather too much for one dose, I should think.

Half past five—*Postschluss*<sup>e</sup>—and Dinner Bell! So farewell for to-day.

Very affectionately yours  
F. Engels

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## 13

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>49</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 3 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

I am sending off simultaneously with this a package containing 1 *Commonweal*, 1 *To-Day*, 3 *Gleichheits* and 4 copies in German, 4 copies in English of Aveling's second circular.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> See P. Lafargue, 'Die Beschneidung, ihre soziale und religiöse Bedeutung', *Neue Zeit*, 6. Jhg., 1888, pp.496-505 – <sup>b</sup> F. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* – <sup>c</sup> the *Voie du peuple* of 24 February 1887 – <sup>d</sup> the novel of Guy de Maupassant – <sup>e</sup> time for the post

The Executive over there is going to the most amazing lengths to obtain approval for its puerile action against Aveling. You will see from Aveling's circular (no doubt you will also have had a look at that of the Executive) what they tried on with the sections. But since then, and without waiting for the sections' vote, they have handed over the whole business to the Board of Supervisors in the hope that the latter may get them out of the soup. Aveling, of course, is also taking it up with the Board of Supervisors, to which he is now sending all the documents, and we shall see how things turn out.

The Executive is wisely confining itself to the age-old and, to German expatriates, eternally new story of squandering the workers' pence; so presumably the additional charges of attempted embezzlement, etc., are only being disseminated in private. No doubt you will find some opportunity of putting the circulars to use.

We have good reason to be satisfied with the elections in Germany.<sup>15</sup> The increase in the number of votes is marvellous, especially considering how much pressure is being exerted not only by the government but also by the industrialists who, wherever feasible, presented the workers with the choice either of being dismissed or of voting compulsorily for a Bismarckian. I fear this will again be in evidence in the second ballot, the results of which are not yet known over here. The Pope<sup>a</sup> is forbidding Catholics to vote for us, the men of Progress<sup>45</sup> voluntarily prefer a Bismarckian to a Socialist, while the industrialists exercise outright coercion—so if in these circumstances we capture one or two more seats it will be a victory truly won.<sup>50</sup> But it's not the number of seats that matter, only the statistical demonstration of the party's irresistible growth.

You suggest that our people have made fools of themselves in electing such men as Geiser, Frohme, Viereck, etc. There's no alternative. They have to take the candidates as and where they find them. That is a fate shared by all workers' parties in parliaments where there is no remuneration. Nor does it matter. The chaps are under no illusion regarding their representatives; of this the best proof is the total defeat of the 'parliamentary group' in its trial of strength with the *Sozialdemokrat*.<sup>51</sup> And the deputies are well aware of it; the gentlemen of the right wing know that, if they are still tolerated, it is only by reason of the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>52</sup> and that they will instantly be thrown out on the day the party

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<sup>a</sup> Leo XIII

regains its freedom of movement. Even then, all will be by no means well with the representation but I think I'd rather see the party superior to its parliamentary heroes than the other way round.

Nor need you worry about Liebknecht. They realise perfectly well what he's like in Germany. I have seldom known a man about whom the opinions of the most diverse people are so closely agreed as they are about Liebknecht. While he imagines he's got them all eating out of his hand, they are sizing him up quite critically. His incorrigible optimism, particularly about anything in which he himself has a hand, his firm belief that he is the life and soul of the movement, the chap who does everything and manages everything for the best and that it's only the other 'jackasses' who spoil things, his urge to create order everywhere and to cover up all contradictions by resolving them into commonplaces, his yearning for outward and momentary successes, even at the expense of enduring losses—all this is very well known. But our people also know that all these failings are only the obverse of most valuable qualities and that without those foibles he simply could not achieve what he does in fact achieve. So long as he has Bebel at his side he won't perpetrate any serious blunders although he may cause a lot of unnecessary trouble and strife. And when it comes to parting from the philistines, he will defend them up to the very last, but at the crucial moment will be found in the right place.

I hope that your health will improve with the coming of spring.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>53</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

Postcard of the 22nd and letter of the 25th of February received. You guessed rightly. It would have been useless to send a copy of the long letter, since the wording of the complaints in the Executive's circular is not only milder but differs materially, while everything else up till now has been private tittle-tattle. The way people in Europe view the affair is evident from Singer's reply to the circular sent him by Aveling.<sup>47</sup> 'It's the old story though it's a pity that the Avelings also have to suffer through it.'<sup>a</sup> I sent you 4 copies of this circular in English and 4 in German; no doubt you will have received them, as also my letter of about a week ago.<sup>b</sup>

*La* Wischnewetzky is incapable of translating the *Manifesto*. Only one person can do that, namely Sam Moore, and he is working on it at this moment; I already have the first section in ms.<sup>54</sup> In this connection, however, it should be remembered that the *Manifesto*, like virtually all the shorter items by Marx and myself, is still much too abstruse for America. The workers over there are only now entering the movement; they are still quite raw and, particularly as regards theory, tremendously backward, owing to their generally Anglo-Saxon and particularly American nature and upbringing—hence it is to practice that the lever must be directly applied and for this purpose entirely new literature is required. I have already suggested to *la* Wischnewetzky that she bring out separately a popular digest of the main points in *Capital* in the form of short pamphlets.<sup>c</sup> Once the chaps are more or less on the right path, the *Manifesto* cannot fail to make an impact; just now the impact will only be felt by a few.

Your remarks about *Das Kapital* in English have been passed on to

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<sup>a</sup> P. Singer's letter to Engels of 7 March 1887. – <sup>b</sup> See previous letter. – <sup>c</sup> See Engels' letter to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 13-14 August 1866 (present edition, Vol. 47)

the publisher,<sup>a,55</sup> who came back with a very practical answer to the effect that a favourable article in the *North American Review* would be enough to create a demand for an American edition and, for that reason, he would like to skim the cream off first. As it is, the thing is selling very well in America too; another big bookseller besides Bordollo has been ordering away merrily,<sup>56</sup> while sales over here have been so brisk that all but 50 copies of the first edition have been snapped up and the second—still at the same price—is printing. And this despite very little advertising and before any of the large papers mentioned it. The first serious review appeared in the *Athenaeum* of 5 March—very favourable.<sup>57</sup> The rest will now follow suit and help us sell the second edition, after which the cheap edition can doubtless come out.<sup>58</sup>

Irrespective of what the Socialist Labor Party<sup>3</sup> may purport to be and however much it may take the credit for the successes achieved by the work of its predecessors, it is the only labour organisation in America which by and large stands on our basis, it is distributed in more than 70 sections over the whole of the North and West and as such, and only as such, have I recognised it. I have expressly stated that it is a party only in name.<sup>59</sup> And I'm convinced that the gentlemen of the Executive were very disappointed by my preface<sup>b</sup> and would rather have done without it. After all, they themselves belong to the school of which I have said that it will ruin the party if it gains the upper hand. And they seem to be intent on doing so. In *Justice* here, Rosenberg has attacked the Knights of Labor on account of the longshoremen's strike<sup>60</sup>; though he may not be altogether wrong about individual facts, he shows insufficient awareness of the course the movement is taking, a course that will quickly destroy the party if these chaps remain in control. It is precisely the follies of the place-seeking leaders of the Knights of Labor and their inevitable conflicts with the Central Labor Unions<sup>61</sup> in the big cities of the East that must provoke a crisis within the Knights of Labor and bring it to a head. But the blockhead doesn't see it.

Over here the unemployed agitation by the Social Democratic Federation<sup>62</sup> has also proved to be a complete flop; the church parade in St Paul's was a silly attempt to ape the Chartists and was likewise a flop,<sup>63</sup> in short nothing has happened yet. Next autumn things may get

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<sup>a</sup> William Swan Sonnenschein – <sup>b</sup> Engels' article 'The Labor Movement in America' (see Notes 11 and 12)

better; It would be desirable if, in the meanwhile, the rascals at the head of the *Social Democratic Federation* were to fade away and disappear.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 10 March 1887

My dear Laura,

Pleasant news. The first edition of *Capital*,<sup>a</sup> 500 copies, is sold with the exception of about 50 copies and the 2nd edition is in preparation. Nearly half the edition, as far as I can calculate, has gone to America<sup>b</sup> and the 2nd edition will still find a good market there unless a piratical edition is brought out which however will not probably be undertaken before the success of the book in America is manifest and moreover it will take some time. As the clichés are there, the 2nd edition will soon be in the market, and on that we shall have 3/9 in every copy instead of 3/– as on the first. It will again be a 30/– edition.<sup>58</sup>

We saw the article in the *Athenaeum*<sup>57</sup> and Tussy will send you a copy. It is very fortunate that the press begins to speak of the book just

<sup>a</sup> the English edition of Vol. I – <sup>b</sup> See previous letter

as the 1st edition is sold out, and the *Athenaeum* article is worth a good deal to us. The gentlemen of the press evidently did not know exactly how to speak of the book, hence the delay, but now the *Athenaeum* has given them the key-note, the others are sure to follow suit.

Between the above and what follows lies a long-winded visit from old Jakins the house agent who took the rent and payment for coals and two glasses of gin and a cigar—a repeated ringing of the dinner-bell to drive the old fellow away—successful at the third repetition—then a rather heavy dinner with Nim’s potato-cakes as a wind-up, and so I am wound up, but not for letter-writing. I think you will not be sorry if under these circumstances I make no further attempt, but proceed at once to subscribe myself.

Yours affectionately  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO JULIE BEBEL

IN DRESDEN

London, 12 March 1887  
122 Regent’s Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Bebel,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you today in the hope that you will be able to give me news of how my friend Bebel is getting on at the charitable institution in Zwickau.<sup>64</sup> I have heard nothing further of Bebel since Singer was over here in December. I know, of course, that detention will have no effect whatever on his intellectual powers, but I should also be very glad to learn that it is not adversely affecting his physical

health. He must have found it very hard to be behind bars with nothing to do during the election campaign, but that is all the more reason why he should have been pleased with the results; they tally exactly with the prediction he gave me months ago: a big gain in votes but a drop in mandates.<sup>15</sup> The latter is not only easily borne—only Liebknecht's absence is a real loss—but in many ways is also an advantage. Indeed this is now being admitted by people of whom one would least expect it; people who themselves took a quiet pleasure in parliamentarism are now loudly proclaiming to all and sundry what a good thing it is that the party and, in particular, the parliamentary group should no longer be in danger of lapsing into parliamentarism! All to the good if grapes are sour now and again. On the other hand, the 225,000 new votes we have gained, despite the most cruel oppression, are a step forward which has made itself felt throughout Europe and America and has even soured the momentary triumph of the gentlemen in power. This very lack of undue haste, this measured but nonetheless inexorable advance, has about it something tremendously impressive which cannot but arouse in the rulers the same sense of dread as was experienced by the prisoners of the state inquisition in that room in Venice where the walls moved inwards an inch each day, so that as time went on they were able to estimate the day on which the walls must squash them.

Throughout the past autumn and winter Russian and Prussian diplomacy has been at pains to engineer a localised war and prevent a European one. The Russians would have liked to crush Austria alone, the Prussians France alone, while the rest were supposed to look on.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately these well-intentioned endeavours were mutually incompatible in that whoever attacked first would have provoked a world war. That the days of localised wars were over was, of course, obvious to any child, but not to the clever men who govern Europe; only now are the great statesmen finding this out and they really are somewhat afraid of a world conflagration, for its effects would be incalculable and more than even the Prussian and Russian armies could cope with. And so far as I'm concerned herein lies the only remaining guarantee of peace we have.

Would you please be kind enough to tell Bebel when you see him that the first edition of the English translation of *Das Kapital*<sup>a</sup> was sold out in 2 months and that the second is printing. And this before any of the bigger papers had devoted an article to the book!

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<sup>a</sup> Volume I

Trusting you will be so good as to let me have early news of how Bebel is getting on,

I am,  
Yours very truly,  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>29</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 16 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

Very many thanks for your letters of 28 February and 2 March along with enclosures, and also for all the trouble you have taken. I return herewith the Executive's circular<sup>32</sup> as we have got a copy. Concerning the *Volkszeitung's* article (so the charming Jonas had suppressed Aveling's answer for a whole month before deciding to print it), we promptly sent Jonas the enclosed reply today. Should he not print it and if you could then put some sort of pressure on him, that would be splendid.<sup>65</sup> But his article does seem to indicate a partial retraction.

The great controversy over the dubious *items* in Aveling's accounts will no doubt have now been resolved by our circular of 26 February.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless it is strange that people should make a fuss about details such as these which cannot possibly be understood except in context—that these people haven't said to themselves that they ought first to hear what the other side has to say about that context before permitting themselves to pass judgment. Every one of these items would also have appeared in Liebknecht's accounts if he had ever submitted any. But

what he said was this: the party must meet all my expenses and I shan't put down anything at all. And with that they were satisfied. The fact that Aveling subsequently met virtually all the expenses incurred, e.g. in Boston, not only by Liebknecht, but also by his daughter,<sup>a</sup> is not mentioned by the Executive, although these are shown in the accounts and we were decent enough not to put it in the circular. Thus, during the time they were travelling together, Liebknecht ordered all their wine, etc., to be sent up to Aveling's room and hence charged to Aveling's account. The Executive knows all about it and is keeping it dark. But shabbiest of all is their failure to send us their circular, released over there on 7 *January*, until 3 *February*, so that they had a clear month in which to spread their slanderous stories at their leisure before we so much as discovered what Aveling was actually accused of.

Pending further information, I don't believe that the resolution was accepted by the majority of the sections. If I am to go by what Aveling and Tussy say, the Knights of Labor<sup>60</sup> attitude is directly opposed to the views of all the sections in the West. And if this should nevertheless prove to be the case, the whole 'party' can go to the devil.

It is truly fortunate that you should send me the *Sozialist*. Hitherto I have been able to pass on my second copy, which I get from the Executive, to Kautsky or the Avelings, so that it has been turned to good account. This week no paper has arrived from those charming people, from which I can only conclude that the next Nos will contain more scurrilities about Aveling.

A letter has been sent to Müller in St Paul asking him if he would also publish the 2nd circular of 26 February.<sup>66</sup> While the Executive, covertly, as is its wont, makes the most of every journalistic ploy, it evidently intends to push the responsibilities onto Aveling should he himself be the first to go into print.

To us over here it seemed quite natural that Aveling should not reply to the *New York Herald*. The article was quite abysmally absurd, on top of which they both say that it is not the custom in America to reply seriously to such tomfooleries. From my own knowledge of the *Herald* it is most unlikely that the paper would have accepted it. And when the article was reprinted over here, Aveling replied at once.<sup>25</sup> But even if Aveling had replied to the *Herald* article, *how would that have helped him vis-à-vis the Executive?* It sounds to me like a lame excuse by Shevich. All in all I'm surprised at the utter spinelessness of most of the people in

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<sup>a</sup> Gertrud Liebknecht

New York as revealed by this affair. The Executive spreads whopping lies and everyone believes them—from Jonas to Shevich and the Wischnewetzky's! So the Executive would appear to be a great authority in New York after all.

No more time now, alas, to send you various newspapers today; they will leave tomorrow—post about to go,

Your  
F.E.

<p>First published, slightly abridged, in <i>Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere</i>, Stuttgart, 1906</p>	<p>and in full in: Marx and Engels, <i>Works</i>, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1035</p> <p>Printed according to the original</p>
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## 18

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER<sup>67</sup>

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[Extract]

London, 19 March 1887

It is truly fortunate that our people no longer constitute a 'faction' in the Reichstag—for the next few years, at any rate, this will be just as well.<sup>68</sup> I also like the way so many have all of a sudden come to regard 'parliamentarism' as discreditable. Irresistible, gradually accelerating growth in the number of votes—that is the main thing. Our struggle is a form of siege warfare and so long as the approach trenches keep moving forward, all will be well. We are already close to the second parallel, where we shall be able to establish our dismounting batteries and silence the enemy's guns. And, if we get as far without the besieged's gaining temporary respite from a world war, we shall then be able to estimate when it will be possible to establish breaching batteries on the crest of the glacis, make a breach with our guns and mount an



assault. Until then the quiet, unhurried advance of our siege-works is the best safeguard against an overhasty assault and unnecessary casualties. The nicest touch of all is that the besieged say that *we* the besiegers, are in a state of siege!

Kindest regards to you all.  
Yours,  
Engels

First published in *Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender für 1902*, New York, 1901

Printed according to a facsimile copy  
Published in English for the first time

## 19

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 21 March 1887

My dear Laura,

I have received Fortin's Ms.<sup>23</sup> which, I am afraid, will have to rest a bit in my drawer, as I must still nurse my eye. Of course the inflammation was merely symptomatic of the real affliction, a weakness brought on by over-exertion of the eye especially at night-time, and that can be cured by nothing but the removal of the cause; in consequence Nim and I pass our evenings now at card-playing and I find it acts, but has to be continued yet a bit. If Paul continues his work at the Bibliothèque etc. in the usual way, I am afraid he will have to suffer for it, though of course his doctor ought to know.

To settle business first: I enclose cheque for £12, and further inform you that nothing has been heard here from Longuet. I sent him a post-card<sup>69</sup> about the copy of *Capital* addressed to *La Justice*, asking if he had got it; no reply either.

The *gifles*<sup>a</sup> between the *Voie* and the *Cri* may amuse the Parisians but I should be very sorry to see our friends there sinking to the level of *saltimbanques at foires*<sup>b</sup> forcing themselves upon the attention of the public by quarrels and fights provoked for that purpose. If that will go down in Paris, it will certainly not anywhere else, and it is certainly not the way to raise our Parisian friends in the esteem of the working class out of France. I can conceive Goullé boxing Labruyère's ears while they had the *Voie* to give their own account of the affair,<sup>c</sup> but the repetition by Goullé and Deville after the paper was dead, and they had to take refuge in the *Radical*, seems to me utterly out of all common sense. The version of the *Cri* reaches all the foreign socialist papers; that of the *Radical* does not, unless forwarded express. And whether or not, this mode of settling disputes after the manner of the German *Knoten*<sup>d</sup> before 1848 will give foreigners a very poor idea of the leaders of French Socialism and makes one almost regret the duelling practices of the Second Empire journalists, as being only ridiculous. The sooner the whole affair is forgotten, the better it will be for our people.<sup>70</sup>

Old William, if not actually dead, seems to be dying—*vide* enclosed cut from the *Weekly Dispatch*.<sup>71</sup> And the dynamite shells of St Petersburg seem after all not to have missed their aim. *Vide* the abject declaration which through Reuter (!! ) the Russian government have sent round Europe.<sup>72</sup> The Czar<sup>e</sup> goes on his knees before revolution, and even the Russophile *Daily News*<sup>f</sup> says this abject document can be compared only to the abject telegram of Alexander Battenberg to the Czar.<sup>73</sup> This thing looks indeed like the beginning of the end in Russia, and that would be the beginning of the end in Europe too. What a fool that Czar must be! Not to see that when he ordered the plot to kidnap and, if necessary, to kill that poor ass Alexander Battenberg, he justified the same proceedings against himself, and called upon his own enemies to apply to him his own methods!

Pumps is expected back from Eastbourne to-morrow. Edward lectured yesterday morning—for the first time since his quinsy—in an East-End Radical Club<sup>22</sup>; he is making a very useful and probably

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<sup>a</sup> slaps – <sup>b</sup> clowns at a fair – <sup>c</sup> See 'L'Exécution d'un Mouchard' in *La Voie du Peuple*, No. 35, 17 March, 1881 – <sup>d</sup> louts, here the uneducated section of the working-class movement – <sup>e</sup> Alexander III – <sup>f</sup> 'The Nihilist Conspiracy'. *The Daily News*, 21 March 1887

successful campaign amongst the East-End Radicals to engage them to cut loose from the Great Liberal Party and form a Working Men's party after the American fashion. If he succeeds he will get both Socialist Associations<sup>a</sup> into his wake; for here he gets hold of the real spontaneous working men's organisations and gets at the heart of the working class. So far his prospects are good. Tussy and he are going to move this week into their new place in Chancery Lane but as they must clear out from 38 St George Square to-morrow, they will perhaps have to stay a few days with us.

Love from Nim.  
Affectionately yours  
F. Engels

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

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## ENGELS TO GERSON TRIER<sup>74</sup>

IN COPENHAGEN

London, 23 March 1887  
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mr Trier.

The three copybooks of your MS. just received with thanks, though I regret that it will not be possible for me to have a look at them before the end of this week. I shall, however, set about it as soon as the slight inflammation of the eyes, from which I am now suffering, permits and

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<sup>a</sup>The Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League

shall be glad if you will come and see me on your return from Copenhagen.

Yours very sincerely,  
F. Engels

First published, in Danish, in *Meddelesner om Forskning i Arbejderbovaegelsens Historie*, No. 4, February 1975

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## 21

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>29</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 6 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

Have received postcard together with the Dietzgen cutting, 24 March, and letter of 25 ditto. Hepner could hardly be in a position to judge from those few disconnected facts whether Aveling ought to have been ‘more frank’.<sup>75</sup> I myself wouldn’t venture to say so; all I know is that Aveling is as unfortunate in money matters as Hepner himself. Both have an enviable talent for getting mixed up in money squabbles through no fault of their own.

Whoever told you that Kautsky had become restive was either lying or had been lied to. I would trust Kautsky as I would trust myself; like most young men he is sometimes apt to be a bit opinionated, but if he harboured any doubts I would be the first to whom he would confide them. Anyway, I shall ask him this evening to what, if anything, the statement can refer.

Wilhelm,<sup>a</sup> having first shrouded himself in silence, can now scarcely

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<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht

contain himself. He writes as follows (this between ourselves; please don't pass on the exact wording, but only as much of the contents as you think fit) (25 March):

'The New Yorkers will probably toe the line. I had already—weeks ago—written and told them in no uncertain terms that, no matter what the circumstances, I refused to allow myself to be played off against Aveling and Tussy. I have categorically *insisted upon a full apology* and, as I have said, I think they will comply. It's a great pity Aveling didn't write to me immediately after his return.'

(this is an empty excuse, since I had already informed him of the essentials round about 20 January,<sup>76</sup> in so far as they were known to ourselves at the time)

—'it was from you I first learnt about the whole thing and by then we were in the midst of the electoral hurly-burly which, of course, claimed my whole attention. And so a lot of time was lost. But everything's bound to come out all right. If the New Yorkers dig their heels in, I shall *attack them publicly*. You can tell Aveling and Tussy so.'

On the whole the tide seems to be turning very much against the gentlemen of the Executive. Aveling has received sympathetic letters from several private quarters in New York; the American Rochester section has expressed its continuing confidence in him, the German Cleveland (or Buffalo? I forget) section has come out unanimously in his favour. And as much as a month ago the Executive—without waiting for the sections' votes—submitted all the files to the Board of Supervisors for a decision—i.e. appealed to another tribunal! We, of course, immediately wrote to them as well, sending documents and insisting that they examine certain letters, etc.

You will have had a copy of Aveling's reply to the second and, indeed, even more infamous article in the *Volkszeitung*.<sup>65</sup>

Our Parisians have again got themselves into a fix. They had lost the *Cri du Peuple*,<sup>18</sup> and now the *Socialiste* has also died for want of funds. The Paris working men have so spoilt their digestions with 50 years of sectarian and phrase-mongering socialism that they cannot at present stomach wholesome fare. *Paris, le centre des lumières, la ville de l'idée, est dégoûté d'idées.*<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Paris, the centre of enlightenment, the city of ideas, is disgusted with ideas

In Russia, on the other hand, a crisis would seem imminent. The recent assassination attempts<sup>77</sup> were just about the last straw, everything's at sixes and sevens and, furthermore—circumstances being what they are in Russia—compulsory military service has ruined the Russian army. This was inevitable. As I myself pointed out as much as ten years ago.<sup>78</sup>

Kindest regards,  
Your Engels

<p>First published, slightly abridged, in <i>Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere</i>, Stuttgart, 1906</p>	<p>and in full in: Marx and Engels, <i>Works</i>, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935</p> <p>Printed according to the original</p>
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## 22

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>53</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 9 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

I wrote to you on the 6th<sup>a</sup> and have had your letter of 29 March. Many thanks for your efforts re Jonas.<sup>79</sup> I think they will bear fruit.

So the Executive intends to reply. That will mean a further suppression of facts. But the decision to reply is in itself proof of how base and silly it was to try and worm a verdict out of the sections merely on the strength of the Executive's first allegations. First the sections were supposed to decide. Then, even before the expiry of the time limit they had been set, the Executive goes and implores the Board of Supervisors for a verdict. And now the Executive itself admits that further investigations will be necessary before a decision can be reached.

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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter

At all events, the chaps have cut their own throats. And if the Wischnewetzky's who, throughout, have behaved more like Dishragiskis,<sup>a</sup> have been forced to describe them as liars, etc., things must have come to a pretty pass. The very fact that Wischnewetzky decided to show you my letter<sup>b</sup> is proof of the quandary these two people are in. As much as a year ago, however, I was 'humane' enough to dismiss the Executive as true German louts.

I'm glad in as much as I can now hope to be relieved of Mrs Wischnewetzky's importunities in the matter of translations. In the first place she translates mechanically, leaving all the real work to me, in the second, having delayed publication<sup>c</sup> in the most deplorable way, she let the thing fall into the hands of the said louts.<sup>80</sup> But we are now no longer in the position of having to hawk around our manuscripts. And now that I've written a preface<sup>d</sup> for her into the bargain, something's evidently amiss just because the said preface is not to the liking of the Executive!

The Avelings have also had sympathetic messages and resolutions from the section in Springfield, Massachusetts; no doubt others will be coming in from the West during the next few days.

The Swiss government would seem—according to conservative English reports—to be preparing to move against the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat*.<sup>81</sup> I have been expecting this ever since the war-like hubbub first arose; endanger his neutrality and your Swiss turns really nasty. However, it may yet blow over.

On the other hand it looks very much as though the 2 latest assassination attempts in Russia<sup>77</sup> have been the last straw. For a long time no one has had any faith in the government, and now they've lost faith in the Tsar as well. The army is full of discontented, conspiring officers. The Pan-Slavs<sup>82</sup> want to place the half-brother<sup>e</sup> of the present Tsar,<sup>f</sup> the eldest son of Alexander II and *la* Dolgoruky on the throne. And the police are powerless against the Nihilists.<sup>83</sup> According to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 482 officers were sent from Moscow via Odessa to the convict settlement on Sakhalin in the Pacific. I don't believe that it will last out the year, unless war provides a loophole, and even that might come too late. And once the fun begins in Russia, then hurrah!

Aveling's campaign among the Radical Clubs in London's East End is

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<sup>a</sup> An English rendering of 'Waschlapski', the name of a character in Heine's poem *Zwei Ritter* – <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp.15-20 – <sup>c</sup> Of the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* – <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, 'The Labor Movement in America' – <sup>e</sup> Georgi Alexandrovich Yurievsky – <sup>f</sup> Alexander III

making good progress.<sup>84</sup> The relatively successful results obtained in the recent elections in Chicago and Cincinnati<sup>85</sup> have been of great assistance to him here—John Bull has no wish to see himself outstripped by those fellows. It's the *only* foreign influence that is at all effective in this country. At the big Anti-Coercion meeting in Hyde Park the day after tomorrow, Aveling will be speaking from two and Tussy from one of the fifteen platforms.<sup>86</sup> It promises to be one of those big meetings whereby the London working men make manifest a crisis in English politics. Incidentally, the German elections,<sup>15</sup> too, have not failed to make an impact over here.

Are you moving to Rochester, or where?

Your  
F. Engels

First published, slightly 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.,

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23

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 11 April 1887  
122 Regent's Park Road. N. W.

My dear Lafargue,

You ask me, as the person charged with the execution of Karl Marx's last wishes in regard to his works, to give you formal authorisation to negotiate the publication of a new edition of *Misère de la philosophie* and his other works written in French.<sup>88</sup> Although this seems hardly neces-



sary as between you and me, it goes without saying that I grant this with pleasure.

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (French), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, <i>Correspondance</i> , t. II, Paris, 1956	Printed according to the original Translated from the French
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## 24

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 13 April 1887

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the letter for your publisher.<sup>a</sup> I hope you will be successful this time but in any case make sure the copy is returned to you since I have no other to send you.<sup>88</sup> Also negotiate for 20 to 25 free copies for us; we shall be sorely in need of them.

I shall send you the *Daily Telegraph's* report on the meeting of the day before yesterday, in which there in much talk of Tussy.<sup>86</sup> Schorlemmer was there. It was undoubtedly the biggest meeting we have ever held here.

The New York affair<sup>24</sup> is going very well. The gentlemen of the Executive Committee have done so many silly things that they have already scuppered themselves. It has been a very long business and a very tortuous one, but we no longer have anything to fear from that quarter.

You must have a high opinion of Mr Sonnenschein if you suppose that we have at our disposal copies of the article by Aveling and Tussy. I have only seen the proofs, but I shall ask Tussy to have a copy sent me for you.<sup>89</sup> They'll have to pay for it; Sonnenschein treats his authors as though they were mere clerks.

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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter

The day before yesterday the great anarchist Kropotkin accepted the hospitality of the Social Democratic Federation<sup>62</sup> and was with them and Davitt on their waggonette. Typically, when someone suggested taking Davitt to see Aveling, Davitt said: I cannot meet him because he is an atheist!

Impossible to press for the appearance of your article in *Time*—Price is in the midst of leaving Swan & Sonnenschein, says it is his partner Lowrey who is running the review—a man we have never set eyes on. If only you knew the confusion and disorder that reign in that *business*, you'd be far more patient.

Put yourself forward as candidate in any case, whether or no you stand a chance.<sup>90</sup> It is something you have got to go through, especially in Paris and especially now that you have managed once again to kill off all your periodicals.<sup>91</sup> There's nothing else you can do, for agitation involves keeping oneself in the public eye. With 10,000 francs you can maintain a weekly paper for a long time, and you ought to be able to raise that sum. Come to that, I hope that revolution in Russia will relieve your difficulties and will set Europe in motion. Three assassination attempts in thirty days<sup>92</sup>—enough, I should have thought, even for a Tsar.<sup>a</sup> According to the English press, even the pro-Russian, everything is topsy-turvy in Russia; faith in the power of the administration has been shattered, the army teems with Nihilists<sup>83</sup>—482 officers exiled to the island of Sakhalin (Pacific)<sup>b</sup>—, while the peasants, crushed by emancipation,<sup>93</sup> taxation and usury, have been dealt a mortal blow in the shape of compulsory military service on the Prussian system.<sup>78</sup> Add to that the permanent financial crisis, the paper ruble worth 2 fr. 8 or 9 centimes instead of 4, American and Indian competition in corn and not a banker in Europe prepared to lend—such a state of affairs cannot last out the year!

Schorlemmer sends his regards.

A kiss to Laura, to whom I shall be writing,

Yours ever,  
F.E.

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

Printed according to the original  
Translated from the French

<sup>a</sup> This refers to Alexander III – <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p.46

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>53</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

I wrote to you on the 9th inst.<sup>a</sup> Postcard and packages received with thanks. The publication in the *Volkszeitung* of my preface<sup>12</sup> in a translation made over there is doubly scandalous. Firstly because I wish to have nothing to do with the paper so long as it goes on behaving so despicably towards Aveling. Secondly, however, because I cannot approve of my English works being rendered into German by a stranger, especially when the said stranger makes a mass of mistakes and misconstrues the most important passages. The person<sup>b</sup> has had my preface since the beginning of February (posted on 27 January)<sup>c</sup> and in the only letter I have received since then, dated 19 March, postmarked 8 April, she merely mentions her intention of bringing out a German edition and asks for my assent—she knew I had no copy here. I wrote at once<sup>76</sup> asking her to return me the original so that I could translate it; there are passages in it where every word must be meticulously weighed. And meanwhile she has been conniving with Jonas & Co. behind my back.

I immediately protested. You should ask her to show you my letter.<sup>76</sup>

This is the last straw. It's utterly impossible to work with someone who keeps on playing such tricks.

But there's one more thing she's got coming to her. Her last long letter about the Aveling affair<sup>24</sup> may be summed up in one word: abominable. An attempt by someone who is weak, who is swayed by every puff of wind, to uphold the rightness of a cause she herself knows to be rotten. I shall reply to her next week *con amore*. A person like that mustn't imagine that I can be *bamboozled* like a baby.

Hyndman's letter to *The Standard*<sup>d</sup> is both pitiful and pusillanimous.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp.45-7 – <sup>b</sup> Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky – <sup>c</sup> See this volume pp.8-9 – <sup>d</sup> H.M. Hyndman, 'England's Democracy', *The Standard*, 9 April 1887

He wants to remain in George's good graces when the latter is becoming ever more embroiled with his hobby-horse, land,<sup>94</sup> and hence must suppress everything of a socialist nature. He is down on his luck again. The sensational effects have vanished into thin air, nor are new ones to be had every day. Without them, however, Hyndman cannot sustain his role. On the other hand the Avelings have begun agitating to considerable effect in the Radical Clubs<sup>22</sup> of the East End and in so doing are laying special emphasis on the example of an independent labour party set by the Americans.<sup>84</sup> And the American example is the only one that has any pull here—along with that of the German elections.<sup>15</sup> The cause is progressing well and may—if things go on in America as they have been doing—cost the Liberals the entire East End of London before the year is out.

In the Socialist League, too, matters are slowly approaching a crisis. At Whitsun the delegates hold their conference when a decision will, I hope, be reached in the struggle with the anarchist elements who have wormed their way in and have Morris as a supporter.<sup>95</sup>

In Germany there are reprisals upon reprisals.<sup>96</sup> It's as though Bismarck wants to get everything ready so that when revolution breaks out in Russia, in what is now probably only a matter of months, the fun can likewise begin in Germany.

Your

F. E.

First published, slightly 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*, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian

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## 26

## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 24 April 1887

Dear Sir,

I write these few lines to inform you—in haste—of the safe arrival of the 2 packages registered with letters<sup>a</sup> and your letter of the 7th April old style to advise us of their having been forwarded. There was no hurry in sending them, yet I am thankful to you for having entrusted me with these valuable relics which I shall read with the greatest interest, make use of for ulterior purposes, and always hold at your disposal.

Yours faithfully  
P. W. Rosher<sup>39</sup>

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## 27

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 26 April 1887

My dear Laura,

My congratulations to Paul *le candidat du Jardin des Plantes—et des animaux*.<sup>b</sup> Being, in his quality as a nigger, a degree nearer to the rest of

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<sup>a</sup>This refers to Karl Marx's letters to Danielson – <sup>b</sup> the candidate for the Botanical Gardens—and the animals

the animal kingdom than the rest of us, he is undoubtedly the most appropriate representative of that district.<sup>90</sup> Let us hope the *animaux* will have the best of it in this struggle against the *bêtes*.<sup>a</sup> I am rather surprised at Baslu's holding back, but if a set of men succeeds in being excluded from the press altogether,<sup>91</sup> what can they expect? Fom Mesa's letter in the Spanish *Socialista* I see that the Blanquists too are making volte-face and approaching the Possibilists<sup>19</sup>—another bad sign. A little success—even relative—at the elections would therefore be very welcome when our people are under such a momentary cloud. I know very well that that cloud will pass, that Parisian party life is a continual change of ups and downs, but at the same time I cannot but wish that next time they will cherish their own little weekly paper a little more than those disreputable dailies to which they work hard to give a reputation in order to be kicked out as soon as they have succeeded.

That Stanton of yours seems to be an out-and-out Yankee. But the cutest Yankee in Europe is as often and as much out of his element as the toughest Polish Jew. They misjudge the people they have to deal with.<sup>97</sup>

The New York Executive have launched in their despair another circular against Aveling saying that his statements are lies, yet making very important admissions in our favour.<sup>98</sup> We shall of course reply. But the affair is practically ended, the Executive are themselves accused in New York as swindlers and liars in another affair and on their trial before the New York sections; so that whatever they have said, say, or may say, loses all importance. In the meantime the *Aufsichtsbehörde*<sup>b</sup> of the American party appeals to them (to Edward and Tussy) to let the matter drop, and from very many places they receive very nice letters both from Americans and Germans. So that matter is virtually settled.

Edward and Tussy's agitation in the East End clubs is going on very favourably. The American example has its effects; it at last offers a handle to stir up the English working people.<sup>84</sup>

In the League<sup>21</sup> the Anarchists are on the decline, as everywhere when they are seriously handled instead of being trifled with. Their last proposal yesterday in the Council was, that at the Conference of Delegates<sup>95</sup> all *vérification des mandats* should be suppressed and anybody accepted who said he was a delegate—to allow them to manufacture their usual bogus votes. This however was too much even for Morris; yet a minority of five was found to vote for such nonsense!

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<sup>a</sup> beasts – <sup>b</sup> auditing committee

The Pagny affair<sup>99</sup> is not quite clear to me yet. The gist of the matter lies in Art. 4, No. 1, of the German Penal Code:

*‘Pourra être poursuivi selon les lois pénales de l’empire allemand:*

1) *un étranger qui aura commis, à l’étranger (en pays étranger) un acte de haute trahison contre l’empire allemand ou contre un des états fédérés, ou qui aura fait de la fausse monnaie.*<sup>a</sup>

To apply this article to anybody but a political refugee not naturalised abroad, must produce a collision with the country of the man prosecuted. No nation in its senses will stand such treatment and if they tried it upon an Englishman, the most peaceable minister would be compelled to send at once the British fleet to the German coast. Therefore this looks as if Bismarck wanted to place France between war or humiliation. For that he was ignorant of the warrant against Schnaebelé is impossible. And yet the state of Europe is such that a war would be, for Bismarck, to play *va banque*. The man must be completely mad to act thus. Perhaps a few days more will give a clue. I really cannot imagine him to be such a consummate ass.

Enclosed the cheque Paul writes for £12.

Nim is well—was at the theatre last night with Pumps—going again this week to the Princess’s—with Edward’s ticket. Beer is flowing plentiful—I consume fully 2 bottles a day and march three miles, and for the last few Sundays have taken a glass of Port—*voilà, du progrès!*<sup>b</sup>

*Bien à vous, je vous embrasse*

F. Engels

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

Reproduced from the original

<sup>a</sup> ‘Liable to prosecution under the penal laws of the German Empire is: 1) a foreigner who has committed, *abroad* (in a foreign country), *an act of high treason* against the German Empire or against any one of the federated States, or who has manufactured forged money.’ – <sup>b</sup> there’s progress for you

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>100</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 May 1887

Dear Sorge,

I trust you are feeling better and that your fears about becoming quite incapable of writing will not be realised. I too have found writing difficult; since the New Year I have had chronic ophthalmia, which has greatly restricted my reading and particularly my writing. Next week I shall be consulting one of the leading ophthalmologists here.

What you say about the New York louts in your letter of 20 April last<sup>101</sup> is certainly quite right, but you mustn't forget that I can only answer the points you yourself raise, not those about which you say nothing.

The *Manifesto* has been translated, and only these damned eyes of mine are preventing me from going through it. In my desk I have one French, one Italian and one Danish ms. which are also waiting to be gone through!<sup>102</sup> Besides, you were Germans 40 years ago, with a German sense of theory, and that was why the *Manifesto* was effective, whereas it had no effect at all on other peoples, although it had been translated into French, English, Flemish, Danish, etc. And for the untheoretical, matter of fact Americans different, plainer fare will, I believe, be more wholesome, since we took part in the events depicted in the *Manifesto* while they did not.

As to my book,<sup>a</sup> the business has been well and truly bungled by *la* Wischnewetzky, who gave Miss Foster *plein pouvoir*,<sup>b</sup> which Miss Foster then gave to the Executive.<sup>80</sup>—I immediately protested, but the thing had been done. Up till now *la* Wischnewetzky has bungled everything she has laid her hands on and I'll never give her anything again; she can do as she pleases and I shall be happy if she accomplishes something, but I've had enough and she must leave me in peace in the future. I replied to her last letter a week ago today.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* -

<sup>b</sup> full powers



At Liebknecht's request I have sent him the copy of the circular you sent me, but on condition he returns it. He has promised to send the necessary piece for publication.<sup>98</sup>

Aveling is doing famously with his agitation in the East End of London.<sup>84</sup> The American example is proving a draw there and the Radical Clubs—which the Liberals have to thank for their 12 seats out of 69 in London—have approached him about lectures on the American movement and he and Tussy are hard at work. The immediate intention is to found an English labour party with an independent class programme. This would, if all went well, push both the Social Democratic Federation<sup>62</sup> and the Socialist League<sup>21</sup> into the background, which would be the best way of resolving the impending rows. Hyndman knows that it is a matter of life or death to him, especially as he has made enemies of nearly all his people. He has therefore taken up in *Justice* the Executive's charge against Aveling.<sup>103</sup> This is just as well, as it will put an end to the backbiting, while Aveling will have an opportunity to air the matter in public. At Whitsuntide the attitude of the Socialist League will also be clarified, I hope; the Anarchists must be chucked out, or the whole business will be ruined.<sup>95</sup>

The Avelings arranged to send you *Time* with their articles on America. I imagine you must have got them (March, April, May numbers).<sup>a</sup> Even the *Tory Standard* praises them! At the moment the Avelings are doing more and to much better effect than anyone else over here and yet I'm supposed to reply to Mother Wischnewetzky about her childish misgivings over the grave charge under which Dr Aveling will stand until he has disproved the circular of the Executive! Surrounded as she is by her tongue-wagging German sisters, Madame has evidently lost sight of the fact that it is not for Aveling to *disprove* but rather for the Executive to *prove*.

*Commonweal*, *Gleichheit* and *To-Day* are going off to you by today's steamer. You will be amused by De Paepe's tall stories in *Gleichheit* about the Belgian socialists.<sup>b</sup> The movement over there is doing very well, now that the Flemings and the Ghent people have taken matters out of the hands of the Walloons and the Brussels people respectively, but the little chap can't stop telling tall stories. The funniest thing about it is that, whereas the Brussels people would like to found a new

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<sup>a</sup> Ed. Aveling and El. Marx-Aveling, 'The Labor Movement in America', *Time*, March, April, May 1887 – <sup>b</sup>C. De Paepe, 'Der Kongreß von Charleroi', *Gleichheit*, No. 18, 23 April 1887

International in which *they* would be the General Council, Powderly has suggested that they join the Knights of Labor.<sup>60</sup> So it's Pope Powderly competing against Pope De Paepe!

This comes with my best wishes and my hopes for your speedy recovery. Yesterday the Avelings and I were in America, i.e. in Buffalo Bill's camp<sup>104</sup>—very nice.

Your  
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in <i>Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere</i> , Stuttgart, 1906, and in full in: Marx and Engels, <i>Works</i> , First Russian Edition, Vol.	XXVII, Moscow, 1935
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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 5 May 1887

Dear Ede,

You're the most incorrigible Hamlet I have ever come across. You are aware that Kautsky and I keep completely aloof from the local German goings-on here<sup>105</sup> and have to do so if all our time is not to be wasted on piffling tittle-tattle. You are aware that we haven't got a single spokesman in the local association because all these people are involved in embittered feuds of the pettiest kind.<sup>106</sup> So if we do anything at all in this matter, it will cause a stir, the chaps will want to know the whys and wherefores, and the next day it will be the gossip of all the anarchist clubs. If you were to come over here, a visit to the club and a chat there would at once put you in a position to find out all you want within the

space of two or three days, and without causing any stir at all. So in addition to depriving us of a pleasure if you stay away, you would fulfil only half the purpose of your journey. The only person we could bring into play would be old Lessner, and he has grown so rusty that he'd make a *pauvre*<sup>a</sup> diplomat.

There's nothing about the Babeuf affair in Avenel's *Lundis*<sup>b</sup> or *Anarchisis Cloots*.—Yes, there is—pp. 42 and 94.<sup>107</sup>—So I shall send you the *Lundis* by registered post. Please let me have it back soon, i.e. in about a fortnight, since I need the book for reference and can't very well dispense with it. I used to have the main source, namely Buonarroti's *Conspiration de Babeuf*, in an English translation<sup>c</sup> brought out by the Chartists but, like so much else, it has been pinched; I have had another good look for it, but without result.

As regards the Russians, there is a point that ought now to be stressed but of which I have nowhere seen any mention.<sup>108</sup> All over Europe reactionaries are fuming about Nihilist regicide<sup>83</sup> and the use of dynamite in particular, special objects of odium being Russian revolutionaries, whose extradition to Russia they are demanding not without success, even in America. But what is the Russian government up to? In Sofia it gets Alexander Battenberg deposed and, if he wasn't shot in the process, this was thanks solely to his own ineptitude.<sup>109</sup> In Bucharest it instigates assassination attempts on Bulgarian civil governors.<sup>d</sup> And, lastly—some four weeks ago in Sofia—it gets a *dynamite bomb* thrown at the house of Major Popoff,<sup>e</sup> the commandant or whatever he is.<sup>110</sup> So everything the Russian government reproaches the Nihilists with and for which it demands their extradition as common criminals, *it is itself doing* through the medium of its notorious agents in Bulgaria. We must demand that, in respect of these specifically Russian modes of procedure, the same standards should be applied to revolutionaries and government alike. This is already felt fairly generally, but it is important that it be said—and pretty loudly at that.

The Schnaebelé affair<sup>99</sup> was obviously a put-up job to get Boulanger into difficulties. The only person to have got the story right, and this as much as a fortnight ago, was Mother Crawford, the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* and the *Weekly Dispatch*, as is confirmed by Bismarck's dispatch.

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<sup>a</sup> poor – <sup>b</sup> G. Avenel, *Lundis révolutionnaires, 1871–1874* – <sup>c</sup> Buonarroti, *History of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality*, London, 1836 – <sup>d</sup> This refers to an attempt on Mantoff – <sup>e</sup> Panoff in the ms

Whether or not you people in Switzerland are harassed depends solely on how much warlike hubbub there is. If it grows less, the Federal Council will take heart, but if it increases, then woe betide its trousers.

In confidence. Should *la Schack* return to Switzerland, it might be better not to confide in her too much. She is endowed with an excess of energy which is not always channeled in the right direction. On the one hand she seeks out the liberals from amongst her former acquaintances, on the other her chosen companions are the anarchists among the English workers over here. I personally have no objection to her moving in any circle she pleases, and she herself is a very nice, intelligent and amusing person, but the very fact of her choosing just now, on the eve of a clash with the anarchists in the League (at the Whitsun delegates' conference<sup>95</sup>), to consort with the latter—so much so that the others already call her the Anarchist Countess—is something that must be taken into account. Strictly between ourselves, however, I think she is, all in all, pretty innocuous.

Aveling and Tussy are conducting a splendid propaganda campaign in the East End Radical Clubs,<sup>84</sup> which have been galvanised into life by the example of America and are now seriously thinking of forming an independent labour party. The chaps came to Aveling of their own accord and that's an excellent sign. Should we succeed in gaining a firm foothold there, the Social Democratic Federation<sup>62</sup> and the Socialist League<sup>21</sup> will both be pushed into the background, and a start will have been made on the conquest of London. What is immediately at stake in this instance is a dozen parliamentary seats—these clubs have hitherto been a source of strength to the Liberals here. And even Hyndman has seen the red light, which is why he is repeating in *Justice* the calumnies levelled against Aveling by the New York Executive.<sup>103</sup> This is just what we want for the furtherance of our campaign. But you can see how difficult our work over here is being made by the lubberly calumnies of the wretched New York Executive.

Mumma,<sup>a</sup> who is here at the moment, sends her regards.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Louise Kautsky

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>10</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 7 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have received your note of April 25 with thanks *but no preface*; if I receive it per next steamer on Monday I shall send you word at once. In the meantime as I received no copy of the book<sup>a</sup> as yet, will you please see that I get at least something to work upon, a proof-sheet or whatever it is, as the *Volkszeitung* translation<sup>12</sup> cannot pass under any circumstances, I shall work at the translation as fast as my inflamed eye will allow. I am only sorry you did not send the ms. or a proof as soon as the idea of a separate German edition occurred to you.<sup>111</sup>

Sorge writes to me:

‘Wischnewetzky’s bedauern sehr, durch die Verheimlichungen und Unterschlagungen der Executive zur Absendung des bekannten Briefs an Dich veranlasst worden zu sein, und haben sich alle erdankliche Mühe gegeben, Aveling in der New Yorker Sektion Gerechtigkeit zu verschaffen.’<sup>b,112</sup>

If this, as I must suppose, was written with your consent, then I am perfectly satisfied, and have no desire whatever to return to that subject in a spirit of controversy.

Nobody was more rejoiced than I when I learnt that the book was finally out of the hand of that despicable Executive and of the Socialist Labor Party<sup>80</sup> generally. Forty years’ experience have shown me how useless and literally thrown away are all these publications, by small cliques, that by their very mode of publication are excluded from the general book-market, and thereby from literary cognizance. It was the

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<sup>a</sup> The American edition of Engels’ *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* – <sup>b</sup> ‘The Wischnewetzky’s regret very much having been induced—by the Executive’s suppression of facts and misappropriation of funds—to send you the notorious letter and have been making every effort to secure justice for Aveling in the New York section.’

same thing even with the party publications in Germany up to 1878; and only since the *Sozialistengesetz*<sup>a,52</sup> which forced our people to organize a book trade of their own.<sup>b</sup> in opposition both to the government and to the officially organized Leipzig book-trade, has this been overcome. And I do not see why in America where the movement begins with such gigantic and imposing force, the same mistakes, with the same drawbacks in their wake, should be quite unnecessarily gone through over again. The whole Socialist, and, in England, Chartist literature has thereby been made so extinct that even the British Museum cannot now procure copies at any price!

I remain, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

very sincerely yours  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>29</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 May 1887

Dear Sorge,

I wrote to you on the 4th<sup>c</sup> and have received yours of 26 April. Very many thanks for your reports, which I feel sure must have been written while you were suffering from severe physical tribulations. As to the bit

<sup>a</sup> Anti-Socialist Law – <sup>b</sup> Die Volksbuchhandlung in Zürich (the People's Bookshop in Zurich) – <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p.55

about *la Wischnewetzky* and her sorrow over the denunciatory letter<sup>a</sup> she sent, I can only assume that you wrote it with her consent in order that she be spared an outright *pater peccavi*.<sup>b</sup> I had to write to her today and therefore told her: if that, as I must suppose, was written with her consent, I was perfectly satisfied and had no longer any reason to revert to that subject in a spirit of controversy. So you see, I want to make things as easy as possible for her. However she's not only inept, but a Jonah if ever there was one. She has written to say that she wants to bring out my preface in German.<sup>111</sup> Naturally I have no objection to that. But though aware that I hadn't got a copy, she nevertheless omitted to send me the ms. at the same time so that I could translate it. Nor have I received either the book itself or a proof-sheet of the preface—instead, the preface was handed over to the *Volkszeitung* for translation. This last has proved to be a thoroughly insipid affair and, what's more, the mistakes it contains almost lead me to imagine that she has not even made an accurate copy of my English ms.<sup>12</sup> Well, she now writes to say that the ms. has at last gone off (not a word about the *Volkszeitung* translation)—but there's still no sign of the ms.!

I'm particularly pleased that Mr Jonas has had to eat humble pie.<sup>113</sup> Considering his jealousy of the Executive in the business sphere, he was the last person one would have expected to bestir himself on their behalf and, precisely because he knew he had burnt his fingers, he has behaved as shabbily as could be throughout the whole episode.

Friend Liebknecht, too, is suddenly proving reluctant 'to break with the Executive'. As to the \$8,000 that has been sent, the Executive is trying to use it as a bribe, nor could the Germans possibly stand up to such people! However I have put a pistol to the head of the worthy Liebknecht, who has grown anxious all of a sudden not to fall out with either side, and he'll come round all right. If he hadn't made such fools of us, our reply to Circular II would have long since been ready.<sup>98</sup> But it is not really so urgent and should clinch the matter. We have won, thanks to your support and all you have done; without you we should still be a long way from where we are now. What a good thing that we old chaps can still depend on one another.

Your  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter – <sup>b</sup> Father, I have sinned

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Joss 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  
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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 21 May 1887

Dear Citizen Martignetti,

I'm glad to be able to inform you that my efforts on your behalf have not been entirely unsuccessful.<sup>8</sup> Johannes Wedde, editor of the (soc.) *Bürger-Zeitung* in Hamburg, has written to me as follows:

'A businessman here (cotton firm), who is a personal friend of mine and has no political prejudices, may *perhaps* have an opening for Martignetti, though only a modest one to begin with. However he would like Martignetti to send a photograph first. I find this rather odd—as does my friend himself—but it is necessary on practical grounds. It would be a good idea if the photograph were sent to this gentleman by Martignetti in person, together with a letter of recommendation. His name is Johannes Paul, of the firm of Paul & Steinberg, Alterwall 58.'

So if you want to find out whether a post is available there, you would be well-advised to send Mr Paul your photograph. Overleaf is the draft of a letter for you to send him, worded in conformity with German commercial usage. I would remind you not to engage in any overt political activity while in Hamburg, because if you do you will certainly be expelled. The position of socialists in Germany gets worse every day and further coercive legislation is in the offing. On the other hand this may



give you a chance to find an opening in commerce and thus embark on a new career.

My eye seems to be getting better at last. But I can't yet turn my mind to serious work, so your manuscript<sup>a</sup> is still in abeyance.

With kindest regards,

Ever yours,  
F. Engels

To Johannes Paul, Hamburg.

I was pleased to learn through Mr Joh. Wedde that there is a prospect of my securing employment with your esteemed firm but that you would like to see my photograph first. I enclose same herewith and would mention that for the past (*il numero degli anni*<sup>b</sup>) . . . years I have been employed in the Royal Notary's Office here. I should be greatly obliged if you would be so good as to furnish me with particulars of the work I should be required to do and of any other conditions. Were the prospect of this post to materialise, I should gladly do all in my power to discharge my new duties in accordance with your wishes. With sincere thanks for your sympathetic interest.

I am, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
P. M.

E l'indirizzo esteriore<sup>c</sup>  
Herrn Johannes Paul  
in Firma Paul & Steinberg  
Alterwall 58  
Hamburg  
Germania

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<sup>a</sup> of the Italian translation of Karl Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* – <sup>b</sup> number of years – <sup>c</sup>Address *envelope*

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 21 May 1887

My dear Laura,

A few words in a hurry. There is hope of a place for Martignetti in Hamburg—correspondence about this has kept me busy to-day.<sup>a</sup> You will have seen in *Justice* how Hyndman has tried to bring out Edward's American bother,<sup>103</sup> but has apparently got more than he expected<sup>b</sup>—his retreat in this week's No. is undignified enough.<sup>114</sup> A 3rd Circular on this affair is in the printer's hands.<sup>115</sup> I have had some droll correspondence with Liebknecht about the letter from him it will publish. In New York we are completely victorious and that is the chief point; and our final circular I hope will settle the business.

