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FREDERICK ENGELS

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TRANSLATORS:

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Der Schriftsteller Friedrich Schlegel, abgezeichnet
nach einer von Heinrich Heine, Bonn und Paris, gestochen
nach dem Kupfer, Triffen und Sigel. Die Schriftstellerarbeiten,
sowie die Briefe des Schriftstellers Friedrich Schlegel
London 4. Januar 1891. Friedrich Schlegel

Preface

Volume 49 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains Engels' letters from August 1890 to September 1892.

As is clear from a number of events, including the May Day demonstrations that swept over nearly the whole of Europe, the successes of the German Social-Democrats in the elections to the Reichstag and the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, and the foundation of new trades unions in England, the working-class and socialist movement gained considerable ground in these years. The letters in this volume give a vivid picture of the still unflagging scholarly and political activity of Engels, seventy years of age on 28 November 1890, during this period. They reflect the many problems facing the working-class movement in the early 1890s after the foundation and consolidation of the socialist parties and the formation of a new international association, the Second International. They also reflect the complications facing the spread and confirmation of Marxist ideas.

Of particular importance during the 1890s were the propagation of Marxism, the explanation of its fundamental theoretical propositions, and the safeguarding of those propositions from oversimplification and contemporary misinterpretation.

Engels gave much of his time to preparing new editions for the press and editing translations of Marx's works and of his own writings, including those that had become virtually unobtainable by that time. Engels bore in mind the theoretical significance and poten-

tial import of the work being republished and, in editing the translations, the peculiarities of the respective country. All these publications were brought out with his direct participation: he worked on the texts, wrote notes when necessary and read the proofs. As a rule, Engels wrote special introductions for them which were, in effect small-scale studies in their own right. The editions prepared by Engels influenced the views and practical activities of the Marxists and the development of the working-class parties.

During these years, Engels still regarded it as his 'urgent duty' (see this volume, p. 396) to prepare for publication Marx's economic manuscripts, above all those comprising Volume III of *Capital* (see pp. 329, 331, 334, 379, 385, 390, 440, 450, etc.). Because of the many tasks in hand and his state of health, however, Engels was not able to begin this work until November 1891. He wrote to Karl Kautsky on 3 December 1891: 'I have just got to the most difficult part, i. e. the last chapters (six to eight or thereabouts) on money capital, banks, credit, etc., and, once having started, I shall have to keep at it without a break and work through the relevant literature again, in short make myself completely *au fait*, if only so that I may—as is probable—eventually leave most of it as it stands, yet at the same time feel quite sure that I have committed no blunders either in the positive or the negative sense' (pp. 314-15). At the beginning of 1892, he was again compelled to break off work on Volume III and was not able to resume it until September.

Of considerable interest are Engels' letters dealing with theoretical problems and the development and deepening of certain propositions of Marxist theory that had become particularly important in the early 1890s. As the ideas of Marx and Engels spread further, they were taken up by representatives of the most diverse ideological trends. Many propositions of the theory were being digested by the members of the working-class movement in a one-sided and oversimplified manner as various slogans, and were sometimes grossly distorted. Certain members of the socialist movement, as Engels noted in his letter to Conrad Schmidt of 12 April 1890, tended to impose their own personal conjectures on the works of Marx and Engels instead of reading what they actually contained (see present edition, Vol. 48).

Particularly widespread in the early 1890s was a perverse interpretation of the materialist understanding of history in the spirit of 'eco-

conomic materialism', according to which economics was the sole active factor in the historical process. These views were especially typical of a number of young socialists in Germany. Some of them asked Engels directly to explain certain points about the materialist interpretation of history.

In this respect, Engels' famous letters to Conrad Schmidt of 5 August and 27 October and to Joseph Bloch of 21-22 September 1890 deserve attention. They give not only a compressed exposition of the Marxist analysis of the historical process, but take an important step forward in elaborating certain vital problems of the materialist interpretation of history (see also Engels' letters to Paul Ernst of 5 June 1890, to Franz Mehring of 14 July 1893, and to W. Borgius of 25 January 1894 — present edition, vols 48 and 50).

In his letters to Schmidt and Bloch, Engels examines the interaction of basis and superstructure, economics and politics, the dialectics of the objective and the subjective factors of social development, and the role of the conscious activity of the masses. In his letter to Schmidt of 5 August 1890, Engels used the term 'historical materialism' for the first time (p. 8). In doing so, he wanted to indicate that the economic factor, definitive in the final analysis, is itself subject to feedback from the superstructure (pp. 34-35 and 59-63).

Worried about the prospects for revolution and the nature of the future society, many socialists turned to Engels for clarification. Engels considered that the level of socio-economic development in the main European capitalist countries was creating the conditions for revolutionary transformations in the relatively near future. Consciously avoiding detailed predictions about the future society, he confined himself to the most general terms.

In his letters to Conrad Schmidt of 5 August and 1 July 1890, Otto Boenigk of 21 August 1890, and Max Oppenheim of 24 March 1891, Engels expressed himself decisively against the idea of the communist society as something 'fixed for all time' (p. 8) and emphasised that, like any other social structure, the new society would not arise straightaway, but only by a process of gradual formation; it would develop uninterruptedly by 'constant change and transformation' (p. 18). He described the decisive feature of the new society as 'the organisation of production on the basis of common ownership, initially by the nation, of all means of production' (*ibid.*). In his letter to Otto Boenigk, he expressed the idea of the definite sequence of transformation of private property into public, and marked out ways for the

transformation of agriculture on collective principles (pp. 18-19). An important condition for the organisation of life in the new society was the attraction of specialists in engineering, agriculture, medicine and also lawyers, teachers, etc. (pp. 19, 272).

In his letter to Schmidt of 5 August 1890, Engels gave his view on distribution in communist society. The 'method of distribution depends almost entirely upon *how much* there is to distribute ... since this is likely to change as advances are made in production and social organisation' (p. 8).

At the same time, Engels repeatedly stressed the impossibility of determining in full detail how precisely the communist transformation of society was going to develop. This 'must depend on local conditions at the time, nor can anything of a general nature be said about them beforehand,' he wrote to Max Oppenheim on 24 March 1891 (p. 153). The problem of stages in the development of the communist society and the specific measures which the workers must take when they have taken over state power is 'the most difficult subject on earth' (p. 212).

The letters in this volume show the many-sidedness of Engels' activity in co-ordinating the international working-class and socialist movement. Correspondence was an important source of information for him about the state of the working-class movement in various countries, and it was also his principal means of passing on revolutionary experience and of exerting an ideological influence on the activities of the members of the socialist parties and organisations.

The organisation of the working-class movement, the efforts of the socialist parties to consolidate their ranks and opposition to dogmatism and sectarian trends have an important place in Engels' letters. Since they were not intended for publication, his assessments of reformist and 'left-wing' sectarian elements in the working-class movement were often very harsh. He emphasised that the 'class-conscious continental proletariat has no intention of placing itself under the leadership of people who regard the wage system as an eternal and immutable universal institution' (p. 524). On the other hand, those who, 'more or less, have the correct theory *as to the dogmatic side of it*, become a mere sect because they cannot conceive that living theory of action, of working with the working class at every possible stage of its development, otherwise than as a collection of dogmas to be learnt by

heart and recited like a conjurer's formula or a Catholic prayer' (p. 186). Advocating independence from the bourgeois influences of the class policy of the workers' parties and considering that unity of views and party discipline should be based on the high awareness and activity of its members and on the participation of each one in working out party policy and tactics, Engels nevertheless admitted: 'That ...doesn't preclude our failure to agree on many points. But these again are points where in course of time agreement is automatically reached as a result of discussion or of new events' (p. 158). Engels considered the development of broad party democracy and the free exchange of opinions as an indispensable condition, with the reminder that 'discipline in a big party cannot be anything like as strict as it is in a small sect' (p. 182), but that the criticism must be made within the framework of the programme and with the strict observance of party ethics. Engels drew attention to the inalienable right of the rank-and-file members to influence the activity of their leaders and prevent them from breaking away from the grass roots of the party. In his letter to Karl Kautsky on 11 February 1891 Engels wrote: 'It is also imperative that the chaps should at long last throw off the habit of handling the party officials — their servants — with kid gloves and kow-towing to them as infallible bureaucrats, instead of confronting them critically' (p. 131).

It can be seen from the letters how much Engels did to widen and strengthen international ties, including personal contacts between socialists of various countries, to arrange for the exchange of information between the socialist parties about their activities and to encourage co-operation in the press. Engels considered it highly important for the information to be comprehensive and fully objective.

From Engels' letters, and also from those of Eleanor Marx-Aveling printed in the Appendices to this volume, it is clear that he himself initiated a number of international meetings between the socialists. He used his seventieth birthday celebrations for the organisation of a meeting of socialists from the leading European countries and for the discussion of problems in common (see pp. 76-77). It was also at Engels' suggestion that an international conference of socialists was held during the Congress of German Social-Democrats at Halle in the autumn of 1890 to prepare the Congress of the Second International in Brussels in 1891 (see pp. 24, 29 and 42).

Engels devoted much attention to the recently formed new international socialist association — the Second International. The letters

published in the present volume make it possible to reconstruct the entire course of preparations for the Second and Third congresses of the Second International and Engels' own part in their convocation. He endeavoured to widen as much as possible the number of the congresses' participants, especially such mass working-class organisations as the British trades unions (pp. 24, 28, 29, 42-43, 46, 74, 229, 238, 520-21, 523-24, 533-34, 545-46, 548).

A number of letters contain fundamental ideas on the stand the socialists took because of the threat, intensified in the early 1890s, of an all-European war. Engels continued developing the idea, expressed many times in the preceding years, of the profound interest of the working class in the preservation of peace, stressing this as one of the most important conditions for the future success of the workers' movement. From his letters to Sorge, Bebel and others, it is clear that the rapidly growing influence of Social-Democracy, especially in Germany, had given him hope that the proletariat might gain political power in that country in a relatively short historical period. Engels wrote to Bebel on 24-26 October 1891: 'I ... hope and pray that this splendid, unerring progress of ours, evolving with the impassivity and inexorability of a natural process, will continue along its appointed course' (p. 272).

Should war break out (at that time, this meant the possibility of France, in alliance with Tsarist Russia, waging war on Germany), the socialist parties should proceed from the interests of the workers' struggle for emancipation. But since a victory by Russian Tsarism in such a war would mean not only a threat to Germany's national unity, but the total destruction of German Social-Democracy, at that time the vanguard of the European working-class movement, Engels considered that the German socialists must endeavour to fight the war by 'revolutionary means' (p. 271). These ideas of Engels were stated in great detail in his letters to Bebel and Sorge (pp. 242-46, 258, 266-67, 270-72, 327) and were finally formulated in his article 'Socialism in Germany' (present edition, Vol. 27).

Of particular importance in Engels' correspondence during these, as in the preceding years, are the letters to the leaders of German Social-Democrats—August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Kautsky, Franz Mehring and others. Many problems associated with the German working-class movement were also reflected in Engels' letters to

other active members of the international working-class movement, particularly to Friedrich Adolph Sorge and to Paul and Laura Lafargue.

The early 1890s in the German working-class movement were conspicuous for many important events associated above all with the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. The party, which at that time was 'the paramount party in Europe' (p. 47), now had considerably wider scope for all its activities. It was now essential for its tactics and organisation to be changed and for a new programme to be drawn up. Engels followed very closely the sharp struggle that developed in the party in the summer of 1890 during preparations for the Halle Congress. Much of his correspondence is concerned with the opposition group of the Jungen (Young Ones), which attacked legal forms of struggle, deplored the parliamentary activities of the party and, exploiting the opportunist blunders of some leaders, demagogically accused the entire leadership of renouncing its revolutionary goals, violating party democracy, and of corruption. The Jungen harshly criticised the draft of the new Party Rules, published at the beginning of August 1890.

Engels supported the Marxist section of the party leadership, although this did not prevent him, in a number of letters, from talking about the validity of certain criticisms directed at it.

He considered, not without justification, that the pseudo-revolutionary jargon of the Jungen could easily influence those party members who did not yet have sufficient theoretical training and experience of practical struggle, and find in them definite support. 'Herein lies a danger which should not be underestimated,' he warned Wilhelm Liebknecht (p. 14). At the same time, in his letters to the leaders of German Social-Democracy, Engels cautioned them against hasty organisational measures against the Jungen, advising flexibility in the controversy with them and tolerance about the different opinions within the party. He wrote to Liebknecht on 10 August 1890: 'Do not make martyrs unnecessarily, show that there is freedom of criticism, and *if* you have to throw anyone out, do so in cases where the *facts* — overt acts of turpitude and betrayal — are quite blatant and completely demonstrable!' (pp. 14-17).

Particularly interesting and valuable for an understanding of Engels' attitude to the Jungen are his letters to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, in which he gave a frank assessment of the party leadership, noting in particular the excessive harshness and irritation which Bebel and

Liebnecht permitted themselves in the struggle with the opposition. 'The biggest party in the empire,' Engels wrote to Sorge on 9 August 1890, 'cannot remain in existence unless every shade of opinion is allowed complete freedom of expression, while even the *semblance* of dictatorship ... must be avoided...' (p. 11).

Engels did a great deal to help the leaders of the German Social-Democrats in their restructuring of the organisation after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. He analysed the completely new conditions that had come into being and under which the party must act in future. In his letter to Liebnecht of 10 August 1890, he critically examined the draft Party Rules, which had to be discussed at the next congress, and noted the points violating, in his opinion, democratic principles. He considered it most unacceptable that, according to the draft, the Social-Democratic group of the Reichstag was virtually being placed over the Party Executive elected by the Congress. Engels also criticised the points on the election to the Congress of an equal number of representatives from all the electoral districts irrespective of the number of party members in them, and also the allocation to the Executive of more responsible functions than those carried out by the Congress (p. 14). In the Rules' final version, as accepted by the Halle Congress, these points were removed.

Many of Engels' letters are concerned with preparations for the party congress in Erfurt, which accepted a new programme of the German Social-Democratic Party. Much attention is given in them to the publication, early in 1891, of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* written back in 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24). With this publication, Engels endeavoured not to allow a repetition in the new programme of the erroneous propositions of the Gotha Programme and to inflict a blow on the Lassalle cult, widespread amongst the German Social-Democrats. '...It was *my duty* to publish the thing the moment the programme came up for discussion,' he wrote to Kautsky (p. 134). His letters to Kautsky of 7 and 15 January, 3, 11 and 23 February 1891, to Bebel of 1-2 May 1891, to Paul and Laura Lafargue of 1-2 May 1891, and to Sorge of 24 October 1891, show what a principled significance Engels attributed to the publication of this document, and with what patience and tact Engels prevailed over the opposition of certain party leaders to the publication of Marx's critical comments.

Engels had faith in the ideological strength and maturity of the party itself. 'And I knew that the party was amply strong enough to

stand it and I reckoned that today it would even *tolerate* the forthright language used 15 years ago,' wrote Engels to Kautsky on 23 February 1891 (p. 133). In the same letter, he gave a general appreciation of the personality and activities of Ferdinand Lassalle, stressing the duality of his role in the German working-class movement (pp. 134-35).

That the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme* had been well timed was confirmed when, in the summer of 1891, the Opportunists, represented by Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian party organisation, spoke out on pragmatic grounds for co-operation with the Junker-bourgeois monarchist state. Observing with satisfaction Vollmar's defeat at the Erfurt Congress (pp. 266, 273, 282), Engels gave Bebel practical advice on the tactics in the struggle with opportunism (p. 480).

In Engels' letters, mainly those to Paul and Laura Lafargue, much space is given to the problems of the working-class movement in France. Analysing France's internal situation, he noted the increasing political reaction, the existence of revanchist moods and the deepening of a political crisis.

Observing the growth of political activity among the French workers, the struggle for the right to strike and the development of the trade union movement, Engels repeatedly spoke of the need for unity of action in the Workers' Party and other socialist groups and the winning of the broad working masses over to its own side. He considered that the main task of the French socialists was to overcome the split in the country's working-class movement. Unity, however, must be achieved by meticulous daily work. Observing, on the one hand, the strengthening of the Workers' Party and, on the other, the crisis of the Possibilists, who had split into two factions in the autumn of 1890, Engels warned against the forcing of events, drawing an analogy with the unification of the two trends in the German working-class movement in 1875 (p. 97). He thought that the tactics of the French Workers' Party should be the conclusion of an agreement on practical co-operation with other socialist groups and the rejection of any attempt at unification at that time (p. 117).

Engels attributed great importance to the parliamentary activities of the French socialists. He paid special attention to the election campaign in the autumn of 1891. Informing Bebel that Lafargue had

been elected at the second ballot to the Chamber of Deputies, he wrote that it would have a considerable influence on France, since 'on this occasion literally *all* the socialist parliamentary groups, including the Possibilists ... pulled together' (p. 291). He looked with great hope on the prospects for the development of the socialist movement in France and stated with satisfaction that the Workers' Party was not 'a riotous force liable to act on the spur of the moment, but ... a regular, organised, *political* force' (p. 424).

The letters in this volume show how Engels, as a witness of the development of the working-class and socialist movement in Great Britain, noted entirely new factors in this process. He took a keen interest in the spectacular rise of the working-class movement during those years—the appearance of new trades unions, the impressive May Day demonstrations in 1890 and 1891, and the successful strikes testifying to the entry into the struggle of new and, until recently, oppressed and disorganised strata of the proletariat.

With great sympathy, Engels followed the struggle of the new trades unions, with many of whose leaders—William Thorne, Benjamin Tillet, John Burns, Tom Mann and others—he kept in personal contact. He welcomed the results of the Liverpool Trades Union Congress of 1890, at which, for the first time, the representatives of the new trades unions achieved the passing of a resolution on the struggle for the legal eight-hour working day. He considered that 'with its acceptance came the collapse of the empire of the old, conservative labour movement...' (p. 26), which had previously been opposing any kind of state regulation of relations between workers and capitalists.

Engels' letters also contain a description of the British socialist organisations. He thought that, in spite of definite progress, they were still 'far removed from the genuine English movement' (p. 167). The sectarianism of the Social Democratic Federation was revealed, he thought, by the fact that, although its platform was in the main theoretically right, it did not take the real demands of the people into consideration (*ibid.*). 'It has ossified Marxism into a hard and fast dogma and, by repudiating *any* labour movement that isn't orthodox Marxist (and, what's more, Marxist in a very wrong-headed way) ... has put itself in such a position that it can never become anything other than a sect' (pp. 493-94).

At the same time, Engels noted that the participants of the new trades union movement, members of the Social Democratic Federation among them, showed interest in socialism (p. 167).

Engels wrote with satisfaction that Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling had authority in the left wing of the Social Democratic Federation and among the members of the new trades unions (*ibid.*). Particularly creditable, he thought, was their organisation of the May Day demonstrations carried out under the leadership of the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League, which was formed in the summer of 1890 out of the Central Committee for the preparations for the May Day demonstration of 1890 and played a considerable part in the socialist propaganda and formation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893. Describing, in a letter to Laura Lafargue, the May Day demonstration of 1891, Engels stressed that 'it has been almost exclusively Edward's and Tussy's work and they had to fight it through from beginning to end' (p. 185).

Some of Engels' letters contain his evaluation of another socialist organisation, the Fabian Society, which represented the democratic intellectuals and part of the workers. He disapproved of the Fabian thesis on the transition from capitalism to socialism through the education of the working class (p. 75). He criticised the Fabian Society because 'it preached and practised *the affiliation of the workers to the Liberals*' (p. 515). The grounds for this criticism were, in part, a letter from George Bernard Shaw to Bebel of 29 May 1892, which the latter forwarded to Engels. Outlining the pre-election tactics of the Fabians, Shaw wrote: '...Our only chance where the workers are not completely organized is to force the Liberals to accept our men as their party candidates' (see p. 563). Engels wrote about this to Kautsky: 'As regards our tactics we have one firm rule for all modern countries and for all times and that is to prevail upon the workers to form their own independent party in opposition to all bourgeois parties' (p. 515).

In a number of letters, Engels reacted to the problems of the working-class movement in the USA. His chief correspondents during those years were Sorge and Schlüter. The latter, having emigrated to the USA in 1889, ran the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, a German-language newspaper of the Socialist Labor Party. It was from their

letters that Engels drew much of his information about the condition of the working-class movement.

Engels could see the complexity and contradictoriness of the working-class and socialist movement in the USA. On the one hand, a fairly powerful trade union movement represented by the American Federation of Labor, an organisation of the skilled workers, mainly native-born Americans; on the other hand, contingents of immigrant workers, some of whom were outside the ranks of the organised working-class movement. The largest of these contingents consisted of emigrants from Germany who had brought their own traditions to the American working-class movement and were the core of the Socialist Labor Party. Its isolation in the working-class movement and its consequent failure to become a mass party resulted from its underestimation of work in the mass organisations, especially those representing the trades, and from its lack of contact with the native-born American and the Black working men who were beginning to join in the struggle.

Engels did not approve of the standpoint taken by the Socialist Labor Party at the end of 1890 and the beginning of 1891, when its leaders refused to work in the biggest American workers' organisation, the American Federation of Labor, rejecting the terms, as proposed by Gompers, for entry to the organisation in individual order. In his letter to Schlüter of 29 January 1891, Engels put the question directly: 'Where do you propose to find a recruiting-ground if not amongst the trades unions?' (p. 114).

In answer to Sorge on 24 October 1891, Engels agreed with him that an 'ebb-tide had begun' in the working-class movement in the USA, considering this to be a characteristic sign of the movement, which was developing spasmodically. He thought that one of the causes of such ebbs was that 'the standard of living of the native American working-man is notably higher even than that of his English counterpart and this alone is enough to put him out of the running for some time to come' (p. 265).

At the same time, Engels hoped that 'when the time comes over there, things will move with tremendous speed and dynamism, but that may not be for some while yet. Miracles never happen' (*ibid.*).

In the early 1890s, Engels continued to take a lively interest in the state of affairs in Russia. He kept in personal contact with young Rus-

sian Marxists, revolutionary Narodniks (Populists) and progressive scholars. His main Russian correspondent during those years was the economist Nikolai Danielson, the translator of Marx's *Capital* into Russian. Danielson's letters, devoted chiefly to economic problems and the position of the Russian peasantry, like the Russian books which he sent regularly, were an important source of information for Engels about the situation in the country and about the views of the Narodnik-oriented section of the Russian intelligentsia, who still had hopes of the non-capitalist way of development for Russia. Engels disputed these views in his replies, stating and substantiating his own viewpoint on Russia's present and on its immediate future.

As is very clear from these letters, Engels was definitively convinced that Russia had decisively taken the road of capitalist development, and that the peasant commune, despite of isolated indications of its relative vitality, was unable 'to resist the incessant blows dealt to it ... by rampant capitalism' (p. 443). This idea was expressed with precision in his letter of 15 March 1892. Recalling what Marx had said at the end of the 1870s to the effect that the development of capitalism in Russia would inevitably lead the peasant commune to its destruction, Engels wrote: 'That seems to me to be in course of fulfilment just now.... I am afraid we shall have to treat the община [commune] as a dream of the past, and reckon, in future, with a capitalist Russia' (p. 384). Objecting to Danielson, who affirmed that capitalism in Russia was developing artificially, and solely because of the government's protectionist policy, Engels proved the historical inevitability of capitalist production in Russia with all its consequences. He wrote on 22 September 1892: '...If Russia required after the Crimean war a *grande industrie* of her own, she could have it in one form only: the *capitalistic form*' (p. 536). Engels also convinced his correspondent that whatever might or might not be the forms of this process, its essence and the contradictions inherent in it were, on the whole, the same as those in other countries.

In connection with the terrible famine that swept Russia in 1891 and which, Engels supposed, could lead to an acute internal political crisis, he analysed, in a letter to Bebel of 29 September-1 October 1891, the correlation of the class forces in the country that were capable of taking charge of a coup. 'In Russia three classes suffer—the landowning aristocracy, the peasantry, the emergent proletariat. The latter is still, and the first is already, too weak for revolution, while all the peasantry could achieve would be local insurrections which

would be fruitless unless given the necessary cohesion and moral support by a successful insurrection in urban centres,' i. e. unless the workers were strong enough to play the leading role in overthrowing the autocracy. The bourgeoisie, which owed its position exclusively to the state, would hardly be able to head the struggle against Tsarism, although objectively it was the bourgeoisie alone that could assume power in the event of a coup (p. 243).

* * *

Volume 49 contains 276 letters by Engels, of which 173 are published in English for the first time, and 103 were published in this language earlier, 40 of them in part only. The details of the earlier English publications are given in the notes.

Obvious slips of the pen have been silently corrected. Proper and place names, and separate words abbreviated by the author are given in full. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes, while passages of lost or illegible texts are indicated by omission points. Where restoration seems possible, it is given in square brackets. Passages deleted by the author are reproduced in footnotes only where they substantially affect the meaning.

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

The number of notes relating to the same facts and events given in the texts of different letters, are duplicated.

The texts of the letters and notes were prepared by Alexander Vatutin (letters from August 1890 to October 1891) and by Yuri Vasin (letters from November 1891 to September 1892). The preface was written by Alexander Vatutin and Yuri Vasin. The volume was edited by Boris Tartakovsky. The name index and the indexes of quoted and mentioned literature and periodicals were prepared by Alexander Panfilov (Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems).

The translations were made by Peter and Betty Ross, Barry Selman (Lawrence & Wishart), K. M. Cook, Victor Schnittke (Prog-

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The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Yelena Kalinina and Margarita Lopukhina (Progress Publishing Group Corporation).

FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

August 1890-September 1892

1890

1

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT ¹

IN LEIPZIG

[London, 1 August 1890]

Dear Liebknecht,

Unfortunately I shan't be able to remain here until 15 August — we are probably going to the seaside at the end of next week; I shall write and let you know where as soon as this has been settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. Your statement has appeared in *The People's Press*,^a but it won't put a stop to the sniping in *Justice*.² Those chaps are incorrigible; they want to force you people and myself to knuckle under to them and the Possibilists,³ but in that case they have a long wait ahead of them. They now possess an ally in the great Gilles — congratulations!

Your
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol.
XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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

^a W. Liebknecht, 'To the Editor of *The People's Press*', *The People's Press*, No. 22, 2 August 1890.

2

ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTT GART

London, 5 August 1890

Dear Mr Dietz,

Fischer has raised further objections to the *immediate* re-issue of the *Origin*.^a *Au fond*^b this is quite acceptable to me, since I still have to go to the seaside where there can be no question of work, nor do I yet find work in any way conducive to my well-being. So I shall wait until the whole business has been settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Will you kindly take a look at the enclosed note for K. Kautsky^c before sending it on and, if necessary, do what is required.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol.
XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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

^a F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - ^b Lit.: at bottom -
^c See next letter.

3

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 5 August 1890

Dear Kautsky,

Your letter of 3 July lay here neglected while Schorlemmer and I were away gallivanting in Norway—much to the benefit of our health, be it said.

Since I don't know where to write to, I am sending this to Dietz without sealing it, so that the prospectus for the *Neue Zeit*,^a which Ede^a showed me on Sunday,^b can be altered accordingly, should it be thought desirable.

You may promise yourself an article by me entitled *Von den letzten Dingen* and I in turn promise that you shall have it. I also intend to keep my promise—indeed I have partially done so already, since a good half of the article is finished. As to when it will be completely finished, however, that could be either very soon or not for a long time to come, depending on circumstances—let's say in time for the first of next year's issues.⁵

If Bebel's review of the week is as well done as his articles to date in Victor's^c *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, you may certainly congratulate yourselves. Here, of course, I am thinking first and foremost of *Germany*.

Sorge's address is: F. A. Sorge, Hoboken, N. J. (i. e. New Jersey), U. S. America. He's the best man for you people. I shall also write to him about it.^d Obviously you must pay him *exceptionally well*—otherwise he'd prefer to give music lessons. He is also unlikely to submit *regular* reports and indeed it is better that he should not. Sometimes months may go by without anything of real importance happening, sometimes he may send you a crucial piece of news every week.

During our voyage of discovery we pressed on as far as North Cape where we ate COD caught by ourselves. For five days on end there was no night, or rather only dusk; to make up for it we saw all kinds of Laplanders, funny little chaps, obviously of very mixed RACE, with brown, black or even very fair hair—features Mongoloid on the

^a Eduard Bernstein - ^b 3 August - ^c Victor Adler - ^d See this volume, p. 20.

whole but with variations ranging from the American Indian (except that it would take six of them to make one Indian) to the Teuton. These little chaps, who are still three-quarters in the Stone Age, are most interesting.

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

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

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

4

ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT ⁶

IN BERLIN

London, 5 August 1890

Dear Schmidt,

Your letter travelled with me in my pocket up to North Cape and in and out of half a dozen Norwegian fjords; I had intended to answer it during the journey, but the writing facilities aboard the ship in which Schorlemmer and I made the whole trip were too frightful. So I am making up for it now.

Many thanks for the news about your doings which are always of great interest to me. You should really try and do the article on Knapp,^a the subject being one of such importance. What we are concerned with is the destruction of Prussian tradition in one of its strongholds and with showing up the old braggadocio for the humbug it really is.⁷

Summarising the English Blue Books⁸ for the 'archives'^b could hardly be done by anyone not resident in London and therefore not *himself* in a position to assess the theoretical or practical importance

^a The reference is to G. F. Knapp, *Die Bauern-Befreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preußens*. - ^b *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*

of the various publications. The number of parliamentary publications is so great as to require a separate monthly catalogue—and thus you might find yourself in the position of having to search for a needle in a haystack, only to lay your hands on an occasional pin. If, however, you would nevertheless care to do some work in this field from time to time—as a rule it's a terrible sweat if one wants to produce anything worthwhile—I shall be glad to let you have any information you may require. If, incidentally, Braun wants a regular man for it, he could do no better than to ask E. Bernstein, 4 Corinne Road, Tufnell Park, N. For it so happens that Ede Bernstein *wishes* to study conditions in England as soon as he can get away from the *Sozialdemokrat* and so this would suit him very well. But he leaves for a few weeks at the seaside either today or tomorrow, so I shall not be able to put the matter to him, it having only just occurred to me.

I saw a notice of Paul Barth's book^a in the Vienna *Deutsche Worte* written by that bird of ill-omen Moritz Wirth^b and *this* review made an unfavourable impression on me which also extended to the book itself. I shall take a look at it, but if little Moritz is right when he quotes Barth as saying that, in all Marx's writings, he can find only one example of the dependence of philosophy, etc., upon the material conditions of existence and that Descartes declares animals to be machines, I can only say I feel sorry for a man capable of writing such things. And if that man has not yet found out that, if the material mode of existence is the *primum agens*,^c this does not preclude the ideal fields from in turn exerting a reciprocal but secondary influence upon it, then he cannot possibly have understood the subject he is writing about. But as I have said, this is all at second hand and little Moritz is a friend one can well do without. Nor, today, has the materialist view of history any lack of such friends to whom it serves as a pretext for *not* studying history. As Marx said of the French Marxists in the late seventies: '*Tout ce que je sais, c'est que je ne suis pas Marxiste.*'^{d9}

There has also been a discussion in the *Volks-Tribüne*^e about the distribution of products in the society of the future—whether this should be made in accordance with the amount of work performed or in some other way.¹⁰ A very 'materialist' view was taken of the matter, in opposition to certain idealist jargon about justice. But oddly

^a P. Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann. Ein kritischer Versuch.* - ^b M. Wirth, 'Hegelunfug und Hegelaustreibung im modernen Deutschland', *Deutsche Worte*, No. 5, 1890. - ^c prime mover - ^d 'All I know is that I'm not a Marxist.' - ^e *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*

enough it occurred to no one that the method of distribution depends almost entirely upon *how much* there is to distribute and that, since this is likely to change as advances are made in production and social organisation, similar changes might also take place in the method of distribution. But in every case the participants in the debate saw 'socialist society', not as something that is constantly changing and progressing, but as something stable and fixed for all time and which must therefore also have a method of distribution that is fixed for all time. Yet surely, if one is to be rational, all one can do is 1. discover what method of distribution should be used *to start off with*, 2. find *what the general trend* of future developments is likely to be. But not a word of that have I found in the whole of the debate.

In general the word 'materialist' is used by many of the younger writers in Germany as a mere cliché with which to label anything and everything without bothering to study it any further; in other words, having once attached the label, they imagine they have sorted things out. Our view of history, however, is first and foremost a guide to study, not a tool for constructing objects after the Hegelian model. The whole of history must be studied anew, and the existential conditions of the various social formations individually investigated before an attempt is made to deduce therefrom the political, legal, aesthetic, philosophical, religious, etc., standpoints that correspond to them. Little has been done along these lines hitherto because very few people have seriously set their minds to it. Here we could do with any amount of help; it is a truly immense field and anyone who is prepared to apply himself to it seriously could achieve much and make a name for himself. Instead, the only use to which the cliché (*anything* can be turned into a cliché) of historical materialism has been put by all too many younger Germans is hastily to run up a jerry-built system out of their own relatively inadequate historical knowledge — for economic history is as yet in its infancy — thus becoming great prodigies in their own eyes. And then a Barth can come along and attack the thing itself which has, of course, been debased to a mere cliché in his own milieu.

However, all this will presumably sort itself out. We are now strong enough in Germany to withstand a great deal. One of the great services the Anti-Socialist Law¹¹ has done us is to rid us of the importunities of German academics of vaguely socialist complexion. We are now strong enough to be able to digest even your German academic who has once again started to give himself great airs. You, who have

really achieved something, must yourself have noticed how few of the young men of letters who attach themselves to the party take the trouble to go in for political economy, the history of political economy, the history of trade, of industry, of agriculture, of social formations. How many know anything about Maurer except his name? A journalist's competence must suffice for everything, and the result is what you might expect. Sometimes it seems these gentry think anything is good enough for the worker. If only these gentry knew how Marx used to regard even his best stuff as not nearly good enough for the workers, how he thought it a crime to offer the workers anything less than the very best!

After the way they have so brilliantly stood the test since 1878, I have implicit faith in our workers and in them alone. They, like every big party, will make mistakes over particular aspects of their development, perhaps big mistakes. For it is only from the consequences of their own mistakes and by experiments on their own persons that the masses will learn. But all that will be overcome, and far more easily in Germany than anywhere else because the soundness of our lads is proof against anything, and again because Berlin, which is unlikely at an early date to shake off its specifically Berlin-like character is, for us, a centre only in the formal sense, like London is, not as Paris is for France. The French and English workers—despite my being able to see the reasons for their blunders—have often given me cause for vexation, but never, since 1870, the Germans, save perhaps for certain individuals who spoke in their name—but never the masses who have always brought things back onto the right lines again. And I wouldn't mind betting that they never will give me cause for vexation.

Yours,
F. Engels

I am addressing this to the *Volks-Tribüne*, not knowing whether 'Pankow'^a still holds good.

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^a Part of Berlin where Conrad Schmidt lived.

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN MOUNT DESERT

London, 9 August 1890

Dear Sorge,

A week ago on Wednesday I sent you a postcard^a gratefully acknowledging receipt of Morgan.^b Today, a few lines in so far as time allows before the post goes.

The trip to North Cape did us both^c a great deal of good and, after another 3 or 4 weeks of extra recuperation at the seaside, whither we shall be going next week (I have been held up here by sundry domestic business), I think I shall be absolutely fit again. On the face of it I look very well. Aboard our ship (a steam yacht of 2,200 tons), upon which we spent all our time going in and out of all the Norwegian fjords, there were 3 doctors who refused to believe that I'm going to be 70 this year. In fact, I am able to sleep without sulphonal, but how long will it last?

Tussy and Aveling likewise went to Norway on Wednesday. Considering what Ibsen enthusiasts they are, I'm surprised they should have waited so long before seeing the new promised land. I wonder if they are in for another disappointment, as in America? At any rate, Norway is by nature, just as America is socially, a pillar of what the philistines call 'individualism'. At intervals of 2 or 3 miles there are pockets of light soil among the rocks upon which a family *might* just be able to subsist — and, sure enough, it does, cut off from all the rest of the world. The people are handsome, strong, honest, bigoted and — fanatically religious, i. e. in the country. The towns are just like those on the Dutch or German coast. In Bergen there is a Social Democratic association which, to the horror of the reigning teetotallers, is de-

^a See Engels' letter to Sorge of 30 July 1890 (present edition, Vol. 48).-

^b L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*. - ^c Engels and Carl Schorlemmer

manding the right to serve beer in its club. I read an indignant article about it in the *Bergensposten*.

In Germany there's a minor row in store for the congress.¹² Mr Schippel—a protégé of Liebnecht's—and other men of letters propose to attack the party leadership and form an opposition.¹³ Well, after the abolition of the Anti-Socialist Law,¹¹ there would be no real objection to that. The party is so big that complete freedom of discussion within its ranks is imperative. Otherwise the many new elements who have joined it during the past 3 years and who are in some cases still exceedingly green and unpolished, could not be assimilated and trained. An accretion of 700,000 in 3 years (only counting the voters) isn't like a bunch of schoolboys into whom you can drum things; discussion and a certain amount of dissension is necessary and will help them over the first hurdle. There's not the slightest danger of a split; the press, now 12 years old, will take care of that. But these insolent literary men, bent on satisfying their colossal vanity, are intriguing and forming cliques for all they are worth, thereby arousing far more wrath than they warrant among the party leaders for whom they create a great deal of unaccustomed trouble and vexation. Hence the latter's conduct of the battle has been anything but skilful; Liebnecht is constantly on the warpath with his 'expulsions' and even Bebel, usually so tactful, has been stung by anger into publishing a somewhat foolish letter.¹⁴ Which is why our literary gents are now screaming about the silencing of the free expression of opinion, etc. The chief organs of the new opposition are the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* (Schippel), *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Dresden) and the Magdeburg *Volksstimme*. They have gained a certain following in Berlin, Magdeburg, etc., particularly among the new recruits who are still susceptible to the lure of stock-phrases. I shall probably be seeing Bebel and Liebnecht over here before the congress, and shall do my utmost to convince them of the imprudence of any expulsion that rests not on convincing proof of *activities* harmful to the party, but solely on charges of opposition-mongering. The biggest party in the empire cannot remain in existence unless every shade of opinion is allowed complete freedom of expression, while even the *semblance* of dictatorship *à la* Schweitzer must be avoided. I shall have no difficulty so far as Bebel is concerned, but Liebnecht is so subject to the mood of the

moment that he is capable of breaking all his promises and doing so, as always, for the best of reasons.

Here the peace of summer reigns save that, in his answer in *Justice* to my May article in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*,^a Hyndman has again sent me to kingdom come as the 'grand lama of Regent's Park Road'.¹⁵

Lafargue writes¹⁶ to say that in France all the generals in the government, the Senate and the Chamber are definitely opposed to any war. And rightly so. For if there were war, it would be 3 to 1 against that Russia and Prussia would fight a couple of battles and then make it up at the expense of Austria and France, so that each of the latter would lose an ally.

Lafargue's article on the French movement^b in the *Neue Zeit* is very good and is charmingly written, but I wish Ede Bernstein had translated it instead of Kautsky, who is too heavy-handed.

I have just received copies of the new German edition of the *Manifesto*^c and enclose one herewith.

Many regards from myself and Schorlemmer to your wife and yourself and also to the Schlüters,

Your
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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^a F. Engels, 'May 4 in London.' - ^b P. Lafargue, 'Die sozialistische Bewegung in Frankreich von 1876-1890', *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 8, August 1890. - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 4th authorised German edition.

6

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT
IN LEIPZIG

London, 10 August 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

I am still held up here because my house is in the process of changing owners. So far as I can see, we shall not be leaving until Thursday, when we shall probably go to Folkestone. I shall leave our address at the OFFICE^a here in Kentish Town and shall also send it to you in Leipzig. I hope that, as soon as you arrive, you will come and join us at the seaside. As you write and say that you cannot come *before* the 15th of this month, I would venture to suppose that you won't be able to get away immediately *after* the 15th either — to judge by recent delays, at any rate. So if you were to come on about 1 September or soon after, you would still be able to spend some time with us, and then return to London *in our company* (about 11 September), where you would be assured of a place to stay with us.

During our absence the house is being decorated; this year the carpets have got to be taken up, and there is also the papering and white-washing to be done. Moreover, owing to some unfortunate experiences *in puncto*^b of expenditure, I shall be obliged while we're away to put the housemaid ON BOARD WAGES, i. e. give her so much a week in return for which she has to keep herself — an arrangement that is awkward, in that it precludes, not only hospitality, but also to some extent the very possibility of my spending a night in the house during that particular period. So if you were to arrive earlier, it would probably mean your accepting Motteler's invitation. However, I dare say you will be able to fall in with the above suggestions.

At all events I hope to see you before the congress. Your draft¹⁷ has its weaker sides, the weakest, and one which to my mind provides quite unnecessary occasion for perpetual recrimination, being the proposal that the Executive should *itself* — albeit with the consent of the parliamentary group — determine its own rates of pay. I have today received the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* in which the literary gents

^a editorial office of the *Sozialdemokrat* - ^b in the matter

criticise the draft. Much of their criticism is utterly puerile, but they have instinctively smelt out isolated weaknesses. For instance, that *every* constituency may send up to 3 representatives. Any old Bahlmann or Höchberg, provided he is prepared to stake his money on it, could thus send 3 representatives from a constituency in which we had polled barely a thousand votes. Needless to say, money as regulator of the number of delegates sent will, generally speaking, play only an *indirect* role. However, I think it unwise that the proportion of delegates to the number of party comrades they represent should be made to depend on that alone.

Again, according to § 2 — *to go by the wording* — any three nonentities may combine to expel *you* from the party until such time as you are rehabilitated by the party Executive. The party conference, on the other hand, may not expel anyone but only act as a court of appeal.