Paul's success is though externally negative, still quite satisfactory.<sup>90</sup> Only the balloting seems to have been attempted on rather too Parisian grounds. However it gives him a better standing for the future.

I confess the success of Brousse and Co. is inconceivable to me.<sup>116</sup> It is no use crying after a new '*journal quotidien*'<sup>c</sup> after having been kicked out of ever so many and after having secured so little permanent effect out of it while our friends had it.<sup>91</sup> But all the same the next best thing to a victory of our people is the entry of Brousse and Co. into the City Council—there they will have to show what they are. Cremer, Howell and Co. were never lower in London than now since they are in Parliament.

My congratulations to Paul for having cudgelled one of his electors. *Ça doit avoir produit un effet.*<sup>d</sup>

My eye is considerably better since I have taken to smoke different cigars. There was the determining cause of the whole affair. You may laugh but I shall as soon as I have time explain to Paul medicinally that the thing was entirely caused by applying too much guano to the tobacco-fields of the Vuelta Abajo, Of course I have to be very careful still, limit reading and writing. I am rather curious to see how the Ministerial crisis in France will end<sup>117</sup>—unless it brings in Clémenceau,

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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter – <sup>b</sup> See 'Dr Aveling and the Socialist Labour Party in America', *Justice*, No. 174, 14 May 1887 – <sup>c</sup> daily newspaper – <sup>d</sup> This must have created a stir

it will be the old affair over again, and I doubt whether Clémenceau will go in just now. He is the last resource of the bourgeois republic and would be soft to go in without a dissolution.

Edward and Tussy speak to-day in an open air meeting in Victoria Park, Hackney; the weather was boisterous and wet though, showery up to 4 p.m., now better. Don't know the hour of meeting, but hope it's late in the afternoon. Their agitation in the East End is going on quietly and steadily.<sup>84</sup> Next Sunday Delegate Conference of the League.<sup>95</sup> Will decide its fate. Both League and Federation<sup>62</sup> are in a bad way; Hyndman is in very bad odour again amongst his lot, has fallen out with Champion, and Burns goes about preaching an independent union of the working men of both societies leaving Hyndman, Morris, Aveling and Co. to fight out their quarrels themselves.

So much for to-day – the implacable Nim calls with the dinner-bell.

Affectionately yours  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>118</sup>

IN LONDON

London, Friday 27 May 1887

I shall finish the translation of the preface to the English *Age*, etc. tomorrow.<sup>111</sup> If you would like to have it and can get a copy done by Tuesday evening, I shall gladly place it at your disposal. A good part of it can be picked up early tomorrow, Saturday, if necessary—Nim will know what to do, should early prove to be all too early.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN<sup>119</sup>

IN ZURICH

London, 28 May 1887

For heaven's sake please *don't* publish Jonas' deplorable translation of my preface<sup>12</sup> in the *Sozialdemokrat*. Have just done one myself, having with much difficulty finally retrieved the ms. of the English original from America. But I've also offered it to the Baron<sup>a</sup>—the Baron has just been here. He will surrender to you my translation of the preface and is getting a copy done with all speed, as my ms. must go off to America at once to oust the Jonasiad. Singer has been over here; told of C. A. Schramm's latest heroic deed in regard to yourself—what next? Tomorrow's conference of the delegates of the Socialist League will decide its fate.<sup>95</sup> I have still not received a single copy of the English *Lage*,<sup>b</sup> while K. Kautsky has been sent 18, so I'll finally get one tomorrow. Fine goings-on! My eye is improving slowly.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Karl Kautsky. See previous letter – <sup>b</sup> Engels means the American edition of his *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>120</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 28 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I find both in *Justice* and *Sozialdemokrat* of this week a notice of the English *Lage*,<sup>a</sup> but have myself up to now not received a single copy, nor even seen the book. There seems to be some queer management somewhere, which may want looking into by you.—Just this moment Karl Kautsky comes in and says he has received a box with 18 copies, of which he kindly places a few at my disposal, so that I have at least a chance of a look at the book.

I am informed that the London Agent<sup>b</sup> of Mr Lovell is the firm which specially represents Bismarckism in the London Book Trades. This cannot of course be helped but is an unfortunate circumstance for us. Translation of preface<sup>111</sup> just too late for this Steamer, per next mail certain.

Yours faithfully

F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich*

*Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the original

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<sup>a</sup> the American edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. It was advertised in *Justice*, No. 176, 28 May 1887 and *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22, 27 May 1887. — <sup>b</sup> Trübner

## 37

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>120</sup>  
 IN NEW YORK

London, 31 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have just mailed to you, *registered*, the translation of the preface.<sup>111</sup> It will also be published in the *Sozialdemokrat*.<sup>a</sup>

To-day I received per post 12 copies of the book<sup>b</sup> which I was very glad of and for which please accept my best thanks. The book looks better than I was led to expect, I have not as yet had time to look at the contents.

Very truly yours—in haste  
 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 FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>121</sup>  
 IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

No movement causes so much fruitless work as one that is still at the sectarian stage. You know that as well as I do. For everything then still revolves round tittle-tattle. As will this letter about English affairs.

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<sup>a</sup> See F. Engels, 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos 24 and 25, 10 and 17 June 1887 – <sup>b</sup> the American edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*

Well, last Sunday the conference of the Socialist League was held.<sup>95</sup> The anarchist elements which had gained admission to it were victorious, being supported by Morris, who has a mortal hatred of all things parliamentary, is generally muddle-headed and, as a poet, considers himself above science. Resolution—in itself quite innocuous as there can after all be no question of parliamentary action *here and now*—adopted by 17 votes to 11 (see *Commonweal*, 4 June<sup>a</sup>). Of these *one* was cast by an ad hoc reconstituted bogus branch (three men, their three wives and—Mrs Schack!) and *three* by London delegates with mandates from the provinces, which, however, involved an obligation to vote *against* any such pro-abstention resolution. Hence three *stolen* votes and one invalid one.

What really clinched the matter was Morris' declaration that he would quit the moment any parliamentary action was accepted in principle. And since Morris makes good the *Commonweal's* deficit to the tune of £4 a week, this was for many the decisive factor.

Our people now intend to get the provinces organised, which they are at present well on the way to doing, and to call an extraordinary conference in about three or four months' time with a view to quashing the above. But it's unlikely to succeed; in the fabrication of voting sections, the anarchists are vastly superior to ourselves and can make eight enfranchised sections out of seven men. But nevertheless the farce is not without its good points and, having regard to the mood of the working men in the League, it was unavoidable. Bax is for us, of course, and, of the working men, Donald, Binning and Mahon amongst others—the best. None of ours stood for election to the Executive Council. The anarchists, by the way, may shortly throw our people out, and that might be all to the good.

The main thing is that, with the emergence of a genuine labour movement in the offing, our people should not be shackled with an organisation which lays claim to the leadership of the whole—à la Executive in New York and the Social Democratic Federation<sup>62</sup> over here. Everywhere in the provinces the workers are organising local associations (socialist) independently of London. They have a tremendous contempt for everything that hails from London.

Now for some further tittle-tattle. Hardly had we finished dealing with the New York Executive<sup>115</sup> than Mother Schack wrote to say she could no longer frequent my house because unable to meet Aveling, against whom there were grave imputations far more serious than the

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<sup>a</sup> 'The Socialist League', *Commonweal*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

charges made in America, etc. On my request that she should specify and provide evidence, she replied with mysterious insinuations worthy of the most inveterate scandalmonger, refused to provide any details or evidence, suggested that I should myself make inquiries in London about Aveling's antecedents and promised her help! I, of course, replied<sup>76</sup> saying that *I* felt neither obliged nor inclined to supply proof of anything *she* might assert; this was up to her and, as she refused to do so, I could only thank her profusely for her decision not to call on me in future.

I am bothering you with this only because *la Schack* will undoubtedly write to her bosom friend, Mrs Wischnewetzky, expatiating on the subject, and people might come pestering you about it. All this tittle-tattle emanates from pious souls enraged by the fact that Aveling, the son of a parson of high repute (Congregationalist)<sup>a,122</sup>—with whom, by the by, he was on the best of terms until his death not long ago—had joined in Bradlaugh's disreputable atheist campaign; and now that Aveling has gone over to socialism, it is being gleefully redisseminated by Bradlaugh & Co. It revolves round two points, first the fact that his first wife lives apart from him and runs him down—she left him for a parson—and, secondly, his being up to his eyes in debt. He contracted those debts 1. through being stupid enough to endorse substantial bills for Bradlaugh's printer out of sheer willingness to oblige, and all unaware that Bradlaugh had sacked the man, thus forcing him into bankruptcy; 2. because, in company with Bradlaugh, he had set up a physiological laboratory and school<sup>b</sup> in Newman St, and the crafty Bradlaugh—a former attorney's clerk—had so arranged matters as to place sole legal responsibility on Aveling. When things went wrong and it came to a split between Aveling and Bradlaugh, it was easy for the latter to encumber Aveling with all the liabilities while himself openly appropriating all the assets. Aveling has now got to go on discharging these debts till he's blue in the face. He is as easy to diddle in money-matters as a three-year-old—only appeal to his sense of honour and he'll do anything you want. And as always, it's those people who are honourable to the point of absurdity when it comes to money, who are reviled as swindlers. All this *la Schack* could have learned from me simply by asking. But that wouldn't have suited her book. It was something quite different she was after.

*La Schack*—in other respects a sociable, amusing person—is intent on cutting a figure, *à tout prix*. Having been pushed into our party as a result

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<sup>a</sup> Thomas Aveling – <sup>b</sup> the Science School



of harassment by the police, with whom she had crossed swords over their control of prostitution, she embarked on a women's campaign in Germany which, under different circumstances, might have had some point but which, because of the Anti-Socialist Law,<sup>52</sup> brought down upon the party, or so Singer tells me, three prosecutions for conspiracy; for no sooner did the women fall out among themselves than they began to gossip about, if not denounce, the activities of the men in the party organisation. Here again the police fortunately put a spoke in her wheel.<sup>a</sup> Thereupon she comes over here, consorts continually with the pious bourgeois women of the Anti-Contagious-Diseases Acts Agitation (against the attempt to introduce state-licensed and state-controlled brothels, and in favour of free trade in whores, a cause for which there is much to be said), from whom she picks up all the tittle-tattle about Aveling etc., also with the anarchist elements in the League<sup>21</sup>—some of whom listen avidly as she retails the self-same tittle-tattle, while others redisseminate it themselves—and throws herself more and more into anarchistic goings-on. When things came to a head in the League,<sup>95</sup> she realised that her regular visits to me must cease, and cast around for a seemly or unseemly pretext for breaking off relations herself before they were broken off for her. Aveling was to serve as scapegoat to this end and hence all this tittle-tattle, which for me has meant nothing but an extra dose of correspondence about cock-and-bull stories and hasn't done my eyes much good.

And with that, goodbye for today. By the same post I am sending off a parcel containing 1 *To-Day*, 2 *Commonweals*, 1 *Gleichheit*, 5 English and 5 German copies of Aveling's circular.<sup>115</sup>

I have now sent Mrs Wischnewetzky the preface in German<sup>111</sup> by registered post (Wednesday's<sup>b</sup> steamer).

Your  
F. Engels

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

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<sup>a</sup> See *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 30, 22 July 1887 – <sup>b</sup> 1 June

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 7 June 1887

My dear Laura,

Here is a heap of gossip for you—while the movement is still in the sectarian stage it resolves itself all into gossip—and such is the case in England.

Last Sunday was the Delegate Conference of the League.<sup>95</sup> Morris and the Anarchists carried a resolution that the League was to hold to an anti-parliamentary policy—vote 17 to 11.<sup>a</sup> Amongst the 17 one bogus Anarchist section and 3 who voted against their instructions. The real reason was Morris' money which is to continue to pay the £4. weekly deficit of the *Commonweal*; if the resolution fell through, Morris would have resigned.

Our friends are now going to try to organise their sections better in the provinces and to call an extraordinary conference to upset this. I don't believe in it, neither does Tussy, but the attempt is unavoidable on account of the feeling among the working-class element.

One of the prominent (in a small way) members of the above bogus Anarchist section was Mother Schack (who by the bye is exactly your age!) who has lately patronized the Anarchists considerably, this appearing to her the most likely means to *jouer un rôle quelconque ici*.<sup>b</sup> As by this she placed herself in a position where she must either discontinue her visits at my house or expect an unpleasant explication, she took the initiative in breaking off. On 29th the Conference. On 30th she writes me a letter: she cannot continue visiting me because she cannot meet Aveling as he has committed discreditable acts and also is slandering whom?—Tussy! I replied asking for particulars and proofs, and stating that unless I received them, I should communicate her letter to Edward.<sup>76</sup> Reply: she could state no particulars but invited me to inquire into Edward's character and antecedents generally, in which case she would assist me. This I naturally declined and again summoned her to particularise and prove, or take the consequences. Again she declines, warns me that 'the credit of my house'

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<sup>a</sup> See *Commonweal*, No. 73, 14 June 1887 – <sup>b</sup> play some sort of part here

must suffer if I take the responsibility for Edward, etc. Nothing but gossip, insinuations, infamies. The charge of Edward's slandering Tussy reduces itself to an insinuation that he spreads the idea that Tussy is extremely jealous!—Well, I told her in my reply that the credit of my house requiring from the people that met there the courage to stand by what they said about one another, I could only be extremely grateful to her for the resolution she had come to, to break off her visits. Of course I read the whole of the letters to Tussy and Edward who intend calling on her to-morrow and try to force her to some definite statement in the presence of the Kautskys. I don't think it will lead to much but let them try.

I am glad we are happily rid of this madam who has a foot in every camp, religious cranks, Anarchists, etc., and is a thorough *Klatschschwester*.<sup>a</sup> She first got the myths about Edward from her religious friends and had them confirmed by Mother Besant who has every reason to hold her noise but reckons on Edward's melodramatic generosity. And it is merely because he insisted on doing the virtuous hero of melodrama who is slandered right and left and rather glories in it because it belongs to the part and the eternal justice will end in bringing out the truth and show him resplendent in all the glory of his virtue, that all this slander has spread. But we shall stir him up a bit, and I think experience has told on him a little too, so that as soon as we get hold of something tangible, we shall soon put an end to it all.

Yesterday Sam Moore left here, and to-day we find a post-card announcing Schorlemmer for to-night. Pumps and her children are here, the boy is really a splendid fellow, with more irony in him than both his parents together can boast of.

At last I can sit by an open window! That is something.

Sam Moore wishes to know whether Paul has received the Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, he sent him.

Yours affectionately  
F. E.

Nim sends her love, she is rather asthmatical after the winter.

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

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<sup>a</sup> scandalmonger

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## ENGELS TO JULES GUESDE

IN PARIS

London, 11 June 1887  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Guesde,

I would gladly lend a hand in getting the *18th Brumaire*<sup>a</sup> published in the resuscitated *Socialiste*,<sup>23</sup> but to this there are two minor obstacles.

In the first place, as you know, it was intended that, at the time of its publication in the *Socialiste*, the *Communist Manifesto*<sup>b</sup> should also appear in book form.<sup>123</sup> For reasons which are not known to me, that edition never appeared, and I should like to be assured that such a thing will not recur.

In the second place—and this is a matter of far greater moment—I am prevented by eye-trouble, which has been dragging on for the past six months, from taking on any literary commitments at the present time. And, since a great deal still remains to be done before the translation is completed, it is ten to one that printing will be held up and that we shall miss the boat altogether.

Hence I would ask you to allow the matter to drop, for the time being at any rate; later on, when I am again fit for work, we might discuss it further.

With best wishes for the success of the *Socialiste*,

Yours very sincerely  
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* – <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 11 June 1887

My dear Laura,

Mother Schack has had her punishment. Yesterday Tussy and Edward went to the Kautskys, with whom she lives. Found her in. She refused to see Edward. Tussy and Mrs Kautsky went in to her bedroom. Interpellated as to what were the facts against Edward and what her proofs, she declined repeatedly to say anything. Tussy, after various severe hits, told her this refusal was a *Gemeinheit*.<sup>a</sup> She: *das lasse ich mir von niemand sagen*.<sup>b</sup>—Tussy: *Dann werden Sie sich es jetzt von mir noch einmal in Gegenwart von Louise Kautsky sagen lassen, dass es eine Gemeinheit ist, wenn Sie solche Anklagen vorbringen und nicht dafür einstehn*.<sup>c</sup> Upon which she bolted out of the room, leaving Tussy in possession of her own bedroom!

She even tried to get old Lessner to fall in with her slanders but got the worst of it. She also says Pumps is sat upon by Percy! All this comes out now at once, but it has had two good effects, it will make Edward see what his treating all that stuff with contempt leads to and will make him speak out about various matters about which he ought to have spoken in his own defence; and secondly it has helped the Kautskys out of their unfortunate position in the house with Scheu. They are going to leave and take a flat for themselves.

I don't know whether I told you she had Mother Besant to tea the other day and said in her presence that *all* our deputies, Bebel, Liebknecht, Singer and all were corrupt. Kautsky jumped up and put his fist under her nose, he was in such a rage. If it had not been for her staying with them, we should have shaken her off long ago.

Schorlemmer is still here, doing business as Vice-President of

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<sup>a</sup> a filthy thing to do – <sup>b</sup> I won't let anyone speak to me like that – <sup>c</sup> In that case, I shall repeat here, in the presence of Louise Kautsky, that to bring such charges against someone and refuse to substantiate them is a filthy thing to do

Chemical Section at British Association meeting, Manchester, next August.<sup>124</sup> He, Nim, and Pumps had a long conversation this morning, planning a trip to Paris in September. *Châteaux en Espagne*<sup>a</sup> so far. He sends his kindest regards to both of you.

Affectionately yours  
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY  
IN LONDON

London, 15 June 1887

Dear Kautsky,

On what day did you write to Liebknecht about *la Schack*? I've just had a letter from Mrs Liebknecht from which it appears that she, at any rate, knows nothing at all about the matter. Would like to clear up the mystery.

Your  
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel, mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935 and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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<sup>a</sup> Castles in the air

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>125</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 18 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

I shall send this letter to Rochester or better still, perhaps—to abide strictly by your instructions—to Hoboken.

Postcard received. You guessed aright. The delay was all Wilhelm's<sup>a</sup> fault and I have had to hold a pistol to his head. Meanwhile you will have had the circulars (6 English, 6 German), sent off in my parcel of 4 June.

End of the Schack affair: after I had thanked her heartily for proposing not to visit me any more, Tussy and Aveling went to see her on Friday, 10 June. She received only Tussy, who demanded to know what facts she had to adduce against Aveling, and upon what evidence.—Reply again refused.—Tussy observes:—Mrs Kautsky being present—That's a filthy thing to do.—La Schack: I won't let anyone speak to me like that.—Tussy: In that case, I shall repeat, here in the presence of Louise Kautsky, that to bring charges against someone else and not have the courage to substantiate them is a filthy thing to do.—Thereupon *la* Schack flounced out of her own bedroom, where this was taking place, and that was the last Tussy saw of her. A few days later she left for Germany. She is one of the most vulgar scandalmongers I have ever known, typical Prussian Junker aristo.

I shall for the time being go on sending you the *Commonweal* because of the debate between Bax and Bradlaugh.<sup>126</sup> Bax will hardly get the better of the crafty Bradlaugh—in the eyes of the public at large. He is very talented, studies a lot, but is still deeply immersed in German philosophy, which he will, no doubt, get over in the long run, but has as yet by no means digested.

In the interests of accuracy I should rectify the assertion in my last letter about Aveling's first wife running away with a parson<sup>b</sup>; in fact, they separated by mutual consent, so I shall let the matter of the said parson—although he did play some part in the affair—rest at that.

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<sup>a</sup> Liebknecht – <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p.71

The *Socialiste* has resumed publication. Having had a legacy from his old man, Deville put 12,000 francs at its disposal. I shall write and tell Lafargue to have it sent to you, but whether or not this is done, I shall presumably learn only from yourself. I know how they go about things over there.

Yesterday the Irish Coercion Bill was whipped through the House of Commons, clause by clause, in two minutes.<sup>86</sup> It is a worthy companion-piece to the Anti-Socialist Law.<sup>52</sup> Arbitrary powers for the police, no less. Things regarded as fundamental rights in England are forbidden in Ireland and become crimes. It will be the death-knell of the present Tories, whom I wouldn't have thought so stupid, and of the Unionist Liberals,<sup>127</sup> whom I should hardly have thought so base. What's more, the Bill is to remain in force, not just for a time but for ever. The English Parliament has descended to the level of the German Reichstag. Not that it's likely to last very long.

It will soon be time to publish Marx's letter to you about Henry George.<sup>128</sup> Maybe *after* next November's elections in New York when George is again throwing his weight about there.<sup>129</sup> He should be given enough latitude, either to develop further or to run to seed, the latter course being evidently the one he prefers.

Another parcel will be going off to you. I have not yet had the last *Commonweal*; will follow shortly.

I hope a rest in Rochester will soon put you to rights again. In this marvellous weather the enforced idleness, due to the condition of my eye, suits me very well. Let's hope it goes on like this.

Your  
F. E.

First published, slightly 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.

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 20 June 1887

My Dear Friend Martignetti,

Mr Paul's silence is due to the fact that he is on his travels just now,<sup>a</sup> as I learn from Wedde, so it would be no good inquiring at present whether he has received your photograph, but I shall probably have a chance of finding this out shortly and hope that you may meanwhile hear from him direct.

Kindest regards,

Yours,  
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON<sup>130</sup>

IN LONDON

London, 22 June 1887

Dear Mahon,

Enclosed your programme with a few suggestions.<sup>131</sup>—I consider it very good as a spontaneous working-class declaration of principles—requiring but a little more precision of language here and there, and a few additions.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp.63-4

Sorry I could not send it before but have sore eyes and dare not read or write much and had many interruptions—will write more fully tomorrow.

Yours faithfully  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON<sup>130</sup>

IN LONDON

London, 23 June 1887

Dear Mahon,

I returned you yesterday the programme with some notes which may perhaps be of use at some future time.<sup>132</sup>

What you say about the leaders of the Trades Unions is quite true. We have had to fight them from the beginning of the International. From them have sprung the Macdonalds, Burts, Cremers and Howells, and *their* success in the parliamentary line encourages the minor leaders to imitate their conduct. If you can get the Trades Unionists of the North to consider their Unions as a valuable means of organisation and of obtaining *minor* results, but no longer to regard 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work' as the ultimate end, then the occupation of the leaders will be gone.

I think your plan of organisation rather premature; the provinces ought first to be aroused thoroughly, and that is as yet far from being the case. And unless there is an overwhelming force from the provinces brought to bear on London, the London squabblers will not be silenced—except by a real movement of the London masses. There has

been in my opinion already too much impatience shown in what is called by courtesy the socialist movement in England; experimentalising with fresh attempts at organisation will be worse than useless until there is really something to organise. And when the masses once begin to move they will soon organise themselves.

As to the League, if it upholds the resolution<sup>a</sup> of the last Conference,<sup>95</sup> I do not see how anyone can remain a member who intends using the present political machinery as a means of propaganda and action.

In the meantime it is necessary, of course, that the propaganda be kept up and I am quite willing to contribute my share. But the means for this must be got together and distributed by some *English* Committee, and as far as they are to come from London, by a *London* Committee. I shall speak to the Avelings about this and give them my contribution.

I do not know any books where you could get information about the Luddite movement<sup>133</sup>; it will be a laborious task to trace out reliable sources from the references in history books and pamphlets of the time.

Yours faithfully  
F. Engels

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

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>49</sup>

IN MOUNT DESERT

London, 30 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

Have received letters, etc., up to 16 June.

I shall write and tell the Wischnewetzky<sup>76</sup> to word the note thus: ‘to

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<sup>a</sup> See ‘The Socialist League’, *The Commonwealth*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

repudiate the silly calumnies to which Aveling has been exposed as a result of his American propaganda tour'.<sup>134</sup> If they don't like that either, I shall tell them to refer to you and you may, if necessary, authorise them to *delete the entire note*. For I cannot possibly cite Aveling without saying a word about all *that* nonsense.

Aveling sends the enclosed postcard re *Time*.<sup>135</sup> The copies will have gone to Rochester.

The business of Scribner's advertisement for *Capital* has the appearance of a deliberate piracy.<sup>136</sup> Thanks for the information; I shall pass it on to Sonnenschein. So far as I know, Scribner is *not* Sonnenschein's agent in New York.

That the members of the Executive should have believed they had bought Liebknecht's silence with the electoral funds<sup>a</sup> was predictable and not altogether unjustified. Luckily Liebknecht's first boastful letter had put him wholly in my power<sup>115</sup> and of this, when he tried to withdraw, I made the most determined use.

Over here Hyndman has been continually defaming Aveling,<sup>103</sup> in which he is strongly abetted by Aveling's reticence about such things. If we could catch the fellow out just once, he'd have cause to remember it. However, he is gradually bringing about his own demise. He's so wretchedly envious that he cannot tolerate a rival and is openly or secretly at war with all and sundry. And Aveling is at last eager for the fray and Tussy will see to it that he stays that way.

You mustn't forget what I told you about *la Schack*. The creature wants to come back and is *partout* determined to cut a figure over here. So it's better to know exactly what she's up to. The affair between her and the Wischnewetzky's caused the Kautsky's and Aveling's much glee; may very well have had something to do with her going over to the Anarchists so as to prove that she had finished with us. Liebknecht writes to say that, in a letter to Dresden, she came out with the shocking news that Aveling already had a previous wife from whom he was not divorced, and that he lived with Tussy without being married to her! So profound a secret is it in this country that any Englishman harbouring doubts on this score and desirous of making the Aveling's acquaintance, is informed of it by them *in writing* so that he cannot claim to have been kept in the dark and received under false pretences.

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<sup>a</sup> See 'The Socialist League', *The Commonwealth*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

One day she was sentimentalising away to old Lenchen, saying how very much in love with one another the Avelings seemed to be, if only they always remained so, etc. ‘Well, supposing they don’t,’ Lenchen burst out, ‘they’ll just part company again, and that will be that.’ Which brought Madame Tittle-Tattle up sharp—she hadn’t expected Lenchen to take such a practical view of things.

I have written to Lafargue<sup>76</sup> telling him to send the *Socialiste* to you at Rochester, but have had no reply.

I trust the warm weather will put you to rights again. It is doing me a power of good. During these four weeks of drought I have had all my windows wide open and lived so to speak in the open air; I find it as good as a visit to a spa and am also hoping it will make my eyes better again.

I am sick to death of Father McGlynn and George is turning out to be a proper founder of sects. Not that I really expected anything else; considering how recent the movement is, however, this was a transitional stage that could hardly have been avoided. Such people must be given the length of their tether; the masses will learn only from the consequences of their own mistakes.

I wish you a good recovery and good weather in Mount Desert!

Your  
F. Engels

First published, slightly 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.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 15 July 1887

My dear Laura,

Thanks for your letters. I have Schorlemmer still here; a chronic catarrh of the stomach, the great heat, and the absence of a very pressing wish to revisit his dear country keep him here. Besides him, Fritz Beust from Zürich, whom you saw here eight years ago, has arrived too. So I must confine myself to urgent matters.

I was obliged to give a card of introduction (to Paul) to a young Dr Conrad Schmidt of Königsberg, who dabbles in *question sociale*. He is about the greenest youth I ever saw, he was here about 3 months, seems a decent fellow, as decent fellows go nowadays, *frisst keine Schuhnägel und säuft keine Tinte*.<sup>a</sup> If Paul deposits him in rue Richelieu, Bibliothèque nationale, he will not trouble him much. He admires Zola in whom he has discovered the ‘*materialistische Geschichtsanschauung*’.<sup>b</sup>

The Boulanger fit of paroxysm<sup>137</sup> ought to make our people demand again and again *l’armement du peuple* as the only guarantee against Caesaristic velleities on the part of popular generals. That is the only argument against the outcry of the Royalist press with regard to Boulanger being a danger to—the Republic they say, and the future monarchy they mean.

Saturday week, 23 July, we move to Eastbourne, 4 Cavendish Place,<sup>138</sup> same as last year. If your Jersey trip is realised, let us know. I should not wonder if Tussy and Edward caught the Jersey fever.

Love from Nim, Jollymeier.

Yours affectionately  
F. Engels

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

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<sup>a</sup> he eats no bootnails and drinks no ink – <sup>b</sup> materialist conception of history

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>139</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 20 July 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have returned to you by this mail the whole of the two sets of reviews you sent me, with sincere thanks.<sup>140</sup> They have greatly amused me.—Criticism is almost on the same level everywhere, from Stockholm and London to New York and San Francisco, and since the rapid rise of a shoddy bourgeoisie in Russia I am afraid that even there the reviews will soon sink to the common level.

Yours sincerely

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Job. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich*

*Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VENTNOR

London, 22 July 1887

Dear Kautsky,

Leaving tomorrow. Address 4 Cavendish Place, Eastbourne.<sup>138</sup> Herewith a package of newspapers.<sup>a</sup> Greetings from us all. You're not too hot I hope!

<sup>a</sup> *Bürger-Zeitung*

Here super-shirt-sleeve weather.

Your  
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935, and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON<sup>130</sup>

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 26 July 1887  
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Mr Mahon,

Your postcard with address was forwarded to me here, hence the delay.

If your letter means anything, it means that you intend, as far as you can, to shove Aveling entirely out of the movement.<sup>141</sup> If you decline to work along with Aveling on *public* grounds, you are bound to come out with them, so as either to enable Aveling to clear himself or to free the movement from a dangerous and false co-operator. If not, then you are bound, in my opinion, to set aside your personal feelings in the interest of the movement.

Of all the various Socialist groups in England, what is now the ‘opposition’ in the League,<sup>21</sup> was the only one with which so far I could thoroughly sympathise. But if that group is allowed to fall to pieces from mere personal whims and squabbles, or from mutual suspicions and insinuations which are carefully kept away from the light of day, it can only dissolve into a number of small cliques held together by personal motives, and utterly unfit to take any sort of lead in a really national movement. And I do not see on what grounds I should sympathise with



any of these cliques more than with another, or with the Social Democratic Federation<sup>62</sup> or any other body.

I have no right to ask you why you refuse to co-operate with Aveling. But as you have worked with him for years,<sup>142</sup> *he* has, and therefore I consider myself bound to communicate your letter to him.

Yours sincerely  
F. Engels

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

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VENTNOR

Eastbourne, 1 August 1887

Dear Kautsky,

I return Mandl herewith; signature overleaf.<sup>143</sup> I'm glad you like Ventnor. It is lovely here too, except for the Bank Holiday<sup>144</sup> today, besides which Bax has set up his headquarters here for a week and catechises me for an hour and a half every morning with the conscientiousness of an American interviewer. Schorlemmer was here until last Saturday when he went off to Germany. F. Beust leaves on Thursday.

So far as I remember, when dealing with the iron law of wages neither Mandl nor L. Frankel correctly emphasised its elastic rather than iron character.<sup>145</sup> And, while Lassalle may sometimes formulate the law more or less correctly,<sup>146</sup> he is wont to apply it in practice in such a way as to declare the minimum wage to be the normal wage.

It's very difficult to write here, with four people sitting at one's back, chatting and drinking beer. So good cheer and goodbye.

Warmest regards from us all,

Your  
F. E.

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935, and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VENTNOR

Eastbourne, 5 August 1887

A Dr Joseph Maria Baernreither, Austrian judge and member of the House of Deputies, actual author of a book on English benefit societies<sup>147</sup> and future ditto of a ditto on ditto Trades Unions, proposes to visit me. Can you tell me anything about this *Bärenreuter*<sup>a</sup> or *Bärenhäuter*<sup>b</sup>? Many regards.

Your  
F. E.

Return *Bürger-Zeitungs* herewith. When do you go home again?

First published in *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus. Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, Prag, 1935 and in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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<sup>a</sup> Literally, bear rider, the word *Reuter* having certain pejorative connotations. e.g. formerly also highwayman – <sup>b</sup> lazy-bones

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>121</sup>

IN MOUNT DESERT

Eastbourne, 8 August 1887

Dear Sorge,

All postcards, letters and packages up to 27 July gratefully received, save for a few newspapers which are still in London and awaited daily. We have been here for a fortnight and shall be staying until about the 25th of this month.<sup>138</sup> It's terribly hot, hardly a drop of rain since the 1st of June, in other words an American summer. There's only one remedy for your leg, rest and patience; then, with any luck, it will get well again, but at our age things of this sort always drag on for the devil of a long time.

Let Monsieur Grunzig see what sort of a job he can make of a biography of myself.<sup>148</sup> You were quite right to leave the man to his own resources; who knows what rubbish he might not have written on the strength of your notes, only to cite you as his authority. Kautsky has written a biographical piece about me which is appearing in the *Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender*<sup>143</sup> and which I have read over, corrected and added to; hence, so far as the facts are concerned, it can serve for any future eventuality and I shall send it to you. Needless to say, I am not responsible for anything else that may be in it.

I had to do most of the proof-correcting of *Das Kapital* I, 3rd ed., while ill in bed so that various mistakes slipped through. The punctuation was deliberately altered to approximate to the French and English, as is now largely done in Germany. For that matter, the only place where the old pedagogic German of our boyhood days is still taught and written is America.

Aveling has told me that he himself sent you the copy of *Time*.<sup>89</sup> But if only one halfpenny stamp too few is affixed to a parcel of books for abroad it will be withheld by the English post office. I shall make further inquiries on my return.—Aveling and Tussy are having a holiday at Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare's birthplace.

The business of the Wischnewetzky's is becoming ever more of a joke.<sup>149</sup> In Germany an Executive such as this would have long since been removed from office. The chaps would seem to think that they can

afford to do anything, and that the party will stand by them through thick and thin in return for their requiring the Americans to place themselves under the command of a German society wherein sheer lubberliness would appear increasingly to be gaining the upper hand. But if your Germans over there make that a condition for their co-operation, the movement will soon outdistance them. Things have at last got going in your part of the world and, unless I am much mistaken in my Americans, they will astonish us all by the magnificence of their movement and also by the immensity of the blunders they will perpetrate, thereby ultimately clarifying their ideas. Pre-eminent when it comes to practice and still in swaddling clothes as regards theory—such is the situation, nor could it be otherwise; but at the same time a country without any traditions (save religious) and with a democratic republic for its point of departure, and a people more abounding in energy than any other. The course of the movement will by no means follow a classic straight line but will zig-zag badly and at times appear to turn back on its tracks, though in America this will matter far less than it would over here. Henry George was an unavoidable evil but will soon be consigned to oblivion, as will Powderly, not to say McGlynn, whose momentary popularity is understandable enough in so pious a country. In the autumn, a great deal will become—I wouldn't say clearer—but rather even more involved, as the crisis looms closer. The annual autumn elections are a real boon in that, over and over again, they impel the masses towards unity.

Mount Desert is undoubtedly very beautiful, but this place isn't to be sneezed at either—long avenues of ancient elms and oaks right next the sea, the chalk cliffs of Beachy Head right next the town, which last has quite a continental air with its tree-lined promenades—if only I could again walk 4 or 5 miles (English ones)!

I shall go on writing to Mount Desert *from here* up till about the 18th or 20th of August, and after that to Rochester unless instructed otherwise.

I am sending you the August number of *To-day* containing some comments, not altogether unfounded, on Aveling's circulars.<sup>150</sup> The lad has brought all this down on his own head through his utter ignorance of the world, of men and of business, and his predilection for poetical dreaming. I, however, have woken him up a bit and Tussy will see to the rest. He's a very talented and serviceable sort of chap and thoroughly honest, but gushing as a flapper. with a perpetual itch to do something silly. Well, I can still recall the time when I was much the same kind of idiot.

In Paris our people are making a very brave stand against the chauvinists and Russophiles and, had it not been for them. *La Justice* wouldn't have dared to attack the Katkov cult.<sup>151</sup> This is particularly important just now when Bismarck is doing everything in his power to chivvy the French into war<sup>152</sup> before old William<sup>a</sup> kicks the bucket.

On the whole I am feeling better, as I hope you are.

Your  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

## IN PARIS

Eastbourne, 9 August 1887  
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

We have now been here more than a fortnight<sup>138</sup> and nothing to complain of but the heat. This is indeed an exceptional summer as the sneaks in *Nature* call it: 'the *Jubilee* Anticyclone'. I have taken some light work with me for a rainy day but the rainy day will not come and the work remains fast asleep in my drawer. Jollymeier was here with us for a week and Fritz Beust a fortnight—he had to begin teaching again the day before yesterday in Zürich—there was considerable and quite undisguised flirtation between Pumps and him and nobody was prouder of it than Percy. *Oh les maris!*<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> William I – <sup>b</sup> Oh, those husbands!

Whoever translated that preface of mine for the *Socialiste*<sup>153</sup> did it exceedingly well. I never was so well done in French. One or two passages make me suspect that it was done from the German, at least in part.

The determined stand our people have made against Russophilism and Katkoffolatric has evidently had a good effect. I see the *Justice* is coming round, and Kropotkin has tackled Rochfort. Guesde's article in *l'Action* shows that he knows more about the matter of Russia than I dared to hope for.<sup>151</sup>

Otherwise French, like all other, politics are under the influence of the hot weather. *Tout rate, même les duels.*<sup>a 154</sup>

I hope that great Polish oculist<sup>b</sup> will be the last and finally successful of Paul's panaceas. When he wrote before of operations, I thought they consisted in the opening out of the lachrymal duct, as this is the most common of all slight operations on the external eye. But most old men with watery eyes suffer from that *rétrécissement*,<sup>c</sup> and I am almost certain I have got it myself on one eye at least. But that I can get set right, if need be, in London, and before rushing into the arms and tools of that miraculous Pole, I shall await Paul's final report. There is nothing to give you such mountain-moving faith in individual doctors, as a general scepticism with regard to scientific medicine.

I have had Bax here for a week and was daily interviewed by him with the regularity of a clock and the inquisitiveness of an American journalist. But it gave me an opportunity of quiet talk with him on many subjects, and when he has done with his set questions (which, as with most people here, are meant to save them study) and has exhausted his sudden flashes of original ideas about *le lendemain de la révolution*<sup>d</sup> and so on, he begins to talk sense and more sense than the preliminary conversation led you to expect. Then you find that after all he has a largeness of view that is but too scarce here amongst the sectarians calling themselves Socialists. But as to unacquaintance with the world that is, as to hermit-like simplicity and *Fremdheit*<sup>e</sup> in the midst of the largest town of the world, an English *Stubengelehrter*<sup>f</sup> beats his German compeer hollow.

Paul's article on the *services publics* was very good.<sup>g</sup> It would do good in Germany too, where the Vierecks and Co. are only too eager to use '*Verstaatlichung*'<sup>h</sup> in the same bamboozling way as Brousse and Co. the *services publics*.

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<sup>a</sup> Everything misfires, even duels – <sup>b</sup> Galezowski – <sup>c</sup> contraction – <sup>d</sup> the morrow of the revolution – <sup>e</sup> estrangement – <sup>f</sup> bookworm – <sup>g</sup> P. Lafargue, 'Les services publics', in *Le Socialiste*, 6 August 1887 – <sup>h</sup> nationalisation

Sunday evening all of a sudden Charley Rosher arrived—after ten. Had tricycled it—the hottest day of the season—from London; got to Haywards Heath (about 40 miles), done up, had to take the train. Next day diarrhoea and general breakdown. And on the following day, scarcely recovered, he had a telegram that his wife was ill and he was to return at once. A subsequent telegram informed us that she had had a ‘Miss Carry’.

Nim was at first, while here, suffering from slight muscular rheumatism—pains all over, as poor Lizzie<sup>a</sup> used to say—but she is all right now and very jolly. So is Pumps and her two children. Percy has to spend most of the week in London. I am lazy and give way to it, as being the best thing under the circumstances to do. And here comes the whole brigade ready for dinner and the children want me to make them paper boats, so it’s all up with writing and I close in haste.

Yours affectionately  
F. Engels

And love from all.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

Eastbourne, 13 August 1887  
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bebel,

Tomorrow or the day after you will be released from prison<sup>64</sup> and I, for my part, hope to realise a plan which I have had in mind ever since you took up lodgings with the King of Saxony. Namely, to invite you to

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<sup>a</sup> Lydia Burns

make a short trip to London at my expense to help you recover from the wear and tear of martyrdom. But you must do me the favour of accepting my proposal in its entirety, especially as regards its being at my expense, for my conscience would not allow me to impose upon you any sacrifices, however small, in this connection. A holiday of this kind would seem to me absolutely essential to your health; you would at long last be able to breathe the air of liberty again, for over here the air is as free as it ever can be in a capitalist society. An abrupt transition from the narrow confines of Zwickau prison to the wider ones of the prison that is Germany would be altogether too hard. But I can think of nothing that is of more vital concern to the party now than your state of health, and therefore beg you to allow me to make my contribution to the party in the shape that seems to me most fitting.

I shall be here for the next fortnight, i.e. shall return to London on the 27th inst.<sup>138</sup> I imagine it will take you roughly the same amount of time to put various matters in order, and I myself am unable to go back to town before then because my house is being refurbished from attic to cellar and everything is at sixes and sevens. But if you can come over any earlier and spend a few days with us here at the seaside, so much the better and the sooner the better. You can take the night boat from Flushing and travel to Victoria Station in London; the trains for Eastbourne leave from the same station and will get you here in 2 or 2½ hours. Kautsky, who returns to town from Ventnor on Monday (address 35 Lady Somerset Road, Highgate, London, N. W.), will gladly pilot you around London. Liebknecht, who also paid us a visit last year, was enthusiastic about the locality.

So I eagerly await your answer and, provided this is in the affirmative and you are not coming *straight away*, shall send you an advance remittance and thus make even more sure of you.

All other discussions have best be left until we meet. So much has happened which you are better qualified than anyone else to explain to me. On the whole I am satisfied with the course the world has taken since you went into isolation; things are going ahead everywhere.

Now I must close, for down here the post goes at 1.15 p.m. and if I miss it my letter won't leave London until Monday morning. I am addressing it for safety's sake to your wife, to whom, as to your daughter,<sup>a</sup> kindly give my warmest regards.

Your old friend  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Julie and Frieda Bebel



In case you should have to look up Kautsky in London, herewith a more detailed address:

35 Lady Somerset Road, Highgate, near Kentish Town Station, Kentish Town Road. No need to put this on letters.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 17 August 1887  
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Kautsky,

Please excuse the belated return of the enclosed, which I have read with thanks.<sup>155</sup> I shall be interested to peruse the clean proofs of the *More*,<sup>a</sup> though I don't see of what help I can be to you in this.

We shall be coming back on Saturday week, 27 August,<sup>138</sup> by which time my house will presumably be habitable once more.

If you happen to be passing Regent's Park Road I should be greatly obliged if you would drop in there and leave 3 or 4 large (long) envelopes, addressed to me *here*; I had left some there but they would all seem to have been used up. I mean the sort of envelope in which my people will be able to send me 3 or 4 letters at a time.

For the rest, we are as merry as grigs and are expecting Sam Moore this evening. Last night we at last had a storm, but it's fine again now.

Regards from my family to yours. The Avelings are at Stratford-on-Avon, revelling in Shakespeariana at source.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*, Stuttgart, 1888

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## ENGELS TO BRUNO SCHOENLANK

IN NUREMBERG

Eastbourne, 29 August 1887

Dear Mr Schoenlank,

Your letter, forwarded to me here by Kautsky, places me in something of a quandary. I read with interest the excerpts, published in the *Neue Zeit*, from your valuable work on the looking-glass industry and would not object on principle to your doing me the honour of dedicating the book to me.<sup>156</sup> But, in the first place, dedications are now rather out of fashion and, in the second, Marx and I have always felt a certain aversion to such more or less uncalled-for tributes. And at present I happen to be in a frame of mind which makes me think my merits grossly overrated in some quarters. If one is so fortunate as to collaborate for forty years with a greater man and measure oneself against him day by day, one is given the chance of evaluating one's own achievements in accordance with a true standard. And I feel instinctively that to place any undue emphasis on my own activities is unwittingly to detract from what we all of us owe to Marx.

Nor can I agree with you when you dub me the father of descriptive economics. You will find descriptive economics in Petty, Boisguillebert, Vauban, and Adam Smith, to name only a few. Such accounts, notably of proletarian conditions, were written by Frenchmen and Englishmen before I did mine. It was just that I was lucky enough to be precipitated into the heart of modern large-scale industry and to be the first whose eyes were opened to its implications—at any rate the most immediate ones.

So from a *personal* point of view, I would sooner you abandoned your intention, and this *solely* on the grounds outlined above. But should you fail to be convinced by them, I would not venture to dictate what you should do.

Yours very faithfully,  
Fr. Engels

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

Eastbourne, 30 August 1887

Dear Bebel,

I am tremendously glad that you are so willing to fall in with my little plan.<sup>a</sup> I shall expect to see you in London in the early part of October and only regret that you cannot come straight away and spend a week here in the bracing sea air. My house still being at sixes and sevens, I have had to stay here another week but we shall be going home on Friday, 2 September.<sup>138</sup>

Everything else I shall leave until we meet but, since you are going to Hamburg, just one more word. I have been corresponding with Wedde about a plan they have been hatching there. Unfortunately, however, I could not comply with his wishes since the plan—at any rate so far as I could judge from what Wedde told me—had been worked out in total ignorance of the law in this country and, more especially, of procedure in civil cases.<sup>157</sup> Might I now ask you, when in Hamburg, to get Wedde to explain the whole plan in detail to you again so that we can discuss it

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp.94-95

exhaustively over here, for if the thing is at all feasible, I would gladly do all I could, both for the sake of the cause and to oblige Wedde. If the worst comes to the worst and nothing can be done, I hope to convince you that such is really the case, and even this would mean quite a lot to me.

So in about 3 or 4 weeks' time I hope to hear when you will be arriving. In the meantime please remember me most kindly to your wife and daughter.<sup>a</sup> With warmest regards,

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

## IN LONDON

[London], Saturday [3 September 1887]

Home yesterday evening.<sup>138</sup> But have not, alas, got to the stage of being able to offer you luncheon tomorrow. However, we look forward to seeing you here about 5 o'clock.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Julia and Frieda Bebel

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>158</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 3 September 1887

Danielson in St Petersburg has informed me of H. Lopatin's death.<sup>a</sup> Have you had confirmation? I should like to think there has been some mistake.<sup>159</sup> If by mischance the news should be true, let me know and I shall at once send a tribute<sup>a</sup> to the *S.D.* of Z<sup>b</sup>

Yours ever

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

IN NEW YORK

London, 15 September 1887  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have received your letter of 28 August.

I am glad the pamphlet<sup>c</sup> sells so well. The copies I received I shall

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<sup>a</sup> This sentence was in Russian in the original – <sup>b</sup> *Sozialdemokrat* of Zürich (in the original Engels uses the Russian initials) – <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America*.

hand over to Aveling who has just returned from the country to be distributed partly amongst the Socialist periodicals, partly at his East End Meetings at his lectures on the American movement.<sup>84</sup> I shall also try through him to get an Agent for its sale and let you know the result.

What I wrote about Trübner<sup>a</sup> has come true stronger than I expected. Yesterday Dr Baernreither, Austrian M.P., told me that he had asked Trübner—with whom he dealt regularly—to procure him a copy of our book.<sup>b</sup> Trübner said *he had none*, and that Dr Baernreither *had better order it through an American Agency whose address he gave to Baernreither* and through which Baernreither ordered the book. Thus Trübner not only boycotts but actually burns the book.

As to the copies sent to Kautsky he could hardly act otherwise than he did.<sup>160</sup> Neither Lovell nor yourself ever wrote him a line of instruction. I myself never heard whether any copies had been sent to the press here and to what papers. We were completely in the dark, and if the book has not got into the hands of the English press and not been noticed, that is entirely the fault of mistakes committed on your side of the water. Had I been informed of what had been done in that respect, or had I been told that that was left to me I could have acted. There is no doubt of a sale for it here, but not while it is in Trübner's hands; and if I was authorised to find an agent here I have no doubt of being able to do so; of course you would have to send a limited number of copies as a consignment.

The repudiation of the Socialists by George<sup>161</sup> is in my opinion an unmerited piece of good luck which will redeem to a great extent the—unavoidable—blunder of placing George at the head of a movement he did not even understand. George as the standard-bearer of the whole working-class movement was a danger; George as the Chief of the Georgeites will soon be a thing of the past, the leader of a sect like the thousands of sects in America.

Your pamphlet on philanthropy<sup>d</sup> has not yet come to hand.

Your translation of Marx's Free Trade speech I shall look over with pleasure and compare it with the French original of which I have perhaps the only copy extant. We will see about the preface later on. The 7th *Bemerkung*<sup>e</sup> from the *Misère de la Philosophie* would fit in very well. As to the chapter on Rent, that seems more doubtful, as there is a good

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.68 – <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* – <sup>d</sup> F. Kelley-Wischnewetzky, *The Need of Theoretical Preparation for Philanthropic Work* [New York, 1887] – <sup>e</sup> observation

deal of reference to Proudhon's notions in it, and I doubt whether Mr Tucker's lucubrations deserve any attention.<sup>162</sup>

The reply of the Executive to my footnote is in itself so deprecatory and meaningless that to reply to it would be a work of supererogation.<sup>163</sup> I cannot reply in time for the Congress, and the fact remains that I have openly taken sides against the Executive in this matter. A fresh controversy across the Atlantic can lead to nothing. As to the *Sozialist* and *Volkszeitung* boycotting me, I am sorry for it on account of the sale of the book and pamphlet, otherwise it is a matter of perfect indifference to me. I have got too often over such chicanery by simply waiting and looking on.

Your expulsion I read in the *Volkszeitung* at the time, it was what was to be expected. I hope your pamphlet will come in time for the Congress, it would have been well if it had been out a month ago so as to come into the hands of the sections before they sent delegates. I am curious what the Congress will do but do not hope for too much.

Faithfully yours  
F. Engels

Fortunately the movement in America has now got such a start that neither George, nor Powderly nor the German intriguers can spoil or stop it. Only it will take unexpected forms. The real movement always looks different to what it ought to have done in the eyes of those who were tools in preparing it.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich*

*Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>121</sup>

IN ROCHESTER

London, 16 September 1887

Dear Sorge,

Letter of 1 September received. I hope your leg will gradually improve again; rest and patience, that's the main thing.

This summer has been appallingly disrupted and my house full of visitors from all over the world, as it will continue to be until the middle of October since I am expecting Bebel in a fortnight's time. I shall not be able to look out Marx's letter about George<sup>128</sup> until I can get things in order, i.e. until the new bookcases I have ordered arrive and provide me with more space. Then you shall at once have the translation. There's no hurry. Let George get himself into rather more of a fix. His repudiation of the Socialists<sup>161</sup> is by far the best thing that could have happened to us. His elevation to the status of standard-bearer last November<sup>6</sup> was a mistake that was unavoidable and was bound to have repercussions. For the fact remains that the masses can only be set in motion along a course—usually a circuitous one—appropriate to the country and the circumstances concerned. Everything else is of secondary importance, provided only they are galvanised into life. But on each occasion the penalty has to be paid for the blunders which inevitably ensue. Thus, it might have been feared in this instance that the elevation of the founder of a sect to the status of shield-bearer might have encumbered the movement with sectarian nonsense for years to come. By chucking out the founders of the movement, by constituting his sect a special, orthodox, Georgian sect, and by proclaiming his borné views to be the *bornes*<sup>a</sup> of the movement as a whole, George is saving the latter and ruining himself.

Needless to say, the movement as such still has many unpleasant phases to go through—unpleasant in particular for anyone who lives in the country and has to endure them. But I am absolutely convinced that things are now going ahead over there, and perhaps more rapidly than

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<sup>a</sup> limits



here, despite the fact that, for the time being, the Americans will have to learn almost exclusively from practice, and relatively little from theory.

The New York Executive's reply to my note is deplorable.<sup>163</sup> Nor do I expect very much of their congress.<sup>164</sup> The chaps in the east—the sections—don't seem to be up to much and yet there seems little likelihood of the Social Democratic Party's centre of gravity shifting to the west.

The Trades Union Congress over here has again gone to show that a revolution is taking place within the old trades unions. It was resolved, *in opposition* to the leaders, notably Broadhurst, and to the other labour members of parliament, to form an Independent Labour Party.<sup>165</sup> An armchair socialist and Austrian parliamentary deputy<sup>a</sup> was quite amazed at the vast changes that had come about since he was last here in 1883.

I haven't heard a word, or seen anyone, from France since Lafargue left for Jersey, where he is spending a week or two.

I shall write to you about Germany as soon as I have discussed things over here with Bebel.

As regards politics generally, everyone is getting ready for old William's<sup>b</sup> death, whereupon the Russians will behave rather more cockily in the East and Bismarck will egg them on in order to maintain his own position. But I hardly suppose it will come to a war. The uncertainty of what a war might entail is so great, the reciprocal intention of cabinets to betray each other so manifest, the certitude that the war would be more violent, bloody, costly and prostrating than any previous war (10 or 12 million soldiers locked in battle) so indubitable, that everyone is uttering threats but no one has the courage to begin. But it's a game that may unleash a war *without* their wanting it, and therein lies the danger.

Five thousand copies of Kautsky's work on Marx's theory<sup>c</sup> have already been sold.

And there I must stop for today—time for the post and for dinner.

Your

F. E.

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

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<sup>a</sup> Joseph Maria Baernreither – <sup>b</sup> William I – <sup>c</sup> K. Kautsky, *Karl Marx's oekonomische Lehren*, Stuttgart, 1887

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ENGELS TO HUGO KOCH<sup>166</sup>

IN LONDON

[London, about 22 September 1887]

Dear Mr Koch,

I have lately wasted so much time replying to anonymous tittle-tattle that I have made it a rule to reply only to such rumours as are substantiated by those who spread them. Before I can reply to your query, therefore, I must ask you to tell me:

1. *To whom* I am alleged to have made the remarks in question,
2. *who* passed them on to you.

Yours faithfully  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO JOHANNES WEISS<sup>167</sup>

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, about 10 October 1887]

Dear Sir,

Having carefully considered the matter, I regret to say that it is not within my means to do as you ask and advance you a sum that would put you in a position to complete your studies. As you will be able to

imagine without my expressly assuring you of the fact, I have for years been subjected to demands from every possible quarter—and not just Germany and England—in an ever increasing number of cases, these being for the most part cases from which, for private or party considerations, I cannot possibly disassociate myself. In this way I have contracted such a vast quantity of permanently recurring liabilities that I am myself in some perplexity—particularly at this moment—as to how I am to meet them. So much so, indeed, that were I now to tie up a sum such as you desire for, say, 2 or 3 years, I would patently find myself unable to meet those obligations into which I have already entered. This being so, I am forced to look at your proposal from a wholly businesslike point of view and this, unfortunately, leaves me no alternative but to say again how sorry I am that to comply with your wishes would be quite beyond my means.

Trusting that you will succeed in obtaining the money in question elsewhere, I remain,

Yours faithfully

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66

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 11 October 1887

My dear Laura,

I was glad to hear you received the cheque all right—a miscarriage with that sort of thing may be a very unpleasant matter and so I was rather anxious about news with regard to it.

I hope by this time you have settled down again, and are not too much disturbed by the precious scandals cropping up around you. This Caffarel affair<sup>168</sup> seems to have been brought forward by the Rouvier-Ferry lot, but if so it was a great mistake. It looks very much like the first scandals brought out by Girardin in 1846/47 and which led much farther than *le rusé Emile*<sup>a</sup> expected.<sup>169</sup> The ball is once set rolling; and no doubt a good crop of further scandals will come to daylight. There are plenty of them going on behind the scenes and this single affair having been dragged forth, will frighten a lot of petty dabblers in the same kind of thing; in their anxiety to get out of danger they are sure to compel *madame la justice* to come forward, however reluctantly, and tackle the people who will be denounced by their frightened associates. Even this one affair bodes no good to the ruling lot; if Wilson is implicated, what is old Grévy to do?

It would be a splendid piece of historical irony if the bourgeois republic was doomed to kill itself by the same *révolution du mépris*<sup>b</sup> which swept away the bourgeois monarchy in 1848.<sup>170</sup>

The Raon-sur-Plaine affair was simply this: *within* Bismarck's empire this way of treating civilians is quite the rule with the military.<sup>171</sup> They are *trained* to it, and rewarded for it; and the cowardly bourgeois press praises such things if committed upon working men, and excuses them if committed upon bourgeois. And then it is of course impossible to drive into the same soldiers that on the frontier they must act differently, and that a Frenchman, a Russian or an Austrian is to be treated with more consideration. That drunken brute Kauffman will either be acquitted or, if sentenced, for appearances' sake, to a nominal imprisonment, will be treated like *le bon dieu en France*<sup>c</sup> and promoted hereafter.

The *Socialiste* in its new shape is a considerable improvement upon the old one.<sup>172</sup> Paul could not do everything and his own articles look more worked out since he has not the whole burden upon his shoulders. It will do Deville good to contribute an article per week, his journalistic practice wanted developing and his articles are getting less ponderous.

Next week I expect Bebel here<sup>173</sup> and also probably Singer. Their Congress seems to have been a great success, and the right wing of the party have got a direct snub:<sup>174</sup> Geiser and Viereck have been too cowardly to sign the *Aufruf*<sup>d</sup> for the Congress, and have consequently been declared incapable of further occupying *eine Vertrauensstellung* in

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<sup>a</sup> the cunning Emile – <sup>b</sup> revolution of contempt – <sup>c</sup> our merciful Lord in France (i.e. very well) – <sup>d</sup> appeal

*der Partei*.<sup>a</sup> Bax was also there, he has brought his boy to Zürich where he will be more or less under Bernstein's care and go to Beust's school.

Here things are moving slowly but they are moving. The Trades Union Congress was a splendid symptom.<sup>165</sup> The Tories help us here by all sorts of little police chicanery with regard to open-air meetings—what confounded jackasses they are both here and in Ireland! Jackasses—unless they intend opening next parliament with the announcement that they have tried coercion and broken down and that nothing therefore remains but Home-Rule<sup>175</sup>—thus taking the wind out of Gladstone's sails and bringing in a half-and-half Home-Rule Bill of their own shaping. But I cannot think Salisbury has either so much sense or so much boldness.

In the meantime Champion has openly attacked Hyndman<sup>b</sup> in his paper *Common Sense* (rather *Uncommon Nonsense*) and the Fabians<sup>176</sup>—a dilettante lot of egregiously conceited mutual admirers who soar high above such ignorant people as Marx—are trying to concentrate the 'movement' in their hands. Very nice amusements *en attendant que la classe ouvrière se mette en mouvement et balaye tous ces mannequins et femmequines*<sup>c</sup> (Mrs Besant is of them too).

Yours affectionately

F. E.

Nim sends her love, is just remanaging the carpet in my room overhead. I have not yet had Sonnenschein's account. I have reminded him of its being due.

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<sup>a</sup> a position of trust in the party – <sup>b</sup> H. H. Champion, 'The Future of Socialism in England', *Common Sense*, 15 September 1887 – <sup>c</sup> until the working class goes into action and sweeps away all these male and female puppets

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>177</sup>

IN ROCHESTER

[London] 29 October 1887

Am sending you by today's post the Austrian calendar (*Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender*) with a biographical note,<sup>155</sup> ditto *Commonweal*. Bebel and Bernstein are here in order, amongst other things, to make preparations for next year's international congress.<sup>178</sup> Bebel most satisfied with the St Gall congress and likewise with the state of affairs in Germany.

Faced with spontaneous agitation on the part of the unemployed, *both* parliamentary groups<sup>179</sup> in this country have shown how very much out of touch they are with the masses. *Commonweal*, as you will see, is completely at its wits' end.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>180</sup>

IN PARIS

[Extract]

[End October 1887]

... to outwit it, he says, the Republic is always in danger and it always will be in danger so long as every working man does not have in his home a Lebel rifle and fifty ball cartridges. And this is what Clemenceau has not dared to concede—still less propose—and it is what you ought

to din into his ears day in day out. The Republic will always be in danger so long as the soldier has his rifle and the working man has not. But Clemenceau is a bourgeois and, as such, is closer to Ferry than to the Socialists. He might be a staunch Radical, were it not for the revolutionary Socialists. And now that his ideal—republican America where the labour question was unknown—no longer exists, he must be in a curious frame of mind. On top of all that, there's the position he's in, to judge by what you say, and this makes me realise how it is that a Ferry-Clemenceau cabinet might seem to him an acceptable solution ...

F. E.

First published in *Le Populaire de Paris*, No. 948, 29 November 1920

Printed according to a facsimile

Translated from the French

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 12 November 1887

My dear Laura,

*Nous voilà en plein 1847!*<sup>a</sup> The parallel is indeed striking; for Teste read: Wilson, for Emile de Girardin read: A. E. Portalis; and if Grévy is not an exact counterpart of Louis Philippe, he is a very well got-up combination of both Louis Philippe and Guizot, uniting the money-greed of the first with the false dignity of the other.<sup>181</sup> I have devoured this morning the papers Paul was good enough to send me, and thought myself forty years younger. Only that the *république bourgeoise* beats the bourgeois monarchy in out-and-out in cheek. Girardin's study was

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<sup>a</sup>We are back in 1847!

never broken into nor was his head smashed, and the wholesale suppression of documents seized by police and *parquet*<sup>a,182</sup> has no counterpart in 1847. But all these tricks will be useless, the ball is set a-rolling and roll on it will. What we see now is only the ‘exposition’ of the drama which seems likely to be as creditable to the innate dramatic genius of French history as any of its predecessors.

The most important feature is that this *commencement de la fin de la république bourgeoise*<sup>b</sup> does not come alone. In Russia, too, the end seems near. The ever-repeated promises of an energetic and successful policy with regard to Bulgaria, followed by ever-renewed checks and moral defeats, seem to have again united the various elements of opposition—it looks as if there might soon be a crisis. Then there is *Unser Fritz*<sup>c</sup> with a now undeniable cancer in his throat—if anything happens to him, the successor to Old William will be a *dummer schnoddriger Junge*,<sup>d</sup> of the Gardelieutenant type, at present an adorer of Bismarck but sure soon to fall out with him because *he* will want to command; a fellow who will soon drive things to extremes and upset the present alliance between feudal nobility and bourgeoisie by sacrificing the latter entirely to the former and who even in army matters is almost sure to fall out with the old experienced generals. And then a crisis is certain. Thus, the critical point is coming nearer everywhere, and I only hope that everywhere people will find as much work cut out for them at home as to prevent them from rushing into war.

*La belle Limouzin alias Scharnet*<sup>183</sup> is indeed a beauty of a peculiar kind to fascinate French officers. But then, she aimed at nothing less than generals, and generals are people of a certain age when tastes begin to be uncertain with some people. It is certainly a very queer new edition of the *Victoires et conquêtes de l’armée française*<sup>e</sup>—the conquest of a hunchbacked, lame, repulsive old hag from Karlsruhe! Anyhow she looks energetic and has roused Thibaudin to a rare enthusiasm.

The stories you tell me about the men of the *agglomération*<sup>f</sup> are characteristic too.<sup>184</sup> The transformation of Paris into a *Luxusstadt*<sup>g</sup> under the Second Empire could not help telling on the working-class too. But any serious movement will shake off a good deal of that. The effect upon the intellect of the masses, I am afraid, will be more lasting.

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<sup>a</sup> public prosecutor – <sup>b</sup> beginning of the end of the bourgeois republic – <sup>c</sup> Our Fritz (Crown Prince Frederick William) – <sup>d</sup> stupid, insolent youth – <sup>e</sup> victories and conquests of the French army – <sup>f</sup> the Paris branch of the French Workers’ Party – <sup>g</sup> luxury city



Tomorrow we shall have here a bit of a tussle too. After a deal of hesitation and vacillation the police have at last forbidden all meetings on Trafalgar Square; the Radical Clubs have answered by calling a great meeting thither for to-morrow afternoon.<sup>185</sup> Tussy and Edward are of course bound to go. I do not anticipate a serious collision. But it is just possible that Matthews and his colleagues of the Tory government for once show fight; especially as the daily Liberal press have taken the side of the police, and as there is no general election in sight just now, as was the case at the time of the Dod St affair.<sup>186</sup> If so, there may be a scrimmage and a few arrests. So you better look out for tomorrow evening's papers.

I must shut up now, it's past five and no time to lose if you are to have this letter to-morrow morning. So good-bye. Nim keeps cutting her fingers now with one kitchen tool and then with another. Percy has been to Dresden and Berlin for his buttonhole machines and consumed untold quantities of lager. Pumps and children are well.

Ever yours affectionately  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 16 November 1887

My dear Lafargue

Dense fog—can't possibly write more than a line or two.

Didn't either of you see Tussy's letter in Monday<sup>a</sup> evening's *Pall Mall*? It ought to have reached you by Tuesday evening. She arrived here

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<sup>a</sup> 14 November

about seven o'clock, her coat in tatters, her hat crushed and torn by a blow from a staff, having been arrested by bobbies but released on the orders of an inspector; practically no one was held and Edward got through unscathed, the contingent he was with having done a bunk at the very outset.<sup>185</sup>

The case is to be heard in the courts and it remains to be seen whether the jury endorses Matthews' famous doctrine which holds that any person walking in Trafalgar Square without the Crown's permission is a trespasser. The Liberals, from Gladstone to Labouchere and Bradlaugh, are begging the people to leave the question in abeyance since it is to be settled in court. But so exasperated have the working men been by police brutality that there may well be another clash next Sunday. Then—provided, that is, that nothing unforeseen happens—there'll be another rout, Trafalgar Square being the place most favourable to the government. It is easily defended, can be approached from the east only by narrow streets, is far removed from the abode of the working class and is situated at the heart of the shopping centre, with barracks close by and with St James's Park—in which to muster reserves of troops—a stone's throw away from the field of battle. Since your philistine, both of the bourgeois and the working-class variety, is in favour of constitutional action, it is to be expected that the next demonstration will be too half-hearted to attempt anything serious. In which case it would be a shame to see the best elements sacrifice themselves to preserve the honour of the chicken-hearted who are now pulling out.

And in France? If you get Ferry in place of Grévy, not only will you get a thief of a son-in-law in place of a father-in-law who is at worst a fence; you'll get a son-in-law who's a thief of the first water.<sup>168</sup> For what Wilson has stolen throughout a whole lifetime does not amount to anything like the sum stolen by Ferry during the Tunis affair alone. To admit the possibility—even *pro tem*—of such a dénouement seems to me too incompatible with the dramatic genius of French history. Rather than a solution, it would be intrigue at its most extreme and tending towards a crisis. And, from that point of view, Ferry's accession is almost to be wished for—the accession of the head of the firm of Roublard & Co. in place of humble clerk. Grévy, for having merely turned a blind eye to corruption, toppled by Ferry who indulges in it openly and boasts of so doing—that would be fine! But Ferry as President—that would be a call to revolution: the bourgeoisie's '*I don't give a fig for you!*' flung in the face of the people.

As for peace, no one but a fool would try to end it just now. The

Crown Prince's<sup>a</sup> cancer would be enough to restrain any warlike impulses Bismarck might feel; the Central Alliance, with England in reserve, is strong enough to ward off, almost effortlessly, any Franco-Russian attack. On the other hand, an offensive war against France with her newly entrenched positions, and against vast and impoverished Russia, would present more problems than pleasures. The impossibility of a true alliance between the Tsar<sup>b</sup> and the Republic, both of whose governments are manifestly labile, becomes increasingly evident. In Russia, even the Slavophiles<sup>187</sup> are turning against the *internal* system of government. One of their leading men, Lamansky, openly says that the obstacle to the march on Constantinople does not lie in Vienna or in Berlin but in a system of government which prevents the Russians from attaining the same intellectual level as the West and thus becoming worthy of the rôle of leading Slav nation. All things considered, *coups de tête*<sup>c</sup> on the part of both Petersburg and Paris are to be anticipated. It remains to be seen what the Tsar will do at Berlin after the public slap in the face he has just received from Bismarck *via* the Imperial Bank of Germany.<sup>188</sup>

As for your army, the soldiers with 2 or 3 years' service have not yet been used against the people, hence it is impossible to say how they might conduct themselves. But they are no longer the undisciplined troops of the Empire. One would have to know how the regiments are constituted, from what regions they are recruited, and whether there are many Parisians in their ranks.

By the way, has the *Socialiste* again succumbed? My last number is dated 29 October.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

Keep an eye on the *XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* and send me a copy if it contains documents and fresh news.

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<sup>a</sup> Frederick William's – <sup>b</sup> Alexander III – <sup>c</sup> impulsive actions

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

IN PARIS

[Extract]

London, 22 November 1887

You will have read in the L ... the speech made by V. in the ... constituency of K. He complains, not without reason, that the Party is getting bourgeois.

It is a misfortune that overtakes all extreme parties as soon as the day for them to become 'possible' draws near. But ours cannot go beyond a certain limit in this respect without betraying its own cause, *and it seems to me that in France as in Germany we have now reached that point. Luckily there is still time to call a halt.*

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 115, 24 November 1900

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 23 November 1887

My dear Lafargue,

I haven't a bean and shall have to sell some shares, which I cannot do for another two or three days. As soon as the money comes in I will send you a cheque. Meanwhile, here is Sonnenschein's statement in respect of the English edition of *Capital*—it amounts to very little—only £39.12—From that I shall deduct £20 in order to recoup some of the £80

advanced for the translation and paid to the translators. The balance of £19.12—I shall divide into 5 equal parts, 3 for the heirs and 2 for the translators (as was agreed with Laura and Tussy), which results in the following statement:

For the Longuet children <sup>a</sup>	£ 3.18.4	
" Laura .....	£ 3.18.4	
" Tussy .....	<u>£ 3.18.4</u>	
		£11.15.-
For Sam <sup>b</sup> 3/5	£4.14.2	
" Edward <sup>c</sup> 2/5	£3.12.6	
		<u>£ 7.17.-</u>
		£19.12.-

Cheque for Laura enclosed herewith.

Sonnenschein says he has printed 1,000 copies, of which 480 are in stock and 78 have been given gratis either to us or to the press.

224 copies sold in England	£336. – 10%	£33.12
200 " " " America	<u>£120. – 5%</u>	<u>£ 6.-</u>
		£39.12.-

18 " thirteenth gratis<sup>189</sup>

442  
558  
 1,000

As to the American 5%, I shall compare this statement with the contract. But I do not believe we can do anything about it. The fellow has clearly sold far more, but is concealing the fact from us in order to have a year in hand.

The Parisian devil-may-care attitude, cited by you as a symptom of demoralisation, is proudly acclaimed by Camille Pelletan in *La Justice*. My £20 were immediately swallowed up by urgent payments and, indeed, I am completely cleaned out just now. Otherwise I should be sending you a cheque today.

Yours ever  
 F. E.

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## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

IN KÖNIGSBERG

London, 26 November 1887  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Dr Schmidt,

I was delighted to hear from you again and to learn that you had left behind the fogs of London and the exuberant air of Paris and were back in the atmosphere of 'pure reason'. I had learned from the press about the strange adventures connected with the arrival of your crate of books<sup>190</sup> and imagined I was back again in those long-forgotten days when I myself was in Berlin, an occasional contributor to the *Hartungsche Zeitung*,<sup>a</sup> and when everything was banned save a 'narrow slave mentality'.<sup>191</sup> But no doubt there are even better things in store!

As regards Heine's letter, I cannot throw any definite light on it.<sup>192</sup> Up till 1848 Lassalle cut no sort of political figure at all; he became known only as a result of the Hatzfeldt trial.<sup>193</sup> And in it both parties had recourse to all possible means, no matter what, provided they gave promise of success, and brought into play, whenever and however they thought fit, anyone who might conceivably be of use. On the other hand, the ban placed by the Federal Diet on Heine's books, even future

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<sup>a</sup> *Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung*

ones, forced him to use all available methods of advertisement in order to ensure the sales that he would otherwise have automatically enjoyed. In the circumstances, Lassalle could become most useful to Heine; on the other hand, Heine was impressed by his energy, ruthlessness and knowledge of the world—all things rare in the majority of young Germans then as they are today.

So it is more than probable that Lassalle sought to make use of Heine for the benefit of the Countess, and the letter in question almost certainly relates to some aspect of the case—very probably the casket. Whether *la* Meyendorf was in Paris at the beginning of 1846, I cannot say for certain but, from what I remember of the proceedings, I think she was. Either the proceedings in the casket case of 1846, or those in Lassalle's of 1848 should provide a clue (best source *Kölnische Zeitung*). If she was in Paris, it was doubtless for the purpose of making an attempt on the casket. Heine and I never discussed Lassalle, whom neither Marx nor I knew at that time.

Your fellow-townsmen Weiss came to see me here; has gone to Berne to complete his studies.<sup>a</sup>

A fortnight ago we had a rumpus of our own over here during which Mrs Aveling became involved in a scuffle with the police without, however, coming to any serious harm.<sup>185</sup> The fact is that our Tory government's stupidity is such as almost to rival Puttkamer's. If old Disraeli were to rise up out of his grave, he would lambast these school-boys good and proper.

May I thank you in advance for the article you promised to send me.<sup>194</sup>

Recently I was called upon by Herkner, a quite intelligent man when one comes to converse with him, and a good deal more radical than his book.<sup>b</sup> He seemed very anxious to impress upon me that in reality even Brentano is, at heart, less tame than he makes himself out to be in his books. Indeed, if the gentlemen at German universities only had the courage of their convictions, we should at any rate be as far on as we were in 1837 and 1840. But whether, in that case, they would find an audience is questionable to say the least.

Otherwise, everything goes jogging on in the same old way over here, so there's nothing new to report.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.105 – <sup>b</sup> H. Herkner, *Die oberelsässische Baumwollindustrie und ihre Arbeiter*, Strasbourg, 1887

Do write again some time and, if I can be of any service to you over here, I shall be glad to oblige.

Cordial regards,

Your

F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 November 1887

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

Thank you and Liebknecht very much indeed for your good wishes on the occasion of my birthday, which we celebrated yesterday. A whole lot of people foregathered; there had first been, in the evening, a rehearsal in a public house of a French play adapted by Aveling, in which he and Tussy both acted and met with great applause, as did the play itself, which has been accepted by a popular actress and hence is now more or less assured of success. Afterwards, the whole company repaired to my house; Lenchen had made some doughnuts and pretzels and Mrs Kautsky a Viennese apple-tart, while midnight ushered in Aveling's birthday, so that we were able to celebrate that as well.

Percy<sup>a</sup> would undoubtedly have come to see you in Leipzig, but he was making only a brief business trip to Dresden and Berlin and had to get back as soon as possible because his buttonholing machine was to figure in an exhibition here which was remaining open only until last Saturday. He arrived in Leipzig in the middle of the night, had to stop there a few

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<sup>a</sup> Percy Rosher



hours after missing his connection and left again that same morning for Dresden. Otherwise he would not have failed to pay you his respects.

As far as Mrs Schack is concerned, she has, to my knowledge, declared on three separate occasions that all the German deputies in our party are corrupt and, on two of those occasions, *expressly included the names* of Liebknecht and Bebel.<sup>a</sup> After she had done this, it was impossible for *me* to have any further dealings with her, even if she herself had made the first move, which was certainly not the case. Bebel had an opportunity of seeing her in her new role and seemed in no way edified thereby. Liebknecht likewise had that opportunity at St Gallen,<sup>174</sup> she having had the, to my mind, unbelievable impertinence to go there. What she told him while there I, of course, don't know, but it cannot alter the fact that she spoke about him over here in such a way as, in my eyes, to constitute a complete breach. The creature is absolutely determined to cut a figure and if, after what has happened, Liebknecht should help her in any way, whether direct or indirect, to do so, or if he should allow his behaviour to be governed by the moderate attitude you have described, there would be a danger that his enviers, of whom we all have our fair share, would look for other motives for his actions. Of course, you and Liebknecht must know best what attitude you should adopt towards the woman. I, for my part, am glad to be rid of her.

In her conflict with the powers that be, Tussy came to no harm, unlike her coat and hat which were irretrievably damaged. As a matter of fact she wasn't attacked; rather it was she who did the attacking. Now the rumpus is virtually over and, while some trifling incident may be staged in Trafalgar Square, it will only be for fun. But the government will have something to think about. Were old Disraeli to know what dunderheads his successors were, he'd rise up out of the grave and lambast them good and proper.

I am tolerably well again and so is Lenchen. She and the Roshers, ditto the Kautskys and Avelings, send you and your husband their cordial regards.

Very sincerely yours,  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.76

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN ROCHESTER

[London, November 1887]

Dear Old Man,

Have received and burned the letter concerned. Had a shrewd idea that the isolation of Rochester wouldn't suit you. In a little hole like that one even misses the irritation of seeing the movement ruined by inept would-be big wigs and business men on the make. But perhaps you'll get used to it. Being in business is, after all, no more boring than teaching music to lazy, recalcitrant pupils. One gets used to counting-house chores; I had to do them for close on thirty years,<sup>9</sup> though I must say I'm glad to be quit of them. Well, let me know *honestly* how you get on.

Your old friend,  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>10</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 3 December 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

As I told you in my postcard per last mail,<sup>69</sup> William Reeves, publisher of *To-day* and of the greater portion of London popular

Socialist literature, has undertaken the sale of the book.<sup>a</sup> He writes December 1:

‘Regarding our conversation of to-day (Wednesday) in reference to the agency of *The Condition etc.* by Engels we shall be pleased to undertake the same and have copies from you or the publisher in America<sup>b</sup> at the rate of 3s. net bound—the future copies should be sent *unbound*. The sole charge will be the necessary printing of titles and insertion of same which will cost about 10s.’

And further, December 2:

‘In answer to your enquiry as to date of making up accounts we beg to say that every six months is the time and payment made a month after. We understand until other arrangements are made we are dealing with *you*.’

This latter proviso I made as otherwise Reeves could have evaded settlement of accounts by saying he did not know whom to pay, Mr Lovell or myself, and then cause delay and procrastination. In future transactions other arrangements can be made. As to these he writes December 1st:

‘The rates for other works similar in character could be taken at about the same rate of discounts—it depends a little on the price to be put on for retail price, for instance a 6s.- book is supplied to the trade at a little cheaper rate than a 5s.- one.’

So the fellow will keep a door open for haggling and in future cases it will be well to inform me in time, so as to arrange definitely his discount before you put his name on the title as London agent. These people are all alike.

The above terms are of course for books delivered to him carriage paid and free of all expense on his part. He says the carriage is but trifling and so it may be to the trade and for bales, but I know that for parcels sent to private people they stick it on pretty well; Kautsky had to pay above 10s for the copies sent to him, and the Liverpool agent (Wheatley) made me pay 2s.6d. extra expenses on the parcel containing the 1,000 pamphlets,<sup>c</sup> altho’ no carriage whatever was charged to me.

We shall send copies to the Socialist press (except *Justice* which had one from America and said just two lines about it<sup>d</sup>), to the *Athenaeum*,

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* – <sup>b</sup> John W. Lovell – <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America* – <sup>d</sup> *Justice*, No. 176, 28 May 1887

*Academy* and *Pall Mall Gazette*; *Weekly Dispatch* and *Reynolds*. The *Commonweal* (I sent a copy to Morris) has begun a series of extracts from the book,<sup>195</sup> the first of which I mailed to you to-day. Altogether the prospects are very good. Only we must not send the copies to the press until after Christmas, otherwise they would be wasted.

As to the pamphlet,<sup>a</sup> as I told you, Reeves had it pirated and will of course sell his own lot first. I shall hand the 1,000 copies to Aveling to do the best he can—either sell at meetings or give to Reeves as he may want them; but I am afraid a good deal of them will have to be given away gratis in the long run at meetings.

Your translation of *Free Trade* shall have attention as soon as ever possible.<sup>196</sup> I shall also write a preface, only I am sure it will not in any case be what you want. It is impossible for me to answer the probable arguments of American protectionists beforehand. I do not know that sort of literature and have no time to go into it. My reasoning in nine cases out of ten would miss the mark, and moreover whatever we may say, they will always find a way out, and have something to say that we cannot foresee. To enter into polemics with them directly, one must be in America. And I have always found that a good book makes its way and has its effect whatever the penny-a-liners of the day may say.

Yours faithfully  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America*

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 5 December 1887

My dear Lafargue,

Like you, I cried ‘*Victory!*’ yesterday morning. It is clear that, had it not been for the people of Paris, the Right would not have dreamed of voting for an impossible candidate<sup>a</sup> and would have rallied to Ferry with the opportunists-cum-speculators.<sup>197</sup> In which case—battle and, as likely as not, defeat.

The drama is unfolding in complete accordance with the rules. In 1878 victory of the people and the army over the monarchists alone;<sup>198</sup> in 1887 victory over the monarchists and opportunists<sup>199</sup> *combined*. The next victory must be victory over monarchists, opportunists and radicals<sup>200</sup> combined.

Clemenceau would seem after all to have contributed not a little to that result by dropping Freycinet in favour of Carnot. It was the least he could do after falling headlong into Ferry’s trap. But it’s better than nothing. And, circumstances being what they are, a *legal* solution of this kind, brought about under the menacing pressure of the Parisian workers, is all we might wish. As in the case of most days during the great revolution, it is a period of ascent.

What attitude did the soldiers adopt—those of the *line*, I mean? Peaceful victories such as this are a capital way of familiarising troops with the supremacy and infallibility of the popular masses. Another day or two of the same sort and the troops will undoubtedly mutiny.

Sadi Carnot won’t do much. The presidency is done for after what has happened. The president has been reduced to a puppet, appointing and dismissing ministers at the command of the Chamber.

All the same, I hope the scandals will continue to be relentlessly followed up. Things have gone too far, I think, to be halted now. The bourgeois will cry that enough is enough, that one should display generosity and let bygones be bygones—but let us hope that the

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<sup>a</sup> Felix Gustave Saussier

only way for the radicals to come to power is by prosecuting the thieves.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

The Social Democratic Federation was supposed to be meeting in Trafalgar Square yesterday,<sup>a</sup> but there wasn't a word about it in the *Daily News*; we may be sure Hyndman didn't run any risk.<sup>201</sup>

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 7 December 1887

Dear Mr Schlüter,

It would be best if you were to make up a volume of *Shorter Papers, 1871–75* by F. Engels, as follows:

1. Article on Vogt, 1871, No. 38, 10 May<sup>b</sup>
2. *Refugee Literature*<sup>c</sup>
3. Tkachov's letter
4. [On] *Social Relations in Russia*
5. *The Bakuninists at Work*

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<sup>a</sup> 4 December – <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Once Again 'Herr Vogt'* – <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *Refugee Literature, IV*

We shall have to omit the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* article,<sup>a</sup> for in the first place it would today require an additional explanatory section (because of our Russian friends) and, in the second, I intend at some later date to bring out a collection of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* articles by Marx and myself. We might discuss this later on.<sup>202</sup>

Herewith *The Bakuninists at Work* with the paragraphs in Section III correctly numbered in the order in which they should appear. Would you kindly send *this sheet* for me to look at, so that I know what I'm about. The remaining proof reading can be attended to over there.

If you could get hold of one or two copies of the *Revue* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (complete), I will gladly pay for them. I have only got vols 3, 5 and 6, and should like to have 1, 2 and 4 as well.

You shall have the 'Mordspatrioten'<sup>b</sup> shortly: I am writing the introduction. I shall also try and put the 'Force Theory' to rights.<sup>203</sup>

As regards other matters, 1. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* articles, see above; 2. *Revue* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—nothing that could do without an introduction and wouldn't be time-consuming; 3. I have sold the *Prussian Military Question* to Meissner, with whom I cannot start a row, and much of what I say in it would be very difficult to understand today without a commentary.

After the New Year I shall have to tackle Volume III of *Das Kapital*, for which I must spare my eyes. Aside from what I have already undertaken, therefore, I can at present do absolutely nothing for you; I'm very sorry, but I have no alternative. As soon as this ms. has gone to press, and while correcting the proofs, I shall have time to spare for you, provided my eyes are all right again. But you must remember that I can only really write for a few hours each day and then only by daylight—often not to be had for love or money over here—and withal a vast correspondence!

With kindest regards,

Your  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism' – <sup>b</sup> S. Borkheim, *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten, 1806–1807*. Mit einer Einleitung von Fr. Engels, Hottingen-Zürich, 1888

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

London, 20 December 1887

Dear Kautsky,

I have got to go to Brighton today and shall try and be back by tomorrow evening. But as something might intervene, it might be safer if you were to let us have the pleasure of your company on Thursday<sup>a</sup> evening instead of tomorrow.

Kindest regards,

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 24 December 1887

My dear Laura,

Nobody is gladder to be in possession of your new address than Nim who was in an awful funk—not so much about the arrival of the pudding

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<sup>a</sup> 22 December



than about one of the cakes sent along with it, and which she intends for the children,<sup>a</sup> and as there was no safe and quick way of communicating with you and as she knows Paul capable of eating two cakes in one day, she was very much afraid indeed. She hopes now that this will arrive before that cake has been broken into and that you will be good enough to see it delivered *à qui de droit*.<sup>b</sup>

I enclose cheque £25—the odd five is a little Christmas present for you which no doubt will soon find investment.

Schorlemmer is here and I expect him in every minute, so shall have to close this letter before he comes in.

I was in Brighton last Tuesday<sup>c</sup> to see Gumpert who is there—generally very well outwardly but still very much shaken morally—absolute loss of self-confidence and energy. His poor young wife has to suffer very much in consequence. Perhaps when spring comes on, we may shake him up a bit.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is getting horribly dull—the paper is either a chronic bore or an acute sensation of chamber of horrors. Stead is out of date—a puritan fanatic who ought to have lived in 1648, quite out of date nowadays. But useful and good in one way—he, though full of it himself, hates respectability and middle-class cant.

Will send you some American comic papers<sup>d</sup> after to-morrow, must show them here first. The parvenu in all his glory—how they are enchanted to see themselves in evening dress! And the vulgarity breaks out all over their skins especially when talking about socialism. One almost gets a prejudice in favour of English ‘Society’ after that.

Yours affectionately  
F. Engels

Jollymeier was very ‘bould’ last night and lost fivepence to Nim.

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<sup>a</sup> Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet – <sup>b</sup> to the proper quarter – <sup>c</sup> 20 December – <sup>d</sup> *The Judge and Puck*

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 29 December 1887

My dear Lafargue

I held back my reply until today when I should have received more precise information from Kautsky about the worthy Oberwinder. I knew about the business in general terms, but I wanted to be sure.<sup>204</sup>

After 1873 Oberwinder played a fairly important part in the Viennese movement. He was an erstwhile Lassallean, and editor of the *Volkswille*, a weekly paper. At that time, the deputies to the Austrian parliament were elected by the provincial diets, and the Liberals were agitating for direct election by the districts. Oberwinder espoused their cause with a fervour all the more disinterested for his being in the pay of the Liberals—through an intermediary, a Mr Szeps of the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*. On the pretext that the Liberals' demand was the first step towards universal suffrage, he urged the workers to support them. Scheu opposed this, but in Vienna Oberwinder had a majority and compelled Scheu and his friends to secede; the latter, who had a majority in the provinces, founded *Die Gleichheit* in Wiener Neustadt and used their journal to attack Oberwinder in all kinds of ways, reproaching him for the above-mentioned activities and for other things besides. Oberwinder brought a libel action against Scheu, but the jury found that Scheu had proved his case and acquitted him. In the course of the proceedings it was further established that Oberwinder had expended on his *weekly* paper the sum of 10,000 florins (25,000 francs) subscribed towards the founding of a *daily*, and had done other things of a similar nature. In short, the case ruined Oberwinder's position in Vienna and the Liberals could have no further interest in paying him. He went to Hamburg where he associated with the Breuerist group of Lassalleans—one of those sects in which moribund Lassalleanism was ending its days. Its members were out-and-out petty bourgeois and their sect has been extinct for ten years or more. Next, Oberwinder came to Paris. About a year ago he published a pamphlet<sup>a</sup> in which he called on the German workers to rally to Bismarck's policy and support him so that he, in return, should grant them social reforms.

<sup>a</sup> H. Oberwinder, *Sozialismus und Sozialpolitik*, Berlin, 1887

As you can see, he's a Lassallean who can say he has never betrayed his own opinions. 1) He believes in the omnipotence of universal suffrage, which is why he supported the Austrian Liberals; 2) Lassalle demanded that, in the struggle between royalty and the bourgeoisie, the workers should side with royalty—and that is why Oberwinder is a partisan of Bismarck's. Seeing that Lassalleanism is extinct in Germany, why should not this erstwhile Lassallean take Bismarck's money just as he had taken it from the Austrian Liberals? Except that, once he had drawn his first Bismarckian penny, he must have realised he was dealing with one more wily than himself and that he was trapped.

The discovery made by our people in Switzerland<sup>a</sup> may be of the utmost importance—the Swiss authorities will do all in their power to compromise Prussia, and the Geneva affair—a nihilist plot—will have repercussions. It is typical of the stupidity of the Prussian police! The said Haupt, caught red-handed by a handful of intrepid workers who, while searching his house—which he allowed them to do!—discovered his correspondence with Krüger—the Haupt is such a *muff* as to admit having been an informer for the past seven years! And that's the man to whom they entrust a mission of this kind! After that, the suborning of Nonne and Oberwinder surely comes as no surprise. But as Heine always used to say: the Prussian informers are the most dangerous because they are not paid but always live in hopes, which makes them active and intelligent; if Prussia were to pay them, they would no longer be good for anything.

I hope that the *Pucks* and *Judges* sent off yesterday have reached Laura.<sup>b</sup>

That your protégé Stead is very useful just now, no one will deny, but it doesn't prevent this man, who defends in Russia what he attacks in Ireland, from living in a century which is not our own. You ought likewise to take the Salvation Army<sup>205</sup> under your wing for, without it, the right to hold processions and discussions in the street would be in a far more parlous state in England than it now is.

Nim, Jollymeier, Pumps and the little ones have gone to the theatre to see *Hans the Boatman*, an American play in which there are lots of children and a large dog.

Laura's paintings won't dry well with the weather we are having.<sup>206</sup>

A thousand good wishes for the New Year.

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<sup>a</sup>See 'Polizeiagenten–Dynamitagenten', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 52, 24 December 1887 – <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p.128

Yours ever,  
F. E.

I am sending my card to Mesa, 36 rue du Bac; is that still his address?  
Isn't the *Socialiste* coming out any longer?

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1888

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ENGELS TO ION NADEJDE

IN JASSY

London, 4 January 1888  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

My friend Karl Kautsky, editor of the *Neue Zeit*, has sent me several consecutive numbers of *La Revista Sociala* and of *Contemporarul* containing, amongst other things, your translations of some of my works, in particular my *Origin of the Family*, etc.<sup>207</sup> Allow me to proffer my sincere thanks for the trouble you have been so good as to take in making these writings accessible to the Romanian public. In addition to the honour you have thus done me, you have also rendered me, personally, the service of enabling me at long last to learn something of your language. I say at long last because, almost fifty years ago, I tried to do this, in vain, with the help of the *Grammaire comparée des langues romanes*<sup>a</sup> by Diez. Recently I succeeded in getting hold of Cionca's little grammar but, having no texts to read and no dictionary, I did not get on very well. But with your translation I have been able to make some progress, the original text and the Latin and Slav etymology having taken the place of the dictionary and now, thanks to you, I can say that Romanian is no longer, for me, a completely unknown language. However, if you could tell me of a passable dictionary, whether Romanian–German or Romanian–French or –Italian, you would be doing me another signal service; for it would help me the

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<sup>a</sup> *Gramatica comparată a limbilor romanice*

better to understand your original articles and the pamphlets *Ce vor socialiștii romîni?* and *Karl Marx și economiștii noștri*, which Kautsky likewise sent me.<sup>208</sup>

From these I have, with much pleasure, gained the conviction that the socialists of your country have adopted in their programme<sup>a</sup> the fundamental principles of the theory formulated by my late friend Karl Marx—a theory which has succeeded in welding together into a single fighting force the vast majority of European and American socialists. At the time of that great thinker's death, the social and political situation, and the progress being made by our Party in all civilised countries, enabled him to close his eyes in the conviction that his efforts to unite the proletarians of the two worlds into one big army and under the same flag would ultimately be crowned with success. But if only he had been able to catch a glimpse of the immense strides we have since made in America no less than in Europe!

So great have been those strides that, for the European party at any rate, a common international policy has become imperative. In this regard, I again have the satisfaction of seeing that you agree, in principle, with ourselves and with the large majority of western socialists. Your translation of my article 'The Political Situation in Europe', as also your letter to the Editor of the *Neue Zeit*, are proof enough of this.

Indeed we are all confronted by the same great obstacle that is hampering the free development of all the nations and of each individual nation; in the absence of that development we could not embark upon, still less accomplish, social revolution in the various countries merely by means of mutual cooperation. That obstacle is the old Holy Alliance<sup>209</sup> between the three assassins of Poland, led since 1815 by Russian Tsarism and surviving until today despite occasional domestic squabbles. It was founded in 1815 to combat the revolutionary spirit of the French people; in 1871 it was ratified by the annexation of Alsace, which turned Germany into the slave of Tsarism and the Tsar into the arbiter of Europe; in 1888 it is maintained for the purpose of crushing the revolutionary spirit within the three empires—the national aspirations no less than the political and social movements of the working classes. Since Russia enjoys a virtually impregnable strategic position, Russian Tsarism forms the nub of that alliance, great repository of all European reaction. To topple Tsarism, to destroy that incubus which lies heavy on the

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<sup>a</sup> C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Ce vor socialiștii romîni. Expunerea socialismului științific și Programul socialist*

whole of Europe, such, in my eyes, is the first condition for the emancipation of the nationalities of central and eastern Europe. Once Tsarism has been crushed, the nefarious power represented today by Bismarck will in turn crumble.<sup>a</sup> Austria will fall to pieces, having lost its only *raison d'être*, that of preventing by its very existence the annexation by conquering Tsarism of the scattered nations in the Carpathians and the Balkans. Poland will be reborn, Little Russia will be free to choose its political position, the Romanians, the Magyars and the South Slavs will be able to settle their own affairs and their new boundaries amongst themselves, unhampered by any foreign meddling and, finally, the noble nation of Great Russia, no longer engaged in pursuing chimerical conquest for the benefit of Tsarism, will be free to carry out its true civilising mission in Asia and to develop its vast intellectual resources in exchanges with the West, instead of squandering the best of its blood on the scaffold or in the *katorga*.<sup>b</sup>

You in Romania must know what Tsarism is, having had more than enough experience of it through Kiselev's '*réglement organique*', through the intervention of 1848, through the theft—perpetrated not once, but twice—of Bessarabia,<sup>210</sup> through the innumerable invasions of your country, a mere Russian staging-post, no more, on the way to the Bosphorus, and through the sure knowledge that your independent existence will cease on the day the Tsar fulfils his dream—the conquest of Constantinople.<sup>c</sup>

At this moment the alliance appears to have disintegrated and war to be imminent. But even if war does come, it will be merely in order to make recalcitrant Prussia and Austria toe the line. I hope that peace will be maintained: in such a war it would be impossible to sympathise with any of the combatants; rather, were such a thing possible, one would wish that *all* should be beaten. It would be a terrible war—but, come what may, everything will eventually turn to the advantage of the socialist movement and bring nearer the accession of the working class.

Pray excuse these elucidations, but just now I could not well write to a Romanian without expressing an opinion on these burning questions. What it boils down to is this: revolution in Russia at this moment would

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<sup>a</sup> The rough copy further reads: 'and our workingmen's Party will march with giant strides towards revolution' – <sup>b</sup> penal servitude (Russ.) – <sup>c</sup> The last two sentences are missing in the rough copy

save Europe from the horrors of a general war and would usher in universal social revolution.<sup>a</sup>

Since your relations with the German socialists, newspaper exchange, etc., leave something to be desired, I would gladly do for you whatever I can.

With fraternal greetings,  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON<sup>211</sup>

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 5 January 1888

Dear Sir,

I have removed and my new address is: Mrs Rosher, Cottesloe, Burton Road, Kilburn, London N. W. There is no number, Cottesloe being the name of the house.

I have at once ordered from my bookseller here the work of Dr Keussler.<sup>b</sup> Even if the first volumes are based on imperfect materials I have seen enough of the work of your Zemstvos to know that the résumé of them must contain immensely valuable material and, being written in German, prove a perfect revelation to Occidentals.<sup>212</sup> I shall take good care that these materials are made use of.

I am afraid your land-bank for the nobility<sup>213</sup> will have about the

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<sup>a</sup> The rough copy of the manuscript ends here – <sup>b</sup> J. V. Keussler, *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des bäuerlichen Gemeindebesitzes in Russland*



same effect as the Prussian land-banks have had. There the nobility took up loans under pretext of improving their estates, but really spent most of the money in keeping up their habitual style of living, in gambling, trips to Berlin and the provincial *chefs-lieux*<sup>a</sup> etc. For the nobility considered it their first duty *standesgemäss zu leben*,<sup>b</sup> and the first duty of the state seemed to them to enable them to do so. And so, in spite of all banks, of all the enormous direct and indirect money-presents made to them by the state, the Prussian nobles are over head and ears indebted to the Jews, and no raising of the import duties on agricultural produce will save them. And I remember one well-known half-German Russian, attached illegitimately to the Russian nobility, finding these Prussian nobles still too stingy. When, on arriving from one shore to another,<sup>c</sup> he saw them at home he exclaimed: why these people try to save money while with us a man would be considered the meanest of the mean unless he spent half as much again as his income! If this be really the principle of the Russian nobility,<sup>d</sup> then I wish them joy of their banks.

The peasants' bank<sup>214</sup> too seems similar to the Prussian peasants' banks, and it is almost inconceivable how difficult it is for some people to see that all fresh sources of credit opened up to landed proprietors (small or large) must result in enslaving them to the victorious capitalist.

My eyes still require *des ménagements*,<sup>e</sup> but anyhow I hope in a short time, say next month, to be able to resume my work on the 3rd volume<sup>f</sup>; unfortunately I cannot as yet make any promises as to the time of finishing it.

The English translation<sup>g</sup> has sold and is selling very well, indeed surprisingly well for a book of that size and class; the publisher<sup>h</sup> is enchanted with his speculation. The critics are on the other hand very, very much below the average low level. Only one good article in the *Athenaeum*<sup>57</sup>; the rest either merely give extracts from the preface or, if trying to tackle the book itself, are unutterably poor. The fashionable theory just now here is that of Stanley Jevons,<sup>215</sup> according to which value is determined by *utility*, i.e. *Tauschwert-Gebrauchswert*<sup>i</sup> and on

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<sup>a</sup> big cities – <sup>b</sup> to live according to their social status – <sup>c</sup> in Russian in the original letter. An allusion to Alexander Herzen's book *From Another Shore*) – <sup>d</sup> in Russian in the original <sup>e</sup> good care – <sup>f</sup> of *Capital* – <sup>g</sup> of Vol. I of *Capital* – <sup>h</sup> William Swan Sonnenschein – <sup>i</sup> exchange value = use value

the other hand by the limit of supply (i.e. the cost of production), which is merely a confused and circuitous way of saying that value is determined by supply and demand. Vulgar Economy everywhere! The second great literary organ here, the *Academy*, has not yet spoken.

The sale of the German edition of I and II volumes goes on very well. There are a great many articles written about the book and its theories, an extract, or rather independent reproduction in: *Karl Marx's Ökonomische Lehren* von<sup>a</sup> K. Kautsky, not bad, though not always quite correct, I will send it you. Then a miserable apostate Jew Georg Adler, *Privatdozent* in Breslau,<sup>b</sup> has written a big book, the title of which I forget, to prove Marx wrong,<sup>c</sup> but it is simply a scurrilous and ridiculous pamphlet by which the author wants to call attention—the attention of the ministry and bourgeoisie—on himself and his importance. I have asked all my friends *not* to notice it. Indeed if any miserable impotent fellow wants to *faire de la réclame*<sup>d</sup> for himself, he attacks our author.<sup>e</sup>

Friends in Paris have doubted the accuracy of your very sad news about Mr Mutual.<sup>f</sup> Could you give me in some way or other any particulars of this event?<sup>216</sup>

I enclose a little thing published some years ago.

Yours sincerely,  
P. W. Rosher

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Minuvshiyey gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

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<sup>a</sup> by – <sup>b</sup> lecturer in Wroclaw – <sup>c</sup> G. Adler, *Die Grundlagen der Karl Marx'schen Kritik der bestehenden Volkswirtschaft. Kritische und ökonomisch-literarische Studien*, Tübingen, 1887 – <sup>d</sup> gain publicity – <sup>e</sup> Karl Marx – <sup>f</sup> Hermann Lopatin

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>217</sup>

IN ROCHESTER

London, 7 January 1888

Dear Sorge

First, let me wish you a Happy New Year and express the hope that you will soon settle down in your new locality<sup>218</sup> and that you have completely recovered from your accidents last summer.

We can only hope that the gathering war clouds will disperse—everything is already going as nicely as we could wish and we can very well dispense with the interruption through a general war and one, moreover, on a vaster scale than ever before, although this too must eventually redound in our favour. Bismarck's policy is driving the working and petty-bourgeois masses over to us in their thousands; the pitiable inadequacy of the social reforms, so pompously proclaimed, and which are a mere pretext for coercive measures against the workers (Puttkamer's anti-strike edict, the proposed re-introduction of employment books, the purloining of trades union and provident funds) is proving enormously effective.<sup>219</sup> The new Anti-Socialist Law will do little harm; *this time*, the expatriation clause is unlikely to go through and, if it does, it's questionable how long it will last.<sup>220</sup> For if—as would be best for us—old William<sup>a</sup> were shortly to kick the bucket and the Crown Prince<sup>b</sup> came to the helm, if only for six months, everything would probably be thrown into confusion. Bismarck has laboured so hard at getting rid of the Crown Prince altogether and bringing about the regency of that insolent guards' subaltern, the *younger* William,<sup>c</sup> that he would, in such an event, probably be got rid of and replaced by a short-lived, head-in-clouds liberal regime. That would be enough to destroy your philistine's confidence in the stability of the Bismarckian system; and if, along with the young whippersnapper, Bismarck were subsequently to return to power, your philistine's faith would nonetheless be gone, the lad being after all no substitute for the old man. For the bogus Bonapartes of today are as naught unless people believe in them

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<sup>a</sup> William I – <sup>b</sup> Frederick William (later Frederick III) – <sup>c</sup> Frederick William's son (William II)

and in their invincibility. And if the boy and his mentor Bismarck were then to grow cocky and produce measures even more insolent than the present ones, things would be all set for a crisis.

On the other hand, a war would set us back by many years. Chauvinism would swamp all else since there would be a struggle for survival. Germany would place some 5 million men under arms, or 10 per cent of the population, the others, say, 4 or 5 per cent, Russia relatively less. But there would be some 10 to 15 million combatants in the field. And how they are to be fed beats me; it would mean devastation like that of the Thirty Years War.<sup>221</sup> And it wouldn't be over quickly, despite the colossal military forces engaged. For France is protected by very extensive fortifications along its frontiers in the northwest and southeast, and the new works at Paris are models of their kind. So it will take a long time, and Russia is not to be reduced by storm either. Even if everything goes in accordance with Bismarck's wishes, therefore, unprecedented demands will be made on the nation and it is quite possible that the postponement of a decisive victory and partial reverses would evoke revolution inside the country. But if the Germans were beaten from the start, or forced permanently onto the defensive, then the fun would surely begin. If the war were fought to a finish without internal disorder, the state of prostration would be unlike anything Europe has experienced in the past 200 years. Then American industry would triumph all along the line and we should all be faced with the alternative either of a complete reversion to agriculture for *domestic consumption* (any other kind being precluded by American grain) or—social transformation. Hence I suspect that they do not intend to go to extremes, to have recourse to anything more than a mock war. But once the first shot has been fired, control will have been lost and the horse can take the bit between its teeth.

So everything is tending inexorably towards a decision, war or peace, and I must hasten to complete the third volume.<sup>a</sup> But events demand that I remain *au courant*<sup>b</sup> and this, particularly as regards the military side, requires a great deal of time, and yet I must still take care of my eyes. If only I could simply withdraw into my study! However, it's got to be done and I shall set to work next month at the latest.

Shorlemmer, who is here, sends his kindest regards.

Our people were immediately responsible for resolving the presidential crisis in Paris.<sup>197</sup> The Blanquists took the lead, Vaillant having carried

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<sup>a</sup> Of *Capital* – <sup>b</sup> informed

the day in the office of the Municipal Council. If the fun begins soon, Vaillant will be the guiding light of the next provisional government. He's lucky—as a Blanquist he has no need to vindicate an economic theory and this enables him to keep out of many a squabble. The Possibilists<sup>19</sup> have discredited themselves completely and utterly; having advocated *total abstention from action*, they unsuccessfully sought, in company with the reactionaries, to bring a vote of censure in the Municipal Council on its office, which had behaved as well as might be expected of Radicals of that ilk.

You have, I trust, been getting *Commonweal*, *Gleichheit* and *To-day* regularly.

Your old friend,  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

As regards expatriation, things are unlikely to move very rapidly. However contemptible the German bourgeoisie may be, such cowardice calls for a modicum of courage and in my view it will take Bismarck a year to knock that courage into them. But quite a lot can happen in a year. By intriguing against the Crown Prince,<sup>a</sup> Monsieur

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<sup>a</sup> Frederick William (later Frederick III)

Bismarck has tripped up badly and if, after the old man<sup>a</sup> has pegged out, the Crown Prince's turn lasts only six months, it will be enough to throw everything into confusion and thoroughly undermine the philistine's confidence in the permanence of the Bismarckian system. After that the insolent lad William<sup>b</sup> is welcome to take his turn; he'll do far more good than he can do harm. So I trust that your visit to America next year will only be a temporary one<sup>222</sup> and that we shall see you here both on the way out and on the way home. You will find plenty of work to do in America for, as you say, the chaps over there have bungled things badly.<sup>223</sup> The Americans themselves are still too new to the movement as a whole and too unfamiliar with it not to perpetrate a series of stupendous blunders. But we can also come to their assistance and in such a case a man like you, who is familiar with the English movement and capable of handling an English audience, would be exceedingly useful.

There's nothing new to report here. The old Communist Society<sup>106</sup> is going steadily downhill, being now in the hands of the rascally Gilles; it is becoming increasingly chummy with the anarchists whose headquarters are now in London. The Trafalgar Square affair<sup>224</sup> is being celebrated afresh with the wholesale sentencing—both in the magistrates' and in the criminal courts—of those who took part in the demonstration. Graham and Burns are to appear shortly. If they too are sentenced, the London jurymen will, by his action, have passed a vote of thanks to Warren and the police, which can only further the split between the classes. The workingmen have an enormous hatred of the police and at the next election the stupid Tories will have cause to be aware of it.

I wish you belatedly a Happy New Year and let's hope there will be peace both internally and externally. I have no wish either for war or for attempted coups. Everything is going much too famously for that.

Your  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> William I – <sup>b</sup> Frederick William's son (William II)

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER<sup>225</sup>

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I have no objection to Ede's printing the final part of the introduction to the *Blood-and-Thunder Patriots*.<sup>226</sup>

Kindly tell me when, approximately, you will be able to start printing the *Theory of Force*. For I am working on a fourth chapter to it in which I examine Bismarck's use of force and the reasons for its momentary success. I am writing it now, but shall have to revise it immediately before printing and make additions in accordance with the latest facts. Naturally I shall be happy to place this chapter too at Ede's disposal, once everything has got to that stage.<sup>203</sup>

I shall shortly be putting my books in order and it may be that another copy of the *Holy Family* will turn up; if so, the archives<sup>227</sup> shall have it. Meanwhile please continue to keep an eye open for the *Revue der Neue Rheinischen Zeitung*—isolated articles would be of use only in cases of direct necessity.<sup>228</sup>

Bruhn's distorted account is mentioned in *Herr Vogt*, p. 124. Note—Bangya, having represented himself as the agent of a chap called Eisenmann, or some such name, who was supposedly setting up as a bookseller in Berlin, had promised that the latter would print the ms.<sup>229</sup> This was by Marx and myself and the original is here in my house. However, the actual purchaser of the copy was Stieber, who was silly enough to imagine that the Prussian police would find in a ms. *intended by us for publication* secret revelations and not merely a derisive portrayal of the great men of the emigration, for there was, of course, nothing more to it than that. We were done out of its *publication*, but the people who were really done were the Prussian police, who no doubt also took care never to boast about it and, along with them, Mr Kossuth who, until this episode, had been unaware of the unsavoury nature of his protégé, though subsequently he still sought to support him.

Your kind wishes for the New Year are heartily reciprocated.

Ever yours,

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

### IN BENEVENTO

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Friend,

I would have written to you long ago, but could only suppose that you were no longer in Benevento, for one of the periodicals you very kindly sent me bore a different address with a domicile I didn't know. So I have been awaiting further word from you.

The ludicrous charge brought against you in connection with the embezzlement of L15,000 is best refuted by the fact that you have been given employment by the government prefect himself. I trust that the whole intrigue will fizzle out before things get to the stage of public proceedings.