In *any* active party having parliamentary representatives, the parliamentary group is a power of great importance. It has that power, whether or not it is expressly recognised in the rules. It may therefore be asked whether it is wise that the rules should accord it the additional status whereby it has absolute authority over the Executive, as is done in §§ 15-18. Supervision of the Executive, ALL RIGHT, but maybe it would be preferable for an indictment to come up before an independent committee which would be responsible for the verdict.

During the past 3 years your party has seen a massive increase of one million. The existence of the Anti-Socialist Law ¹¹ has meant that these new recruits have not had sufficient opportunity for reading or for agitation to place them on a par with the older party members. Many of them have only the good will and good intentions with which the road to hell is notoriously paved. It would be a miracle if they were not burning with zeal like all neophytes. Thus they constitute material that positively invites appropriation and exploitation by the thrustful literati and academics who oppose you. As, indeed, has transpired in, for instance, Magdeburg. Herein lies a danger which should not be underestimated. Obviously at *this* congress, you will easily be able to cope with it. But you must take care that no seeds of *future* difficulties are sown. Do not make martyrs unnecessarily, show

Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek.

XXXIII.

Das
Kommunistische Manifest.

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Vierte autorisierte deutsche Ausgabe.

Mit einem neuen Vorwort von Friedrich Engels.

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Laura Laura Lafargue  
F. Engels  
London 9/8/90.

London.

German Cooperative Publishing Co.  
114 Kentish Town Road NW  
1890.

Title page of the fourth German edition  
of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*  
with Engels' dedication to Laura Lafargue



that there is freedom of criticism, and *if* you have to throw anyone out, do so in cases where the *facts*—OVERT ACTS of turpitude and betrayal—are quite blatant and completely demonstrable. That is what I think. More when we meet.

Your  
F. E.

Many regards to your wife and to Theodor.<sup>a</sup>

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
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Printed according to the original  
Published in English for the first  
time

7

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT<sup>1</sup>

IN LEIPZIG

Folkestone, 15 August 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

We are temporarily installed here in the Bellevue Hotel, St John's Road, Folkestone and are awaiting word from you or, better still, you yourself.

We shall probably find more suitable lodgings within the next week or fortnight at the most. In any case we shall be here until next Thursday, the 21st, and, as soon as I'm certain of another address, I shall write to you. Should you arrive in the meantime, the people in Kentish Town<sup>b</sup> are kept constantly informed of my WHEREABOUTS.

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht's son -<sup>b</sup> at the editorial office of the *Sozialdemokrat*

So let's hope we see you soon. Warm regards to you and your wife from Nim, Pumps and

Your  
F. E.

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## 8

ENGELS TO OTTO VON BOENIGK <sup>18</sup>

IN Breslau<sup>a</sup>

Folkestone near Dover, 21 August 1890

Otto von Boenigk, Esq.,  
Breslau

Dear Sir,

I can only reply to your inquiries <sup>19</sup> briefly and in general terms, for otherwise I should have to write a dissertation on the first one.

*Ad I.* So-called 'socialist society' is not, in my view, to be regarded as something that remains crystallised for all time, but rather as being in process of constant change and transformation like all other social conditions. The crucial difference between that society and conditions today consists, of course, in the organisation of production on the basis of common ownership, initially by the nation, of all means of production. I see absolutely no difficulty in carrying out this revolution over a period, i. e. gradually. The fact that our working men are up to it is borne out by their many productive and distributive associations which, wherever they have not been deliberately wrecked by

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<sup>a</sup> Wrocław

the police, are managed no worse and far more honestly than the joint-stock companies of the middle classes. I fail to see how you can talk of inadequate education among the masses in Germany, now that our workers have given such striking proof of political maturity in their victorious struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law.<sup>11</sup> The arrogant, pontifical presumption of our so-called educated men seems to me a far greater obstacle. Admittedly we are still short of technicians, agronomists, engineers, chemists, architects, etc., but if the worst comes to the worst we can buy them, just as the capitalists do, and if a stern example is made of a traitor or two—of whom there will assuredly be some in such company—, they will find it in their interest to cease robbing us. But apart from specialists like these, among whom I also count school-teachers, we shall manage very well without the rest of the ‘educated’ men; e.g. the present heavy influx of literati and students into the party will be attended by all manner of mischief unless those gentry are kept within bounds.

With proper technical management there would be no difficulty in leasing the large Junker estates east of the Elbe to the present day labourers and/or farm servants for communal cultivation. If there are excesses, it will be the Junkers’ own fault, since it was they who, heedless of all existing educational legislation, were the cause of the people’s becoming so brutalised.

The biggest obstacle is presented by the small farmers and the importunate, educated smart-Alecks whose superior knowledge of a subject is always in inverse proportion to their understanding of it.

Assuming, therefore, that we have an adequate number of supporters among the masses, the socialisation of large-scale industry and of the farms on the big estates can be carried out very quickly, once we have gained political supremacy. The rest will soon follow at a faster or slower pace. And when the large sources of production are ours, we shall be masters of the situation.

You speak of the absence of a uniform opinion. This does exist—but it is to be found among the educated men who come from aristocratic and bourgeois circles and who have absolutely no idea of how much they still have to learn from the working man.

*Ad II.* Mrs Marx was the daughter of Regierungsrat von Westpha-

len of Trier and the younger sister of the von Westphalen who was minister of reaction in Manteuffel's government.

Yours faithfully,  
F. Engels

First published in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Nr. 2, Berlin, 1964

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Published in English in full for the first time

## 9

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

Folkestone, 27 August 1890

Have received postcards of 9 and 13 August. There was so much to be seen to at the time of our departure<sup>a</sup> that a great deal had to be shoved to one side. Moreover I had to keep pretty quiet about my destination, since young William<sup>b</sup> was also over there and I didn't want my pleasure marred by police chicanery.

Who is the present editor-in-chief of the *Volkszeitung*<sup>c</sup>? Tussy ran into Schewitsch at a meeting in London and he told her he had heard in New York that I had spoken about him in very spiteful terms. That, however, is absolutely untrue. Might it have originated from A. Jonas?

The little students' revolt in Germany<sup>13</sup> was quickly broken up by Bebel. One *very good* thing about it was that it showed what we have to expect from literati and Berliners.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> to Norway - <sup>b</sup> William II - <sup>c</sup> *New Yorker Volkszeitung*



The *Neue Zeit* will be asking you to report on America and will pay well.<sup>a</sup>

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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10

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE <sup>20</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

Bellevue Hotel, Folkestone, 27 August 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Yes, we're at the SEASIDE and what's more, until your letter of the 4th inst. reached me, no one had suggested my going to Le Perreux, which, by the way, I should have done with much pleasure had it not been for the perfectly good reasons which I mentioned to Laura and which she evidently found acceptable at the time. We have been here for the past fortnight in a small PUBLIC HOUSE; the landlady, a most handsome woman, looks after us very well, but the place is a long way from the sea and not FIRST CLASS. We have our fourth bed in the parlour.

As I am somewhat uncertain about my balance at the bank, being unable to compare my books, I can only send you a cheque for *ten pounds*, which I enclose.

There has been a students' revolt in the German party.<sup>13</sup> During 2 or 3 years a crowd of students, literati and other young déclassé bourgeois invaded the party, arriving just in time to take most of the editorial posts in the new papers that were then proliferating. In their usual fashion they regarded their bourgeois universities as socialist Saint-Cyrs <sup>21</sup> entitling them to enter the party in the rank of officer, if

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 5.

not of general. These gentry all dabble in Marxism, albeit of the kind you were acquainted with in France ten years ago and of which Marx said: 'All I know is that I'm not a Marxist.'<sup>9</sup> And he would doubtless say of these gentry what Heine said of his imitators: 'I sowed dragons and I reaped fleas.'

These worthies, whose impotence is equalled only by their arrogance, found support in the new recruits to the party in Berlin — a peculiar Berlinism, combining impudence, cowardice, rodomontade and GIFT OF THE GAB, would seem to have temporarily come to the surface. The young university gents now had a chorus.

They attacked the deputies<sup>a</sup> for no reason at all and no one could explain this sudden recrudescence. The truth is that the deputies, or most of them, didn't take sufficient notice of the little wretches. Admittedly Liebknecht conducted the polemic on behalf of the deputies and the Central Committee with a rare lack of finesse. But then along came Bebel, their main target, who, at two meetings in Dresden and Magdeburg, proceeded to demolish two of their newspapers.<sup>b</sup> The Berlin meeting was guarded by the police who surreptitiously egged on the opposition or else got others to do so.<sup>22</sup> But it's all over nevertheless and the congress<sup>12</sup> is unlikely to have to concern itself further with the matter. This little stunt has done us good inasmuch as it has demonstrated the impossibility of allotting a LEADERS' role to the Berliners. All very well, perhaps, if they'd been Parisians — but we have had enough and more of your Parisians.

The revelations about Boulanger in *Figaro*<sup>23</sup> must be astounding. Could you let me have them? It is sad for the 247,000 or, rather 274,000 nincompoops, who in January 1889 allowed themselves to be taken in by that bogus panjandrum.<sup>24</sup>

In Kovalevsky's book<sup>c</sup> there is an important bit in which he assigns a place between the matriarchate and the mark (or *mir*<sup>d</sup>) community to the patriarchal family group of the kind that existed in France (Franche-Comté and Nivernais) up till 1789 and still exists today amongst the Serbs and Bulgars under the name of *Zádruga*. He tells me that in Russia this is the generally accepted view. If the thing were to be confirmed, it would clear up a number of difficulties in Tacitus et al., while at the same time raising others. The chief fault of Kova-

<sup>a</sup> of the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag - <sup>b</sup> *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Volksstimme* - <sup>c</sup> M. Kovalevsky, *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété*. - <sup>d</sup> rural community in Russia ('мир')

levsky's book lies in the *illusion of legality*. I shall be discussing this in the new edition of my book.<sup>a</sup> Another fault (not uncommon amongst Russians who dabble in science) is an exaggerated faith in *recognised authorities*.

Nim and Pumps send their love.

Give Laura and Mémé a kiss from me.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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Printed according to the original  
Translated from the French

11

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE <sup>25</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 15 September 1890

My dear Lafargue,

In great haste.

Bonnier has written to me about the 1891 congress and the convocation drawn up by the Belgians.<sup>26</sup> I have replied in a letter<sup>b</sup> which I asked him to send on to Guesde so that he can discuss it with you, Deville, etc., as well as with our Blanquist allies, and then inform me of everyone's views.

What has happened is that the Belgians have played a trick on us which places our entire congress in jeopardy. They have invited the Liverpool TRADES UNIONS<sup>27</sup> and the latter have accepted with alacrity. Needless to say, we weren't there to invite them ourselves! Why are we always conspicuous by our absence whenever there is something vital to be done! Why have we been so stupid as to leave the arrangements for the next congress to the Belgians and Swiss!

Tussy and Aveling tell me that the English will undoubtedly at-

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The International Workers' Congress of 1891*.

tend the Belgian, i. e. the Possibilist,<sup>3</sup> congress and that there isn't the remotest chance of getting it into their heads that there will be another and much better congress! I myself obviously share that opinion. The English will proceed *en masse*, with the enthusiasm of neophytes, to the first international congress they have been invited to.

There is only one way in which we can parry this, namely by proposing a merger. If it is to take place, the essential conditions must be: basis of complete equality, convocation by the mandatories of *both* 1889 congresses, the 1891 congress to have *complete* sovereignty in regard to its actions; method of representation to be determined jointly in advance—assuming these are met, we shall easily gain the upper hand. If it does not take place, the Possibilists will be to blame. We shall have shown the working-class world that they alone are the cause of splits and then there might be a chance of our successfully reopening the campaign here in England.

If the French approve this in principle, I propose that we take advantage of the Halle Congress of 12 October<sup>12</sup> to settle the preliminaries. One or two Frenchmen will be going, D. Nieuwenhuis, Adler<sup>a</sup> from Vienna, probably a Swiss, perhaps a Belgian. Tussy would attend so as to explain how things stand in England. It would be quite a conference!<sup>28</sup> A plan of action could very well be roughed out and matters put in train.

The point is that here we have an outstanding chance, probably the last for the next five to ten years, of forming an alliance of Frenchmen, Germans and Englishmen. If we let it slip, don't be surprised if the movement over here sinks completely into the rut now occupied by the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation<sup>29</sup> and the Possibilists.

Our rivals are active and astute. They have always been our superiors in this respect. We, in our international dealings, have abused the right to be lazy.<sup>b</sup> That must stop. Let's get up and bestir ourselves!

As soon as I hear that you all approve, I shall write to the Germans.

I believe I did a stupid thing in writing to Bonnier, who is at Templeuve, instead of to you directly. But it was his letter which per-

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<sup>a</sup> Victor Adler - <sup>b</sup> An allusion to Paul Lafargue's pamphlet *Le Droit à la Paresse. Réfutation du 'Droit au Travail' de 1848.*

sueded me to attend to this matter and, as I sat pen in hand, the subject simply expanded.

Give Laura a kiss.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris,  
1956

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12

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY  
IN STUTTGART

London, 18 September 1890

Dear Kautsky,

I have had your letters of 22 August and 8 September. I should really have answered the first from Folkestone where I spent a month. But I overlooked the bit about your leaving for Stuttgart<sup>a</sup> on 25 August and so didn't know where to write to.

The little rumpus among the students<sup>13</sup> soon collapsed. C. Schmidt was able to keep out of it and Bebel writes to say he is ALL RIGHT. Apart from that I know no more about the silly business than you do.

The editor in you was certainly well to the fore when you tried to involve me in your critique of the programme.<sup>30</sup> But you know yourself that I have no time. *Ničego*<sup>b!</sup>

In view of the many plans that are of necessity being made in Germany these days, only to be replaced by others, no purpose would be served by my seeking to comment on the plans you told me about in your last other than to say that I know of nobody here whom I could recommend for the *Neue Zeit* and the *Schwäbische Tagwacht*. Schmidt would be unlikely to want to leave Berlin. Cannot Bebel get hold of anyone for you?<sup>31</sup>

A telling blow has been struck in Liverpool.<sup>27</sup> And by a quirk of history the noble Brentano happened to be present on the platform to

<sup>a</sup> Stuttgart - <sup>b</sup> Absolutely none (Russ.)

witness the collapse of his contention, which he had been disseminating with such tenacity and passion, that the English TRADES UNIONS were the best defence against socialism.<sup>a</sup>

The struggle is now in full swing. An eight hours' legal working-day—that was the critical turning point and with its acceptance came the collapse of the empire of the old, conservative labour movement that was based on capitalist relations of production. The socialisation of land, mines and transport was universally conceded, while that of the other means of production had the support of a large minority. In short, things are now moving and the events between 1 and 4 May have greatly contributed to this. The 4th of May was the *pronunziamento*,<sup>b</sup> the Liverpool congress the first skirmish.

The Belgians have taken advantage of the congress to invite the English to an international congress in Belgium, a most perfidious manoeuvre. In Liverpool the delegates from the new unions, which of late have been making impassioned calls for international action, accepted with alacrity. Since the Belgians have hitherto been able to do *nothing* off their own bat save issue an invitation to the Possibilist congress in Belgium, the above manoeuvre is intended to force our hand. *This time* the English are seriously committed, thanks to the idiotic nature of our resolutions in Paris concerning the place and the convocation of the next congress,<sup>26</sup> which condemn *us* to inactivity while the others act.

Something has got to be done about it. Having discussed the matter with the others over here, I wrote to France<sup>c</sup> and as soon as there is anything definite in the wind, you will doubtless hear from Ede or me. For the present, *absolute discretion* is called for, as well as a cautious approach to the Belgians' action (in the meantime it would be best simply to *record* it in the press), lest any unnecessary obstacles should arise. Will you be going to Halle on 12 October?<sup>12</sup>

There'll be an article by me<sup>d</sup> in the final No. of the *Sozialdemokrat* which will cause a good deal of annoyance over there. But I can't pitch into the literary gang without also taking a sideswipe at the philistine element in our party, which provided the former with a pretext for a row. Indirectly, of course—a valedictory number is not the place for attacks. For that reason I was glad that the

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to L. Brentano's *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart*. - <sup>b</sup> See Engels' letters to August Bebel of 9 May and to Laura Lafargue of 10 May 1890 (present edition, Vol. 48). - <sup>c</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>d</sup> 'Farewell Letter to the Readers of the *Sozialdemokrat*'

literati forced me to square accounts with them *beforehand*.<sup>a</sup>

I continue to get good news from Sam Moore in Africa. Every 6 or 8 weeks he goes down with fever for 2 or 3 days, but the attacks are very mild and leave no after-effects.

Schorlemmer is back here, having arrived from Manchester yesterday evening. Since his return from the Norwegian trip he has been suffering from deafness and buzzing in the ears—a stubborn aural catarrh; though it is improving somewhat, it has undone the good effects of his 6 weeks' holiday.

According to the English, young William<sup>b</sup> went to Norway simply because he could play at sailors there without getting seasick. Indeed you can sail from Skudenes in the south right up to North Cape without ever leaving perfectly calm water, and only in 2 or 3 places are you likely to suffer 2 or 3 hours of seasickness. And as for the fjords! They're so calm that the smallest lake in the Alps is a storm-tossed ocean by comparison. A landlubber of an admiral can feel as safe there as on a drive from Charlottenburg<sup>c</sup> to Potsdam. It so happened that the young man sneaked past us in a torpedo boat while entering the Sunelv Fjord from the Geiranger Fjord. When we landed in Molde, Schorlemmer and I climbed the Moldehaj, a vantage point approximately 1,300 feet above sea level (the same as the one that appears in Ibsen's *Fruen fra Havet* (*The Lady from the Sea*) which is set in Molde). At the top we found half a dozen young lieutenants from the fleet below, dressed in civilian clothes. I thought I was back in Potsdam. The same old haw-haw voices of the Prussian guards,<sup>d</sup> the same old ensigns' jokes, the same old subalterns' swagger. By contrast we later ran into a bunch of engineers who seemed quite nice, decent fellows. And the sailors, who were to be seen all over the place, really *were* splendid lads. But as for the admirals—what obesity!

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<sup>a</sup> 'Reply to the Editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*' -<sup>b</sup> William II -<sup>c</sup> a suburb of Berlin -<sup>d</sup> In the original: *janz die alte Jardsprache* (Berlin dialect).

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 September 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for your good news.<sup>32</sup> If that's how things are, it would be truly idiotic of us not to do everything in our power to attend a congress where the very fact of our presence would give us the upper hand.

So far as we are concerned, the following conditions are vital:

1) Convocation of the joint congress by the mandatories, and on the strength of the mandates, of the two 1889 congresses.<sup>26</sup> The Belgians and the Swiss would either sign one convocation only, or else the Belgians and the Swiss would convene on the strength of our mandate, and only the Belgians on the strength of the other mandate. This ought to be laid down in advance, as also the text of the convocation.

2) The absolute sovereignty of the congress, for which no preceding congress would have force of law.—Nor would it be bound in any respect whatever by any committee, whether nominated by one of the earlier congresses, or as the result of negotiations over a merger. It will establish its own rules and agenda and will alone determine the manner in which the verification of credentials is to be carried out.

3) The manner and the proportions in which the various associations are to be represented at the congress to be laid down in advance.

4) An international committee, appointed as soon as a merger has been decided upon, will prepare draft rules and agenda on which the congress will pronounce.

*Ad 2):* The complete freedom of the congress is vital to ourselves because, once in a position to haggle over the agenda, rules, etc., the Possibilists and the Belgians would diddle us; our negotiators have always been more naïve than theirs and the consequence would be an unending discussion of which everyone would lose the thread, thus



making it impossible for us to lay the blame on the Possibilists. To the objection that the congress will be wasting valuable time, our rejoinder will be that it behoves us first to *create* a joint congress which of itself would be of vastly greater significance than any resolutions it might pass; that we do not have a mandate to constrain the future congress; that, once assembled, the congress may do away with restrictions previously imposed upon it, etc. And, eventually providing the conditions laid down are satisfactory, we might after all make some concessions to the Belgians on that score.

Now, if you Frenchmen would amend, complete and fill out the details of the above draft, you would be doing a worthwhile job.

This was the gist of my letter to Bonnier,<sup>a</sup> though I can assure you that I never try to settle anything with him. My chief aim in writing to him was to make the idea of a merger acceptable to you all; now I have had your letter the whole discussion has become otiose.

I therefore wrote at once to Bebel, suggesting that the question be discussed at an informal international gathering at Halle.<sup>33</sup> If, together with the official representatives of some of the smaller nationalities, we should then succeed in laying the foundations of a merger, it might be possible to approach the Belgians about it.<sup>28</sup> In fact, I asked Bebel to arrange, if possible, for a Belgian — preferably from Ghent — to be present.

Meanwhile I await your news on the opinion of Guesde, Deville, etc., and also the Blanquists.

The *Idée nouvelle* has sent me a list of subscriptions — what shall I do?

A Monsieur Ch. Caron, 8 rue du Croissant (thus evidently from the *Idée nouvelle*), has sent me a prospectus for the republication of socialist brochures and asks me for permission to publish my writings as well as those of Marx. Judging by these efforts, one might say that the French and particularly the Parisians are on the point of performing a miracle. But has this gentleman the wherewithal to publish even a single brochure? Please let me know, for I must reply within 4-5 days.<sup>b</sup>

Sonnenschein has sent me his account: £5.4 — of which 1/5 for Laura = £1.-.9, 1/5 for the children,<sup>c</sup> 1/5 for Tussy and 2/5 for the translators.<sup>d</sup> Here is the cheque for Laura. Meissner's account will

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'The International Workers' Congress of 1891'. - <sup>b</sup> See next letter. -

<sup>c</sup> Longuet's children - <sup>d</sup> Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling

probably arrive soon, but if the expenses of the 4th edition<sup>a</sup> are already included in it, which I do not know, there will be little or nothing.

The Boulangist revelations could not be more edifying. Congratulate yourself on having been able to resist when the Boulangists tempted you. But what idea does that give you of the political capacity of the Parisian public! To have been duped, what am I saying, frenetically egged on by this simple ne'er-do-well who gives his word as a soldier to the royalists provided that they pay him the expenses of his good fortunes! Pfiu Teufel!<sup>b</sup> Fortunately the province is there to make amends for Parisian foolishness. It's incredible!<sup>34</sup>

Hyndman celebrates the immortal Joffrin in *Justice*, and says that it is him and the Possibilists who have crushed Boulanger and saved the republic.<sup>35</sup> He ought to know that the case of the Possibilists is too desperate in Paris to come and lie so impudently.

Give Laura a kiss from Nim, myself and Schorlemmer who arrived the day before yesterday.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

Will send you the last number of the *Sozialdemokrat* in a day or two. Ede Bernstein is staying here to send reports on England, particularly to the *Neue Zeit*. Fischer is going to Berlin to join the *Vorwärts*,<sup>c</sup> and will get a seat in the Reichstag as soon as occasion arises. Tauscher is going to Stuttgart. As for the great Julius Motteler, no one yet knows what is to be done with him. He is the party's greatest incubus—in his own eyes an unrecognised genius, in those of everybody else ineptitude personified.

See if you can arrange for Guesde and Vaillant to go to Halle<sup>d</sup>; Guesde will have to take Bonnier as interpreter.

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<sup>a</sup> of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> Hang it all! - <sup>c</sup> *Berliner Volksblatt* - <sup>d</sup> to the congress of the German Social-Democratic Party

14

## ENGELS TO CHARLES CARON

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, 20 September 1890]

Dear Citizen,

In reply to your letter of the 17th,<sup>36</sup> I cannot give you the authorisation you ask for until I receive clarification on a number of points.<sup>a</sup>

In the first place it seems to me that, if any pamphlets are to be reissued, they should appear as complete and separate pamphlets and not in the form of a revue, each number of which would contain a mixed assortment of disconnected fragments of works that would, as often as not, contradict one another. Hence I should like, first of all, to be in a position to weigh up the reasons that have led you to prefer this latter form.

Again, is it not the intention of the Workers' Party to republish a large part of these same works in its *Bibliothèque socialiste*? If so, the party undertaking ought to take precedence over the private undertaking.

Lastly, you have yourself a pretty expensive task. It would take you from 4 to 6 months merely to complete the publication of the six pamphlets advertised<sup>b</sup> as commencing in your first number. Were the revue to cease appearing for want of funds midway through the publication of a work I had authorised you to reprint, a heavy responsibility would fall on my shoulders.

So have you the necessary funds?

There are, in addition, further points to be considered.

So as to settle the matter I would ask you to get in touch with Citizen Lafargue, to whom I have sent a copy of this letter.

I should be obliged if you would refer to me in future before using

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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> Engels has in mind the advertisement of *L'Œuvre Socialiste. Revue politique et littéraire*, enclosed in Charles Caron's letter of 17 September 1890.

my name in public; indeed, as to the present instance, I reserve the right to have recourse, if I think fit, to measures of an equally public nature.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 September 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for the information about Caron.<sup>37</sup> Herewith my reply<sup>a</sup> to this amiable fellow who 'is in no doubt that my reply will be in the affirmative'. Don't talk to me of 'LONDON ASSURANCE' or YANKEE journalists' cheek. The Germans and French outdo them by far and, what's more, with an elegant effrontery that suits them to a T. However I'm not sure that it isn't my own dear countrymen who don't carry off first prize.

Nothing new to report here. Aveling must have written to you about Lavigerie.<sup>b</sup> However it's very curious that this individual should have in his possession a document (copy) signed by Lafargue, Guesde, Deville, etc., announcing Guesde's impending arrival in London and a letter from Coulombeau inviting Aveling and Tussy to the Lille Congress<sup>38</sup> on behalf of the National Committee of the Workers' Party.<sup>39</sup> The originals of all the documents he purports to

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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> See Engels' letter to Laura Lafargue of 30 July 1890 (present edition, Vol. 48).

have must have been seen by Aveling last Monday — but I've heard nothing since Sunday.<sup>a</sup>

Herewith cheque for £20.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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16

## ENGELS TO JOSEPH BLOCH <sup>40</sup>

IN KÖNIGSBERG

London, 21[-22] September 1890

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 3rd of this month was forwarded to me in Folkestone; but since I did not have the book in question<sup>b</sup> with me I was not able to reply to it. After arriving home on the 12th, I found such an accumulation of urgent work awaiting me that I have been unable until today to get round to writing you a line or two. This, merely by way of explanation for the delay which I trust you will be good enough to excuse.<sup>41</sup>

*Ad I.* First, on p. 19 of the *Origin* you will see that the process of growth of the punaluan family is shown as taking place so gradually that even in this century there have been marriages between brothers and sisters (*born of one mother*) in the Hawaiian royal family. And throughout antiquity we find examples of intermarriage between siblings, e. g. amongst the Ptolemaeans. Here, however, — secondly — we must distinguish between siblings *by the same mother* and siblings *merely by the same father*; ἀδελφός, ἀδελφή<sup>c</sup> derive from δελφύς uterus, and hence originally denoted only siblings *by the same mother*. And

<sup>a</sup> 15 September - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26). - <sup>c</sup> brother, sister

a feeling has long persisted from the period of mother right that the children of one mother, even if by different fathers, are more closely related than the children of one father but by different mothers. The punaluan form of family precludes marriage only between the former, but not at all between the latter who, according to the above conception, *are not related at all* (since mother right is in force). Now, so far as I know, cases of sibling marriage in Greek antiquity are confined to those in which the pair either have different mothers or at any rate to those in which this is not known and is therefore not ruled out; hence it is by no means inconsistent with punaluan custom. What you have overlooked is the fact that, between the punaluan period and Greek monogamy, the change-over from matriarchy to patriarchy took place, which puts quite a different complexion on the matter.

According to Wachsmuth's *Hellenische Alterthümer*,<sup>a</sup> there is, among the Greeks of the Heroic Period,

'no trace of reservations regarding unduly close kinship between married partners, aside from relations between parent and child' (III, p. 157). 'In Crete, marriage to a full sister was not considered an offence' (*ibid.*, p. 170).

This last from Strabo, Book X<sup>b</sup>; however, I cannot find the passage at this moment because of the absence of proper chapter divisions.—*Full sisters*—failing proof to the contrary—I assume to be sisters by the same father.

*Ad II.* I would qualify the first of your main propositions as follows: According to the materialist view of history, the determining factor in history is, *in the final analysis*, the production and reproduction of actual life. More than that was never maintained either by Marx or myself. Now if someone distorts this by declaring the economic moment to be the *only* determining factor, he changes that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, ridiculous piece of jargon. The economic situation is the basis, but the various factors of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, namely constitutions set up by the ruling class after a victorious battle, etc., forms of law and, the reflections of all these real struggles in the minds of the participants, i. e. political, philosophical and legal theories, religious views and the expansion of the same into dogmatic systems—all these factors also have a bearing on the course of the historical struggles of

<sup>a</sup> W. Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde aus dem Gesichtspunkte des Staates.*

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*.

which, in many cases, they largely determine the *form*. It is in the interaction of all these factors and amidst an unending multitude of fortuities (i. e. of things and events whose intrinsic interconnections are so remote or so incapable of proof that we can regard them as non-existent and ignore them) that the economic trend ultimately asserts itself as something inevitable. Otherwise the application of the theory to any particular period of history would, after all, be easier than solving a simple equation of the first degree.

We make our history ourselves but, in the first place, under very definite premises and conditions. Of these, the economic are ultimately decisive. But the political, etc., and even the traditions still lingering in people's minds, play some, if not a decisive, role. The Prussian state itself owes its origin and development to historical and, in the final analysis, economic circumstances. It could, however, hardly be maintained without pedantry that what caused Brandenburg, of all the many small principalities of North Germany, to become a great power, the embodiment of the economic, linguistic and—since the Reformation—also the religious, differences between North and South, was economic necessity irrespective of any other factors (above all its involvement, through its possession of Prussia, in Poland and hence in international political relations—which likewise played a decisive role in the formation of the Austrian dynasty). Without making oneself a laughing-stock, it would scarcely be possible to provide an economic explanation for the existence of every small German principality, past and present, or for the origin of the High German sound shift whereby the geographical partition formed by the mountains from the Sudetes to the Taunus became a veritable rift running right across Germany.

In the second place, however, history is made in such a way that the ultimate result is invariably produced by the clash of many individual wills of which each in turn has been made what it is by a wide variety of living conditions; there are thus innumerable conflicting forces, an infinite number of parallelograms of forces, productive of one result—the historical event which itself may be seen as the product of a power operating *unconsciously* and involuntarily as a whole. For what each individual wants is obstructed by every other individual and the outcome is something that no one wanted. Thus, the course of history up till now has been like a natural process and has, indeed, been subject to much the same laws of motion. But the fact that individual wills—each of which wants what it is driv-

en to want by bodily constitution and extrinsic and, in the final analysis, economic (whether personal or general social) circumstances—do not attain what they want but merge into an overall mean, a common resultant—does not justify the conclusion that they are nonentities. On the contrary, each one contributes to the resultant and is, to that extent, part and parcel of it.

Another thing I would ask you to do is to study this theory in the original source books and not at second-hand; it is really far easier. While Marx wrote hardly anything in which it did not play some role, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is a quite outstanding example of its application. There are also many allusions to the theory in *Capital*. I might further draw your attention to my works, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* in which the account I give of historical materialism is, so far as I know, the most exhaustive in existence.

If some younger writers attribute more importance to the economic aspect than is its due, Marx and I are to some extent to blame. We had to stress this leading principle in the face of opponents who denied it, and we did not always have the time, space or opportunity to do justice to the other factors that interacted upon each other. But it was a different matter when it came to depicting a section of history, i. e. to applying the theory in practice, and here there was no possibility of error. Unfortunately people all too frequently believe they have mastered a new theory and can do just what they like with it as soon as they have grasped—not always correctly—its main propositions. Nor can I exempt from this reproach many of the more recent 'Marxists' who have, indeed, been responsible for some pretty peculiar stuff.

*Ad I*, I yesterday discovered (I am writing this on 22 September) in Schoemann's *Griechische Alterthümer*, Berlin, 1855, I, p. 52, the following vital passage which fully substantiates what I have said above. It runs:

'It is known, however, that marriage between half-brothers and sisters born of different mothers was not subsequently regarded as incest in Greece.'



Trusting that you will not be too much put off by the appalling convolutions to which my pen has, for brevity's sake, succumbed, I remain

Yours faithfully,  
F. Engels

First published in *Der sozialistische Akademiker*, Nr. 19, Berlin, 1895

Printed according to the journal

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS  
IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

[London,] 22 September 1890

Dear Hermann,

When your letter of 28 May arrived I was just expecting a visit from my Dublin wine merchant and so I decided to wait and discuss the matter with him in person. As it happened, however, the man didn't come until the end of June when I was wholly taken up with my impending departure<sup>a</sup> and so forgot about your sherry until reminded a few days ago by another look at your letter and again today by your second one. Not that you will have suffered as a result, since travelling during the hot weather would have done the wine no good and it will at any rate now travel more safely. I shall write to Dublin at once and see what can be done. Brett will certainly supply you with good wine; I have laid down another 50 or 60 dozen claret and port of the recent good years; I don't use much sherry, but in this respect, too, the chap is reliable. So more news very shortly. I have just

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<sup>a</sup> to Norway

spent 4 weeks beside the Channel, at Folkestone, and feel extremely well and cheerful. Let's hope it lasts! Love to you and yours,

From your old  
Friedrich

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Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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18

## ENGELS TO JAKINS

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, 23 September 1890]

In pursuance of the conversation I had with you, I now beg to say that I am willing to take the house 122 Regent's Park Road on a three years agreement (similar to the one I previously had with the late Marquis de Rothwell) and at the rent of £60 a year on the condition that the landlord does for me what he would be required to do for a new tenant.

Besides smaller repairs, such as papering, etc., which might be necessary by next spring, there are two points which in my opinion come under that class, viz.

- 1) a new efficient kitchen range to replace the present one which is 20 years old and quite worn out;
- 2) efficient arrangements for a hot and cold water bath, the present bath having only cold water to turn on.

I hope these demands will not be found unreasonable and remain

Dear Sir  
etc.

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time

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## ENGELS TO STRUTT AND PARKER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 23 September 1890

Dear Sirs,

In pursuance of a conversation I had yesterday with Mr Jakins, I wrote to him a letter stating what repairs and alterations I should expect to be made in the house occupied by me before signing a new three years agreement. This letter he promised to lay before you.

As this question cannot well be settled before the impending quarterday Mr Jakins found it quite natural that I should give you notice to quit, so as to protect myself. This notice I beg to enclose. It is however perfectly understood that I am willing to withdraw such notice again as soon as we shall have satisfactorily settled the conditions and terms of the new agreement.

Trusting that this will not be a matter of difficulty

I remain, etc.

Gentlemen,

I hereby give you notice that on the 25th day of March next (1891) I shall quit and deliver up possession of the house and premises I now hold on the Estate of the late Richard R. Rothwell Esq. and situated

at 122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. in the Parish of St Pancras. Dated this 23rd day of September 1890.

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20

## ENGELS TO JULES GUESDE

IN PARIS

London, 25 September<sup>a</sup> 1890

My dear Guesde,

Thank you for your correction — I was indeed wrong concerning the congress resolution on the convocation.<sup>42</sup> But the resolution as it was adopted was enough to condemn us to inaction, while others would have acted.

I have written to Bebel about the Swiss. I suggested to him, since he agrees with us on the conference in Halle,<sup>28</sup> that everyone should be invited, included the English, so as to avoid the complaints which were produced after The Hague in 1889.<sup>43</sup> The Germans have the habit of dispensing with formalities, which in international affairs always leads to misunderstandings if not quarrels, and I have reminded them of this.<sup>44</sup>

If Vaillant could go with you to Halle, that would be very useful, particularly after what Bonnier writes to me, i. e., that he has to return to England immediately and probably will not be able to accompany you.

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<sup>a</sup> The original has: June.

I hope that either the two Avelings, or at least Mrs Aveling, will be able to go.

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

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21

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 September 1890

My dear Laura,

Today being your birthday will be duly celebrated with a good bottle of wine and your health drunk with musical honors — and *such* musical honors! Nim, Schorlemmer and myself, three splendid musicians!

Many thanks for the pears which Nim is expecting with the utmost anxiety. That 'brown fellow' of yours shall be settled before he knows where he is; as for the rest, Nim will certainly take care that their

*Lebenslauf*  
*ist angefangen und beschlossen in*  
*Der Santa Casa heiligen Registern.<sup>a</sup>*

Today, the last number of the *Sozialdemokrat* is published. I shall miss that paper almost as much as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Ede is going to remain here, Tauscher left yesterday for Stuttgart; Fischer, the best of the lot after Ede, will settle in Berlin; the unspeakable muddler Motteler and his elegantly-bred missus nobody knows what

<sup>a</sup> births and deaths are registered in the annals of the Holy Inquisition.

to do with, so I suppose they will stay here for some time longer, though we could miss them very well—only unfortunately everybody else seems to be in that same position.

Bebel and Liebknecht have now both removed to Berlin. In case urgent communication with them might become necessary, I give you Bebel's address, the only one I have: A. B. Grossgörschenstraße, 22a, Berlin.

Fine scoundrels in Berlin amongst the nobility—one shot himself while quarreling with a *rat du ballet*,<sup>a</sup> another for debt and swindling, a third in prison for everlasting rows and delirium tremens, a chief officer—Major—of the Unteroffiziersschule<sup>b</sup> at Potsdam shot himself and even the *Kreuzzeitung*<sup>c</sup> telling the nobility that they are close upon the deluge which they expect only '*après nous*'!<sup>4 5</sup> Could not be better!

Ever yours

F. Engels

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22

## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>2 5</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 September 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Bebel has written to say that he is in agreement with us as regards Belgium.<sup>d</sup> I have now suggested that he send out invitations to a preliminary congress 'to discuss means of preventing a repetition in 1891 of what happened in 1889, namely two rival and independent working men's congresses'; to invite everyone, Belgians, Swiss, the two Danish parties,<sup>4 6</sup> Swedes, Italians (have you any addresses?), Span-

<sup>a</sup> ballet dancer - <sup>b</sup> subalterns' school - <sup>c</sup> *Neue Preussische Zeitung* - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 28-29.

iards and English (the PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,<sup>47</sup> the EIGHT HOURS LEAGUE,<sup>48</sup> the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION<sup>29</sup> and the SOCIALIST LEAGUE<sup>49</sup>).

As to your resolution to insist on the sovereignty of the congress in respect of only 3 questions, to wit verification of mandates, drawing up of the agenda, and method of voting, it seems to me that you are treading on distinctly dangerous ground. It means that, so far as all other questions are concerned, you accept the resolutions passed by former Possibilist congresses and that, when each case crops up, you call for a fresh debate in order to get rid of these obstacles. It means that you recognise the series of Belgian-Possibilist congresses, including the London caricature of 1888,<sup>50</sup> as the working men's only genuine means of international representation and that you debase ours of 1889<sup>51</sup> to the status of an act of rebellion as groundless as it was fruitless.

So consider what you would be doing. You intend to propose, with no reservations other than those cited above, that there should be one man, one vote. And at the last Possibilist congress,<sup>52</sup> *three* delegates from each association were admitted. True, those three were allowed only one vote, but unless all the congress's time is to be wasted on roll-calls, how can this be verified? Whoever is going to stop the Belgians' sending three delegates from each of their little associations and lord-ing it over the congress by courtesy of your own proposal? And how many times will you be able to extract a roll-call from a vociferously impatient congress?

It seems to me that you have been carried away by the Possibilist debacle.<sup>53</sup> Don't forget that from now until September 1891, when the congress will probably be held, many things can happen. Why abandon the important positions we hold today? Between now and then we may be in dire need of them. Remember that there are Possibilists pretty well everywhere, not least in Belgium.

I haven't had your paper.<sup>a</sup> Has it in fact come out?

Regards,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> *Le Socialiste*

23

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 26 September 1890

My dear Löhr,

Yesterday we celebrated your impending birthday by a bottle of good claret, and to-day we shall drink, in honour of the real event, a bottle of champagne and wish you many happy returns of the day, hoping that you have only arrived

*nel mezzo del cammin della tua vita.*<sup>a</sup>

As a birthday present herewith your share in Meissner's remittance of £45, just to hand, in shape of a cheque for £15; it comes very appropriate!

The last No. of the *Sozialdemokrat* is creating a stir here — Edward yesterday had a long extract in *The Daily Chronicle*, and is to interview E. Bernstein for Monday's *Star* (with photograph).<sup>54</sup>

Meissner has not yet sent the account, only the remittance, so further particulars must be delayed.

Love from Nim, Schorlemmer and yours ever

F. Engels

Next time you come here you will be able to have a hot bath in the house. The old Marquis<sup>b</sup> died some time ago and the estate has gone into the hands of other agents, so I *posais la question du cabinet*<sup>c</sup> and gave notice unless a new kitchen range and a new bath with hot water arrangements was put in. To-day the people have been here to look at the premises and I am informed that these demands of mine will be complied with. Of course there may be some little difficulty yet, but from what I hear I believe that I have carried my point.

---

<sup>a</sup> in the middle of the journey of your life (Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, 'Inferno', I, paraphrased). - <sup>b</sup> de Rothwell - <sup>c</sup> raised the question of bathroom



The box of pears has not arrived yet, up to 3 p. m. to-day, but very likely it will be here before dinner.

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## 24

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 27 September 1890

Dear Sorge,

Both your letters of the 10th of this month have arrived.

Today I am enclosing some copies of the last issue of the *Sozialdemokrat* with the usual newspapers. You might care to have some extra copies of this historic issue.

Your information about Schewitsch is probably correct.<sup>a</sup> When he passed through London, he ran into Tussy at a meeting and told her he had heard that I had expressed myself in very malicious terms about him, which was why he preferred not to call on me. I lay this at the door of the noble Jonas—though it may also have been due to the prickings of an uneasy conscience. It's the same old story as with so many Russians—*une jeunesse orageuse et une vieillesse blasée*,<sup>b</sup> as one of them has put it.