I don't know how the Hamburg business passed off; I have heard no further news on the subject from Wedde.<sup>230</sup> But it is just as well that nothing has come of it. The Prussian government has at last managed to bring the government of the Hamburg 'republic' to heel. Our newspaper there<sup>a</sup> has been banned; Wedde, the editor, though a citizen of Hamburg, has been banished from his native city, and some twenty socialists have been sentenced in Altona (the neighbouring Prussian town) and will, on release, be expelled from Hamburg. Under the circumstances you too would have been expelled from there and, as a foreigner, from the German Empire as a whole; and the cost of the double removal complete with family would have been ruinous.

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<sup>a</sup> *Bürgerzeitung*



I am grateful for the trouble you are taking over my biography and shall be happy to go over your translation.<sup>231</sup> But I doubt whether it would be worth your while getting it published as a pamphlet. After all, I'm as good as unknown in Italy and among those who do happen to know me there are many anarchists, by whom I am hated rather than loved. But I leave this to you.

I shall also be able to attend to your manuscript within the next few weeks, after which it will go off to you at once.<sup>232</sup> Unfortunately I still have to spare my eyes.

With sincere regards,

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

*Mefistofele* I will be posted this evening.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER  
IN HOTTINGEN-ZÜRICH

[London], 23 January 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

You should have the *Theory of Force* by 20 February; you would be getting it even sooner but for the intervention of the English translation of the *Manifesto*<sup>a</sup> which I must polish off quickly with Sam Moore, the translator of *Capital*, who is here with me, otherwise I shall be missing a splendid opportunity.

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

As soon as that is done—by the end of the week—I'll go back to the final part of the *Theory of Force*, which provides a rapid survey of historical events between 1848 and 1888 in so far as they are applicable to the subject. This time I shall annoy Bismarck even more than I did with my *Schnaps*.<sup>233</sup>

Kindest regards.

Yours,  
F. E.

The only thing that might possibly intervene would be by my eyesight, for which I'm receiving treatment so as to get the wretched business properly over and done with—but in that case I shall write.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 February 1888

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for L15.

I am overwhelmed with work. The business of the English *Manifesto* has at last been rushed through and I expect to have the proofs in a few days' time.<sup>54</sup> I am counting on Laura for improvements to the translation, my own revision having had to be done in something of a hurry, and this would be of the greatest help to me in the event of a reprint.

Then, I am writing a critique of Bismarck's policy generally. It is to appear as an appendix to the *Anti-Dühring's Theory of Force*, or rather, as its application to current practice. I promised to deliver the ms. on the

20th of this month and, as you can well imagine, the thing has got to be carefully considered and reconsidered. Now, that is something that would have done nicely for the *Socialiste* had you not killed it off just by this time.

The disappearance of the *Socialiste* spells your own disappearance *qua* party from the Paris scene.<sup>234</sup> After all, the Possibilists manage to keep the *Prolétariat* going and, if you cannot do as much, it means you are contracting instead of expanding; it is not the *weekly* organ that is to blame—the other's a weekly too. Meanwhile I refuse to believe that the Paris workingman has embarked irretrievably on a period of decadence. The French are unpredictable and capable of springing all manner of surprises. So I shall wait and see.

As for Bismarck he, no less than the Russian Panslavists<sup>82</sup> and French chauvinists, is playing with fire. The present situation suits him so long as a glimmer of life remains in old Lehmann (nickname for William,<sup>a</sup> as you doubtless know). Bismarck has every reason to make himself indispensable against the day the old man dies. He and young William<sup>b</sup> have hatched something of a plot against the Crown Prince<sup>c</sup> in an attempt to induce him to have a laryngotomy, i.e. to have his throat slit.<sup>d</sup> Since the Crown Prince and his wife<sup>e</sup> are perfectly well aware of this, Bismarck has made himself all but impossible so far as they are concerned. And that's one of the reasons why the new Anti-Socialist Law has failed to get through the Reichstag.<sup>235</sup> A Catholic from Cologne<sup>f</sup> declared in open session that, before 30 September (when the existing law expires) the ministry might well have changed hands.

That debate on the Anti-Socialist Law was, for us, a real masterpiece. It is the first time our men have scored an out-and-out victory in the Reichstag. The law will be extended for two years, probably for the last time. But not all the arguments nor all the facts in the world would have sufficed to bring about the rejection of the government's demands had there been any immediate prospect of young William's succession; he is your true Prussian, insolent and arrogant as the officers in Berlin in 1806, who would use the steps of the French embassy to whet their swords on only, vanquished, to surrender those swords to Napoleon's soldiers two months later.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> William I – <sup>b</sup> William II, son of Frederick William – <sup>c</sup> Frederick William (later Frederick III) – <sup>d</sup> Frederick William had larynx cancer – <sup>e</sup> Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa – <sup>f</sup> Peter Franz Reichensperger (Speech in the Reichstag on 27 January 1888)

The possibility of war led me to embark once again on the study of things military. If there isn't a war, so much the better. But if it does break out—and this depends on all manner of imponderable events—I hope that the Russians will be well and truly trounced and that nothing very decisive will happen on the French border—for then there might be a chance of reconciliation. With five million Germans under arms, called upon to fight for things of no concern to themselves, Bismarck would no longer have the upper hand.

In the meantime I am taking care of my eyesight which is improving under the treatment prescribed by my specialist, although he hasn't yet butchered my tear duct. But I have to spare my eyes.

My love to Laura.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 12 February 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Unfortunately I shall not be able to send the ms.<sup>a</sup> I promised you by the 20th of this month, the reason being interruptions of all kinds, the arrival next week of the proofs of the *Manifesto*,<sup>b</sup> and the special care I am having to take of my eyes just now, while under treatment.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Role of Force in History* – <sup>b</sup> The English edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels

Would you let me know as exactly as possible when printing ought to begin? The 3 chapters of the original *Theory of Force* are ready for the press but the new section is not quite finished yet in the first draft; I am not at all satisfied with the latter and, as usual, it is turning out longer than I had intended. Moreover, the theme is such that it must be dealt with powerfully or not at all.

As soon as you give me a definite date I can let you know whether or not I shall be able to manage it by then. If not, it might be best if you could print something shorter in the meantime, for it will be a question or 3 or 4 weeks at most.

Whether the ms. is suitable for publication in the *Sozialdemokrat* is something that had better be decided on the spot when it arrives.

In any case, having regard to the present critical political situation, a certain amount of delay—to see how things turn out—would seem to me almost mandatory.

With kindest regards,

Yours,  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 19 February 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I cannot manage it. So you had better print something else in the meantime and if possible let me know a fortnight or 3 weeks in advance

when you will be ready and can do with the ms.<sup>a</sup> Suddenly I seem to be snowed under. For instance, it will take me almost the whole of this week to deal with the correspondence which, as a matter of principle, I had laid on one side.

As soon as possible I shall send you the English *Manifesto* for the archives.<sup>227</sup>

Kindest regards to you all,

Yours,  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>237</sup>

IN ROCHESTER

London, 22 February 1888

Dear Sorge,

I must in all honesty confess that, from the start, I hardly thought it possible you would be able to stick it out in that small provincial town.<sup>218</sup> I can think of no greater misfortune for a civilised man who has come of age in a big movement than to be relegated to some such remote hole after living for years in a metropolis. Well, I'm glad you have made up your mind. It will make the remaining few months more tolerable for you.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Role of Force in History*

I am undergoing treatment for my eyes—the eye specialist said ‘there was nothing the matter with them’, but that care would be necessary during treatment. More easily said than done—when I’m being badgered from all sides by dozens of people demanding German, English, Italian, etc., work of me—all of it urgent!—and at the same time urging me to edit Volume III of *Capital*. All very well, but it’s the chaps themselves who prevent me from doing so.

At all events, a long-standing wish of yours is to be fulfilled in the next few days: the *Manifesto* is being brought out in English over here by Reeves. Translated by S. Moore,<sup>54</sup> revised by us both, preface by me.<sup>a</sup> Have already read the first proofs. As soon as I get copies I shall let you have two, one of them for the Wischnewetzky's. For Reeves is paying S. Moore a royalty for author's rights, and since it was I who concluded the contract, I cannot be directly involved in getting it pirated in America. Otherwise Reeves could declare that this constituted a breach of contract, and poor Sam Moore wouldn't get anything. But obviously I neither could nor would prevent its being pirated. After all, did not Reeves pirate my preface to the *Condition of the Working Class*?<sup>12</sup>

Aveling is getting a couple of plays produced and, if all goes well, will extricate himself from his journalistic *misère*.<sup>b</sup> He and Tussy are due here shortly; they are dining with me as Aveling has a meeting not far from here. At Christmas the Lafargues moved to Le Perreux, beyond Vincennes, 20 minutes from Paris by train, and are amusing themselves doing rural tasks. The *Socialiste* has died yet again.<sup>234</sup> The workers of Paris don't want to read a weekly. Vaillant is acquitting himself famously in the Municipal Council; he was much in evidence during the presidential crisis<sup>197</sup> when the menacing attitude of the workers prevented the election of Ferry. He will be the guiding light of the next provisional government provided it's *not too long* in coming.

Bebel and Singer have inflicted a formidable defeat on the Prussians over the Anti-Socialist Law.<sup>235</sup> For the first time the whole of Europe has had to pay attention to our people in the Reichstag. You will have read the text of Bebel's speech in the *Gleichheit*—a masterpiece in which he excelled himself.<sup>c</sup>

I hope it won't come to war, though this would mean that all the military studies which those very rumours of war have forced me to take up again will have been done in vain. The odds are as follows: Thanks to

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1888 English Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*' – <sup>b</sup> misery – <sup>c</sup> *Gleichheit*, No. 6, 11 February 1888

long years of universal military service and education, Germany can mobilise between 2½ and 3 million trained men and provide them with officers and NCOs. France not more than 1¼ to 1½ million. Russia barely 1 million. At worst Germany is a match for them both in terms of defence. Italy can raise and sustain 300,000 men. Austria roughly 1 million. Thus, as far as war on land is concerned, the odds are in favour of Germany, Austria and Italy, while the war at sea will be determined by Britain's attitude. It would be splendid if Bismarck were to be forced to cut away his own stay and support, Russian tsarism!

War or no war, everything is heading for a crisis. The state of affairs in Russia can't go on very much longer. The Hohenzollerns are done for, the Crown Prince<sup>a</sup> is mortally ill, his son,<sup>b</sup> a cripple and insolent young guardee.<sup>c</sup> In France the downfall of the exploiters' bourgeois republic looms ever closer; as in 1847, scandals threaten to bring about a *révolution du mépris*.<sup>238</sup> And in this country the masses are coming increasingly under the sway of an instinctive socialism which still, I am glad to say, resists definite formulation in accordance with the dogma of this or that socialist organisation, and hence will accept it all the more readily when something crucial happens. All that is needed is for the fun to begin somewhere or other, and the bourgeoisie will be dumbfounded by the hitherto latent socialism which will then vent itself and become manifest.

Your old friend,  
F. Engels

First published, slightly 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,

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<sup>a</sup> Frederick William (later Frederick III) – <sup>b</sup> William, later William II – <sup>c</sup> In the original: *Jardeleutenant* (Berlin dialect)



ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>239</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 22 February 1888  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have duly received your letters [of] 21 December and 8 January and return Lovell's letter with thanks.

I am astonished at Grönlund's proceedings, I was rather glad he did not call on me here. From all I hear he is full of vanity and self-conceit, to a degree unattainable even to a German, to be reached only by a Scandinavian, but also so *naïf* in it as only a Scandinavian can be—in a German it would be offensive. *Es muss auch solche Käuze geben.*<sup>a</sup> In America not less than in England all these self-announced *grands hommes*<sup>b</sup> will find their own level as soon as the masses begin to stir—and will then find themselves shifted to that level of their own with a velocity that will astonish them. We have had all that in Germany and France, and in the International too.

I have since heard from poor old Sorge, in a way that fully confirms all you say. I fully expected from the beginning that he would not be able to live in that solitude and wilderness.<sup>218</sup> I hope his return to Hoboken may prove a success.

I sent you a No. of Bradlaugh's *National Reformer* with an article No. 1 on my book.<sup>c</sup> Copies were sent to: *National Reformer*, *Weekly Dispatch*, *Reynold's Newspaper*, *Club Journal*, *Our Corner* (Mrs Besant), *To-day* (H. Bland), *Christian Socialist*, *Pall Mall Gazette*. I have requested friends to look at these papers and magazines and let me know if anything appears, when you shall have it.

Reeves has also sent for the 1,000 pamphlets,<sup>d</sup> whether that is merely a ruse to keep competition out, remains to be seen. The thing seems to sell exceedingly well.

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<sup>a</sup> There must be such odd characters too – <sup>b</sup> great men – <sup>c</sup> *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* – <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America*

*Justice* had a copy of the book from you, the *Commonweal* did not require one as I sent one to Morris personally.

*Justice* brought out again the old American translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.<sup>240</sup> This set Reeves inquiring about an *authorised* translation. I had one by S. Moore, and Sam happened to be here. So we revised it and sold it to Reeves; he got the proofs last week and as soon as it is out you shall have a copy. Sam Moore is the best translator I know but not in a position to do work without getting something for it.

I do not quite understand your remark about the book being sold here 1 shilling dearer. \$1.25 is equal as far as I know to 5s. and that is the selling price here.

Mrs Campbell has not yet called on me so far.

Your remarks about my books being boycotted by the official German Socialists of New York<sup>241</sup> are quite correct, but I am used to that sort of thing, and so the efforts of these gentry amuse me. Better so than to have to undergo their patronage. With them the movement is a business, and 'business is business'. This kind of thing won't last very long, their efforts to boss the American movement as they have done with the German-American one, must fail miserably. The masses will set all that right when once they move.

Here things go slowly but well. The various little organisations have found their level and are willing to co-operate without bickerings. The police brutalities in Trafalgar Square<sup>185</sup> have done wonders in helping to widen the gap between the working men Radicals and the Middle Class Liberals and Radicals, the latter have behaved cowardly in and out of Parliament. The Law and Liberty League—a body gaining ground every day—is the first organisation in which Socialist delegates, *as such*, sit aside of Radical delegates.<sup>242</sup> The stupidity of the present Tory government is appalling—if old Disraeli was alive, he would box their ears right and left. But this stupidity helps on matters wonderfully. Home Rule<sup>175</sup> for Ireland *and for London* is now the cry here; the latter a thing which the Liberals fear even more than the Tories do. The working-class element is getting more and more exasperated, through the stupid Tory provocations, is getting daily more conscious of its strength at the ballot-box, and more penetrated by the Socialist leaven. The American example has opened their eyes, and if next autumn there was to be a repetition, in any large American town, of the New York election campaign of 1886,<sup>7</sup> the effect here would be instantaneous. The two great Anglo-Saxon nations are sure to set up competition in Socialism, as well as in other matters, and then it will be a race with ever accelerated velocity.

Can you get me the American Customs' Tariff and the list of internal taxes upon American industrial and other products? And if possible some information as to how the latter are balanced by the former with regard to cost of production? That is, for instance, if the inland duty on cigars is 20%, an import duty of 20% would balance it as far as foreign competition is concerned. That is what I should like to have some information about, before I write my preface to the '*Free Trade*'.<sup>a</sup>

Reciprocating your kind wishes I remain

Yours very truly,  
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, 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 and, in full, in: Marx and Engels,

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT<sup>243</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 February 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

The debate on the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>235</sup> was the biggest triumph we have ever scored in the parliamentary sphere and I'm only sorry that you were unable to be there. However, that's unlikely to go on for much longer, since you will, after all, be taking Hasenclever's place shortly.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, Speech on the Question of Free Trade'

We also have a Puttkamer over here—Balfour, Secretary for Ireland. Just as Puttkamer is Bismarck's cousin, so Balfour is Salisbury's nephew. An arrogantly obstreperous stuck-up squire, exactly like Puttkamer. He too gets soundly thrashed and last week succumbed to a lambasting at the hands of O'Brien,<sup>244</sup> just as Puttkamer does at those of our own people. Moreover, he's as useful to the Irish as Puttkamer is to us. However, you'll glean *absolutely nothing* from the deplorable *Saturday Review*, supposing you still take it, about what's going on over here; so far as anything of importance is concerned, a *conspiration du silence*<sup>a</sup> prevails.

Bismarck's speech was addressed to Tsar Alexander in person in order that the Gatchina prisoner might at long last learn the truth.<sup>245</sup> Whether it will help is doubtful. The Russians, such is their irresolution, are becoming ever more deeply embroiled and in the end they may not be able to draw back with honour. Therein lies the danger. As a rule they behave like utter jack-asses when they embark on a war. It's a repeat of *Croesus by crossing the Halys will ruin a mighty realm*.<sup>b</sup> They can place barely a million men on the border and haven't enough officers for more. France disposes of 1¼ million *very good* troops, but no longer has sufficient seasoned men and still fewer officers to provide more. With 2½ million seasoned troops and an adequate supply of officers and NCOs, Bismarck has, however, still pitched Germany's strength too low. Nor is it a bad thing that this should be so. Until the revolution gets under way in Russia, Bismarck must not be brought down by an *external* defeat. That would only restore his popularity.

But it is impossible to foretell what will come of the affair if it really gets to the stage of a war. They'll certainly try to turn it into a mock war, but that is not so easy to do. If it is to be done in the way that suits *us* best, and the odds are strongly in favour of it, then let it be a static war with changing fortunes on the French border, an offensive war with the capture of the Polish fortresses on the Russian border, and a revolution in Petersburg which will all at once throw an entirely different light on everything, so far as the gentlemen prosecuting the war are concerned. This much is certain—there will be no rapid decisions, no triumphal marches either on Berlin or on Paris. France is very strong and very cleverly fortified; so far as their disposition is concerned, the works round Paris are a masterly affair.

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<sup>a</sup> conspiracy of silence – <sup>b</sup> This sentence was in Greek in the original

Last Monday, during the meeting held to welcome Cunninghame-Graham (Communist, Marxist, on the above occasion he called for nationalisation of all means of production) and Burns,<sup>246</sup> Mother Schack was running round selling *Freedom*, the most extreme and strident of the local anarchist papers. She inadvertently offered one to Lessner, among others. Her unsatisfied craving for action seems to have driven her quite dotty.

Reuss has instituted proceedings against the *Commonweal* (Morris) for denouncing him as a spy.<sup>247</sup> Obviously the Prussian embassy wishes to regain over here the ground lost in Berlin. It may, however, be making hellish blunder. Mr Reuss has to go into the witness box, and in this country *perjury* is not to be trifled with. There's no Puttkamer over here to help!

The *Manifesto* is coming out in English, edited by myself.<sup>54</sup> I shall send you one as soon as I get some.

Your  
F. E.

Apropos, Pfänder's widow is living over here in the most wretched circumstances. I do what I can and have just sent her another couple of £s. The louts' society<sup>106</sup> put on a concert for her and collected about £5. She herself is ill, her daughter paints, and the pair of them do bits of needlework, but all is wretchedness. Might the party not set aside a trifling sum every quarter? The doctor says she'll barely get through the winter. See what you can do. We really ought to set aside pensions for our veterans' widows.

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ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS  
IN THE HAGUE

London, 23 February 1888  
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Nieuwenhuis,

I informed Kautsky of the contents of your letter immediately it arrived and understand that he has since seen to everything you wanted.

The news from here is pretty good on the whole. The various socialist organisations have refrained from forcibly accelerating the natural, normal and hence somewhat slow process of development of the English working class; hence less fuss, less vainglory, but also less disappointment. Moreover they get on amongst themselves. As to setting the masses in motion, that has been taken care of by the incomprehensible stupidity of the government and the imperturbable cowardice of the Liberal opposition. The Trafalgar Square affair<sup>185</sup> did not simply breathe new life into the working men; the deplorable way in which the Liberal leaders behaved then and subsequently is driving more and more radical workers over to the socialists, the more so as the latter behaved very well on that particular occasion and were to be seen everywhere in the front rank. Cunninghame-Graham is a declared Marxist and at the meeting last Monday<sup>246</sup> demanded outright that the nation confiscate *all the means of production*. So here too we are represented in Parliament.

The best proof of how far the workers over here have advanced is provided by the radical working men's clubs<sup>22</sup> in the East End. What impressed them above all was the example set by the New York election campaign in November 1886;<sup>7</sup> for what America does makes a greater impression over here than anything the whole of the continent of Europe may do. The example set by New York made it clear to the chaps that in the end the workers would do best if they formed their own party. When the Avelings returned, they seized on this mood and since then their activities have proved most effective in these clubs<sup>84</sup>—the only political workingmen's organisations of any importance that exist here. Both Aveling and his wife give several lectures a week down there and exert a great deal of influence; there's no doubt that they are now the

most popular speakers with the workers. The main thing, of course, is to wean the clubs from their dependence on the great Liberal Party, prepare the ground for their own labour party and gradually bring the chaps over to conscious socialism. For, as I have said, the cowardice of the Liberal leaders, as also of the majority of London Liberal and Radical Members of Parliament, has been of enormous help to us over here. The people who were elected 3 or 4 years ago as workingmen's representatives, the Cremers, Howells, Potters, etc., are already completely played out. Were a second ballot to be introduced here instead of the matter's being decided, as it now is, by a relative majority at the first ballot, we should be able to organise a labour party within six months; under the present electoral system the creation of a new, third party is made very difficult. But it will come, no question of that, and in the meantime we can content ourselves with the knowledge that we are advancing all along the line.

An English edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, revised by myself, will be coming out in the next week or two; I shall send you one—there's a big demand for it over here, which is also a good sign.

You too will have been delighted at our brilliant victory in the Reichstag in Berlin. Bebel surpassed himself.<sup>235</sup> He came to stay with me last autumn<sup>173</sup> and I only hope that gaol suits you<sup>5</sup> as well as it does him.<sup>64</sup> He says he always feels very much better afterwards (he suffers from nerves and in gaol his nervous excitation dies down).

Shall you be coming over here again next summer?

With kindest regards.

Yours,  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 February 1888

My dear Laura,

I have just half an hour before post-time to give you a sign of life after sending off the last proofs of the *Manifesto*.<sup>a</sup> I hope you have better weather than we here: nothing but East winds, frost, snow showers, varying with a few hours' thaw. Very uncomfortable with the English system of fire-places, but then this winter cannot last for ever.

I have not sent the *Pall Mall Gazette* of late because there is literally nothing in it. It is strictly a London local paper, and consequently deadly dull when nothing is stirring in London.

Bebel and Singer had a glorious victory in the Reichstag, not only at the first but also at the third reading of the bill.<sup>235</sup> It was exactly like O'Brien's victory over Balfour<sup>244</sup> (who is a Scottish Puttkamer all over). Most of our people were at the meeting last Monday to welcome Cunninghame-Graham and Burns<sup>246</sup>; O'Brien spoke there again, and very well. Cunninghame-Graham who already before, at Glasgow, had publicly stated that he stood on the basis of Karl Marx 'absolutely and entirely', here again proclaimed the nationalisation of *all means of production*. So we are represented in the British Parliament too. Hyndman, who had not been asked to speak, had got some of his fellows to call for him, took possession of the platform, but only to attack violently and personally some Radical M.P.s present—invited guests—who by the way had been told before by others, quite sufficiently, about their shortcomings.<sup>b</sup> This attack of Hyndman's however was so uncalled for and out of place that he was hooted down.

You will have heard that Reuss has sued Morris for libel for calling him a spy in the *Commonweal*.<sup>247</sup> Evidently the work of the Bismarckian embassy. Morris was very funky at first, not having any evidence ready at hand, but I think we have since secured enough to

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* – <sup>b</sup> See J. Blackwell, 'The Release of Burns and Graham', *Justice*, No. 215, Vol. V, 25 February



make it a defeat for Puttkamer and Co. if they should persevere, which I doubt. I don't think Reuss will venture going into the witness box, perjury is only allowed to regular British police constables.

Nim wishes me to ask you again to give Longuet a hint that he better begin repaying a little of that money. She seems very sore on that point.

Shall we have war? If so, it will be the most foolish thing on the part of the Czar<sup>a</sup> and the French *chauvins*<sup>b</sup> that they can be guilty of. I have lately studied the military chances. What Bismarck says, that Germany can send out 2½-3 million of drilled and well-officered men, is rather below than above the truth. Russia will never have as many as a million actually on the seat of war, and France can send out 1¼-1½ million of drilled and well-officered men; beyond that, officers and sergeants will be either absent or unfit. Thus Germany alone will be quite capable of resisting, for a time at least, an attack on both sides at once. The great advantage of Germany is in the greater number of drilled men, and especially of sergeants and officers. As to quality, the French will be fully equal to the Germans, as far as the *line* is concerned; beyond that, the German *Landwehr*<sup>248</sup> is far better than the French territorials. The Russians I consider worse than they used to be, they have adopted a system of universal liability to service<sup>78</sup> for which they are not civilised enough and certainly are very short of good officers. And corruption is there as rife as ever—and probably will also play a certain part on the French side, if we are to judge from the *Wilsoniades*<sup>168</sup> and other scandals.

Jollymeier is very melancholy that you have not written him a line yet with that gold pen. Have you no mercy with him? He will be here again in about 4 weeks for Easter, which this year falls on Bismarck's birthday, alias All fools; day.<sup>c</sup> Very proper too, after people have been foolish enough for 1,800 years to celebrate such a fantastical festival!

Methinks I hear a certain bell calling me to the consumption of—I dare say veal cutlets. Farewell for today, and may the breeches of Paul, with their excessive length, lose also their perfume of sour size—a perfume too well known, alas, to an old Manchesterian!

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

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

<sup>a</sup> Alexander III – <sup>b</sup> chauvinists – <sup>c</sup> 1 April

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT<sup>125</sup>

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 February 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

If you people will allocate 100 marks a quarter to Mrs Pfänder, I shall do the same, in which case she will have £40 a year and that will safeguard her against extreme indigence.

After Pfänder's death she had a little money, opened a lodging house, but was necessarily restricted to a very *second-rate* neighbourhood; she was also unfortunate in other respects (e.g. let rooms to several paederasts who were found out)—in short, it didn't work. Next she took a little shop, whereupon the daughter died who alone understood how to manage a small business of that sort—in short, the money melted away. Pfänder's brother, whom the former had at one time bought out of the army and supported for a long period, and who is in New Ulm, Minnesota, insisted upon her going over there with her other daughter. On arrival they found they were to be treated as 'poor relations' and do domestic service. Mrs Pfänder was not slow to decide; she returned forthwith, having been there barely a fortnight. That ate up what little resources she had left. Since then everything possible has been done for her over here, but I am the only person here who can provide for her in the long run, though not with a sufficiency in view of all the other calls upon me. But, as I say, if your proposal goes through, the worst will be taken care of. In any case, it won't be for very long.

I read the *Daily News* in the morning, the *Evening Standard* and *Pall Mall Gazette* in the evenings and the *Weekly Dispatch* on Sundays. At the moment, that is; I sometimes ring the changes. But if there is anything interesting in them, I send it to Paris for Laura and cannot very well depart from this. However, I shall see what I can send you. Provided you are looking for literary contributions rather than politics, the *Weekly Dispatch* is at all events better than the *Saturday Review*. Belongs to Mrs Ashton Dilke, editor Dr Al. Hunter, M. P. for Aberdeen. It's bigoted, middle class-radical, but comprehensive so far as English news is concerned, has much parliamentary gossip during session time, and first-rate correspondence from Paris (Mrs Crawford of the *Daily News*, who can speak her mind much more freely here). I'll send it to you sometimes.

I have never heard of the Irish tricolour you mention. The Irish flags in Ireland and over here are simply green, with a gold harp, but *no crown* (in the British Empire's coat-of-arms there's a crown above the harp). At the time of the Fenians, 1865-67,<sup>249</sup> many people wore green and orange to show the Orangemen of the North<sup>250</sup> that they didn't want to smash them but to accept them as brothers. But there's no question of that now.

I don't think Bismarck is so stupid as to believe that the Russians would be a party to his crushing France. Constant squabbling between France and Germany is, after all, their chief means of dominating Europe and this implies their holding the scales. That Bismarck desires nothing more ardently than to sink France, if possible, beneath the waves is, of course, undeniable. But it won't be so easy to do. The new French fortifications—the Mass and Moselle Lines, the two groups of fortresses in the north and southeast (Belfort, Besançon, Lyons, Dijon, Langres, Épinal) and, finally, the wonderful new groups of forts round Paris—have taken the wind out of his sails; as things are now, Germany cannot get the better of France or France the better of Germany. And that's a very good thing. If the worst comes to the worst, the frontier will probably be the scene of a static war with changing fortunes, which will instill respect for their opponents into both armies and make possible a reasonable peace. On the other hand, the Russians may suffer a formidable drubbing, and that would be best of all.

It's just begun to snow again—for the past 3 weeks nothing but snow, frost and east wind, with a bit of a thaw in between-whiles. You would also seem to be having really filthy weather where you are.

Many regards.

Your

F. E.

Do you know a workingman called Carl August Nitzer from Lindenau, who was allegedly expelled from Leipzig (after being held for 3 months on remand), but then allegedly spent another 3 months agitating on behalf of Viereck before fleeing (which is why, he says, he cannot produce an expulsion order)? The laddie has come to me two or three times asking for money, but he gives the impression of being a case-hardened layabout and sponger.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER<sup>49</sup>

IN HOTTINGEN–ZÜRICH

London, 17 March 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Once again it's no go with the pamphlet<sup>203</sup> so far as the date you give is concerned. I am very sorry to have played fast and loose with you like this, but it's not my fault. I have to do exactly what my eye specialist tells me if I want to get back into proper shape again; I am not allowed to write for more than 2 hours, i.e. am forced to break off when I'm just getting into my stride, and frequently cannot even make a start because of the pressure of correspondence. So it would be better if I were to take my time over the thing and do it properly. Also, there's a mass of essential material which has only just turned up and requires perusal. In short, it would be best if you were to look to your own convenience and, when I have made enough progress, I shall write and tell you.

Lehmann the Younger<sup>a</sup> writes a hideously affected German. He has every reason to warn people against the dangers of an inadequate education, of which he himself, in his muddled, liberal-conservative Manchesterist proclamation,<sup>251</sup> presents such a terrifying example. However, it's hard to have to play the Emperor when you have one foot in the grave. Anyhow, if he holds out for another 6 months he will introduce a measure of instability and uncertainty into the economic system, and that's all we need. As soon as your philistine has any inkling that the system will not go on as it is for ever but is, on the contrary, tottering, it will be the beginning of the end. The building has lost its keystone, Lehmann I,<sup>b</sup> and it will soon become evident how rickety the whole contraption is. That may mean things will be momentarily better for us but also—in certain circumstances—momentarily worse; alternatively it may mean war. At all events, we are once more in for a lively time.

Kindest regards to Ede and Liebknecht if, as I suppose, he is there.

Yours,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Frederick III – <sup>b</sup> William I

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 March 1888

My dear Lafargue,

I am sending you a *Weekly Dispatch* which sheds light on the reason why ‘friend Fritz’ is made to work so hard.<sup>252</sup> Bismarck would give two years of his life to reduce him—Fritz—to a state in which he would be obliged to acknowledge himself unfit to rule. That is why his nose is kept to the grindstone, and that is why Fritz is having to sweat. The intrigue is of long date, its original object being the total elimination of Fritz before the old man’s<sup>a</sup> death; this having failed, they are trying to kill him by dint of hard work, state occasions, etc. All this can only lead to an open breach, provided Fritz does not succumb too soon; if he recovers a little in the course of the summer and then brings about a ministerial reshuffle, it will be greatly to our benefit. The main thing is that home affairs should become unstable, that the philistine should lose his faith in the perpetuity of Bismarck’s régime and that he should find himself face to face with a situation in which he, the philistine, will have to decide and act instead of leaving it all to the government. Old William was the keystone and, now that it has fallen, the whole building is threatened with collapse. What we need is at least six months of Fritz to undermine it still further, to make philistines and functionaries uncertain of the future, and to conjure up the possibility of a change in home affairs. Fritz is spineless and, even when in good health, he agrees with

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<sup>a</sup> William I

his last interlocutor, almost always his wife.<sup>a</sup> The only things that will force his hand are the intrigues of Bismarck and of his own son.<sup>b</sup> Once he has brought about a change of front it matters little how long he lasts or does not last; whatever the case, William II will accede in circumstances that are favourable to ourselves.

On the other hand, if Fritz dies sooner, William II will not be the same as William I and we shall nonetheless experience a sudden volte-face on the part of the bourgeoisie. This young man is bound to perpetrate follies which will not be forgiven him as were the old man's. If the doctors slit his father's throat<sup>c</sup> he, the son, may well suffer a similar fate, but at the hands of others. He is not paralysed, by the way. His arm was fractured at birth, no one noticed this at the time, hence the atrophy of that limb.

In any case the ice has been broken. Continuity in home affairs has been disrupted, and movement will take the place of stagnation. That is all we require.

Boulanger is undoubtedly something of a charlatan, but he's not a cipher for all that. He has given proof of military gumption and his charlatanism may serve him well in the French army; Napoleon had his fair share of it, too. But he seems politically inept, perhaps because of his overweening ambition. There can be no doubt that, if the French want to throw away any chance they have of recovering the lost provinces, they need only ape Boulanger's friends—in particular Rochefort, who seems stupid to the point of folly. All that is needed to reconcile the numbskull Alsatians with Germany is an abortive war of revenge; the peasants are mercenaries who, given the choice, will always serve in the victor's army, while the bourgeois will find their profits assured by the German tariff no less than by that of the French. As for the Russians, they are sure to be defeated; I have just been studying their 1877-78 campaign in Turkey<sup>253</sup>—98 incompetent generals to 2 tolerable ones, an exceedingly ill-organised army with officers beneath all criticism, with brave soldiers inured to the utmost hardship (they waded through fords, *in minus 10 degrees Réaumur*, with water up to their chests), very obedient, but also totally incapable of understanding the only kind of fighting possible today—fighting in extended order. Their strength lay in fighting in close order, a form which no longer exists, and anyone seeking to revive it would be swept by the fire of modern weapons.

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<sup>a</sup> Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa – <sup>b</sup> William (later William II) – <sup>c</sup> Frederick III had larynx cancer

But if Boulanger delivers you from plural lists,<sup>254</sup> we'll vote him a Vendôme column<sup>255</sup> without his having to go and earn it on the field of battle.

Tussy and Edward are leaving on Thursday for their 'castle' at Stratford-on-Avon and the Kautskys are to follow them. What a pleasant prospect—a labourer's cottage, with the cold and the wind and the flurries of snow we're now having! As for the rest of us, we have so far stood the winter very well until, a week ago, we had a brilliant, warm, spring day, followed by frost, nor'-easter and snow. It gave Nim the *mumps*, alias parotitis, and me a 'flu-like cold in the head—difficult things to get rid of in this weather. But nothing particularly irksome.

I enclose cheque for £15.

My love to Laura. What are Longuet and the children<sup>a</sup> doing? Nim always asks me for news of them as soon as a letter arrives from Paris.

Yours ever,  
F.E.

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## ENGELS TO MARGARET HARKNESS<sup>256</sup>

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, early April 1888

Dear Miss Harkness,

I thank you very much for sending me through Messrs Vizetelly your *City Girl*. I have read it with the greatest pleasure and avidity. It is indeed, as my friend Eichhoff your translator calls it, *ein kleines*

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<sup>a</sup> Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet

*Kunstwerk*<sup>a</sup>; to which he adds, what will be satisfactory to you, that consequently his translation must be all but literal, as any omission or attempted manipulation could only destroy part of the original's value.

What strikes me most in your tale besides its realistic truth is that it exhibits the courage of the true artist. Not only in the way you treat the Salvation Army,<sup>205</sup> in the teeth of supercilious respectability, which respectability will perhaps learn from your tale, for the first time, *why* the Salvation Army has such a hold on the popular masses. But chiefly in the plain unvarnished manner in which you make the old, old story, the proletarian girl seduced by a middle-class man, the pivot of the whole book. Mediocrity would have felt bound to hide the, to it, commonplace character of the plot under heaps of artificial complications and adornments, and yet would not have got rid of the fate of being found out. You felt you could afford to tell an old story, because you could make it a new one by simply telling it truly.

Your Mr Arthur Grant is a masterpiece.

If I have anything to criticise, it would be that perhaps, after all, the tale is not quite realistic enough. Realism, to my mind, implies, beside truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances. Now your characters are typical enough, as far as they go; but the circumstances which surround them and make them act, are not perhaps equally so. In the *City Girl* the working class figures as a passive mass, unable to help itself and not even making any attempt at striving to help itself. All attempts to drag it out of its torpid misery come from without, from above. Now if this was a correct description about 1800 or 1810, in the days of Saint-Simon and Robert Owen, it cannot appear so in 1887 to a man who for nearly fifty years has had the honour of sharing in most of the fights of the militant proletariat. The rebellious reaction of the working class against the oppressive medium which surrounds them, their attempts—convulsive, half-conscious or conscious—at recovering their status as human beings, belong to history and must therefore lay claim to a place in the domain of realism.

I am far from finding fault with your not having written a point-blank socialist novel, a '*Tendenz-roman*' as we Germans call it, to glorify the social and political views of the author. That is not at all what I mean. The more the opinions of the author remain hidden, the better for the work of art. The realism I allude to may crop out even in spite of the author's opinions. Let me refer to an example. Balzac whom I consider a

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<sup>a</sup> a little masterpiece



far greater master of realism than all the Zolas *passées, présents et à venir*,<sup>a</sup> in *La Comédie humaine* gives us a most wonderfully realistic history of French ‘Society’, especially of *le monde parisien*,<sup>b</sup> describing, chronicle-fashion, almost year by year from 1816 to 1848 the progressive inroads of the rising bourgeoisie upon the society of nobles, that reconstituted itself after 1815 and set up again, as far as it could, the standard of *la vieille politesse française*.<sup>c</sup> He describes how the last remnants of this, to him, model society gradually succumbed before the intrusion of the vulgar moneyed upstart, or were corrupted by him; how the *grande dame*, whose conjugal infidelities were but a mode of asserting herself in perfect accordance with the way she had been disposed of in marriage, gave way to the bourgeois, who horned her husband for cash or cashmere; and around this central picture he groups a complete history of French Society from which, even in economical details (for instance the re-arrangement of real and personal property after the Revolution) I have learned more than from all the professed historians, economists and statisticians of the period together. Well, Balzac was politically a Legitimist<sup>257</sup>; his great work is a constant elegy on the irretrievable decay of good society; his sympathies are all with the class doomed to extinction. But for all that his satire is never keener, his irony never bitterer, than when he sets in motion the very men and women with whom he sympathises most deeply—the nobles. And the only men of whom he always speaks with undisguised admiration, are his bitterest political antagonists, the republican heroes of the Cloître<sup>d</sup> Saint-Méry,<sup>258</sup> the men, who at that time (1830-36) were indeed the representatives of the popular masses. That Balzac thus was compelled to go against his own class sympathies and political prejudices, that he *saw* the necessity of the downfall of his favourite nobles, and described them as people deserving no better fate; and that he *saw* the real men of the future where, for the time being, they alone were to be found—that I consider one of the greatest triumphs of Realism, and one of the grandest features in old Balzac.

I must own, in your defence, that nowhere in the civilised world are the working people less actively resistant, more passively submitting to fate, more *hébétés*<sup>e</sup> than in the East End of London. And how do I know whether you have not had very good reasons for contenting yourself, for once, with a picture of the passive side of working-class life, reserving the active side for another work?

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<sup>a</sup> past, present and future – <sup>b</sup> Paris high society – <sup>c</sup> French politeness of old – <sup>d</sup> monastery – <sup>e</sup> dull

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 10-11 April 1888

My dear Laura,

Schorlemmer returned to Manchester yesterday and so I can sit down today and write a few lines, that is to say if Edward and Tussy, who are returning from their 'Castle' and will be here about 5, do not drop in too soon.

First of all I must congratulate Paul on his splendid discoveries in etymology, which are truly astonishing.<sup>259</sup> That a great many French words which we used to derive from the Latin *bos* ox, are descended from the Greek *boûs* ox, is already something. But that *bouillon* comes from *boûs* and not from *bullire* to boil, is a great discovery and only pity that Paul did not follow it up a little further. Thus *Bou-strapa*<sup>260</sup> is evidently of the same derivation, and *Buo-naparte* (for *Boû-naparte*) also, and Bonapartism being thus connected with ox, *Bou-langer* must be derived from *boûs*; and then also its English equivalent *Baker*, which throws a completely new light on the adventure of Colonel Baker in the railway-carriage: how could he help rushing on Europa-Robinson, being descended from *boûs* Jupiter?<sup>261</sup> Moreover there can be no doubt that in *mou-tarde* the *m* stands for an original *b*, and that thus its derivation from *boûs* is assured—what a flood of light this throws on the fact that mustard is eaten to beef only and not to mutton!

Another great progress is to treat Sanskrit on the same level as cran-  
iology, and to have discovered *des linguistes d'Allemagne et d'Angleterre*<sup>a</sup> who say that *le finnois offre plus d'analogie avec les idiomes aryens que le sanscrit*.<sup>b</sup> I have only heard of some who, ascribing

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<sup>a</sup> the German and English linguists – <sup>b</sup> Finnish shows more analogies to Aryan idioms than Sanskrit

to the Aryan nations a *European* origin instead of an Asiatic one, find themselves placed before the awkward predicament of having to accept a Finnic origin of the Aryan language without being able, so far, to show the least trace of connection between the two. If Paul had tried to derive French from Japanese instead of from Greek, he would have done what he maintains these poor devils of Germans and English have done. They are badly off enough, as it is. They are second-rate and third-rate *epigones*—the Germans that is—some are even Bohemians—who for sensational purposes have started—or rather (by a series of mistakes) been conducted to—a paradox theory which has landed them in face of a dead wall; the Englishmen have taken the thing up as a fashion, as was to be expected from beginners who want to show off as masters—they have ventilated their rubbish at the last British Association<sup>262</sup> Meeting quite *en-famille*—but that which Paul ascribes to them—the discovery of the connection between Aryan and Finnish, a connection closer even than that of the other Aryan languages with Sanskrit their sister-tongue—that they are still panting for, and it is to be hoped they do not read the *Nouvelle Revue* or else they would indeed want to know who is this Fergus who holds the magic wand which transforms Aryan into Finnic and vice versa. But in case they come, Fergus can point to his Irish name in justification of his Irish Bulls or *boûs*.

But joke *à part* the articles are very good, and what does it matter to the Parisians *qui s'en fichent*<sup>a</sup> whether Fergus tells them a few bulls about etymology. It is far more important that they should learn a little about their own language, and that they find here. Only I don't think it is necessary to the amusement of the Parisians that an author should commit himself by such assertions. But then we all of us have the inclination to brag most of what we know least; at all events I know I am.<sup>b</sup>

11th April. Exactly as I expected. The two hungry souls<sup>c</sup> dropped in just as I finished the preceding page, bringing eggs, butter, pork pie, sausages from their truly rural retreat, and two good appetites. Today I had my American mail-day and now try to finish this.

In France things seems to me to go very well. Boulangism is the just and deserved punishment for the cowardice of all parties in the face of that bourgeois chauvinism which thinks it can make the clock of universal history stand still until France has reconquered Alsace. Fortunately

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<sup>a</sup> who do not care a straw – <sup>b</sup> Engels presumably wanted to say: '... I know I have it' – <sup>c</sup> Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling

Boulangier proves himself more and more a political ass, more dangerous, in my opinion, to himself than to anybody else. *Un homme qui a son plan comme Trochu kann sich begraben lassen.*<sup>a</sup>

For the rest, the Opportunists<sup>199</sup> are getting more and more worn out, *verschlissen*,<sup>b</sup> and have to fall back upon the alliance with the Monarchists, that is to say upon political suicide. The great progress in French public opinion is this: that the Republic is recognised as the only possible government, that Monarchy is equivalent to civil war and foreign war. The action of the Opportunists (besides their flagrant corruption) drives public opinion more and more towards the Left, and compels the nomination of more and more radical governments. All this in strict harmony with the regular development since 1875. We can wish for no more than that this should continue, and if Boulangier assists this move unintentionally all the better. The sense which the French have unbeknown to themselves—the necessary logical inheritance of a great, unconsciously logical history—will I hope prove more powerful than all the nonsense they set to work consciously and intentionally.

The German philistine convinces himself more and more that with old William<sup>c</sup> the *clef de voûte*<sup>d</sup> of the present system has gone, and that the whole *voûte*<sup>e</sup> will gradually follow. I only hope Bismarck will not be sent to the right-about merely in order to re-enter in triumph. Otherwise he had better stop.

What a fool that Rochefort is. Quotes Catholic Munich papers to prove that the Germans are only awaiting the French again invading Germany in order to join them, upset Bismarck and restore French domination in Germany! Cannot that idiot see that nothing would more fortify Bismarck than such a French attempt to ‘free’ Germany, and that we intend to settle our internal concerns ourselves!

Ever yours,  
F. Engels  
called by Dinner Bell

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<sup>a</sup> A man who harbours plans similar to Trochu's is done for – <sup>b</sup> seedy – <sup>c</sup> William I – <sup>d</sup> keystone – <sup>e</sup> vault

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>239</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 11 April 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Your call for the ms.<sup>a</sup> comes upon me very suddenly and I am afraid I shall not be able to oblige you. I am allowed to write two hours a day, no more; have a large correspondence to attend to; find that at the end of the two hours, am only just getting warm in harness, and then, just then, must stop. Under these circumstances I am quite unable to do *articles de saison* to order, especially for a distant market, and do not see my way to having the pamphlet ready in ms. by 15th May, much less have it ready printed in New York by that time. Still I will set about it at once, after clearing off urgent letters, and do my best. I interrupt an important piece of business<sup>b</sup> on purpose, to clear this matter off.

Still in my opinion you need not fear of losing your opportunity. The Free Trade question will not disappear from the American horizon until settled. I am sure that Protection has done its duty for the United States and is now an obstacle, and whatever may be the fate of the Mills bill,<sup>263</sup> the struggle will not end until either Free Trade enables the United States manufacturers to take the leading part in the world market to which they are entitled in many branches of trade, or until both Protectionists and Free Traders are shoved aside by those behind them. Economic facts are stronger than politics, especially if the politics are so much mixed up with corruption as in America. I should not wonder if during the next few years one set of American manufacturers after the other passed over to the Free Traders—if they understand their interests they *must*.

Thanks for the official publications<sup>c</sup>—I think they will be just what I want.

I am glad of your success against the Executive as far as it goes—from *Volkszeitung* weekly 31 March<sup>d</sup> I see they won't give in yet—there you

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*' – <sup>b</sup> work on Vol. III of *Capital* – <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p....v – <sup>d</sup> The item referred to appeared in the column 'Socialistische Arbeiter-Partei National-Executiv-Komite', *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*, No. 13, 31 March 1888

see what an advantage it is to be on the spot. The non-resisting weakness which went straight against the Avelings because they were absent<sup>3</sup>—that weakness you could work round to your favour because you were not absent; and thus the hostility to you is reduced to mere local *Klatsch*<sup>a</sup> which with perseverance you are sure to overcome and to live down.<sup>264</sup>

I was very much rejoiced to read that the Sorges feel happier again in their old quarters,<sup>218</sup> I hope they will continue so. Old Sorge could no more live in a hole like Rochester than I could in *Krähwinkel*<sup>b</sup> or its Lancashire equivalents, Chowbent or Bullocksmithy.

I return herewith the letters of the Board of Supervision.

In haste

Yours faithfully,  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 12 April 1888

Dear Bebel,

Since you wrote on 8 March, I have been taking a bit of a look at events; things now seem to be settling down sufficiently for one to size them up. Your policy of saying that nothing has changed is, when applied to the masses, tactically quite correct; but in my view it by no means does justice to the historical situation.

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<sup>a</sup> gossip – <sup>b</sup> (fig.) a godforsaken hole

Fritz's proclamations<sup>251</sup> show him to be of exceedingly mediocre intellect. Anyone who, after so many years as Crown Prince, can find nothing better to put forward than the elimination of this or that petty tax and, on the military side, the abolition of the third rank, which is quite pointless because long since abolished in a fighting formation, is unlikely to change the face of the world. The plaint about the evils of an inadequate education is apt to be the monopoly of the inadequately educated—as in this instance. So much for his intellect.

In assessing his character one must—because of the state of his health—proceed with the utmost caution. If a man is in constant danger of having his throat slit by his doctors,<sup>a</sup> he may be excused from bestirring himself unduly; this would only be appropriate were his health to improve. Hence it is understandable that in internal affairs Bismarck and Puttkamer should have a freer hand than ever before.

But that is not to imply that nothing has changed. In William<sup>b</sup> the building has lost its keystone and the fact that it is tottering is plainly manifest. Their internal policy betrays how desperately Bismarck and Co. are clinging to their positions. Nor is yours unchanged; it has *deteriorated* precisely because Bismarck wishes to demonstrate that nothing has changed. The ostentatious exclusion of the Social Democrats from the amnesty, the mass scale of house searches and persecution, the desperate efforts to kill off the *Sozialdemokrat* in Switzerland<sup>81</sup>—all this proves that Bismarck & Co. feel the ground quaking under their feet, as do the efforts of the supporters of the Kartell<sup>265</sup> to make Fritz realise what a monarch is.

In true monarchical fashion they give way over all political questions, yet it's a court intrigue which brings the conflict to light. The thing's absolutely farcical—according to Bismarck, the Tsar<sup>c</sup> has the right to forbid Battenberg's marriage, while according to Fritz and Victoria, in their particular case, all the profound and inscrutable political axioms whereby they have been guided throughout their lives are suddenly to be abolished!<sup>266</sup>

Being in such a parlous state, Fritz will doubtless be forced to give way here again—unless he gets better and can *really* weather a ministerial crisis. It is not at all in our interests that Bismarck should sulkily withdraw, only to return in triumph 4 weeks later, the idol of your coalitionist philistine. We should be more than satisfied if the said

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<sup>a</sup> Frederick III had larynx cancer – <sup>b</sup> William I – <sup>c</sup> Alexander III

coalitionist philistine were to lose all faith in the stability of Bismarck's regime. Nor will that stability be restored in Fritz's lifetime.

Since absolutely nothing more is being divulged about the nature of the disease—not even Waldeyer's report which, if favourable, would certainly have been made public—there can be no doubt that it's a case of cancer. And here again our men of Progress<sup>45</sup> are showing what stuff they are made of. Virchow who, if only in his capacity as a medical man, and one who has already been consulted, ought now to be on the spot, is digging for antiquities in Egypt! No doubt he wishes to be called in officially!

There can be no empire without an *empereur*, no Bonapartism without a Bonaparte. The system is tailored to the man, stands or falls with him. Like the old Slav idol of Pomerania, Triglav, our Bonaparte had three heads; the middle one has been cut off and, of the other two, Moltke is already past his prime and Bismarck tottering. He won't get the better of Victoria, she having learnt from her mother<sup>a</sup> how to deal with ministers, even all-powerful ones. The old security is gone. The insecurity of the foundations will also become apparent in their policy; blunders abroad, at home recurrent coups de main. And it will become apparent in your philistine's loss of faith in his own idol, in the dwindling energy and zeal of civil servants, their minds bent on the possibility of change and consequently of a changed future for themselves. All this if, as seems probable, Bismarck stays where he is. But should Fritz get better and Bismarck's position become seriously endangered, then, so Lenchen maintains, they'll take a pot shot at Fritz. This might in fact actually happen, should Puttkamer and his Ihrings and Naporras be endangered.

So whatever happens there'll be an interregnum, with Bismarck yearning for the exit of Fritz and the entry of the other William.<sup>b</sup> In that case, however, things won't be at all the same as they used to be. In that case there'll be bedlam. Our Bonapartism has now just about reached its Mexican period. When *that* comes, so will our 1866, followed shortly by 1870; i.e. it will come from within, a *domestic* Sedan.<sup>267</sup> Well, let it!

In France things are taking a perfectly logical course—the right-wing Republicans are being forced into an alliance with the Monarchists and are foundering as a result, and possible governments have to be formed ever further to the left. Boulanger is obviously a political nitwit and will

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<sup>a</sup> Queen Victoria – <sup>b</sup> William II



probably soon come to grief in the Chamber. Your French provincial philistine has but *one* article of faith—the indispensability of the Republic, since Monarchy spells civil war and war abroad.

Shall send receipt for Mrs Pfänder's 100 marks in my next; I forgot to get it from her. Meanwhile many thanks for the donation. I shall do what I can to support the woman, but shall take the liberty of approaching you people again.

Kindest regards to your wife and daughter, and to Singer.

Your  
F.E.

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 16 April 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

I was on the point of answering your letter of the 4th when your second one arrived with an enclosure for Karl Kautsky and giving me to understand that my answers no less than your questions were already things of the past.

All I want to do now is point out how this is connected with the Social Democratic Federation's circular.<sup>268</sup>

1. The Social Democratic Federation still poses as the *only* socialist organisation in England and the *only* one entitled to act and speak on behalf of the movement over here as a whole. This was why it was necessary, having regard to the preparations for the congress, to emphasise that position, the more so as the Socialist League<sup>21</sup> in its present form will probably fizzle out before long and the Social Democratic

Federation would like to absorb the *disjecta membra*.<sup>a</sup> Fortunately, however, that won't come off, for if it did the same old personal squabbles would at once begin all over again.

2. The Social Democratic Federation is closely in league with the Possibilists in Paris and, since these in their turn are in league with Broadhurst & Co.,<sup>269</sup> the Social Democratic Federation must manoeuvre. This second reason is the crucial one. Hyndman & Co. have become so deeply embroiled with the Possibilists that they can no longer draw back, even if they wanted to.

My opinion of all this congress business? I'm barely capable of expressing one, since I haven't the faintest idea of what has been discussed and anyway views change, kaleidoscope-fashion, even in your own case. By and large I regard all such congresses as exceedingly risky unless one is absolutely sure of success from the outset and, unless something definite and attainable is to be discussed, as somewhat unnecessary. The small fry, in particular the Belgians, have the chief say and, since the foreign department in Belgium is run, not by the Flemings, but by the old Brussels clique—the Brismée family—the same old dish is served up every time. But to want to hold your congress over *here*,<sup>270</sup> one week *after* the Trades Unions have held theirs, would spell utter ruin. Your funds would be used up, your people would run off and you'd be irredeemably delivered up into the arms of London's wirepullers—*ad majorem gloriam Hyndmanni*.<sup>b</sup>

That *Geneva* is the place where the French—never mind what sort—ought to hold a congress to celebrate the French Revolution of 1789 and *à propos* of the Paris Exhibition<sup>c</sup> is something you'll certainly never get them to believe.

So even if your congress doesn't materialise, it will, in my view, be no great disaster. In any case the agenda is needlessly restricted. A congress convoked by our Reichstag group would, after all, be attended exclusively by socialists and anarchists, not by Trade Unionists pure and simple. A social-democratic congress could throw the anarchists out, a general workingmen's congress cannot, and they are capable of being thoroughly obstreperous.

Fritz had better make haste and perk up—from the point of view of his health; otherwise Bismarck will prove too much for him. I hope that

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<sup>a</sup> scattered limbs (Horace, *Satires*, I, 4) – <sup>b</sup> to the greater glory of Hyndman –  
<sup>c</sup> The international exhibition which was to be held in Paris in 1889

Bismarck goes too far and gets sacked, the dissolution to be followed by fresh elections under some sort of interim administration. That would provide a nice dose of *désillusionnement* for the philistines. But obviously when you may be condemned any day to have your throat slit by the doctors,<sup>a</sup> you're unlikely to have much zest for a serious fight. And on his own showing Bismarck is already defending himself tooth and claw.

Kindest regards.

Your  
F.E.

Was the stuff we sent you on Saturday what you wanted? If not, there has been a misunderstanding. The German is by Eccarius.<sup>271</sup>

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 20 April 1888  
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Friend

I'm glad to hear that a fresh prospect appears to be opening up for you and hope you'll manage to prepare for the exam.<sup>272</sup>

I cannot, unfortunately, suggest any books that might assist your studies in this direction. For an Italian examination German books would cover too much ground on the one hand and too little on the other; moreover, I am not familiar with the more recent short

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<sup>a</sup> Frederick III had larynx cancer

compendiums. Still less do I know of any Italian books that would suit your purpose; the most I could recommend would be Carlo Botta, *Storia dei Popoli d'Italia* which begins with Constantinus Magnus, circa AD 300. Perhaps also Pietro Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli*, covering the years 1735-1825, a classic. But probably most helpful of all would be the textbooks currently in use in your grammar schools (corresponding to the French *lycées* and *collèges* and our *Gymnasien*), since most of the candidates for archivist's appointments will have attended these establishments and the examiners will therefore have to conform to the syllabus laid down in those schools.

But since it is impossible for you in your present straitened circumstances to purchase these books I deem it my duty to offer you my assistance. I have therefore permitted myself the liberty of taking out the enclosed money order in your name for the sum of four pounds sterling or fr. 10080 *centesimi* and trust you won't be angry with me for sending you this small amount without first obtaining your consent. I only hope that it will be enough, and that you will be able to procure what you need and pass your exam.

You will have read about our Zurich friends' expulsion from Switzerland.<sup>81</sup>

I shall look over and return the translation shortly<sup>231</sup>—as soon as I have finished an important piece for America.<sup>a</sup> Going through a whole lot of numbers at the same time cuts down the work.

With most cordial regards.

Yours

F. Engels

For postal purposes my first name has been given in its *English* form: 'Frederick'.

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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<sup>a</sup> 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*'

## ENGELS TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

IN PARIS

London, 27 April 1888  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Deville,

Thank you for your book on Balzac,<sup>a</sup> which I will read with pleasure. After Cervantes Balzac is, or so I think, the greatest novelist of all time, as well as the most faithful recorder of French society between 1815 and 1848. I am fond of Balzac in whatever form.

Your interpretation of Marx's formula is faultless. In manuscript it read:  $M - C \leq \begin{smallmatrix} L \\ MP \end{smallmatrix}$  and it was only for his own convenience and delectation that the printer put the symbol  $\leq$ , which has given rise to endless misunderstandings.

Hence the complete formula on p. 18<sup>b</sup>

$$M - C \begin{cases} L \\ MP \end{cases} \dots P \dots C' - M' \text{ or}$$

$$M - C \begin{cases} L \\ MP \end{cases} \dots P \dots (C + c) - (M + m)$$

means:

M, money, converted into C (commodity), which commodity is made up of L (labour power) and of MP (means of production); the said commodity C is subjected to a process of production P, this last resulting in a new commodity C' (of different quality, but this does not concern us here where we have to do only with values), of greater value than and hence equal to C plus an increment c (C + c); this C' is once more exchanged for money, that is to say for an amount M' greater than M, or equal to M plus an increment m (M + m).

The symbol — serves to mark the conclusion of an exchange; the . . .

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<sup>a</sup> G. Deville, *La Femme et l'Amour*. Paris, 1888 — <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. II, Book II, *The Process of Circulation of Capital*, Part 1, *The Metamorphoses of Capital and Their Circuits*, Ch. 1, Circuit of Money Capital

indicates that the value in question undergoes a change of form which is not an exchange—in this case the process of production.

Should you wish to have anything else explained, I shall always be at your service. This second volume will, I am afraid, prove something of a headache for you, while failing to reward you with brilliant new solutions. It is concerned with transactions between bourgeois and the results are very nice theoretically but do not have any practical application. That is why I am in no hurry to see it translated into French or English; it needs to be complemented by Volume III.

I am Sir, etc.,

Your

F. Engels

First published in: M. Dommanget,  
*L'Introduction du Marxisme en  
France*, Lausanne, 1969

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT  
IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, about 29 April 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

Enclosed received this morning.<sup>273</sup>

It's just as well that Fritz<sup>a</sup> is a bit better. If young William<sup>b</sup> comes to the throne at this particular juncture, he and Bismarck—unless all the indications are deceptive—will compound with Russia so as to secure her permission for a war with France. It would seem that certain contingent agreements have already been concluded. In this way, and only in this way, would Boulanger constitute a danger, to France no less than to Germany. The French would be beaten, but because their fortifications

<sup>a</sup> Frederick III – <sup>b</sup> Frederick III's son (William II)

are so strong, the war would be a protracted one and other people would join in. Probably Austria and Italy *against* Germany, since Russia's permission for something like this could not be obtained without both being sacrificed to the Russians. So that means that Bismarck will help the Russians to take Constantinople, and that means a world war on terms that will *quite certainly* ensure our eventual defeat—in alliance with Russia against the world! I trust this danger will pass.

Your  
F.E.

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*Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol.  
XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>10</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 2 May 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

By this mail I send you *registered* the ms.<sup>a</sup> that is to say the copy Mrs Aveling made of it when she found that with your close handwriting and absence of margin it was impossible to insert in pencil legibly the suggested alterations. There were many, arising from the fact that you translated from a German translation and we had the original to work upon. Many alterations have therefore no other purpose than to bring the English text nearer to the French original. In others, I have for the sake of clearness taken more liberties.

The preface<sup>b</sup> is nearly done in the rough, but as you will require a German translation, I shall have to keep it a little longer on that account.

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* – <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*'

Anyhow I will hurry on as much as the two hours a day will allow me to do—my doctor has again last week bound me strictly to that limit.

Will you please tell Sorge that according to present arrangements the *Sozialdemokrat*<sup>81</sup> is going to be removed to London. But it will be well to keep this quiet for the present, when our friends intend this to be talked about and to get into the news-hunting press, they will no doubt arrange that themselves.

I am boycotted here almost as much as you are in New York—the various socialist cliques here are dissatisfied at my absolute neutrality with regard to them, and being all of them agreed as to that point, try to pay me out by not mentioning any of my writings. Neither *Our Corner* (Mrs Beasant) nor *To-day* nor the *Christian Socialist* (of this latter monthly, however, I am not quite certain) have mentioned the *Condition of the Working-Class* though I sent them copies myself. I fully expected this but did not like to say so to you until the proof was there. I don't blame them, because I have seriously offended them by saying that so far there is no real working-class movement here,<sup>a</sup> and that, as soon as that comes, all the great men and women who now make themselves busy as officers of an army without soldiers, will soon find their level, and a rather lower one than they expect. But if they think their needle pinks can pierce my old well-tanned and pachydermatous skin, they are mistaken.

Yours very truly,  
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, 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

and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

Reproduced from the original

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'England in 1845 and in 1885'



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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>274</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 May 1888

My dear Laura,

I have just finished, after many interruptions, a lengthy preface to the English edition of Mohr's discourse on Free Trade (Brussels 1848)<sup>a</sup> which is to come out in New York, and as this is the last piece of work which had to be done within a certain time I make use of my recovered liberty in order to write to you at once. And I have a rather important object too to write about, viz. that we want you here in London. You have planted, as I hear from Schorlemmer, some *Waldmeister*<sup>b</sup> in your garden, and as it will be utterly impossible for us to come over and use it there, there is nothing left but that you should come over and bring it here, when the other ingredients shall be duly and quickly found. The weather is beautiful, on Saturday,<sup>c</sup> Mohr's birthday, Nim and I went to Highgate, and today we have been on Hampstead Heath, I am writing with both windows open, and by the time you come which I hope will be next week we shall have lilacs and laburnums ready to receive you. If you only say by return that you are willing to come, *je me charge du reste*.<sup>d</sup> Moreover you will by this time have brought your country-house and garden to such a state of perfection that you can leave it in charge of Paul who must be by now an accomplished gardener. Nim has been sighing for Löhr for some time past, and surely you ought to be present at Edward's great dramatic triumph on the 5 of June when his dramatisation of N. Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is to be brought out at a matinée. And I need not add that I want you here as much as anybody else. There are moreover so many other reasons for your coming that I must refrain from stating them here for fear of missing the post and killing you with ennui. So make up your mind at once, and say you will.

Of Edward's remarkable preliminary successes in the dramatic line you will have heard. He has sold about half a dozen or more pieces which he had quietly manufactured; some have been played in the

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade' – <sup>b</sup> woodruff – <sup>c</sup> 5 May – <sup>d</sup> I'll attend to the rest

provinces with success, some he has brought here himself with Tussy at small entertainments, and they have taken very much with the people that are most interested in them, viz. with such actors and impresarios as will bring them out. If he has now one marked success in London, he is a made man in this line and will soon be out of all difficulties. And I don't see why he should not, he seems to have a remarkable knack of giving to London what London requires.

Paul's letter in the *Intransigeant*<sup>a</sup> was very good indeed. He managed to hit the Radicals<sup>200</sup> without the slightest concession to Boulangism<sup>137</sup> and with the demand for general armament, put a spoke in both their wheels. It was done with great tact.

Have you heard that Fritz Beust is engaged—to an Italian-Swiss girl from Castasegna, hard on the border of Lombardy. I don't know who she is, we shall soon hear from our Zurich friends,<sup>b</sup> who are expected here in less than a fortnight. Maybe you will see Bernstein in Paris on his journey; he may be there any day. How they are going to manage here with regard to the paper<sup>c</sup> I am curious to see.<sup>81</sup> For many reasons London is not the best place for it, though perhaps the only one now. However we shall see, and generally things do settle down at their natural level.

Paul's 'Victor Hugo' in the *Neue Zeit* is very good. I wonder what they would say in France if they could read it.

The great Stead is off to Petersburg to interview the Czar<sup>d</sup> and to make him tell the truth about peace or war. I sent you his Paris interviews,<sup>e</sup> profound man left Paris exactly as wise as when he came there. The Russians will soft-sawder him to his heart's content, I am afraid he will return from Petersburg a greater ass than what he is now. Perhaps in tonight's paper we may read that he has fathomed Bismarck.

The Romanians are queer people. I wrote to Nadejde in Jassy a letter<sup>f</sup> in which I tried to work them up in the anti-Russian line. Now the Jassy Marxists are quarrelling with the Bucharest Anarchists on account of the peasant revolt<sup>275</sup> stirred up by Russia, and so they translate and print my letter at once!<sup>g</sup> This time I am not sorry, but it shows what indiscreet fellows they are.

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<sup>a</sup> P. Lafargue, 'Le Boulangisme et les parlementaires', *L'Intransigeant*, 1 May 1888 – <sup>b</sup> Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonhard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter – <sup>c</sup> *Der Sozialdemokrat* – <sup>d</sup> Alexander III – <sup>e</sup> W. Th. Stead, 'The Life and Adventures of a Lady Special. From our Special Commissioner in Paris', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 May 1888 – <sup>f</sup> See this volume, pp.132–5 – <sup>g</sup> See *Contemporanul*, No. 6, 1888

Not only the paper is at an end, but time too—5.20 p.m. and Nim will ring directly, and in ten minutes the post closes. So farewell for today and do say you come!

Affectionately yours,  
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING<sup>130</sup>

IN LONDON

London, 10 May 1888

My dear Tussy,

Best thanks, but we can't come. Nim has to do her marketing or else you won't get any dinner on Sunday, and I have to get off ms.<sup>a</sup> by the American mail on Saturday, which is anything but ready (the ms. not the mail).

Tell Mahon that on Sunday I receive my *private friends* and that there is no chance of talking business on Sundays here. If he wants to see me he is welcome any evening in the week and if he wants Edward to be present they might arrange to come together one night—perhaps you would come too?

Love from Nim.

Ever yours,  
F.E.

First published in: E. P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, London, 1955

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade'

111

## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 10 May 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

What's the position as regards your coming over here? All we have heard from Ede<sup>a</sup> is that he is travelling via Paris and will be hanging about there for a bit. He says nothing definite about the others.<sup>81</sup> So here we are, in a state of suspense and unable to do anything.

So would you be good enough to get in touch with the others and let us know when you are all arriving—yourself, Motteler and Tauscher, we presume—and whether we can do anything for you here in the meantime. Let us also know *at which station* you will be arriving and by what route, so that you can be met. Otherwise there could be a glorious muddle, in the course of which quite a lot of money might go down the drain.

With kindest regards to you all

Yours,  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> Eduard Bernstein

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLY-WISCHNEWETZKY  
IN NEW YORK

London, 16 May 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Per today's mail the rest of the preface<sup>a</sup> goes registered.

Reeves is willing to take the agency for the pamphlet<sup>b</sup> at the same percentage as before, and wishes to have his name on the title page under that of the New York publisher, viz.

London  
William Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E. C.

This is at least *some* guarantee against piracy on his part, and he is the most dangerous man in this respect. If you will forward the copies intended for him to me I will get them delivered *against receipt*, 300-500 will do to begin with.

The German translation will follow as soon as Mrs Kautsky has done copying it. That may be delayed some days as we expect the *Züricher Ausgewiesener*<sup>c81</sup> here every day and they will keep us rather busy at first.

Yours faithfully,  
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol.  
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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade' –<sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* – <sup>c</sup> Zurich exiles

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## ENGELS TO AMAND GOEGG

IN BADEN

London, 2 June 1888  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W

Dear Goegg,

The lectures at universities here, in all branches of the natural sciences and literature, are open to ladies too. Fees the same as for men. The only lectures not open to ladies are those given by Ray Lankester. The fees vary—details in the prospectus which has been promised me and which I shall send on to you as soon as it arrives.

If what is wanted are medical lectures, I would recommend the college for ladies in Henrietta Street about which, if you so wish, I can let you have further details.

With kind regards,

Yours,  
F.E.

First published in *Friedrich Engels 1820-1970. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente*, Hanover, 1971

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114

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>276</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 June 1888

My dear Laura,

I am very sorry you do not see your way to come just now; the woodruff having failed in your garden would not have mattered, because Nim has got some and we are going to have it tonight; it would be so

nice if you were here to take your share. We have 6 bottles of Moselle to sacrifice tonight.

Our Zurich friends<sup>a</sup> are getting used to London ways a little, and it is time, for their notions of the possibilities of a settlement here were uncommonly *kleinstädtisch*.<sup>b</sup> Next week I hope the principal questions as to locality etc. will be settled and then there will be less difficulties and discussions.

Paul's arguments about Boulanger are rather derogatory to the French character. First he says, *c'est un mouvement populaire*, but not dangerous because Boulanger is an ass. But what to think of a *peuple capable d'un mouvement populaire* in favour of an ass? This he explains thus: *En France on patauge pendant un temps donné dans un semblant de parlementarisme, puis on réclame un sauveur, un gouvernement personnel ... en ce moment on réclame un sauveur et Boulanger se présente*.<sup>c</sup> That is to say: the French are such that their *real wants* require a Bonapartist régime, while their *idealistic illusions* are republican and do not go beyond parliamentarism. Why, if the French see no other issue than *either* personal government, *or* parliamentary government, they may as well give it up. What I want our people to do, is to show that there is a real *third* issue besides this pretended dilemma, which is a dilemma but for the vulgar philistines, and not to take the muddling philistine and *au fond* chauvinistic Boulangist movement for a really popular one.<sup>277</sup> The chauvinistic claim, that all the history of the world is to resolve itself into the recovery of Alsace by France, and that until then nothing shall be allowed to happen—this claim has been far too much bowed to by our friends in France, by every one in fact, and this is the upshot. Because Boulanger incorporates this claim, which has been silently admitted by all parties, he is powerful. His opponents—the Clémenceaux and Co.—do not, dare not contradict that claim but are too cowardly to proclaim it openly, and therefore they are weak. And because the movement is at bottom chauvinistic and nothing else, therefore it plays into Bismarck's hands who would be only too glad to entangle that poor devil Fritz<sup>d</sup> into a war. And all this at a time when even among the German philistines the consciousness is dawning that the sooner they get rid of Alsace the better, and when Bismarck's crazy

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<sup>a</sup> Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter –

<sup>b</sup> provincial – <sup>c</sup> In France they dabble for a time in a semblance of parliamentarism and then they clamour for a saviour, personal government ... at the moment they are clamouring for a saviour and Boulanger presents himself –

<sup>d</sup> Frederick III

passport regulations<sup>278</sup> are an open confession that Alsace is more French than ever!

The revolution in our household which I have been trying to set about for more than a year has at last been accomplished. Last night Annie left under notice from me, and we have another girl. Nim will at last be able to do no more work than she really likes and to have her sleep out in the morning.

Enclosed the cheque that Paul wrote about. Being Sunday, I must close, before the people come.

Ever yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Keep in mind that you *must* come this summer or autumn at latest!

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*Istorichesky Arkhiv*, No. 2, 1956

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN LONDON

London, 15 June 1888  
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Schlüter,

Will you and Tauscher do me the pleasure of taking luncheon with me on Sunday afternoon at half past two?

Your

F. Engels

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## 116

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>279</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 June 1888

My dear Lafargue,

Little MacDonnell of the General Council,<sup>a</sup> who is editor of a working-class paper at Paterson, New Jersey,<sup>b</sup> has sent me a young man named R. Block, son of an old New York Socialist—his father is editor of a German bakers' newspaper<sup>c</sup> and secretary of their trades union. As the young man will be spending some days in Paris, I have given him a card addressed to you—his only other introduction in Paris is to Delahaye—also telling him that, since you live in the country, you can be of little use to him, save perhaps as a source of information. He is not involved in politics or socialism, and all he wants is to see Europe 'in the most approved fashion'. If, then, he should find his way to Le Perreux, I would be obliged if you could give him some good advice of the kind one might provide for a traveller desirous of seeing as much as possible in as short a time as possible. He is perfectly aware that you are in no position to show him the sights of Paris.

Aveling is back in London for a play that is to be performed tonight—his fifth, while his sixth will probably be performed next week. There can be no doubt that, by devoting himself to drama, 'He has struck oil', as the Yankees say.

Yours ever,  
F.E.

First published, in the language of the original (French), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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Translated from the French

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<sup>a</sup> Of the International Working Men's Association – <sup>b</sup> *Paterson Labor Standard*  
– <sup>c</sup> *Deutsch-Amerikanische Bäcker-Zeitung*

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ST GILGEN

London, before 6 July 1888

Dear Baron,

Now that I've smelt you out Stieber-fashion,<sup>a</sup> and having noted from its longitude and latitude that it must be a very lovely district, let me reply briefly re Shelley.<sup>280</sup> I will gladly do the thing but ought, for the sake of the context, to have a copy of Shelley which, however, I have not got, nor do I know where to obtain one in a hurry. E. Aveling, when he was here yesterday, said he would go and fetch his for me, but has left London without keeping his word. If I had the passages, I should be able to get hold of a Shelley all right.

I trust that the *taenia mediocanellata*<sup>b</sup> will by now have been happily reduced *ad absurdum*. Pumps' son has got the measles which so far has taken an altogether favourable course; Lili<sup>c</sup> is therefore staying with us. Mrs Schlüter and Mrs Ede<sup>d</sup> are here and we are still expecting the Aunt<sup>e</sup>—when, we don't know. On Sunday they were all of them here. The muddle has not yet been [. . .]<sup>f</sup> out. E. Aveling has been extraordinarily lucky with his [. . .]<sup>f</sup>—unanimously [. . .]<sup>f</sup> Louise<sup>g</sup> if, as I hope, she is there.

[. . .]<sup>f</sup>

General

[. . .]<sup>f</sup> all right again, I hope.

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

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<sup>a</sup> Engels uses the verb *herausstiebern*, a play on the verb *stöbern* – to hunt or rout out – and *Stieber*, name of the chief of the Prussian political police (1852-60) – <sup>b</sup> tape worm – <sup>c</sup> Lilian Roshier – <sup>d</sup> Regina Bernstein – <sup>e</sup> Emilie Motteler – <sup>f</sup> Ms. damaged – <sup>g</sup> Louise Kautsky

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 July<sup>a</sup> 1888

My dear Laura,

Today I write on business and therefore short and, I hope, sweet.

Jollymeier<sup>b</sup> came last night and leaves next week, probably Wednesday, for Germany. He will not have time to return by way of Paris, but the present plan is that Nim is going with him as far as Coblenz, and then to St Wendel to see her friends, and she does intend to come back by way of Paris provided you and the children<sup>c</sup> are there. Will you therefore be good enough to let us know if possible by a letter written on Sunday, but on Monday at latest, whether 1) you will be at home and 2) whether the children will be in Asnières, about the 26th or 28th July?

It is almost certain that you would have had a visit from Pumps at the same time, as she hoped to go with Jollymeier too, but last Sunday she came with the news that her boy has got the measles and that will keep her here.

Tussy and Edward are still at their 'Castle'<sup>d</sup> and expect to sail sometime in August to America where Edward is to superintend the *mise en scène* of three of his pieces, to be played simultaneously in New York, Chicago and God knows where besides. I don't think they will be away more than 8-10 weeks altogether. If his dramatic success goes on at this rate, maybe he will have to go next year to Australia, at the expense of some theatrical impresario.

Our Zurich friends<sup>e</sup> are not settled yet—but on the way towards it. It is most astonishing, the bother, delay and kicking about of heels that is caused by the London system of monopolist landlords who prescribe their own terms to their leaseholders so that when you want to take a business-place from one of these latter—and that you have to do—you have to wait the great landlord's pleasure in giving you leave to set up the necessary machinery. French or Prussian bureaucratic interference

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<sup>a</sup> In the original: August – <sup>b</sup> Schorlemmer – <sup>c</sup> Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet – <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p.166 – <sup>e</sup> Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter

are nothing compared to it. And the Londoners have stood this for centuries, and even now scarcely dare rebel against it!

Kind regards to Paul.

Yours affectionately,  
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. 11, Paris, 1956

Reproduced from the original

119

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>29</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 July 1888

Dear Sorge,

In great haste a piece of news which, however, you must keep *absolutely secret*. Don't be surprised to see me suddenly turn up about the middle of August or a few days after that—I may be taking a quick trip across the ocean.<sup>281</sup> Could you please let me know by *return* where you lie, so that I can look you up or, should you happen not to be at home at the time, *where* you are to be found? Also whether the Wischnewetzky will be in New York at the time. I shall not see anyone else when I come over, for I have no wish to fall into the hands of the worthy German Socialists—which is why the thing has got to be kept secret. If I do come, I shall not come alone but with the Avelings, who have business over there. More anon.

Your  
F. E.

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*und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>274</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 15 July 1888

My dear Laura,

You ask why Schorlemmer cannot come too, and you hope to see Pumps over at Le Perreux. Well, I am afraid you will have your wish fulfilled and your question answered with a vengeance.

Pumps' boy having improved extra-rapidly, sudden resolutions were come to last Monday, and on Wednesday the lot—Jollymeier, Nim and Pumps, all three set off for Germany. Pumps to Paulis', Nim to St Wendel. And then, according to what was arranged here, Pumps and Schorlemmer are to take up Nim at St Wendel and all three start for Paris, where they will arrive somewhere about the 29th or 30th July—but they will let you know. Nim and Schorlemmer must be here again on Saturday, 4th August; Pumps talked of going from Paris to St Malo and Jersey where Percy intends taking the children.

How you will manage to quarter the lot of them is more than I know. But Nim thought you would get over that difficulty right enough. Anyhow you will be wanting some little cash for the occasion which I shall not omit sending you in time.

Last night your letter with Longuet's document came to hand—at the same time as Edward who is again brought to London by his dramatic industry. He is going to read two plays today to speculative actors (Alma Murray is one) who intend to invest in a bit of novelty. Of course Longuet is again counting without his host, as Edward and Tussy will be going to America for at least two months and I shall take my holiday as soon as Nim comes back—if he likes to leave Jean with Nim at my place, all right, and Nim would be glad of his company; but is that what Longuet contemplates? Anyhow Tussy will return the *plaidoyer*<sup>a</sup> to you and write, and you and Nim can settle the remainder.

What a nice mess that was which Boulanger and Floquet cooked betwixt the two of them the other day—Boulanger's *coup de théâtre*,

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<sup>a</sup> speech for the defence

pre-arranged in every detail and yet miscarried because he could not keep up his part to the end—Floquet’s rage and invective where a cool reply would have been required—the insults, the duel, and *le beau, le brave général* worsted by an *avocat*!<sup>282</sup> Decidedly, if the Second Empire was the caricature of the First, the Third Republic is getting a caricature not of the First, but even the Second. Anyhow, let’s hope this is the end of Boulanger, for if the popularity of that fool continued, it would drive the Czar<sup>a</sup> into the arms of Bismarck, and we don’t want that any more than the Russo-French war of *revanche*. If the popular masses in France absolutely require a personal god, they had better look out for a different man, this one makes them ridiculous. But moreover it is clear that this desire for a *sauveur de la société*,<sup>b</sup> if really existing in the masses, is but another form of Bonapartism and therefore I really cannot bring myself to believe that it is as deeply rooted and *vraiment populaire*<sup>c</sup> as some people say. That our people fight the Radicals, well and good, that is their proper business, but let them fight them under their own flag. And as a *journée*<sup>d</sup> is only possible—so long as the people are unarmed—with the help of the Radicals<sup>200</sup> as on Carnot’s election<sup>197</sup>), our people have only the ballot-box to rely on for the present, and I do not see the advantage of having the voters’ minds muddled by this plebiscitary Boulangism.<sup>283</sup> Our business is not to complicate but to simplify and make clear the issues between the Radicals and ourselves. What little good Boulanger *could* do, he has done, and the chief good he did is to bring the Radicals to power. A dissolution would be a good thing—while a Radical government is in, upon whom we can exercise pressure; but Boulanger seems to me the least likely person to bring that dissolution about.

Here, after two fine days, it rains again cats and dogs since this morning. This is really a solution—summer dissolved in rain water—which makes one dissolute and drives one to drink. In fact I shall go and open a bottle of Pilsener and drink your health. *Sur ce, je vous embrasse.*<sup>e</sup>

*Bien à vous,*<sup>f</sup>

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Alexander III – <sup>b</sup> saviour of society – <sup>c</sup> truly popular – <sup>d</sup> showdown – <sup>e</sup> Meanwhile the best of love – <sup>f</sup> Ever yours

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 23 July 1888

My dear Laura,

Tussy returns me Longuet's letter, instead of direct to you, so I send it herewith. She said she would write to him. Edward told me last week they would be here again yesterday, but he has a capacity of neglecting facts, when they are contrary to his wishes, that is worthy of a more juvenile age. So they won't be here before end of week.

Of course Pumps and Nim can sleep in your room and if you can find a bed for Schorlemmer somewhere in Le Perreux, he will be all right. I enclose a cheque for £15—so as to set you at ease with regard to the ways and means.

Our Zurichers<sup>a</sup> are at last in a fair way of settlement. Their wives have arrived, they have got a business-place—that is, the agreement for an empty and not quite finished house—and private houses for themselves, so that in a week or 14 days they will all be *unter Dach und Fach*.<sup>b</sup> The female part of the *Sozialdemokrat* is not over charming. Ede Bernstein's wife seems the pleasantest, a sharp little Jewess, but she squints awfully; Schlüter's is an exceedingly good-natured and retiring little Dresden article, but uncommon soft; and as to the *Tante*,<sup>c</sup> *id est* Mrs Motteler, let Nim give you a description of this dignified juvenile of fifty (so they say), this Swabian *Kleinstädter*<sup>d</sup> affecting the *dame du monde*<sup>e</sup>—I am told she is a very worthy woman after all, but I don't think she feels at home among our undignified lot, and I anticipate some pleasant little sparrings when Tussy and she do meet. But Nim and Pumps will give you a description of her to your heart's content. I had them all here yesterday for supper, as our new girl (I think I told you that I sent Annie away) cooks quite passably and rather prides in cooking for company, and Mrs Motteler lost no time in telling me that the custard was burnt (just as she told Pumps: *Sie sind aber mal fett!*<sup>f</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter –  
<sup>b</sup> settled in – <sup>c</sup> Aunt – <sup>d</sup> small town resident – <sup>e</sup> society woman – <sup>f</sup> You are so fat!

—imagine Pumps’s horror!) When they are once settled in their own establishments—all about Junction Road and the Boston—I hope distance will lend enchantment to the view—of considerably reduced visits from the lot—I don’t quite intend to have the German element swamping everything at No. 122.<sup>a</sup>

I have got myself photographed before I shall be quite grey—and enclose the one they all say is the best.

Post-time and dinner-time, so here I shut up.

Love from your old  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN LONDON

London, Saturday 21 or 28 July 1888

Dear Schlüter,

Grover has been to see me about the house in Kentish Town; I explained the whole matter to him and, unless he changes his mind, the house is yours.

Your  
F.E.

Be careful in the meantime *not to call again* at Salto Rex & Co. (unless perhaps *invited* to do so by Grover or S. Rex & Co.; for I don’t know of course whether Grover will be letting direct or through the above).

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<sup>a</sup> Engels’ home, at 122 Regent’s Park Road



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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 July 1888

My dear Laura,

Hope by this time you have got the travellers<sup>a</sup> with you.

This morning letter from Schorlemmer. When he arrived at Bonn, his friends advised him to have his wound cured there and so he went to the University *Klinik* from which he was on Saturday discharged cured, but he still suffers from a *Magenkatarrh*<sup>b</sup> or, as his brother<sup>c</sup> who is with him and serves him as amanuensis, more properly spells it, *Magenkater*,<sup>d</sup> and is ordered to keep quiet for some time—he is even afraid that ulterior plans we had about a sea-trip<sup>281</sup> of some duration may fall to the bottom as far as he is concerned. That however we shall see by and by. Anyhow, he intended to go to Darmstadt yesterday and will write again from there.

For Nim's information: yesterday we had roast beef and peas, very well cooked; there were only Edward and Tussy, as Percy and the children dined at Sandhurst Lodge, it being his mother's birthday. After dinner they came over (and Charley,<sup>e</sup> whose wife had called for supper the Sunday before, and I was only sorry she did not drop in then) and later on the four Zurichers<sup>f</sup> with Mrs Bernstein and Mrs Schlüter—the *Tante*<sup>g</sup> was out of sorts fortunately—and we were very jolly. I am getting on right enough with the girl, only her sweets are not what they exactly should be; she makes a beautifully leathery paste and makes up for other defects in her custard by putting in about as much essence of bitter almonds as sugar—that however I have stopped. The girl is right enough, only she wants a bit more breaking-in by Nim; longer than three weeks' more or less independent management she is not yet fit for, as she imports a lot of superior notions from the East End lodging-house where she was attending upon 'Ladyships'. But as these are confined to

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<sup>a</sup> Helene Demuth and Mary Ellen Rosher – <sup>b</sup> stomach cold – <sup>c</sup> Ludwig Schorlemmer – <sup>d</sup> stomach hangover – <sup>e</sup> presumably Charles Roesgen – <sup>f</sup> Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Herman Schlüter – <sup>g</sup> Aunt (Emilie Motteler)

cooking chiefly, Nim will soon break her of them, and on the whole I have no reason to complain, though sometimes to laugh.

I hope you have better weather. I went to town about 2, it began raining before 3, and is still at it.

Love to all of you.

Ever yours,  
F.E.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>29</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 August 1888

Dear Sorge,

Your two letters<sup>a</sup> received with thanks. I am most grateful for the hospitality you offer me, but whether I shall be able to take advantage of it is somewhat problematical, as you will see from what follows.

For if all goes well, Schorlemmer will be coming too—he is in Germany and not particularly well but has telegraphed saying he'll be here on Monday. Since we shall have to remain together—Schorlemmer and I, at any rate—Aveling has already booked rooms for all of us at an hotel, which means that I shall have to go there—to begin with, at least. What happens after that remains to be seen. At all events Schorlemmer and I shall stay in town for a few days only and set off as soon as possible on a tour of the country, for at the beginning of October he has got to start lecturing again and we are anxious to see as much as we can.

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<sup>a</sup> of 21 and 23 July 1888

That I shall find little Cuno lying in wait for me is to be expected. But I think I've got a magic formula that will make him tractable. If I go back there just before I leave for home, I suppose I shall have to see one or two of the *Volkszeitung* people; it would be unavoidable and wouldn't do any harm. It's just that I'd rather they left me alone at the start.

We are sailing on the *City of Berlin* on the 8th of this month. Aveling has made a successful *début* in the field of drama and is to help stage 4 plays (of which 3½ are by him) in 4 cities over there.

Since Monday is a Bank Holiday,<sup>144</sup> when nothing can be done because all the shops are closed, and we have got to leave here on Tuesday,<sup>a</sup> there's a lot of shopping to be done—besides which I have got to be at Charing Cross at 5.40 to meet Lenchen and Pumps (who has been married for 7 years and has 2 children) on their return from Germany resp. Paris, and hence must close. I, too, look forward tremendously to seeing you again. So no more till we meet.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 August 1888

My dear Laura,

When you receive this letter I shall be floating away on the *City of Berlin*, with Tussy, Edward, and Schorlemmer towards the shores of the New World.<sup>281</sup> The plan has been of pretty long standing, only it was

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<sup>a</sup> 7 August

constantly being crossed by all sorts of obstacles, last not least Schorlemmer's misadventure—but he will be here tonight (fresh accidents excepted) and tomorrow we expect to be off, leaving Liverpool landing-stage at five p.m. on Wednesday.<sup>a</sup> The affair had to be kept secret, firstly because indeed of the series of obstacles which threatened to wreck it, and secondly in order to save me as much as possible from the interviewers of the *New York Volkszeitung* and others (among whom, Sorge writes, little Cuno is now one of the most formidable) and from the delicate attention of the German Socialist Executive, etc. of New York,<sup>223</sup> on arrival, as that would spoil all the pleasure of the trip and undo all its purpose. I want to see and not to preach, and principally to have a complete change of air, etc., in order to get finally over the weakness of the eyes, and chronic conjunctivitis which Dr Reeves, Edward's friend, says is due entirely to want of tone and will most likely give way to a long sea voyage, etc. When I proposed the job to Schorlemmer, he fell in at once, but of course must be back by beginning of October, so that his Flushing accident came at a very awkward time. But that seems all right now and he is due tonight.

Edward and Tussy will not come back with us, as far as we can see; they are sure to be kept there at least a fortnight longer.

Our travellers arrived here all right, though half an hour behind time, on Saturday and as our post-card will have informed you, your currants—both raw and in the juice extracted by Helen—I mean Nim—found the fullest and most general appreciation; the enthusiasm as to your garden is almost wild in its manifestations and I think both Pumps and Nim dream of it. In spite of their partly rough passage neither was sick, they were wise enough to lay down at once.

I enclose a cheque for £25—to go on with during my absence. Shall let you hear again on arrival and report on adventures, sea-monsters, icebergs and the other wonders of the sea, unless captured by the Irish fleet which has succeeded in breaking the blockade of the English on Saturday night and is now destroying British commerce, capturing Scotch coast towns, etc.<sup>b</sup>—a capital augury of the real political victory of the Irish over the British philistine which the next general election is sure to bring.

So farewell until then. I was very proud to hear from Nim that you

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<sup>a</sup> 8 August – <sup>b</sup> A joking allusion to the British naval exercises then in progress

look very well and younger than ever. Hope you will keep so till our next merry meeting

Ever yours affectionately  
F. Engels

and kindest regards to Paul.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN<sup>284</sup>

IN LONDON

S.S. *City of Berlin*, between  
Liverpool and Queenstown<sup>a</sup>  
9 August 1888

Dear Ede,

Never has Berlin seemed to be so beautiful as on board this *City of Berlin*. If the young guard lieutenants<sup>b</sup> knew how good and plentiful the food is here, they'd instantly exchange the Berlin on land (or sand<sup>c</sup>) for that on water. In 2½ hours we should be at Queenstown and thence head for the open sea. Cordial regards to your wife,<sup>d</sup> the Schlüters, the Mottelers and Tauscher.

Your old friend,  
*The General*

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<sup>a</sup> Modern name: Cobh – <sup>b</sup> Engels has *Jardeleutnants* (Berlin dialect), an allusion to William II – <sup>c</sup> The margraviate of Brandenburg, of which Berlin was the centre, was called the Sandbox (*Streusandbüchse*) of the Empire. – <sup>d</sup> Regina Bernstein

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

SS *City of Berlin*, between  
Liverpool and Queenstown,  
9 August 1888

Dear Hermann,

I set sail yesterday on a quick trip to America<sup>281</sup> and just wanted to tell you as much before we leave the last European port. We are a merry party of four—myself, Prof. Schorlemmer of Manchester, Dr Aveling of London and his wife, Marx's youngest daughter. Schorlemmer and I shall be returning towards the end of September and expect to be back in England on 2/3 October. My being able to realise this long-standing plan this summer was most propitious and I had also been strongly advised on medical grounds to make the two longish voyages and get a complete change of air.

Our ship is much more beautiful than the Berlin ashore; she is nearly 6,000 tons and the Avelings came back from New York on her eighteen months ago. They know the captain, purser and crew, which is very nice. We have charming cabins, the fare is excellent and on top of that there is American lager beer, which is by no means bad, a long deck to rove about on and not too many passengers, provided a large number don't join us at Queenstown—in short, it all promises to be very pleasant. I am most eager to see the world on the other side; we shall be staying for 3 or 4 weeks, which is just long enough, I think.

We are nearing Queenstown, so I had better close. Mind you all keep well. I shall write to you again from the other side of the ocean. Regards to your wife and children<sup>a</sup> and all other relatives.

With much love from  
Your old Friedrich

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<sup>a</sup> Emma, Hermann Friedrich Theodor and Walter Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>285</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

Postmarked Boston,  
28 August 1888

Dear Old Man,

Arrived here yesterday morning; your letters<sup>a</sup> reached Schorlemmer and myself this morning—very many thanks. I left my cough behind in Hoboken and Schorlemmer has also got over his trouble. We have just been with Mrs Harney, who says Harney will be coming to London in October, so I shall see him there. I have not yet been able to get hold of my nephew,<sup>b</sup> but expect to see him tomorrow, either here in the hotel or in Roxbury. Boston is an awful sprawl but more human than New York City, and Cambridge is actually very pretty and looks quite European and continental. Warm regards to you and your wife.<sup>c</sup> But for the two of you we should still be ailing. We are staying until Saturday.<sup>d</sup> Letters are sure to find us here till Friday night.

Your  
P.E.

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<sup>a</sup> of 27 August 1888 – <sup>b</sup> Willie Burns – <sup>c</sup> Katharine Sorge – <sup>d</sup> 1 September

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>286</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

Boston, 31 August 1888

Dear Sorge,

The paper<sup>a</sup> arrived the day before yesterday and your letter<sup>b</sup> today. Thanks. But I'm sorry that your throat should still be troubling you and it would seem that you have actually appropriated my cough. If our staying with you gets us well and makes you ill, that is really rather dreadful.

Were in Concord yesterday, in the Reformatory and the town. Both pleased us greatly. A prison where the prisoners can read novels and scientific works, form clubs, congregate and talk without warders being present, eat meat and fish twice a day with bread ad lib., iced water in every workroom, running water in every cell, the cells decorated with pictures, etc., where the chaps, dressed as ordinary workmen, look you straight in the eye with none of the hang-dog look of the usual criminal in gaol—this is something you will see nowhere in Europe. The Europeans, as I told the superintendent, are not bold enough for that. To which he replied in true American fashion: well, we try to make it pay, and it does pay. I acquired a great respect for the Americans in that place.

Concord is really beautiful, elegant in a way one wouldn't have expected after New York or even Boston, but a splendid little place in which to be buried, though not alive! four weeks there would either kill me or drive me crazy.

My nephew Willie Burns is a wonderful fellow, bright, energetic and with his heart and soul in the movement. He is doing well, works for the Boston and Providence Railroad (now the Old Colony<sup>c</sup>), gets \$12 a week, has a nice wife (whom he brought with him from Manchester) and three children. Nothing would induce him to return to England; he's just the lad for a country like America.

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<sup>a</sup> *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of 28 August 1888 – <sup>b</sup> of 30 August 1888 – <sup>a</sup> the southern part of Massachusetts



Rosenberg's departure and the curious debate on the *Sozialist* in the *Volkszeitung* would seem to be symptoms of collapse.<sup>287</sup>

Such news from Europe as reaches us over here is sparse and infrequent and is supplied exclusively by the *New York World* and the *Herald*.<sup>a</sup>

The last of the jobs Aveling has to do in America will be polished off today and thereafter his time will be his own. It is still uncertain whether we shall go to Chicago. We have ample time for the remainder of the programme.

Warm regards to your wife<sup>b</sup> and yourself from us all, but especially from

Your  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT<sup>288</sup>

IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG

Boston, 31 August 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

A moment ago, at 9.30 a.m., that is, we saw in the *Boston Herald* that you had been elected in Berlin with an absolute majority of more than 10,000 votes<sup>43</sup> and we—myself, Schorlemmer and both the Avelings—send you our heartiest congratulations.

<sup>a</sup> *Boston Herald* – <sup>b</sup> Katharina Sorge

We spent a week in New York resp. Hoboken (with Sorge) and have been here since Monday.<sup>a</sup> Tomorrow we go to Niagara and if possible from there to Chicago, otherwise to the Oil Regions, and then, after Toronto, Montreal, Lake Champlain, the Adirondacks and Albany, down the Hudson back to New York, whence we sail for Liverpool by the *City of New York* on 18/19 September. Very nice trip, have learned a great deal and have been sweating good and proper at last—something that never happened to us back home this summer. Regards to your wife,<sup>b</sup> Bebel and Singer.

Your  
F.E.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>289</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

Niagara Falls, N. Y.,  
4 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

We have been here since Sunday<sup>c</sup> morning and are enjoying ourselves greatly. The nature is beautiful here, the air is superb, the food is excellent and the nigger waiters are amusing—what more could one want, given this fine weather. As yet there have been no mosquitoes either, despite all the water. Our tour of the Oil Regions has been abandoned—whether we go to Chicago will be decided today—I think not. If we don't go we shall have adhered rigidly to your itinerary.

The fact that Jonas has found me out is yet another reason for delaying my return to New York for as long as possible. However, even if he

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<sup>a</sup> 27 August – <sup>b</sup> Natalie Liebknecht – <sup>c</sup> 2 September

sends me his Cuno *now*, it will be of no consequence. My trip is pretty well over and a half hour's grilling is the most that he'll be able to inflict on me.

Warm regards from us all to your wife<sup>a</sup> and yourself.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>289</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

Niagara Falls, N. Y.,  
5 September 1888

My dear Laura,

Here we are since last Sunday<sup>b</sup> morning, after having spent a week in New York and another in Boston. Don't you believe that America is a new country—it is the most old-fashioned place in the world; *vis-à-vis de nous autres Européens c'est tout simplement la province, et nous nous sommes tous Parisiens comparés aux Américains.*<sup>c</sup> The American girls on the Steamer already struck me as having all the manners of the *Unschuld vom Lande*,<sup>d</sup> the furniture is in the style of country house furniture of the *ancien régime*,<sup>e</sup> in Boston the cabs are of a shape which I saw last in

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<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge – <sup>b</sup> 2 September – <sup>c</sup> to other Europeans like us it is exceedingly provincial, and we are all Parisians compared to the Americans – <sup>d</sup> unsophisticated country lass – <sup>e</sup> ancient times

London in 1838,<sup>290</sup> and upon this primitive state of things they have grafted a lot of supra-modern novelties many of which are no improvements and none of which are beautiful. They say they are the most go-ahead nation and that is true in this sense, that an American cannot bear the idea of anyone walking in front of him in the street, he must push and brush past him—roughly too, even in Boston which is their Athens—and women as well as men shove you about in that way, and sure when we poor benighted Europeans cannot see the slightest occasion either for the hurry or the rudeness.

But for all that they have very very grand features and the making of a very great nation in them, such as are only to be found in a people which never knew feudalism. They are long-suffering as to grievances of their own making, like all Anglo-Saxons, but when they do a thing they do it thoroughly. The way in which the State of New York bought up all the grounds (on the American side) about the falls,<sup>a</sup> turned out all the touts, hucksters and extortionists, and transformed the whole into a public park where you go about freely and unmolested, not a policeman or park-keeper to be seen, on good footpaths and safe stairs quite up to the edge of the falls—that is a thing you do not find anywhere in such places in Europe. And the simple fact of the Americans having done this compelled the Canadian government to do the same on their side, in order to attract the visitors who ran away from Canadian exploitation.

New York is the grandest site for the capital of Capitalist Production you can see. But everything there, made by man, is horrid—save Bartholdy's Statue of Liberty which is not only fine but in exact proportion—as to size—to the surroundings. We got into New York after dark and I thought I got into a chapter of Dante's Inferno. London is a fool to it as to noise, crowd, pushing—a pavement worse than in the sunkenest European village—elevated railways thundering over your head, tram-cars by the hundred with rattling bells, awful noises on all sides, the most horrible of which are the unearthly fog-horns which give the signals from all the steamers on the river (the whistle is unknown here)—naked electric arc-lights over every ship, not to light you but to attract you as an advertisement, and consequently blinding you and confusing everything before you—in short a town worthy to be inhabited by the most vile-looking crowd in the world, they all look like discharged croupiers from Monte Carlo.

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<sup>a</sup> Niagara Falls

Niagara is very fine. The falls are only the crowning feature. I like the rapids above and below, the beautiful little islands crowded with trees above the falls, and the fine winding gorge below, even better than the 'grand' feature.

We go from here into Canada, down the St Lawrence to Montréal, thence back to the States, via Lake Champlain and Lake George, then per Steamer down the Hudson to New York and sail per *City of New York* any time about 18th, hoping to be back in London about 28 or 29th at latest.

The little Steamer on the photo is the *Maid of the Mist* and goes quite close up to the falls (they lend you waterproof coats and helmets for the occasion) and yesterday we went quite into the mouth of the Horseshoe falls (the one facing you).

We are all very well and jolly, Edward conducts and commands, and we have appointed him General Boulanger of the port, which post he fills most creditably. As to European politics we are quite out of reach of everything. So now I close. Kind regards to Paul.

Ever yours  
F. Engels

Postscripts by Engels' companions

My dear Laura, the General leaves the rest of us only room to send our loves. And it's a poor thing too. For what with Niagara Falls and Niagara Beer we are most of us beyond the writing stage. When I pull myself together I'll write.

Yours  
Tussy

Dearest Laura, I shall not forget the 26th and send you your birthday letter with best love. C. S.<sup>a</sup>

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50, Moscow, 1981

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<sup>a</sup> Carl Schorlemmer. There is also an illegible note by Edward Aveling

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>291</sup>  
 IN HOBOKEN

Montreal, 10 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Arrived here yesterday, having had to turn back because of a storm between Toronto and Kingston (it really blew pretty hard) and put into Port Hope. So the two-day trip from Toronto to here turned into *three*. The St Lawrence and the rapids were very fine. Canada is richer in ruined houses than any country save Ireland. We are doing what we can to understand Canadian French; that language beats Yankee English hollow. Tonight we go to Plattsburg and from there to the Adirondacks and if possible the Catskills as well, so we're unlikely to be back in New York before Sunday.<sup>a</sup> As we have to embark on Tuesday evening<sup>b</sup> and there are still various things we must see in New York, and as during these last few days we shall all have to keep together more than would otherwise be necessary, Schorlemmer and I shan't be able to stay with you in Hoboken this time, much though we regret it, but must go to the St Nicholas with the Avelings. However we shall come and see you as soon as we get there. The transition from the States to Canada is a curious one. First of all you imagine yourself back in Europe and then you feel you're in a land that is positively retrogressing and going to rack and ruin. Here you can see how essential the Americans' feverish spirit of speculation is to the rapid development of a new country (given capitalist production as its basis). In ten years this sleepy Canada will be ripe for annexation—by which time the farmers in Manitoba, etc., will be demanding it themselves. In any case this country has already been half annexed from the social point of view—hotels, newspapers, advertisements, etc., all conform to the American pattern. And however much they may struggle and resist, the economic need for an infusion of Yankee blood will assert itself and abolish this ludicrous boundary line—to which, when that time comes, John Bull will say Yea and Amen.

Your  
 F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> 16 September – <sup>b</sup> 18 September

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 FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>292</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

Plattsburg, N. Y., Tuesday,  
 11 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Arrived here safely. We leave for the Adirondacks at 1 p.m. sharp, shall return tomorrow evening and then cross the lakes to the Hudson. Back in New York by Saturday<sup>a</sup> evening, I hope.

Should any letters have arrived for me, would you please forward them to the Narragansett Hotel, Albany, but they must get there not later than Friday evening.

I hope you received my letter from Montreal.<sup>b</sup> Is your throat all right again?

Shall we see your son<sup>c</sup> in New York before we leave?

All of us well and cheerful. Kindest regards from us all to you and your wife.<sup>d</sup>

Your  
 F. Engels

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, New York, 1953  
 Printed according to the original

<sup>a</sup> 15 September – <sup>b</sup> See previous letter – <sup>c</sup> Adolph Sorge – <sup>d</sup> Katharina Sorge

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>292</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

Plattsburg, N. Y., Wednesday  
12 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Got back from Lake Placid this evening; tomorrow we go down Lake Champlain.

I think I forgot to ask you in my last to get us another 150 cigars of the usual brand. We're right cleaned out.

Kindest regards.

Your  
F. Engels

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, New York, 1953 Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>293</sup>

IN NEW YORK

18 September 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

We returned on Saturday<sup>a</sup> evening from our trip to Boston, Niagara, the St Lawrence, Adirondacks, Lakes Champlain and George, down the Hudson to New York City, we enjoyed ourselves very much and, all of us, brought home a stock of invigorated health which I hope will see us

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<sup>a</sup> 15 September



well through the winter. To-morrow afternoon we are leaving per the *City of New York* and look forward to a little excitement, breakdowns of machinery and such like things, but hope to arrive, in spite of all, in 8-9 days in London. I cannot leave America without again expressing my regret that unfortunate circumstances prevented me from seeing you more than once and but for a few moments. There are so many things that we should have talked over together, but it cannot be helped and I shall have to go on board without taking leave of you personally. Anyhow I do hope that the troubles you have gone through lately<sup>149</sup> will be the last, that your own health and that of Dr Wischnewetzky and the children will be all you can wish for. I shall be glad to hear soon again from you, and all your wishes shall have my best attention.

I have some copies of the pamphlet<sup>a</sup> from Mrs Sorge, it is very creditably got up and so far I have discovered only two misprints. Please let me know how many copies you are sending me to England and how many I may distribute to the press; I believe it ought to be sent to *all* the chief dailies and weeklies in London and some in the provinces, also the monthlies. Of course, unless instructed to the contrary, I shall entrust the sale to Reeves. As he has accepted the agency for your American publication generally, his name might have been put on the title page; he will have to print a new title page and send in a bill for that.

Hoping to see Dr Wischnewetzky in London on his return, I remain, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

ever yours faithfully  
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*

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ENGELS TO THE EDITOR  
OF THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*<sup>294</sup>

[Draft]

Hoboken, 18 September 1888

For your private information

To the Editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung (Der Sozialist)*

At the end of my brief visit to America I intended to call in at your office in person. However, my stay in New York prior to sailing by the *City of New York* has been so short that, to my regret, it has not been possible to do as I had intended. I hope, therefore, that you will be so kind as to excuse me.

Yours faithfully,  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO THE EDITOR  
OF THE *CHICAGOER ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*

[Draft]

Hoboken, 18 September 1888

For your private information

*Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*

In the course of a short visit to America it has not, unfortunately, proved possible for me to come to Chicago and call on you in person at your office. I should like to say how much I regret this, and remain

Yours very faithfully

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## ENGELS TO HERMAN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

*S.S. City of New York*

Thursday, 27-28 September 1888

Dear Hermann,

I am writing to you under difficult circumstances as our ship is rolling abominably and half the people on board are still sea-sick. We have had a very agreeable, interesting and instructive trip. After a good crossing—only one really nice storm—we arrived in New York on 17 August, stayed there about 8 days, then spent 7 days in Boston, 5 days at the Niagara Falls, then, via the Lake of Ontario to the St Lawrence River, down which a steamboat took us to Montreal, thence back to the States and Plattsburg, whence we diverted to the Adirondacks, which are very lovely, then on by steamer via Lake Champlain and Lake George (like parts of Lake Como, but smaller and quite untamed) to Albany and, finally, down the Hudson and back to New York by steamboat. As ill-luck would have it, we had booked a passage aboard the new vessel *City of New York*, the largest passenger ship afloat, 10,500 tons and said to be capable of 500 sea miles a day. But this is only her fourth voyage, the engines tend to fail, one is ailing and is operating at barely half power, while the other is put to considerable strain and is constantly having to be tinkered with. Luckily we have reached this spot, latitude 51 degrees north, longitude roughly 21 degrees west of Greenwich, without any particular mishap to the engines, and hope to be at Queenstown<sup>a</sup> tomorrow afternoon, and in London on Saturday<sup>a</sup> evening. The crossing has been pretty rough, two whopping great storms and high seas all the time except for the first two days. No one in our small company has been in the least affected by sea-sickness, we have eaten, drunk and smoked incessantly and I have just this moment—11 o'clock in the morning—been summoned to take my morning Tipple.