Grunzig is a belletrist. And the rebellious little undergraduates in Germany are also belletrists (more *triste* than *belle*<sup>c</sup>) who are out to revolutionise the whole of literature. This explains the whole business of the *Volkszeitung* article,<sup>55</sup> for the MUTUAL ASSURANCE CO. run by these gents also comprises Grunzig. Come to that, if a chap's called Grunzig or Greulich<sup>d</sup> he'd do best to vanish without trace.

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<sup>a</sup> In two letters of 10 September 1890 Sorge informed Engels that Schewitsch had moved to Riga after the pardon by the Tsar. -<sup>b</sup> a stormy youth and a blasé old age -<sup>c</sup> more *sad* than *beautiful* -<sup>d</sup> Grunzig resembles *grunzen* (grunt), Greulich—greuel (horrid, dreadful).

I spent half of August and September in Folkestone near Dover, and this extra recuperation after the trip to North Cape has done me a power of good. I am refreshed and once more game for anything and, indeed, have an enormous amount to do—everybody looks to me now.

Much will now be clarified by the congresses—Lille, 9 October, French *parti ouvrier*<sup>a 38</sup> (ours); Calais, 13 October, ditto trades unions<sup>56</sup>; Halle, 12 October will be the most important.<sup>12</sup> I shall now tell you what is going on (*for your own information*—nothing whatever must get into the press about it):

The Brussels chaps, entrusted by the Possibilists with the convocation of *their* congress in Belgium,<sup>26</sup> invited the Liverpool TRADES UNION congress,<sup>27</sup> who accepted with alacrity. In this way the English are committed and we have been placed in something of a predicament. After consulting the people over here, therefore, I asked first the French and then the Germans<sup>b</sup> to pave the way for the amalgamation of both the 1891 congresses, always supposing it is possible to obtain acceptable terms, namely, sovereign powers for the congress—which the Possibilists refused to concede to us last time—the convocation to be the responsibility of *both* mandatories of *both* the 1889 congresses, the procedure for the sending of delegates to be determined beforehand, and a few other details. The French and Germans have agreed. Since a number of representatives of foreign parties will in any case be going to Halle, I proposed that a preparatory conference be held there with a view to settling the preliminaries.<sup>28</sup> This, too, is well in hand. Well, I suppose that every kind of asininity will nevertheless be perpetrated there; Tussy will probably be present and put a stop to some of them but the chaps are so GUSHING in international affairs, just when this attitude is least called for, that things may take a different course from the one I have set them on. At any rate I don't rule that out. But nevertheless I think it will turn out all right.

For a start, by holding our own congress in 1889,<sup>51</sup> we showed the smaller nations (the Belgians, Dutch, etc.) that we were not prepared to let them have it all their own way, and next time they'll mind their p's and q's.

Secondly, the Possibilists would appear to be in a state of complete disintegration.<sup>53</sup> Brousse, who controls the clique of Possibilist mu-

<sup>a</sup> Workers' Party - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 28-29 and 40.

nicipal councillors and, through them, the Labour Exchanges,<sup>57</sup> is openly at war with Allemane who controls the Paris trades unions and, more significantly still, is for peace with our people. Allemane wants to get into the Chamber in place of Joffrin, now defunct; Brousse wants Lavy or Gély to get in. They are so much at daggers drawn that Brousse did not dare to appear at Joffrin's funeral where Allemane acted as master of ceremonies. They have also had a row with their few supporters in the provinces. And finally their coming out in opposition to the May Day demonstration<sup>58</sup> did them enormous harm in the eyes of the Belgians and Dutch. Brousse and Allemane are also warring quite publicly in their papers.<sup>a</sup>

So favourable are the circumstances—aside from the enormous moral invigoration derived by the Germans from their electoral victory<sup>b</sup> and its consequences, namely the overthrow of Bismarck and of the Anti-Socialist Law,<sup>11</sup> and which is directly responsible for making them the paramount party in Europe—that even with faulty tactics we can hope for victory. Either we shall succeed in obtaining fusion on a rational basis, in which case the congress will be dominated by the German and French Marxists, or the Possibilists and the few who support them will be so manifestly put in the wrong that the English (the new TRADES UNIONS) will desert them; for *in that case* we should again be able to conduct in this country a campaign as in the spring of 1889, and with even better success.

I am very glad that you intend to write for the *Neue Zeit*. If you find the conditions of payment unsatisfactory—needless to say, you must be paid at American rates—don't hesitate to tell them what you want, and refer the chaps to me. The *Neue Zeit* could become an organ of great importance. Bernstein will write from this country, Lafargue from Paris, and Bebel will do the weekly survey on Germany; that he can make a brilliant job of it has already been demonstrated in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. I never formed a definite opinion about events in Germany until I read Bebel's articles on them. The lucid, objective way in which he presented the facts without allowing himself to be swayed by his own preferences was unsurpassed.

The *Sozialdemokrat* leaves a very big gap. However, before two years are out we shall be quarrelling openly with little Willie<sup>c</sup> and then we may see some fun.

<sup>a</sup> *Le Proletariat* and *Le Parti ouvrier*—<sup>b</sup> to the German Reichstag on 20 February 1890—<sup>c</sup> William II

Regards from Schorlemmer who is here, and from myself to you and your wife.

Your  
F. E.

I expect to get the 4th edition of *Capital*, Vol. I shortly, whereupon you shall instantly have a copy. The preface<sup>a</sup> might provide matter for the *Volkszeitung*.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 October 1890

In my last letter I forgot to mention the circumstance that I had given the Romm couple a letter of introduction to you, and you may have thought this improper.<sup>b</sup> It was sheer forgetfulness on my part. The Romms—I do not know him personally—frequented the best party circles in Berlin where they enjoyed everyone's confidence, and will in any case be able to tell you a great deal that is of interest about conditions there. As I have said, she is the sister-in-law of Ede Bernstein who, as editor of the *Sozialdemokrat*, has proved to be one of the best of the younger generation, and her literary work in introducing progressive Russian literature to the Germans deserves great praise.—They will have told you all about the personal side—the hows, whys and wherefores of their coming to America.

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Preface to the 4th German Edition of *Capital*, Vol. I. - <sup>b</sup> The letter of introduction has not been found.

The *Socialiste* is appearing again—I wrote and told Lafargue to send it to you.

The matter of the congress is going swimmingly. Complete unanimity between Germans and French. Guesde, Nieuwenhuis, Tussy, a Belgian and a Swiss will be going to Halle<sup>28</sup> on the 12th and will doubtless settle everything. The Possibilists are quarrelling openly—next week they will probably have a show-down.<sup>53</sup>

Nim thanks you for the *Kalender*.<sup>a</sup> She, Schorlemmer and I send our kindest regards to you both.

Your  
F. E.

We over here know nothing about blows received by Tussy — WHAT DOES IT MEAN?<sup>59</sup>

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

[London,] 5 October 1890

Dear Kautsky,

Would you kindly arrange for me to be sent another copy of the *Neue Zeit*<sup>b</sup>? It's for our friend Sam<sup>c</sup>

'On the banks of the distant Niger  
Where he hunts the lion and tiger'

<sup>a</sup> *Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender* - <sup>b</sup> *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 1. -  
<sup>c</sup> Samuel Moore

and if I get No. 1 *immediately* I shall be able to send it off next Friday.

Dietz can deduct it from my fee.

Many regards—also from Jollymeier.<sup>a</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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

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Published in English for the first  
time

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

L[ondon,] 7 October 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

*Volksblatt*<sup>b</sup> 1-4, and 7 copies of 5,<sup>c</sup> received with thanks, also your letter.

I would gladly contribute to the *Volksblatt* if time permits and opportunity arises. But just now I shall have to desist from all journalistic activity for a while until I have at last completed the third volume.<sup>d</sup>

As in the case of the *Neue Zeit* and other papers, I have to lay down two conditions: 1. that in articles signed by me, nothing be altered without my consent, 2. that fees, IF ANY, are paid into the party funds as my contribution.

The first thing to be eliminated from the *Volksblatt* is the deadly boring tone which has now pervaded it. The *Hamburger Echo* is a cosmopolitan paper by comparison, though the leading articles may be dry; otherwise its tone is urbane and smacks of a big city. The *Volksblatt*, on the other hand, is largely written as though in

<sup>a</sup> Schorlemmer's jocular name- <sup>b</sup> *Berliner Volksblatt* - <sup>c</sup> with Engels' article 'Reply to Mr Paul Ernst' - <sup>d</sup> of *Capital*

a dream and Lenchen maintains that the *Sankt Johann-Saarbrücker Zeitung* is more interesting. This impression of somnolence is what has always struck us about the paper. Them Berliners prides themselves on their wit, does they? Cor lummy!! So put a bit of life into the thing, otherwise our Political Advertiser will be competing altogether too unfairly against its Prusso-German counterpart<sup>a</sup>— and we can't after all take that for our model.

Besides the papers in question, I am sending you a *Daily Chronicle* containing the true story of the recent GAS SCARES when ONE OR TWO officious generals wanted to send 700 troops to Becton (east of the EAST END, on the Thames).<sup>60</sup> This will show you what kind of paper it is.

I am glad that you should both be settling down so quickly in Berlin.

Tussy and Guesde will probably be coming from Lille to join you.

Your  
F. E.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

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time

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 18 October 1890

Dear Sorge,

The *Kalender*<sup>b</sup> has arrived—Lenchen sends her thanks!

Have today sent you a whole parcel of odds and ends—relating to the congresses. The Possibilists are done for; Allemane, Clément, Faillet, etc., and the majority of the Paris workers have expelled

<sup>a</sup> *Deutscher Reichs-Anzeiger und Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*—<sup>b</sup> *Pionier*. *Illustrierter Volks-Kalender*

Brousse from the party and he, in turn, has expelled *them*. Hence a split.<sup>53</sup> All that remains to Brousse are the leaders who are dependent on him (because of documents about the dirty tricks perpetrated by each of them), i. e. the municipal councillors and the paid officials of the *bourse du travail*,<sup>a</sup> and — Mr Hyndman who, to my intense glee, declared his solidarity with Brousse in the last number of *Justice*.<sup>b</sup> At all events, *both* factions are now ruined and in process of total disintegration, a process we must hope will not be disturbed by intervention from our people. Our congresses, on the other hand, went off splendidly. First Lille — the French ‘Marxists’ as a party,<sup>38</sup> then Calais — the TRADES UNIONS, under their direction<sup>56</sup>; then Halle, the crowning of the whole.<sup>12</sup> Tussy was at Lille and Halle, Aveling at Lille and Calais. I have not yet heard how the international negotiations went at Halle.<sup>28</sup> At all events, throughout this week we have been *second to none* in the eyes of the world’s press.

Best wishes

Your  
F. E.

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

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Published in English for the first time

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>61</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 October 1890

My dear Löhr,

At last! This week I have been, if not busy, at all events ‘occupied’ and ‘engaged’ over head and ears. I have sorted about 4 cubic feet of old letters of Mohr’s (that is to say addressed mostly to him) of the

<sup>a</sup> Labour Exchange - <sup>b</sup> ‘The Split in France’, *Justice*, No. 353, 18 October 1890.



period 1836-64. All higgledy-piggledy in a big basket, which perhaps you may remember. Dusting, straightening, sorting — it took more than a week to put them into rough order. During all that time my room upset, covered with paperasses<sup>a</sup> in various degrees of order and disorder, so that I could neither go out nor do any other kind of work. That was No. 1. Then came the congresses<sup>62</sup> with — not work, but loss of time for me by callers, etc. And finally, Nim has been quite out of sorts all this week, went to bed on her own accord on Thursday morning and actually sent for the Doctor, — who however told her there was no reason for her to stick in bed, she might sit up at least a few hours which she does. He cannot as yet exactly make out what it is, there are symptoms (jaundice) of liver complaint, she has no appetite and is weak. However since last night she is better and in better spirits, and I hope will be well in a few days.

I hope Paul has got rid of his intimate friend inside. If he has not, it's his own fault, a dose of felix mas or couso will soon put an end to that nuisance. It will poison the brute and do him no harm.

Our congresses have come off gloriously and when we compare them with the Possibilists,<sup>53</sup> they come out in still bolder relief. *That* nuisance now will soon put a stop to itself. Only I hope that our friends will give them every inch of rope they may require and not interfere in the least by approaches or otherwise. *Il faut qu'ils cuisent dans leur propre jus.*<sup>b</sup> Any attempt on our side to meddle with them would only arrest for a time the process of disintegration and *pourriture.*<sup>c</sup> The masses are sure to come round to us by and by. And the longer we allow the leaders to kill each other, the less of them shall we have to take over on the day of reunion. If Liebknecht had not been in such a hurry with regard to the Lassalleans coming over to us, he would not have had to take over Hasselmann and others who had to be kicked out six months afterwards.<sup>63</sup> And now in France, as then in Germany, the whole lot of the leaders are rotten to the core.

To my great surprise and relief in last *Justice* Hyndman declares for Brousse<sup>d</sup>! What a piece of good luck. I was beginning to be afraid I might get into a position where Hyndman would have to be taken on again as at least passively a friend, whereas I like him 10,000 times better as an enemy.

<sup>a</sup> wretched scraps of paper - <sup>b</sup> Let them stew in their own juice. - <sup>c</sup> decay - <sup>d</sup> 'The Split in France', *Justice*, No. 353, 18 October 1890.

Paul now *may* be right: the Possibilists *may* abstain again from their own Congress.<sup>64</sup> The date and place appear to have been fixed at Halle<sup>28</sup>: Brussels, 16 August 1891. This is all I know. To-morrow I shall hear it all from Tussy who left Halle yesterday, her return ticket to Cologne expiring on that day.<sup>65</sup>

I am glad Fischer has been put on the *Parteivorstand*.<sup>a</sup> You have seen him here. He is very intelligent, very active, revolutionary, *absolutely anti-philistine*, and more international in his ways and manners than most Germans. Tussy writes that after the Lille Congress,<sup>38</sup> the German Reichstag men, a great portion of them, at least, made a rather philistine impression upon her. I fully expected that. As our M. P. s are not paid, we cannot get always the best men, but must accept from those in a relatively bourgeois position the *least bad*. Therefore our masses are far better than the *fraction*. The latter may congratulate themselves that they had such asses and shady fellows (many of them probably *mouchards*<sup>b</sup>) for an opposition.<sup>66</sup> If they should rebel against Bebel, Singer and Fischer, they will have to be acted against—but I am sure Bebel will always be strong enough to cow them.

Paul *est bien naïf avec ses questions sur Bebel et le 'Gil Blas'*. *Il connaît Bebel et il connaît le 'Gil Blas'; est-ce qu'il ne se connaîtrait plus soi-même?*<sup>c</sup> At any rate I shall send the '*Gil Blas*' *fortement souligné*<sup>d</sup> to Bebel and tell him to disown. Such impudent lying exceeds all measure, even for *Gil Blas*.<sup>67</sup>

Tussy is quite in love with the Lille delegates, and indeed they seem to have been a regular élite, and shown the very qualities which it has been the fashion of late in France to cry down because the Germans showed them to a higher degree, though up to 1870 it had been the regular thing to claim discipline, *esprit d'organisation et action combinée* as *des qualités tout ce qu'il y a de plus françaises*.<sup>e</sup> I was very much interested in Paul's account of these delegates<sup>68</sup> and shall take care that it gets into the English and German Press. The great advantage of the French is that they are bred and born in a revolutionary medium. Both English and Germans lack that advantage and are moreover brought up in the religion of the bourgeoisie—protestantism. That

<sup>a</sup> Party Executive - <sup>b</sup> police spies - <sup>c</sup> Paul is very naive with his questions about Bebel and *Gil Blas*. He knows Bebel and also *Gil Blas*; is it that he does not know himself better? - <sup>d</sup> specially underlined - <sup>e</sup> this spirit of organisation and collective action as the qualities which are French to the extreme

gives to their habits, manners and customs a *spiessbürgerlichen Anstrich*<sup>a</sup> which they have to shake off by going abroad, especially to France. Look at the redaction of the Lille and the Halle resolutions!

That is the great progress: we cannot now do without any one of the three. Only the Belgians and the Swiss we could very well spare.

Love from Nim and yours affectionately

F. E.

As Paul has said so much in the *Neue Zeit*<sup>b</sup> about the fleets constructed by Mohr for you girls when you were children, I enclose him the, probably, last specimen extant of Mohr's naval architecture.

First published, in German, in *Einheit*,  
Nr. 11, Berlin, 1955

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN<sup>c</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 October [1890]

Tussy arrived home yesterday morning. Adler<sup>d</sup> had told her that Louise Kautsky had come back from Berchtesgaden in the best of spirits, was looking 10 years younger and proving a tremendous success. Tussy was very full of the congress<sup>12</sup>; the masses, she said, were first-rate but the parliamentary group for the most part still philistine—Bebel had been greatly alarmed upon hearing of the electoral victories of certain of their number and had at once written to say that, while the damage had already been done, it must not be allowed to

<sup>a</sup> philistine tinge - <sup>b</sup> P. Lafargue, 'Karl Marx. Persönliche Erinnerungen', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 1-2. - <sup>c</sup> This letter is a postscript to Eleanor Marx-Aveling's letter to Engels of 16 October 1890 from Halle, which he sent to Bernstein. -

<sup>d</sup> Victor Adler

happen again. Provided this gang follows Bebel's lead, things will still be all right.

Your  
F. E.

I am sending what remains of the reports, amongst them a Hamburg paper, as I don't know whether you have already got the Berlin report about the 14th of October.<sup>a</sup>

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time

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT <sup>69</sup>

IN BERLIN

L[ondon,] 25 October 1890

I am sending you, addressed to your office, today's *Justice* containing an article by A.S. Headingley (alias Adolphe Smith), in which the lot of you, and yourself in particular, are branded Possibilists.<sup>b</sup> The writer is an Englishman born in Paris, *litteratus vulgarissimus*, who was in Paris at the time of the Commune and afterwards came to this country with a MOVING PANORAMA of Paris and the Commune; as a speculation this was a total flop, something for which he never forgave us, for he had believed that the General Council of the International would drum up a nightly audience for him. He therefore became an intimate of the *branche française*<sup>70</sup> in which all the *mouchards*<sup>c</sup> and scoundrels—Vésinier, Caria, etc.,—foregathered to hatch plots and, with the help of French *fonds secrets*, published newspapers in which to attack the General Council—*des calomnies ordurières*.<sup>d</sup> For the past eight years or so he has been Brousse's principal agent here and the intermediary between him, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation

<sup>a</sup> 'Der Partei-Kongreß', *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 239, 14 October 1890.-

<sup>b</sup> A.S. Headingley, 'French and German Possibilists', *Justice*, No. 354, 25 October 1890.-<sup>c</sup> police spies.-<sup>d</sup> filthy calumnies

here,<sup>29</sup> and sundry Belgians (he is resident interpreter at the Possibilists' and miners' international congresses). The evil intent will be obvious to you, as will the stupidity—these chaps have utterly failed to understand the Halle resolution<sup>28</sup> and believe that the Possibilists, who are killing themselves off in France, can be salvaged in Germany. POOR FELLOWS!

Your  
F. E.

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time

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT<sup>71</sup>

IN BERLIN

London, 27 October 1890

Dear Schmidt,

I am taking advantage of this, the first free time I have had, to answer you letter. I think you would be very well advised to accept the post in Zurich.<sup>72</sup> At any rate you'll be able to learn a good deal about economics there, especially if you bear in mind that Zurich is, after all, only a third-rate financial and speculative market and hence that the impressions to be gained there will be dulled, if not deliberately distorted, these being but reflections seen at second or third remove. But you will learn how the machinery works in practice and will be obliged to follow at first hand the stock market reports from London, New York, Paris, Berlin and Vienna, and thus the world market—in its reflection as a money and stock market—will be revealed to you. Economics, politics, etc., are reflected as objects are in the human eye—they pass through a converging lens and are therefore seen the wrong way up, standing on their heads. Except that there is no nervous apparatus to set them on their feet again for the benefit of the

imagination. Your money market man sees the trend of industry and of the world market merely in the inverted reflection of the money and stock markets and thus for him effect becomes cause. I observed this back in the 40s in Manchester<sup>73</sup>; as a guide to industrial progress and its periodical peaks and troughs, the London stock market reports were absolutely useless, since the gentlemen sought to explain everything in terms of money market crises, though these were themselves for the most part little more than symptoms. At that time they were concerned to explain away industrial crises by attributing them to temporary overproduction and thus the thing also had a tendentious aspect which invited distortion. This is a point which has now ceased to apply — once and for all, at any rate so far as we are concerned, and it is, moreover, a fact that the money market may also have its own crises in which actual industrial disturbances play only a subordinate role, if any at all, and in this sphere there is much to be ascertained and investigated, particularly in regard to the history of the last 20 years.

Where there is division of labour on a social scale, the various sections become mutually independent. Production is, in the final analysis, the decisive factor. But as soon as trade in products becomes independent of actual production, the former follows a trend of its own which is, by and large, undoubtedly dictated by production but, in specific cases and within the framework of that general dependence, does in turn obey laws of its own, laws inherent in the nature of this new factor; it is a trend having its own phases and reacting in turn on the trend of production. The discovery of America was due to the gold famine which had already driven the Portuguese to Africa (cf. Soetbeer's *Edelmetall-Produktion*), because the vast expansion of European industry and the corresponding growth in trade in the 14th and 15th centuries called for more means of exchange than Germany — the main source of silver from 1450 to 1550 — was able to provide. The conquest of India by the Portuguese, Dutch and British between 1500 and 1800 had as its aim *import from* India and no one thought of sending *exports* there. And yet how tremendous were the repercussions upon industry of these discoveries and conquests carried out solely in the interests of trade — it was only the need to *export to* those countries which created and developed large-scale industry.

It is the same with the money market. Once trade in money becomes divorced from trade in commodities, it will — under certain circumstances determined by production and by the trade in commodi-

ties and within those limits—develop in its own way subject to the special laws and distinctive phases determined by its own nature. If, in addition and in the course of this further development, the trade in money expands to comprise trade in securities, the said securities being not simply government paper, but also the shares of industrial and commercial concerns, i. e. if the trade in money gains direct control of a section of the production by which it is largely dominated, then the reaction of the trade in money on production will be even stronger and more complex. The traders in money own railways, mines, foundries, etc. These means of production assume a twofold aspect: They must be run, now in accordance with the immediate interests of production, now in accordance with the needs of the shareholders in so far as these are traders in money. The most striking example of this is the North American railroads, the running of which is entirely dependent on the day-to-day stock market operations of a Jay Gould, Vanderbilt, etc., which have nothing whatever to do with any particular railroad or its interests *qua*<sup>a</sup> means of transport. And even here in England the railway companies have for decades been fighting over the boundary areas separating this concern or that—struggles in which a vast amount of money has been squandered, not in the interests of production and transport, but solely out of a rivalry which for the most part had but one purpose, namely to facilitate the stock market operations of the traders in money who held the shares.

With these few remarks about my view of the relationship of production to the trade in commodities and of both to the trade in money, I have already dealt in the main with your questions about historical materialism generally.<sup>74</sup> The subject is best approached from the standpoint of the division of labour. Society engenders certain common functions which it cannot do without. Those nominated for this purpose form a new branch of the division of labour *within society*. They thereby acquire interests of their own vis-à-vis, amongst others, their mandatories and become independent of them—and so you have the state. From then on the process is much the same as in the trade in commodities and, later, the trade in money—while the new independent power must, it is true, generally follow the trend of production, it will also, by virtue of its inherent independence, i. e. a relative independence formerly conferred upon it and which it has

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<sup>a</sup> as

gradually enlarged, react in turn upon the conditions and the course of production. It is the interaction of two unequal forces, of the economic trend on the one hand and the new political power which is striving for the greatest possible independence and which, having once been installed, assumes a trend of its own, on the other. By and large, the economic trend will predominate but it must also be reacted upon by the political trend which it has itself induced and which has been endowed with relative independence—the trend of, on the one hand, state power and, on the other, of the simultaneously engendered opposition. Just as the trend of the industrial market is largely reflected in the money market, given the provisos set out above, but, of course, the *wrong way up*, the struggle between the already extant and warring classes is reflected in the struggle between government and opposition, and again the wrong way up; it is no longer reflected directly but indirectly, not as a class struggle but as a struggle over political principles, and in so distorted a form that it has taken us a thousand years to sort it out again.

The government may react to economic developments in three ways: it can take the same direction, in which case things go faster; it may take a contrary one, in which case, as conditions are today and in any of the larger nations, it will eventually come to grief, or it may block certain lines of economic development and lay down others—which will ultimately amount to the same as one of the two foregoing instances. But it is obvious that, in instances 2 and 3, political power can wreak havoc with economic development and cause energy and materials to be squandered on a vast scale.

Then again there is the instance of the seizure and brutal destruction of economic resources which, in earlier days and in certain circumstances, could ruin economic development both locally and nationally. Today, this would mostly have the opposite effect, at least where the larger nations are concerned. In the long run the vanquished may have more to gain economically, politically and morally than, on occasion, the victor.

It is much the same in the case of the law: As soon as the new division of labour becomes necessary and creates professional lawyers, yet another new, independent field is opened up which, for all its general dependence on production and trade, is nevertheless capable of reacting in its own way to those spheres. In a modern state not only must the law correspond to the general economic situation and be its expression, it must *of itself* constitute a *coherent* expression that does not,



by reason of internal contradictions, give itself the lie. And to achieve this, the fidelity with which economic conditions are reflected is increasingly thrown to the winds. All the more so for the rarity with which a statute book is the harsh, unmitigated, unadulterated expression of the domination of one class: this of itself would be contrary to the 'concept of law'. The pure, logical concept of law of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1792-96 had already been adulterated in many respects even in the Code Napoléon<sup>75</sup> and, in so far as it was embodied therein, has had to be constantly subjected to all manner of modifications as a result of the growing power of the proletariat. Not that this has prevented the Code Napoléon from being the statute book on which all new codifications in every part of the world are based. Thus the course of the 'law's development' has largely consisted simply in this: Firstly, the attempt to eliminate the contradictions arising from the direct translation of economic conditions into legal principles and to establish an harmonious legal system and, secondly, the fact that the influence and pressure of further economic developments repeatedly disrupt that system, involving it in fresh contradictions (at this stage I am speaking only of civil law).

The reflection of economic conditions as legal principles is likewise necessarily one that presents the image the wrong way up; it does so without the beholder being aware of it; the lawyer imagines he is dealing in a priori principles whereas they are, in fact, no more than economic reflections — and thus the whole thing is the wrong way up. And it seems to me self-evident that this inversion which, in as much as it is not recognised, constitutes what we call an *ideological view*, reacts in its turn on the economic base and may, within certain limits, modify the same. The basis of the law of inheritance, assuming the family to have attained the same stage of development, is an economic one. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to prove that, for instance, absolute testamentary freedom in England and the strict limits imposed thereon in France are in every respect of economic origin. But both, in a very significant way, react on the economy in that they influence the distribution of wealth.

Now as regards the more rarefied ideological fields such as religion, philosophy, etc.; these have a prehistorical fund of what today would be termed rubbish which was taken over lock, stock and barrel by the historical period. In so far as these various false conceptions of nature, of the nature of man, of spirits, magic forces, etc., are economically based, it is only in a negative sense; false conceptions of nature are the

corollary of the low level of economic development in the prehistorical period, but also on occasion its precondition if not its actual cause. And even if economic necessity may have provided the main incentive for progress in natural science and done so to an increasing extent, it would be pedantic to seek economic causes for all this primitive rubbish. The history of science is the history of the gradual elimination of that rubbish and/or its replacement by new, if progressively less ridiculous, rubbish. The people responsible for this in turn belong to special spheres of the division of labour and see themselves as working in an independent field. And to the extent that they constitute an independent group within the social division of labour, what they produce, including their errors, exerts a reciprocal influence on social development as a whole and even on economic development. But for all that, they are themselves in their turn subject to the dominant influence of economic development. In philosophy, for example, this is most easily demonstrated in respect of the bourgeois period. Hobbes was the first modern materialist (in the 18th-century sense), but an absolutist at a time when, throughout Europe, absolute monarchy was in its heyday and, in England, was embarking on a struggle with the populace. In religion as in politics, Locke was the product of the class compromise of 1688.<sup>76</sup> The English deists<sup>77</sup> and their more logical successors, the French materialists, were the true philosophers of the bourgeoisie—and, in the case of the French, even of the bourgeois revolution. German philosophy, from Kant to Hegel, is permeated by the German philistine—now in a positive, now in a negative, sense. But in every epoch philosophy, as a definite sphere of the division of labour, presupposes a definite fund of ideas inherited from its predecessors and from which it takes its departure. And that is why economically backward countries can nevertheless play first fiddle where philosophy is concerned—France in the 18th century as compared with England, upon whose philosophy the French based themselves and, later on, Germany as compared with both. But in France as in Germany, philosophy, like the general flowering of literature at that time, was also the result of growing economic prosperity. I am in no doubt about the ultimate supremacy of economic development over these fields also, but it will come about within the terms laid down by each individual field; in philosophy, for instance, by the operation of economic influences (which again for the most part operate

only in their political, etc., guise) on extant philosophical material handed down by predecessors. Here, political economy creates nothing *a novo*,<sup>a</sup> but determines the way in which the existing fund of ideas changes and develops, and this too is done for the most part indirectly, since it is its political, legal and moral reflections which exert the greatest immediate influence on philosophy.

As for religion, I have said all that is necessary in the last chapter of Feuerbach.<sup>b</sup>

So if Barth opines that we deny that the political, etc., reflections of the economic trend have any effect whatsoever on that trend itself, he is simply tilting at windmills. After all, he only has to look at Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*<sup>c</sup> which is devoted almost exclusively to the *particular* role played by political struggles and events—needless to say within the framework of their *general* dependence on economic conditions. Or again at *Capital*, e.g. the section on the working day where legislation, which is, after all, a political act, appears in such an uncompromising light. Or at the section on the history of the bourgeoisie (Chapter 24).<sup>78</sup> Otherwise why should we be fighting for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically powerless? Might (i.e. state power) is also an economic force!

But I have no time at present to criticise the book.<sup>d</sup> The third volume<sup>e</sup> has got to come out first and in any case I believe that e.g. Bernstein is also perfectly capable of attending to it.

What all these gentlemen lack is dialectics. All they ever see is cause on the one hand and effect on the other. But what they fail to see is that this is an empty abstraction, that in the real world such metaphysically polar opposites exist only in a crisis, that instead the whole great process takes place solely and entirely in the form of interplay—if of very unequal forces of which the economic trend is by far the strongest, the oldest and the most vital—and that here nothing is absolute and everything relative. So far as they are concerned, Hegel might never have existed.

As regards the rumpus in the party, I was forcibly dragged into it by the gentlemen of the opposition and thus had no choice. Mr Ernst's conduct vis-à-vis myself is quite indescribable unless I call it that of a schoolboy.<sup>79</sup> I am sorry if he's a sick man and forced to write for his

<sup>a</sup> from scratch - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*. - <sup>c</sup> *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - <sup>d</sup> P. Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann. Ein kritischer Versuch*. - <sup>e</sup> of *Capital*

living. But if someone has an imagination so vivid that he can't read a line without inferring the opposite of what it says, he should apply his imagination to spheres other than socialism which is no figment. He should write novels, plays, art criticism and the like, when all he will harm is bourgeois culture, benefiting us in the process. He might then acquire sufficient maturity to be able to achieve something in our field also. Never before have I seen such a rigmarole of half-baked material and utter rubbish as has been dished out by the said opposition. And these callow lads, who are blind to everything but their own boundless egotism, propose to dictate party tactics. I have learnt more from a single one of Bebel's articles in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*<sup>a</sup> than from all the rigmarole these chaps have produced. And they imagine they are worth more than that clear-sighted man who has such an admirably correct grasp of circumstances and depicts them so graphically and succinctly. They are all of them failed belletrists, and even a successful belletrist is a pretty obnoxious animal.

I should be sorry were the *Volks-Tribüne* to succumb. Under your editorship it has shown that something might well be achieved by a weekly which devotes more space to theory than to news—and I am well aware what sort of contributors you have! But I must say that, now that the *Neue Zeit* has become a weekly, it's somewhat doubtful whether yours can be kept going. At all events, you will be glad to cast off the joys and sorrows of editorship and have time for something other than purely journalistic tasks. And even in Berlin the immediate future will be dominated by all the various reverberations of the late rumpus, and there'll be nothing to gain for anyone by being mixed up in it.

Your printing the passage from my letter did no harm,<sup>80</sup> but that sort of thing is best avoided. In a letter, one writes from memory and at speed, without looking anything up, etc., and is thus always liable to let slip some expression which may well be seized on by one of those people we Rhinelanders describe as a *Korinthenscheisser*,<sup>b</sup> and God knows what rubbish might not come of it.

<sup>a</sup> [A. Bebel,] 'Berlin, 7. Oktober. Der 30. September bezeichnete den glorreichen Abschluß einer geschichtlichen Epoche...', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 41, 10 October 1890.-

<sup>b</sup> i. e. someone who trivialises everything

Many thanks for your anticipatory congratulations on my 70th birthday which is still a month ahead. So far I am still very well except that I still have to spare my eyes and am not allowed to write by gaslight. Let's hope I remain so.

Now I must close.

With warm regards,

Yours,  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE <sup>25</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 November 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Poor Nim is very ill. For some time past it would seem that there has been a recurrence of menstruation, and three weeks ago she suffered an appreciable loss of blood. Dr Read, whom we consulted, thought her complexion very sallow, although he found no trace of bile in her urine—which led him to suspect the possibility of an uterine tumour, but he didn't examine her manually. She then began to feel pains in the left groin when her faeces passed through the colon towards the sigmoid flexure—these subsided again and I thought she was on the road to recovery until she began to suffer intense pain in her left foot. During all this time a total lack of appetite, severe thirst (she has been living on milk and beef-tea, no solid food). The pain in the left foot culminated in a thrombosis in a vein of the calf. It appeared to be taking its natural course, the pain diminished and this morning she woke up after a good night, somewhat refreshed in appearance, if not actually cheerful. However between 11 and midday

a change came over her and Read found she had a temperature of 104°F. = 40°C., although the thermometer had been in her mouth for only a minute and a half. She has fallen, as it were, half asleep, her mental faculties are impaired and her pulse is rapid and feverish, consistent with her temperature. In fact Read suspects that, given the cachectic state of her blood (more or less indicated by the previous symptoms), the coagulated blood is decomposing and poisoning the live blood. He hopes to return here this afternoon with Heath of the Gower Street Hospital for a consultation.

That's all I can tell you just now. If Heath turns up, I shall let you know the result.

Give Laura a kiss from me.

Yours ever,

F. E.

Consultation with a Mr Packard, the only man who could be found. He thinks there has been a diffuse suppuration in the foot causing septicaemia. The method of fomentation has been changed and 4 grains = 4/15 gramme of quinine administered. The uterus was examined after a fashion, but at this stage nothing has been discovered save for a small slightly suspect spot by the orifice, to which, however, no importance is attached 'SO FAR'. Naturally there is always the possibility of an embolism and with it the possibility of further complications, pulmonary and otherwise. But the chap takes a more 'HOPEFUL' view of the case than Read does.

If there is any change I shall write again tomorrow.

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

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE <sup>81</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 5 November 1890

Today I have some sad news to pass on to you. My good, dear, loyal Lenchen fell peacefully asleep yesterday afternoon after a short and for the most part painless illness. We had spent seven happy years together in this house. We were the only two left of the old guard of the days before 1848. Now here I am, once again on my own. If Marx was able to work in peace over a period of many years as I have during the past seven, it was largely thanks to her. How I shall manage now I do not know. Another thing I shall sorely miss is her marvelously tactful advice in party matters. Cordial regards to your wife; would you please pass on this news to the Schlüters.

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

Printed according to the original

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

[London,] 5 November 1890

Our dear, good Nimmy fell peacefully asleep yesterday afternoon at half past two. She had been ill for only a short time and suffered little pain—none towards the end.

Your  
F. E.

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

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

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ENGELS TO LOUISE KAUTSKY<sup>82</sup>

IN VIENNA

[London, 9 November 1890]

...What I have been through these many days, how terribly bleak and desolate life has seemed and still seems to me, I need not tell you. And then came the question—what now? Whereupon, my dear Louise, an image, alive and comforting, appeared before my eyes, to remain there night and day, and that image was you. Then, like Nimmy, I said: 'Oh, if only I could have Louise here!' But I didn't dare to think that it might come true. ...No matter what happens, I should not have had a moment's peace had I not put this question to you first of all and straight away... Whoever keeps house for me will have to conform to local customs whereby a lady may not undertake any MANUAL SERVICES. This might even be forced upon me, and



I should most certainly be compelled to have recourse to someone who was not a member of our party... So all you would have to do is supervise things, and the rest of the time you'd be free to do anything you liked...

In that case we could talk over the whole matter here and either remain together as good friends or part company as good friends. Well, it's for you to decide. Think the matter over, discuss it with Adler.<sup>a</sup> If, as I fear, this day-dream of mine cannot be realised, or if you should think that the drawbacks and vexations would, so far as you are concerned, outweigh the advantages and pleasures, then let me know without beating about the bush. I am far too fond of you to want you to make sacrifices for my sake... And for that very reason I would beg you not to make any such sacrifice and would request Adler through you to advise you against so doing. You are young and have a splendid future in store. In three weeks' time I shall be seventy and have only a short while left to live. A young and hopeful existence ought not to be sacrificed to those few remaining years. For after all, I am still strong enough to make shift for myself...

With undying love

First published in: G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographie*, Bd. 2, Haag, 1934

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## ENGELS TO ADOLF RIEFER <sup>83</sup>

IN SAARBURG, LORRAINE

London, 12 November 1890  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

To Mr Adolf Riefer in Saarburg, Lorraine

I write today to inform you of the sad news that your aunt, Miss Helene Demuth, my friend of many years who had lived in my house for the last seven, passed away peacefully and without pain on the 4th

<sup>a</sup> Victor Adler

of this month after a short illness. We had been friends since 1845 and when, after the death of my friend Karl Marx, she did me the honour and pleasure of taking charge of my household, it marked for me the beginning of many years of calm and contentment, indeed, of domestic happiness such as had not been vouchsafed me since the death of my wife in 1878. But all that has now gone and gone for ever. We laid her to rest on Friday, 7 November in the same grave as that in which Marx and Mrs Marx are buried. Together with myself and Marx's daughters, thousands of friends from every nation mourn her loss, in the prairies of America as in the political prisons of Siberia and in all the countries of Europe.

The deceased made a will in which she named as her sole heir Frederick Lewis, the son of a deceased friend, whom she had adopted when he was still quite small and whom she gradually brought up to be a good and industrious mechanic. The latter, out of gratitude and with her permission, assumed the name Demuth a long time ago and he is also so named in the will. This is in the hands of the solicitor who attended to the legal formalities and who has, in addition, declared it to be fully valid, so that towards the end of this week it will be my duty to hand over the entire estate to the heir. After deduction of all expenses it will amount in money to about forty pounds sterling, on top of which there are clothes etc. of comparatively little value. Should you or any other relatives wish to have a small memento, perhaps you would be so good as to inform me, whereupon I shall lose no time in attending to the matter.

Enclosed in translation is a copy of the will.

Yours very truly,

Fr. Engels

Copy of the will

\* I Helen Demuth of 122 Regent's Park Road declare this to be my last will. I leave all my monies, effects and other property to Frederick Lewis Demuth of 25 Gransden Avenue, London Lane, Hackney, E., and being too weak bodily to affix my name have affixed hereto my mark in the presence of the undersigned witnesses. At 122

Regent's Park Road this fourth day of November 1890, the above having been read to me and perfectly understood by me

Helen Demuth

In the presence of Frederick Engels of 122 Regent's Park Road  
Eleanor Marx Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane  
Edward Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane \*<sup>a</sup>

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time

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## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 15 November 1890  
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Adler,

Many thanks for your letter. The Avelings have just arrived with a telegram—'SEND MONEY'—from Louise who was proposing to leave Vienna today.<sup>b</sup> Aveling at once sent her a cheque for ten pounds. But since I fear that it won't be paid before it has been referred back, which takes time, I thought it safer to take out a money order for ten pounds over here, and to do this *in your name*, since Louise may already have left by the time it arrives; over here it has been taken out in the name of Edward Aveling. According to what the Post Office says, we are to retain the order itself over here, as the money will be paid to you at your home address which was the one we gave.

<sup>a</sup> In the original this is followed by the German translation of the will. -<sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 68-69.

Should Louise have already left, please keep the money at our disposal until further notice.

Your  
F. Engels

Aveling has just come back—it's altogether too late, since orders are not issued after 4 o'clock on Saturdays!!

So we shall send it on Monday.

First published in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*. Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

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Published in English for the first time

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## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 17 November 1890

Dear Adler,

You will have had my letter written on Saturday.<sup>a</sup> Meanwhile the Avelings have had a telegram from Louise (last night at about 11 o'clock): 'THURSDAY MORNING VICTORIA.' Well, this might mean THURSDAY, but also TUESDAY. That is the least of our problems however. We know nothing whatever about the latest routes for through express trains from Vienna, but only that it's possible to come via Calais, Ostend or Flushing. On the journey via Calais or Ostend the trains arrive at about 5 a. m., and via Flushing at about 8 a. m. I therefore telegraphed you (being uncertain whether or not Louise had already left) shortly before four o'clock: 'Is Louise travelling via Flushing, Ostend or Calais, reply paid (12 words).' This is to explain what has happened, which might otherwise strike you as puzzling and odd.

Since Louise has now definitely announced her arrival here, no

<sup>a</sup> See previous letter.

purpose would be served by sending another ten pounds per money order and this has consequently not been done.

Your  
F. Engels

First published in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*. Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

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40

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 26 November 1890

Dear Sorge,

Since the time I informed you of the death of my good Lenchen,<sup>a</sup> Louise Kautsky—the one who's divorced, not No. II—has come to live with me for a time and, with her, a little sunshine has returned. She is a quite marvellous woman and Kautsky must have been out of his senses when he divorced her.

Good wishes for my 70th birthday the day after tomorrow are already coming in and now Singer, Bebel and Liebknecht have announced their intention of visiting me. I wish the business was all over; I'm far from being in a birthday mood, and on top of that there's all the unnecessary FUSS which I cannot abide even at the best of times. And after all, I am, to a large extent, simply the chap who is reaping what Marx has sown in the way of fame.

The Halle Congress<sup>12</sup> went off brilliantly. Tussy was there and was quite delighted with the delegates but not so much with the parliamentary group,<sup>b</sup> which includes a fair number of philistines. But steps have been taken to ensure that this shouldn't happen again at the next elections. Meanwhile the chaps in the Reichstag are observ-

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 67. -<sup>b</sup> the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag

ing better discipline than might have been hoped, and are keeping their mouths shut, otherwise they'd have been bound to make fools of themselves.

Our campaign for a joint congress in 1891 was wholly successful. You will have read about the resolutions passed at the international conference at Halle<sup>28</sup>—a congress to be held in Brussels, on the understanding that the congress has full sovereignty. That is all we wanted, and the Belgian Anseele himself proposed that the Swiss *and* the Belgians, the mandatories of *both* the 1889 congresses,<sup>26</sup> should jointly send out the convocation. Since, moreover, the Possibilists are hopelessly divided amongst themselves and openly engaged in internecine strife,<sup>53</sup> and since the collapse of Parisian Boulangism will mean that the socialist elements by whom it was previously favoured will accrue to *us* and not to the Possibilists, we shall, so to speak, WALK OVER THE COURSE. Hyndman has had the abysmal stupidity to join forces with the noble Brousse against Allemane,<sup>a</sup> which again will do him an enormous amount of harm.

The Germans would certainly be glad to get in touch with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR<sup>84</sup>; I shall talk to the chaps over here and bring influence to bear on Fischer who's a member of the Party Executive. Fischer is one of our best men, highly intelligent, can read French and English, and is acquainted with the movement in both countries. He will counterbalance the one-sided influence exerted by Liebknecht in international affairs.

You have made an excellent début in the *Neue Zeit*<sup>85</sup>; just carry on as you are and you will soon get into the way of writing again. The fee is about twice what is paid to contributors over here (5 marks a page); once you've got back into your stride and are able to work faster, it won't seem so small to you. I'd like to see further evidence in support of what Schlüter told you. That I and others are paid 5 marks a page by the *Neue Zeit*, and that this is the customary fee in Germany, is a fact. I have myself written and told Kautsky<sup>b</sup> that you must be offered more. Schlüter is apt to trot out remarks without really thinking what he's saying. By American standards, of course, \$2 a page isn't much and, if you think you ought to be paid American rates, you are quite right to ask for them. But Kautsky, who is certainly doing all he can for you, is also obliged to consider Dietz, who is paymaster,

<sup>a</sup> Engels has in mind the editorial 'The Split in France' in *Justice*, No. 353, 18 October 1890. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 5.

and I wouldn't like it if such considerations were to be responsible for one of the *Volkszeitung* or *Sozialist* people gaining admission to the *Neue Zeit*. Think the matter over again and, if you are intent on getting a rise, write and tell me and I'll approach Kautsky about it; that would leave all doors open.

Rosenberg & Co. had already pronounced a boycott against me and if the Nationalists now do the same,<sup>86</sup> it only serves me right. Why can't I give up the class struggle? In this country Marx and I are suffering just the same fate at the hands of the Fabians<sup>87</sup> who also wish to see the emancipation of the workers brought about by the 'heddicated'.<sup>a</sup>

I shall save up the articles about George in the *Labor Standard*<sup>b</sup> and read them at my leisure, of which I have so far had none.<sup>88</sup> You have no idea of the mass of papers, pamphlets, etc., that people send me.

Volume One of *Capital* has been brought out in Polish by Kasproicz of Leipzig and has been sent me from Warsaw.<sup>c</sup>

Your  
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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Published in English for the first time

<sup>a</sup> In the original: *jebıldeten* (Berlin dialect). - <sup>b</sup> *Paterson Labor Standard* - <sup>c</sup> *Kapital. Krytyka ekonomii politycznej*. Tom I.

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 December 1890

My dear Laura,

*Enfin!*<sup>a</sup> I have got that 70th birthday behind me. On Thursday Bebel, Liebknecht, and Singer arrived. On Friday letters and telegrams *en masse*, the latter from Berlin (3), Vienna (3), Paris (Roumanian students and Frankel), Berne (*Russische Sozialdemokraten*), Leipzig *Stadt und Land*,<sup>b</sup> Bochum (*Klassenbewusste Bergleute*<sup>c</sup>—miners), Stuttgart (*Sozialdemokraten*, Württemberg's), Fürth, Höchst (Paulis), London (*Arbeiterverein*<sup>d</sup>),<sup>89</sup> Hamburg. The fraction<sup>e</sup> sent me a splendid album with their 35 portraits, Dietz a book of photos of some excellent Munich pictures, the Solingers a knife with inscription, etc., etc. *Enfin j'étais écrasé.*<sup>f</sup> Well, in the evening we had the whole lot here, embellished by and bye by little Oswald and four delegates from the *Arbeiterverein* (one of whom speechless drunk) and we kept it up till half past three in the morning and drank, besides claret, 16 bottles of champagne—the morning we had had 12 dozen oysters. So you see I did my best to show that I was still alive and kicking.

But it's a good job. One can celebrate one's 70th birthday only once. It will take me a devil of a time to reply to all those letters—even those I *must* reply to personally. That is the prose following upon the poetry of life, and to break my fall I begin by writing the only one I can write with true pleasure—this one to you.

Louise Kautsky came on the Tuesday after you left and has since then made me extremely comfortable. As to the future, we have not yet talked about it. I want her to see how things will settle down before asking her to come to a definite resolution. We are getting on very well with Pumps; my lecture and a few hints, repeated later on, that her position in my house depends very much upon her own behaviour, seem to have had some effect. We'll hope it may last.

Bebel looks rather delicate and a deal older than when I last saw him. Singer too is getting gray, and of course Liebknecht too, though

<sup>a</sup> At last! - <sup>b</sup> town and country - <sup>c</sup> class-conscious miners - <sup>d</sup> workers' society - <sup>e</sup> the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag - <sup>f</sup> In a word, I was overwhelmed.



he looks fat and *content de lui-même*<sup>a</sup>; he complains awfully about the few capacities among the younger generation, and the impossibility consequently of getting good men for his paper,<sup>b</sup> but otherwise he is very well satisfied with things in general and the Berliners in particular. To-morrow the Reichstag opens, and we had the greatest trouble to keep Singer and Bebel here to meet Burns, Cunninghame-Graham, Thorne and others at Tussy's. And now we *have* kept them here, a damnable fog is setting in (2 p.m.) which even prevents me from writing and may, if not dispersed in time, nullify the whole intended international conference.<sup>90</sup>

Interrupted by fog — forbidden to write by the gaslight — *donc*,<sup>c</sup> conclusion.

Ever yours,

F. Engels

*Dites à Mémé que mon nase se porte parfaitement à l'extérieur mais qu'à l'intérieur il y a un rhume de cerveau.*<sup>d</sup>

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

42

ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS<sup>91</sup>

IN THE HAGUE

London, 3 December 1890

Dear Comrade,

My warmest thanks for the good wishes you sent me on my seventieth birthday, now happily surmounted. I welcome these as tendered both in your own name and in that of the Dutch Labour Party<sup>92</sup> and wish the latter the best possible progress and you yourself the health and strength that will enable you to fulfil the important role that has fallen to you. And I would request you to act as interpreter

<sup>a</sup> pleased with himself - <sup>b</sup> *Berliner Volksblatt* - <sup>c</sup> therefore - <sup>d</sup> Tell Mémé that outwardly my nose looks perfect, but there's a cold inside.

in conveying these my thanks and good wishes to the comrades over there.<sup>a</sup>

As regards your query about buying your son out of military service there would, I think, be nothing improper about this in principle. It is—generally speaking—just as permissible for us to make use of the advantages conceded by the present-day state to the privileged members of society, as it is for us to make use of the products<sup>b</sup> of others, to live indirectly on the exploitation of others, as indeed we *must* in so far as we are not ourselves economically productive. If the labour party benefits as a result, I would even regard it as a duty. Moreover, the class from which *remplaçants*<sup>c</sup> are recruited is not, as a rule, the working class proper, but that stratum which already overlaps to a large extent with the lumpenproletariat. And if one of the latter sells himself into the army for a few years, it does at least mean that an unemployed man has found himself a berth.

What calls for particular consideration, however, is the impression such a course of action on your part might make on your party comrades and, further, on the vast mass of workers who still remain outside the party—whether the matter would be one of indifference to working-class opinion or whether it would stir it up against Social-Democracy. That is a point that can only be determined on the spot by someone with a thorough knowledge of the circumstances, and I shall therefore refrain from voicing an opinion on it.

I am equally unfamiliar with the situation of the common soldier in the Dutch army, and upon that a great deal depends. In Germany it is our chaps who go to make the best soldiers.

Cordial regards from

Yours,  
F. Engels

After your Bielefeld experience, you will not, I suppose, be in any particular hurry to return to the Holy German Empire of the Prussian Nation!<sup>d</sup>

First published, in Russian, in *Istoričeskii žurnal*, No. 6 (40), Moscow, 1934

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<sup>a</sup> This paragraph is missing from the draft. - <sup>b</sup> The draft contains the words 'of the labour'. - <sup>c</sup> replacements - <sup>d</sup> This sentence is missing from the draft.



Helene Demuth

Herr *Friedrich Engels*  
wird von den Unterzeichneten eingeladen, dem

**Parteitag**  
der  
**ungarländischen Sozialdemokratie**  
als **Gast** beizuwohnen.

Zeit: 7. und 8. Dezember 1890.

Ort: Budapest, alte bürgerl. Schiessstätte, VII. Schiessstätte-Platz.

Budapest, 24. November 1890.

Die Redaktion der „Arbeiter-Wochenchronik“, Budapest.

Die Redaktion der „Népszava“, Budapest.

To the Congress of the Hungarian Social-Democrats.  
Invitation sent to Engels.<sup>93</sup>

43

ENGELS TO AMAND GOEGG

IN RENCHEN (BADEN)

London, 4 December 1890

Dear Goegg,

Many thanks for your kind good wishes. We old ones are beginning to be thin on the ground, a fact of which I have again been painfully reminded by the death of my beloved Lenchen. Well, I suppose there's bit of time left and I hope to make proper use of it.

Your old friend

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 37,  
Moscow, 1965

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time

44

ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

London, 4 December 1890

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

Not till today have I been able to get round to sending you my best thanks for your good wishes. My health is still pretty fair, if only my eyes permitted me to work at my desk; it's a wearisome and tedious business, but one has got to accept it. Again, smoking is something

I can seldom permit myself, and your beautiful pipes stand on the chimney piece and

seem to say as they look at me:  
'What, old chap, have they done to thee?'

Warmest regards to your mother, your brothers and sisters and their families, and to all party comrades from

Your old friend  
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol.  
XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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time

45

## ENGELS TO ÉDOUARD VAILLANT <sup>25</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 5 December 1890  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Vaillant,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 28th ult. and your good wishes. On that day I was overwhelmed with honours by socialists of all countries. Fate has decreed that, in my capacity as survivor, I should glean the honours due to the works of my deceased contemporaries, above all those of Marx. Believe me, I harbour no illusions whatever about that, or about the tiny portion of all this homage that falls to me by right.

I am also grateful for the sympathy you express concerning the death of dear Helene, thanks to whose care I was able to work in peace for seven years. For me it is a very sad loss. But we are still right in the midst of the struggle and, with the enemy before us, looking back too

often is forbidden. If I'm not mistaken the battle is approaching a crisis. In your country the collapse of Boulangism has, on the one hand, rid the opportunist government,<sup>94</sup> corrupted and corrupting, of all those enemies who might be immediately dangerous, and has reopened the market in which France is sold to the sharks of the Stock Exchange. On the other, however, that collapse has released elements of the revolutionary opposition who had gone astray and who, having regrouped—after the removal of the chief traitors—, should again take the field reunited in one way or another with the mass of revolutionaries who have remained faithful to their traditions. After the farce, the tragedy.

In Germany the rapid advance of the Socialist Party should quickly dispel young William's<sup>a</sup> illusions about the power of attraction he fondly imagines he exercises on the working class. That, too, should lead to a crisis; and the longer it is delayed, the more severe it will be.

Accordingly, in four or five years time at the most, we shall have the crisis which will, I trust, lead to victory. And I hope I shall live to see that *fin de siècle*<sup>b</sup>!

Please remember me kindly to Mrs Vaillant and your mother.

Yours affectionately,  
F. Engels

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

Printed according to the original  
Translated from the French

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<sup>a</sup> William II's - <sup>b</sup> end of the century

46

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV <sup>95</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 5 December 1890  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear friend Lavrov,

Many, many thanks for your kind letter of 27 November and your congratulations, as also those of your socialist compatriots on whose behalf you speak. But it's always the same. The lion's share of the honours that were showered upon me last Friday doesn't fall to me by right and no one knows that better than I do. So permit me to place on Marx's grave the lion's share of the flattering things you were good enough to say to me and which I accept, but only as his continuator. And as for the small portion which, without being presumptuous, I accept on my own account, I shall do my best to prove worthy of it.

After all, we are not so very old, you and I. And we have hopes of living and seeing. We have seen Bismarck's rise, heyday and decline, so why should we not also see, after its heyday, the decline (already in progress) and ultimate fall of Russian Tsarism, the great enemy of us all?

Yours affectionately,  
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*,  
No. 14, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original  
Translated from the French



47

## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

London, 8 December 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

There is more trouble in store for Brentano than he expects—just you wait and see! Thanks for the note about Gladstone, but I should point out that *I require the issues of the 'Deutsches Wochenblatt' containing the text of what Brentano and Gladstone actually said*—the short note would only mislead me, and I mustn't allow that to happen. If you haven't got time to obtain them for me, ask Fischer who will certainly do so at once.

Leave Brentano to me. You won't be disappointed. But without this *new* material I can't finish the thing off.<sup>96</sup>

Your  
F. E.

Since Gladstone's letters were dated 22 and 28 November, there can be no doubt about *which* issues of the *Wochenblatt*<sup>a</sup> the stuff is in.

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol.  
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<sup>a</sup> 'Mittheilung', signed: O. A., *Deutsches Wochenblatt*, No. 49, 4 December 1890.

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## ENGELS TO MOHRHENN

IN BARMEN

London, 9 December 1890  
 122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade Mohrhenn,

I really must thank you most warmly for the trouble you have taken over the photographs of my childhood home in the Bruch. They have given me enormous pleasure and have recalled many a youthful prank connected with the front doorstep and this or that room or window. Old Miss Demuth is right — the house in the Bruch, which in my time was No. 800, is the right one; behind it was our garden, between it and the Engels-Gang lay the bleachery and opposite that the houses belonging to my grandfather Caspar and his brother Benjamin Engels in which my uncles, Caspar and August, subsequently lived. I believe I can just remember Miss Demuth; I must have seen her once or twice at my cousin Caspar's house when we were both young. No doubt she can tell you about our original family home where my grandfather was born. It was up at the top of the Engels-Gang, where it joins the Bruch, opposite the path which leads up to the Bökén and which was then nameless. It was a typical lower middle class, two-storied house; when I was young the ground floor was used for storage, while the upper floor was occupied by two of my grandparents' former maids, by then pensioned off, who were known as Drütschen and Mineken. They would often treat us children to spiced apples and bread. The house was demolished when the railway came.

Even in those days we used to say that the Bruch wasn't anything like as god-fearing as it used to be and not so many years ago my brother Rudolf was quite outspoken on the subject.<sup>97</sup> Pointing at the house opposite, where a man called Ottenbruch had once lived and which bore an inn sign, he said: 'See that place? Nowadays it's a favourite haunt for Social-Democrats!' Social-Democrats in the Bruch — that was, to be sure, a tremendous revolution as compared with 50 years before.

It would certainly be a far greater one, however, if our old house

were to become a Social-Democratic press. But you would have to go about it very artfully. Unless it's been resold, the house now belongs to my brother Hermann, and he wouldn't be likely to sell it if he knew what purpose you meant to put it to. Well, I don't suppose anything will come of that just yet—it would be altogether too good to be true.

Well, good-bye. Soom day Ah'll coom to Barmen agean, an' then Ah'll coom an' see thi, an' then tha can tell me baht t'mucky tricks they played on thi wi' you Anti-Socialist Law o' theirs.<sup>a</sup>

Kindest regards,

Yours,  
F. Engels

First published in *Vorwärts* (Abend-Ausgabe), Berlin, 24. November 1920

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Published in English for the first  
time

49

ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 12 December 1890

Dear Adler,

I was on the point of writing to thank you and your wife for the telegram when I got your letter of the 9th with Aveling's dishonoured CHEQUE.<sup>b</sup> In its place I am sending you the enclosed cheque on the local branch of the same bank for £10 4/- to include expenses, and this CHEQUE will not be dishonoured.

It's the slapdash literary Bohemian in Aveling that leads to this kind of thing, especially when the said Bohemian insists on having a bank account. 'So young and already a Bohemian' might also be said of him. Incidentally the pair of them will soon be arriving to lunch with me, when I shall be able to give him a thorough dressing-down for this piece of carelessness and her for the frightful adulation

<sup>a</sup> This phrase is in the Rhenish dialect in the original. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 71.

she expended on me in the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*.<sup>a</sup> She's right in only one respect, namely my beard's being curiously lop-sided—there are, incidentally, perfectly good reasons for this which, however, I shall spare you.

Many thanks for your hints about Louise. It is also my wish that she should remain with me and if this should fall through, I shall find it very hard to part with her. But I should have a constant feeling of uneasiness if I thought she had sacrificed other duties and other prospects on my account. Well, the matter will probably be decided in a week or two. If she stays, she will have to return to Vienna at least once this winter so as to get everything straightened out there.

As regards the danger of overwork, this was, I should say, very real in Vienna. Here, on the other hand, it is hardly likely to arise. She is not to do any actual house-work, indeed could not do so—if only on account of the maids who would not in that case regard her as a proper LADY. All she has to do is to direct and supervise. She is, besides, acting as my secretary; I dictate to her or give her things to copy out so that I can spare my eyes, and then there are various subjects I shall be studying with her—chemistry to begin with, then French; she also wants to do Latin and that presents no difficulty. After luncheon we sleep, and at night, to give my eyes a rest from reading, we play cards from 11 to 12; I also sleep better if my mind is empty. I know, by the way, what an urge she feels to sacrifice herself for others and it is *this*, in particular, that is preventing me from urging her to stay here. On the evening of the day before yesterday we discussed the matter at length when the chief obstacle seemed to be her mother to whom she only wrote yesterday about her intention to remain here. The answer to this will, of course, be of crucial importance. But imagine the state I'd be in if I had to tell myself that I had reft Louise away from a new, congenial and promising career, only to place her in a position in which she could not rid herself of the feeling of having done her mother an injury?

So, far from taking any kind of umbrage at your remarks on this subject, I am on the contrary most grateful for what you have said. For the only occasion on which Louise will depart from her instinctive candour is when she is intent on concealing her selflessness. And so it behoves us all to keep a close watch on her.

<sup>a</sup> E. Marx - Aveling, 'Friedrich Engels', *Die Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*, No. 10-11, 30 November 1890.

Warm regards to your wife and children about whom Louise tells me many amusing stories, and likewise to yourself from Louise and

Your  
F. Engels

First published in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*. Erstes Heft: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels*, Wien, 1922

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Published in English for the first time

50

ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH  
WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTT GART

London, 13 December 1890

Dear Mr Dietz,

I have yet to tender you my warmest thanks for the magnificent birthday present you sent me. I was particularly delighted with Reinicke's pictures; it's the first time I have seen German genre paintings depicting life in a big city that are altogether free of the stiffness and affectation which otherwise so obstinately dog German painters of genre and historical pieces. But here we have no poses—here we have life as it is lived.

That we tiddled our way merrily through my 70th birthday you will have heard from the three Magi on their return to the Orient.<sup>a</sup> And that things are proceeding at a brisk pace in Germany I see and hear daily, and that is best of all.

With cordial regards

Yours,  
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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Published in English for the first time

<sup>a</sup> Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer who came to celebrate Engels' 70th birthday.

51

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY <sup>98</sup>

IN STUTT GART

London, 13 December 1890

Dear Kautsky,

Very many thanks for your two letters <sup>99</sup> and for the article devoted to me <sup>a</sup> which was, alas, all too flattering. I got through my birthday all right and, even though the outside air was clear of fog, my head wasn't when I went to bed at half past three in the morning. I fared almost as you did at my birthday in 1883, when the tipping took place round my sick-bed.

I enclose herewith a preliminary piece about Brentano and would be obliged if you could contrive to get it into the next number of the *Neue Zeit*, should this be feasible. I'll give the man something to remember me by. He'd like to keep Gladstone's letters up his sleeve until I have answered, but we'll soon put a stop to that. <sup>96</sup>

You will also shortly be getting a contribution from Marx's unpublished work, something quite new and extremely topical and to the point. <sup>b</sup> It has already been copied out but I shall have to look it over first and possibly write a few lines by way of an introduction. But please tell no one else about it yet; my hands are completely full, what with correspondence and replying to the many letters I get, and I can't say exactly *when*.

I cannot possibly entrust the remaining fascicles of Marx's Volume IV <sup>100</sup> to the post or any other intermediary. So when you've had the 2nd fascicle you won't be getting any more for a while. This is also because, in the later fascicles, there are all sorts of divagations and long deleted passages which may not have to be copied out and, since this will entail constant discussion, the work could only be done over here. Later on, if you come back to this country again, and I have been able to familiarise myself a bit more with the ms., we shall see what

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<sup>a</sup> [K. Kautsky,] 'Friedrich Engels. Zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 8. - <sup>b</sup> *Critique of the Gotha Programme*

can be done. Needless to say, you are to finish what you have already got.

I should be obliged if you would send me another 6 copies of the 8th issue<sup>a</sup>; that will, I think, suffice.

Now, however, I must close; herewith a note to Dietz, which kindly pass on to him.

Your old friend  
F. Engels

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

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

52

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE  
AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 December 1890

My dear Laura,

Two pieces of good news.

First. Your usual box of puddings, cake and sweets, for Mémé and brothers, has been sent off yesterday as usual and hope will reach by Friday<sup>b</sup> at latest. Otherwise please apply to the Bureau des Expéditions Grande Vitesse, Gare du Nord, or at 23 Rue Dunkerque, P. Bigeault or 18 Rue Bergère, *chez* E. D'Odiardi.

Second. Louise Kautsky remains here for good. So my troubles are settled. She seems to like it better after all than setting other people's children into this world.<sup>c</sup> And we get on capitally. She superintends the house and does my secretary's work which saves my eyes and enables me to make it worth her while to give up her profession, at least for the present. She wishes me to send you her kindest regards.

Padlewski deserves a monument and a life pension. Not so much

<sup>a</sup> of *Die Neue Zeit* containing Engels' *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* - <sup>b</sup> 19 December - <sup>c</sup> Louise Kautsky studied obstetrics in Vienna.

for polishing off that vile brute Seliverstov than for delivering Paris from the Russian incubus.<sup>101</sup> The change in the Paris press since that execution is indeed wonderful and if a *voyou*<sup>a</sup> like Labruyère finds it to pay him to get Padlewski out of the way, the revulsion of feeling generally must be very great indeed. Even the Boulangists and the *Intransigent* have to follow suit.

But it's genuine Parisian. Argument and reason is no use against this chauvinistic enthusiasm for the Czar's<sup>b</sup> alliance. All at once a fact occurs, which lightens up the mental darkness like a flash of lightning. Now they see that they are making themselves accomplices of this Russian official infamy, and that, if they themselves have not the courage to get out of it, a Pole has, and can they assist in sending that Pole over to bourgeois 'justice'? The enthusiasm for the Czar is at once transferred to the Poles and Nihilists, and the Czar is in for it, for his trouble and his money spent.

All the same, the effect would hardly have been so great if our people had not so constantly and determinedly attacked the Czar.

Anyhow, *je m'en réjouis*.<sup>c</sup>

Pumps has all at once come round. Louise and I coaxed her a bit. After the talking to I had given her, Percy gave her another, and now she is friendliness all over, not only with Louise, but also Annie. Well, I hope it will last, and if it does not, it will be her own fault and then I shall be in a clear position and act accordingly. This time I *can* be master and I shall.

How is Paul's affair with Levraut getting on?<sup>2</sup> <sup>102</sup>

Fortin writes to say that he and Paul wished to publish the *18 Brumaire* in the *Socialiste* but required my consent. That of course I gave him with pleasure.—He also said the *Revue Socialiste* wanted the same and also the *Misère de la philosophie* for republication. I said as to that, Marx would never forgive me if I entrusted any ms. of his to the hands of such people who were capable of making all sorts of changes in it; as to the *Misère*, after all the disappointments I had with that,<sup>103</sup> I should consent to its republication *in book-form only*, and only after having full guarantees for the execution of the promise.

What Paul writes about the part of the Rothschilds in the Krach<sup>d</sup> Baring seems not without foundation.<sup>104</sup> The Barings are rich enough to pay all losses and have plenty left. So that the guarantors will be perfectly safe. But the Barings cannot remain a first rate firm

<sup>a</sup> guttersnipe, hooligan - <sup>b</sup> Alexander III's - <sup>c</sup> I am glad. - <sup>d</sup> row



and cannot therefore continue to be financial agents of the Argentine Government. There the Rothschilds will naturally step into the Baring's shoes. And in order to squeeze the Argentine Government into compliance, the French and German Argentine committees must resist the very sensible (in the interest of *all parties*) proposals of the London Committee, and insist upon cash payment of the coupons which the Londoners are willing to suspend for 3 years and have the amount transformed into a new debt. And the *gobemouches*<sup>a</sup> of the Paris press, *payés comptant*,<sup>b</sup> work hard in the interest of the Rothschilds.

I am afraid this will be the last long letter you will have for some time. I am so overworked that correspondence will have to be confined to the necessary minimum. I have an urgent quarrel with Brentano on my hands (preface, 4th edition of *Capital*<sup>96</sup>) and those sort of things I cannot dictate.

Love to Mémé.

Ever yours,  
F. Engels

*Bien des choses à Paul.*<sup>c</sup>

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 WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

London, 18 December 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

You guessed the names aright.

I fail to see what point there would be in publishing this muddled correspondence, the Hegelian language of which would today be in-

<sup>a</sup> simpletons - <sup>b</sup> paid in cash - <sup>c</sup> Best regards to Paul.

comprehensible.<sup>105</sup> Either you intend to publish everything bearing Marx's name or—might this be the beginning of the *Collected Works* in pamphlet and/or serial form planned by you and Paul Ernst?

Against this I would protest here and now as, indeed, I shall continue to do.

I would gladly agree to the publication in pamphlet form of such individual pieces by Marx as are comprehensible today without notes or a commentary, but to *their publication only, without notes or a commentary of any description*. Should the plan you propose here be put into effect, however, I shall intervene forthwith.

I cannot write a preface. The most I could say about the correspondence is that Marx told me more than once that his part of it had been tinkered with by Ruge who had inserted all manner of nonsense.

If only you people would leave off pestering me so that I had time to finish the 3rd volume,<sup>a</sup> I could myself do something worthwhile along those lines. I have already told you that the time is past when I can do work to order for you. I shall take on absolutely nothing further, even though it may amount to no more than 3 lines, until I have dealt with the mountain of stuff I have already undertaken to do.

When a chap can only write by daylight and, what's more, at most 3, and quite often only 2, hours a day and with constant interruptions into the bargain, you will understand that every superfluous letter robs him of his most precious time. Besides which, there has been virtually no daylight for the past 12 days.

So will you at long last be kind enough to let me work in peace?

Despite a lengthy search I cannot immediately put my finger on the passage in Sybel.<sup>b</sup> It is so cunningly concealed that leafing through the book is no good. However, it would do you no harm, in view of your preoccupation with Bismarck, to go through this important source yourself, in which case you would yourself find the passage in the 4th or 5th volume.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> H. von Sybel, *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I*, vols I-V.

Kindest regards from my household to yours, and a happy holiday to you.

Your  
F. E.

Today I have had another reminder from Dietz about the new edition of the *Origin*.<sup>a</sup> How can I possibly manage if I don't get a moment's peace?

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time

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 20 December 1890

Dear Sorge,

Have had your letters up to the 9th of this month. Use my letters as you think fit.<sup>107</sup> I am glad that you consulted Schlüter about the question of the fee<sup>b</sup> and that all is now settled. As things go in *Germany*, what they offer is *very* respectable. Schoenlank, by the way, who wrote and told you this, is a most depraved fellow who in fact does not hesitate to seize on any and every opportunity to extort money from the party. Of this he again gave proof at the Halle Congress.<sup>12</sup>

I am greatly overworked, hence just a postcard today. I have taken on Mr Brentano who must now be disabled 'good and proper'.<sup>96</sup>

Louise Kautsky has decided to stay with me *for good*. I am, of course, absolutely delighted and deeply grateful to the sweet child. She is giving up a great deal for my sake, but luckily I am in a position to offer her in return much that would not be available to her in Vienna. Besides keeping house for me, she does a fair amount of secre-

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 74.

tarial work—just what I needed. So as you will see, I cannot for the present accept your kind invitation to move to Hoboken <sup>108</sup>; I am engaged in renewing my lease for another three years.<sup>a</sup>

I hope that, by the time this arrives, your wife will have completely recovered. Schorlemmer will again be unable to visit us this Christmas because of his persistent aural catarrh; otherwise he might go deaf. So more anon. A Happy Christmas to you.

Your old friend,  
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## ENGELS TO LEO FRANKEL <sup>109</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 25 December 1890

Dear Frankel,

Having just got a minute or two to spare—by no means usual during the daytime (the only time in which I am allowed to write)—I shall reply to you straight away.

Many thanks for your telegram and retrospective good wishes. You must excuse me for not having acknowledged receipt of the former. I have been swamped, in the truest sense of the word, with correspondence.

Well, let's have done with the formalities and get on to the main point of your letter. I was already aware of your attitude to the ructions in France <sup>110</sup>—an entirely understandable one in view of your

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 5.

long absence from the movement there—as a result of reading your article in the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*<sup>a</sup> which had been sent to me from Berlin. The ructions are just as regrettable and just as inevitable as were those in the past between the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers for the simple reason that in both cases cunning business men placed themselves at the head of one of the two parties and exploited that party for their own business interests for as long as the party would tolerate it; accordingly it is no more possible to co-operate with Brousse & Co., than with Schweitzer, Hasselmann and partners. If, like me, you had been engaged in the struggle from the beginning and in its every detail, you would see as clearly as I do that in this case unification would above all mean capitulating to a gang of schemers and place-seekers who are betraying to the ruling bourgeoisie the party's true basic principles and its well-trying fighting method ... the better to secure positions for themselves and small, insignificant advantages for the working men who support them. Unification would thus amount to the same thing as capitulating to these gentlemen outright, a point further borne out by the discussions at the Paris Congress of 1889.<sup>51</sup>

Unification will come, just as in Germany, but it can only last if the fight is fought to a finish, the contradictions are resolved and the rascals hounded out by their own supporters. When the Germans were drawing close to union, Liebknecht came out for union at all costs. We were against it on the grounds that, since the Lassalleans were near to collapse, we should await the completion of that process, when unification would come about of its own accord. Marx wrote a long critique of the so-called unification programme, which was distributed in manuscript form.<sup>b</sup>

They didn't listen to us, with the result that we had to bring Hasselmann into our ranks and rehabilitate him in the eyes of the world, only to chuck him out as a blackguard six months later.<sup>111</sup> And we had to incorporate Lassallean inanities into our programme, thereby destroying the programme for good. It was a double fiasco which, given a little more patience, could have been avoided.<sup>63</sup>

In France the Possibilists are going through just the same process of disintegration as did the Lassalleans in 1875. The leaders of *both* the

<sup>a</sup> L. F[rankel,] 'Zur französischen Arbeiterbewegung', *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nos. 170 and 178, 3 and 12 December 1890. -<sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

persuasions that emerged from the split<sup>53</sup> are, in my view, worthless. This process, in which the leaders devour one another and which nevertheless brings over to us the intrinsically sound majority of members, can, in my view, be interrupted or checked—if not actually brought to a complete halt—by only *one* error on our part—that is to say if we make a premature attempt at unification.

On the other hand we have already taken a decisive step which will in any case hasten the advent of unification and may, perhaps, achieve it straight away. For at my suggestion—after Tussy had discussed it with Aveling, Bernstein and Fischer (presently of the party leadership<sup>28</sup>)—first the French (*our* Marxists) and then the Germans at Halle,<sup>12</sup> where they also had the support of the Swiss, Danes, Swedes and Austrians, resolved unanimously that, instead of holding a separate congress in 1891, they should attend the congress in Brussels convoked by the Possibilists in view of the fact that the Belgians had accepted the conditions laid down by us in 1889, conditions which, axiomatic though they were, were nevertheless rejected by the Possibilists. You will admit that this was a major concession on our part, since the overwhelming majority of the European parties were behind us. Yet we acted *as we did* because we knew we had to fight the Possibilists with like weapons and on like terms if the supremacy of Brousse on the one hand and of Allemane on the other was to be brought swiftly to an end. Not until the bulk of the Possibilist working men see that they are isolated in Europe, that they have no sure allies save Messrs Hyndman & Co. (who are in the same boat vis-à-vis their supporters as was Brousse) and that all the braggadocio has been solely for the benefit of the leaders, will the fuss die down. And that will clear the way for the congress.

So just be patient for another six months. Any attempt on our part to achieve a settlement sooner would be interpreted by Brousse as well as by Allemane as a sign of weakness and would hinder rather than help us. But when the time comes, and in my view, it is not far off, the Possibilist working men will join us just as the Lassalleans did and, what's more, without our having to offer leading positions to the schemers, traitors and ne'er-do-wells among them.

No one is more anxious than I am to see a strong socialist party in France. However I have to pay due regard to the facts as they are and I am anxious that it should come about only on a basis which holds

out a promise of permanence, which is *real* and which won't result in a HUMBUG movement *à la* Brousse.

With warm regards.

Your old friend

F. Engels

Thank you also for the *Bataille* article.<sup>112</sup> Louise Kautsky, who is here and will be staying here, sends you her warm regards.

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ENGELS TO G. BLUME<sup>113</sup>

IN HAMBURG

London, 27 December 1890

Dear Comrade,

Mr Stinzele has passed on to me the kind greetings conveyed by you on behalf of the delegates to the Congress, the representatives of 596,000 German working men. There is no need for me to tell you in so many words how glad I was to be remembered at that Congress. Unfortunately I am unable to thank those concerned, who will by now have dispersed to all parts of Germany, and can do no more than express my sincere thanks to you, Mr Chairman, while giving you my firm assurance that, so long as it remains in my power, I shall persevere in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO GEORG SCHUMACHER <sup>114</sup>

IN SOLINGEN

[London, December 1890]

My dear Schumacher,

Since you will now be at home, I am taking the opportunity of asking you to convey my warmest thanks to my friends in Solingen for the beautiful present they gave me on my 70th birthday. But at the same time, I wish to thank you, too, for your contribution to the parliamentary group's <sup>a</sup> magnificent present.

As a boy, whenever I saw a knife like this, I would gaze at it admiringly and envy the owner of a tool so suited to all manner of uses. Now, in my old age, one such has come into my possession, and in such a fashion to boot, and with so honourable an inscription.

As you know, since 1849 my attachment to Solingen has been of a very special kind, since the time, that is, when I, along with the Solingen volunteers, marched to Elberfeld where, confronted by a reactionary civic militia, unorganised Elberfelders and a highly reactionary security committee, I could not have remained unscathed for three days if it had not been for the Solingers who, almost alone amongst those taking part, represented the revolutionary element.<sup>115</sup> And, since I am anxious that those ties attaching me to Solingen should not be allowed to slacken or break, it is a very special pleasure to note that in Solingen I, too, am still remembered.

With warm regards to you and to all the members of the party from your old friend,

F. Engels

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Nr. 47, Köln, 24. Februar 1906

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<sup>a</sup> the Social - Democratic group in the German Reichstag



1891

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE  
IN HOBOKEN

London, 3 January 1891<sup>a</sup>

Dear Sorge,

*Avant tout*<sup>b</sup> a Happy New Year to you and your wife.<sup>c</sup>

Unfortunately I didn't make a note of the date of my last postcard in which I replied to the more urgent points in your letter.<sup>116</sup>

Many thanks for the excellent photograph of you and your wife. I should like to send you one of myself but the constant fog and snow we have had since 25 November have made it impossible to obtain either a photograph or a print from the negative plate. As soon as the light is suitable, I shall have my photograph taken again so as to see what I look like at the age of 70, and your requirements will then be promptly attended to.

Louise Kautsky is staying with me. I'm very very grateful to the good child for the sacrifice she is thereby making on my behalf. Once again I am able to work in tranquillity, indeed better than ever, as she will also be my secretary. I have enough for her to do but not for a man brought in from outside. So everything is proving unexpectedly pleasant and snug and there is sunshine in my house once more, even though the fog is as thick as ever outside.

<sup>a</sup> 1890 in the original. - <sup>b</sup> First of all - <sup>c</sup> Katharina Sorge

I think I have already told you that you may use my letters in any way you think fit. But after all it's *you* who are supposed to keep *us* informed about America!

Your complaint was promptly forwarded to Paris.<sup>117</sup> But will it do any good? BUSINESS IS NOT THEIR FORCE!

According to latest reports Sam Moore, Chief Justice at Asaba on the Niger, is in poor health. Having stood the climate so well, he has now been afflicted all of a sudden with diarrhoea, fever, and congestion of the spleen and liver—I am anxiously awaiting the next post the day after tomorrow. He will be back here in April on 6 months' furlough.

In Europe the most important event of the last 3 months has been the slaying of Seliverstov by Padlewski<sup>101</sup> and—which is what the government *wanted*—the latter's escape. Evidence that Paris was the headquarters of Russia's *mouchards*<sup>a</sup> abroad, that the French Republic was to carry out espionage and render ignoble services for the Tsar as the prior condition of an alliance with Russia and, finally, Padlewski's bold deed which evoked a powerful and sympathetic response from every fibre of the French tradition—all this proved the last straw. The Franco-Russian alliance was dead before it had reached its term and been born (Louise Kautsky is a midwife, hence the simile) and this, not only because the bourgeois Republicans would not have liked it, even today, but also because the people in Petersburg have realised that it would misfire at the crucial moment and hence isn't worth a damn. As far as world peace is concerned, that is a tremendous gain.

Fog, darkness—must stop.

Many regards to your wife and you yourself.

Your  
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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<sup>a</sup> police spies

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>98</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 7 January 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Yesterday I sent to you by *registered* post Marx's ms. which will have given you much pleasure.<sup>118</sup> I doubt whether it will be able to appear in the Holy German Empire *as it stands*. Take a look at it and delete the objectionable bits wherever feasible, replacing them with dots. Where the context does not permit of this, however, kindly mark the passages for me in the proofs and, if possible, inform me in a couple of lines of the *reasons* for the objection and I shall then do what I can. I should then place the amended bits in brackets and point out in my introductory note that these are *amended* passages. So let me have your corrections on the galleys, please.

But there may well be other people, apart from the bigwigs in the police, who will be displeased when it appears. Should you feel it necessary to take this into account, I would ask you to send the ms. *registered* to Adler. In Vienna it will doubtless be possible to print it (with the exception, alas, of the splendid passage on religious needs) in its entirety *and printed it will be, whatever happens*. I should imagine, however, that this *very positive* intention of mine, of which I herewith notify you, will afford you complete protection against whatever lamentations may arise. For after all, since none of you can stop its being printed, it would be far better for it to appear in Germany itself and in the *Neue Zeit*, the party organ founded expressly for such purposes.

I have stopped work on the *Brentano*<sup>96</sup> so as to get this thing ready for you; for I want to make good use of the passages it contains on the iron law of wages<sup>119</sup> and it would have been pointless not to have got this thing ready for the press at the same time. I had intended to polish off *Brentano* this week but once again so many disturbances and so much correspondence have intervened that it will be virtually impossible to do so.

So if you come up against any snags, be so good as to let me know.

Over here it's still freezing hard. Poor Schorlemmer has a cold and is temporarily deaf; he was unable to come for Christmas. Sam Moore is seriously ill in Asaba and I am anxiously awaiting further news.

Your  
F. Engels

Regards to Tauscher.

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

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time

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 9 January 1891

Dear Friend,

Your sister's misfortune has aroused my heartfelt sympathy. And I can imagine what an indescribable state of agitation it has put you into. But don't lose your head. What good would it do your sister if you were to kill the dirty dog? He would bear with him to the grave the satisfaction of having ruined not one family but two. I know that in societies such as those of southern Italy, where a good many memories from the time of the gens still live on, a brother is regarded as the natural protector and avenger of his sister. But this brother is also married, he has a wife and children, he has obligations towards them, and in today's society those obligations take precedence over everything else. In my view, therefore, you owe it to your family to refrain from any action that would inevitably condemn you to lifelong separation from them.

So far as I am concerned, your sister is still as pure and as deserving of respect as she always was.

But if you believe you must take your revenge, there is, after all, yet another way in which you can brand the seducer in the eyes of the public with the mark of disgrace.

Over here the brother would give the scoundrel a public thrashing.