The voyage has done me a tremendous amount of good; I feel at least 5 years younger, all my little infirmities have faded into the background,

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<sup>a</sup> Modern name: Cobh – <sup>b</sup> 29 September

even my eyes have improved, and I would advise anyone who is feeling decrepit and under the weather to cross the Atlantic and spend a fortnight or 3 weeks at Niagara and a similar period in the Adirondacks 2,000 feet above sea level. The air there is quite excellent, while the August sunshine of Lombardy is combined with the fresh breeze of our Rhenish October. I already feel an urge to go out there again next year, if I can get someone to go with me. You ought to consider it; you and Rudolf<sup>c</sup> could, I am sure, do with a tonic of this kind. The tour isn't at all fatiguing; everywhere, in the better hotels, the food is first-rate and the German beer, i.e. brewed after the German fashion, quite excellent, only wine being dear, though a good bottle of Rhine wine is to be had anywhere for 1 dollar or 1 dollar and 50 cents, nor is American wine at all bad, though unfortunately not as a rule obtainable in the hotels. We have got 24 bottles on board, which we are drinking with gusto—Ohio wine (Reisling and sparkling wine) and Californian Riesling with a very good flavour but no bouquet.

Much love to Emma<sup>b</sup> and the children,<sup>c</sup> ditto to all our relations.

Your old brother  
Friedrich

Friday morning 10 o'clock

Have been off the Irish coast since early morning, due in Queenstown at 12—where I shall post this letter—in Liverpool tomorrow morning and in London that same evening.

Again much love.

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<sup>c</sup> Rudolph Engels – <sup>b</sup> Emma Engels – <sup>c</sup> Hermann and Walter Engels

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT<sup>4</sup>

IN BERLIN

London, 8 October 1888

Dear Dr Schmidt,

I should have answered your letter of 2 February long since had I known where to write to. I had been daily expecting news of your successful *Habilitation*<sup>a</sup> in Switzerland and hence of your removal to Zurich or Berne. Finally I took it with me to America, which I visited last August and September in company with Dr Aveling and his wife and Schorlemmer, but once again did not get round to answering it during the trip and now, on my return, I find a further message from you dated 23 August (on which day I was battling with mosquitoes in New York, much more dangerous adversaries than all your German professors of political economy put together).

Your account of the adventures attending your *Habilitation* bring back vivid recollections of the wretchedness of the German universities. That's what passes as freedom of scholarship. It's the old story of Bruno Bauer in the forties,<sup>295</sup> except that we have come on a bit and now have not only theological and political heretics but economic ones also. Still, I trust that Thucydides<sup>296</sup> is in a humane mood and won't place any serious difficulties in your way in Leipzig.

I was most interested to learn that a 'confessional' university still actually exists in Germany.<sup>297</sup> What odd things the 'reborn' fatherland continues to harbour!

I am very anxious to hear about your work. Apart from yourself, Lexis also tried to solve the problem to which I am obliged to revert in my preface to Volume III of *Capital*.<sup>298</sup> That you should finally have arrived at Marx's viewpoint in the course of your studies doesn't surprise me at all; I believe that this would happen in the case of anyone who tackled the matter painstakingly and with an open mind. After all, many professors nowadays, exploiting Marx as they do, have trouble enough in maintaining a more or less seemly distance between themselves and

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<sup>a</sup> Qualification for lecturing at universities

conclusions that are necessarily bound up with what they have annexed, while others, as the passage you extracted from our Thucydides goes to show,<sup>299</sup> must needs relapse into utter puerility to provide any sort of answer at all!

If, as I hope, my eyesight lasts out—my American jaunt did me a power of good—Volume III<sup>a</sup> will be ready for the press this winter and in a year's time will hit that company like a bombshell. I have broken off or postponed all my other jobs so as finally to be done with it and am exceedingly hard pressed. The greater part is almost ready for the printers, but two or three of the seven sections need a great deal of revision, especially the first, of which there are two versions.

I found America most interesting. It is a place one really must have seen with one's own eyes, this country whose history goes back no further than commodity production and which is the promised land of capitalist production. People's usual conceptions of it are as false as those a German schoolboy has of France. There was also much natural beauty to be enjoyed at Niagara, on the St Lawrence, in the Adirondacks and on the smaller lakes.

I have read Platter's critique of G. Cohn.<sup>b</sup> The beginning is very good and witty, but further on the good Platter runs out of steam.

Over here all is much as it was, save that the four people expelled from Zurich<sup>c</sup> have arrived, and Aveling is now writing plays which have been very well received by the impresarios. He was sent to America to rehearse 3 of his plays over there.

I still have a whole pile of letters to answer and if I miss this post I fear I shall be interrupted, so I had better close straight away. Goodbye and let me have further news of you very soon, by which time I trust you will have been duly installed as a lecturer.

Yours very sincerely,  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> *Of Capital* – <sup>b</sup> J. Platter, *Gustav Cohns 'ethische' Nationalökonomie*, Wien, 1886 – <sup>c</sup> Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>29</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 October 1888

Dear Sorge,

We finally got back here last Saturday week<sup>a</sup> and since then I have sent off to you 2 *To-Days* and a pile of *Commonweals* and today a pile of *Gleichheits* as well as 2 more *Commonweals*. One *Gleichheit* is missing. Ede Bernstein took it and I haven't got it back yet.

Little has changed over here; the next No. of the *Sozialdemokrat* will be printed in this country.<sup>81</sup> Otherwise nothing at all seems to have happened.

The *City of New York* is a humbug; in a calm sea she is steady, of course, but once she starts rolling, no one can do anything to stop her. Moreover, her engines are in a deplorable state; one of them was operating at barely half power, while the other threatened to break down at any moment because of the excessive strain. We never did more than 370 sea miles in a day and once it was only 313.

In so far as the political situation makes a survey possible, the estimate we formed of it over there was quite right. Bismarck has gone on for so long spinning silly young William<sup>b</sup> the yarn that he's a greater version of old Fritz<sup>c</sup> that the lad is now taking it seriously and wants to be 'Emperor and Chancellor in one person'. Bismarck is presently letting him have his way in order that he may make a thorough ass of himself, whereupon Bismarck will step into the breach as his guardian angel. Meanwhile he has assigned his Herbert<sup>d</sup> to the insolent lad as spy and custodian. A row between the two will not be long in coming and then the fun will begin.

In France the Radicals<sup>200</sup> in the government are making bigger asses of themselves than one could have hoped for. They have renounced the whole of their old programme vis-à-vis the workers and are behaving like out and out Opportunists<sup>199</sup>; they are pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the Opportunists and doing their dirty work for them. That

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<sup>a</sup> 29 September – <sup>b</sup> William II – <sup>c</sup> Frederick II – <sup>d</sup> Herbert von Bismarck

would be quite splendid but for Boulanger and provided they weren't virtually forcing the masses into his arms.<sup>137</sup> As a person the man is not particularly dangerous but his popularity among the masses is driving the entire army over to the his side and that constitutes a grave danger—the temporary ascendancy of the said adventurer and, by way of an escape from his predicament, war.

So Jonas has wriggled quite cleverly out of it after all and faked an interview I can't very well disclaim.<sup>300</sup>

Mother Wischnewetzky is furious because I 'spent 10 days in New York and didn't find the time to make the two hours easy railway journey to her home. There was really so much she wanted to talk to me about'. All very well if I hadn't caught a cold and been plagued with indigestion and if I had had 10 consecutive days in New York in the first place.

Warm regards to your wife.<sup>a</sup>

Your old friend,  
F. Engels

First published, slightly 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,

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## ENGELS TO LOUISE KAUTSKY<sup>301</sup>

IN VIENNA

[Draft]

London, 11 October 1888

My Dear, Dear Louise,

Immediately after our return, your letter got into Tussy's hands and then went to Schorlemmer, from whom I have only just retrieved it. Hence the lateness of my reply.

<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge



The news, which Ede had already passed on to Nimmie, left us all thunderstruck. But when I read your letter, my mind positively reeled. You must know that, ever since we first met, my regard for you has constantly augmented and you have grown ever dearer to me. But all that is as nothing by comparison with the admiration aroused by your heroic and ineffably magnanimous letter—not only in myself but in all those who have read it—Nim, Tussy and Schorlemmer. Having just been dealt the most terrible blow a woman can possibly receive—at that very moment you muster sufficient aplomb to release the man whose hand was, after all, responsible for dealing the blow. And to relinquish such a noble-minded woman after five years—one's mind reels!

You say there can be no question of guilt on Karl's<sup>a</sup> part. Very well, you are the best judge of that, but it does not entitle the rest of us to do *you* an injustice. You speak of a divorce as the only possible solution, your characters being what they are. But if your characters had really been incompatible, this must needs have been apparent to us too and we should have long anticipated a divorce as something both natural and unavoidable. But let us suppose it to have been a case of true incompatibility. Karl had wooed and won you in defiance of his family and yours, he knew what you had given up for his sake and, so far as we could tell, lived with you happily for five years. That being so, he should not have allowed himself to be flummoxed by what, to use your own expression, was a momentary unpleasantness. And if he was driven to take so extreme a step by a new and sudden onset of passion, he ought not to have taken that step impetuously, and should above all have avoided the remotest semblance of doing so under the influence of those who had objected to his union with you and who, perhaps, have not altogether forgiven you for becoming his wife.

Of Karl you say that, in the absence of love or passion, his personality would go to pieces. If one of the traits of that personality is to require a new love every few years, he would surely be the first to admit that, in present-day circumstances, a personality of this kind has got to be kept in check if it is not to involve him and others in one long series of tragic conflicts.

So much, dear Louise, I feel it behoves me to say. Apart from anything else, our social conditions are such as to make it positively easy for a man to do a woman a gross injustice, and how many men are there

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<sup>a</sup> Karl Kautsky

who can absolve themselves from all guilt in this respect? ‘Go! You are not worthy of women!’ as one of our greatest men once said, with a knowledge born of experience. And in reading your letter I could only re-echo his words.

We cannot get the business out of our minds. Nim and I constantly revert to it as to something incomprehensible, impossible. One of these mornings, I told her, Karl will wake up as if out of a dream to find that he has committed the greatest folly of his life. And this is what seems to be actually happening if, as he wrote and told Ede, his new love has left him after having, within the first five days, fallen in love with his brother Hans and become engaged to him.

We had all of us so much looked forward to seeing you here again and had been correspondingly cast down when we heard through Percy while in New York that you and Karl would be staying in Vienna for the winter. But neither Nim nor I can really take in the fact that we shall never see your dear face in this house again. Yet who knows what may not happen? Who knows whether, one of these days, you may not be sitting in the same old chair where you have so often sat before? Whatever happens, of one thing I can be sure—your courage will help you to overcome all difficulties and to emerge victorious from every struggle. My own and Nim’s most cordial good wishes go with you. What we can do for you, we shall gladly do—we are at your beck and call and, should fate ever bring you here again, you must in all circumstances regard this house as your own.

Yours, from all our hearts

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 October 1888

My dear Laura,

At last. The heap of letters which Paul foresaw would meet me here and which was indeed frightful, is mostly brushed away and I can sit down to write to you a few lines.

And to begin with, a bit of gossip. When we arrived, the first news Nim told us, was that Kautsky and his wife were going to be divorced, that Kautsky had fallen in love with a girl in the Salzburg Alps, informed his wife of the fact, and Louise had set him free as far as she was concerned. We were all thunderstruck. However, a letter from Louise to me—a really heroic letter—confirmed the news, and with a generosity beyond all praise even acquitted Kautsky of all blame. We all of us here were very fond of Louise and could not make it out how Kautsky could be such a fool—and such a mean one; except that an intrigue was at the bottom, planned by his mother<sup>a</sup> and sister<sup>b</sup> (who both hated Louise) and that he had fallen into the trap. This seems indeed to have been the case, from all we can learn. The girl is a *Bezirksrichter*'s<sup>c</sup> daughter, longing evidently for a husband and especially for one who will take her to Vienna. Kautsky flirted with her while his wife was in Vienna nursing her sick mother; and one fine morning the discovery was made that neither could live without the other—the sister, of course, working both puppets behind the scenes, while the mother pretended not to see anything. Well, Kautsky came here, told Bernstein, sold his furniture, took his books with him and returned, with his younger brother Hans, to St Gilgen near Salzburg, the scene of the above drama. When the youthful Bella (such is her name) saw the equally youthful Hans, a *flotter strammer Bursch*,<sup>d</sup> she at once discovered that she had, in Karl, really loved Hans alone, and Hans reciprocated with the alacrity becoming to a young Viennese; within five days they were engaged and Karl found himself between two stools of his own setting. Karl in his generosity has

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<sup>a</sup> Minna Kautsky – <sup>b</sup> Minna Kautsky – <sup>c</sup> district judge – <sup>d</sup> jolly smart fellow

forgiven both, but the old mother fumes and threatens to forbid the young woman her house—and this throws a peculiar light, or rather shade, on her pretended innocence of the affair.

Of course, now Kautsky discovers at once that he has lived unhappily with Louise for the last 12 months (that is since his mother and sister were here and spent a month with them at the Isle of Wight) and Ede Bernstein will also have noted some disharmony when he came from Switzerland. This is all the more curious that during this time when he could not agree with her, we all here liked her all the better, the longer we knew her; which proves that she is not only a heroic woman, for that she is undoubtedly (and such are certainly not always the best for domestic use), but a woman with whom reasonable people can get on. Well I think and said to Nim: this is the greatest *Dummheit* Kautsky ever committed in his life and I do not envy him the *moralischen Kater*<sup>a</sup> which will be the upshot (*sans calembourg!*<sup>b</sup>) of it all.

The matter is up to the present kept quiet. Here only Ede Bernstein and his wife, Nim, and Schorlemmer know about it, also Tussy and Edward, and probably one or two of Louise's and Tussy's common lady friends. How it will all end, I do not know, but I guess Kautsky wishes it was all a dream.

Now to business. Enclosed account of Capital, for the last 12 months, according to which I owe you £2.8s.9d, and as you must be by this time pretty short of cash I add £15—making the cheque £17.8s.9d in all.

Nim informs me dinner is getting ready and so I stop short, using the rest of the page for the account. Love from Nim and your old General.

Received from S. Sonnenschein and Co.  
for Royalties July 1887–June 88

		£12.3.9
1/5 Longuet's children	£ 2.8.9	
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E. Aveling 2/5	£ 1.19.–	
	<u>£ 4. 7.6<sup>c</sup></u>	

<sup>a</sup> moral hangover – <sup>b</sup> no pun intended – <sup>c</sup> should be: £4.17.6

Meissner's account I have not yet received.

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

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## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON<sup>211</sup>

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 15 October 1888

Dear Sir,

I was prevented from replying to your kind letters of 8/20 January and 3/15 June—as also to a great many other letters—first by a weakness of my eyes which made it impossible for me to write at my desk for more than two hours a day, and thus necessitated an almost complete neglect of work and correspondence, and second by a journey to America during August and September from which I am only just returned. My eyes are better but as I now shall take in hand Volume III<sup>a</sup> and finish it, I must still be careful not to overwork them, and consequently my friends must excuse me if my letters are not too long and not too frequent.

The disquisitions in your first letter on the relation between rate of surplus value and rate of profits are highly interesting and no doubt of great value for grouping statistics; but it is not in this way that our author<sup>b</sup> attacks the problem. You suppose, in your formula, that every manufacturer keeps all the surplus value, which he, in the first hand appropriates. Now upon that supposition, merchant's capital and banker's capital would be impossible, because they would not make any profit. The profit of a manufacturer therefore cannot represent *all* the surplus value he has extracted from his workmen.

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<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* – <sup>b</sup> Karl Marx

On the other hand, your formula *may* serve to calculate, approximately, the composition of different capitals in different industries, under the rule of a common and equal rate of profit. I say *may*, because I have not at this moment materials at hand from which to verify the theoretical formula established by you.

You wonder why in England political economy is in such a pitiful state. It is the same everywhere; even classical economy, nay, even the most vulgar Free Trade *Hausierburschen*<sup>a</sup> are looked upon with contempt by the still more vulgar ‘superior’ beings who fill the university chairs of economy. That is the fault of our author, to a great extent; he has taught people to see the dangerous consequences of classical economy; they find that *no* science at all, on this field at least, is the safe side of the question. And they have so well succeeded in blinding the ordinary philistine, that there are at the present moment four people in London, calling themselves ‘Socialist’<sup>302</sup> who claim to have refuted our author completely by opposing to his theory that of—Stanley Jevons!<sup>215</sup>

Paris friends insist upon saying that Mr Mutual<sup>b</sup> is not dead,<sup>216</sup> I have no means of testing their information.

I have read with great interest your physiological observations upon exhaustion by prolonged labour time and the quantity of potential energy in the shape of food required to replace the exhaustion. To the statement of Ranke quoted by you<sup>c</sup> I have to make a slight exception: if the 1,000,000 kgmetres in food merely replaced the amount of heat and mechanical work done, it will still be insufficient, for it does not then replace the wear and tear of muscle and nerve; for that not only heat-producing food is required but albumen and this cannot be measured in kgmetres alone, as the animal body is incapable of building it up from the elements.

I do not know the two books of Ed. Young and Phil. Bevan,<sup>d</sup> but there must be some mistake in the statement that spinners and weavers in the Cotton Industry in America receive \$90–120 a year. That represents \$2– a week,—8/– sterling, but in reality equals, in purchasing power, less than 5/– in England. From all I have heard, the wages of spinners and weavers in America are nominally higher but in reality only

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<sup>a</sup> peddlers – <sup>b</sup> Hermann Lopatin – <sup>c</sup> J. Ranke, *Grundzüge der Physiologie des Menschen mit Rücksicht auf die Gesundheitspflege und das praktische Bedürfniss des Arztes*, Leipzig, 1868 – <sup>d</sup> Ed. Young, *Labor in Europe and America . . .*, Washington, 1875; G. Ph. Bevan, *The Industrial Classes, and Industrial Statistics*, London, 1876

fully equal to those in England; that would make them about \$5-6 a week, corresponding to 12/- to 16/- in England. Remember that spinners and weavers now are all women or boys of 15-18 years. As to Kautsky's statement, he made the mistake of treating dollars as if they were pounds sterling; in order to reduce them to marks, he multiplied by 20 instead of by 5, thus obtaining fourfold the correct amount. The figures from the Census (*Compendium of the 10th census of the United States, 1880, Washington, 1883*;<sup>a</sup> p.1125, specific Cotton Manufacture) are:

Operatives and officers	174,659
Deduct clerks, managers etc.	<u>2,115</u>
	<u>172,544</u> operatives

(Men 59,685 (over 16 years)  
 boys 16,107 (under 16 years)  
 women 84,539 (over 15 years)  
 girls 13,213 (under 15 years))

172,544, total wages \$42,040,510 or \$243.06 per head per annum, which agrees with my estimate given above, as what the men get more will be made up by what girls and boys get less.

To prove to you to what depths of degradation economical science has fallen, Lujo Brentano has published a lecture on *Die Klassische Nationalökonomie* (Leipzig, 1888), in which he proclaims: general or theoretical economy is worth noting, but special or practical economy is everything. Like natural science (!), we must limit ourselves to the *description* of facts; such descriptions are of infinitely higher value than all apriori deductions. 'Like natural science'! That is *impayable* in the century of Darwin, of Mayer, Joule and Clausius, of evolution and the transformation of energy!

Thanks for the No. of *Russkiye Vedomosti* with the interesting article on the interference with the statistical work of the Zemstvos. It is a great pity that this valuable work should be interrupted.

Very sincerely yours  
 P. W. Rosher<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> *Department of the Interior, Census Office Compendium of the Tenth Census* (June 1, 1880), Washington, 1883, pp.1-2

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 17 October 1888

Dear Kautsky,

In reply to your letter, I can only begin by repeating what I have already written and told Louise,<sup>a</sup> that my mind reels at the thought of what has happened between you two. If there had been any serious discord, this must have been apparent, however slightly, to us over here, particularly when you were at Dodwell with the Avelings. But no one noticed a thing—except Ede.

You yourself say that Louise likewise refused to admit as much and, in view of the remarkable magnanimity of which she has given proof throughout, I can only assume that she feels and believes what she says. However, it could be that you are both right. According to you, your dissatisfaction began over a year ago. That takes you back more or less to your time in Ventnor. Your relations never approved of your marriage. From my experience of my own family I know how difficult and, for a time, impossible, it is for parents to do justice to a daughter- or son-in-law who has come into the family against their wishes. For all that, the parents are conscious of having the best of intentions, the only result of which is, as a rule, to pave the streets of hell for their son- or daughter-in-law and, indirectly, for their own child. Every husband has something to criticise in his wife, and vice versa; that is as it should be. But as a result of well-meaning *Ingerentz*<sup>b</sup> by third parties, this critical attitude may be exacerbated to the point of resentment if not lasting discord. If this is what has happened in your case, you are both of you right: Louise in saying that there is no cause for discord between you, you in saying that your relationship is, in fact, discordant.

But if the discord—no matter what the reason for it—was so grave that you seriously contemplated divorce, what you should have borne in mind above all was, I should say, the differing status of husband and wife in present-day conditions. No social stigma whatever attaches to the

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp.223-5 – <sup>b</sup> intervention



husband as a result of divorce; his position in life remains intact and he simply reverts to bachelorhood. The wife loses her status altogether; she has got to begin all over again and do so under more difficult circumstances. Hence, if a wife speaks of a divorce, the husband may beg or implore or do anything else he likes without demeaning himself, whereas if the husband so much as hints at a divorce, the wife, if she has any self-respect, is all but compelled to take him instantly at his word. It follows that only in an extreme case, only after mature reflection and when he is absolutely clear in his mind as to its necessity, should the husband take this extreme step, and then only in the most considerate manner possible.

Again, profound discord cannot occur without both parties being aware of it. And you know Louise well enough to realise that in such an event she would have been the first to release both herself and you. If, however, you were intent on making the first move, then surely you owed it to Louise to do so while in full command of your faculties and not in a state of euphoria such as you were in at St Gilgen, and which was destined to evaporate so soon.

Enough. As I have said, the thing's utterly inconceivable to all of us except Ede. While you were becoming dissatisfied with Louise, she was acquiring one friend after another here, and we were growing fonder of her every day, and envying you for being married to her. And I still maintain that this is the silliest thing you have ever done.

You say you think that you'll have to stay in Vienna. Of that you are, of course, the best judge. In your place I should feel impelled to withdraw for the time being into relative solitude, away from all the interested parties, in order to get a clear idea of the nature and implications of what has happened.

And that's enough of that. Your news about the state of the party in Austria is not particularly edifying, although hardly unexpected. Strife between nationalities is still too deeply engrained, even in the mass of the workers, to permit of a general surge forward, and that will take time. Of the 3 groups you mention, the Alpine provinces hardly come into it—except for Vienna, which I do not count. The chaps in Brno have the great advantage of being an international group. Finally, the bickering about leadership only goes to show—just as it does over here—that the masses as a whole are not yet in process of going over to the party, that everything's proceeding too slowly, which is why everyone tries to put the blame on someone else, while hoping that this or that panacea will produce better results.<sup>303</sup> Your only course is to be patient, and I'm glad that I needn't have anything to do with the business.

I must now get down seriously to Volume III.<sup>a</sup> Otherwise I'd do you something for the *Neue Zeit* about my experiences in America<sup>304</sup>; but I am unlikely to find the time—I have already spent more than a fortnight over correspondence, going through what has come in, etc. My sight has temporarily improved, but what it will be like when I have to go back into harness remains to be seen. I shall be seeing the eye specialist again tomorrow.

Your  
F.E.

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 25 October 1888

Dear Bebel,

I have sent you through Schlüter *Der Hülfeserf der deutschen Jugend* together with its sequel, *Die Junge Generation*, Weitling's periodical of the forties. Schlüter had got the other stuff and has sent it to you; the *Garantien*, *Das Evangelium des armen Sünders*, etc.<sup>305</sup>

In my view, it would be better to distinguish between the 3 trends in the German movement during the forties. There is very little connection between them, Weitlingian communism<sup>306</sup> in particular having remained aloof until it fizzled out or its members came over to us—a phase which does not figure in the literature on the subject. As regards the history of

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<sup>a</sup> of *Capital*

‘true socialism’<sup>307</sup> (Hess up to a point, Grün and a number of other belletrists), the material in the archives<sup>227</sup> is far from complete, and use would have to be made besides of Marx’s and my old mss.<sup>a</sup> Which, however, I can in no circumstances allow out of my possession. Again, a great deal of what went on behind the scenes—notably the estrangement between Hess and ourselves—and what cannot be dismissed in a couple of lines, would be indispensable here, and this would mean that I myself would have to go through all the old stuff again. Finally, as regards the third trend—our own—the course of its development can be studied nowhere save in the old mss., while its *outward* history was recorded by me in the introduction<sup>b</sup> to the *Communist Trial*.<sup>c</sup> Weitlingian communism, on the other hand, is a subject all on its own and accounts of it are available in print.

Here it occurs to me that you ought also, perhaps, to have Kuhlmann’s book—the prophetic religion that succeeded Weitling in Switzerland and to which many of his followers were converted.<sup>308</sup> I completely forgot to give it to Schlüter.

I enclose a letter from Weitling to Hess (from the archives). It was at a meeting of a small band of close associates that the breach between Weitling and ourselves took place. (An account of the said meeting, written by Annenkov, a Russian who was present, also appeared in the *Neue Zeit* a few years ago.)<sup>309</sup> What happened was as follows: Hess had been to Westphalia (Bielefeld, etc.); the chaps there—Lüning, Rempel *et al*—wished, he said, to put up the money for the publication of our writings.<sup>310</sup> Then Weitling came up with the proposal that his disquisitions re his Utopian system be placed with them forthwith, as also his other great works (including a new grammar in which the dative was abolished as the invention of aristocrats)<sup>311</sup>—things we would have had to criticise and combat the moment the plan came off. The letter shows the distorted form in which our arguments were reflected in Weitling’s mind. Everywhere he saw nothing but professional jealousy, nothing but an attempt to suppress his genius, to ‘come between him and the sources of money’. But in points 5 and 6 of his resumé the fundamental difference between him and ourselves emerges plainly enough, and that’s the main thing.<sup>312</sup>

P. 3, lines 10-12: This refers to our intention of bringing out the great

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and E. Engels, *The German Ideology* – <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, ‘On the History of the Communist League’ – <sup>c</sup> *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*

Utopians in German translation *with critical introductions and notes*—as opposed to the piffling accounts by Lorenz Stein, Grün<sup>313</sup> *et al.* In this poor Weitling sees only unfair competition with *his* system.

P. 3, bottom: E. is Ewerbeck in Paris.

N.B. It finally transpired that Moses<sup>a</sup> had omitted to tell us the essentials, namely that all the Westphalians had offered was to *guarantee other publishers* against the *losses* they might make on our stuff. Moses had led us to believe that they, the Westphalians, would *themselves* undertake publication. As soon as we learnt what the position was, we naturally washed our hands of the whole business; to be writers guaranteed by the Westphalians was something that would never have occurred to us.

The affair of the Kautskys has astonished us all. Louise has conducted herself throughout with exceptional heroism. Kautsky was in a state of complete euphoria but was sadly sobered down when jilted within 5 days by his new beloved, who thereupon got engaged to his brother Hans. Now they both intend to wait and see how things go; the strangest part of it is that Louise is now complaining how unfair we are all being to Karl! I have written and told Kautsky that it's the silliest thing he has ever done and, if Louise thinks this too unkind, I suppose I shall have to return my sword to its scabbard.

I am now working on Volume III of *Capital*. I am still supposed to take great care of my eyes and not write for more than 2 hours daily and that only by daylight. So my correspondence will have to be severely curtailed.

Regards to Singer.

Your  
F.E.

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<sup>a</sup> Moses Hess

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>274</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 24 November 1888

My dear Laura,

I was going to write two lines to Paul just when your letter<sup>a</sup> arrived. I have been busy with a very important chapter in Book III<sup>b</sup> which I have had to re-write entirely, the materials left by Mohr being all in the rought, and as it is a mathematical one, it required much attention.<sup>314</sup> And when one has only two daily fragments of 1½ hours each allowed for work by the doctor, a thing which otherwise could be settled in 14 days takes more than 6 weeks—and so I determined to do it all before I allowed myself any interruption for correspondence. Well, the main portion is finished to-day and so I can just send a line to ask Paul to let me know as usual when he wants any money and I will do what I can.

As soon as my chapter is definitely got rid of, I shall write again—I have such a lot of letter-debts!—in the meantime hope to get the *Figaro* to-night, so far it has not come. The position in France seems indeed very curious—our friends have allowed themselves by their hatred of the Radicals<sup>200</sup> to take Boulanger too little *au sérieux* and find now that he is a real danger<sup>137</sup>—anyhow he has the lower ranks of the army on his side and that is a power not to be disdained. And anyhow the way the fellow not only accepts but courts the support of the monarchists makes him more contemptible in my eyes than even the Radicals. Let us hope that the conscious breaches of logic committed by all parties—but then one must not forget that the form of all unconscious development is the *Negation der Negation*,<sup>c</sup> the movement by contrasts, and that this in France means Republicanism (or respectively Socialism) and Bonapartism (or Boulangism). And Boulanger's *avènement*<sup>d</sup> would be a European war—the very thing most to be feared.

Ever yours  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> of 5 November 1888 – <sup>b</sup> of *Capital* – <sup>c</sup> negation of the negation – <sup>d</sup> accession to power

Pumps' boy has had to be transformed into a Jew last Wednesday—let Paul pronounce his blessing on his favourite operation!<sup>315</sup> He is getting better. Nim had a severe cold, home-bound nearly 3 weeks.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 December 1888

My dear Lafargue,

I have just finished editing a very important chapter in Volume III,<sup>a</sup> a chapter Marx left uncompleted—and a mathematical chapter at that,<sup>314</sup> in order to cope with it I have had to set aside all other occupations, notably letter-writing. Hence my silence.

Bernstein has sent your article to Bebel to find out what he thinks of it. As for me, my advice to you would be to withdraw it. The things you say in your historical introduction are common knowledge and we are all of one mind about them. But when you come to the Possibilists,<sup>19</sup> all you do is to say they've sold themselves to the government, and this without the slightest proof or even circumstantial evidence. If you haven't anything else to say about them, it would be better to say nothing at all.<sup>316</sup> Had you given an account of all the dirty tricks they allegedly played on the Municipal Council and on the Bourse du Travail<sup>317</sup> affairs, and had then gone on to provide facts and reasons in support of your assertion of their venality, it might have amounted to

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<sup>a</sup> of *Capital*

something. But the bald assertion that they sold themselves cuts no ice whatsoever.

Don't forget that, in reply, these gentry will say that you have sold yourselves to the Boulangists. There is no denying the fact that your attitude to Boulangism has done you tremendous harm in the eyes of Socialists outside France.<sup>277</sup> You have coquetted and flirted with the Boulangists out of hatred of the Radicals<sup>200</sup> when you might easily have attacked both, thus leaving no room for ambiguity regarding the independence of your position vis-à-vis the two parties. Nothing forced you to choose between these two sets of nincompoops. You could have cocked a snook at one no less than at the other. But instead, you made much of the Boulangists, you even mentioned the possibility of sharing an electoral roll with them at the next elections—with people allied to the Bonapartists and Royalists, who are certainly no better than Mr Brousse's Radical allies! If you have been seduced by the attitude of the Blanquists<sup>318</sup> who, idealists though they be, are also circumspect in their dealings with Boulanger because of the money received from Rochefort, you ought to have known 'those idealists', since we used to have some in London too.

You say it is necessary for the people to personify their aspirations—if that were true, the French would be Bonapartists from birth, in which case we might as well shut up shop in Paris. But even if you did so believe, would it be reason enough to take the said Bonapartists under your wing?

Boulanger, you say, doesn't want war. What the poor fellow wants is neither here nor there! He has to do what the situation demands, whether he likes it or not. Once in power, he'll be a slave to his chauvinist programme, the only programme he's got, aside from his accession to power. Within less than six weeks Bismarck will have enmeshed him in a web of complications, provocations and frontier incidents, etc. Then Boulanger will either *have* to declare war or else abdicate; have you any doubt what his choice will be? Boulanger spells war, nothing could be more certain. And what war? France allied to Russia, and hence no possibility of revolution; the least movement in Paris, and the Tsar<sup>a</sup> would so arrange things with Bismarck as to stifle revolutionary ardour for good and all; worse still, once war had been embarked upon, the Tsar would be absolute master of France and would impose on you what

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<sup>a</sup> Alexander III

government he chose. Hence to throw yourselves into Boulanger's arms out of hatred for the Radicals is one and the same thing as throwing yourselves, out of hatred for Bismarck, into the arms of the Tsar. Is it really so difficult to make yourself say that they both of them stink, as Queen Blanka says in Heine<sup>a</sup>?

I don't know what Liebknecht may have done about the Possibilists. Whatever the case, I feel sure that our party in Germany could hardly bring itself to attend the Possibilist congress<sup>319</sup> and, if it did, this could only be as the result of grave mistakes on your part. But do not forget that the Possibilists have succeeded in posing as the official representatives of French socialism, that they are recognised as such by the English,<sup>269</sup> the Americans and the Belgians, that they fraternised at the London Congress<sup>320</sup> with the Dutch and the Danes because you, having abdicated, were not represented there. If you do nothing in the way of advertising and preparing for your 1889 congress,<sup>321</sup> everybody will attend that of the Broussists, there being no following for those who abdicate. So advertise your congress, make a bit of to-do in the socialist press of all countries, so that others may realise that the little chap's still alive and kicking. And if your Troyes<sup>322</sup> Congress is successful—and succeed it must, for otherwise your party will be done for—beat the big drum, have a central committee that bestirs itself and to which people may refer and, if possible, have a little weekly paper which will give the world proof of your existence. *And make a clean break with the Boulangists, otherwise no one will come.*

Circumstances permitting, Liebknecht will have his congress—any old congress—provided he himself is there. And if your congress seems to him to offer little chance of success, he'll go to the Possibilist one. I'll do what I can to see that others are informed; Bebel already has been, by Bernstein, who will himself write about the Possibilists in the *Sozialdemokrat*.<sup>b</sup> But he hasn't the power to bind the Party.

Has Liebknecht been in touch with you, and what did you reply? That's what I must know if I am to act in accordance with the facts.

Last Sunday Anseele and Van Beveren came to see me, and who do you think was with them? Adolphe Smith-Headingly! Needless to say, I lost no time in showing him the door. Can you imagine such impudence!

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<sup>a</sup> H. Heine, 'Disputation', *Romanzero* – <sup>b</sup> See E. Bernstein, 'Boulanger's Sieg in Paris', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 3 February 1889



Percy's affairs are going rather badly here; I shall not be able to see how it will all turn out until the end of the year, but 1889 is likely to be pretty revolutionary so far as my finances are concerned. In the meantime I am sending you a cheque for £15 to keep your heads above water.

My love to Laura. Nim has had a bronchial cold which she has at last shaken off, after three weeks.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>49</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 15 December 1888

In haste: You might tell Speyer that Lessner has found his sister-in-law. His people are still living in the old house and the woman has promised to write to the Speyers straight away. However, I did not wish to delay sending you this information.

Volume III<sup>a</sup> is proving more of a handful than I had imagined. I have had to recast the whole of one chapter from the existing material and there's another, of which only the title exists, which I am having to produce myself.<sup>323</sup> However it's going ahead and will cause much surprise among their worships the political economists. My eyes are better and I still feel five years younger than I did last July. Regards to your wife.<sup>b</sup>

Your  
F. E.

<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* – <sup>b</sup> Katharine Sorge

First published, slightly abridged, in *Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940*  
*Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von* Printed according to the original  
*Job. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen,*  
*Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an* Published in English in full for the  
 1906 and, in full, in: Marx and first time  
 Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition,

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## ENGELS TO F. WALTER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 21 December 1888

Mr F. Walter  
 47 Marshall Street, Golden Sq., W

Dear Mr Walter,

The first time you wrote to me I knew nothing about you and hence could take no more account of your letter than of the many others on a similar subject which I receive from strangers.

You now refer to Most from which I must conclude that you belong to the anarchists. But as long as the weight of the anarchists' attack is directed at our embattled party in Germany rather than at the common enemy, my resources will be devoted to the victims of persecution at the hands of the German governments, and it cannot be expected of me that I should support people who maintain a hostile stance towards my friends and party comrades in Germany and elsewhere.

In no circumstances would I be capable of getting the broker out of your house.

If, however, I should be mistaken about your political affiliations, you will have no difficulty in establishing your bona fides with my old friend Lessner, 12 Fitzroy St, in which case I shall be happy to do some-

thing for a *genuine* member of the party, although the settlement of a debt such as yours would be far beyond my means.

Yours very truly

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>324</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 January 1889

My dear Laura,

All our best wishes for the New Year to yourself and Paul!

We got into it in a very queer way—we went as usual to Pumps' in a cab, the fog was thickening—in Belsize Road we stuck fast—the man had to lead the horse; by and bye that was not sufficient; a man with a lantern took hold of the horse and led; after a full hour's drive in the dark and cold we arrived at Pumps' where we found Sam Moore, Tussy and the Schlüters (Edward never turned up) and also Tauscher. Dinner of course was an hour late in consequence of our adventure. Well, it got blacker and blacker, and when the New Year came, the air was as thick as pea-soup. No chance of getting away; our cabman, ordered for one o'clock, never arrived, and so the whole lot had to stop where they were. So we went on drinking, singing, card-playing and laughing till half-past five, when Sam and Tussy were escorted by Percy to the station and caught the first train; about seven the others left, and it cleared up a little; Nim slept with Pumps, Schorlemmer and I in the spare bed, Percy in the nursery (it was after seven when we went to sleep) and got up again at out 12 or 1 to return to Pilsener etc.; the sun shone brightly on a beautifully frozen ground. The spree agreed with all of us most amazingly and none of us is any the worse for the bout. The others drank coffee about half past four, but I stuck to claret till seven.

I am glad to hear that the Boulangitis was a personal affection of Paul's though the *Parti ouvrier* pretends that Guesde and Deville have given in to him.<sup>325</sup> What you say about the Possibilists we are perfectly agreed on,<sup>326</sup> but I was bound to place before you and Paul

the excuses which Liebknecht and others—for instance the Belgians—may draw from the tender treatment the Boulangists undoubtedly have had from our side. All I insisted on from the beginning, and all Paul declined to let me have, was a clear and unmistakable assurance that the Boulangists should be treated as bourgeois enemies quite as much as the Cadettists.<sup>327</sup> For under no circumstances could I encourage our German friends to attend a congress the convokers of which had so far forgotten the old traditional policy of the proletariat as to coquet with a bourgeois party, *et encore un parti tel que les boulangistes*.<sup>a</sup>

Well, the impending Paris election must bring our people to their senses—that was my first thought on Hude's death,<sup>328</sup> and indeed the Troyes Congress has taken at least one step in the right direction by proclaiming the necessity of an independent socialist candidature<sup>329</sup> (I hope Vaillant's who seems to me at present the only one to unite a certain number of suffrages, as our own people appear to be quite out of the race at this moment). But no paper says what the other resolutions of the Congress are; there have been individual anti-Boulangist pronouncements (though none of Paul's that I saw) but nothing on the part of the Congress officially except the above resolution.

Now Liebknecht will come to Paris about middle of January<sup>330</sup> and I have to write to Bebel in a few days.<sup>b</sup> Therefore if Paul wishes me to act in the interest of their congress, he must enable me to do so by a clear and unequivocal declaration as to what our people may expect of him and the others with regard to the Boulangier mania. And the sooner the better, there is not much time to lose.

I have never doubted the really anti-chauvinist character of the Marxists, but that was the very reason why I could not conceive how they could think of an alliance open or disguised with a party which lives upon chauvinism almost alone. I never asked more than the open acknowledgment that Cadettists and Boulangists, *dass sie alle beide stinken*,<sup>c</sup> surely such a self-understood thing I ought to have had long ago! Also the Troyes resolutions I ought to have.

If there has been an idea of getting some of our people into the Chamber by having them placed on the Boulangist list, that would be far worse than not getting into the Chamber at all. After all, if the poor old

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<sup>a</sup> and, moreover, a party like the Boulangists – <sup>b</sup> See next letter – <sup>c</sup> that both of them stink (Heine, 'Disputation', *Romanzero*)

*Socialiste* had been kept alive somehow or other, we should be better off, I think.

Cunninghame Graham was here last Sunday week—a nice fellow, but always in want of a manager, otherwise brave to foolhardiness, altogether much of an English Blanquist.

Love from Nim, Schorlemmer and myself.

Ever yours affectionately,  
F. Engels

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*Istorichesky arkhiv*, No. 2, 1956

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 5 January 1889

Dear Bebel,

First of all let me heartily reciprocate your kind New Year's wishes.

Today, fog permitting, I must write to you by request concerning two delicate matters. Both have to do with the fear that Liebknecht might commit the party to a not altogether desirable course when, as has been announced, he visits London and Paris<sup>330</sup> (if he comes *on his own*, that is), nor, in view of his dependence on passing moods (which again is often due to self-deception), can I altogether disagree with the chaps.

In Paris it is a question of the congress or rather two congresses—the Possibilists' and our own, in other words the international congress decided upon at the Trades Unions Congress in Bordeaux in November<sup>331</sup> and again at the Socialist Congress in Troyes.<sup>329</sup> Lafargue is afraid that Liebknecht has had dealings with the Possibilists and that you might perhaps send delegates to *their* congress. I have written and told Lafargue<sup>a</sup> that in my view you cannot possibly do this. The Possibilists, having joined

in mortal combat with our people, the so-called Marxists, have now set themselves up as the one true church which absolutely prohibits any intercourse, any cooperation with the others—Marxists no less than Blanquists—and have formed an alliance with the one true church over here (the Social Democratic Federation<sup>269</sup>), an alliance not the least of whose aims is to oppose the German Party everywhere so long as it refuses to join this unsavoury league and cease associating with other Frenchmen and Englishmen. Moreover, the Possibilists have sold themselves to the present government, their fares, congress expenses and periodicals are paid for out of secret funds, and all this on the pretext of combating Boulanger and defending the republic, hence also France's Opportunist exploiters, the Ferrys, etc., their present allies.<sup>199</sup> And they defend the present Radical government which, in order to remain in office, must do all the Opportunists' dirty work for them, a government which ordered an assault on the people on the occasion of Eudes' funeral<sup>332</sup> and in Bordeaux and Troyes, just as in Paris, is more rabid in its opposition to the red flag than any government before it. To go along with this gang would be a denial of your entire foreign policy to date. Two years ago in Paris the same lot made common cause with the venal English trades unions against the socialist demands<sup>333</sup> and if they took a different stand over here in November,<sup>320</sup> it was because they had no alternative. Moreover, it is only in Paris that they are strong; in the provinces they're a negligible quantity, proof of this being that they cannot hold a congress in Paris because the provinces would either stay away or prove hostile. Nor are they able to hold one in the provinces. Two years ago they went to a little place tucked away in the Ardennes<sup>334</sup>; this year they expected to find accommodation in Troyes, where several of the labour town councillors, having betrayed their class after the election, had joined them. But they were not re-elected and the *comité*—their own *comité*—extended an invitation to *all* French Socialists. Thereupon, dismay in the Paris camp; an attempt to rescind this—in vain. And so they didn't go to their own congress, which was taken over and brilliantly run by our Marxists. What the provincial trades unions think of them can be seen from the enclosed resolution passed at the Bordeaux Trades Unions Congress in November. On the Paris Municipal Council they have 9 men, whose main purpose it is to oppose, on no matter what pretext, Vaillant's socialist activities, to betray the workers and in return to secure not only grants of money for themselves and their supporters but also sole control of the labour exchanges.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.239

The Marxists, who control the provinces, are the *only* anti-chauvinist party in France; the stand they have taken on behalf of the German labour movement has made them unpopular in Paris, and to send delegates to a congress there that is hostile to these people would be to cut off your nose to spite your own face. They also know how best to comb at Boulanger,<sup>326</sup> who stands for the general feeling of dissatisfaction in France. When Boulanger wanted to hold a banquet in Montluçon, our people took 300 tickets so as to put to him through Dormoy—a most able little chap—some highly categorical questions about his attitude to the labour movement, etc. When the worthy general learned of this, he cancelled the whole banquet.

The fog precludes any further writing today. More in a day or two.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 10 January 1889

Dear Kugelmann,

May I reciprocate with best wishes for a very Happy New Year to yourself, your wife and daughter.<sup>a</sup>

I should be amused to see Soetbeer's piece of sagacity<sup>b</sup> if you would be so good as to send it to me; the post office *here* would be unlikely to take exception to the marginal notes; all it bans is anything in the nature of a letter.

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<sup>a</sup> Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann – <sup>b</sup> H. Soetbeer, *Die Stellung der Sozialisten zur Malthus'schen Bevölkerungslehre*, Göttingen, 1886



As regards the French peasants, the thing should be taken *cum grano salis*.<sup>a</sup> The *cultivation* of parcels of land was the rule in France as it was in Germany and Eastern Europe while, so far as *acreage* is concerned, farming on a large scale with *corvée* labour was relatively rare. As a result of the Revolution,<sup>335</sup> the peasant *gradually* came into possession of his parcel of land, but he often for some time at least remained a nominal tenant (without as a rule having to pay rent). What happened to state-owned land (much of which Napoleon and the Restoration<sup>336</sup> returned to the aristocracy, the other part of it being purchased after 1826 by the aristocracy with the help of the émigré milliard<sup>337</sup>), and how, by 1830, small peasant landownership had reached its highest degree of development, is to be found in Avenel's *Lundis Révolutionnaires* and Balzac's novel, *Les Paysans*. Taine isn't up to much.<sup>b</sup> I haven't read the Schweichel article.<sup>c</sup>

The third volume<sup>d</sup> is going ahead slowly.

My health was given a tremendous fillip by my American jaunt, but my eyesight is still not all it might be—slight but chronic conjunctivitis and increasing myopia in the left eye due to the displacement of the rear wall of the sclerotic as a result of strain. The first duty of a citizen is rest.<sup>338</sup>

Your  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> with a grain of salt – <sup>b</sup> H. Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, t. 1–4, Paris, 1876–1885 – <sup>c</sup> R. Schweichel, 'La Terre', *Die Neue Zeit*, 7. Jg., 1889, H. 1 – <sup>d</sup> of *Capital*

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT<sup>4</sup>

IN ZURICH

London, 11 January 1889

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your two letters of 5 November and 28/31 December and have followed with much interest the progress of your experimentation with German universities.<sup>339</sup> The domination of the Junkers in alliance with the bourgeois differs from the pre-'48 domination of the Junkers in alliance with the bureaucrats only in having a broader basis. In those days their treatment of Bruno Bauer<sup>295</sup> stirred up indignation throughout Philistia; today, when similar treatment is being meted out to Dühring,<sup>340</sup> and the doors of all the universities are being slammed in your face, that self-same Philistia considers it perfectly right and proper.

You will, in fact, have no other recourse than to take up writing, and for that purpose there is, of course, no better place in the Empire than Berlin. I am glad that you say no more (in your second letter) about your American plans, for you would have experienced a bitter disappointment over there. I can see that anyone subject to the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>52</sup> might think highly of the American-German socialist press, particularly from the viewpoint of a journalist. In actual fact it isn't up to much, either from the theoretical or from the local, American standpoint. The best paper is the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*; the *St Louis Tageblatt* is well-meaning but feeble; the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* is managed in a proper, businesslike way, but is first and foremost a business; the *Sozialist* (New York), the official organ of the German party, is very poor. Just now there is little place in America for theoretical thinkers. The Germans—at any rate in their official organisation—insist upon remaining a branch of the German metropolitan party, look down with a truly Lassalleian arrogance upon the 'ignorant' Americans and expect them to join their German party, i.e. place themselves under German tutelage—in short, they behave with sectarian pettiness and bigotry. Further inland things are better, but the New Yorkers still retain the upper hand. I seldom see the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* (now edited by Christensen). In America, in short, the only possible openings are in the daily press, and you would have to be

over there for at least a year in order to gain the necessary confidence and personal insights; in addition you would have to adapt yourself to the prevailing opinions, which are often all the more parochial for the persistence amongst the Germans there of that loutish mentality which, in Germany, has been eradicated by large-scale industry (one of the curious things about America is that what is most antiquated and out of date continues to vegetate happily alongside what is newest and most revolutionary). Things can and will, no doubt, improve within a year or two, but anyone who wishes to promote the scientific side will find a far better prepared public here in Europe.

Incidentally, you will also find that a career as a writer offers ample scope for worthwhile work. You will presumably have access to Braun's *Archiv*,<sup>a</sup> Conrad's *Jahrbücher etc.*,<sup>b</sup> and to Schmoller's collection of papers.<sup>341</sup> For instance, a work on the system of exploitation by middlemen (sweating system)—at least as prevalent in the Berlin garment trade as in that of London, etc.—would be very useful as providing a parallel to the English Report by the Select Committee of the House of Lords<sup>c</sup>—which I will gladly send you if you'd care to have it. Many other types of economic conditions would similarly reward investigation and description, quite aside from actual theoretical works, which might now and then provide relief from the common run of writing. We can discuss this further once you are in Berlin and have started work.

If your experiences (which might well be worth publishing) recall the time of Frederick William IV, those of Hoch hark back directly to the worst period of demagogue-hunting.<sup>342</sup> It must surely be the first time since 1835 that anyone has been refused matriculation because of his political views.

As regards Volume III,<sup>d</sup> Section I (of seven) is ready for the press, and I am busy with II and III, which I hope to finish shortly. The work is more time-consuming than I had thought, and I have to take great care of my eyes. The stupendous fogs in December caused a temporary setback, but now they are better again. On New Year's night we went to Pumps'—we being Schorlemmer, Sam Moore, Tussy and a few of the *Sozialdemokrat* people.<sup>e</sup> She lives 2 miles away and, because of the fog, it took us over an hour to get there. Then it got so bad that no one could

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<sup>a</sup> *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* – <sup>b</sup> *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* – <sup>c</sup> First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System . . . – <sup>d</sup> of *Capital* – <sup>e</sup> Hermann and Anna Schlüter and Leonard Tauscher

leave. So *nolens volens*,<sup>a</sup> the whole party of us had to go on tippling until day (or rather a pitch black morning) dawned, which we did with much merriment. Towards five o'clock some of us were able to leave for town by the first train; the rest lay down at seven on hastily improvised beds and slept until the first noon of the New Year. *Voilà la vie de Londres*.<sup>b</sup>

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>343</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 January 1889

Dear Sorge,

A very Happy New Year and my most cordial greetings to you and your wife.<sup>c</sup>

Have got your letter of 29 December. I am sorry to hear that you as well as your wife are beginning to find the work a strain. But I hope this is only a passing phase and that you will gradually get used to it. I am well, but during the ghastly December fogs my eyes got rather worse again. I have pretty well sorted that out by taking more exercise and spending more time out of doors.

The chief characteristic of European socialism just now is contentiousness. In France the Possibilists have sold themselves to the government and are using the secret funds to keep their unsaleable news

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<sup>a</sup> willy-nilly – <sup>b</sup> That's London life for you – <sup>c</sup> Katharina Sorge

papers afloat; at the elections on the 27th they will vote for the bourgeois Jacques, while our people and the Blanquists have put up Boulé,<sup>344</sup> of whom Lafargue believes that he will get no more than 16 to 20 thousand votes, and this they regard as a defeat. In the provinces, on the other hand, things are healthier. The Possibilists had convoked *their* congress at Troyes, but cancelled it when the local organisers issued an invitation to *all* Socialists.<sup>322</sup> So only our lot went, proving there that, if Paris was dominated by the Possibilists, the provinces were theirs. Now there are going to be 2 congresses (international ones) in Paris this year—ours and the Possibilists'. The Germans probably won't go to either.

Here in London the tuck<sup>a</sup> of an army of officers *sans* soldiers still goes on. It's like Robert Blum's column of 1849<sup>345</sup>—one colonel, 11 officers, 1 trumpeter and 1 private. Outwardly and before the public they appear to hit it off all right but the cliquishness behind the scenes is all the greater. Every now and again the bickering comes out into the open. Thus Champion, having been thrown out of the Social Democratic Federation,<sup>62</sup> has founded a paper<sup>b</sup> (of which one No. goes off to you this week) and is now attacking Hyndman, but more especially his ally, Adolphe Smith Headingley, who is half French, swears by the Possibilists and is chief mediator in the Hyndman-Possibilist alliance. In the days after the Commune, the fellow was co-loafer<sup>c</sup> of the London *Branche française*<sup>346</sup> by whom we were abused and misrepresented, then ditto of the pseudo-General Council consisting of Jung, Hales & Co. I have evidence that he is still telling lies about us. This lout-interpretor at the international Trades Congress over here had the effrontery to come to my house one Sunday under the aegis of Anseele and Van Beverend<sup>d</sup>; when Schlüter arrives, he will tell you how I sent the fellow packing.

As soon as the working class, as yet only just stirring, really gets under way here, every one of these gentry will be relegated to his level and station—some inside, some outside the movement. It's now at the tooth-cutting stage.

Contentiousness also prevails in the office of the *Sozialdemokrat*. Schlüter will be able to tell you about it. By the way, he is also to some extent party to it and capable of concealing what doesn't suit his book. When I see how badly mismanaged the paper is here at headquarters, I can only admire our workingmen the more for the way in which they counterbalance and neutralise it all.

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<sup>a</sup> here meaning 'farce' – <sup>b</sup> *The Labour Elector* – <sup>c</sup> In the German text *Mitloafer*, a play on the word *Mitläufer* – a political hanger-on – <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p.239

Mother Wischnewetzky is much offended because, instead of paying her a visit at Long Branch, I stayed with you so as to recuperate from my indisposition and get back into shape for the voyage. She seems to have been pained by the breach of etiquette and the want of gallantry towards ladies. However, I refuse to allow these little madams, who clamour for women's rights, to demand gallantry into the bargain—if they want the same rights as men they should submit to being treated as such. She will probably simmer down however.

We spent New Year's Eve with Pumps and, because of the fog, had to stay the whole night tippling there. Tussy only left at 5 a.m. by the first train. She is now staying in Cornwall for a week or two.

Bismarck has been nicely cuffed over the ears by Geffcken and Morier.<sup>347</sup> If the Supreme Court has not yet gone so far as to accept his undergraduate-bully boy's version of the penal code, this is thanks to the singular contempt with which young William<sup>a</sup> lately favoured those gentlemen at Leipzig.

Diplomatic intrigue is at its height. The Russians have received 20 million pounds,<sup>348</sup> in April the Prussians will get their new 8 mm magazine rifle (the 11 mm one—a new version of the Mauser—was utterly unsuitable for war), the Austrians are boasting like mad, claiming to be *prêts et archiprêts*,<sup>b</sup> which proves that they're ready for another drubbing, and in France Boulanger *might* come to the helm. Bismarck's machinations with Salisbury in East Africa<sup>349</sup> have only one purpose, namely to involve Britain so deeply in a joint operation with Germany that, even under Gladstone, it wouldn't be able to draw back. Thus it was definitely against his will that William staged the Morier affair, but it's he who has to carry the can. In short, the situation is becoming critical and *could* lead to war in the spring.

Your

F.E.