In France or Germany a publicly administered box on the ears would suffice.

In Austrian Poland (Leopol<sup>a</sup>) a journalist had sold himself to the Russians. Some young Poles laid hold of him on the public promenade, placed him over a bench and gave him 25 of the best.

You in Italy will also have ways of publicly branding a scoundrel like this and of exposing him to universal scorn without taking his life or causing him permanent physical damage.

As I have said, far be it from me to advise you about this matter. But if you are firmly convinced that some sort of vengeance must be done, then it had best be vengeance affecting the seducer's *honour* rather than any other kind.

With warm regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

Very many thanks for your good wishes on my 70th birthday.

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<sup>a</sup> Lvov

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## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

IN LONDON

[London,] Tuesday, 13 January 1891  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

Last Sunday,<sup>a</sup> when we discussed the day and time at which it would be convenient for you to do me the pleasure of dining here, we were in such a hurry that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I had better repeat what I meant to say to you.

I take it that I may expect you, that is to say you, Mrs Mendelson and Citizen Jodko on Thursday, the day after tomorrow, at six o'clock. It is possible that I didn't express myself clearly enough in regard to the last named. If so, I would ask you to be so good as to request him again on my behalf to do me the honour of coming.<sup>b</sup>

My compliments, as also those of Mrs Kautsky, to Mrs Mendelson.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> 11 January - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 108.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>98</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 15 January 1891

Dear Baron,

You will see from the accompanying corrected proofs<sup>a</sup> that I am not inhuman and have even gone so far as to inject some soothing morphine and bromide into the introduction,<sup>b</sup> which no doubt will have a sufficiently anodyne effect on the melancholy mood of our friend Dietz. I shall only write to Bebel today.<sup>120</sup> I didn't mention the matter to him before since I had no desire to place him in a false position vis-à-vis Liebknecht. He would have been *honour bound* to speak to the latter about it and Liebknecht, who has made extracts from the ms., as is evident from his speech on the programme at Halle,<sup>121</sup> would have raised heaven and earth to prevent its being published.

If the passage 'to attend to his religious *as well as his bodily* [needs]'<sup>c</sup> cannot very well stand, delete the five words underlined and insert dots. The allusion will then gain in subtlety and still be sufficiently comprehensible. In which case it will not, I trust, give rise to misgivings.

For the rest I have obliged you and Dietz by doing everything you wanted and *more*, as you will see.

The Mendelsons have arrived here from Paris. On his release the magistrate *forbade* him to leave France. The Minister, *Constans*, on the other hand, *enjoined* him to leave voluntarily, failing which he would be expelled.<sup>122</sup> Constans entrusted Labruyère, who is notoriously hand in glove with the police, with the task of spiriting Padlewski away. Had Padlewski appeared before a jury, the intrigues with the

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - <sup>b</sup> Preface to Karl Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - <sup>c</sup> While preparing the ms. for the press Engels for reasons of censorship replaced the word *Notdurft* used by Marx by the word *Bedürfnisse* and put it in the square brackets (cf. present edition, Vol. 24, p. 98).

Russians would have come to a head. The activities of the Russian *mouchards*<sup>a</sup> in Paris could not have been concealed from the court and Padlewski might have been *acquitted*! Consequently he was an enormous embarrassment to the government and had to go. Ask Lafargue to write an article for you on the disruption by Padlewski of the Russo-French alliance.<sup>b</sup> <sup>101</sup> Liebknecht has got hold of completely the wrong end of the stick, as he always does where foreign affairs are concerned.

The Mendelsons arrived here without any addresses and fell into the hands of Smith Headingley and Hyndman who took them to a meeting,<sup>123</sup> etc. Finally they came to my house and I gave them Ede's address; on my paying them a formal return visit for diplomatic reasons, who should come in at the door but Mr Smith Headingley. This gave me an opportunity to treat him with icy disdain in front of the Poles, which seemed to have the desired effect. They were here on Sunday,<sup>c</sup> and today they, the Edes and Avelings are coming to dine at my house. This will doubtless frustrate the intrigues set in train in the interests of Brousse, Hyndman & Co. Pity you won't be there. We start off with oysters.

Your  
F. E.

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

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

<sup>a</sup> police spies - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 123, 129. - <sup>c</sup> 11 January



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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 17 January 1891

Dear Sorge,

Herewith the 4th edition of *Capital*<sup>a</sup> (registered) and a parcel of newspapers. As Sam Moore is doubtless already on his way back to Europe from the Niger—6 months' furlough every 2 years—various things he has been getting hitherto will now become available for you, viz. the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, which was set on a pretty good course by little Conrad Schmidt and has not as yet been ruined by Paul Ernst, and the *Cri du Travailleur* which reprints the main items from *Le Socialiste*. Also a *Vorwärts*<sup>124</sup> with our revelations about Mr Reuß.

Constant snow and ice since 25 November. The water pipes under the street have been frozen for the past 5 days and we're having no end of trouble over our water. No. 17 of the *Neue Zeit* will contain a bombshell, to wit Marx's critique of the draft programme of 1875.<sup>b</sup> You'll be delighted, but it will cause rage and indignation among a good many people in Germany.

Regards to your wife<sup>c</sup> and to the Schlüters and Romms when you see them.

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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<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. It was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 18 and not No. 17 as had been planned. - <sup>c</sup> Katharina Sorge

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## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

IN LONDON

[London,] Sunday, 18 January 1891

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

After my conversation with Mrs Mendelson yesterday evening I discovered an article in the Paris *Socialiste*<sup>125</sup> on the strength of which you could, I believe, write a letter to the English press regarding the matter Mrs Mendelson and Citizen Jodko spoke to me about.

I have discussed the matter with Aveling and his wife.<sup>a</sup> They will be dropping in on you tomorrow morning. If you and Aveling would then care to fix a time for the two of you to do me the pleasure of calling here, we could compose a letter and arrange for it to appear in the press.<sup>126</sup>

My compliments to Mrs Mendelson and Citizen Jodko.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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time

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<sup>a</sup> Eleanor Marx-Aveling

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ENGELS TO CARL SCHORLEMMER <sup>128</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 27 January 1891

Dear Jollymeier,

In my dictionary of modern Greek I find:

λουμπάρδα, ή *bombarde*, *canon*λουμπαρδάρης, *bombardier*λουμπαρδάρω, *bombarder*, etc.

The heavy gun reached the Byzantines from Italy and the earliest generic name for a gun of this kind is *bombarda*. Since the modern Greek β = the Italian v, b is denoted by μπ (μπάγκα, *banc pour s'asseoir*,<sup>a</sup> μπαζάρι, *bazar*, *marché public*<sup>b</sup>). So as to avoid having this dreadful combination twice, the first b appears here as β.

According to the above, therefore, the fact that λουμπάρδος means bronze used for cannon cannot present any difficulties.

I trust you received Louise's letter and are feeling better. Something to cheer you up will be going off per book post. Regards from Louise and

Your  
F. E.

First published in *Einheit*, Nr. 7, Berlin, 1958

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time

<sup>a</sup> bench - <sup>b</sup> market

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## ENGELS TO HEINRICH SCHEU

IN LONDON

[London,] 27 January 1891  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Scheu,

Please forgive me for having kept you waiting so long for a reply to your kind note of the 10th.<sup>129</sup> But in the first place I have had an extremely urgent job to do, secondly, owing to appointments with doctors, the timing of which did not depend on me, I have virtually never been master of my own time and, thirdly, the weather has not, until quite recently, been propitious for photography.

I shall, I think, now be at your disposal—at any rate as from the day after tomorrow, especially if you are able to give me 12 or 24-hours' NOTICE. I thought I might again go to Debenham quite close by, but would go to anyone else you like (save for Mayall, who refused to take money from Marx, which makes it *gênant*<sup>a</sup>) and I should be very glad if you were also to attend and yourself explain to the man what you want and how you want it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38,  
Moscow, 1965

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time

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<sup>a</sup> embarrassing

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER <sup>130</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 January 1891

Dear Schlüter,

At last I can get round to answering your letter of 19 November. Many thanks for your and your wife's<sup>a</sup> kind wishes.<sup>b</sup> I wish you had been there. We tiddled until half past three in the morning and, besides claret, downed 16 bottles of sparkling wine.

Unfortunately I cannot take advantage of Sorge's invitation.<sup>108</sup> I have put down so many roots here in Europe and have such a vast amount to do that I could never consider withdrawing to America unless absolutely compelled to do so. Moreover, now that Louise Kautsky is here, my domestic affairs are again in perfect order.

Many thanks for the *Kalender*.<sup>131</sup>

Some of the articles in the *Cyclopaedia*<sup>c</sup> are by Marx and some by me, all, or nearly all, being devoted to military subjects—biographies of military commanders, articles on ARTILLERY, CAVALRY, FORTIFICATION, etc. Pure hack-work, no more; may be safely consigned to oblivion.<sup>132</sup>

That the Socialist Labor Party <sup>133</sup> over there is going to rack and ruin I can see plainly enough from its fraternisation with the Nationalists <sup>86</sup> compared with whom our native Fabians <sup>87</sup>—likewise middle-class—are positively radical. I should have thought it scarcely possible that, by mating with the *Nationalist*, the *Sozialist* could have engendered further tedium. Sorge sends me the *Nationalist* but, try as I may, I cannot find anyone who is prepared to read it.

Another thing I don't understand is the row with Gompers.<sup>134</sup> So far as I know, his Federation <sup>84</sup> is an association of TRADES UNIONS and nothing but TRADES UNIONS. Thus the chaps are *formally entitled* to turn away anyone who comes as representative of a working men's association that is *not* a TRADES UNION, or to turn away the delegates of a society to which such associations are admitted. Whether it was advisable from the point of view of *propaganda* to court a rebuff of this kind,

<sup>a</sup> Anna Schlüter's - <sup>b</sup> on Engels' 70th birthday - <sup>c</sup> *The New American Cyclopaedia* (for articles by Marx and Engels see present edition, Vol. 18)

is, of course, impossible for me to judge from where I am. But that it was bound to happen was, after all, beyond doubt and I, for one, cannot hold Gompers responsible.

However, bearing in mind next international congress in Brussels,<sup>135</sup> I should have thought it might have been a good thing to keep in with Gompers who has at least got more working men behind him than the Socialist Labor Party, and thus ensure as large a representation as possible—including *his* people—from America. For while there the chaps would, after all, see much that would shake their faith in their blinkered TRADES UNION standpoint—and, quite apart from that, where do you propose to find a RECRUITING-GROUND if not amongst the TRADES UNIONS?

Many thanks for the stuff about silver.<sup>136</sup> If you can find me anything containing notes on *current silver production* in the UNITED STATES, I should be grateful. The bimetal currency<sup>137</sup> idiots in Europe are nothing but the DUPES of the American silver producers and are perfectly prepared to pull the latter's chestnuts out of the fire for them. Vainly, alas,—nothing will come of this shady affair. See my note on precious metals in the 4th edition of *Capital*.<sup>138</sup>

Do please let me have further details about the speech by Marx on protective tariffs which you mention.<sup>139</sup> All I can remember is that, when the discussion began to flag at the German Workers' Society in Brussels,<sup>140</sup> Marx and I arranged between ourselves to conduct a mock debate in which he advocated free trade and I protective tariffs; I can still see the chaps' astonished expressions when they suddenly saw us go at it hammer and tongs. The speech might have been printed in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. I cannot remember any other.

It's unlikely that you will be able to return to Germany within the next few years. True, Tauscher has been released, but only because nothing could be proved against him. On the other hand, it transpired on the same occasion that hitherto the statute of limitations has been regularly suspended so far as you people are concerned.

Cordial regards to yourself and your wife from Louise Kautsky and

Your  
F. Engels

Motteler is still here, winding up the business at 114 Kentish Town Road <sup>a</sup>; how he will manage when the house is vacated on 25 March and he can only carry on with this job at home, I do not know. But he absolutely refuses to go back to Switzerland although we know it to be perfectly feasible. Ede is doing well; he works like a Trojan and is writing some very good stuff for the *Neue Zeit*.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE <sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 31 January <sup>b</sup> 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Like nine-tenths of the news published in Paris about Germany, the item that has alarmed you <sup>142</sup> is nothing more than a canard.

The leading committee of the German party has not budged in regard to 1 May. The parliamentary *faction* (the socialist members of the Reichstag) has resolved (with one dissenting vote) that *in Germany* (but not elsewhere) it would be desirable to hold the celebrations on Sunday 3 May and not on 1 May. <sup>143</sup> That is all. Since the Party Rules do not confer any official function on the 'faction', it is simply the expression of a desire which, however, will probably meet with general approval.

As to the idea of suggesting to other nationalities that they make a similar change in the date of the demonstration, our newspapers say

<sup>a</sup> the premises of the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial office in 1888-90 - <sup>b</sup> 30 January in the original

not a word. However there is the possibility that *individually* one or other of the deputies might have thought of it. As Bebel is in Zurich for his daughter's<sup>a</sup> wedding, I shall write to Fischer<sup>144</sup> so that a stop can be put to this nonsense if, that is, anybody is entertaining it.

You and Bonnier, whose long letter on the subject I have in my pocket,<sup>145</sup> may say whatever you like. The English will probably do the same as the Germans and hold their celebrations on Sunday. As regards the Germans, they are virtually bound to act in this way. Last year you thought their conduct 'weak'. Well now, in Hamburg, the city where we are best organised and in greater strength relative to the rest of the population, and where we have the strongest finances (both party and trades unions)—in Hamburg they generally celebrate 1 May under the noses of the employers. But business being pretty bad, the latter took advantage of the one day's cessation to close their workshops and declare that they would reopen only to those workmen who left their unions and promised not to unionise in future. The struggle continued throughout the summer and into the autumn. Eventually the employers abandoned their demands; however our trades union organisation in Hamburg has been badly shaken, the coffers have been emptied, as indeed elsewhere, as a result of funds disbursed for the LOCKOUTS, and nobody has the slightest desire to repeat the performance this spring, conditions in industry having worsened still further.

It's all very well for you to talk of irresolution and weakness. You are in a republic and the bourgeois republicans, in order to defeat the royalists, have been obliged to accord you the political rights that we are far from possessing in Germany. Moreover, divided as you have been hitherto, with the Broussists in the tow of the government,<sup>146</sup> you are not particularly dangerous; on the contrary, Constans likes to see you 'demonstrate' and put the wind up the radicals.<sup>147</sup> In Germany our people are a real force, between one and a half and two million electors, the only disciplined and growing party. If the government wants the socialists to hold demonstrations, that is because it wants to get them involved in a riot when it would crush them and have done with them for the next ten years. For the German socialists their best form of demonstration is their very existence and their slow, steady, ineluctable advance. We are still a long way from being able to sustain an open struggle and it is our duty vis-à-vis the whole of

<sup>a</sup> Frieda Bebel



Europe and America not to suffer defeat but rather, when the time comes, to emerge victorious from the first great battle. It is to this consideration that I subordinate all others.

Needless to say, it would be very nice to see all socialist workmen in both worlds abstain from work on the same day, 1 May. But it would not be a simultaneous, uniform abstention. You in Paris would abstain from, say, 8 in the morning to 8 in the evening; when the New Yorkers began at 8, it would be 1 in the afternoon in Paris, while the Californians would begin 3 hours later. Last year the demonstration lost nothing by being spread over 2 days and this year it would lose even less. The Austrians are in an altogether different situation; regular agitation and organisation have been made so difficult that a 1 day cessation is their sole means of demonstrating, a procedure admirably developed by Adler.<sup>148</sup>

So console yourselves. The movement won't suffer as a result of this lack of 'unity'; and such purely formal unity is not worth the price we should have to pay for it in Germany and also perhaps in England.

Your behaviour towards the anti-Broussists<sup>53</sup> strikes me as unexceptional. Making a compact of practical co-operation, setting aside for the moment any attempt at a merger, trusting to the passage of time and, ultimately, to the International Congress — there could be no better way of exploiting the situation in which you find yourselves. It is what Marx suggested to Liebknecht at the time of the merger with the Lassalleans,<sup>63</sup> but our friend was in too much of a hurry.

Guesde has played a nice trick on him in his articles for the *Vorwärts*.<sup>149</sup> Liebknecht has always championed the bourgeois republic in order to annoy the Prussians; in his view Constans, Rouvier, etc., were virtually faultless. And along comes Guesde to shatter that illusion! Delightful and also good for Germany.

Give Laura a kiss from me. My congratulations to Doctor Z. on the article on the Toulon affair.<sup>150</sup> Louise is particularly grateful for it. She has happy memories of you and Laura.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>98</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 3 February 1891

Dear Kautsky,

You'd have thought that we over here would have been bombarded with letters about Marx's article<sup>a</sup>—on the contrary; not a sign nor a word have we had.

When the *Neue Zeit* failed to arrive on Saturday,<sup>b</sup> I thought something had gone wrong again. On Sunday Ede arrived and showed me your letter, whereupon I believed that the attempt at suppression had been successful. The issue finally arrived on Monday and, not long after, I found the piece had been reprinted in the *Vorwärts*.<sup>151</sup>

The disciplinary action *à la* Anti-Socialist Law having failed,<sup>152</sup> this daring move was the best thing the chaps could have done. But it was also good in another way, namely in going a fair way towards repairing the almost unbridgeable gulf alluded to by August<sup>c</sup> in the first moment of alarm. Not that that alarm was in any way unjustified, arising as it did out of concern for what their opponents might make of the thing. By printing it in the official organ, they forestalled hostile exploitation and put themselves in the position of being able to say: 'See how we criticise ourselves—we are the only party that can afford to do so; just you try and do the same!' This was, in fact, the correct attitude and one the chaps should have adopted from the start.

Another consequence is that it will be difficult to initiate disciplinary action against yourself. My request that the thing might be sent to Adler<sup>d</sup> was intended on the one hand to put pressure on Dietz and, on the other, to relieve you of responsibility by presenting you with Hobson's choice. I also wrote and told August that I was prepared to take full responsibility.<sup>153</sup>

If anyone else is to be held responsible, that person is Dietz. As he is

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<sup>a</sup> *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - <sup>b</sup> 31 January - <sup>c</sup> August Bebel - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 103.

aware, I have, where he is concerned, always shown myself very *courant*<sup>a</sup> over such matters. I have not only complied with, but actually exceeded, every request he has made to tone things down. Had he side-lined anything else, that too would have received consideration. But if a thing met with no objection from Dietz, why should it not be passed by me?

Come to that, having once got over their initial alarm, almost everyone save Liebknecht will be grateful to me for having published the thing. It will eliminate all possibility of prevarication and phrasemongering in the next programme and will provide irrefutable arguments such as the majority of them would hardly have had the courage to advance on their own initiative. Their failure to change a bad programme while the Anti-Socialist Law was in force because unable to do so is no cause for reproach. And they have after all now voluntarily relinquished that programme. Nor need they hesitate to admit today that, 15 years ago, they behaved like boobies over the matter of unification<sup>63</sup> and allowed themselves to be done in the eye by Hasselmann, etc. At all events, the programme's 3 ingredients — 1. specific Lassalleanism, 2. vulgar democracy *à la* People's Party<sup>154</sup> and 3. balderdash, have not improved as a result of 15 years' pickling qua official party programme, and if this can't be openly said today, when if ever can it be?

If you hear anything new, please let us know. Many regards,

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> co-operative

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 February 1891

My dear Laura,

Louise and I are going up to Highgate to take a copy of the inscription on the grave so as to be able to propose an additional one for Nimmy.<sup>a</sup> In the meantime will you please sign the enclosed, as *you and Tussy* are the joint owners registered and will both have to sign. We shall then let you know what we propose doing.

The socialists of Northampton have proposed to Edward<sup>b</sup> to stand in place of Bradlaugh deceased!<sup>c</sup> Edward and Tussy went over to reconnoitre on Wednesday<sup>d</sup> but I have not heard since. I advised him to accept only in case all expenses were forthcoming. Today they say they want £100 to £150 before they can nominate him, and nomination is on Monday next<sup>e</sup> already!

Love from Louise and your

F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

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<sup>a</sup> Helene Demuth, see also this volume, pp. 219-20. - <sup>b</sup> Aveling - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 123-24 and 126-27. - <sup>d</sup> 4 February - <sup>e</sup> 9 February

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 February 1891

My dear Lafargue,

This from a letter I have had from Fischer on the subject of the alleged intervention of the Germans in favour of 3 May:

'You are perfectly right. None of us here would be so insane as to seek to impose anything at all on the parties of other countries. The parliamentary faction's resolution was addressed *exclusively* to the German working man. It arose simply out of recognition of the fact that in the present situation, and given the severe political and economic tension now prevailing, any celebration on Friday 1 May would be a sheer impossibility. Unfortunately there are only too many who, despite themselves, will abstain from work on 1 May. Our capitalists are furious over the turn of political events in Germany.\* They would like nothing better than to find occasion to mount a general attack on us. The crisis that has recently gripped the iron, textile and building industries has presented them with that opportunity, thereby placing them in a position to deliver a general onslaught which at this moment we should be unable to fend off. Consider the case of the Hamburg cigar workers. That will show you who holds the trump cards today.\*\* They represent our *corps d'élite*, not a BLACKLEG amongst them, and yet the battle was lost weeks ago. Ultimately it is the small manufacturers who will have to foot part of the bill. But it is costing our working men a hundred thousand marks from their own funds— not counting the contributions from other towns which are sending money to support the strike. Accordingly 1 May is out of the question, financially speaking.'

That, I think, ought to satisfy you. Nor should you be surprised if, as I have already pointed out to you, the English follow the Germans' example. Tussy believes it highly probable. You Frenchmen have a passion for uniformity, which is all very well, provided the cost is not too high. But to preserve uniformity by ruining our prospects in

\* Fall of Bismarck, state socialism, fear that the prohibitive entry duties<sup>155</sup> introduced in 1878 may be abolished, etc., etc.

\*\* LOCKOUT of workpeople as a means of compelling them to resign from their union.

Germany and putting paid to any real success in England would be pedantic indeed.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 10 February 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for £20. I hope it arrives before you leave for Allier. My mind was elsewhere when I wrote it, otherwise I should have made it out to Laura's order so as to facilitate its endorsement should you be away.

As to what has transpired at the congress on the subject of 1 May, I know nothing. You may say what you will,<sup>156</sup> but at this juncture it would be sheer madness for the Germans to persist in holding their celebrations on the 1st and not on Sunday the 3rd. For that matter the divergence of opinion is quite natural; it is the antagonism between north and south. You southerners sacrifice everything to form, whereas the northerners tend to underrate it, concentrating rather on the substance. You like a theatrical effect; they, perhaps, pay too little heed to it. But for them 1 May means a repetition throughout the country of last year's lockouts<sup>a</sup> in Hamburg and in much less favourable circumstances; it means an outlay of between 200,000 and 300,000 marks, the exhaustion of all the funds for which the party is directly or indirectly responsible, the disorganisation of all our trades unions and, as a result, general discouragement. You must admit

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 116.

that if this is the price to be paid for the theatrical effect of a simultaneous demonstration, it is distinctly on the steep side.

The success of the *Socialiste* gives me much pleasure. It goes to show that your working men are beginning to read again and to acquire a taste for other things besides sensational and pornographic newspapers. You may be proud of this success; it augurs very well. Here, for the first time in many years, is a weekly that covers its expenses.<sup>157</sup> It is also very well produced. Do you send it to Sorge?<sup>2</sup>

Marx's article<sup>a</sup> has aroused great wrath in the party's Central Committee and many encomiums in the party itself. They tried to suppress the whole edition of the *Neue Zeit* but it was too late, whereupon they put a good face on it and boldly reprinted the article in the official organ.<sup>b</sup> When they have calmed down, they will thank me for having prevented them from entrusting the preparation of yet another equally shameful programme to Liebknecht, who fathered the thing.<sup>63</sup> In the meanwhile I have heard nothing from them directly; they are boycotting me to some extent.

Your article on the Russian alliance is very good<sup>c</sup>; it will rectify Liebknecht's repeated assurances that no one in France has dreamt of a Russian alliance, that it is all pure invention on Bismarck's part, etc. The fellow believes it his duty to heap praise on whatever goes on in France (or to conceal discreditable facts) because it's a *Republic!*

I haven't yet been able to read your article on feudal property.<sup>158</sup>

In Northampton it was the *local section of the Social Democratic Federation*<sup>29</sup> which invited Aveling to stand<sup>d</sup> and duly notified Hyndman, who tried to prevent them from putting him up. However they *insisted*, with the result that, last Saturday,<sup>e</sup> Hyndman had to rally the faithful here in London in order to pass a resolution that they had had nothing to do with Aveling's candidature. Since no one was suggesting that they had, this was tantamount to a public admission of insubordination within the bosom of the *Federation*. Hyndman's star is on the wane, even in the eyes of his supporters. The impetus given to the movement 18 months ago brought the *FEDERATION* a significant number of recruits and it is now stronger than ever before. But the said recruits are totally ignorant of the scabrous antecedents of this

<sup>a</sup> *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - <sup>b</sup> *Vorwärts* - <sup>c</sup> P. Lafargue, 'Der Schuß Padlewsky's', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 19 (see this volume, p. 108). - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 120 and 126-27. - <sup>e</sup> 7 February

gang and haven't the slightest intention of accepting responsibility for any of them. They leave the FEDERATION'S foreign policy to Hyndman & Co. because it is quite above their heads. But if Hyndman tried to revive old personal squabbles, or if he were forced to do so, he would no longer, as previously, have a submissive band of supporters to back him up. A fair number of GASWORKERS also belong to the Federation and, so far as they are concerned, any interference with Aveling and Tussy would spell war.

Moreover Aveling's candidature must be all the more galling to Hyndman in that Aveling, who did not possess the £100 DEPOSIT for the expenses of the POLL, roundly refused a TORY'S offer to make him a present of it. At which loud panegyrics in the liberal press (see *The Daily News* which I shall send you).<sup>a</sup> In similar circumstances Hyndman and Champion *accepted* money from the TORIES, as you know.<sup>159</sup>

All it amounts to is a postponement. There can be no doubt that, come the General Election, the Northampton workmen will have the necessary money. They would have had it this time had they had a week in which to raise it. And they were counting on between 900 and 1,000 votes.

You have no maid. As for us, Annie gave notice yesterday as from 21 November; she is to marry her BLOKE at last.

What curious people the Roshers are! Percy's little boy has had to be circumcised because of some infantile disorder—and now his brother Howard's son is in similar case! Old Rosher is completely at a loss: is it divine vengeance for the 19 children (INCLUDING MISCARRIAGES) he has engendered? I myself submit that it is religious atavism. Hereditarily speaking they are so very Christian! Now, since Christianity is Judaism's natural child, what we have here is a reversion to the ORIGINAL ANCESTRAL TYPE, a foreskin so extravagant that it calls for an operation instituted as a sign of the bond between Jehovah and his chosen people.

Kovalevsky has published his Oxford lectures.<sup>b</sup> Prehistorical part, weak, historical, on Russia, interesting.

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<sup>a</sup> 'Election News. Nomination at Northampton. Enthusiastic Liberal Meeting', *The Daily News*, 10 February 1891. - <sup>b</sup> M. Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia being the Ilchester Lectures for 1889-90*.



We are drafting an inscription for Helene's<sup>a</sup> grave to be submitted to Laura. Give her a kiss from me.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris,  
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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>160</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 February 1891

Dear Sorge,

Letter of 16 January received.

I am *delighted* to hear that you propose to do away with the *Nationalist*. Over here I can find no one, not a solitary soul, who is prepared to read it, and I myself have not got the time to scrutinise the sagacious lucubrations of all the various RESPECTABLE panjandrums. I would have suggested such a course long since had I not thought that, if a chap like you sent me the thing, there was bound to be something in it *some time*.

The photograph is in the offing. Heinrich Scheu wishes to do a wood-cut of me, for which reason I recently had to position myself before the lens again.<sup>b</sup> Of the seven pictures, one will presumably turn out well.

I trust your wife<sup>c</sup> will have completely recovered by the time you get this; also you yourself.

I cannot tell you anything about the AMERICAN EDITION OF *Capital*, since I have never seen it and do not know what it contains. That the people over there *can* pirate our stuff, we are aware. That they *do* so

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<sup>a</sup> Helene Demuth's, see also this volume, pp. 219-20. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 112. -  
<sup>c</sup> Katharina Sorge

proves that it's a good speculation and is gratifying, although detrimental to the heirs. But it was something we had to reckon with the moment sales assumed significant proportions over there.

By now you will presumably have had the fourth ed.<sup>a</sup>

You will have read Marx's article<sup>b</sup> in the *Neue Zeit*. To begin with it aroused great wrath in the socialist powers-that-be in Germany but now they appear to be simmering down a bit. In the party itself, on the other hand, there was great rejoicing, except among the old Lassalleans. The Berlin correspondent of the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, which you will get by the *next* post, actually thanks me for the service I have rendered the party<sup>161</sup> (I believe it's Adolf Braun, Victor Adler's brother-in-law and Liebknecht's deputy editor on the *Vorwärts*). Liebknecht, of course, is furious, since all the criticism was aimed specifically at him and he was the progenitor, together with that bugger Hasselmann, of the rotten programme.<sup>63</sup> I can comprehend the initial dismay felt by the chaps, who have hitherto insisted that 'comrades' should approach them only with the utmost delicacy, on finding themselves being handled thus *sans façon*,<sup>c</sup> and their programme unmasked as pure rubbish. According to what I hear from K. Kautsky who has behaved very courageously throughout this affair, the parliamentary group intends to issue an edict<sup>162</sup> to the effect that publication took place without their knowledge and is deplored by them. They're welcome to that gratification. However, it may come to nothing if the party increasingly voices its assent and the fuss about 'placing a weapon against ourselves in the hands of our foes' is found to be without substance.

In the meantime I am being boycotted by the gentlemen, which suits me very well as it saves me quite a deal of time. Not that it's likely to last for long.

After Bradlaugh's death, Aveling was invited to stand in Northampton and by none other than the local BRANCH OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION,<sup>29</sup> i. e. nominally Hyndman's people. Because of the leap forward made by the movement generally in the past 18 months, the FEDERATION has acquired a large following. These people are glad to leave foreign policy (plotting with the Possibilists,<sup>3</sup> etc.), which is quite outside their ken, to Hyndman & Co., but are completely unaware of the said gentry's previous plotting and intriguing at home, and would certainly deny all responsibility for the same; — IN FACT, it

<sup>a</sup> of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - <sup>c</sup> rudely .

is only because Hyndman & Co. have, since that time, pretty well eluded attack at home that they have acquired the afore-mentioned following. Hence the move made by the Northampton people which seriously alarmed Hyndman, the more so since the BRANCH immediately informed the Executive Council of what they had done. A certain amount of plotting ensued, but to no avail. Aveling went down and was given a brilliant reception, but it was only 4 days until nomination day, and a £100 deposit had to be raised for election expenses. Twenty working men undertook to put up £5 each, and a man turned up who offered to provide the money against that undertaking. But upon closer investigation this man proved to be one of the Conservatives' principal agents, whereupon Aveling refused the money with a proper display of righteous indignation and withdrew. This must have been doubly vexatious for Hyndman in as much as, 5 years ago, he and Champion accepted £250 or £350 from the TORIES for electoral purposes.<sup>159</sup> At all events, Aveling is now the workers' nominee for Northampton and stands a good chance of obtaining an increasing number of votes. On this occasion he would have received between nine hundred and a thousand.

The young man I recommended to you<sup>a</sup> will already have come to see you. The Romms, by the by, know him personally, something of which I was unaware at the time.

The French are very angry because this year the Germans intend to celebrate May Day on the 3rd of May, and not the 1st. It's all nonsense; by celebrating on 1 May last year, the Hamburg chaps involved themselves in a LOCKOUT<sup>b</sup> (for which, having no contracts, the manufacturers yearn); it cost the workers there 100,000 marks — not counting outside contributions — broke the backs of their TRADES UNIONS, which were the best organised, and crippled them for a long time to come. In Germany today there is chronic overproduction in all branches of industry and, since a general celebration throughout Germany could not be held on 1 May without breach of contract and would thus bring about a general LOCKOUT, use up all our funds, disrupt all our TRADES UNIONS and engender discouragement rather than enthusiasm, it would be madness. However, at the Paris Congress, our people evinced such enthusiasm for the 1st of May,<sup>51</sup> that this now looks like a retreat. And again the parliamentary group's proclamation is a deplorably feeble affair.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Stanisław Padlewski - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 116 and 122-23.

Here in England the day is to be decided next Sunday. Realising what a mistake they had made last year, Hyndman and Co. are intent on somehow pushing themselves to the fore on this occasion, and 1 May will find many supporters. But since the capitalists in this country are ever eager to seize on any pretext for disrupting the two best hated TRADES UNIONS—the DOCKERS and more particularly that BOSSED by Tussy, the GASWORKERS AND GENERAL LABOURERS,<sup>164</sup> Tussy is going to do all she can to avoid providing them with the pretext of breach of contract and will propose 3 May as being a Sunday. The GASWORKERS are now the most powerful organisation in Ireland and, in the next elections, are going to put up their own candidates regardless of Parnell or M'Carthy. Parnell's demonstrative friendliness towards working men is the result of a meeting he had with these self-same GASWORKERS who didn't hesitate to give him a piece of their mind. Even Michael Davitt, who used to call for independent Irish TRADES UNIONS, now knows better: The constitution they have got allows them HOME-RULE with no strings attached. It is to them that credit is due for having, for the first time, got the labour movement in Ireland going. Many of their BRANCHES CONSIST OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

kindest regards to your wife,

Your  
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY <sup>98</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 11 February 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Many thanks for your two letters.<sup>165</sup> I return herewith those of Bebel and Schippel.

The boycott imposed upon me by the Berliners has not yet been lifted; there's been no sign of a letter and it's obvious they haven't yet made up their minds. By contrast, the *Hamburger Echo* published a leading article that was very fair,<sup>166</sup> considering that the chaps are still strongly tainted with Lassalleanism and actually swear by the system of acquired rights.<sup>167</sup> From this, and from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, I also gathered that the onslaught of the opposition press was already at its height, if not actually abating. Once they have survived that—and so far as I could see, it has so far been very mild—the chaps will recover from their initial alarm. By contrast, Adler's Berlin correspondent (A. Braun?) has actually thanked me for publishing the thing.<sup>161</sup> A few more such voices and the opposition will languish.

It became evident to me that the document had been deliberately suppressed and concealed from Bebel in May/June 1875 the moment he informed me that the date of his release from prison had been 1 April; indeed, I have written to him <sup>153</sup> saying that he was *bound* to have seen it unless 'something untoward' had happened. In due course I shall, if necessary, request him to reply to this point. For a long time the document was held by Liebknecht from whose clutches Bracke had some difficulty in retrieving it; Liebknecht wished to keep it entirely to himself in order to use it for the final version of the programme. How, needs no saying.

Send me Lafargue's article <sup>168</sup> by registered book post as a ms.; I'll smooth things out all right. Come to that, his article on Padlewski <sup>a</sup> was quite good and very useful, considering the way the *Vorwärts* misrepresents French politics. All in all, Wilhelm <sup>b</sup> would seem to be out of luck in this respect. *He* is always praising the French Republic to

<sup>a</sup> P. Lafargue, 'Der Schuß Padlewsky's', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 19 (see also this volume, pp. 108, 123). - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht

the skies while Guesde, the correspondent whom he himself appointed, is for ever tearing it to pieces.<sup>149</sup>

The parliamentary group's pronouncement,<sup>162</sup> heralded by Schippel, is a matter of complete indifference to me. Should they wish, I am prepared to confirm that I am not in the habit of asking their permission. Whether or not they approve of the fact of publication is all one to me. Nor do I begrudge them the right to express their disapproval of this and that. Unless the affair turns out in such a way as absolutely to compel me to take it up, it would not occur to me to reply. So we shall wait and see.

I shall not write to Bebel about it, for in the first place he himself must first let me know what view of the matter he has finally arrived at and, in the second, every resolution is signed by everybody in the parliamentary group whether or not they voted for it. By the way, Bebel is wrong in thinking I would allow myself to become embroiled in acrimonious dispute. For that to happen, they would first have to provoke me with falsehoods, etc., which I could not overlook. On the contrary, I am positively steeped in a spirit of conciliation, having after all no cause for anger, and am only too anxious to build that bridge—pontoon bridge, trestle bridge, iron, stone or even golden bridge—across the potential abyss or gulf which Bebel thought he saw yawning in the distance.

Odd! Schippel now writes of the many old Lassalleans who pride themselves on their Lassalleanism—yet when they were over here,<sup>169</sup> it was unanimously agreed that there were no Lassalleans left in Germany! Indeed, this was the main reason for my abandoning many of my reservations. And then Bebel also chimes in, saying that a large number of the best comrades are seriously offended. If [so],<sup>a</sup> they ought to have [described]<sup>a</sup> things to me as they really were.

Come to that, if you cannot now, 15 years later, speak your mind about Lassalle's theoretical balderdash and his prophetic mission, when if ever will you be able to?

However, the party as such, the Executive, the parliamentary group and *tutti quanti*<sup>b</sup> are exempted by the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>11</sup> from all blame save that of having accepted such a programme (and there is no getting round this). So long as that law was in force there could be no question of any revision; no sooner was it suspended than revision was included in the agenda. So what more do they want?

<sup>a</sup> Manuscript damaged. - <sup>b</sup> all the rest

It is also imperative that the chaps should at long last throw off the habit of handling the party officials—their servants—with kid gloves and kow-towing to them as infallible bureaucrats, instead of confronting them critically.

Your  
F. E.

You will no doubt have heard that Aveling is standing for Northampton in place of Bradlaugh.<sup>a</sup> The invitation came from the local BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION<sup>29</sup> and from the GASWORKERS. He went down there and his tub-thumping met with great applause. He was assured of 900-1,000 votes. But he hadn't got the deposit for the election expenses and, when offered this by a Tory agent, indignantly refused it. Thus he was not nominated, but from now on will stand as labour candidate for Northampton.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY  
IN STUTTGART

London, 21 February 1891

Dear Kautsky,

First of all my heartiest congratulations on the arrival of your infant.<sup>b</sup> I trust it keeps tipping away and that the confinement went off normally and easily. My heartiest congratulations to your wife<sup>c</sup> also. May the lad give you much joy.

Bebel's letter returned herewith.<sup>170</sup> Today I had to correct the proof

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 120, 123-24 and 126-27. -<sup>b</sup> Felix Kautsky -<sup>c</sup> Luise Kautsky, née Ronsperger

of sheet 1 of the *Anti-Brentano*,<sup>a 96</sup> otherwise I should have finished my letter to you. You'll therefore have to wait.

So my best wishes until tomorrow or the day after.

Your  
F. E.

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

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY  
IN STUTTGART

London, 23 February 1891

*Confidential*

Dear Kautsky,

Seeing that you have sent me Bebel's letter and that one good turn deserves another, I have worded the enclosed letter<sup>b</sup> in such a way that you can send it to Bebel *should you also consider it desirable in the interests of peace*. This I leave entirely to you.

Your notes on the *Vorwärts* article are *very* good.<sup>171</sup> Likewise your proposal to remind Bebel of the indifference with which Schramm's attacks on Marx were allowed to pass.

In great haste—the post goes in 5 minutes.

Your  
F. E.

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, Nr. 5, Berlin, 1932

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*. - <sup>b</sup> See next letter.



ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>172</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 23 February 1891

Dear Kautsky,

You will have got my hasty congratulations of the day before yesterday.<sup>a</sup> So let us now return to the matter in hand, namely Marx's letter.<sup>b</sup>

The fear that it would place a weapon in the hands of our opponents was unfounded. Malicious insinuations are, of course, made about anything and everything, but by and large the impression gained by our opponents was nevertheless one of utter stupefaction at this ruthless self-criticism, stupefaction combined with the feeling that a party must be possessed of great inner strength if it could treat itself to that sort of thing. This much is apparent from the opposition newspapers I have been getting from you (very many thanks) and elsewhere. And I frankly admit that this was what I had in mind when I published the document. That it was bound at first to give grave offence in certain quarters I was aware, but it couldn't be helped and in my view this consideration was more than outweighed by its factual content. And I knew that the party was amply strong enough to stand it and I reckoned that today it would even *tolerate* the forthright language used 15 years ago, that it would point with justifiable pride to this test of its strength and say: Show us another party that would dare do the same. In the meantime this has been left to the Saxon and the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Züricher Post*.<sup>173</sup>

To have assumed, in No. 21 of the *Neue Zeit*, responsibility for its publication is most courageous of you,<sup>171</sup> but don't forget that it was I, after all, who first instigated the thing and, in addition, presented you, as it were, with Hobson's choice. Accordingly I consider the main responsibility to be mine. As to details, one can of course always

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 131-32. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

hold differing views about such things. I deleted or altered everything that you and Dietz took exception to and, even if Dietz had made more deletions, I should still have been *coulant*<sup>a</sup> wherever possible; at no time have I failed to give the two of you proof of this. As to the main issue, however, it was *my duty* to publish the thing the moment the programme came up for discussion. And especially after Liebknecht's speech at Halle,<sup>121</sup> in which he coolly quotes parts of it as though they were his own, while contesting others without naming their source, Marx would unquestionably have confronted this version with the original and in place of him I was duty bound to do the same. Unfortunately the document was not immediately to hand and I only found it much later after a long search.

You mention that Bebel has written to you saying that Marx's treatment of Lassalle has caused bad blood amongst the old Lassalleans. That may be. Those people don't, of course, know the true story and nobody seems to have done anything to enlighten them on the subject. If they don't know that Lassalle's reputation as a great man is solely attributable to the fact that for years Marx allowed him to flaunt as his own the fruits of Marx's research and, what's more, to distort them because of his inadequate grounding in political economy, that is no fault of mine. But I am Marx's literary executor and as such I also have my obligations.

For the past 26 years Lassalle has been part of history. If, while the Exceptional Law<sup>11</sup> was in force, he has been exempt from historical criticism, it is now high time that such criticism came into its own and that light be thrown on Lassalle's position in regard to Marx. The legend which veils the true image of Lassalle and deifies him cannot, after all, become an article of faith for the party. However highly one may rate Lassalle's services on behalf of the movement, his historical role inside it remains an equivocal one. Everywhere Lassalle the socialist goes hand in hand with Lassalle the demagogue. In Lassalle the agitator and organiser, the Lassalle who conducted the Hatzfeldt lawsuit<sup>174</sup> is everywhere apparent: the same cynicism in the choice of methods, the same predilection for consorting with corrupt and shady people who may be used simply as tools and then be discarded. Up till 1862 a specifically Prussian vulgar democrat in practice with marked Bonapartist tendencies (I have just been looking through his letters to Marx), he made a sudden volte-face for purely personal rea-

<sup>a</sup> compliant

sons and began to engage in agitation. And before 2 years had gone by he was demanding that the workers side with the monarchy against the bourgeoisie and had begun intriguing with his kindred spirit Bismarck in a manner that could only have led to the actual betrayal of the movement had he not, luckily for him, been shot in the nick of time. In his propagandist writings the correct arguments he borrowed from Marx are so interwoven with his own invariably false ones that it is virtually impossible to separate the two. Such workers as have been offended by Marx's judgment know nothing of Lassalle save for his 2 years of agitation and, furthermore, see the latter only through rose-tinted spectacles. But historical criticism cannot forever remain standing hat in hand before such prejudices. It was my duty to settle accounts once and for all between Marx and Lassalle. That has been done. With this I can content myself for the time being. Besides, I have other things to do. And the publication of Marx's ruthless judgment of Lassalle will undoubtedly prove effective on its own and put heart into others. But if I were forced to do so, there'd be no alternative: I should have to dispose of the Lassallean legend once and for all.

That voices should have been raised in the parliamentary group demanding that the *Neue Zeit* be subject to censorship is truly delectable. Is the spectre of the parliamentary group's dictatorship at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law (a dictatorship that was, of course, essential and excellently managed) still at large or is it a harking back to the sometime close-knit organisation of von Schweitzer? After the liberation of German socialist science from Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law, what more brilliant idea than to subject it to a new Anti-Socialist Law to be thought up and implemented by the officials of the Social-Democratic Party. However, we've taken care that they don't get too big for their boots.

I have lost no sleep over the *Vorwärts* article.<sup>162</sup> I shall await Liebknecht's account of the affair and then reply to both in as amicable tones as possible. There are only a few inaccuracies to put right in the *Vorwärts* article (e.g. that we hadn't wanted unification, that events had given Marx the lie, etc.) and some obvious points to confirm. I intend that this reply should conclude the debate so far as I am concerned, provided I am not compelled to resume it as a result of fresh attacks or inaccurate statements.

Tell Dietz that I am revising the *Origin*.<sup>a</sup> However I have today also heard from Fischer who writes to say that he wants three new prefaces! <sup>175</sup>

Your  
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*,  
No. 22, Moscow, 1931

Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO ANTONIO LABRIOLA <sup>176</sup>

IN ROME

[Copy]

London, 27 February 1891

... Unfortunately I cannot place the old ms. on Stirner at Mr Mackay's disposal. If it is published it will be by me or my assigns. But to hand over to a third party for such use as he may think fit an unpublished ms. in which Marx had a hand is something I have no right to do, nor would I do so if I had. I have had some *highly* peculiar experiences in this respect. Never again shall I part with *unica*,<sup>b</sup> whatever the circumstances. And besides, the ms. is a tome which in print would be as thick as Stirner's *Einzigiger*<sup>c</sup> itself—it's very tattered and fragmentary—and is still in need of rearrangement...

(Frederick Engels)

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<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - <sup>b</sup> original texts - <sup>c</sup> M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*.

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

IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 March 1891

Dear Sorge,

Your letter of 19 February received. In the meantime you will doubtless have heard various things about the great indignation of the Social-Democratic parliamentary group at the publication in the *Neue Zeit* of Marx's article on the programme.<sup>a</sup> The matter is still taking its course. For the present I shall let the chaps make fools of themselves, an end towards which Liebknecht has materially contributed in the *Vorwärts*.<sup>162</sup> Obviously I shall reply in due course though without needless acrimony; without some gentle irony, however, I hardly think it can be done. All those who count for anything in the field of theory are, of course, on my side—I must except only Bebel who was, in fact, not altogether unjustified in feeling offended by my action—but that was inevitable. Owing to an excess of work I have not been able to look at the *Volkszeitung*<sup>b</sup> for the last 4 weeks, so I don't know whether any answering sparks have been struck in America—after all you have plenty of Lassallean left-overs where you are, and in Europe these people are beside themselves with rage.

I now have three pamphlets to finish. The re-issue of 1. *The Civil War in France*—the General Council's address with regard to the Commune. I am arranging for this to be reprinted in a *revised* version<sup>c</sup> together with the 2 addresses of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War which are more topical today than ever before. Also an introduction by me.—2. *Wage Labour and Capital*<sup>d</sup> by Marx which I must bring up to the standard of *Capital*, for otherwise it will cause confusion in working-class circles—on account of the then still im-

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<sup>a</sup> *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - <sup>b</sup> *New Yorker Volkszeitung* - <sup>c</sup> the third German edition of Marx's *The Civil War in France* - <sup>d</sup> the separate German edition of 1891

perfect terminology (e. g. sale of labour instead of labour *power*, etc.) for which reason an introduction is also needed.—3. My *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*<sup>a</sup>; this will be popularised if possible, but no more.

The party is publishing them, each in an edition of 10,000. This will ensure I get a bit of peace in *that* quarter. But I had to take the thing on because it was essential to counter the never-ending flow of rubbishy Lassallean reprints. Luckily a *new* edition of Lassalle with notes, etc. is to appear under *Bernstein's* aegis<sup>178</sup> (*this between ourselves*).

In order that the person I recommended<sup>b</sup> should not lie fallow, I enclose herewith a CHEQUE for £ 10 out of which you can make him payments as you think fit, either with a view to his removal to one of the larger cities in the interior, which may be the best thing if he is to get on, or to enable him to keep his head above water where he is.

Hyndman is again inveighing against me<sup>179</sup>; it happens every 6 months, but he can talk till he's blue in the face and shout from every rooftop in London without eliciting a reply from me. He has also resumed his attacks upon Aveling and is again bringing up the American business. Now that Rosenberg has been chucked out,<sup>180</sup> do you think it might be possible to get a satisfactory statement from the party over there? All I want is your opinion; I'm not authorised to request that any sort of steps be taken.

The French are furious because the Germans and English will be celebrating on Sunday the 3rd instead of Friday the 1st of May. But there was no alternative. Last year the 1st of May celebrations in Hamburg involved the party in a strike (or rather LOCKOUT) which cost the chaps in Hamburg 100,000 marks—and now that trade is more wretched than ever, the bourgeois are longing for a pretext to shut down. And over here the DOCKERS are gradually being brought to heel, nor dare they grumble, for otherwise their TRADES UNION would be completely disrupted—admittedly a partial consequence of their own blunders—and only by dint of the utmost caution will the GAS-WORKERS be capable of saving themselves from a STRIKE which would disrupt them too.<sup>164</sup> At the outset the transformation of GAS WORKS into municipal undertakings will still mean an attempt by your philistine to extract as much profit as possible so as to bring down the rates in his municipality; the point of view that the municipality should

<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - <sup>b</sup> Stanislaw Padlewski

insist on the gasworkers' being well paid, precisely *because* they are workers, has yet to penetrate. The disruption of the GASWORKERS and DOCKERS, however, would bring with it the complete disruption of the NEW TRADES UNIONS which were introduced over here 2 years ago and the old conservative TRADES UNIONS, the ones that are *rich* and for that very reason cowardly, would then have the field to themselves.

The French are not wholly in the wrong. At the congress everyone enthusiastically supported the 1st of May.<sup>51</sup> But why should the French of all people, whose mighty words have so often been followed by insignificant deeds, now insist all of a sudden that no one else may pitch things a bit too high from time to time. The point is that, so far as we are concerned, the situation in France is remarkably favourable, especially now, as a result of the collapse of the Possibilists<sup>53</sup> and if, on this occasion, the 1st of May were to be celebrated successfully and simultaneously throughout the world it might well destroy the Possibilists completely. But that will happen either way.

So until my next.—My kind regards to your wife.<sup>a</sup> I hope she is now quite better.

Your  
F. E.

Louise Kautsky sends you both her best wishes.

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

<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE <sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 March 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Old Mother Victoria has behaved like a perfect idiot.<sup>161</sup> She ought to have known that in France, where people have fought for the Republic for the past hundred years, her royal person would cut no ice and that in Paris they don't give a fig for her. But these personages cannot get it out of their heads that merely to appear in one place or another is to do it an honour for which all and sundry are obliged to render thanks.

Like the Broussists<sup>3</sup> in your country, the Social Democratic Federation<sup>29</sup> over here has had to give way over the May demonstration. They sent 3 delegates to the Eight Hours Committee, of which Aveling is chairman. This evening he will submit the *Justice* articles<sup>179</sup> to the delegates of that committee and thus force their hand. He wrote a letter to *Justice* in which he challenged Hyndman to confront him at a public meeting and the latter has refused, not only to publish the letter, but to respond to the challenge: he would invite comparison with Aveling the moment he began to canvass the working man's vote.

Meanwhile you have scored a great victory by forcing the Broussists to stick to 1 May.<sup>182</sup> TO PUT IN THE THIN EDGE OF THE WEDGE you must treat those delegates as nicely and as obsequiously as you can. Just wait and see, the demonstration will lose little, if anything at all, by being spread over two days rather than one. Perhaps you were right to complain that the Germans in Paris were wholeheartedly in favour of the 1st<sup>51</sup> and that they now seem to be having second thoughts,<sup>a</sup> but apart from that (and Tussy says that in effect no one who saw them in Paris would have guessed at their attitude today) — apart from that, no one will persuade the Germanic nations to sacrifice or even endanger the whole future of their movement for the sake of a demonstration.

Now for something else. Kautsky wrote to me a few weeks ago to

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 123-24.



say that he had had an article from you on Marx and the bourgeois economists,<sup>168</sup> which he thought was not entirely suited to the German public. However he hesitated to return it to you. What was he to do? I asked him to send me the article, which he did. I read it and indeed I, too, share Kautsky's opinion that the article cannot be published in German and for the following reasons:

First of all, not one German economist has ever accused Marx of advancing theories that were not connected with those of Smith and Ricardo. On the contrary, what they do is reproach Smith and Ricardo with having produced Marx who, in their view, has merely drawn inferences from the theory, propounded by the aforesaid predecessors, of value, profit, rent and, lastly, the division of the product of labour. That is why they have become *vulgar* economists who don't give a damn for the classicals. You cite Brentano whose reply to you would be that all your shots are wide of the mark.

Next, everything and more you say about and quote from these two economists and other authors has been said and quoted by us in Germany:

1. Theory of value: In his *Critique of Political Economy*, 1859, Marx concludes each chapter with an outline of the history of the theory therein developed. After the theory of value you will find on p. 29 'historical notes on the analysis of commodities' in which, after Petty and Boisguillebert, Franklin and Steuart, the Physiocrats and Galiani and their ideas on value, he discusses A. Smith on p. 37 and Ricardo on pp. 38-39<sup>163</sup> — hence all of it familiar stuff to the Germans. I would mention further that the passage you quote from Smith is not one of his best; there are others in which he gets much closer to the truth. In your passage he fixes the value of a product in accordance, not with the labour *it contains*, but with what can be *bought* with that product. A definition which embraces the whole contradiction of the old system.

2. Surplus value. Everything you say about this subject has been said by me in my preface to Vol. II of *Capital* in the passages indicated to Laura who will translate them for you if you ask her nicely.

3. The man *Say* is no longer of any significance in Germany. What's more you rehabilitate him by discerning beneath the vulgarity a strain of classicism, which is more than he deserves.

The post is about to go—I am holding the article here at your disposal.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Printed according to the original  
Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO HENRI RAVÉ<sup>184</sup>

IN POITIERS

[Notes]

[London,] 6 March [1891]

To send proof-sheet or two of his translation of Bebel.<sup>a</sup> Has he a publisher? No promise. Might indicate him the chapters<sup>b</sup> which will not be changed or not much so that he might begin. *No promise.*

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

Reproduced from the original  
Published in English for the first time

## 82

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI<sup>185</sup>

IN BENEVENTO

London, 6 March 1891

Many thanks for *Critica Sociale*.<sup>186</sup> Sig. Avv.<sup>c</sup> Turati had already sent it to me direct and promises to send it regularly. Trust that your

<sup>a</sup> A. Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* and *La Femme dans le passé, le présent & l'avenir*. -<sup>b</sup> of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* -<sup>c</sup> advocate

prospects are brighter. I am anxious to see the translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Warm regards from

Your

F. E.

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

83

## ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

IN MILAN

London, 7 March 1891  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Very many thanks for your kind letter of 23 February,<sup>187</sup> the 3 numbers of the *Critica Sociale* and your offer to send it to me regularly in future. As former Secretary for Italy on the General Council of the International I naturally take a great interest in the progress of the socialist movement in your country and particularly in Lombardy where, as a young man, I spent three months,<sup>188</sup> of which I still retain happy memories.

I should like to thank you equally for the good wishes you were kind enough to send me on the occasion of the publication of the article by Marx<sup>a</sup> in the *Neue Zeit*. In publishing it I was merely carrying out my duty to the memory of Marx on the one hand and to the German party on the other.

You are quite right when you wonder whether I shall have time to contribute either to your revue or to the socialist library you are about to publish. Indeed the preparation of new editions of Marx's

<sup>a</sup> *Critique of the Gotha Programme*

works and of my own pamphlets will barely leave my time to finish the manuscript of Volume III of Marx's *Capital*. Just now I have four pamphlets<sup>a</sup> to revise, complete and furnish with new introductions, so how can I possibly find time for any other work? Nevertheless I wish you every success and shall be interested to see a good Italian translation of our 1847 *Manifesto*<sup>b</sup> and, were you to find that one or other of my articles might be of interest to the Italian public, I should be delighted to re-read my work in your *bella e ricchissima lingua*.<sup>c</sup>

*E con distinta stima La saluto,*<sup>d</sup>

F. Engels

*Il di Lei amico Stepniak viaggia in questo momento nell'America.*<sup>e</sup>

First published, in Italian, in *Critica Sociale*, No. 6, Milano, 10 March 1891

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Published in English for the first time

84

## ENGELS TO HENRI RAVÉ<sup>189</sup>

IN POITIERS

[Notes]

[London, mid-March 1891]

1. Translate pp. 121-25 and 140-45 as a sample.<sup>190</sup>
2. Ten copies of the translation, otherwise no conditions.
3. Lafargue to send him *Socialisme: utopique et scientifique*.<sup>f</sup>

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

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

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 136, 137, 145. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, F. Engels, 'Il Manifesto del Partito Comunista (1848)', *Lotta di Classe*, Nos. 8, 10, 12, 13, 15-17, 19-22; 17-18 September, 1-2, 15-16, 22-23 October, 5-6, 12-13, 19-20 November, 3-4, 10-11, 17-18, 24-25 December 1892. - <sup>c</sup> rich and beautiful language - <sup>d</sup> With my best compliments and greetings - <sup>e</sup> Your friend Stepniak is at present on his way to America. - <sup>f</sup> the French edition of Engels' book

85

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY <sup>191</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 17 March 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th.—The 6 Dahn fascicles<sup>a</sup> went off to you yesterday by parcel post. I should have been hard at work on the *Origin*<sup>b</sup> if Fischer hadn't come up with a demand for a new edition of 10,000 copies of 1. *The Civil War in France*,<sup>c</sup> 2. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*,<sup>d</sup> 3. *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*, etc.<sup>e</sup> So I had to write an introduction to the *Civil War*, which went off on Saturday,<sup>f</sup> and at the same time thoroughly revise the thing and append thereto the General Council's 2 addresses on the Franco-Prussian War; fortunately Louise undertook to translate the latter. Nevertheless it has consumed a great deal of time. For *Wage Labour and Capital* was written in pre-surplus value terminology which cannot possibly be allowed to stand today in a propaganda piece running to 10,000 copies. So I shall have to translate it into present-day language and preface it with an apology. Finally, the *Socialism* also needs to be revised and, if possible, a little more popularised — 10,000 copies is no trifling matter —, so how can I find time for anything else? And of all times I ought not to withdraw from the field, leaving it free for Lassallean pamphlets. But as soon as I have rid myself of this task, I shall tackle the *Origin*. I have pretty well completed the preliminary studies. And now along comes a Frenchman, H. Ravé, who wishes to translate the thing — he has translated Bebel's *Frau*<sup>g</sup> — not all that marvellously — and wants me if possible to send him revises or clean proof-sheets. But the matter has not yet been agreed.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Dahn, *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, vols 1-4. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - <sup>c</sup> the third German edition - <sup>d</sup> the separate German edition of 1891 - <sup>e</sup> the fourth German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - <sup>f</sup> 14 March - <sup>g</sup> A. Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* and *La Femme dans le passé, le présent & l'avenir*.

I congratulate Peschel on his translator.<sup>192</sup> Hope I shan't suffer the same fate.

The Anti-Brentano<sup>96</sup> is being [pub]lished<sup>b</sup> by Meissner, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> sheets—I am getting him to print *all* documents, including Sedley Taylor and my preface to the 4th edition.<sup>c</sup> Printing almost complete.

Apropos, has the *Neue Zeit* had a review copy of the (*Capital*) 4th edition? If not, *write and let me know at once* (postcard)—I had made a *particular point of this*. If it has I should be glad if you would publish a brief notice in which, in connection with my preface,<sup>d</sup> you might also make a discreet allusion to Brentano.

For want of time I have not been able to have my introduction to the *Civil War*—about 9 or 10 pages of the *Neue Zeit*—copied out for you; this house is a hive of activity; Annie is getting married and Louise is having to see about a new girl, etc., added to which there have been the promptings of the Berliners. But I have asked Fischer to send me 3 clean proof-sheets; alternatively, if the revise turns out well I shall send it to you so that you may use it beforehand should you wish. If, for one reason or another, it doesn't suit you, nothing will have been lost.

Not a word from August<sup>e</sup>—there's no hurry. Sorge thinks I should take no notice of the mighty *Vorwärts* article.<sup>193</sup> What do you think? I am beginning to incline towards his view.

The bit in my letter to you about responsibility<sup>f</sup> was *solely for August's consumption*; if I had thought it would hurt your feelings in any way, I would have omitted it—such a thing had never even crossed my mind. And I *certainly wasn't* thinking of your note<sup>171</sup> on the parliamentary group's ukase.<sup>162</sup> I simply regarded it as my duty, in the event of your forwarding the letter to the Berliners, to relieve you of as much responsibility as possible in their eyes and to take it upon myself. *Voilà tout.*<sup>g</sup>

Thank you for the *Volkszeitung*<sup>h</sup> and *Critica Sociale*. The first was sent me by Sorge, the second by Turati (at the behest of that braggart Loria); he now sends it regularly. Since then a still more forceful article, inspired by Sorge, and written by Schlüter, has appeared in the *Volkszeitung*.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*. - <sup>b</sup> Manuscript damaged. - <sup>c</sup> of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> to the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>e</sup> August Bebel - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, p. 133. - <sup>g</sup> That's all. - <sup>h</sup> *New Yorker Volkszeitung*

I too am coming increasingly to believe that the affair has aroused no indignation whatever in the party as such and that, for one reason or another, it has only hurt the feelings of the gentry in Berlin. And even the latter seem to have realised that the provocations in the *Vorwärts* proved abortive as soon as they were uttered and produced no effect at all—*tombés à plat*,<sup>a</sup> as the French say. Otherwise I should have certainly had word from them.

Your complaints about *the Vorwärts* (since when has the thing acquired the masculine gender?) find a sympathetic echo over here. Never has such a paper been seen before. I can only wonder how long people will stand for it.

Percy and his family are shortly going to Ryde, Isle of Wight, where Percy is to set up and manage an agency for his brothers.

kindest regards from

Your

F. E.

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

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 March 1891

Dear Sorge,

Have shown your letter re Miss Anna<sup>b</sup> to our friends and promptly complied with your instructions. Enclosed you will find a brief note to the same in which she is hauled over the coals and notified that the letters she has written hitherto, with their repeated requests for money, have fallen on stony ground. I have been asked to tell you

<sup>a</sup> fell flat - <sup>b</sup> Stanislaw Padlewski

that people in this country are of the opinion that enough has now been done for her both over here and out there, that she must now arrange for her own advancement and that this could best be achieved out in the country, doing agricultural work such as she is used to. To this I replied that that sort of thing would be possible only in a district where she could get along without any English, but that since such districts did exist out there, the thing was not impossible. At all events, New York and sea-ports generally would not appear to be at all the right terrain for a female of her ilk and if she is to achieve anything, she must go so far away as to make it very difficult for her to come back again.

In the meantime you will also have had my letter<sup>a</sup> with a money order for ten pounds and will, under the circumstances, have been able to put it to good use. Between ourselves, I believe that, should need arise, I could again raise a like amount, but that would probably be that. I have also been asked to request you people to be *strict* in regard to money matters so that the person concerned may finally realise that this idling can't go on for ever.

Besides the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* I am also sending you today a *Volks-Tribüne* and *Figaro* (PARIS MEETING), and an Italian translation of the *Manifesto*.<sup>b</sup> The *People's Press* and *Commonweal* have both gone phut.

I do not yet know whether or not I shall reply to the *Vorwärts* article,<sup>162</sup> but I am beginning to incline towards your view.<sup>193</sup> There are a few points I really *ought to* touch on; however, it might be possible to do so in some other way.

I am having to arrange for new editions and/or new introductions to 1. *The Civil War in France*,<sup>c</sup> 2. Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*<sup>d</sup> and 3. *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*<sup>e</sup>; the German party is to bring them out in editions of 10,000 copies.

My reply to Brentano<sup>f96</sup> will be published by Meissner in about 8 or 10 days' time. You shall have it straight away.

Then I have a new edition of *The Origin of the Family, etc.*<sup>g</sup> to see to

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 137-39. - <sup>b</sup> *Il Manifesto del Partito Comunista 1847*, Milan, 1891. - <sup>c</sup> the third German edition - <sup>d</sup> the first separate German edition - <sup>e</sup> the fourth German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - <sup>f</sup> F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*. - <sup>g</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*



(5,000 sold!), after which, however, I shall apply myself inexorably and unremittingly to Volume III.<sup>a</sup>

Sam Moore arrived in Liverpool the day before yesterday and will probably be here in about a week's time. At Christmas he caught some horrible disease from which, however, he has completely recovered.

I trust your wife<sup>b</sup> is her old self once more. Warmest regards to her and to you.

Your  
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F.A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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time

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 March 1891

Dear Schlüter,

Your letter of the 10th arrived day before yesterday.<sup>c</sup> Many thanks for the information about conditions out there,<sup>195</sup> which is all the more welcome in that, journalistic methods being what they are in America, one knows that one cannot believe the papers and is, as a result, completely at sea.

Likewise many thanks for the books on silver and MINERAL RESOURCES. The one on silver and gold for 1890 will also be of interest to me when it appears. But more important to me than anything else, following last year's census, would be the *Compendium of the (eleventh) Census*

<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> Katharina Sorge - <sup>c</sup> 19 March

1890 when this comes out; I inherited from Marx the COMPENDIUM of the 10th CENSUS 1880 in 2 volumes, but it wasn't published until 1883<sup>a</sup>; not that that matters — this time it's unlikely to take so long.

I have no recollection at all of Marx's second speech, nor can I imagine what it might be.<sup>139</sup> If the few pages seem worth bothering about, it might be best if you were to print them in the *Volkszeitung*<sup>b</sup> and let me have a few copies.

You are quite right; Marx's critique of the programme<sup>c</sup> will achieve its object all right, and it was with this in mind that I published it. It seems, however, that the rage it has aroused in 'influential circles' in the party is terrible to behold; save for Fischer, who was pleased about the thing, no one has written to me — something, I'm glad to say, I can quite well put up with.

If your wife<sup>d</sup> should come to Europe, we shall, I trust, have a chance to see her here in London, when she may convince herself that we are still going strong.

The Roshers are shortly moving to the Isle of Wight where Percy is to manage an agency for his brothers. They left their house the day before yesterday and for the time being are staying with his parents, a few doors away from me.

You would oblige me by forwarding the enclosed to Sorge straight away.

Predictably, Julius<sup>e</sup> has not yet completed the removal from 114 Kentish Town Road<sup>f</sup> (due on the 25th); they have taken it on for another six weeks. Ede is busy writing for the *Vorwärts* and the *Neue Zeit* and is coming on tremendously. The Avelings are doing well; now that *The People's Press* has gone phut, you ought to read *The Daily Chronicle*; though the paper is UNIONIST LIBERAL and as such an ally of the TORIES, it provides the best news concerning the labour movement over here, and is prepared to accept all reports. The Eight Hours movement is going splendidly (cf. Ede's articles in the *Vorwärts*<sup>g</sup> and ditto in the *Neue Zeit*).<sup>h</sup> The TRADES COUNCIL<sup>196</sup> has given way; this time the demonstration is going to be enormous and, what's more, of

<sup>a</sup> Engels has in mind two censuses: *Department of the Interior, Census Office. Compendium of the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)...*, Parts I-II, Washington, 1883 and *Department of the Interior, Census Office. Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, Parts I-III, Washington, D. C., 1892-1897. -<sup>b</sup> *New Yorker Volkszeitung* -<sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. -<sup>d</sup> Anna Schlüter -<sup>e</sup> Julius Motteler -<sup>f</sup> the premises of the Sozialdemokrat office -<sup>g</sup> E. Bernstein, 'Arbeiterschutz - Gesetz - Reformen in England', *Vorwärts*, Nos. 56, 64 and 67; 7, 17 and 20 March 1891. -<sup>h</sup> E. Bernstein, 'Briefe aus England', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 25.

*one mind.* For the English, the LEGAL 8 HOURS AGITATION is the gateway to the socialist movement; once they have swallowed the 8 hours BILL for *everyone*, including men (and they are well on the way to doing so), they will stick at nothing — they'll have broken with the old middle-class FREE-TRADE viewpoint.

Warm regards to your wife and yourself from Louise and

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MAX OPPENHEIM <sup>197</sup>

IN DRESDEN

London, 24 March 1891  
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mr Oppenheim,

First of all I must crave your forgiveness for not having answered your esteemed letter of 26 November until now — almost four months later to the day! But if you knew what an unending mass of work and correspondence of all kinds I have had during that time and that, moreover, I am not allowed to wield my pen for more than 3 hours daily because of my weak eyes — and by daylight at that! — you would, I am sure, excuse me.

My heartfelt thanks then for your kind good wishes which would appear to be coming true in as much as I am on the whole very well, all things considered, and everyone alleges that I do not look my age. Let us hope that I so continue.

You further touch on a few difficult themes which cannot be dealt with anything like exhaustively in a short letter. Certainly, it would spell progress if workers' unions could negotiate wage settlements

with the entrepreneurs direct and on everyone's behalf. Indeed, here in England this has been the aim for the past 50 years, though the capitalists know too well where their interests lie to swallow the bait save under duress. That aim was achieved in the big DOCK STRIKE of 1889<sup>198</sup> as it has been sporadically both before and since; but at the first opportunity the masters emancipate themselves from this, the unions' 'intolerable tyranny', and declare it inadmissible for such third parties, interlopers, to meddle in the patriarchal relations between them and their working men. It's the old story — when business is good, demand compels the masters to be accommodating, when it is bad, they exploit the excessive supply of labour to contest all these concessions again. On the whole, however, the resistance of the workers increases as they become better organised, — so much so, in fact, that the general situation — on average — improves slightly and no crisis can lastingly drag the workers *down to* or *below* zero, the *nadir* of the previous crisis. But it would be difficult to say what would happen if at any time we were to experience a prolonged, chronic, *general* industrial crisis of 5 or 6 years' duration.

The employment of surplus workers by the state or the municipalities and the nationalisation of the trade in foodstuffs are matters which, in my view, need to be seen in a wider context than occurs in your letter. It is not the *trade* alone, but also the *production of* all foodstuffs a country can itself supply, that must be taken into account here. For how else do you propose to employ the surplus workers? If they are surplus, it is precisely because there is no market for their products. This, however, brings us to the expropriation of the landowners, i. e. considerably further than the present German or Austrian state would be prepared to go. Nor, for that matter, is it the kind of task we could entrust to either of them. How it would be done and what the result would be if Junkers were ordered to expropriate Junkers may be seen here in England where, despite all the medieval trappings, the general run of political life is far more modern than on either side of the Erzgebirge. Therein precisely lies the rub; for, so long as the propertied classes remain at the helm, nationalisation never abolishes exploitation but merely changes its form — in the French, American or Swiss republics no less than in monarchist Central, and despotic Eastern, Europe. And to dislodge the propertied classes from the helm we first need a revolution in the minds of the working masses — as, indeed, is now taking place, if relatively slowly; and in order to bring this about, we need an even more rapid revolu-

tion in production methods, more machinery, more displacement of labour, the ruin of more peasants and petty bourgeois, more tangible evidence on a vaster scale of the inevitable results of modern large-scale industry.

The more quickly and irrevocably this economic revolution takes place, the more imperative will measures impose themselves which, apparently intended to cure evils that have suddenly assumed vast and intolerable proportions, will eventually result in undermining the foundations of the existing mode of production; and the more rapidly, too, will the working masses obtain a hearing thanks to universal suffrage. *What* those initial measures will be must depend on local conditions at the time, nor can anything of a general nature be said about them beforehand. But as I see it, steps of a truly liberating nature will not be possible until the economic revolution has made the great majority of the workers alive to their situation and thus paved the way for their political rule. The other classes can only patch up or palliate. And this process of clarifying the workers' minds is daily gaining momentum and in 5 or 10 years' time the various parliaments will look very different from what they do today.

Work on Volume III<sup>a</sup> will begin as soon as the confounded little ancillary jobs and the endless correspondence with people here, there and everywhere leave time enough. Then, however, I shall rebel, shut up shop and refuse to be disturbed. I hope to get it finished this year; I am itching to do it and have *got* to get it over and done with.

Shall you be visiting England again? Tussy is very well and cheerful, very happily married and has grown quite plump.

Yours sincerely,  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> of *Capital*

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 March 1891

My dear Laura,

Very many thanks for your kind offer to revise Ravé<sup>199</sup> *qui en sera ravi*<sup>a</sup>—but I am afraid *you* will not be *ravie*.<sup>b</sup> I have made him do me a sample—two passages from the last chapter, pp. 121 and 140,<sup>190</sup>—which I have looked over and now submit to you with my notes and suggested alterations. Please look it over and then decide for yourself, whether you will undertake the job. Like all professional translators he is the slave of his original and forgets that a phrase to be done from French into German and vice versa, has to be turned topsyturvy. Moreover he does not understand the synonymic *nuance* expressed by many German words; he knows what genus it belongs to, but not what species, much less what variety. But that, I am afraid, most translators will fail in.

I shall write to Ravé that I have sent the manuscript to Monsieur Lafargue (whom he suggests as revisor) and that I cannot give him a definite answer until I hear from him. As he mentioned Paul, I thought it best not to mix *you* up with the matter at the present stage.

Jollymeier is coming to-night at last. At Christmas he had a cold and seems to have kept it until now. He intended coming last Thursday<sup>c</sup> but his cold got worse, and as the weather was bad, delayed from day to day. Yesterday it was nice and warm, but he did not turn up, today at last he writes announcing his arrival to-night *aber sicher*.<sup>d</sup> His deafness seems to bother him awfully.

Sam arrived at Liverpool last Thursday week, and is with his parents at Bumford, will be here about end of this or beginning of next week. Had himself thoroughly examined on arrival by Gumpert who reports him perfectly sound, with only a small enlargement of the spleen, which is expected to be soon curable.

Pumps and Percy are now staying at the old Roshers', they have given up their house and stored the furniture until their removal to

<sup>a</sup> who will be delighted - <sup>b</sup> delighted - <sup>c</sup> 26 March - <sup>d</sup> for sure

Ryde, Isle of Wight, whither Percy will go this week with his brothers to make the commercial arrangements for the new agency for Roshers' cement, artificial stone, and builders' and gardeners' materials generally. After that, he will take Pumps to select a house and then the transfer will take place. I do hope Percy will at last learn how to earn his own living, it's a pretty penny they have cost me and the worst of it is there is no return in the shape of benefit to the party. Of course I shall have to go on subsidising for a year or two until the new business can be expected to begin paying.

Annie has left us and is going to be married this week. We have taken two girls as I want Louise to help me in my work and not waste her time in the kitchen. The devil's trouble it was to get girls but I believe we have been lucky — so far — that is the first week — we are satisfied. They are two girls who have been together and prefer to be again at one and the same place.

The May demonstration will be a severe letting down to the Social Democratic Federation<sup>29</sup> and Hyndman. Their over-cleverness, in trying to play off the Trades Council<sup>196</sup> against the Legal Eight Hours League,<sup>200</sup> has landed them between two stools. They quite forgot that this year the Trades Council has a quite different majority to that of last year. They wanted again two platforms for themselves, but will not get them, as they are represented neither on the Trades Council nor on the Legal 8 Hours Committee (they sent three delegates but these soon stayed away and their names were consequently struck off the roll). Moreover, Edward, in return for the slanderous attacks of Hyndman,<sup>179</sup> now takes the offensive and will have the matter brought before the East End branch of the Social Democratic Federation. Indeed, Hyndman seems already to show the white feather.

Bernstein says he saw in *La Justice* that on the 1 May Committee in Paris the Broussists<sup>3</sup> applied for admission, that the Blanquists and Allemanists<sup>53</sup> were against, but that on Guesde's motion they were admitted by a majority of 5. Can you give me any details? as contradiction or confirmation?<sup>201</sup> I hear nothing at all about Brousse and Co. now, are they merely lying in wait, or are they so completely down that they dare not stir? I should like to be well *au courant* of these matters, as the Brussels Congress<sup>135</sup> will very likely bring about a change in the relations of the Social Democratic Federation and the Possibilists with the Germans. If these two sets of intriguers go to Brussels and thereby publicly renounce their pretensions of being the

only to be acknowledged parties in England and France, then the Germans will not be able to refuse entering into communication with them. And from Liebknecht's way of acting at present, I should not wonder if he were to try to play the Possibilists off against you, and the Social Democratic Federation against us here, as a means of making you and us more pliant towards himself. I do not know if you read the *Vorwärts*, but here we are all disgusted with it. Never had a large party such a miserable organ. Anyhow, to be able to guard against possibilities, I have a particular interest just now in the doings, sayings and position of Brousse and Co.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,  
F. E.

Will Paul hop over the water while at Calais?

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

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## ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSON

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 31 March 1891

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

I have just received the letter a copy of which is enclosed herewith.<sup>202</sup> I have absolutely no knowledge of how things stand between you and Wróblewski. It is a matter that does not concern me in the slightest.<sup>a</sup> But in view of the delicate situation in which this letter has placed me, I have no choice—and I think you will agree with me

<sup>a</sup> In the ms., the first, deleted version of this sentence reads: 'I have neither the intention nor the slightest desire to meddle in private matters or things which concern no one but the Poles amongst themselves.'



here — other than to inform you of the above and to advise Wróblewski of your address. Please, therefore, come to an understanding with him direct.

I trust you have almost finished moving house. I know only too well how disagreeable these things are. Mrs Mendelson, to whom kindly remember me, must have had quite enough of it.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

Mrs Kautsky sends her regards both to you and to Mrs Mendelson.

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

[Draft]

[London, beginning of April 1891]

Dear Bebel,

I shall not get round today to answering your letter of the 30th — that will be done shortly<sup>a</sup> as soon as the present mass of work allows me a free moment; instead I wish to send you and your wife<sup>b</sup> my heartiest congratulations on your silver wedding. I trust that the two of you will still be there to celebrate your golden wedding on 6 April 1916 and, come that day, will drain a glass in memory of the old boy now writing these words, who by then will have long since gone up in smoke and ashes.

One thing I can tell you: there are few people alive today whom I could congratulate with the same sincerity and warmth on the occa-

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 175-84. - <sup>b</sup> Julie Bebel

sion of such an anniversary. Ever since we started corresponding and subsequently struck up a personal acquaintanceship,<sup>203</sup> I have noticed time and again how our lines and mode of thought have coincided to an extent that is literally miraculous between people whose processes of development have been so different. That — I'm glad to say — doesn't preclude our failure to agree on many points. But these again are points where in course of time agreement is automatically reached as a result of discussion or of new events, or else where such agreement eventually ceases to signify. And so I hope it will always remain. I don't believe that a case will ever again arise in which one of us had to take a step immediately affecting the other without first having consulted him.<sup>a 204</sup> And I, for one, still bless the day when you entered into regular correspondence with me.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

## IN STUTTGART

London, 2 April 1891

Dear Kautsky,

In great haste on the most urgent matters. At last a letter from Bebel, quite amiable, though with sundry reservations, but the tone is as warm as ever and he expresses the wish to let bygones be bygones.<sup>205</sup>

I have written Meissner a most peremptory letter about the 4th edition<sup>b</sup> and again asked him to send it to you. Also about the clean proofs for you of my concoction on Brentano<sup>c 96</sup> — if I don't get them

<sup>a</sup> In the ms., the first, deleted version of this sentence reads: 'I don't believe that I shall ever again find myself in the position of taking a step immediately affecting the German party without first having consulted you.'<sup>b</sup> of the first volume of *Capital*-

<sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*.

soon I shall send you — *enfin*,<sup>a</sup> I'd better do it straight away — I shall send you the master proof corrected by me so that you'll at least be able to see what the thing is like in the raw.

No doubt you will have got the introduction to the *Civil War*; it went off a few days ago. Perhaps you would be so good as to write the introductory note.<sup>206</sup>

Everything has been straightened out with Lafargue. I pointed out to him<sup>b</sup> that his arguments from Ricardo and A. Smith had been anticipated long before in the *Critique*<sup>c</sup> and my preface to the 2nd volume,<sup>d</sup> whereupon he seems to have promptly calmed down.<sup>168</sup>

Schorlemmer is here and sends you his best wishes. It's now time for our meal and Aveling is coming — he is a grass widower, as Tussy is in Norwich drumming up support — so *adieu*.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 2 April 1891

Dear Friend,

It will be perfectly acceptable to me if Fantuzzi publishes the *Socialismo utopistico*,<sup>e</sup> though I shall write and tell him<sup>f</sup> not to inflict on me prefaces by unknown quantities *à la* Gori.<sup>207</sup> The biographical sketch from *Lo Sviluppo* can also be used.<sup>208</sup> I have just had my

<sup>a</sup> in short - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 140-42. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - <sup>d</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>e</sup> the Italian edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - <sup>f</sup> See next letter.

photograph taken again and shall send you one as soon as I myself receive the prints.

So as to assist you in your English studies I have sent you the English edition of the *Communist Manifesto*<sup>a</sup> and shall get hold of a copy of the English edition of *Capital*<sup>b</sup> for you. Just now there is no English socialist periodical worth reading. From time to time, however, I shall send you a copy of a—if possible interesting—bourgeois newspaper for you to study. With an English grammar and a dictionary you will then make good progress. Admittedly you won't learn the pronunciation unless you have a good teacher. However the language is very easy, since it has virtually no grammar.

If you would like to have a copy of the *Manifesto* in *German*, let me know by postcard.

With most cordial regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO ROMUALDO FANTUZZI<sup>209</sup>

IN MILAN

[Draft]

[London,] 2 April [1891]

I shall be glad to give you permission to reprint and republish the Italian translation (by P. Martignetti) of my *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* provided that it is published not later than 3 months from to-

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Authorized English translation. Edited and annotated by Frederick Engels. London, 1888.-<sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Capital: a critical analysis of capitalist production*. Translated from the third German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling and edited by Frederick Engels, Vol. I, London, 1887.

day and that no one whosoever is allowed to write a preface to it or make alterations, still less alterations made without my express and written consent.

(May reprint the biography from <sup>a</sup> *Origine della famiglia*. <sup>b</sup>)

As to the reprinting of the latter pamphlet, it is a question of knowing when the new edition can appear; if this could be managed in the course of the year, we should be able to come to an understanding.

It goes without saying that I shall expect you to send me 12 *free* copies of each of my works you publish.

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE <sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 April 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for your letter, which is of great interest, <sup>210</sup> firstly because we must be *au courant* with things of this kind if we are to be adequately armed vis-à-vis Hyndman; next because the tactics you have adopted are precisely those recommended by Marx to the Germans in 1875 vis-à-vis the Lassalleans <sup>63</sup> and I shall be able to make good use of this, should need arise, to show that in 1875 the Germans could have pursued a line of conduct different from the one they then followed; and thirdly for the reason given to Laura. <sup>c</sup> But this last you have misunderstood. If you care to re-read my letter, you will see that I only discuss the prospects for an acceptable future *after* the Brussels Congress. <sup>135</sup> Never mind the letters Liebknecht is writing to you just now; you ought to know him well enough to realise that he can face

<sup>a</sup> The beginning of the sentence is in German. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 155-56.

one way and then another in the twinkling of an eye. For the past twenty years his policy abroad has been to maintain connections independent of those that Marx and I were able to secure for him. Abroad, as at home, he likes to form his own personal party of people whom he has placed under an obligation. Nor is he overparticular. Cast your mind back to the Buffenoir affair.<sup>211</sup> He will behave no differently the moment new connections become available to him. And since, at Brussels, his last remaining reasons for keeping aloof from the Possibilists<sup>3</sup> and Hyndman will doubtless disappear, it should come as no surprise to you if he approaches those gentlemen in order to use one lot as a counterweight to yourselves and the other to hold the scales against us over here. Were that to happen, it could well be of vital importance that I should intervene at an appropriate moment and for that I should have to be prepared in advance. If it doesn't happen, so much the better.