Section I of Vol. III<sup>c</sup> is finished, II and III in hand. Seven sections in all.

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

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<sup>a</sup> William II – <sup>b</sup> ready and more than ready – <sup>c</sup> of *Capital*

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY<sup>10</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 12 January 1889

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

No doubt you feel disappointed at my having left America<sup>281</sup> without coming to see you at your sea-side retreat. But I was really too unwell, while in New York, to attempt an excursion of any kind—as you are aware I arrived with a severe cold which Dr Wischnewetzky declared to be bronchitis. This got worse, instead of better, and moreover I got a severe indigestion which made me feel on shore the sea sickness I had not had on the ocean. Under these circumstances, and with a long journey over unknown ground before me, I felt bound to get cured at once and to subordinate everything else to this consideration—I therefore placed myself under the motherly care of Mrs Sorge, did not leave Hoboken for days together, and at last got right again—about the time when we had to leave New York. Had it not been for this, I should certainly have come to pass a day with you; as it was, I had to choose between perfect rest at Hoboken, and an excursion which was almost sure to have upset me for the whole of the journey and maybe laid me up somewhere far out in the country.

The 500 copies<sup>a</sup> from Lee and Shepard have arrived—but too late to be sent out before the Christmas holidays, when nothing but holiday literature is noticed—I have therefore kept them back until now. On Monday the copies to the press will go out and the rest be handed to Reeves. As the boycott of the London Socialists against Marx and myself (exactly like that of English prehistoric old fogies against Morgan)<sup>350</sup> seems still in force, I am curious what the effect will be.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Yours faithfully  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> Karl Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 January 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Reply from Liebknecht and Bebel after mutual consultation.<sup>351</sup> It would appear that they never had any intention of going to the Possibilist congress direct and without reference to you. But

1) Since the London congress<sup>320</sup> resolved to convene a congress in Paris and entrusted its organisation to the Possibilists, the latter do have certain rights, notably in regard to the nationalities represented in London who concurred with that resolution. (Why, by the bye, have you abdicated so completely and abandoned the field to the Possibilists?)

2) The Dutch have expressly asked that the Possibilists be invited to the congress, making this a condition for their (the Dutchmen's) attendance.

3) And Liebknecht is right when he says that the Germans cannot expose themselves to attack by French workers in Paris—a hazard, he avers, against which you have been unable to give them any sort of guarantee.

Apparently, then, it has been resolved to convene a preliminary conference at Nancy,<sup>352</sup> one delegate per foreign nationality, and one delegate from each of the three French parties—yourselves, Blanquists, Possibilists; also to move that, at the congress, the right to speak be withdrawn from any speaker alluding to the internal affairs of those three parties and to the differences between them. In this way there would be only one congress, at which everyone would be represented.

I don't see how you can turn this down. If it then be seen that you are prepared to act along with everyone else, and that the Possibilists are trying to exclude you, it would be enough to put the Possibilists in the wrong, even in the eyes of the Dutch and Belgians (the Flemings are all right but, where their foreign policy is concerned, they are under the thumb of those false brethren in Brussels of whom you know); if, on the other hand, they accept, you will only have yourselves to blame should you fail to prove to one and all that it is you, and not they, who represent French Socialism.



Here is the text of what Liebknecht says:

‘Ich richtete also am Dienstag 8. Januar nach Besprechung mit Bebel eine formelle Einladung an das Blatt<sup>a</sup> (der Possibilisten).<sup>b</sup> Kommt *kein* Delegierter derselben (zur Konferenz) so haben wir freie Hand. Kommt einer oder kommen mehrere, so werden wir schon mit ihnen fertig werden. Fügen sie sich, dann gut. Fügen sie sich nicht, dann sind sie isoliert und werden von uns tot gemacht’ . . . ‘In jedem Fall sichert die Konferenz das Gelingen des Kongresses und die Lahmlegung der Broussisten.’<sup>c</sup>

If all this is correct, I cannot see that you have cause for complaint; on the contrary, it would provide an excellent opportunity to force the hand of the Possibilists. Before answering, however, I am anxious to ascertain the facts and to hear what you have to say. After consulting your friends, therefore, and after seeking the advice of the Blanquists, do write and tell me what you think about all this; and do it soon, it’s urgent.

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and from myself.

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> *Parti Ouvrier* – <sup>b</sup> Engels gives this sentence in a close rendering rather than word for word – <sup>c</sup> ‘On Tuesday, 8 January, after discussing the matter with Bebel, I sent a formal invitation to the (Possibilist) paper. Should the latter not send a delegate (to the conference), we shall have a free hand. Should one or several attend, we shall know how to deal with them. If they toe the line, well and good. If they do not toe the line, they will stand on their own and will be wiped out by us.’ . . . ‘In either case the meeting will ensure the success of the congress and the hamstringing of the Broussists.’

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 18 January 1889

The proposed discussion with Tussy and Edward<sup>a</sup> cannot take place as they are both in Cornwall and don't intend to return until next week or later. Meanwhile Tussy has already written to tell your wife what she could about the case in point. But however that may be, we've got to get you both back here and no doubt this can be done somehow or other by the spring. Now I must return to my mss.,<sup>a</sup> which I have had to neglect for the past month—on account of the fog and all manner of correspondences to do with the rumpuses in Paris and London. Warm regards to Louise

from your old friend  
The General

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>211</sup>

IN VIENNA

London, 28 January 1889

Dear Kautsky,

Today I have a proposal to make to you which has Ede's, Gina's<sup>b</sup> and Tussy's blessing.

I foresee that in the most favourable circumstances I shall have to continue to spare my eyes for a very long time if they are to get right again.

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<sup>a</sup> of Volume 3 of *Capital* – <sup>b</sup> Regina Bernstein

And that rules out the possibility, at least for several years to come, of anyone taking down the ms. of Book IV of *Capital*<sup>353</sup> at my own dictation.

On the other hand, I must see to it that not only this but Marx's other mss. remain usable even in my absence. There is no way of my doing so other than by giving coaching in these hieroglyphics to people who can, if necessary, take my place and in any case help me with the editing in the meantime. And for this purpose you and Ede are the only ones I can employ. So for the time being I propose that that is what the three of us should do.

But then the first thing to be tackled is Book IV, and Ede is too preoccupied with the editing of the *Sozialdemokrat* and with the many hold-ups and intrigues that are part and parcel of the shop here. But I imagine that, after a bit of coaching and practice and with the help of your wife,<sup>a</sup> you would in the course of, say, two years, find sufficient time to turn the 750 pages or so of the original (a good part of which will probably be dropped as having been included in Book III<sup>b</sup>) into a legible ms. Once you were able to read the writing fairly well, you could dictate to your wife and then things would go faster.

Now I have worked it out as follows: if, as hitherto, I could dictate to Eisengarten for 5 hours a day, that would take me a year—allowing for interruptions. In return I would have to pay Eisengarten £2 a week—£100. So that is what it would cost me in any event and, if you are prepared to take the work on for that amount, that is what I shall pay. Spread over two years it would mean a payment of £50 each year; should the work go ahead faster, payment would be forthcoming sooner. We here are of the opinion that in these circumstances you might perhaps have no objection to returning. I would suggest that I pay you in quarterly advances of £12.10, for progress would be slow at first and faster later on, and hence there would be no sense in proposing that payments should be related from the outset to the quantity of work done.

Ede simply cannot wait to be initiated in the hieroglyphics. I have in fact some other mss. for him and shall likewise give him coaching, but I told him, of course, that I could only pay one of you and this he readily accepted.

What I have in mind here is the ultimate publication at some later date—though perhaps this won't be possible during my life time—of collected editions of things by Marx and myself, and it is in regard to this

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<sup>a</sup> Louise Kautsky – <sup>b</sup> of *Capital*

particular matter that I would now like to make the necessary provisions. I have also mentioned it to Tussy and we can expect all possible help from that quarter. Once I have got you both to the stage of reading Marx's handwriting well, a heavy load will have been lifted from my shoulders and I shall then be able to spare my eyes without neglecting an important duty, for by that time there will be two people, at any rate, to whom the mss. are no longer a book with seven seals.

Apart from Lenchen, only Ede and Aveling and their wives know of my plan and, if you are in agreement, no one save the two of you need know anything about the details of the affair. It might also provide Louise with a congenial occupation.

So give the matter some thought and, if you agree to it, come over as soon as you can. You'll be able to secure Schlüter's furniture at little cost and at the same time attractive, if temporary, lodgings. Louise will doubtless want to get her course and exams<sup>354</sup> over first, but how that can be arranged is something of which the two of you are better judges than we over here.

Boulangier's election<sup>344</sup> is bringing the situation in France to a head. The Radicals, in their haste to come to power, have made themselves the servants of opportunism and corruption and by doing so have virtually become a breeding ground for Boulangism.<sup>137</sup> But it bodes ill for Paris that in its rage at these goings-on it has cast itself into the arms of a barely disguised Bonapartism. For the present, the only conclusion I can draw from all this is that Paris is renouncing its traditional revolutionary mission. Fortunately the provinces are better. The worst of it is that the danger of war looms ever larger and that Bismarck can now have a war whenever he wants one. He only needs to provoke another Schnaebelé-type incident<sup>99</sup>—which Boulangier won't be able to swallow as Ferry did.

Best wishes to Louise from Nim and myself,

Your

F. E.

Give my regards to those trusty friends who sent me their New Year's greetings, in particular Frankel. You all seem to be going strong again over there.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN LONDON

[London], 31 January 1889

Dear Schlüter,

I had hoped to see you and your wife<sup>a</sup> here yesterday. Did Mrs Bernstein come with you? If so, I hope to see her and you both at my house one evening—Sunday at the latest.

Kindest regards.

Your

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>324</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 February 1889

My dear Laura,

The news about the *Egalité* (ominous name, *égalité devant la mort*<sup>b</sup> I hope not!) is good news indeed and I await anxiously the results.<sup>355</sup> That the Blanquists would be brought to their senses, as to the extent of their journalistic capacities, was pretty clear—but that this necessary experience would eat up the necessary funds for a paper, was clearer still.

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<sup>a</sup> Anna Schlüter – <sup>b</sup> equality before death

So it's well that another speculative *bailleur de fonds*<sup>a</sup> has turned up. That our people can make a paper a success they have proved at the *Citoyen* and the *Cri* where in both cases other intruders tried to make capital out of our people's success and came to grief. And the composition of the *comité* is in their favour, the Blanquists secure them the majority on economic questions, and the Hovelacque elements will help holding Blanquist madcap notions in check. But how long will these various elements hold together? Anyhow, let us wait till everything is shipshape.

The Boulanger election<sup>344</sup> I cannot look upon otherwise than as a distinct revival of the Bonapartist element in the Parisian character. In 1798, 1848 and 1889 this revival arose equally from discontent with the bourgeois republic, but it took this especial direction—appeal to a saviour of society—entirely in consequence of a chauvinistic current. And what is worse: in 1798 Napoleon had to make a *coup d'état* to conquer those Parisians he had shot down in Vendémiaire;<sup>356</sup> in 1889 the Parisians themselves elect a butcher of the Commune. To put it mildly, Paris has, at least temporarily, abdicated as a revolutionary city; abdicated, not before a victorious *coup d'état* and in the midst of war, as in 1798; not six months after a crushing defeat, as in December 1848; but in the midst of peace, 18 years after the Commune, and *on the eve of a probable revolution*. And when Bebel says in the Vienna *Gleichheit*:

‘Die Pariser Arbeiter haben sich in ihrer Mehrheit *einfach erbärmlich* benommen — mitt ihrer sozialistischen und klassenbewussten Gesinnung muss es sehr traurig stehn, wenn nur 17,000 Stimmen auf einen sozialistischen Kandidaten fallen und ein Hanswurst und demagog wie Boulanger 244,000 Stimmen erhält’<sup>b 357</sup>

— Nobody can say that he is wrong. The effect upon our party everywhere has been that if Floquet has suffered a crushing defeat, *so have we*. Cutting off your nose to spite your face is no doubt also a sort of policy, but what sort?

Well, Boulanger is now sure to be master of France unless he commits some egregious blunder, and the Parisians will have their bellyful of him. If the thing goes off without war being brought on, it will be something gained—but the danger is great. Bismarck has every reason to hurry on

<sup>a</sup> investor (Jules Roques) – <sup>b</sup> ‘The majority of Paris workers behaved *downright despicably* – their socialist and class consciousness must be in a sorry state indeed if a socialist candidate only gets 17,000 votes and a clown and demagogue like Boulanger polls 244,000 votes.’

a row, because William<sup>a</sup> is doing his best to ruin the German army by putting his favourites in the places of the old generals, and if he is allowed to proceed, in five years hence the Germans will be led by nothing but nincompoops and conceited jackasses. And how Boulanger, once in power, can outlive the effects of the universal *désillusionnement* which he must produce, without going to a war—that is more than I can see.

In all this mess it is but a poor consolation that the Possibilists have ruined themselves a little sooner than they would have done otherwise. But such as it is, let us rejoice over it. I send you two *Recht voor Allen* in which you see how they are getting treated by the very mass who insisted on their presence at the Congress.<sup>358</sup> Bernstein has given it them this week in the *Sozialdemokrat*<sup>b</sup> too, and even Hyndman has not the courage to stick up for them in *Justice*. To take his revenge, he writes a letter to Bax (5 Canning Road, Croydon) and asks him what it was that he, Bax, said about this point at the office of the *Sozialdemokrat* and what was repeated to me yesterday by Joos (one of the men there). I should be the more glad of this, as Bax was here yesterday too and never mentioned a word *to me* about it—it came out only after he had left. He can tell Bax that I told him so.

Well, I hope the new paper<sup>c</sup> will come out; we must take the situation as it is and make the best of it. When Paul gets to work at a paper again, he will brace himself up for the fight and no longer say despondingly: *il n'y a pas à aller contre le courant*.<sup>d</sup> Nobody asks of him to *stop* the current, but if we are not to go *against* the popular current of momentary tomfoolery, *what* in the name of the devil *is* our business? The inhabitants of the *Ville lumière*<sup>e</sup> have proved to evidence that they are 2 million 'mostly fools' as Carlyle says, but that is no reason why we should be fools too. Let the Parisians turn reactionists if they cannot be happy otherwise—the social revolution will go on in spite of them, and when it's done they can cry out: *Ah tiens! C'est fait—et sans nous—qui l'aurait imaginé!*<sup>f</sup>

With Nim's love

Ever yours  
F. E.

Doesn't Paul want any cash?

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<sup>a</sup> William II – <sup>b</sup> E. Bernstein, 'Boulanger's Sieg in Paris,' *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 3 February 1889 – <sup>c</sup> *Egalité* – <sup>d</sup> there is no going against the current – <sup>e</sup> Luminary City – <sup>f</sup> Just look! It's done – and without us – who could have imagined it!

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

[London], 7 February 1889

Re the ms., there is *absolutely no hurry*.<sup>a</sup> So just do whatever suits you best. For the time being I shall be fully occupied with III<sup>b</sup> (about 1/3 is now done). *L'Égalité* comes out today in Paris as the successor to the *Cri du Peuple*, a *daily*; on it, besides Vaillant and his faction, are Lafargue, Guesde, Deville, perhaps others. Malon will doubtless have to be brought in as well. More anon as regards any other matters; today I simply wanted to get off a prompt reply to your main question.

Warm regards to Louise—also from Nim.

Your  
 F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.258 – <sup>b</sup> Volume III of *Capital*



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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 February 1889

My dear Laura,

Well this *Egalité* anyhow is quite a relief after the dear dull deadly *Cri du Peuple* (*ennuyeux*<sup>a</sup>). The last few numbers of that defunct paper were really crushing. Poor Vaillant who can write a very good article when a critical point has been reached, but who is the last man in the world to spin out yarns by the yard day after day—you actually saw him perspire over his daily task, and it was a desponding sight. The involutions, evolutions and circumvolutions of Longuet in his attempts to set himself right (and at the same time wrong) with his Radical ex-friends are at least amusing, and artistically done.<sup>359</sup> Paul's [article on] night-work is really good; though he might have *tapé un peu plus dur*<sup>b</sup> on Boulanger. Today I had no *Egalité*—perhaps the snow has delayed it. We are six inches deep in it here.

I read your admonition yesterday to Tussy and she pleads guilty. How far she will mind is beyond my cognizance.

Nim was rather out of sorts last week, some sort of derangement of the bowels, but is all right now.

Of *Capital*, III, vol. I finished section IV yesterday—about 1/3 of the whole cubic foot of ms.

In the *Dispatch* I send you please note A. Smith on page 2<sup>c</sup>—full of lies as usual—but it shows what the Possibilists are after. That the Germans are going to their congress is a barefaced lie, and that the Danes, Dutch etc. are, is probably another. Bax told Tussy that Hyndman had sounded him as to what the Germans intended doing in this respect, and Bax asked him: are you then the representative of the Possibilists in London? to which Hyndman said *he was* and in that capacity wanted the information. Whereupon Bax said: then you better write me a letter which I can submit to Engels and Bernstein. There the matter rests at present. But you see how busy they are.

<sup>a</sup> boring – <sup>b</sup> hit a bit harder – <sup>c</sup> [Ad. Smith], 'The International Workmen's Congress of 1889'

Is Paul going to the Hague 28th inst. (Conference<sup>360</sup>)? Bebel and Liebknecht are going, from here perhaps Bernstein, I am pressing him to go.

As to the cash, herewith cheque £20—which I hope will pacify M. Vautour.

Ever yours  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON<sup>130</sup>

IN LONDON

[London], 14 February 1889

As far as I know G. J. Harney is still in England. Will let you know positively as soon as I can, will try to write to him and ascertain his whereabouts at once. If I can be of any use to Mr. Atherley Jones,<sup>361</sup> shall be glad to see him, am at home almost every evening.

Have not yet had the time to study your programme<sup>131</sup> sufficiently to give an opinion. I am very much debarred from reading by gas by medical orders.

Yours truly  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>362</sup>

IN VIENNA

London, 20 February 1889

Dear Kautsky,

I return herewith the *Neue Zeit* articles<sup>a</sup> with brief marginal notes. The chief defect lies in the want of good material—Taine and Tocqueville, those idols of the philistines, are inadequate here.<sup>b</sup> Had you been working *over here*, you would have found material of quite a different order—better *secondary* and masses of *primary* sources. Quite apart from the fact that the best book on the peasants, by Kareyev, is in Russian. But if, over there, you can get hold of:

Moreau de Jounès, *État économique et social de la France depuis Henri IV jusqu'à Louis XIV*, Paris 1867, you could profitably read the same.

Section II, p. 3. Here you could do with a clear exposé showing *how* absolute monarchy comes into being as a natural compromise between aristocracy and bourgeoisie and hence must protect the interests of, and share out favours to, either side. To the—politically superannuated—aristocracy falls the share of plundering the peasants and the Exchequer, and of exercising indirect political influence through the Court, the army, the Church and the upper reaches of the administration; to the bourgeoisie, protection by means of tariffs and monopolies, and a *relatively* well-organised administration and judiciary. If you make that your starting-point, much will be elucidated and simplified.

This paragraph also omits all mention of the judicial aristocracy

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<sup>a</sup> K. Kautsky, 'Die Klassengegensätze von 1789. Zur hundert-jährigen Gedenkfeier der grossen Revolution', *Die Neue Zeit*, 7. Jhg, 1889, Hefte 1-4 – <sup>b</sup> H. A. Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*; A. de Tocqueville, *L'Ancien régime et la Révolution*

(*noblesse de robe*)<sup>a</sup> and of lawyers—*la robe*—in general who, in fact, also constituted a privileged estate and wielded considerable power in the *parlements* where, in their *political* capacity as the champions of institutions curbing the power of the Crown, they took a stand against the latter, i.e. sided with the people but were, in their judicial capacity, the very soul of corruption (cf. *Mémoires de Beaumarchais*<sup>b</sup>). What you say further on about this gang will not suffice.

III, p. 49. Cf. Note I from Kareyev herewith.

P. 50 ‘*this species of bourgeois*’ suddenly becomes ‘*the*’ bourgeois *par excellence*, which gives the lie to the dichotomy of the bourgeois class of which you are speaking. Altogether you generalise far too much and this often makes you absolute where the utmost relativity is called for.

IV, p. 54. Here there ought to be some mention of *how* it was that these plebeians, who were *outside* the system of estates and thus more or less disenfranchised or outlawed, arrived in the course of the revolution only by degrees at what you call ‘*Sansculottism*’ (yet another ism!); likewise some mention of the role they played. That would get you over the difficulties on p. 53, which you seek to cope with by means of casual references and veiled allusions to new modes of production. Then it becomes plain that, here as always, the bourgeois were too cowardly to stand up for their own interests, that, from the time of the Bastille onwards, all their work had to be done for them by the plebs, that without the latter’s intervention on 14 July, 5/6 October, and right up to 10 August, 2 September, etc., the bourgeoisie would invariably have been defeated by the *ancien régime* and the revolution have been crushed by the Coalition in alliance with the Court, and hence that it was those plebeians alone who effected the revolution;<sup>363</sup> but that this would not have been possible had the said plebeians not put a construction on the revolutionary demands of the bourgeoisie which these did not possess, had they not pushed equality and fraternity to their furthest logical conclusion, thereby standing the bourgeois meaning of those catchwords completely on its head because, if taken to extremes, that meaning in fact turned into its opposite; that this *plebeian* equality and fraternity must have been sheer moonshine at a time when it was a question of producing *precisely the opposite* and that, as always, this *plebeian*

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<sup>a</sup> People whose patents of nobility derived from administrative or legal posts purchased by themselves or their forebears – <sup>b</sup> *Collection complète des Mémoires de Monsieur de Beaumarchais, avec la suite de sa justification*, t. 1-2

construction placed upon the revolutionary catchwords became, by a quirk of history, the most powerful lever in effecting that opposite—namely *bourgeois* equality—before the law—and fraternity—in exploitation.

I would say a great deal less about the modern mode of production. In every case a yawning gap divides it from the *facts* you adduce and, *thus* out of context, it appears as a *pure abstraction* which, far from throwing light on the subject, renders it still more obscure.

As regards the Terror, it was essentially a *military measure*, so long as it had any point. It enabled the class or faction of the class group which alone could secure the victory of the revolution, not only to remain at the helm (the least of their problems once the rebellions had been subdued), but also to ensure that they had freedom of movement, *elbow-room*, and could concentrate their forces at the crucial point, the frontier. By the end of 1793 this last had been pretty well secured; 1794 began well, with the French armies advancing almost everywhere. The Commune<sup>364</sup> with its extremist tendencies became redundant, its pro-revolutionary propagandism became an embarrassment to Robespierre no less than to Danton, both of whom—if each after his own fashion—wanted peace. In this conflict of three elements Robespierre was the victor, but now *the Terror became for him a means of self-preservation* and therefore absurd: when, at Fleurus on the 26th of June, Jourdan laid the whole of Belgium at the Republic's feet,<sup>365</sup> it became unwarrantable; on 27 July Robespierre fell and the bourgeois orgy began.

'Prosperity for all based on labour' is far too definite a way of expressing the aspirations of the plebeian '*fraternité*' of those days. What they wanted no one could say until, long after the fall of the Commune, Babeuf gave it definite form.<sup>366</sup> If the Commune with its aspirations to fraternity came too soon, Babeuf for his part came too late.

P. 100. Beggars—see Note II from Kareyev.<sup>367</sup>

The section on peasants suffers most from the absence of all but the most common sources.

Ranke's howlers are nice!<sup>a</sup> in the case of Sybel<sup>b</sup> you unfortunately failed to make use of the Austrian refutations, from which you could have gleaned a good deal about the second partition of Poland,<sup>368</sup> etc., and which, in so far as they are in the *archives*, are certainly available.

As regards Rudolf,<sup>c</sup> history shows that even in Austria feudal licen-

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<sup>a</sup> L. Ranke, *Über die Epochen der neueren Geschichte* – <sup>b</sup> H. Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit von 1789–1795* – <sup>c</sup> Rudolf Franz Karl Joseph – <sup>d</sup> Bernstein

tiousness, whereby the prince and his family honoured their female subjects in bestowing carnal favours upon them, gives way to *bourgeois* licentiousness, whereby the bestower of the favour becomes answerable on the duelling ground or in the DIVORCE COURT to the husband or brother, etc., of the person favoured.

My cordial regards to Louise, likewise Frankel, Alder, etc. What is Bardorf doing? One never hears anything of him nowadays.

Hyndman is endeavouring to entice Ede, via Bax, into an alliance with himself and the Possibilists.<sup>19</sup> The silly ass imagines that we carry on in exactly the same way as the London literary cliques, in which alliances are made and broken at will simply because those concerned have no one behind them.

How do you like the *Égalité's* novel about Rudolf?

Your

F. E.

#### Note I. *Fourth Estate*

The conception of a Fourth Estate, alongside I, II and III, arose very early in the Revolution. Dufaurny de Villiers' *Cahiers du 4<sup>e</sup> ordre, celui des pauvres journaliers, des infirmes, des indigents, etc., l'ordre des infortunés*—25 avril 1789 appeared at the very start. But as a rule the Fourth Estate was regarded as consisting of *peasants*. E.g. Noilliac, *Le plus fort des pamphlets. L'ordre des paysans aux États-généraux*. 26 février 1789, p. 9: 'Prenons de la constitution suédoise les quatre ordres.'<sup>a</sup>—Vartout, *Lettre d'un paysan à son curé, sur une nouvelle manière de tenir les États-généraux*, Sartrouville, 1789, p. 7: 'J'avons entendu dire que dans un pays qui est au Nord ... on admettait aux États assemblés l'ordre des paysans.'<sup>b</sup>

A few other versions of the Fourth Estate also occur; one pamphlet suggests a Fourth Estate of *merchants*, another, of *magistrates*, etc.

According to Kareyev, *The Peasants and the Peasant Question in France in the Last Quarter of the 18th Century*, Moscow, 1879, p. 327.

#### Note II. *Beggars*

'Characteristically, the number of the impoverished (*niscich*; *niscyi* means beggar) was highest in the provinces which were considered the

<sup>a</sup> 'Let us take the four estates of the Swedish Constitution' – <sup>b</sup> 'I have heard told that in a country up in the North ... the Peasants' Estate was admitted to the States-General.'

most fertile; this was due to the fact that there were very few landowning peasants in these areas.

‘But let the figures speak. In Argentré (Brittany), out of the 2,300 inhabitants not living by industry or trade, more than half can barely make ends meet, and over 500 people have been reduced to destitution. In Dainville (Artois), 60 families out of 130 are impoverished. Normandy: in Saint-Patrice 400 out of the 1,500 inhabitants, and in Saint-Laurent three-quarters out of the 500 live on alms (Taine). From the *Cahiers*<sup>369</sup> of the Douai *bailliage* we learn that in one village (Bouvignies parish) half of the 332 families live on alms, in another (Aix parish) 65 families out of the 143 are impoverished, in a third (Landus parish) about one hundred out of the 413 are destitute, and so on and so forth. In the Puy-en-Velay *sénéchaussée*, according to the *Cahiers* of the local clergy, 58,897 of the 120,000 inhabitants are not in a position to pay any taxes at all (*Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, Vol. V, p. 467). In the villages of the Carhaix arrondissement the position was as follows: Frerogan: 10 well-to-do families (*dostatochnyi*, possessing enough), 10 poor, and 10 destitute. Motref: 47 well-to-do families, 74 less prosperous ones, 64 poor ones and families of day labourers. Paule: 200 households, most of which fully deserve the description of beggars’ homes (*Archives Nationales* B<sup>A</sup>, IV, 17). The *Cahier* of the Marboeuf parish states that out of the 500 inhabitants nearly 100 are destitute (Boivin-Champeaux, *Notice historique sur la Révolution dans le département de l’Eure*, 1872, p. 83). The peasants of Harville village say as many as one-third of them live in poverty for lack of employment (‘Requête des habitants de la Commune d’Harville’, *Archives Nationales*).

‘In the cities the position was no better. In Lyons 30,000 workmen were destitute in 1787. Paris, with a population of 650,000 had 118,784 indigents (Taine I, [p.] 507). In Rennes 1/3 of the inhabitants lived on alms and another 1/3 were in constant danger of destitution (Duchatellier, *L’agriculture en Bretagne*, Paris, 1863, p. 178). The Jurassian town of Lons-le-Saunier was so poor that, when the Constituante<sup>370</sup> introduced the electoral qualification, only 728 of the 6,518 inhabitants were qualified as eligible to vote (Sommier, *Histoire de la révolution dans le Jura*, Paris, 1846, p. 33). Small wonder, therefore, that during the revolution those living on charity were counted by the million. For instance, a church pamphlet published in 1791 says there were 6 million paupers (indigents) in France (*Avis aux Pauvres sur la révolution présente et sur les biens du clergé*, p. 15). This is doubtless a some-

what exaggerated estimate, but that given for the year 1774—1,200,000 paupers—perhaps does not fall below the actual figure (Duval, *Cahiers de la Marche*, Paris, 1873, p. 116).’

(I thought you might like to have a few *genuine* examples.)

*Kareyev*, pp. 211–13.

(Should the tone of my notes appear abrupt, this is due to want of time and the narrowness of your margins. Nor did I have the time to consult my sources and had to do it all from memory—hence much is not as clear-cut as I should like it to be.)<sup>a</sup>

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ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON<sup>130</sup>

IN LONDON

[London], 21 February 1889  
122 Regent’s Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mahon,

I had a letter from Harney.<sup>b</sup> He is still at Macclesfield (58 Bridge St.) suffering from his old complaint, rheumatic gout, so badly that he had to *dictate* his letter. He says in his present condition he is

‘in no mood to meet people’, and, ‘as you see, little fitted to write however briefly. But do not think I can be of any service to Mr Atherley Jones in his laudable object and very proper filial duty, that of collecting his father’s writings for re-issue’.

<sup>a</sup> This paragraph is written in pencil in the original – <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p.265



So I must leave you and Mr A. Jones to make the best of it, as far as Harney is concerned.

I *may* have a few odd numbers of *The People's Paper* but, if so, shall not be able to lay my hands on them until I find time for a re-arrangement of my collection of old papers, pamphlets, etc.

Faithfully yours,  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>371</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 February 1889

Dear Sorge,

Your postcard of 19 January and letter of 10 February received.<sup>372</sup> I take *The Labor Standard* and shall give Mrs Wischnewetzky's articles to Tussy, who will use them, should the 'Labor Movement' happen to be re-issued. The stuff in them is typical of America. Neglect of fire precautions, etc., on that scale simply would not pay in Europe. But it's the same attitude as you take to railroads and everything else; provided only that they *exist*, no matter how, that is sufficient.

Thank you for the item on Appleton.<sup>373</sup> On being approached, Sonnenschein said he had sold 500 copies of the cheap edition to Appleton.

I didn't see *Der arme Teufel*. It is Motteler's favourite reading and that is something no one will begrudge him. Any remarks it makes about Aveling, no matter what they may be, are downright lies.<sup>374</sup>

I shall write and tell Kautsky what you have said about Rappaport.<sup>375</sup> Lack of material and a desire to be versatile mean that many get in who have no business to be there. Kautsky has been in Vienna since July and won't be returning here before July.

I have sent you *The Holy Family* by registered book packet along with some French stuff. *But you mustn't tell Schlüter that I sent it to you*; I had more or less promised him my spare copy for the archives<sup>227</sup> before my trip to America, but you come first. It will probably arrive in March or April.

In addition to this—all of them by today's post—there's a further parcel of French stuff as well as *Commonweal* and *Gleichheit*. Lafargue's and Deville's lectures<sup>376</sup> are no longer to be had here and I can't get a reply out of the authors. However I keep pegging away at them.

You will have received the copies of the *Égalité*. The Blanquists have had no luck with their *Cri du Peuple*; having bored people to tears, they found themselves compelled to join forces with Guesde, Lafargue, etc. (which Vaillant wanted to do from the beginning but was outvoted). In addition there are a few discontented Radicals. Up till now they have all got on well together—let's hope it will remain so. Some more copies will go off shortly.

During the latest election in Paris the Possibilists thoroughly disgraced themselves and actively supported the Opportunist Jacques.<sup>344</sup> The workers are now beginning to desert them. In the provinces, which are far better than Paris, they have lost all support. Their attempt, with the help of the English Trades Unions and of Hyndman, their trusty ally over here, to arrange an international congress in Paris *without* our Frenchmen but with the Belgians, Danes, Dutch and hence, or so they hoped, the Germans as well, is proving an ignominious failure. The Germans say they will not attend *either* congress if 2 of them are held in Paris. And both parties have been summoned to a conference at The Hague on the 28th of this month<sup>360</sup>; of the Germans, Liebknecht, Bebel and Bernstein will be there, and so will the Dutch and Belgians. Lafargue is going. So they must either eat humble pie or face universal opposition.

In Germany things are getting more and more confused. Now that old William<sup>a</sup> is dead and Bismarck is tottering, the philistines have lost all confidence in the wielders of power. That vain young fool,<sup>b</sup> the new, greater version of Old Fritz<sup>c</sup> (*pour rire*<sup>d</sup>) wants to be Emperor and

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<sup>a</sup> William I – <sup>b</sup> William II – <sup>c</sup> Frederick II (Frederick the Great) – <sup>d</sup> in jest

Chancellor in one; the arch-reactionaries, priests and Junkers at court are doing their utmost to incite him against Bismarck and to bring about a clash—and meanwhile little Willie is pensioning off all the old generals and replacing them with his favourites. Another three years and the commands will all be in the hands of impudent coxcombs and the army will be ripe for another Jena.<sup>377</sup> Bismarck knows this and that is what might induce him to embark on a quick war, especially if that vagabond Boulanger gets to the top. And then we'll have a pretty state of affairs: an alliance between France and Russia which will completely *rule out any revolution* in France, for otherwise Russia will turn against her. But I hope it blows over.

Warm regards to your wife.<sup>a</sup>

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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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 12 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

The Possibilists have behaved just as they should—both as regards themselves and as regards us.<sup>378</sup> I was afraid they would accept—with reservations which, though apparently insignificant, would have been enough to bedevil the whole issue. Fortunately they appear to be too

<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge

much committed to the course already embarked upon—the financial exploitation of their position on the Municipal Council. This time they have dealt themselves the *coup de grâce*.

As for the Municipal Council's 50,000 frs, they will probably get them, you cannot prevent it. Let them use the money for their congress—what does it matter? Not all the money in the coffers of the Municipal Council of Paris would suffice to manufacture a socialist congress, except as a joke.<sup>379</sup>

The Germans have made concessions enough and are unlikely to make any more. The Dutch have been subjected to direct attack by the Possibilists, the Swiss and the Danes are following the German lead and the Belgians are divided, for while the Brussels people are, as you say, Possibilists at heart, the Flemings are very much better, and all that is wanted is to extricate them from the Brussels sphere of influence. Up till now they have left their foreign policy entirely in the hands of the Brussels people, but this time we may well see a change.

It is a great misfortune that you should be without a paper at this vital juncture. M. Roques is an idiot and is simply throwing his money down the drain. The present editors will cost him ten times the 35 frs a day on account of which he has let go the only editors who might have made a success of his paper.<sup>380</sup> But that does not alter the fact that this business has happened at the most inopportune moment.

If you have invited the League<sup>21</sup> to the conference without also inviting the Federation,<sup>62</sup> as I can only conclude from your letter,<sup>a</sup> it was a mistake on your part. Either both should have been invited, or both should have been left out. In the first place, the Federation is indubitably more important than the League and, in the second, it gives them an excuse to say that the whole conference has been arranged without their knowledge. Hyndman, face to face with all of you, couldn't have done the least harm—quite the contrary and, although he claims to represent the Possibilists over here in matters connected with the congress, he has not dared of late to stand up for them in his paper,<sup>b</sup> but rather has rapped them over the knuckles, if very gently. And Bernstein, who is aware of all this, would have kept him within decent limits. However, it was the Germans who were to convene the conference and, as always, Liebknecht acted—or refrained from action—in response to some passing whim.

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<sup>a</sup> Lafargue's letter to Engels of 5 March 1889 – <sup>b</sup> This refers to the items 'A Plea for Harmony' in *Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 268, 2 March 1889, and 'The Old Ruinous Game' in *Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 269, 9 March 1889

I am forwarding your letter to Bernstein so that he can use it for the issue of the paper<sup>a</sup> due to appear on Thursday.<sup>381</sup> I must also send a letter to Liebknecht by this post and so will break off. I enclose herewith a cheque for £20, which I hope will relieve you of your difficulties for the time being.

Give Laura a kiss from me. I hope she has got rid of her cold.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

IN BERLIN

London, 12 March 1889  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Dr Schmidt,

You must excuse me for being unable to reply to your note of the 5th inst. Until today. I have had a family over here from Germany on a visit and there hasn't been a moment to spare.

So your academic adventures have been followed by adventures with the press.<sup>382</sup> It's just like it was between 1842 and 1845<sup>383</sup> and you'll now have some idea of how we fared then. However, we have made a bit of progress since that time and the tricks played by the world of officialdom today, even though they may be quite as beastly as they were then, are no longer so far-reaching.

If you approach Meissner, don't hesitate to refer him straight to me, and if he sends me an inquiry, I shall gladly do whatever I can. But I

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<sup>a</sup> *Sozialdemokrat*

know that he usually rejects pamphlets on principle and it wouldn't surprise me if that is the reason he will give.

However, I have yet another suggestion: You should write and ask Karl Kautsky, whom you know, of course, from the time you were both over here—Igelgasse 13/I, Vienna IV—whether he cannot arrange for Dietz in Stuttgart to take the piece. Or again to Dr H. Braun, Munich, to see whether he can suggest a publisher.

If you would like me to send you an introduction to Bebel, Liebknecht or Singer while the Reichstag is in session, you are very welcome to one.

If the thing isn't too long, Kautsky might possibly take it for the *Neue Zeit*.<sup>384</sup>

So you too live in the Dorotheenstrasse—I myself lived there in 1841<sup>191</sup> on the south side, a bit to the east of the Friedrichstrasse—it will all have changed a great deal by now.

I was also glad to get your note of 18 January. I trust the plan you outlined in it to live by your pen will come off. Obviously you will first have to learn the ropes to some extent in this new world and if the gentlemen of the press are of the same breed over there as they are here, you can hardly fail to make a number of unavoidable, if somewhat undesirable, acquaintanceships.

I have taken a look at the Sweating Committee report<sup>a</sup>—there are two fat folio volumes (containing the witnesses' statements) and hardly believe you will feel impelled to work your way through them. However, if you want to take a preliminary look at them, you will find them in the Reichstag library; one or other of the deputies could get hold of them for you, and if you then felt inclined to go into the matter more thoroughly, I should be happy to send them to you.

Meanwhile my sincere regards combined with the request that you send me further news of yourself from time to time.

Yours,  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 11 August 1888, London

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

[London], 21 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You and Bebel are both right and the thing is quite simple.

It was resolved at The Hague<sup>385</sup> that, should the Possibilists not accept the conditions laid down, the Belgians and Swiss *would together take steps* to convene a congress in Paris, and that a *joint declaration* would be made against the Possibilists; the congress would be held by the end of September.

This was resolved—if you were absent—in the presence of Bonnier, who was your interpreter from the German and who should know. The Belgians gave their express consent.

Now, if the Belgians and Swiss take the initiative, *it will be your organisation to which the organisation and all the preparations will be entrusted*, which means that you will be getting everything you have asked for, so do be a little patient.

If your groups prove to be as unreasonable as the Possibilists, it will be their own fault if the whole thing ends up in victory for the latter.

It's a matter of making the Possibilist congress a failure, of which there are good prospects, provided you don't spoil everything by your impatience.

The Possibilists have put themselves in the wrong in the eyes of all the world. Now, mind you don't go and do the same yourselves by appearing to want to lay down the law for the Socialists of other nations.

Either the Belgians must comply or they too will put themselves in the wrong—I would beg you not to provide them with a plausible excuse for extricating themselves from their quandary. Even if the Belgians cannot comply, all will not yet be lost, not in my opinion, at any rate. Always providing you don't spike your own guns by undue precipitation.

That you will not be able to hold your congress on 14 July is beyond doubt, unless you choose to hold it in isolation. I am not arguing about

which date is or is not suitable but, since the matter appears to have been decided at The Hague, there's no changing it, do what you will.

In negotiations one cannot always get one's own way. The Germans for their part have had to concede quite a number of points in order to ensure common action. So accept what is offered you which, in fact, is all you are entitled to ask and which, provided you don't put a foot wrong, will result in international exclusion of the Possibilists and recognition of yourselves as the only French Socialists with whom contact should be maintained.

It was a mistake that you should not have been officially presented with a copy of the relevant resolution taken at The Hague. But, as you are aware, it is not the first case of carelessness at an international conference.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

Herewith a copy of *Justice*.

We are preparing a reply in which Possibilists' intrigues<sup>386</sup> will be unmasked to the English. So, as you can see, we are doing everything we possibly can but, if you are as obstinate as the Possibilists, it will be all to no avail.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 23 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

There is no denying that agreement was reached at The Hague<sup>385</sup> that, should the Possibilists fail to comply, the Belgians and the Swiss, the two neutral nations, should convene the congress; that a *joint declaration*



*against the Possibilists be issued*; and that the congress be convened in Paris for the end of September.

According to what Bernstein tells me, he told you as much, besides which, it seems impossible that something so important could have happened without your knowing anything at all about it. And Bonnier, so Bernstein tells me, was present—even if you were not.

Well, now, if things are to be taken to a successful conclusion, it is absolutely essential that *everyone* abides by what has been resolved.

You can perfectly well leave the initiative of the convocation to the Belgians and Swiss; an international congress can perfectly well meet without its having been convened by the Socialists of the locality where it is to be held. What is certain is that the real business—organisation and preparation—will be in your hands, and this must suffice you. If you ask anything more, you will not have a congress at all and the Possibilists will emerge victorious from the fray. Before the eyes of all Europe they will hold their *own* congress, which will then be *the only international working men's congress of the year*.

If the matter were still open to discussion, I myself would be inclined to share your view that the congress should be held alongside that of the Possibilists, even at the risk of a fight with them. But it was thought fit to hold it in September and resolved accordingly. There is no going back on that and, should you insist, you will hold a congress all on your own, to the glee of Europe and the delight of the Possibilists.

On the other hand, I have written to Bebel telling him he has no right to present you with an ultimatum or to say: if the Belgians go back on their word, we shall be free and will not attend the congress. Also that they, the Germans, are too deeply committed to pull out in such a way, and that a Belgian withdrawal, *should it take place*—and this we cannot tell—would not relieve the others of their mutual obligations. Bebel is a man of great common sense and I have every reason to believe that he will think better of it, provided you do not raise fresh objections and attempt to go back on the resolutions taken once and for all at The Hague.

Things are going admirably and you are the only people who can put a spoke in the wheel.

But even supposing the Belgians were to withdraw—in that event the Swiss would convene the congress on their own and, as they would be acting on behalf of the other nationalities, success would be assured.

But there is only one way in which the Belgians can be relieved of their responsibility or given a pretext for breaking faith and that is for you, the French, to act in contravention of the Hague resolutions and to be the first to do so. If you abide by them, I am pretty sure the Belgians will also assent, in which case the Possibilists will be isolated, which is, after all, the main objective to be kept in view.

Our reply to the attacks in *Justice*<sup>386</sup> (essential, now that the *Sozialdemokrat* has set up in London) has appeared and, at the same time as this, but by book post, I am sending you six copies, of which 1 each for Laura, Longuet and Vaillant. On Monday the thing is going to be disseminated throughout London, handed out at all socialist meetings, and despatched into the provinces. It will, I hope, give the Possibilist gentry and Mr Hyndman something to think about.

You have doubtless seen the attack in *Justice*, which I believe I enclose in my last letter.<sup>a</sup>

Now, let me repeat: Be reasonable, carry out faithfully what has been resolved, do not make it impossible for your best friends to lend you their support, give and take, use the position gained at The Hague for your point of departure, as the first position wrested from the enemy and as a base for future victories. But do not force down the throat of the other nationalities things which they certainly will not swallow. The battle's as good as won, I tell you, and if you were to lose it now, you and you only would be to blame.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.279

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>387</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You speak of a congress in *August*, although you know that the conference<sup>385</sup> resolved to hold it at the *end of September*. I repeat: If you deviate by so much as a fraction of an inch from what was agreed to by everyone at The Hague, you will provide the Belgians with a pretext for withdrawing, and then, as Bebel has told you, everything will be jeopardised. I am quite willing to urge the Germans to put pressure on the Belgians, but I shall do nothing until I know for certain that you, the French, like everyone else, unreservedly assent to the resolutions taken at the conference. Otherwise people will tell me, and with reason: How can you ask us to commit ourselves for the sake of people who do not respect their own commitments?

Either, then, you hold a congress as resolved at The Hague, or you do not hold one at all. And only on the day when I am given the assurance that you Parisians whole-heartedly and unreservedly assent to the resolutions that have been taken, only then shall I feel able to act, and shall act.

It is not a question of deciding which would be better, August or September—that question has already been decided and to raise it again would be to play into the Possibilists' hands.

As for Boulanger, I myself feel pretty sure that you will have to put up with him and that that idiot Rochefort, if he doesn't become a complete scoundrel, may, as a reward for his services, find himself once again in Caledonia.<sup>388</sup> Every now and again the French go through a Bonapartist phase, and the current one is even more shameful than the last. They will pay for the consequences of their own actions—that is the law of history—and the day of reckoning will probably be the centenary of their great revolution.—That is the irony of history. What a fine spectacle it will present to the world at large—France celebrating her revolutionary jubilee by paying homage to an adventurer such as this.

Doubtless he will bleed the big financiers, if only to pay the debts

incurred during his dictatorial campaign and to reward his gang. And the money from the big financiers will not be enough. As Marx said of Boustrapa,<sup>260</sup> he would have to rob France of all her money in order to use that money to bribe the whole of France.<sup>a</sup> And as for you, he will crush you.

As for war, that is, to my mind, the most terrible of eventualities. Otherwise I shouldn't give a fig for the whims of Mme la France. But a war in which there will be 10 to 15 million combatants, unparalleled devastation simply to keep them fed, universal and forcible suppression of our movement, a recrudescence of chauvinism in all countries and, ultimately, enfeeblement ten times worse than after 1815, a period of reaction based on the inanition of all the peoples by then bled white—and, withal, only a slender hope that that bitter war may result in revolution—it fills me with horror. Especially when I think of our movement in Germany, which would be overwhelmed, crushed, brutally stamped out of existence, whereas peace would almost certainly bring us victory.

Nor, during such a war, would France be able to have a revolution for fear of impelling her only ally, Russia, into the arms of Bismarck and finding herself crushed by a coalition. The slightest revolutionary move would be a betrayal of one's country.

How the Russian diplomats would laugh!

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, present edition, Vol. II, pp.195-96

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You know what Hegel says: Anything that is spoiled is spoiled for the best possible reasons.<sup>a</sup> And your Parisians are going to the greatest pains to prove it.

This is the position:

After the demise of the *Socialiste*<sup>91</sup> your Party disappeared from the international scene. You had abdicated, you were dead so far as the other Socialist Parties abroad were concerned. It was entirely the fault of your workingmen; for they did not choose to read or support one of the best papers the Party had ever had. But, after having killed off your medium of communication with other Socialists, they must inevitably suffer the natural consequences of their behaviour.

The Possibilists, left in sole possession of the battle field, took advantage of the situation you had yourselves created for them. They had friends in Brussels and in London with whose assistance they have presented themselves to the world at large as the sole representatives of the French Socialists. They have succeeded in enticing the Danes, the Dutch and the Flemish to their congress. And you know what trouble we have been to in neutralising the victories they have won.

Now the Germans are offering you an opportunity, not only of re-entering the stage with *éclat*, but also of seeing yourselves recognised by all the organised parties of Europe as the only French Socialists with whom they wish to fraternise. They are offering you an opportunity of wiping out at one stroke the effect of all the mistakes you have made, and of all the defeats you have suffered, and of rehabilitating yourselves in the position to which your theoretical understanding entitles you, but which has been compromised by your faulty tactics. They are offering you a congress which all the genuine workingmen's parties, *even the Belgian*, will attend, they are offering you a chance of *isolating the*

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<sup>a</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*. Theil I. *Die Logik*. Werke, Vol. VI, p.249.

*Possibilists* so that they will have to confine themselves to a *bogus* congress—in other words, they are offering you far more than you had a right to expect, having regard to the position you had placed yourselves in. And then—what do you do? Seize it with both hands? Not a bit of it. You behave like spoilt children, you haggle, you ask for more and, when you have at last been persuaded to assent to what has been agreed by everyone else, you insist on conditions which jeopardise everything that has been gained for you.

So far as you are concerned, what is important is *that there should be a congress* and that it should be in Paris, where you can be acknowledged by all to be the only French Socialist Party to have gained international recognition; also that the Possibilist congress should, for its part, be a *bogus* congress, notwithstanding the *éclat* deriving from secret funds and the 14th of July.<sup>a</sup> Everything else is of secondary, indeed less than secondary, importance. If you are to be set on your feet again, your congress must be held, no matter if it's a flop in the eyes of the bourgeois public. In order to regain your position in France, what you need above all is international recognition of yourselves and international condemnation of the Possibilists, etc. You are offered it—and all you do is sulk!

As I have already said, I believe your date to be the better one for creating an impact *in France*. But then this should have been explained at The Hague.<sup>385</sup> You can't blame anyone else if, at the critical moment, you went to the next room and everything took place in your absence. And I have conscientiously explained your line of reasoning to Bebel, asking him to give it his serious consideration. However, I felt impelled to add that, in my opinion, the meeting of the congress, on no matter what date, must be assured, and that any move that might jeopardise that meeting would be a false one. You cannot but be aware that, by re-opening the question of the date, we shall all become embroiled in endless discussions and disputes and that we can expect, probably some time towards the end of October, to obtain general assent to the date of 14 July—if, indeed, in the absence of another conference, which will certainly never take place, any new date is agreed at all.

And then, with typically Parisian naiveté, you say: We impatiently await the *fixing of a date* for the international congress! But the date *had been fixed* for the end of September, and it is the same 'we' (who 'await', etc.)—the same 'we' that want to cancel this date and open a

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<sup>a</sup> 14 July 1889 was the centenary anniversary of the capture of the Bastille

fresh debate. ‘We’ will have to wait until the others have familiarised themselves with the new proposals of these same ‘we’, have discussed them and have reached an agreement on the matter, if such an agreement is at all possible.

‘We also await protests from the Belgians.’ But the Belgians will not be the only ones to protest, all are resolved to protest in common. This protest would probably already have been lodged, had you not put everything in question by demanding a change of date. And as long as there is no agreement on this score, nothing will be done.

So accept what is being offered you, it is, in effect, what matters most: *victory over the Possibilists*. Don’t jeopardise the holding of the congress. Don’t give the Brussels people a pretext for extricating themselves from the business, for tergiversating and intriguing, don’t upset afresh what has already been gained for you. You cannot have all you want, but you can have victory. Don’t press the Germans, who are doing everything for you, to the point where they might despair of the possibility to co-operate with you. Withdraw your demand for a change of date, act like men, not like spoilt children who want to have their cake and eat it. Without this, I believe, there will be no congress and the Possibilists will jeer at you, and with good reason.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

Needless to say, I have written to tell Bebel that you *assent to all the Hague resolutions*, but he will say that, after all this, you are putting everything in question again.

I have not found Bernstein, so shan’t be able to send you the addresses of the Swiss before yesterday.

Our pamphlet<sup>386</sup> is beginning to have an effect here.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>387</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 April (St. Bismarck's Day)<sup>389</sup> 1889

My dear Lafargue,

If this business of the congress has done nothing else, it has at least taught me a capital lesson in patience, a virtue in which I can hardly be said to excel. Barely do we succeed in eliminating one difficulty than you conjure up another, and wax wroth about nothing at all. I have again questioned Bernstein, in whose word I have complete faith, and he has again assured me that no resolution of any kind was taken clandestinely in your absence. It is ridiculous to suppose that they were trying to hide something from you. If you did happen to be absent, Bonnier was there and could, besides, understand everything that was said in German. And unless I hear anything to the contrary, I must suppose he was sufficiently in the know to pass the information on to you; if not, what the devil was he doing there? Especially since I have drawn your attention on more than one occasion to the fact that Bonnier was, or ought to have been, exceptionally well-posted, and you have never replied to, let alone contradicted, this.

And what will be the result of this squabbling with the Germans, unless to preclude any sort of congress and to enable Messrs Brousse & Co. to flaunt their victory before the eyes of all the world and his wife.

That the Germans should have no desire to expose themselves to a bout of fistcuffs with Possibilists, aided and abetted as these would be by the police, nor to have their heads broken, as Prussians and Bismarckians, by the Paris riff-raff—valiant as in all big cities when the odds are ten to one—I can readily understand. We know from our experience in Lassallean days how unprofitable hand-to-hand fighting with a rival party can be when that party is in alliance with government and police<sup>390</sup>—and that was on our home ground. You certainly cannot hold it against them if they hesitate to engage in a similar struggle on ground where the mere cry of Prussian, of Bismarck's agent, would be enough to rouse against them an ignorant mob, eager to prove its patriotism at small cost to itself. And although it is my personal belief that the impact of the congress would be far greater in July than at any other time, I have



no right to tell Liebknecht or Bebel that they would not be exposed to such risks, were they to fall in with your plan.

So you can see that in no circumstances is your July congress feasible. The more you insist, the less you will get. You have the majority against you and, if you wish to co-operate with it, you will have to submit. Demand everything and you get nothing, grasp all, lose all. You should remember that, though the Germans, the Dutch and the Danes can get along very well without a congress, *you* cannot. For you, the congress is essential if you are not to disappear for years from the international scene.

If only you had a tiny little paper, as a token of your existence! The most puny party in other countries has its weekly, and you have nothing with which to make your presence felt or to keep you in regular touch with the rest. For you, it was either a daily or nothing at all. Are you going to make the same mistake over the congress?—Either all or nothing? All right, then, it'll be nothing, and no one will ever allude to you again and, six months from now, Boulanger will do the rest and snuff you out, you and the Possibilists as well.

To the best of my knowledge, Antoine<sup>a</sup> never did anything in the Reichstag other than protest. From his own point of view he could do nothing else.

The Radicals are mad. It is the height of stupidity to try and destroy Boulanger by means of a lawsuit<sup>391</sup> and to suppose that the tide of universal suffrage (foolish as this is) will be turned by a political verdict. You will get him all the same, the good Boulanger whom you crave, and the Socialists will be his first victims. For a First Consul has got to be impartial and, for every time he lets the blood of the Stock Exchange, he will place another curb on the proletariat, if only to even things out. If it weren't for war, this new development would be a prize joke, it would soon be over, and then there really would be something to laugh about.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Jules Dominique Antoine

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 4 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

Besides your letters to myself, I have before me those to Bonnier and Ede.<sup>392</sup>

From them I see that, as usual, we diverge very considerably as soon as it comes to taking action.