The £50 from the Calais net-makers have made a deep impression but, as you know, the English are a *MATTER OF FACT* people and if international cordiality is to be maintained, it would be better not to restrict the generosity of the French working man to the foregoing. What would create an excellent impression over here would be if a sum of money were to be sent by a French trades union which *has yet to receive a contribution from England*. That would be an example of French initiative which would be much appreciated here.

Sam Moore has arrived in good health; he has had himself examined by Gumpert who declared him *PERFECTLY SOUND* apart from a slight swelling of the spleen, which he hopes to cure before long. Unfortunately Sam arrived at his parents' place in the Derbyshire Peak District just in time for the snow, which is none too good for a man arriving from the tropics. He will be here next week.

The assassination in Sofia<sup>212</sup> was undoubtedly a Russian exploit, but, since they missed Stambulov, who was the real target, it probably won't lead to anything much. Otherwise we might have seen a bit of *EXCITEMENT* and I'm very glad that that hasn't happened. For I have grave doubts about the Paris public's powers of resistance to a chauvinist outcry at a time of crisis, just as I have doubts about my Berliners in similar circumstances. Neither Bismarck nor Boulanger are so dead as to be incapable of resuscitation by the virtual inevitability of war.

Your tactics towards the two Possibilist sections are the best you can adopt in the circumstances. Since you are in a minority in Paris,

you must set one lot off against the other and gradually attract the masses. Besides, there are divergencies of principle which entitle you to refuse a merger pure and simple.

Where on earth in the *Socialiste* is the letter from Rouen of which you speak? I have searched through every number from 11 February to 1 April and found nothing.<sup>213</sup>

Louise and Schorlemmer send their best wishes to you and Laura, as does

Yours,  
F. E.

Schorlemmer has nearly recovered from his cold, though he looks somewhat tired.

We expect you next week so that Sam can retail to you all manner of things about your Negro relations.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY  
IN STUTTGART

London, 7 April 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Your letter has just arrived. Pity you weren't able to induce Schmidt<sup>214</sup> to join you there; he'd have been just the man for you. Meissner writes to say that he has *only now* sent off the review copies of the 4th edition<sup>a</sup> *along with the Anti-Brentano*<sup>b 96</sup> and that both have gone to the *Neue Zeit*. So you can begin *forthwith*; at all events you should have both of them before your article is printed.<sup>215</sup> If not, write to O. Meissner, *citing me* and this communication.

An Alsatian, Henri Ravé, presently in jug, who translated Bebel's

<sup>a</sup> of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*.

*Frau*<sup>a</sup> and is now translating my *Origin*<sup>b</sup> under Laura Lafargue's supervision, wants to know whether your *Thomas Morus*<sup>c</sup> is worth translating. I have recommended the book to him but at the same time written to say that I would ask you to send him a copy so he can make up his own mind about it. Address: H. Ravé, *détenu à la prison*,<sup>d</sup> Poitiers (Vienne, France).

Just now the French are fully occupied with their own affairs, namely May Day and the attendant negotiations with the Possibilists of both Allemanist<sup>53</sup> and Broussist<sup>3</sup> persuasion—in which our own chaps are acting as arbitrators!!—etc., and also with their *Socialiste*, which explains why Paul Lafargue has done no work for the *Neue Zeit*.<sup>216</sup> Odd that the French should be adopting exactly the same policy towards the crumbling ranks of the Possibilists as that recommended by Marx in his accompanying letter of 1875 for adoption towards the Lassalleans.<sup>63</sup> And, indeed, they have done so successfully up till now—a success that will doubtless be sealed by the Brussels Congress.<sup>135</sup>

Many regards.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> A. Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* and *La Femme dans le passé, le présent & l'avenir*. Traduction française par Henri Ravé. Paris, 1891. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *L'Origine de la famille, de la propriété privée et de l'état*. Traduction française par Henri Ravé. Paris, 1893. - <sup>c</sup> K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*. - <sup>d</sup> kept in prison



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ENGELS TO HENRI RAVÉ <sup>217</sup>

AT POITIERS

[Draft]

[London,] 7 April [1891]

If you were to set to work about the 15th of this month, you would be able to send Lafargue the first chapter about the beginning of May and so on, chapter by chapter, as and when you complete them.<sup>a</sup> You will have finished the whole lot by about the end of June and in July you should, I hope, have the proofs of the new edition<sup>b</sup>; but that does not depend upon me alone. Thus we should probably be able to bring it out in September.<sup>c</sup>

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE <sup>218</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 8 April 1891

Dear Sorge,

Today I am able to send you at long last a few new photographs; 2 small ones are enclosed herewith and a larger one (a so-called PANEL) is going off registered as a BOOK PACKET. They were taken this February and hence give a pretty accurate picture of the present state of affairs.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 154. - <sup>b</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - <sup>c</sup> See previous letter.

As to your course of Banting, gout is a perfectly normal consequence of an increased consumption of meat, eggs and other nitrogenous foodstuffs. In fact the sole function of these is to renew muscular flesh and other nitrogenous parts of the body (fibrin, in short all albuminous substances) and replace what has been wasted. If, however, you take more than is necessary for this purpose, they will be burned up in the body as normal nourishment for the replacement of body heat; the residue from the burning process consists largely of so-called uric acid which may appear in the body in greater quantities than can be excreted through the kidneys. In which case the surplus either lingers in the muscles or else forms crystals in the joints, and this is what is termed rheumatism and gout. You must either get more exercise or else change your diet and eat more bread, etc., and less meat and eggs. Beer you should certainly shun.

Thank you for your answer concerning the Avelings. The affair was at one time tentatively brought up over here, I no longer know by whom, and, lest anything precipitate should be done, I took it upon myself to consult you about it.<sup>a</sup>

Singer and Bebel have written to me in most affable terms.<sup>219</sup> Your German can never get accustomed to the fact that someone in office cannot lay claim to being handled more gently than anyone else. That, at bottom, is the main reason why offence was taken. Since I failed to respond to Lieb knecht's pompous drivel<sup>162</sup> and took no notice whatever of any provocations, Lieb knecht may imagine that he has won a great victory over me. He is welcome to that pleasure. In any case he will edit the *Vorwärts* out of existence for them soon enough and everyone is grumbling about it. Lieb knecht is incorrigible and will remain so, to judge by the way he still seems to be conniving with Rosenberg in America. The decisive role in the party is devolving more and more upon Bebel and that is an excellent thing. Bebel is a calm, clear-headed thinker, and as a theoretician, too, he is in a quite different class from Lieb knecht. But one can't just cast Lieb knecht aside; moreover he still wields a good deal of influence, thanks to his expenditure of hot air and the vehemence of his tone at popular meetings, hence all these compromises.

Things are going well over here. Hyndman's attacks on Aveling may cost him very dear. Hyndman is incapable of assessing accurately his powers relative to what he aims to achieve. He thought he'd

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 138.

be able to do Aveling down and now he himself has landed in the cart. As a result of the last TRADES UNION Congress in Liverpool<sup>27</sup> the majority of the London TRADES COUNCIL<sup>196</sup> has come round in favour of the LEGAL 8 HOURS DAY. Hyndman sought to play it off against the LEGAL 8 HOURS LEAGUE<sup>200</sup> but his plan miscarried; his Federation was represented on the LEGAL 8 HOURS COMMITTEE but he withdrew his delegates and wrote to the TRADES COUNCIL demanding 2 separate speakers' platforms for the Federation at the demonstration in the PARK.<sup>a</sup> But the TRADES COUNCIL will probably turn this down flat, as has already been done by the 8 HOURS COMMITTEE, in which case Hyndman will find himself between two stools.<sup>b</sup> Aveling is being accorded votes of confidence from all the associations he works with, since Hyndman refuses to voice his accusations in public debate and will, after May Day, doubtless have to change his tactics. Over here he is the only trouble-maker who stands in the way. He has shown how useless a programme is — however right it may be theoretically — if it fails to relate to the real needs of the people. Though in this instance such people are Englishmen, they are almost as far removed from the genuine English movement as is the Socialist Labor Party in America.<sup>133</sup> The movement over here has come into its own by virtue of the new TRADES UNIONS, especially the GASWORKERS,<sup>164</sup> and of the agitation in support of a LEGAL 8 HOURS (Eight Hours Bill), the Avelings being in the forefront of both. There are, in both these spheres of agitation, many people who also belong to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation. But they are the very ones who are wriggling out of Hyndman's clutches and who regard the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Federation as a negligible quantity. And, if Hyndman oversteps the mark in his squabble with Aveling, these are the very people he may have to reckon with.

In France, thanks to the split among the Possibilists,<sup>3</sup> our people also have the whip-hand in Paris just now. First the Allemanists<sup>53</sup> (according to Lafargue they're in the majority in Paris, but I doubt it) and then, eventually, also the Broussists, sent delegates to the May Day demonstration committee — i. e. they deigned to comply with a Marxist resolution. And, since the Allemanists want to chuck out the Broussists, our people find themselves in the position of acting as advocates of equal rights for the Broussists!! Best of all, our Frenchmen are employing exactly the same tactics vis-à-vis the Possibilists as

<sup>a</sup> Hyde Park - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 185-86.

those recommended by Marx to the Eisenachers for use vis-à-vis the Lassalleans <sup>63</sup>! And so far with success.

The Paris miners' congress all but broke down over the Belgians' tomfoolery with regard to a GENERAL STRIKE.<sup>220</sup> So as to avoid this the English called for a vote on the basis of the number of working men represented. That would have given the English all but an absolute majority and here the others rebelled. I almost hoped that the Walloon colliers, who on this occasion were at the bottom of all the nonsense about a GENERAL STRIKE, might succeed in bringing about a GENERAL STRIKE in Belgium in favour of universal suffrage; they would be hopelessly trounced and that would put an end to the nonsense. But the others in Germany and France would have to take the consequences.

Schorlemmer was here for a week; he has grown very susceptible to changes in the weather, is contending with bouts of deafness brought on by a cold, and ought sometime to spend a winter in a warm climate. Sam is in Derbyshire and I expect him any day. But I doubt if he'll do any work while over here, as he must recoup his strength for another eighteen months on the Niger. Apparently he finds the climate out there very pleasant and grumbles about ours.

Warm regards to your wife.<sup>a</sup>

Your  
F. E.

The *duplicate* portrait is for Schlüter, to whom please convey my regards.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge

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ENGELS TO WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI  
IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 9 April 1891

My dear Wróblewski,

You must forgive me if I ask you not to insist on my carrying out the commission entrusted to me in your letter of the 5th. I have no right to meddle either in the Polish party's internal affairs, of which I have virtually no knowledge, or in the private affairs of Citizen Mendelson.<sup>a</sup> In the circumstances it seems to me that further intervention on my part could only be detrimental to the effect you hope to achieve. In your own interest it would, I believe, be preferable for you to come to an understanding with Mendelson direct. You can do so without the slightest fear that letters addressed to 1 Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. will fail to reach him, for I know that he is now installed there.

Hoping that you will be successful and that you will soon be able to let me have better news,

I remain,  
Yours sincerely

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 156-57.

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## ENGELS TO HEINRICH SCHEU

IN LONDON

London, 10 April 1891  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Scheu,

Thanks to the diligence of Mrs Kautsky who over the past weeks has sorted out a whole pile of Marx's letters, I am today able to send you 2 signatures of Marx's.<sup>221</sup>

The one at the foot of the English draft of the letter is the clearest. On the other hand you might perhaps consider reproducing the four lines in the German draft from 'I need, etc.' to 'available' including all deletions and alterations so as to give an example of his handwriting (and at the same time of the way in which he worked). At any rate I can't supply you with anything better, that is to say without corrections and, as it were, tailored to your requirements. This I leave to you, as also to whether you include the words 'Yours very truly' and 'Dear Sir' and/or the date.

I should be grateful if you would return the letters.

It will always be a pleasure to see you here. In any case I should like to see you again before you start on my new portrait, for a peculiar snag has cropped up as regards the photographs by Debenham, and this in the quite literal sense.

With best wishes from Mrs Kautsky and

Yours respectfully,  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO LEO FRANKEL

IN PARIS

London, 24 April 1891

Dear Frankel,

I owe you a reply to your letters of 27 December and the 16th of this month. As regards the first I am well aware of the disagreeable feeling that comes over one on returning to a country after many years of absence to find what was formerly a group of good friends locked together in violent fratricidal strife. Still — *à la guerre comme à la guerre*.<sup>a</sup> That is a necessary condition of progress and there's nothing one can do about it.<sup>b</sup> The moment will come when you will be able to intervene in the interests of them all, but I don't believe that that time has yet come. Brussels will throw light on many matters, if indeed Brussels ever takes place,<sup>135</sup> since it is threatened by the Belgians' ill-considered general strike.<sup>220</sup>

What has recently been happening among the various factions in connection with the 1st of May has, in my view, demonstrated once and for all that, so far as we are concerned, the first commandment must be self-restraint. Self-restraint is what I too must impose upon myself in regard to your request concerning the May Day number of the *Bataille*,<sup>222</sup> even if there were no other reasons for my doing so. In the first place I have not seen a single copy of the *Bataille* since June 1889 and all I know about it, and this purely from hearsay, is that it sided with the Rue Cadet<sup>223</sup> in the anti-Boulangist struggle; secondly, I have for the past two months been so snowed under with requests of a similar nature that I have had to make up my mind once and for all to turn these down — one such letter is going off to Vienna today.

It's high time Volume III of *Capital* came out. Before I set to work on it I have got to get some new editions<sup>c</sup> ready and *this I cannot possibly refuse to do*. But so long as Volume III remains unfinished I shall

<sup>a</sup> war is war - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 96-97. - <sup>c</sup> Ibid., pp. 148-49.

take nothing on and, what's more, shall actually have to cut down on much of my correspondence.

With best wishes from myself and also from Louise Kautsky.

Your  
F. Engels

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time

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 30 April 1891

Dear Baron,

I have before me your letters of the 5th and 25th. *Ad vocem*<sup>a</sup> *Brentano*<sup>b</sup> 96—Herkner, to whom I sent a copy, has replied to the effect that, while the allegation of deliberate falsification could not be substantiated, Marx had nevertheless, if no doubt unintentionally, used quotations in *Capital* of such a kind that no clear idea could be obtained of Gladstone's real views, etc.—on the whole, everything you'd expect of so 'ardent' a disciple of Brentano's.

You will have got my postcard about Ravé.<sup>c</sup> Laura Lafargue is going to read over and correct his translation of the *Origin*,<sup>d</sup> otherwise I could hardly have entrusted him with the thing. He will probably take some time over your *Morus*<sup>e</sup> which he wishes to translate; he spoke of having to do 'more rewarding, i. e. better paid' work.

I cannot begrudge Schmidt the lectureship—something he and his parents have dreamed of for years. And in present-day Switzerland

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<sup>a</sup> As regards - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx*. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 163-64. - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *L'Origine de la famille, de la propriété privée et de l'état*. Traduction française par Henri Ravé. - <sup>e</sup> K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*.



even a Marxian stands some chance. True, you have thereby lost a most reliable—if not most tractable—fellow editor; however, someone will doubtless turn up to whom you can entrust much of the mechanical stuff, at any rate.

If Liebknecht were to leave Berlin for Leipzig many people besides yourself would be *instantly* overjoyed. But I don't believe it will happen. It would mean his abdicating. In Leipzig—what historical irony!—he would be the Social-Democratic Bismarck of Friedrichsruh<sup>a</sup> which would eventually lead to a rumpus. Whether things will go on much longer without there being one is in any case questionable.

The Peruvian affair interests me very much; I should be glad if you could send me the *Ausland* articles.<sup>224</sup> But tell me *when* you have got to have them back, and I can regulate my reading accordingly.

I wrote to Ravé about your *Morus* as follows<sup>225</sup>:

*'Le "Thomas Morus" de Kautsky contient un aperçu généralement juste, et sous beaucoup d'aspects original, de la période de la renaissance dans les pays de réforme protestante, et surtout l'Angleterre. C'est de cet aperçu général des conditions historiques de la période que se dégage la personnalité de T. More, comme enfant de son temps. La renaissance italienne et française, par conséquent, ne figurent dans le livre qu'à l'arrière-plan. J'écrirai à Kautsky un de ces jours, et je le prierai de vous envoyer son livre, je crois que vous trouverez, qu'il vaut bien la peine d'être traduit.'*<sup>b</sup>

I have no recollection whatever of Marx's Geneva memorandum.<sup>226</sup> We are now engaged in sorting out the old letters and newspapers and I shall see if I can find it. But just now I haven't got much time to look, let alone do notes, etc., on it. I have got to make sure of getting back to Volume III<sup>c</sup> and have firmly resolved to be ruthless about refusing *any more work*—were it only 3 lines—unless of the *utmost urgency*, and likewise to restrict my correspondence to *bare essentials*, until I have done with Volume III. First, of course, there's the *Origin*<sup>d</sup> which I shall, I think, get round to next week. Meanwhile Louise will search for the Geneva document. However, it may take

<sup>a</sup> Bismarck's estate where he lived after his resignation. - <sup>b</sup> 'Kautsky's *Thomas Morus* contains a survey, by and large correct and in many respects original, of the Renaissance period in the countries of the Protestant Reformation, notably England. It is from that general survey of the historical conditions of the period that T. More's personality emerges as the child of his times. In this book, therefore, the Italian and French Renaissance figures only in the background. One of these days I shall write to Kautsky and ask him to send you his book. I believe you will find it well worth translating.' - <sup>c</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

some time; the quantity of stuff is tremendous and the disorder even more so.

As you will have seen, the *Vorwärts* has altered course somewhat<sup>227</sup> in regard to the miners' strike.<sup>228</sup> Liebknecht is hopeless in such matters. The man has only two colours on his palette, black and white, with no nuances in between, so what can one do? Our chaps in Berlin see everything solely from their *own* standpoint. Thus they sometimes forget that, unlike the party *veterans*, the miners cannot be expected to have the kind of discipline that would have been drilled into them by the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>11</sup>; they also forget *that every* new group of workers *accrues to us* as the result of injudicious and necessarily unsuccessful wild-cat strikes which, however, are inevitable in the circumstances. I shall write to Bebel about this. <sup>a</sup> You can't just enjoy what is pleasing in a movement; you also have to put up with its momentary unpleasantnesses. Come to that, the strict discipline of a *sect* cannot be maintained in the case of a *big party*, nor is this altogether a bad thing.

As for Lafargue, don't let yourself be confused. Lafargue is a bit of an *enfant gâté*<sup>b</sup> and is enamoured of his prehistoric theories which do not by any means always hold water. Hence his Adam and Eve<sup>c</sup> are dear to his heart and seem to him far more important than Zola, for whom he's just the right sort of chap.<sup>229</sup> And the delay over the paradisaical Platonists—who only learnt what's what when chucked out by old Jahweh—coming as it does so hard on the heels of the affair of his other, economic, article,<sup>168</sup> is to him a personal affront. Now, all of a sudden, he expects the *Neue Zeit* to carry nothing but Adam and Eve articles, as though it had been in the habit of doing so before. Now he looks for a contrast, which is non-existent, between the old and the new *Neue Zeit*, and behaves as though the paper had never before contained any *articles d'actualité*.<sup>d</sup> I find the *Neue Zeit* far better than it used to be—no one, surely, can expect me to read the serials; it has at last succeeded in getting Schippel to write really good articles that are a pleasure to read. That a weekly must give *more* space than a monthly to *actualités* goes without saying. If you could find a niche for Adam and Eve before too long, then all would be well.

The American militia system is *in practice* nothing but a kind of *na-*

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 182-83. - <sup>b</sup> spoilt child - <sup>c</sup> P. Lafargue, 'Der Mythos von Adam und Eva. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 34, 35. - <sup>d</sup> topical articles

*tional guard* of middle-class volunteers, and as much as 10 years ago Hyndman wrote to Marx from America saying that the middle classes there did a vast amount of drill so as to protect themselves against the workers. Proof of how utterly useless this is against an *external* enemy may be found in all the wars the United States has ever fought using newly formed regiments of volunteers (enlisted men) — on the largest scale of all in the Civil War when the militia melted away completely. Even when I was in America I heard of the militia regiments' ARMORIES which were said to be veritable fortresses in the heart of New York. Until such time as every working man has a rifle and a hundred live rounds at home, the whole thing will remain an absurdity.<sup>230</sup>

Your old friend

F. E.

As you know, Mother Besant has now joined Grandmother Blovatsky's (Blamatsky's?)<sup>a</sup> Theosophists. Now, writ large in gold on her garden gate at 19 Avenue Road, is the legend: THEOSOPHICAL HEADQUARTERS. Such is the result of Herbert Burrows' love.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL<sup>231</sup>

IN BERLIN

London, 1 May 1891

Dear Bebel,

Today I shall reply to your two letters of 30 March and 25 April.<sup>232</sup> I was delighted to hear that your silver wedding went off so well and has whetted your appetite for the next, your golden one. I sincerely hope that you will both live to see it. We shall need you

<sup>a</sup> Helena Blavatsky

long after the devil has come for me — as the old man of Dessau<sup>a</sup> used to say.

I must — I hope for the last time — revert to Marx's critique of the programme.<sup>b</sup> That 'no one would have raised any objection to its publication' I feel bound to contest. Liebknecht would *never* have willingly consented and would have done everything in his power to prevent it. So greatly has the critique rankled since 1875 that he recalls it the moment the word 'programme' is mentioned. The whole of his Halle speech turns upon it.<sup>121</sup> His pompous *Vorwärts* article<sup>162</sup> is, throughout, nothing but an expression of his bad conscience in regard to this self-same critique. And it was, in fact, primarily aimed at him. We regarded, and I still regard him, as the progenitor of the unification programme<sup>63</sup> or the *shoddier* aspects thereof. And it was this point that led me to act off my own bat. Had I been able to discuss the thing with you alone and then send it straight on to K. Kautsky for publication, a couple of hours would have sufficed for us to agree. But as it was, I considered you were under an obligation — both from the personal and the party viewpoint — to consult Liebknecht as well. And I knew what the result would be if I went ahead regardless. Either suppression or an open row — a temporary one at any rate — even with yourself. That I wasn't wrong is evident from what follows: Now, since you came out of quod on 1 April [1875], and the document is dated 5 May, it is obvious — until some other explanation is forthcoming — that the thing was *deliberately withheld* from you and that this could, in fact, *only* have been done *by Liebknecht*. But just for the sake of peace and quiet you have allowed him to disseminate the lie that, because you were under lock and key, you had not been able to see the thing.<sup>233</sup> Hence I take it that, even before publication, you could have spared his feelings in order to avoid a rumpus in the Executive. Indeed I find this explicable, as I trust you will likewise find my having allowed for the fact that this, in all probability, was how you acted.

I have just taken another look at the thing. It's possible that some of it could have been left out without impairing the whole. But certainly not *very much*. What was the position? We knew as well as you did and, for instance, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 9 March 1875,<sup>c</sup> which

<sup>a</sup> Leopold, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* -

<sup>c</sup> 'Frankfurt, 8. März', *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, No. 68, morning edition, 9 March 1875.



Frederick Engels. 1891.



I found, that the *matter was decided* when your accredited representatives accepted the draft. Hence Marx wrote the thing merely to salve his conscience, as is testified by the words he appended — *dixi et salvavi animam meam*<sup>a</sup>—and not with any hope of success. Hence Liebknecht's big talk about the 'categorical no'<sup>234</sup> is mere braggadocio and he knows it. Well, if you blundered in choosing your representatives and were then forced to swallow the programme lest the whole business of unification came to naught, you surely cannot object to the publication, *fifteen years later*, of the warning that was sent you before you finally made up your minds. It does not brand you either fools or traitors unless, of course, you lay claim to infallibility so far as your official actions are concerned.

You, however, did not see that warning. Indeed this fact has been made public and you are thus in an exceptionally favourable position as compared with the others who, though they had seen it, nevertheless fell in with the draft.

I consider the accompanying letter to be most important.<sup>63</sup> For it propounds what would have been the only correct policy. Parallel action for a trial period — that was the one thing that could have saved you from trafficking in principles. But, come what may, Liebknecht was determined not to forego the glory of having effected unification and, in the circumstances, it is a miracle that he didn't make even more concessions than he did. From bourgeois democracy he brought with him and has retained ever since a positive mania for unification.

The fact that the Lassalleans came over because they *had to*, because their entire party was disintegrating and because their leaders were scoundrels or jackasses whom the masses would no longer follow, is something that can be said today in tastefully moderate form. Their 'tightly knit organisation' naturally ended in total dissolution. Hence it is absurd when Liebknecht excuses the wholesale acceptance of the Lassallean articles of faith on the grounds that the Lassalleans had sacrificed their tightly knit organisation — there was nothing left of it to sacrifice!

You wonder about the provenance of the muddle-headed and convoluted clichés in the programme. But all these are surely quintessential Liebknecht; they have been a bone of contention between us for years and the chap's besotted with them. Theoretically he has always been muddle-headed and our clear-cut style is still an abomination to

<sup>a</sup> I have spoken and saved my soul.

him today. As a sometime member of the People's Party<sup>154</sup> he, on the other hand, still loves resounding phrases which leave one free to think what one will or, for that matter, not think at all. The mere fact that, long ago and out of ignorance, some muddle-headed Frenchman, Englishman or American spoke of the 'emancipation of labour' rather than of the working *class*, and that, even in the documents of the International one sometimes had to use the language of the people one was addressing, was, to Liebknecht, reason enough for forcibly making the phraseology of the German party conform to this same outmoded point of view. Nor can he possibly be said to have done this 'despite his knowing better' for he really didn't know better and I am not sure whether this is not still the case today. At all events, he is still as susceptible as he ever was to the old, woolly phraseology which, rhetorically, is certainly easier to use. And since he undoubtedly attached at least as much importance to basic democratic demands, which he thought he understood, as to economic principles, of which he had no clear understanding, he was undoubtedly sincere in believing he had pulled off a splendid deal in bartering democratic staples for Lassallean dogmas.

So far as the attacks on Lassalle are concerned, these seemed to me, as I have already said, more important than anything else. By accepting *all* the essential Lassallean economic catchwords and demands, the Eisenachers had *in fact turned into Lassalleans* — at least if the programme is anything to go by.<sup>63</sup> The Lassalleans had sacrificed nothing, nothing whatever that was capable of preservation. And so as to make the latter's victory more complete you people adopted for your party anthem the rhymed, moralising prose in which Mr Audorf celebrates Lassalle.<sup>a 235</sup> During the 13 years in which the Anti-Socialist Law was in force<sup>11</sup> there was, of course, no possibility of combatting the Lassalle cult within the party. This had got to be quashed and I set about doing so. I shall no longer permit Lassalle's bogus reputation to be maintained and revived *at Marx's expense*. Those who knew and revered Lassalle personally are thin on the ground; in the case of all the rest, the Lassallean cult is *purely factitious*, the result of our having tacitly tolerated it against our better judgment; hence it has not even the justification of personal attachment. We showed ample consideration for the feelings of inexperienced and new recruits by publishing the thing in the *Neue Zeit*. But

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<sup>a</sup> J. Audorf, *Lied der deutschen Arbeiter*.



I am in no way prepared to concede that in such circumstances historical truth — after 15 years of meek forbearance — should give way to expediency and the fear of causing offence within the party. That deserving people should have their feelings hurt on such occasions is unavoidable and their grumbling after the event no less so. And if they then proceed to say that Marx was envious of Lassalle, and the German press, including even (!) the Chicago *Vorbote* (which writes for more self-confessed Lassalleans — in Chicago — than exist in the whole of Germany) chimes in, it affects me no more than a flea-bite. We have had far worse things cast in our teeth and none the less carried on with the business in hand. The example has been set; Marx has laid rough hands on the sacrosanct Ferdinand Lassalle and that for the time being is enough.

And now just one more thing. In view of the attempt made by you people forcibly to prevent publication of the article, and your warnings to the *Neue Zeit* that, in the event of a recurrence, it, too, might be taken over and subjected to censorship by the party, the latter's appropriation of your entire press cannot but appear to me in a singular light. In what respect do you differ from Puttkamer if you introduce an Anti-Socialist Law into your own ranks? So far as I myself am concerned, it doesn't signify; no party in any country can impose silence upon me once I have made up my mind to speak. But all the same I would suggest you consider whether you would not do well to show yourselves slightly less touchy and, in your actions, slightly less — Prussian. You — the party — *need* socialist science and this cannot exist without freedom to develop. Hence one has to put up with the unpleasantnesses and to do so for preference with good grace and without flinching. Tension, however slight, let alone a rift, between the German party and German socialist science would be an unprecedented misfortune and disgrace. That the Executive and/or you yourself still have and must retain considerable *moral* sway over the *Neue Zeit* and everything else that is published, goes without saying. But with that you must and can rest content. Inalienable freedom of discussion is constantly being vaunted in the *Vorwärts* but is not greatly in evidence. You have absolutely no idea how odd an impression this proclivity for forcible measures makes upon one who lives abroad and is accustomed to see the most venerable party leaders being well and truly taken to task within their own party (e. g. the Tory government by Lord Randolph Churchill). And again, you should not forget that discipline in a big party cannot be anything like as

strict as it is in a small sect, and that the Anti-Socialist Law, which forged the Eisenachers and Lassalleans into a single whole (though Liebknecht avers this was the work of his magnificent programme) and necessitated such close cohesion, no longer exists.

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Ouf! So much for that old affair, and now for something else. There would seem to be some high jinks going on in the upper regions over there.<sup>236</sup> But it's all to the good. That the state machine should be thrown out of gear in this way suits us very well. Always providing peace is maintained by the universal fear of what the outcome of a war might be! For Moltke's death has removed the last obstacle to the disorganisation of the army by the arbitrary appointment of new commanders, and every year must contribute towards making victory more uncertain and defeat more probable. And little though I would wish for another Sedan, I am no more anxious to see the Russians and their allies victorious, even if they are republicans and otherwise have cause for complaint about the Peace of Frankfurt.<sup>237</sup>

The trouble you expended on the revision of trade regulations has not been in vain. Better propaganda would be difficult to imagine. We over here followed the business with considerable interest and were delighted by the pertinence of the speeches.<sup>238</sup> In this connection I recalled the words of old Fritz: 'For the rest, our soldiers' genius lies in the attack, as is, indeed, right and proper.'<sup>a</sup> And what party, given the same number of deputies, could boast so many confident and forceful speakers? Bravo me lads!

No doubt you deplore the pit strike in the Ruhr,<sup>228</sup> but what can you do? After all, it is usually via the unpremeditated wild-cat strike that we acquire large new categories of workers. In my view, insufficient account was taken of *this* fact in discussing the matter in the *Vorwärts*.<sup>227</sup> Liebknecht ignores all nuances; to him everything is either black or white and if he feels it incumbent on him to prove to the world that our party did not stir up this strike but actually poured oil on troubled waters, then God help the poor strikers; they're getting

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<sup>a</sup> Friedrich II, 'Instruktion für die General-Majors von der Cavallerie (14. August 1748)'. In: Friedrich der Große, *Militärische Schriften erläutert und mit Anmerkungen versehen durch v. Taysen, Oberstlieutenant und Abtheilungschef im Neben-Etat des Großen Generalstabes*.

less consideration than they ought if they are to come over to us in the near future. But come they will in any case. By the way, what's wrong with the *Vorwärts*? Not a cheep out of my Liebknecht for 2 days; no doubt he's on his travels. Today, 2 May, he is back again, live and kicking.

2 May. Come to that, the pit strike will doubtless soon fizzle out; it would seem to be only a very partial one and in no way to accord with the assertions and assurances at the delegates' meeting. It's all to the good. Not for one moment do I doubt that there's a powerful urge to resort to the sword and the musket.

The *first* [of May] went off very well. Vienna again takes pride of place. In Paris it fell more or less flat thanks to the bickering which is as yet by no means a thing of the past. Mistakes have been made there on every side. Our people in Lille and Calais had committed themselves to a specific type of demonstration — the sending of delegates to the Chamber.<sup>239</sup> The Blanquists were not asked. The Allemanists<sup>53</sup> did not join the demonstration *comité* until later. This suited neither the Blanquists nor the Allemanists; in the Chamber, the Blanquists had apostates who had been elected under Boulanger's aegis, the Allemanists had a Broussist opponent<sup>3</sup> there, and neither party wanted to appear as petitioners before these men. The same applied to the deputations which our chaps suggested sending to the 20 Paris *mairies*<sup>a</sup> to which it was also proposed to summon the municipal councillors so that they might there hear 'the will of the people'. Thus a split ensued, our chaps withdrew and the demonstration split up into 3 or 4 partial demonstrations. Lafargue sent me word yesterday afternoon; under the circumstances he is fairly satisfied with what happened, but maintains that Paris will come off badly by comparison with the provinces. Of one thing we may be certain; the countries which chose the 3rd [of May] — Germany and England — will muster the most impressive crowds, providing the weather's not too bad. It's wretched here today, heavy, drenching showers, a strong wind and only an occasional ray of sunshine.

Fischer will have received what he wanted for *Wage Labour and Capital*.<sup>b</sup> *Entwicklung*<sup>c</sup> will follow in a few days' time. But then there

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<sup>a</sup> town halls - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'Introduction to Karl Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* (1891 Edition)'. - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'Preface to the Fourth Edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*'.

must be no more requests. I have been promising a new edition of the *Origin*<sup>a</sup> for a year now, and that has got to go off, after which I shall undertake *nothing further whatsoever* until the 3rd volume of *Capital* is ready in ms. That has *got* to be completed. So if over there you hear rumours of fresh demands to be made on my time, I would beg you to back me up. I shall also reduce my correspondence to a minimum, with only one exception, namely yourself. It is through you that I can most easily remain in touch with the German party and again, to be honest, I enjoy this correspondence far more than any other. Once Volume III is in print I can get cracking again, starting with the revision of the *Peasant War*.<sup>b</sup> And if I have nothing else to do, I shall probably complete Volume III this year.

Well, kindest regards to your wife,<sup>c</sup> Paul,<sup>d</sup> Fischer, Liebknecht and *tutti quanti*<sup>e</sup> from

Your  
F. E.

[From Louise Kautsky]

Dear August,

Many thanks for your kind letter; I shall answer it as soon as possible and let you have the information you ask for. Did you know that we, i. e. the United International Social-Democrats, namely: Tussy (representing France, England), Ede<sup>f</sup> (Ireland), Ede<sup>g</sup> (Berlin), Gine<sup>h</sup> (Posen<sup>i</sup>) and I, Austria and Italy, proposed to move a vote of no confidence when *The Daily News* praised you so exceedingly? Fie upon you, August! You are the last person I should have expected this from. Warm regards to you and your wife.

Your  
Mummy

More anon.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - <sup>c</sup> Julie Bebel - <sup>d</sup> Paul Singer - <sup>e</sup> all the rest - <sup>f</sup> Edward Aveling - <sup>g</sup> Eduard Bernstein - <sup>h</sup> Regina Bernstein - <sup>i</sup> Polish name: Poznan

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 May 1891

My dear Löhr,

Yesterday was glorious, both as to weather and demonstration. Louise, Sam Moore and I went there at 2,<sup>240</sup> the platforms extended in an immense arc across the Park,<sup>a</sup> the procession began to march in at 2.30 and had not done by 4.15, indeed fresh processions came in up to 5 o'clock. I was on Edward's platform with Sam, Louise on Tussy's. The crowd was immense, about the same or more even than last year.

Now a little gossip about the history of the affair. It has been almost exclusively Edward's and Tussy's work, and they had to fight it through from beginning to end. There was of course a deal of friction, but the Trades' Congress last September at Liverpool<sup>27</sup> and the changed majority (in favour of *legal* 8 hours) had considerably smoothed the way. Shipton was awfully polite to Edward, but obstructive in many small matters, and threatened to throw up everything if his right (divine?) to be Marshal in command of the procession should be ever questioned. Well, they let him, it will probably be the last time he will appear *hoch zu Ross*.<sup>b</sup>

The principal thing was that the resolution was passed in the form proposed by our people, and that they carried in the joint committee (5 from the Trades Council,<sup>196</sup> 5 from the Demonstration Committee).

Now for the fun—the Social Democratic Federation.<sup>29</sup> At first they sent 3 delegates to the Demonstration Committee where Edward was Chairman. But after a few meetings they remained absent, and were struck off the rolls. Then the Social Democratic Federation applied to the Trades Council for 2 platforms for themselves, as they had last year. But Shipton himself suggested to the Joint Committee that this would never do, and it was rejected, as in the same way every Trades Union might have asked for 2 platforms. Then the Social Democratic Federation announced in their *Moniteur*<sup>c</sup> that they

<sup>a</sup> Hyde Park - <sup>b</sup> on horseback - <sup>c</sup> official newspaper

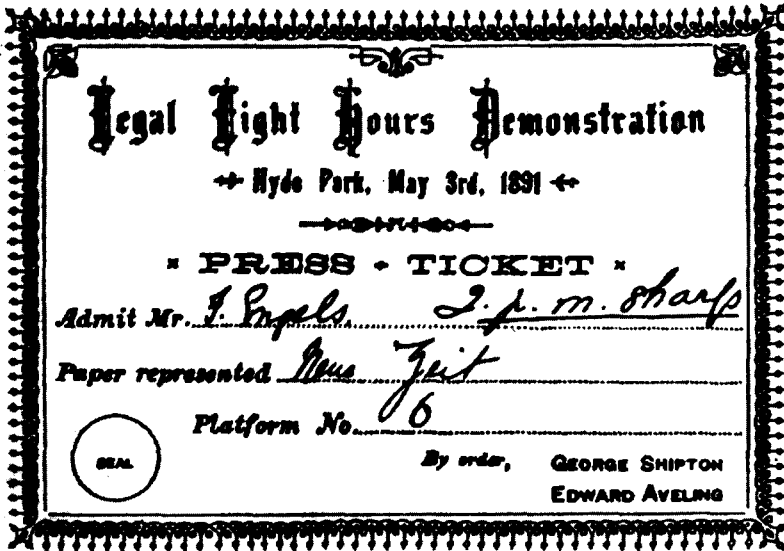
would hold a meeting of their own with four platforms and red flags.<sup>a</sup> Unfortunately they had to join our procession from the Embankment in order to get into the Park in an orderly and showy manner, and once there, marched off about 100 yards and held there their promised meetings—without proper platforms, we had big carts, they only chairs. They were just near enough to reckon upon some stragglers from our overflow, and just far enough to show how few of them they were able to attract.

The decisive thing had been, for them, the resolution of the Demonstration Committee: that every association affiliated to them should pay 5/- *for every branch* towards general expenses. Thus, the Social Democratic Federation would have had either to pay 5/- for the many bogus branches they exhibit in their *Moniteur*, or else own they were bogus. And that decided their final retreat.

They have been made to feel their real position, and that is: the same position which the Germans of the Socialistic Labor Party in America<sup>133</sup> hold there, that of a *sect*. And that is their position, though they are real live Englishmen. It is very characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race and their peculiar mode of development, that both here and in America the people who, more or less, have the correct theory *as to the dogmatic side of it*, become a mere sect because they cannot conceive that living theory of action, of working with the working class at every possible stage of its development, otherwise than as a collection of dogmas to be learnt by heart and recited like a conjurer's formula or a Catholic prayer. Thus the real movement is going on outside the sect, and leaving it more and more. The Canning Town Branch of the Federation sticks to Edward and Tussy in spite of Hyndman and marches with our people, and that is their strongest branch. Since the Dockstrike<sup>198</sup> the Social Democratic Federation had for a time profited by the general socialist revival, but that is over now, they are fast for cash for their new Hall in the Strand, and the decline has set in again. And as their friends and allies the Possibilists<sup>3</sup> are eating each other up as fast as they can, they cannot even brag with their grand foreign connexions.

Sam Moore was very much struck with the immense progress made here during the 2 years of his absence. He, by the bye, is very well, likes the climate and easy life amazingly and will, I am almost sure, be homesick for Africa after a while.

<sup>a</sup> 'Eight Hours' Demonstration, Sunday May 3rd, 1891', *Justice*, No. 381, 2 May 1891.



**Legal Eight Hours Demonstration**

Hyde Park, May 3rd, 1891

**PRESS TICKET**

Admit Mr. *J. Engels* *I. p. m. sharp*

Paper represented *News Zeit*

Platform No. *6*



By order, **GEORGE SHIPTON**  
**EDWARD AVELING**

Engels' press ticket to the platform in Hyde Park during the demonstration on 3 May 1891





I saw Cunninghame Graham on our platform (No. 6, Edward's, see *Chronicle*<sup>a</sup>) but he could not tell me much more about Paris than was said in Paul's letter Friday afternoon.<sup>b</sup> After all I hope the Committee's demonstration in the evening was *not* a failure, as, Graham says, was that of the Broussists. If we cannot work together, we have all an interest in having as much of a demonstration as possible.

It's no use crying over spilt milk, but I cannot help thinking that our friends made a slight mistake, thanks to the usual French inclination of miscalculating the strength of the relative forces. A very heroic disposition sometimes, '*mais ce n'est pas la guerre*'.<sup>c</sup> 241 After all we intended to work as usual with the Blanquists, and *they* were not bound by the resolutions of Calais and Lille.<sup>239</sup> These resolutions could only bind our people; the Blanquists too might have passed resolutions as to the 1st of May and then said they were bound by them. Why then determine beforehand by our own selves and without our only allies, how the demonstration was to be arranged *in Paris* where we are in an, at present, decided minority? Why thus *froisser*<sup>d</sup> our only allies? *Froisser* them still more by the plan of delegations to the *mairies*<sup>e</sup> and summonses to all the *élus*<sup>f</sup> to meet the delegates there? a plan which on the face of it they were sure to repudiate? I am not at all astonished that they fell into the arms of the Allemanists<sup>53</sup> after this. At least that is the view I came to from the information I possess, there may be another side to the case but I do not know it.