Your 'politeness' *post festum*<sup>a</sup> would now simply make you look ridiculous in the eyes of the English.

Your advice to the French, namely that they might ultimately *arriver à un arrangement quelconque avec les Broussistes*,<sup>b</sup> i.e. deliberately go and present their backsides to be kicked, has, quite understandably, infuriated them. The above advice, and your annoyance at the fact that we—for the pamphlet was embarked upon at my instigation and almost wholly edited by me<sup>386</sup>—should have presented the Possibilists for what they are—recipients of reptile funds<sup>30</sup> of the Opportunists,<sup>199</sup> i.e. *haute finance*<sup>c</sup>—thereby opening the eyes of large numbers of Englishmen to things which had been deliberately withheld from them,—your annoyance, I say, is explicable only if you were intent on keeping a foot in the back door so that—even after being spurned by the Possibilists—you might cook up some little deal for the account and at the risk of the German party. If that's how things are, then I am not at all sorry to have taken some of the wind out of your sails.

This, along with your opinion<sup>393</sup> that Ede should have replied to the *Justice* with an editorial, i.e. in the *Sozialdemokrat*, i.e. in German and thus in a form neither accessible nor comprehensible to the English, shows that you are totally out of touch with conditions both in France and over here, and that your calculations are based on out-of-date information and imaginary situations. Nor is anything else to be expected since you receive none of the relevant journals there and have no regular correspondence with anyone of note (I mean, of course, in the socialist

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<sup>a</sup> after the event – <sup>b</sup> come to an arrangement of some sort with the Broussists –  
<sup>c</sup> high finance

parties) in England and France. Ede is infinitely better informed than you are about all these matters, and you would do better to turn to him for information rather than haul him over the coals about matters in which he is and must needs be far and away your superior.

That the pamphlet was not only the greatest service we could do you people, but also completely indispensable, is something I trust I shall be able to bring home, if not to you, then at least to Singer, when the two of you come over here.

One thing I do know—you can arrange the next congress yourselves; I shall wash my hands of it.

The Hague resolution was sent to me by Lafargue expressly for publication, as was absolutely essential after the brazen rebuff meted out to you by the Possibilists.<sup>394</sup> So I'll damned well forget about etiquette and just wait and see whether anyone else besides you complains.

As regards the date of the congress, any alteration to what has already been resolved will put fresh difficulties in the way of an understanding, since everybody will propose a different date and it will be the 10th of October before they have agreed upon, let us say, the 10th of August. For us to make proposals to you on this matter will serve no useful purpose and I can only hope that, after all this bother—for the past 4 weeks I haven't been able to do a stroke of work on Volume III<sup>a</sup> because of this damned business—something real will actually come of it.

Cordial regards to your wife and to the others when you see them.

Your  
F. E.

I fully understand—and have plainly intimated as much to Lafargue<sup>b</sup> that you should want to avoid a set-to with the Possibilists which, be it noted, would take place with the consent of the powers that be, and with police protection for the Possibilists; in other words, out of gratitude for the favourable attitude you have adopted towards France since 1870, you would be beaten up as *Prussians*<sup>c</sup> by the French.

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<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* – <sup>b</sup> See previous letter – <sup>c</sup> Prussians

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 5 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

When I wrote to you yesterday I hardly expected that by today I should already be in a position to point the moral of my letter.

Our pamphlet<sup>386</sup>—of which, 2,000 copies were distributed in London and 1,000 in the provinces and, thanks to Tussy, just at the right places—has acted like a bombshell, making a tremendous rent in Hyndman's and Brousse's tissue of intrigue, and this at the most crucial spot. The people over here, suddenly enlightened as to the real state of affairs, have now discovered that Hyndman has shamefully deceived them about the congress, the French socialist parties, the Germans and the Hague affair<sup>385</sup> and has concealed the essentials from them. The rebellious, progressive elements in the Trades Unions,<sup>395</sup> whom Hyndman was just in process of annexing, are now turning to Ede, and all are anxious for further enlightenment. Inside his own camp, the Social Democratic Federation,<sup>62</sup> Hyndman has also encountered opposition, which means that our pamphlet has induced some uncertainty in the ranks of the Social Democratic Federation, the only sure ally the Possibilists had. The consequence, enclosed herewith, was Hyndman's backward-looking and, as compared with his previous insolent language, almost *hang-dog*, reply in *Justice*.<sup>a</sup> Never before has Hyndman beat so ignominious a retreat, and the article will bring us further victories. At one fell swoop

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<sup>a</sup> H. Hyndman, 'The International Workers' Congress of Paris of 1889 and the German Social-Democrats', *Justice*, 6 April 1889

the *Sozialdemokrat* has attained in London a position of respect such as would otherwise not have accrued to it for years. And instead of abusing us, they are now all but *begging* us to ensure that there should not, after all, be two congresses.

Well, Ede is going to reply to the effect that he can only speak in his own name, but believes he can say that, should the Possibilists now instantly and unreservedly accept the Hague resolutions, it might not be too late to reach an understanding and he would be glad to do what he could to bring it about.

Now that the Possibilists have also had bad news from Spain, their agent Gély having simply been sent packing in Madrid—where we are in full control—and having no prospects whatever anywhere else if you except a Trades Union in Barcelona, and now that the Belgians also appear to be taking a tougher line than they, the Possibilists, expected, there's every possibility that this final blow, which is causing their chief reserves to waver, will make them more amenable. In order that you may strike while the iron is hot, it might be a good idea for you to copy,—more or less—the enclosed letter to Ede, *preferably just as it stands*, and send it to him *without delay*.<sup>396</sup> I am sending the same letter to Bebel with the same request.<sup>397</sup> *Preferably just as it stands*, however, for one single expression inappropriate to the situation over here would prevent us from using the thing. Then the letters might be published. What we hope to do is to induce Hyndman to influence the Possibilists along the lines *we* want, in which case they'd be bound to submit and we should have salvaged *one* congress.

All this was agreed today between Ede and myself.

And now, having regard to my letter of yesterday,<sup>a</sup> you may again call me the rudest man in Europe.

Your  
F. E.

Dear Ede,

I am very glad to hear that the Social Democratic Federation is showing itself more conciliatory. But the rejection of the Hague resolutions by the Possibilists has forced us into the position of proceeding independently and convoking a congress to which all will be admitted and

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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter

which will have the last word in its own affairs. Preparations for this are already under way and cannot be broken off.

If the Social Democratic Federation earnestly desires an understanding, it might perhaps still contribute thereto. There may yet be time. Such an understanding might possibly still be reached if the Possibilists were to *accept* the Hague resolutions *purement et simplement*<sup>a</sup>—but without delay, for, having already once been rebuffed, we can no longer allow ourselves to be trifled with.

I cannot speak here in the name of the German Party since the faction is not now in session, and still less in the names of the other groups represented at The Hague. But one thing I will gladly promise: If, by the 20th of April at the latest, the Possibilists can lodge with the Belgian delegates Volders and Anseele written notice of their unconditional acceptance of the Hague resolutions, from which we cannot deviate by a hair's breadth, I shall do all I can to promote an understanding and likewise the attendance of all concerned at the congress convoked by the Possibilists with due regard for the Hague resolutions.

Your  
W.L.

The date, 20 April, is important—because of the need to come to a decision *before the Belgian National Congress* on the 21st.<sup>398</sup>

I also enclose something from the *Sozialist*<sup>399</sup>—the Americans are wholly of one mind with Ede as to this.

What has proved more effective than anything else over here has, in fact, been the publication of the Hague resolution<sup>385</sup> concerning which Hyndman had disseminated nothing but lies and which has struck home all the more forcibly for restricting itself to the demand for things that were pretty well axiomatic.

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<sup>a</sup> purely and simply

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 10 April 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I have just seen Bonnier and we discussed the situation.

As I expected, your request that the date of the congress be changed has spread confusion everywhere. Liebknecht has stated in the Berlin press that, since there is little hope of the congress being held this year in Paris, it would be advisable to hold it next year in Switzerland. The Swiss press has seized on this idea with enthusiasm. Bebel, evidently tiring of all these difficulties, is prepared to leave the whole thing to Liebknecht. And the Belgians will not reply, either to Bebel or to Liebknecht.

Fortunately we know the Belgians' secret. Anseele, who is an honest man, wrote and told Bernstein about it: They intend to submit the Hague resolutions<sup>385</sup> to their national congress at Jolimont on 22 April, and their national council will act only after authorisation by the congress. That is how the good folk of Brussels interpret international action.

The thing's as plain as daylight. It will give the Brussels Possibilists a whole month to compound and intrigue with the Paris Possibilists; at the Jolimont congress they will put forward a proposal made by Brousse & Co., offering a few more or less derisory concessions (depending upon the position at the time), the Belgians will accept and will suggest that the others be satisfied with these great and magnanimous concessions. And, since the masses are always in favour of conciliation, and since the lesser nationalities dote on congresses, the Dutch, the Danes, the Swiss themselves, the Americans and,—who knows?—maybe also Liebknecht, will come out in favour of unity and of a Paris congress in 1889, short of having another tipsy session in Switzerland in 1890. For this much is certain: should the idea gain ground that the 1889 anti-Possibilist congress in Paris has been shelved, the Possibilists will have won the day, and everyone will attend their congress save only, perhaps, for the Germans.

It is what I have been telling you from the very start. You wanted

everything and now you run the risk of getting nothing.

There is still a chance of saving the situation, and this we have resolutely seized upon.

Our pamphlet<sup>386</sup> has created an immense stir here, as I have told you. You have no doubt had a letter from the committee of the rebellious Trades Unionists<sup>395</sup> who have written to Bernstein and to others besides. Although they incline towards the Possibilist congress, they are still in doubt. And in the Social Democratic Federation,<sup>62</sup> too, there are rebellious elements, otherwise Hyndman would not have written last Saturday's article.<sup>a</sup> We have thus undermined the Possibilists' reserves and must now follow up the advantage we have gained.

Bernstein has therefore written to *Justice*<sup>b</sup> saying that, in view of that journal's more conciliatory style, and speaking only for himself, it might not be too late to come to an understanding; that if *Justice* so greatly desires such an understanding, it need only urge the Possibilists to accept the Hague resolutions *unreservedly and forthwith*; that two points—the admission of all on an equal footing, subject to ratification by the congress, and the sovereignty of the congress—are not open to discussion; they must take it or leave it; but that, if the Possibilists were to accept immediately, he would do his best to promote general agreement.

He and Tussy went to see Hyndman on Monday evening to hand him this reply, which is going to be inserted. They took advantage of the occasion to let him know that they were better acquainted than he with the situation abroad and no less well than he with that in England, and that there was no hope of his bamboozling them with his usual tricks. They told him that, if there were two congresses, ours would be attended, not only by the Germans, Dutch, Belgians and Swiss, but also by the Austrians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Romanians, Americans and by those Russians and Poles living in the West. They made it clear to him that they knew perfectly well the extent to which his personal position over here had been undermined by our disclosure of the lies disseminated by him regarding the situation in France, etc. They gained the impression that his friends the Possibilists had themselves deceived him on several counts, and left, convinced that he would do all he could to make the Possibilists give way.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.291 – <sup>b</sup> E. Bernstein, 'The Paris Congress. To the Editor of *Justice*, *Justice*, 13 April 1889



We have also had a letter from Liebknecht in which he undertakes to do what he can to bring about conciliation, on condition that the Hague resolutions are unreservedly accepted by the Possibilists before 20 April. I am also awaiting one from Bebel, whereupon we shall make use of them. It is stated in both that in no circumstances shall we budge an inch on the two main points.

According to Hyndman, the Possibilists were afraid of being chucked out of their own congress, *hinc illae lacrimae*<sup>a</sup>!

In this way we shall foil the Brussels intrigues, by letting it be known from the outset that no compromise is possible. Either the Possibilists accept, in which case our victory over them will be complete; we shall have forced their hand, made them eat HUMBLE PIE, and trampled underfoot for good and all their claim to be the one and only French Socialist Party worthy of recognition; you will have all that you require and the congress will see to the rest if, as Bonnier tells us, you can saturate it with delegates from the provinces. Or else they refuse, and then we shall enjoy the advantage of being seen by everyone concerned to have done our utmost towards conciliation. All the waverers will be for us, and we shall hold a congress in Paris in the autumn whatever Liebknecht may say, for by that time there will not be any one sitting on the fence anywhere.

I am sending you two papers with articles relating to the congress from which you will see how much we are bestirring ourselves.

What could be better, after all, than to destroy the Possibilists through their own congress, supposing it can be managed?

Liebknecht thought he could get the Possibilists to rally round him in opposition to Brousse, in Brousse's despite and over Brousse's head! What an idea—ruling the world with Borsdorf for your capital!

Give Laura a kiss from me. What is she doing? She isn't ill, is she?

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> 'Hence those tears', Terentius, *Andria*, II, 99

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSODORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 17 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

I never doubted for one moment that you aborigines of Borsdorf were the better men—better, I might almost say, to the point of incorrigibility.

Your conference at The Hague<sup>385</sup> gets funnier and funnier. Lafargue and Bonnier (who is over here) know nothing about one resolution—what was to happen after the Possibilists' refusal—and neither Lafargue, nor Bonnier, nor Ede know anything about the other, the maintenance of secrecy. It must have been a curious sort of presidency and an odd sort of secretariat for something like that to have happened. So what we didn't know about we couldn't have abided by.

That silence should have been observed until the Possibilists had refused goes without saying and this is what in fact happened. But afterwards it was essential to let fly at once. And if, as usual, you yourself were unlucky enough to be prevented by unforeseen circumstances from doing so and if none of the rest of you stepped into the breach and Lafargue sent me the resolution precisely for the purpose of getting it published, it was damned well up to us—especially so, considering the circumstances over here—to take this responsibility upon ourselves and commit this horrendous breach of etiquette.

Your joint protest,<sup>a</sup> you say, would certainly have had an effect altogether different from that of our pamphlet<sup>386</sup>—indeed it would, if it had ever appeared in the first place. Why then hasn't it yet done so? What the devil is stopping you? You know as well as I do that it will never materialise or not at any rate until six months post festum.<sup>b</sup>

Your little scheme for busting up the Possibilists by means of moral exhortations from Borsdorf and coming to an understanding with them over Brousse's head is a childish chimera from the execution of which, come to that, our 'railing' at the Possibilists will not be able to deter you.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp.292-3 – <sup>b</sup> after the event

After all, you can protest your innocence to the gentlemen for all you are worth. So long as the gentlemen you correspond with sail under Brousse's flag, they too are responsible for his intrigues, and to present these in the right light could not, one might have thought, be other than helpful to you. If everything that Brousse gets them to do is good and apparently they have, after all, absolutely no cause to oppose him.

If Ede, who throughout the pamphlet speaks on his own behalf and adopts a line no different from the one he adopts in the paper<sup>a</sup> itself, has provided the public prosecutors with grist for their mill, the paper itself constitutes a far greater danger to you people than the pamphlet. In which case for heaven's sake write to the chaps over here, telling them to attack rather than defend you, or better still to shut up shop. And if you're on such uncertain ground, you ought above all to avoid meddling in such things as international congresses, etc.

As to the Schlesinger business,<sup>400</sup> we should like to discuss this further by word of mouth. I haven't seen the piece yet, but this really *cannot* go on, a situation in which something of the kind—if only the advertisement—is able to appear under your own aegis and without you yourself protesting. What I myself shall feel it necessary to do about the matter will of course depend on the concoction's contents.

Schorlemmer has been here since Saturday. He and Lenchen send you their regards.

Your  
F. E.

Your letter to Ede<sup>b</sup> *will not be used*. It would be far better if you wrote to Lee<sup>c</sup> along the same lines.

In lighter vein: Last Friday Ede was at a socialist soirée for the eddicated socialists here<sup>401</sup> and was told by Mr Sidney Webb, who is professor of political economy at the Working Men's College and has actually refuted Marx's theory of value, that 'we are only 2000 socialists in England but we are doing more than all the 700,000 Socialists in Germany.'

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<sup>a</sup> *Der Sozialdemokrat* – <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp.292-3 – <sup>c</sup> Henry William

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 20 April 1889

Dear Kautsky,

As regards Schlesinger, I shall have a word with Liebknecht when he comes over here in about a fortnight. I have already written to him outlining the essential points. But you might be so good as to send me the thing<sup>a</sup>—stuff of this sort is unobtainable over here and I shouldn't like to be in the position of having to accept everything he says at its face value.

As to Schmidt, I have advised him to send you the ms. and see whether you can place it.<sup>b</sup> Schmidt has quietly developed into a Marxian and, as a result, no longer has any prospect of a university career, having been turned down by Halle—that noble university is confessional!—as a dissident and by Leipzig as a socialist,<sup>297</sup> while the Swiss have begged him to spare them his presence. Just now he is trying to get someone to publish the thesis he wrote for his *habilitation*;<sup>c</sup> the academic socialists<sup>402</sup> tell him it is too Marxist and really won't do. So the publishers are none too many. Schmidt came over to us entirely of his own accord, without any prompting and, indeed, despite numerous indirect warnings from myself, simply because he could not set his face against the truth. As things are today that is greatly to his credit and he has, moreover, acted most courageously.

Now the point is that I am the very person who *must* not read and pass an opinion on his ms. He is seeking to reply to the question I raised in the preface to Volume II.<sup>298</sup> But I mustn't come out prematurely with the contents of Volume III, and that is what is preventing me from taking a direct hand in the business. So I can't be of any help to you this time.

He—Schmidt—has thrown himself into journalism in Berlin; how he'll get on I have no idea. At all events he has behaved with more energy and good sense than I credited him with. For a journalist, his style is

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<sup>a</sup> M. Schlesinger, *Die soziale Frage* – <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p.276 – <sup>c</sup> Formal admission of a lecturer into a university faculty

quite exceptionally ponderous, but that, after all, doesn't matter much in Germany.

I hope Louise gets through her last six weeks all right, and that she'll then take a rest.<sup>354</sup> That damned Paris congress is causing me nothing but vexation. What a muddle! Ede helps me and I help him, where possible, and Tussy helps us both, but for the rest all is chaos.

Your lieutenant<sup>a</sup> hasn't been here yet. On the other hand we have Schorlemmer with us. The weather is glorious. Nim and I were in Highgate<sup>b</sup> today—three hours' stroll. But it's now time for a meal and—at 5.30—for the post.

Kindest regards from us all to Louise and yourself.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 April 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Père Duchêne,<sup>403</sup> I see, is in a filthy temper this morning, describing everyone as ne'er-do-wells even when they have not done anything at all. The worthy fellow would do well to look about him and ask himself what name would be most fitting for those who allowed three *Egalités* and one *Socialiste*<sup>404</sup> to die, thus putting paid to your Party's

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<sup>a</sup>Fritz Kautsky – <sup>b</sup>The cemetery where Marx, his wife and their daughter Jenny are buried

international existence, for a Party which can neither communicate with the others nor make its presence felt ceases in their eyes to exist.

But enough of that. Can you really not see that what the Belgians have done<sup>405</sup> has restored your freedom of action? That now, since you are so intent on it, you can convene your congress for whatever date you choose, 1 July, 14 July or 1 August? That it's by no means too late to do something about it now, provided you act at once and provided, as seems to be the case, you have at your back a Party prepared to foot part of the bill?

I have written and told Bebel that I shall no longer feel able to advise you not to act and that, since mistakes have been made on all sides, you were right to complain.<sup>406</sup> That was yesterday; today he writes<sup>407</sup> to say that the Dutch intend to follow the example of the Belgians and send delegates to each of the two congresses; that the Germans will not go to the Possibilist congress, despite the votes of Auer and Schippel, who expressed a contrary opinion (Bonnier replied to both)<sup>408</sup>; that he, Bebel, is in favour of sending a delegation to your congress, which he suggests should be held in August; but that, in order to pass a definitive resolution, the deputies would have to meet,<sup>409</sup> which cannot be done until the next session of the Reichstag on 7 May.

Now, having already waited long enough, you cannot wait until 7 May for an uncertain result. I shall therefore write to Bebel saying that you will probably act now, in accordance with your own views, and I shall beg him to prevent over-hasty resolutions, should the date you select not be altogether agreeable to them.

There is very good reason for the Germans' reserve. Within the next day or two there is to be a monster trial of 128 Barmen-Elberfeld Socialists. In the bill of indictment now being drawn up, the public prosecutor has made it known that, after sentence has been passed on the 128 and the Reichstag has adjourned, he intends to accuse all the Party deputies of constituting the central committee of Germany's vast Socialist secret society.<sup>410</sup> It's the most sinister ploy they have ever concocted against us. Included in the evidence is the convocation of the Wyden<sup>411</sup> and St. Gallen congresses. We knew all about this five or six weeks ago and it was fear of providing additional material for the indictment which inhibited Bebel from doing anything.

As for the attitude of the Dutch, it seems a bit dubious to me, considering the way Nieuwenhuis behaved at The Hague.<sup>412</sup>

Bernstein believes that, if the two congresses meet at the same time, this would suffice to create a climate of opinion, especially among the

foreign delegates, that would be strongly in favour of a merger. You will be able to judge whether or not this view holds water; in any case, supposing the above should happen, your congress might very well join the other, *on the invitation of the whole congress and after verification of credentials by each congress individually*. If you freely assent to voting by nationality, the sovereignty of the congress will be saved.

Bernstein also tells me that, as regards propaganda in Germany in support of your congress, the *Sozialdemokrat* will do its utmost, despite the right honourable deputies; he says: 'They have asked me so often to pursue an independent policy that would enable them to disown the *Sozialdemokrat*, supposedly their organ, that I shall oblige them for once. This might, of course, lead the deputies to issue a categorical order, but we haven't nearly got to that stage yet.'

So my advice is that you assemble your committee,<sup>413</sup> convene the congress, settle on the date you think best in the circumstances, and write a convocation circular, which Laura will translate into English and I shall gladly translate into German. All this will take until next week and if, in the meantime, further news arrives involving, perhaps, some minor alteration, there will still be time enough. Your circular should be printed in French by the end of next week and distributed forthwith. I shall send you the addresses you will need. Printing in English and German would be done over here. Your congress once convened for a definite date, the dispute will again revive and we shall help to keep it going.

In your convocation circular you must stress the sovereignty of the congress and the purely provisional character of the rules laid down by you. You would also have to suggest some basis for representation, i.e. one delegate per local group—subject, of course, to confirmation by the congress. This has been kept open by the others in order that they might have three or four delegates per Paris group in the event of your being represented by one delegate per provincial group. By proposing a cut-and-dried basis, you would force the others to lay their cards on the table.

To work then! You have a good two months ahead of you and that should be ample. And see that your convocation circular is conciliatory—the Possibilists are not sparing of soft soap, so the more thickly you apply it, the better things will go. You are perfectly entitled to say that, while yet there was hope, you submitted to all the demands made by the others, but that it has now become your duty to take the initiative. But play down the Belgian betrayal as much as you can—so as not

to give the Possibilists cause for rejoicing. Of one thing, however, we may be sure, and that is that, this time, the Belgians have done for themselves. They won't ever mislead anyone again.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Since my letter of yesterday,<sup>a</sup> Bernstein has received the following from Liebknecht:

‘In the present circumstances the congress can be saved only if the French act in such a way as to present a *fait accompli*; they should therefore convene the congress—seeing that the Belgian resolution<sup>405</sup> has made combined action on the part of members of the Hague conference<sup>385</sup> impossible—and without the assent of the Germans, Austrians, Swiss (Danes, etc.) which, at this late date, cannot be ascertained in advance.

‘It is essential that the congress be convened for precisely the same day as that of the Possibilists (14 July) and strictly in accordance with the procedure laid down at The Hague, while expressly stating that the

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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter



date, 14 July, was chosen, not in any spirit of competition with the other congress, but in the firm hope that feelings of solidarity would compel the two congresses to hold their sittings jointly.’

This would be foolish; we, too, anticipate such an outcome, but to say so would be to play into the hands of the Possibilists, who would thereupon dictate their own conditions. You might, perhaps, say that the two congresses, by holding parallel sessions, might themselves resolve all their differences.

‘At the same time, of course, a short exposé of the situation should be given, comprising recent events (the congresses at Troyes<sup>329</sup> and Bordeaux,<sup>331</sup> negotiations with a view to achieving a merger, the conference, etc.)—but omitting any kind of anti-Possibilist polemic.

‘It should further be said: We would ask working-class and Socialist groups in other countries to indicate their assent to our convocation address by appending their signatures, there having been no time to obtain that assent beforehand.

‘If there is no *fait accompli*, there will be no congress; the Belgian vote has restored freedom of action to our French friends. Once presented with a *fait accompli*, people will come to the congress.’

There you are—that’s Liebknecht all over. He is capable of heroic determination, but only after he himself has so clouded the issue that nothing else will serve.

For that matter, I agree with what he says, with the exception of what I have noted above. In drawing up your Convocation you cannot be too mealy-mouthed, not that this need prevent your saying that the *raison-d’être* of your congress is the Possibilists’ refusal to recognise the full and absolute sovereignty of that congress.

After Liebknecht’s letter, you have no reason whatever to hesitate. So do something, hold your national congresses and, if you can, get all the delegates who attend them to go to the international congress that is to result therefrom.

As soon as your circular<sup>414</sup> comes out, we shall begin to agitate, first to promote your congress, and next to ensure that those delegates whom we cannot prevent from attending the Possibilist congress—Belgians, etc.,—be told that they must insist on a merger of the two congresses.

But now that you have a free hand, don’t hesitate, do not lose a moment; if your circular reaches us by Monday, or Tuesday morning

even, it will go into the *Sozialdemokrat* and be advertised in the *Labour Elector*. As soon as the date of your congress has been settled, there may be something further to be done over here, although the dishonourable action of the Belgians has done us untold harm.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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Translated from the French

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Now things are beginning to move. This is what Bebel writes:

‘Liebknecht and I have agreed that Lafargue and his friends should be urged to convene a congress immediately for 14 July. This we are doing in the conviction that, once the two congresses have met on the same day, it will prove impossible for them to hold separate sessions, and that they will join forces, whether the Possibilists like it or not.

I think you people should now be satisfied. As soon as the convocation circular is published by the French, we shall issue an open appeal to the Germans, asking them to elect delegates to the congress and indicating the procedure by which this may be done’ (under German law). ‘I have written in the same vein to the Austrians, and the Danes and Swiss will likewise be notified. In this way we shall, I hope, manage to expropriate the Possibilists—or at any rate well and truly thwart their plan.’<sup>415</sup>

4.30 p.m. I am just back from Bernstein's who, however, was not at home. He has had a postcard from Liebknecht in which the latter says that you are at liberty to make use of 'their names' as having assented to your congress. 'Their names' presumably means Bebel and Liebknecht, for they are not as yet *officially* entitled to commit the German Party. I didn't see the card but Bonnier, who dropped in while I was out, told Nim about it.

I hope to get a few lines from you tomorrow morning which would enable me to rekindle Bebel's ardour by telling him that you are now taking action.

Don't forget, by the bye, to return to me, deciphered, the letter from Lyons.<sup>416</sup> I must not keep the workmen there waiting for an answer.

Now that you've got several provincial papers, choose one to be your *Monitor* for the duration of your congress and arrange for it to be sent to the various Parties, along with all your publications.<sup>417</sup> Below you will find some of the addresses. The rest will follow.

Give Laura a kiss from me. I shall write to her as soon as this bally congress ceases to monopolise my right hand.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

A. Bebel, Hohestrasse 22, Dresden-Plauen, Germany  
 W. Liebknecht, Borsdorf-Leipzig, Germany  
 The Editor, *Socialdemokraten*, Rømersgade 22, Copenhagen, Denmark  
 F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, 96 Malakkastraat, The Hague, Holland  
 The Editor, *Recht voor Allen*, Roggeveenstraat 54, The Hague  
 The Editor, *Arbejdereren*, Nansensgade 28A, Copenhagen, Denmark  
 The Editor, *Gleichheit*, Gumpendorferstrasse 79, Vienna VI, Austria  
 The Editor, *Muncitoriul*, 38 Strada Sarariei, Jassy, Romania  
 The Editor, *Justice*, 181 Queen Victoria Street, London, E. C.  
 The Editor, *Labour Elector*, 13 Paternoster Row, London, E. C.  
 The Editor, *Commonweal*, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E. C.

A. Reichel, Barrister-at-law, Berne, Switzerland  
 Henri Scherrer, Barrister-at-law, St Gall, Switzerland } the two  
 } Hague  
 } delegates<sup>385</sup>

The Editor, *Sozialdemokrat*, 114 Kentish Town Road, London, N. W.

The Editor, *Volkszeitung*, Box 3560, New York City, U.S.A.

The Editor, *Sozialist*, 25 East 4th St., New York City, U.S.A.

(to be continued).

The (German)<sup>3</sup> Americans although pressed by the Possibilists and Hyndman have said that it is you they still favour, and not the Possibilists. If they get your circular in time, I have no doubt they will give their assent, but they will go to *some congress or other*.

*Arbejderen* is the radical opposition paper run by Petersen (who was acquainted with Rouannet and Malon in Paris, but has changed greatly since then) and by Trier, translator of my *Origin of the Family*. For tactical reasons you would be well-advised not to send them anything that is not simultaneously dispatched to the *Socialdemokraten*, organ of the moderate majority.<sup>418</sup>

The address of P. Christensen, delegate to London (a good one)<sup>419</sup> is 9 Rømersgade, Copenhagen.

Belgians: *Vooruit* (The Editor), Marché au fil, Ghent. Same address for Anseele (E.). At the Jolimont congress<sup>405</sup> the Ghent people declared that they would not attend the congress of the Possibilists so long as the latter persisted in their claims. The report in the *Proletariat* is riddled with Possibilist lies.<sup>420</sup>

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 May 1889

My dear Laura,

I was very glad to receive this morning the Convocation.<sup>414</sup> As you say, there is no time to lose, and Paul who seems boiling over with virtuous indignation had made me expect an interminable series of bureaucratic difficulties and delays. Now, as there has been such quick and determined action, everything is all right. The Convocation is short and

sweet, contains the needful and no more, and all the fault I can find with it is that it would have been better to state *in it*, that the second circular with the signatures of the foreigners, unobtainable on account of want of time, would follow. Moreover I hope that the announcement, that the Socialist League<sup>21</sup> had beforehand adhered to the Hague resolutions,<sup>385</sup> is founded upon fact and not upon a misunderstanding, as a disavowal on their part would be awkward. As to obtaining their signature, we ought to be informed of the contents of Morris' reply to Paul, so as not to be quite in the dark.

Now will you make an English translation and Paul put at the bottom: 'For the English translation, Paul Lafargue'—and will he authorise me to do the same with a German translation to be made by me? We will then get them printed here at once and spread them by the thousand; also forward you copies as you may require them.

The loss of time is entirely due to Liebknecht who considers himself, or would like to figure as, the centre of the international movement, and who, being cocksure of bringing about a union, allowed himself to be led by the nose by the Belgians for six or eight weeks. Even now he is certain that if only *he* shows himself on the scene at Paris, the union will follow. But as it is not too late now, the lost time is not lost in reality. It has rallied round to the date desired by the French the mass of foreigners who at first objected and certainly would have abstained, had the date been settled without these preliminaries and against their wishes. Nobody suffers in reality through Liebknecht's action, but we here, who, having entered upon our campaign with uncommon success, were entirely left to our own resources, as all the letters addressed by the working men here whom we had stirred up against the Possibilist congress, were replied to in the most uncertain and vague way by Danes, Dutch, Belgians and Germans; and nobody could tell them anything about the other congress, in consequence of which they fell into the hands of Smith Headingley and Hyndman. Well, as soon as the English Convocation is out, we must begin afresh and I hope with better success.

But if Paul thinks we can cram down people's throats, here in England, the *fictio juris*<sup>a</sup> that the Possibilists are no socialists, that consequently their congress does not exist at all or does not count, he is strangely mistaken. He says Bonnier's letter to the *Labour Elector*<sup>421</sup> was a *bêtise*<sup>b</sup> because it did not start from that point of view. Now I am

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<sup>a</sup> legal fiction – <sup>b</sup> a blunder

responsible for that *bêtise* as I wrote the letter and Bonnier only signed it. The Possibilists may be all that Paul says, and I believe him, but if he wants us to proclaim that publicly, he ought to have proved it first publicly, and *before* there was any question of a congress. Instead of that, our people made a *conspiration du silence* against themselves, left the whole wide world of publicity to the Possibilists, who anyhow were recognized as socialists by the Belgians, Dutch and Danes and some English last autumn in London<sup>320</sup>; and the decree of excommunication launched by a party which even now has not a paper in Paris in which it can make itself heard, cannot and will not be accepted by the rest of the world without further proof.<sup>422</sup> We must speak to people here a language which they understand and to talk in the way Paul wants us to do, would be to make ourselves ridiculous and to be shown the door at every office of a paper in London. Paul knows too well that the Possibilists are a power in Paris, and though it may be very well for our *Parisian* friends to ignore them, we cannot do the same, nor deny the fact that there will be *two rival* congresses on 14 July. And if we were to tell people here that in our Congress ‘*ce sont les ouvriers et les socialistes de France sans distinction de parti qui convoquent le congrès*’,<sup>a</sup> that would not only be a *bêtise* but a gross untruth, as Paul knows well enough that the *ouvriers* de Paris, as far as they are socialists at all, are in their majority Possibilists.

Anyhow we shall here continue to work for the Congress *in our own way* and never mind faultfinding. I have not yet done a single act in this affair but it has been found fault with by someone. So I am quite used to that sort of thing and go on acting as I think is right.

The finest thing of it all is that three months after these two congresses Boulanger will be in all probability dictator of France, do away with parliamentarism, epurate the judges under pretext of corruption, have a *gouvernement à poigne*<sup>b</sup> and a *chambre pour rire*,<sup>c</sup> and crush Marxists, Blanquists and Possibilists all together. And then, *ma belle France—tu l’as voulu!*<sup>d423</sup>

Six months after that *we may* have war—that depends entirely on Russia; she is now engaged in vast financial operations to restore her credit and cannot well go in for a fight until these are finished.<sup>424</sup> In that war the neutrality of Belgium and Switzerland will be the first thing that goes to smash, and if the war becomes really serious, our only chance is

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<sup>a</sup> ‘it is the *workers* and socialists of France, *without distinction of party*, that convene the congress’ – <sup>b</sup> strong government – <sup>c</sup> mock chamber – <sup>d</sup> my beautiful France – that’s what you wanted!

that the *Russians* be beaten and then make a revolution. The French cannot make one while allied to the Czar—that would be high treason. But if no revolution interrupts the war, if it is allowed to run its course, then that side will win which is joined by England, if England goes in for the war at all. For that side can then, with the help of England, starve out the other side by cutting off the corn supplies from abroad, which all Western Europe requires nowadays.

To-morrow there will be a deputation to the *Star* to protest against last Saturday's article on the Congress (Bax, Tussy, Edward)<sup>425</sup> which article was smuggled in, probably by Hyndman and Smith Headingly, in Massingham's absence.

Love from Nim and from

Ever yours

F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>343</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 May 1889

Dear Sorge,

There's so much writing and running about to be done in connection with the damned congress that I hardly have any time left for other matters. It's the devil of a job—nothing but misunderstandings, rows and vexation all round, and in the end there'll be nothing to show for it.

The Hague Conference people<sup>385</sup> allowed the Belgians to make fools of them. Instead of at once proceeding, as had been decided after the Possibilists'<sup>19</sup> refusal, to protest and convoke a rival congress (which

ought to have been done jointly by the Swiss and Belgians), the Belgians did nothing, obstinately refused to answer any letters and ended up by trotting out the lame excuse that they had got to submit the matter to their national congress—21/22 April<sup>405</sup> —! Whereupon the others did nothing whatever (because, through the Swiss, Liebknecht was intriguing with some of the Possibilists since it was he who must succeed in bringing about an understanding), and thus the Possibilists captured all the publicity with their proclamations while our chaps either remained silent or, when asked about the possibility of a rival congress by such Englishmen as were still wavering, returned nothing but non-committal answers. The ultimate outcome of this cunning policy was that even in Germany our people turned rebellious, and Auer and Schippel demanded that delegates be sent to the Possibilist congress.<sup>408</sup> This finally opened Liebknecht's eyes for him and, after I and Ede Bernstein had told the French they were now at liberty to convoke their congress, also on the 14th of July<sup>a</sup> as originally intended, he wrote and told them exactly the same thing. And so the French have got their way, but are rightly cursing Liebknecht's procrastination and general jiggery-pokery, the blame for which they are laying on the Germans as a whole.

In this country, however, it is we who are having to suffer worst from Liebknecht's clever-clever goings-on. Our pamphlet<sup>386</sup> had struck home like a thunderbolt and shown up Hyndman & Co. for the liars and cheats they are; everything was in our favour and, if Liebknecht had been prompt to act vis-à-vis the Belgians, as he damned well ought to have done, or else had let them go hang and *himself negotiated* with the others, either convoking, or getting the French to convoke, the congress at some definite date, we should have won over the masses, and the Social Democratic Federation<sup>62</sup> would have deserted Hyndman. But as it was, we were fobbed off with assurances and told to wait; and, since the chief bone of contention in the Trades Unions here was whether to comply with the leaders' wishes and not send delegates to the congress or whether to defy them and send delegates regardless—the quality of the congress being of secondary importance and their sole concern, entry or non-entry into the international movement—it was clear that the chaps would join forces with those who know their own minds rather than with those who didn't. And thus we lost a splendid position we had only just won, nor, unless some miracle happens, will any Englishman of note attend our congress.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.301



Bernstein was here just now and has held me up until posting time, so I must close.

Wischnewetzky<sup>a</sup> hasn't been to see me. Don't know what these people are after.

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 Anders*, Stuttgart, 1906

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

We have never called you anything but 'the so-called Marxists' and I would not know how else to describe you. Should you have some other, equally succinct name, let us know and we shall duly and gladly apply it to you. But we cannot say 'aggregate',<sup>325</sup> which no one here would understand, or anti-Possibilists, which you would find just as objectionable and which would not be accurate, being too all-embracing.

Tussy must have returned you your letter to the *Star* yesterday. Since Tussy's translation of the Convocation had already been in the hands of the *Star* the day before that, your paraphrase of the said document stood no earthly chance of being inserted.

What we need are letters from Paris, *sent direct to the Star*, bearing the

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<sup>a</sup> Lazar Wischnewetzky

Paris postmark and *refuting the Possibilist calumnies which appeared in Saturday's and Tuesday's editions, namely, that Boulé's election campaign was run on Boulangist money, that Vaillant had acted as an ally of the Boulangists, etc.*<sup>426</sup> I should say that you could do this perfectly well without ruffling your newly-found dignity as the one and only Catholic Church in matters connected with French Socialism.

No other daily is so widely read by working men as the *Star*—the only one to which we have a measure of free access. In Paris, Massingham had Adolphe Smith for his guide and interpreter and was steered by him into the arms of Brousse and Co., who took possession of him, refused to let him go, made him tipsy with absinthe and vermouth, and thus succeeded in winning over the *Star* to the cause of *their* congress and making it swallow their lies. If you wish us to be of use to you over here, you must help us regain some influence over the *Star* by demonstrating that the course which it has been led to embark upon is a dangerous one and that, in fact, Brousse and Co. have been feeding it with lies. And here nothing will serve but letters of complaint about such articles, *sent direct from Paris*. Otherwise we shall be told as before that no one in Paris has complained, hence these things must be true.

Aside from the *Star* we have only the *Labour Elector*, a very obscure and distinctly shady paper which depends on money from unavowed sources and is therefore highly suspect. You could most assuredly do with a bit of publicity here in England, so bombard the *Star* with complaints—you, Vaillant, Longuet, Deville, Guesde and *tutti quanti*.<sup>a</sup> But if you leave us in the lurch, you can't complain if your congress is passed over in silence by the press and if the Possibilists are regarded over here as the only French Socialists and yourselves as a worthless clique of intriguers and nincompoops.

For the past three months Tussy and I have done virtually nothing but labour on your behalf; we had won the first battle with Bernstein's pamphlet,<sup>386</sup> when Liebknecht's inertia and irresolution lost us in rapid succession all the positions we had previously gained. Now that we are back on the defensive and threatened with the loss of even those positions we originally held, it is very hard to find ourselves similarly abandoned by the French when a few letters, however short, arriving at the right moment, could prove so very effective. But if you are bent on losing all means of publicity in England at the very time when it could be of greatest moment to you, there's nothing we can do about it; I, for

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<sup>a</sup> all the rest

one, will certainly have learnt my lesson; I shall go back to Volume 3,<sup>a</sup> abandoned for the past three months, and shall not be unduly upset if the congress comes to nothing.

To organise lodgings and eating-places for the delegates is an excellent idea—Bebel wrote and told me about it<sup>b</sup> and, since Paris in July will be positively swarming with people, this is of the utmost importance.

We shall have Laura's English translation<sup>414</sup> printed. As for the German translation, one has appeared in the *Sozialdemokrat* of which one sentence towards the end was amended by Bernstein (No. 3 in your invitation) as being too dangerous for the Germans. Send the *French text* of the Convocation which is to be signed by *everyone* to Bebel and Liebknecht so that they can let you know what passages they cannot sign without compromising themselves in the eyes of the law, for otherwise you will run the risk of not getting any German signatures. I shall wait until I have heard from Bebel before printing the German translation here, and shall first submit to you the changes he suggests.

It is some time since Labusquière's name has appeared in the Possibilist press—can he, too, have joined the ranks of the malcontents?<sup>427</sup> The incipient disorganisation of the Possibilists is undoubtedly agreeable to ourselves, but our onslaughts upon them, combined with the congress, may well bring about a return to unity. In any case, the disintegration is not yet so far advanced as to make any impact on the Possibilists' allies abroad.

Herewith cheque for £20.—As for Ferry's coup d'état,<sup>428</sup> it might well fail, for in 1889 the foot-slogger is much more of a Boulangist than he was a Republican when he disrupted MacMahon's coup.<sup>198</sup> The worthy Boulanger would not be so stupid as to evoke a call to arms over the High Court affair, but the same might not apply if there were to be a direct violation of the Constitution. That Ferry will not surrender power, direct or indirect, without a struggle, I can readily believe. But there is a risk.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* – <sup>b</sup> Bebel to Engels, 7 May 1889

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ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING<sup>40</sup>

IN LONDON

[London, about 13 May 1889]

As Laura has sent her letter to you in *open* envelope, I enclose this.<sup>429</sup>  
Shall see you tonight at Sam's.<sup>a</sup>

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>40</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 May 1889

My dear Laura,

Could not your people in Paris, now that things are mending and going on swimmingly, look with a little less morosity upon what we are trying to do in order to help them? Nobody has asked them to enter into polemics with the *Star*, nor write long refutations. But supposing Vaillant wrote to the *Star*: 'In your No.– you assert, on the strength of Possibilist assertions made to you, that I ... (did so and so, *Star*, May 7th).<sup>b</sup> I have not the time nor you the space to refute in detail such rubbish. I merely ask you to allow me to state, in your next issue, that this is an infamous calumny' (or something of the sort).

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<sup>a</sup> Samuel Moore – <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p.313

And supposing the Treasurer, Chairman, or Secretary of Boulé's Committee<sup>344</sup> wrote: 'In your issue etc. you say that Boulé's election was supported by Boulangist money. As Chairman (or whatever he was) of Boulé's Committee, I know where the very small amount of money we could dispose of, has come from—all from working men's subscriptions. I therefore declare the above assertion which was made to you by Possibilists, to be an infamous lie' etc.

And so a few more by different people. That would strengthen our hands with the *Star* very much.

Especially at this moment. This morning's *Star* has *Paul's* invitation<sup>430</sup>—I am afraid, put in in order to give him<sup>a</sup> an excuse not to put in the official Convocation with *all the signatures*. Still, Bernstein shall try him again with that (copy enclosed) in a day or two. And Edward and Bonnier saw him this morning, when he promised to put in a letter of Bonnier's tomorrow<sup>b</sup> and asked Bonnier to dinner for next Monday when Bonnier must try and work him. You see the iron is still a little hot and may be welded if only we could be supported by a few blows from Paris. If we do not strike now, it will be too late soon.

You say the Paris Committee<sup>413</sup> will work by its numerous proclamations and that is better than letters to the Editor. Most certainly; but the letters to the Editor are wanted exactly for the purpose of getting him to *insert the proclamations when they come*. What use will be all the proclamations here when we cannot get them into any paper except the *Labour Elector*, which does perhaps more harm than good if it is the *only* paper to notice them?

As part of the conversation with Massingham was carried on in English, not understood by Bonnier, I do not yet know all that happened. Anyhow I hope you will see that our plan of campaign—to maintain the position we had from the beginning and to keep the *Star* open for communications from our side—was the only one possible, and not quite so absurd as our Paris friends seem to think. *We know* that at the *Star* office great weight is laid upon such bombardments with letters from the outside public, and in this case it is the more important as you know yourself that Possibilists, Smith Headingly and Hyndman *all'unisono* shout into Massingham's ears that the whole affair is a personal affair of the Marx family and nothing else.

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<sup>a</sup> Henry William Massingham, the Editor of the *Star* – <sup>b</sup> Ch. Bonnier, 'The Paris Congress', *The Star*, No. 40, 15 May 1889

I have written to Bebel<sup>431</sup> to write to Danes and Austrians to hurry on with their signatures, and through the Danes, work on the Swedes and Norwegians, and also I have consoled him about his fear of not getting lodgings and meals in Paris at the impending festive time. Bebel never having seen anything bigger than Berlin (for here he was only a few days and under good protection) is a little *kleinstädtisch*<sup>a</sup> in these matters. The sooner the circular with *all* the signatures appears, the better; that will tell best with people here.

I am sure your people in Paris have every reason to be content. They have got what they wanted, and there is plenty of time left for everything. Why then should they be so anxious to take revenge on friend and foe alike, look glum at every proposal made to them, try to find out difficulties where there are none and grumble like John Bulls? Surely *tout le gâté française ne s'est pas évanouïe*<sup>b</sup>—let them become French again, the road to victory is open before them; it is we here that have suffered defeat but this is not the decisive position and as you see we keep fighting on as well as we can.

Ever yours

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT PERREUX

London, 16 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith my notes on your draft appeal,<sup>432</sup> which I have discussed with Bernstein. If, by the bye, you say that the Troyes<sup>329</sup> congress represented the whole of the French working class you are putting yourselves

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<sup>a</sup> provincial – <sup>b</sup> not all French gaiety has vanished

in flagrant contradiction to the facts and laying yourselves open to protests and refusals from abroad—and quite needlessly at that. Your dicta will not cause the Possibilists and their Paris majority to vanish into thin air.

I have sent out the English circular to the weekly papers, tomorrow it will go to the daily press, to the London radical clubs,<sup>22</sup> to Socialist organisations and to such influential people as may be interested.

This will account for perhaps 1,000 copies, Tussy will dispose of 500 others and Keir Hardie of another 500 in Scotland. The addresses and wrappers are ready, and everything will go off tomorrow so that by Saturday evening, when the clubs, Trade Unions, etc., meet, all will have been distributed.

Bonnier's letter is in the *Star*.<sup>433</sup>

Clara Zetkin<sup>a</sup> has written an excellent article in the Berlin *Tribune*—had we had so exact an account of things three months ago, it would have helped us a great deal. Bernstein will make good use of it when he goes to see Massingham tomorrow, as also of the affair of the 13th<sup>427</sup> whose significance was not apparent from the *Egalité* article, but all the details of which she has given to Bernstein.

You are quite right not to locate the National Council in Paris—since your strength lies in the provinces, it is there rather than in Paris that the official leadership belongs. That the provinces should be better than Paris is, moreover, a very good sign.

Tomorrow will see the first performance of another of Aveling's plays.<sup>434</sup> Although he has not taken the public by storm, he is attracting the notice of some critics, even those who have hitherto adhered to the conspiracy of silence.

The miners' strike in my part of Germany (Barmen lies some five or six miles from the edge of the coal-field) is an event of the very greatest significance.<sup>435</sup> Whatever the outcome, it will open up territory hitherto closed to us and, as of now, will earn us 40,000–50,000 more votes in the elections. The government is scared stiff, for any attempt at resolute action or, as they say in Prussia (although the term is an Austrian one), '*schneidiges Handeln*',<sup>b</sup> might precipitate a week of bloodshed, as happened in Paris in 1872. Henceforward the miners will be ours throughout the length and breadth of Germany—and they are a force to be reckoned with.

<sup>a</sup> [C. Zetkin,] 'Der internationale Arbeiterkongress und die Streitigkeiten unter den französischen Arbeitern', *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, No. 19, 11 May 1889 –

<sup>b</sup> brisk action

As for Boulanger, I hope you are right and that that mountebank has lost the game.<sup>391</sup> But ...

*POST-TIME!*

Yours ever,

F. E.

I shall write to Danielson<sup>a</sup>

International Socialist Working Men's Congress.

14th to 21st July, 1889.

Workers and Socialists of Europe and America, —

The Bordeaux<sup>331</sup> Working Men's Congress, held by the delegates of upwards of 200 trades unions from all the industrial centres of *France*,<sup>b</sup> and the Troyes<sup>329</sup> Congress, constituted by the delegates of 300 workmen's *and*<sup>c</sup> Socialist groups representing the *French*<sup>d</sup> working class and revolutionary Socialism at large, have resolved to convene an International Congress in Paris, during the Exhibition, that shall be open to the workers of the whole world.

This resolution has been joyfully welcomed by the Socialists of Europe and America, happy to be able to meet and to clearly formulate the demands of the working-class on the subject of international labour legislation, which question will be treated at the Berne Conference, to be held by the representatives of the Governments of Europe in September.

The capitalists invite the rich and mighty to the Universal Exhibition, to contemplate and admire the achievements of the workers doomed to misery in the midst of the most colossal wealth ever possessed by any human society. We, Socialists, whose aim is the emancipation of labour, the abolition of wage-slavery, and the creation of an order of things in which all workers—without distinction of sex or nationality—shall have a right to the riches produced by their common toil; it is the producers whom *we* invite to meet us on the 14th July in Paris.

We call on them to *seal the bond*<sup>e</sup> of fellowship that, by consolidating the efforts of the proletariat of all countries, will hasten the advent of the new world.

'Working men of all countries, unite!'

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.346 – <sup>b</sup> The word 'France' was inserted by Engels with a question mark – <sup>c</sup> Engels underlined this word and put a question mark – <sup>d</sup> Underlined by Engels – <sup>e</sup> Underlined by Engels



—to *seal the bond* may give rise to difficulties. The Germans are forbidden to have any kind of organisation whatever and such as they have in defiance of the law is regarded as a secret society. Hence one must avoid any expression which suggests the idea of formal organisation. Bid them to a fête of solidarity, to a public demonstration of fraternity—anything you please, so long as you do not invite them to form an official organisation or *words to that effect*, as the English jurists say.

It also seems to me that one or two good sentences are needed to make an effective ending.

And you might tell the international Socialists who are going to sign this that the details of place of meeting, etc., will be communicated later by the Paris commission. A little prose after so much rhetoric would not come amiss. It would be more businesslike.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith 25 English circulars.<sup>422</sup>

When are you going to send me back the—deciphered—letter from Lyons?<sup>a</sup> I wouldn't like to seem negligent or in any way discourteous towards French working men.

Since the *Sozialdemokrat* and the Berlin *Volksblatt* have published

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p.306

German translations, there is no further need for a separate edition to be printed over here. In any case, which text ought we to use?

1) French text: The Socialist League of England<sup>21</sup> and the Danish Socialists ... have given their prior assent to the resolutions to be taken.

2) English text: W. Morris of the Socialist League and the Danes, etc., etc.

3) German text in the Berlin translation (probably Liebknecht's): The Socialist League and the Danes have made their excuses, and the Socialist League has given prior assent to the resolutions, etc., (according to this version the Danes *did not assent*).

Since the Possibilists have German friends in Paris and English ones over here, it seems not unlikely that they will get wind of these discrepancies. That would be most undesirable, and we can only hope it won't happen; but you can also see what might result from yet another circular,<sup>432</sup> featuring yourselves as 'the whole of the French working class'—the translations would again vary, for you may be sure that Liebknecht would change that in the German.

A hundred English circulars go off to America tomorrow.

The *Star* hasn't printed the circular yet. Massingham was out when Bernstein called yesterday.

Aveling's play went off better than I had hoped—it's a sketch, very well made, but ends, after the manner of Ibsen, without a solution—something to which English audiences are not accustomed. The piece preceded another—by Baby Rose and someone else<sup>436</sup>—a very free English version of *Conflictio entre dos deberes*<sup>a</sup> by Echegaray. This one, being strongly spiced with sensationalism, went down very well, although ponderous and vulgar and in the English taste.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> *The Conflict of Two Duties*

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>87</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I am sending you two newspapers, 1) *Reynolds*<sup>a</sup> which, at Tussy's request, printed the circular but *without the signatures*. This provides you with a first-rate pretext for writing to them as follows: 'The Commission of Organization is very much obliged to you for publishing in your paper our circular of convocation for the International Working Men and Socialist Congress at Paris to be opened on July 14th, but as you have not given any address will you allow me to state, through your columns, that all communications from abroad are to be sent to the undersigned Foreign Secretary to the Commission. Yours etc. P. Lafargue, Le Perreux, Paris, Banlieue, May—etc.,' or something of that sort.

2) The *Sun*, a new radical *Weekly*, which carries one paragraph, again thanks to Tussy's influence.<sup>437</sup> We shall have to see if there isn't some way in which we can make further use of this newspaper, but the influence of the *Star* might do us a mischief here.

In *Justice*, which I shall send you as soon as I have some copies of it, Hyndman gives vent to a cry of triumph<sup>438</sup> in the belief that, along with the *Star*, he has deprived us of all means of publicity in London. He says that, though you are an amiable and estimable man, you are making a fool of yourself, and Bebel, Liebknecht and Bernstein likewise; and he hopes that we shall at last desist from our futile intrigues, etc.

Have you seen the *Prolétaire* (or *Parti ouvrier*?) in which the Possibilists say they are sure of the Danes?<sup>439</sup> Bernstein has written to Germany to find out what it's all about.

The moment he no longer feels the boulevards under his feet, Rochefort insists on making a fool of himself—in Geneva when he quarrelled with old Becker, here, by drawing his revolver in Regent Street after he had been given a slap in the face. The case is to be heard today in the Police Court<sup>440</sup>; I shall send you the paper.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> *Reynold's Newspaper*