We have very little news from Germany to-day. Hamburg had a splendid procession, 80,000 according to *Daily Telegraph*. From Berlin very little news; the Havas of Berlin, Wolff, has orders from Government to suppress everything, and the London correspondents are all under the influence of the Freisinnigen,<sup>242</sup> and do exactly the same.

When we came home last night, we wound up with a *Maibowle*<sup>g</sup> the *Maikraut*<sup>h</sup> of which Percy had sent us from Ryde. We put in 4 bottles Moselle, 2 claret, 1 Champagne, and finished it — we, Bernsteins and the Tussy's.<sup>i</sup> Late in the evening Cunninghame Graham came in and actually had two or three glasses of it — he seems to have left his teetotalism at Tangiers. There is a slight but rather agreeable Kater,<sup>j</sup> kept in proper bounds this morning by a bottle of Pilsener.

<sup>a</sup> 'Eight Hours Day.—Demonstration in Hyde Park.—Enormous Gathering', *The Daily Chronicle*, No. 9092, 4 May 1891. -<sup>b</sup> 1 May -<sup>c</sup> but this is not war -<sup>d</sup> offend -<sup>e</sup> town halls -<sup>f</sup> municipal councillors -<sup>g</sup> punch -<sup>h</sup> woodruff (a plant used for making punch) -<sup>i</sup> Eleanor and Edward Aveling -<sup>j</sup> hangover

Why did not Paul turn up? Graham says he was too tired — his name figures as a speaker on platform 8, with Jack Burns.<sup>a</sup>

*Viele Grüsse von Louise.*

*Dein alter*<sup>b</sup>

F. E.

First published in *Labour Monthly*, No. 9,  
London, 1955

Reproduced from the original

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 May 1891.

My dear Lafargue,

First of all I did not suggest what tactics you should adopt; I merely said the following: if, at your congresses, you, the Workers' Party, decide in advance how you intend to celebrate 1 May *in Paris* without regard for the convenience or the wishes of your allies the Blanquists, you must not be surprised if you find them deserting you.<sup>c</sup> If your hand was forced by the provincial gentry, the blame is theirs. In either case you have miscalculated the respective forces at work *in Paris* and you have been forced out of the committee created by yourselves. That's not what you would call a victory and neither would I.

It remains to be seen what becomes of the Blanquists and, in particular, the Allemanists,<sup>53</sup> to whom you have given the opportunity of once again setting themselves up as the true representatives of the Paris proletariat and at the same time of acquiring *A NEW LEASE OF LIFE*. And you complain that the English are too slow for you, although they have forced our own Possibilists,<sup>3</sup> the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION<sup>29</sup> to exclude themselves from the great demonstration, and you also say that over there it spread like wildfire.

<sup>a</sup> John Burns - <sup>b</sup> Best regards from Louise. Your old friend - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 189.

Maybe, but it is Possibilist fire and will eventually flare up in your faces.

There have been demonstrations in the provinces over here, but as I haven't kept the newspapers, I haven't got a list of them.

If you seriously believe Reuters' reports with their estimate of 60,000 people in the Park, do you want us to do likewise with regard to the Havas reports in which your demonstration hardly figures at all? What would you say to that? There were at least 500,000 in Hyde Park.

I see in the German papers that at Fourmies, when the command was given to open fire,<sup>243</sup> the only soldiers to do so were those of the 145th, whereas the detachment of the 84th remained with their arms at the order. And that is why neither the Government nor the Chamber will consent to an inquiry that would establish the fact *officially*. If this is true, it is a good sign. The Prussian system requires that soldiers be allotted to regiments garrisoned in the region from which the whole of the army corps draws its recruits. Accordingly in the event of mobilisation it is no longer possible, without creating enormous difficulties, to despatch Gascons to the north and Flemings, Walloons and natives of Picardy to the south. This is yet another danger of the system and one that will make itself felt earlier in France than in Germany.

You are right to protest against the ultra-foolish follies attributed to you.<sup>244</sup> That is the danger with countries possessing a revolutionary past, inasmuch as any new region invaded by socialism is tempted to have its revolution within 24 hours. There is no need whatsoever to urge them on; on the contrary they should be reined back. All that the Walloons, in particular, comprehend is rioting and in this they are nearly always the losers. Consider the struggles of the Belgian miners<sup>245</sup>; organisation nil or virtually nil, irrepressibly impatient, hence doomed to defeat.

Clemenceau has had what he wanted: his day of brilliant opposition,<sup>246</sup> a reminder of the good old times when he made and unmade ministries. On the morrow he remembered that he was now a nobody and that it was Constans who, after all, was the paragon in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. *HE OUT-FERRIES FERRY.*

Tussy and Aveling are in Dublin for a congress of the GASWORKERS AND GENERAL LABOURERS.<sup>247</sup> Bernstein's entire family is ill with influenza, Percy and Pumps are disporting themselves in the Isle of Wight, seeing that Percy hasn't yet very much to do because the price list he will

have to use is still at the printers. It is snowing here and when it isn't snowing it's raining and feels as chilly as November and we have had fires. For the past week our *BASEMENT* has been in utter disorder as a result of repairs to the *DRAINS*, which stink horribly; we shall have at least another week of it. Old Harney is in Richmond and very ill; he suffers from chronic bronchitis and is afraid, or so he tells me in his letter today, that he will get pleurisy on top of it. Weak as he is, that could be very serious at 75.

Tomorrow I shall at last be able to turn my attention to my *Origin of the Family*<sup>a</sup>—if nothing crops up!

After Cunninghame-Graham's expulsion and with your Constans in a temper ugly enough to match that of any Père Duchesne, what foreign socialist could feel safe in France<sup>248?</sup> And supposing that, in retaliation against the Japanese attempt on the life of the Tsarevitch<sup>249</sup> (who had committed improprieties and caused scuffles in a *TEA-GARDEN*, to wit a brothel, whereupon the police arrived) a number of minor outrages or coups d'état were to be inflicted upon the Russians in France?

Here comes another squall and it's raining cats and dogs. Dinner in ten minutes. So I shall close this *olla podrida*<sup>b</sup> of an epistle or, as the Milanese have it, *arlecchino*.

I believe you get the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. This week it has a letter from Louise on the *MEETING* in Hyde Park.<sup>c</sup>

I spend my evenings studying Louise's books on the physiology of birth and related matters. It's really wonderful—since the *process* is such an *excessively* ugly one. I am discovering things of the utmost importance from the philosophical viewpoint.

Give Laura a kiss from me. Regards from Louise.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

*Herewith Ravé*<sup>d</sup> and cheque for £20.

First published in: F. Engels, P. et  
L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris,  
1959

Printed according to the original  
Translated from the French

<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* -  
<sup>b</sup> hotch-potch - <sup>c</sup> L. K[autsky], 'London den 4. Mai. Die Arbeit von zwölf langen  
Monaten fand gestern eine Belohnung...', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 20, 15 May 1891. -  
<sup>d</sup> Ravé's letter to Lafargue

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE <sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 29 May 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for the information contained in your letter of the 21st.<sup>250</sup> I have passed it on to Aveling for submission to the London press.

Whatever you may say, the fact remains that the Possibilists<sup>3</sup> have ousted you from your own committee and that Vaillant and Allemane and Dumay acted in concert and spoke at the Mur des Fédérés, whereas not a word is said about speeches made by you or Guesde.<sup>251</sup> In the provinces you are in a majority, but it is now openly asserted that in Paris you are, for the time being, IN A HOPELESS MINORITY. And that is an assertion for which you yourselves are accountable.

Now for another matter. To help me in the preparation of the new edition<sup>a</sup> of the *Origin of the Family* I have had in front of me *Les Origines du mariage et de la famille* by Giraud Teulon, Paris and Geneva, 1884. It is a new, entirely revised edition of his work, *Les Origines de la famille*, 1874 (Geneva). In his later work, dated 1884, he advances some claim to having anticipated, in the edition of 1874, the discoveries made by Morgan. Unfortunately the 1874 edition is out of print. But Lavrov or Létourneau will be bound to possess one. As it is essential for me to clear up this point, could you not procure me one of these copies *for a few days only* and send it to me 'REGISTERED' (the 1874 book, the *Origines de la famille*)? If, by chance, neither of them has it, could you get a copy for me from a second-hand bookseller? And if that will take too much time (for the thing has brought me up short), would you be good enough to make a few inquiries at the Bibliothèque nationale (I would do this here at the British Museum but 1. I haven't a ticket, 2. Louise doesn't know enough

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<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition

French, 3. Tussy isn't sufficiently up in such matters). The problem is this.

McLennan is, as you know, the proponent of *exogamous tribes* who are obliged to obtain their wives from outside either by abduction or by purchase.<sup>a</sup> In *Ancient Society*,<sup>b</sup> as you also know, Morgan (who in his *Systems of Consanguinity*<sup>c</sup> still describes the exogamous *gens* as 'tribe') has proved that the exogamous tribe does not exist, that exogamy is an attribute of one *fraction* or subdivision of the tribe, i. e. of the *gens*, and that within the tribe there are no restrictions on marriage provided it takes place outside of the *gens*.

Now here is what Giraud Teulon has to say on p. 104, footnote:

'Morgan, in his later works, while recognising the necessity of not confusing *tribe* with *clan*' (in Giraud Teulon *clan* is the equivalent of Morgan's *gens*), 'has abandoned his definition of tribe without, however, seeking to provide a new one.'

And he then proceeds to give a description of the tribe divided into *clans* (*gentes*) exactly as Morgan does, but as though this had been arrived at quite independently of Morgan and was attributable to him, Giraud Teulon.

The manner in which he presents his claims is so equivocal that it doesn't inspire me with much confidence. But since this concerns a discovery that has entirely revolutionised the science of prehistory, perhaps you would be good enough (should occasion arise) to compare the 1874 edition and tell me

1. What alternative he suggests to McLennan's *exogamous tribe*.
2. If in 1874 he has already discovered that the tribe was subdivided into *exogamous clans* equivalent to Morgan's *gentes*.
3. (Briefly, names only), if he really did discover this, what examples does he cite? Does he acknowledge that his *clan* is identical with the Greek or Roman *gens*?

As to 1. and 2., the relevant passages in his own words if that is possible.

Old Harney is pretty ill; he is suffering from chronic bronchitis — at 75! He intends to move from Richmond to Ventnor. I trust he arrives there safe and sound and that it will do him good.

Your article on Adam and Eve<sup>d</sup> is very witty. There is evidently

<sup>a</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage. An Inquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies*. - <sup>b</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilisation*. - <sup>c</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. - <sup>d</sup> P. Lafargue, 'Der Mythos von Adam und Eva. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 34, 35.

some truth in it, but perhaps you go too far in your interpretation, especially in your catalogue of Noah's ancestors. Although in the case of Noah's descendants there can be no doubt whatever that they constitute a catalogue of tribes.

*Elōāh* = the Arabic *Allah* both etymologically and lexically. The 'ā' (*patāch furtivum*)<sup>a</sup> is obligatory in Hebrew if the end of the word has an 'o' or 'u' before 'h' or 'ch' (*rūāch Elohīm*, the Spirit of Elohim in the 2nd verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis). In the plural *Elohīm* the 'ā' disappears.

I am sending you *The Workman's Times*, a non-political working-class paper which calls for the formation of a *working men's party*!! The best of the working men's or so-called working men's papers over here. As regards facts it is admirable. The paper was founded by Yorkshire and Lancashire workmen and originally appeared in Huddersfield before being transplanted to London.

Give Laura a kiss from me. LOUISE SENDS HER KINDEST REGARDS.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING<sup>b</sup>

IN BERLIN

London, 5 June 1891

*Kapital und Presse*<sup>c</sup> received with thanks. I wish it every success.  
I didn't know your address, hence belated reply.

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol.  
XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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

<sup>a</sup> The original has 'furtirena'.<sup>b</sup> Engels wrote this note on his visiting card.  
<sup>c</sup> F. Mehring, *Kapital und Presse. Ein Nachspiel zum Falle Lindau*.

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>252</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 June 1891

Dear Sorge,

I am up to the eyes in the new edition of the *Origin of the Family, etc.*<sup>a</sup>; it has been necessary to go through all the relevant literature of the past 8 years and its quintessence must now be worked into the book, which is no joke, especially in view of the many interruptions. However the worst is behind me and I shall at last be able to get back to Volume III.<sup>b</sup> I have had to cut down on the whole of my correspondence, otherwise I should make no progress at all.

In Berlin — *strictly between ourselves*, for Schlüter must not know that it is *I* who have given you the information; he cannot always keep his mouth shut and if you tell him, he's sure to know that it comes from me — in Berlin, then, the chaps have finally come round to the view that Liebknecht is a windbag and nothing more. Earlier on the position was such that they *had* to give him the post of editor of the *Vorwärts* and at the same time make him an honorary member of the Executive. I had long been aware that this was bound to bring matters to a head; it was inevitable. They now find that he is editing the paper out of existence, for in the first place he does nothing himself and, in the second, he is standing in the way of others who *could* do something. So it's scandalous that he should allow his son-in-law Geiser to write botched leading articles for it, articles of such dreary arrogance and tedious ineffectiveness as to be beyond the capabilities of anyone save their author — and this is the Geiser who, morally speaking, was chucked out of the party at St Gallen.<sup>253</sup> For the moment there's no telling how the affair will end. They have offered Liebknecht another position in which he would act both as a popular

<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. - <sup>b</sup> of *Capital*



speaker and in his earlier capacity of journalistic franc-tireur, but this he construes as a dismissal. Now they don't know how to set about pensioning him off in a decent manner, and to do so in such a way that he will accept—for that is what it really boils down to. The oddest part of all is that while the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>11</sup> was in force, precluding the outbreak of this conflict, Liebknecht hardly changed at all, or at most continued along a course upon which he had long since embarked, and that the chaps now find that, upon his transfer to Berlin from his Borsdorf retreat, he no longer bears the slightest resemblance to the Liebknecht of old—in other words Liebknecht as *they* had imagined him. The real point is that the *others* have progressed and now suddenly notice the difference; they imagine that it is *they* who have remained as they were, which is by no means the case.

Now for something else. Stanisław<sup>a</sup> writes to tell me that Anna<sup>b</sup> has approached Paris for money and has actually got some, or will be doing so; these attempts at extortion are really a bit thick, he says, and suggests we write to America lest there should be further useless expenditure over there on the young madame's behalf. Accordingly he has already written to you and asks me to do the same. He describes her, Anna's, way of going about things as downright blackmail.

Today we have at last had a semblance of summer; the vegetation is a whole month behind and in that respect the spring is not yet properly over, though otherwise we've seen no sign of it.

Thank you for the pirated American edition. Schlüter has told me some curious things about it.<sup>254</sup> Please thank him for his very detailed letter which I cannot unfortunately reply to just now.

Over here the movement is making fine progress. The UNION OF GAS-WORKERS and GENERAL LABOURERS<sup>164</sup> is gradually coming to the fore, thanks above all to Tussy. The movement is advancing English-fashion, systematically, slowly but surely, and it is an odd, if highly significant phenomenon that both here and in America the people who make themselves out to be orthodox Marxists and have changed the concept of our movement into a rigid dogma to be learned by rote—that these people should figure both here and over there as a *mere sect*. But what is even more significant is the fact that whereas in Amer-

<sup>a</sup> Stanisław Mendelson - <sup>b</sup> Stanisław Padlewski

ica these people are foreigners, i. e. Germans, over here they're Englishmen born and bred, i. e. Hyndman & Co. Tussy has just arrived so I'll close.

Regard from her, Louise and your old friend to you, your wife<sup>a</sup> and Schlüter,

F. E.

Tussy has just told me that at Whitsuntide — when she was on the point of leaving for the GASWORKERS' congress in Dublin <sup>247</sup> — she too received a letter from Anna similar to the one sent to the Paris people. NO NOTICE TAKEN, of course.

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

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Published in English in full for the first time

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY <sup>255</sup>

IN STUTT GART

London, 13 June 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Article on Peru <sup>224</sup> received with thanks. Perhaps you would allow me to keep it here until I have completed the new edition <sup>b</sup> of the *Origin*. In another article on Negro customs in East Africa <sup>c</sup> I came across a note to the effect that out there a woman's clitoris is cut off before marriage; Sam Moore wrote and told me that this peculiar custom is observed along the River Niger for a distance of more than a hundred miles, though not in *his* locality where he has satisfied himself as to the presence of the said organ.

<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge - <sup>b</sup> the fourth German edition - <sup>c</sup> A. Fleischmann, 'Rechtszustände in Ost-Afrika', *Das Ausland*, Nos. 42, 43; 20 and 27 October 1890.

The introduction<sup>a</sup> to the new edition of the *Origin* is ready and I shall send it off to you next week in case you might wish to use it beforehand for the *Neue Zeit*. If so, please let me have the proofs — in fact, three lots —, the third will go to Ravé for the French translation which is finished so far as the old edition goes. Incidentally, Ravé doesn't know enough German, Strasbourger though he may be. He has made atrocious howlers, thereby involving Laura Lafargue in a colossal amount of work. I'm only surprised that she took it on at all.<sup>b</sup>

So you can inform Dietz that he won't have to wait much longer. But he might let me know the *number* of the new edition. The chaps have gone ahead so fast with the 5,000 copies printed in Zurich that I no longer have the slightest idea where I am. Is this the 2nd, 3rd, 4th or which edition?

The fee for Marx's article<sup>c</sup> received with thanks and already distributed. With regard to the payment for the new edition of the *Poverty of Philosophy* (and similarly for the *first edition as well* — for which we asked nothing at the time), perhaps you would be so good as to make provisional arrangements with Dietz. If, having done so, you then tell me what percentage of the *total fee* for the *new* edition ought to be allocated to *yourselves*, i. e. to you and Ede, and what percentage to *Marx's heirs*, I shall be able to form a better opinion. But the pair of you mustn't lose by it.

A stop ought to be put to Grillenberger's machinations, or at any rate he should be made to pay the fees. If he publishes Marx's speech on free trade<sup>d</sup> in your joint translation, you and Ede, not to mention Clara Zetkin, must protest and I should then do the same on behalf of the heirs — as a matter of principle.

As regards the *Origin*, I have been much delayed through having had to consult all the relevant literature. There is no bigger mutual assurance society than the specialists in prehistory. They're a bunch of scoundrels who indulge in camaraderie and cliquish boycotting on an international scale made possible by their relatively small numbers. Now, however, a new element has entered upon the scene in the

<sup>a</sup> The reference is to the preface to the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 41 under the title 'Zur Urgeschichte der Familie (Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan)' before the publication of the book. See also this volume, pp. 201, 204, 215-16, 232-33. <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 141, 144. <sup>c</sup> *Critique of the Gotha Programme* - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 450-65).

shape of comparative jurisprudence and, while it has its bad aspects, it may well break up the old ring.

Yesterday Ede showed me Bebel's letter to you. You gave Simon his deserts.<sup>256</sup> Things never turn out particularly well if one aims at 'moderation'; a punch, however, hits home. Odd the way this chap behaves as though 100% of medical men were on his side instead of perhaps 1%.

Your 'Emancipation of the 4th Volume'<sup>a</sup> is nothing by comparison with the 'liberation from feudal *seats*'<sup>b</sup> they inflicted on me in the Berlin edition of the *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*.<sup>c</sup> Imagine what the evolution of socialism would look like had it happened<sup>d</sup> in Berlin!

Just let the chaps get on with their programme.<sup>257</sup> Bebel will make sure all right that none of the old Liebknechtian vulgar democratic and vulgar socialist catchwords find their way into it. It's quite a good thing that the people in Berlin should first discuss the subject amongst themselves; what they suggest can only be an improvement on the old programme and will still be open to discussion. The disenchantment of our friends who, after a 13 years' interval, are now obliged to meet Liebknecht face to face again and work with him, is really too comical. While the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>11</sup> was in force, he remained ensconced in Borsdorf, concerning himself with nothing save his correspondence. Now, 13 years later, the chaps find him completely changed. On the contrary, *he* has remained as he was; it is *they* who have progressed and are now aware that a great chasm exists. Now nothing happens without there being a rumpus, now they find that Liebknecht is editing the paper<sup>e</sup> out of existence. He did no better by the *Volksstaat*, etc., but then he was helped by the others to keep the paper afloat; now they have other things to do and now they have a Liebknechtian paper *tout pur*,<sup>f</sup> i. e. Liebknecht and *family*!

Lafargue's interpretation of the Bible is very pretty — callow but original, marking the final break with the now outmoded, German-rationalist philological method. As a beginning it's all one could ask for.<sup>8</sup>

The OMNIBUS STRIKE has been won!<sup>258</sup> At any rate on the main issue. London without omnibuses was and is an odd sort of place. Ede

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<sup>a</sup> *Band* (volume); misprint for *Stand* (estate). - <sup>b</sup> *Sessel* (seat); misprint for *Fessel* (bonds or shackles). - <sup>c</sup> *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - <sup>d</sup> In the original: *vorjefallen* (Berlin dialect). - <sup>e</sup> *Vorwärts* - <sup>f</sup> pure and simple. - <sup>8</sup> P. Lafargue, 'Der Mythus von Adam und Eva. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 34, 35.

ought to send you a description of it for the feuilleton; I shall tell him so tomorrow. He is enduring his grass widowhood with manly resignation, assisted by us.

Kindest regards.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 June 1891

My dear Laura,

I am sure I do not know how to thank you for the trouble you have taken with Ravé's blundering work.<sup>199</sup> I was rather surprised at your heroism in tackling it altogether; I sent you his specimen of Bebel,<sup>a</sup> and my notes, showing exactly the same class of mistakes and slovenly renderings — though not in such perfection — as in your anthology. May '*la génération infâme*' pursue him like the Erinnyes pursued Orestes!

Anyhow, I have just finished the introduction to the new edition which I shall send to Kautsky for the *Neue Zeit* if he likes to have it.<sup>b</sup> But before sending it off there is one point on which I should like to be sure. I state Bachofen's new discoveries to be these: 1) *hétairisme* as he calls it, 2) *Mutterrecht*,<sup>c</sup> as its necessary corollary, 3) women consequently held in high esteem in ancient times, and 4) that the transition to monogamy, where the woman belonged exclusively to *one* man, involved the violation of the ancient traditional right of the

<sup>a</sup> A. Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* and *La Femme dans le passé, le présent & l'avenir*. Traduction française par Henri Ravé. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 199, 204. - <sup>c</sup> mother right

other men to the same woman, a violation which had to be atoned for, or the toleration of which had to be purchased, by surrendering the woman for a limited period of time.<sup>a</sup>

Now as to this *point No. 4* I am not quite certain. You have no idea what thieves these prehistoric bookmakers are, and therefore all I recollect that *somewhere* I have found Bachofen quoted as the discoverer of this fact, and I believe even a reference to *Mutterrecht*,<sup>b</sup> preface p. XIX. But I cannot find it again. Now as you have my copy of Bachofen with you, would you mind (unless you remember it without looking) referring and letting me know whether I am, *generally speaking*, justified in attributing this discovery to Bachofen? It is so long since I have looked at the book, and as in defence of Morgan's claims I have to be rather severe on a lot of his exploiters, I should not like them to catch me in the wrong box. As soon as I have your answer, the ms. can go off and then Ravé can have a proof-sheet to go on with.

I had to read the whole literature on the subject (which *entre nous*<sup>c</sup> I had *not* done when I wrote the book — with a cheek worthy of my younger days) and to my great astonishment I find that I had *guessed* the contents of all these unread books pretty correctly — a good deal better luck than I had deserved. My contempt against the whole set — Bachofen and Morgan excepted — has considerably increased. There is no science where cliqueism and camaraderie are more dominant, and as the set is small, it can be carried on internationally and with success. Giraud Teulon<sup>d</sup> is as bad and as great an appropriator of other people's ideas as any Englishman amongst them. The only amusing fellow is Létourneau.<sup>e</sup> What a charming specimen of the Parisian philistine! And with what splendid self-complacency he proves to his own most intense satisfaction, that not only all the prehistoric tribes and present savages, in spite of all their '*excès*' *génétiques*'<sup>f</sup> as he calls it, are Parisian philistines at least, but so are, too, even the animals of the brute creation! The whole animated world one immense '*Marais*'<sup>g</sup> and boulevard du Temple, peopled by either contributors or readers of what the *Siècle* used to be under Louis Philippe, and the greatest authority on *les origines du mariage et de la famille* — Paul de Kock!

<sup>a</sup> The text of Point 4) is in German in the original. - <sup>b</sup> J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht. Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaiokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*. - <sup>c</sup> between ourselves - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 193. - <sup>e</sup> Ch. Létourneau, *L'évolution du mariage et de la famille*. In: *Bibliothèque anthropologique*, Vol. VI. - <sup>f</sup> sexual excesses - <sup>g</sup> aristocratic district in Paris

De<sup>a</sup> Létourneau (evidently of the breed of *le petit étourneau d'Amérique*—*icterus pecoris*—*qui change de femelle au jour le jour*,<sup>b</sup> p. 33) to Ravé *il n'y a guère un pas*.<sup>c</sup> Ravé has a publisher, Carré, rue St André des Arts, could not that man be got to publish the new edition of the *Misère de la philosophie*? To hear Ravé, he seems very enterprising in our line.

I send you *The Workman's Times* regularly. It is the only working-class paper *belonging to working people*. It was started by the Northern Factory hands etc. and originally published at Huddersfield; now its headquarters are in London. It is a *non-political* paper, that is to say *it goes in for the formation of an independent working men's party* and Labour representation in all elective bodies. It is over-crowded with detail information, but giving *facts*. There is a regular crop of 'Labour' papers: *The Trade Unionist*, by Tom Mann—soft like Mann himself, who, for a Mann,<sup>d</sup> has one n too much in English and one too little in German; nice sincere fellow as he otherwise is, as far as a man without backbone can be so. Then *The Worker's Cry*, by Frank Smith, late Social Wing, Salvation Army.<sup>259</sup>—Then *The Labour World*, founded and abandoned by Michael Davitt and brought to speedy grief and extinction by Massingham, once of *The Star*. I shall send you specimens of these if they live.

Longuet's behaviour seems indeed worse than incomprehensible. At all events it is a good job for poor Mémé<sup>e</sup> that she is with you again. For the rest you leave us in the dark. *Si Longuet s'est refait une jeunesse auprès de Marie, Marie a-t-elle réussi à se refaire une virginité en même temps?*<sup>f</sup> And how are the boys<sup>g</sup> getting on? What's to become of them while he is gallivanting at Caen? How about the Conseil de Famille? etc., etc.

Louise keeps rummaging up all the papers, pamphlets, newspaper cuttings, etc., etc., brought over here from Maitland Park.<sup>h</sup> The letters *are* in tolerable order. Lassalle's will be published in Germany<sup>260</sup>; Bernstein is now using them for an introduction to Lassalle's works<sup>178</sup> to be published by the party. The Lassalleans will not like it, but since Liebknecht has taken Lassalle's party so much in the *Vor-*

<sup>a</sup> From - <sup>b</sup> little American starlings—*icterus pecoris*—who change females every day. - <sup>c</sup> there's only one step - <sup>d</sup> A pun in the original: Engels compares the English 'man' with the German 'Mann'. - <sup>e</sup> Jenny Longuet, daughter of Jenny and Charles Longuet - <sup>f</sup> If Longuet has recaptured his youth next to Marie, has Marie managed to recapture her virginity at the same time? - <sup>g</sup> Jean, Edgar and Marcel Longuet - <sup>h</sup> Marx's last residence

*wärts*, I am determined to have it out, and to use their own Lassalle-  
veneration as the peg whereupon to hang a criticism of the man.

Sam Moore suffers off and on from African fever here — has gone  
into the country. Very little news from Jollymeier. *Salut à Paul*.

Grüsse von Louise.

Dein alter<sup>a</sup>

F. E.

First published, in the language of the  
original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et  
L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris,  
1959

Reproduced from the original

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 16 June 1891

Dear Baron,

Herewith the ms.— I leave it entirely to you whether you print the  
*whole* of it or start on p. 2 below the line where the essay proper be-  
gins. For title one could put: *On the Early History of the Family: Bac-  
hofen, McLennan, Morgan*. By F. E., or something of the sort, followed  
by the note: introduction to the x-th edition of the *Origin*, etc.<sup>b</sup>

As the ms. ended up by being highly illegible, thanks to numerous  
interruptions, I do *beg* you to send me a proof— and, as already men-  
tioned, an extra copy for Ravé who is all agog to get it.

The revision of the book itself is going ahead as quickly as my other  
correspondence permits. I'm itching to get on with it.

I almost wish that the Berliners would turn down Ede's introduc-  
tion to the Lassalle<sup>c</sup> so that he can deal with the matter more tho-  
roughly and with greater freedom in the *Neue Zeit*. How little is  
known in Germany of the *real* Lassalle is apparent from the case of  
Ede himself. Lassalle's letters to Marx, however innocuous they may

<sup>a</sup> Regards from Louise, Your old friend - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 199, 201, 215-16, 232-  
33. - <sup>c</sup> See previous letter.



seem to many people, as also the need to contemplate the man in the round, have thrown quite a new light on him so far as he, Ede, is concerned. But what the Berliners want more than anything else is *peace* in the party and that is hardly compatible with freedom to criticise. This is doubly disagreeable for them as they are at loggerheads with the Soldier<sup>a</sup> and as yet can see no way out of it. But in that case they ought to dispense with new editions of Lassalle. *Enfin*,<sup>b</sup> everything will doubtless get back on an even keel again.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI  
IN BERGAMO

London, 19 June 1891

Dear Friend,

Today I am sending you

1. registered, your manuscript of the translation of *Wage Labour and Capital*,<sup>c</sup>
2. corrected proofs of the new edition<sup>d</sup> separately by book post,
3. Labriola's letter enclosed herewith.

I'm busy revising the new edition of the *Origin of the Family, etc.*<sup>e</sup> which will have numerous additions.

A new, complete edition of *Wage Labour and Capital* will follow as

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> Still - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Capitale e salario colla biografia dell'autore e con una introduzione di F. Engels*. Prima traduzione italiana di P. Martignetti. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *Lohnarbeit und Kapital*. Separat - Abdruck aus der *Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung* vom Jahre 1849. Mit einer Einleitung von Friedrich Engels. - <sup>e</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

soon as I have got one. The principal additions are marked in pencil on the proofs.

I trust you are getting on all right in Bergamo; *l'è una bella città, la conossi — l'ha appresi di parlà 'l Meneghin, lu?*<sup>a</sup>

*Saludi*

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38, Moscow, 1965

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ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER <sup>261</sup>

IN VIENNA

[Draft]

[London, 26 June 1891]

Dear Adler,

I would request you to pass on to the conveners of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party's Second Congress my sincere thanks for their kind invitation to this your party congress and to convey to them my regrets at being unable to attend in person as also my best wishes for a successful outcome to the proceedings.

Since Hainfeld, when the Austrian Workers' Party came into its own again, you have made immense progress. That is the best guarantee that your Second Party Congress will be the point of departure for even more significant triumphs.

How invincible is our party's inner strength is evident not only from the rapid succession of external victories, not only from the fact that last year in Germany, just as this year in Austria, it overcame the state of emergency. <sup>262</sup> This, its strength, is even more evident in the party's ability in every country to surmount obstacles and accomplish things in the face of which the other parties, who are recruited from

<sup>a</sup> It's a beautiful town, I know it—have you learnt how to talk like the Milanese?

the propertied classes, are helplessly halted in their tracks. While the propertied classes in France are engaged in an implacable struggle with the propertied classes in Germany, French and German Social-Democrats work hand in hand in full accord. And while in Austria the propertied classes in the various Crown Lands are forfeiting, in the mindless squabble over nationalities, the last vestige of their competence to rule, your Second Party Congress will project a picture of an Austria in which the squabble over nationalities is a thing of the past, of the Austria — of the working people.<sup>263</sup>

First published, with alterations, in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nr. 27, Wien, 3. Juli 1891

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Published in English for the first time

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

Ryde, 28 June 1891

My dear Lafargue,

I have been staying here with Pumps for the past two days and shall remain until Thursday 2 July when I return to London.<sup>264</sup> Meanwhile Louise has sent me your letter of the 25th.<sup>265</sup> Fortunately I have a blank cheque which I can send you herewith made out for £20. Good luck! The preparations you have made for your defence strike me as excellent and I trust you will secure a seat in the Chamber without being sentenced.

Now for something else. Enclosed you will find a letter from *Field* (*Star*, 23 June) together with Burrows' reply,<sup>266</sup> evidently written by Hyndman. Is it true that, as Field maintains, *you authorised* him to do the idiotic thing he has done? We cannot believe it. But in any case you will see what a letter from you to this Field has given rise to, a letter that in itself may well be perfectly innocent. This Field, a good lad, but bursting to play a part of some sort — even at the cost of doing a disservice to the cause he wishes to serve — purports to be acting

for *your* Party and, consequently, for ours. As an 'authorised' agent he makes appeals to the TRADES UNIONS, etc., and, *if he is known* at all, it is as a former collaborator of *Champion* who is now more despised than ever, thanks to his exploits in Australia!

The ground had therefore been too well prepared not to be exploited by Mr Hyndman. Witness his reply. Every idiotic utterance of Field's, every weak point in his letter is adroitly seized upon and all Field has done is to boost the Possibilists.<sup>3</sup>

Nobody here can take up the gauntlet. In the first place we don't know what transpired between you and Field. And then *The Star*, if they did accept a reply from us (which is doubtful, indeed more than doubtful), would close the correspondence after they had given Burrows another say. And Field has placed us in such an idiotic situation that we have no choice but to hope that the correspondence in *The Star* will be forgotten as quickly as possible.

In any case, if you want us to go on working *successfully* over here on behalf of the congress, you must *forbid* Field immediately and *categorically* to publish anything whatsoever that purports *to be authorised by the foreign secretary of the Workers' Party*.<sup>a</sup> And don't give anyone here a pretext to publish anything whatsoever authorised by you without having first consulted us. Otherwise we should do better to beat a retreat and leave everything to chance. To be placed under *Champion's* protection — that would be the last straw!

All was going well over here. We were working away quietly, if unremittingly, and a to-do in the press (*we have no newspaper*, remember) is the last thing we want if we are to succeed. However we have a right to expect that our own friends won't put a spoke in our wheel. We got all we wanted at Brussels, not without some difficulty, but we got it and we put it to good use. And that ought to be enough for you without the French Marxist party's affecting to play the part of convenor of the congress and arrogating to themselves a role to which they are not entitled. Anyhow, let us know what you wrote to Field so that we can try, if only by word of mouth, to mitigate the unfortunate effect of Field's stupidity.

Tussy still has Laura's letter about Longuet. I shall get it back on my return. Our thanks to Laura for this important information. At all events, the matter is about to be taken in hand although, having read the clauses in the Code, we doubt whether the Conseil de Fa-

<sup>a</sup> Paul Lafargue

mille can do very much other than appoint a guardian. Tussy must have written to Laura.

We have old Harney here. He has spent a month in Ventnor where he got rid of his chronic bronchitis but had a recurrence of rheumatic gout. We brought him here yesterday in a cab. He is full of aches and woes, poor devil, but perks up whenever the aches subside. He will be returning to Richmond in a day or so.

Pumps has a small but pretty house with a garden FRONT AND BACK, heaps of fruit of every kind, vegetables, even potatoes; greenhouse with vines laden with grapes, etc. It is splendid for the children, but will Percy manage to do any business? His brothers don't appear to be in any hurry to back him up with the necessary materials. Anyway we shall see.

Pumps, Percy and Harney send their best wishes to you and Laura as do I.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY <sup>267</sup>

IN STUTTGART

[Ryde, 29 June 1891]

Dear Kautsky,

I have come down here to take refuge with Pumps for a few days <sup>264</sup> having been inundated with an intolerable amount of work. No sooner had I become happily engrossed in group marriage <sup>268</sup> than I was landed with the party programme, which *had* to be attended to. <sup>269</sup> I meant at first to try rewriting the preamble in rather more succinct form but want of time prevented my doing so, besides which I thought it more important to point out the shortcomings,

some avoidable, others not, of the political part, as this would provide me with an opportunity to lash out at the conciliatory opportunism of the *Vorwärts* and the clean-devout-joyous-free<sup>a</sup> 'ingrowing' of the old canker 'into socialist society'. I have since heard of your proposal that there should be a new preamble; so much the better.

The party is going to print Lassalle's letters to Marx and myself, annotated by me<sup>260</sup> (thus precluding all censorship by the party). I can attend to this in the autumn, alongside Volume III.<sup>b</sup> (*This between ourselves.*)

I have taken refuge here in order to finish off part of my correspondence; on Thursday<sup>c</sup> I go home, when work on group marriage will be resumed. I was getting along so nicely — confound these interruptions!

*Poverty of Philosophy* — the position is that Dietz is to buy himself out for 450 marks, whereupon negotiations will be restricted to the four of us, so all is well and we shall be able to sort things out all right. But there can be no question of you two refusing to take *any* remuneration for the 2nd edition.

Dietz's plan for a volume of Marx's minor works won't do. Long ago Liebknecht cherished a pet project of this sort; it was to be put into effect by his latest protégé, Paul Ernst, who was also to publish other things of Marx's and, IN FACT, to be sent to me for a few months so that I could help him in this. The idea was for the thing to be published by the Berlin bookseller under the party's imprint — i. e. an edition of Marx alongside an edition of Lassalle. I turned this down categorically, which means that I can do no less where Dietz is concerned. I have *permitted* the party to publish a few minor things of Marx's in pamphlet form and as individual items, without notes or preface. Nor can I go any further than that. I cannot allow them to steal a march on me by bringing out in this piecemeal fashion the complete edition to whose ultimate publication I am committed.

Nor, for that matter, can I now contemplate a new edition of the *Condition, etc.*,<sup>d</sup> not, at any rate, until Volume III is completed. I am perfectly prepared to negotiate this with Dietz in due course, but the chaps have simply got to realise that I can take on absolutely nothing more until Volume III has gone to press. While it is in printing, arrangements can be made for something else. But until then I shall resist *all incitements* and pet projects, whether they emanate from

<sup>a</sup> A catchword used by German gymnasts. - <sup>b</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> 2 July - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.

Dietz or anyone else. After all, the chaps ought to have sense enough to exempt me till then from this sort of thing since it could only involve me in useless, time-consuming correspondence. As soon as I have finished revising the *Origin* I shall set to work on Volume III and then, come rain or shine, I'll carry on regardless.

Vollmar's speech <sup>270</sup> with its quite unnecessary concessions to the present Establishment and its still more unnecessary, and, what's more, unauthorised assurances that Social-Democrats would play their part if the Fatherland were attacked—i. e. would *help defend* the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine—has caused unmitigated glee amongst our opponents over here and in France. If it is allowed to pass, our chaps will have to pay very dearly for it in Brussels. <sup>135</sup> The Possibilists <sup>3</sup> and the Hyndmen are quarrying it for notes, after their usual fashion, nor can we over here do anything about it in the absence of an authentic statement denying Vollmar the right to speak in the name of the party. <sup>271</sup> Now, as Hyndman's man of straw, Bax has recently written on the subject in *Justice*; I haven't seen it yet. <sup>272</sup>

The meeting of women in labour in Hyde Park <sup>273</sup> has caused considerable merriment here and in London—the English version even more than the German because of the play on words in DEMANDING A REDUCTION OF THE HOURS OF LABOUR which, more specifically, can mean travail: A WOMAN IN LABOUR.

Ravé's address is Faubourg Rochereuil, Poitiers, France.

Pumps now lives down here; Percy has taken on an agency for his brothers. Their little house, The Firs, is in Brading Road, exactly one English mile outside the town. It's small but pretty and has a garden [with] <sup>a</sup> vegetables and fruit. Old Harney spent four weeks at Ventnor where he had a recurrence of gout and rheumatism. We fetched him over here on Saturday; he will probably travel back with me on Thursday and return to his headquarters in Richmond. He is terribly lame and out of sorts.

Schorlemmer will probably soon be with us. As you know, he's a very uncommunicative correspondent. While over here, Sam Moore has suffered from African malarial fever but is now better again. In August or September he will be returning to the Niger. In his heart of hearts, I believe, he yearns after the beautiful climate—despite the bouts of fever which recur with menstrual regularity.

<sup>a</sup> Manuscript damaged.

How could you possibly imagine I cared a rap about whether or not I'm given pride of place in the *Neue Zeit*? Simply suit yourself. Many regards from everyone here.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT <sup>267</sup>

IN ZURICH

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 1 July 1891

Dear Schmidt,

I have taken refuge here for a few days. <sup>264</sup> Pumps is now living in this place where her husband has taken on an agency and, since my work had become altogether too much for me, I have come to stay with her for a few days if only to get a breath of fresh air and to deal with the most pressing correspondence. Tomorrow I go back to London again.

I have before me your two letters of 5 March and 18 June. You would be well-advised not to finish your work on the credit system and the money market until Volume III <sup>a</sup> comes out; in it you will find much that is new on these topics and still more that yet remains to be explored — new solutions, that is, and new tasks. As soon as my summer holiday is over, I shall set to work unremittingly on Volume III.—Your second project—the transitional stages on the way to a communist society—is worth thinking about, but my advice to you is *nonum prematur in annum* <sup>b</sup>; it's the most difficult subject on earth because conditions are constantly changing. For instance, every new

<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> Let it be kept quiet till the ninth year (Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 388).



trust causes them to change while the vantage points never remain the same from one decade to the next.

Your latest academic adventures in Zurich are exceedingly funny.<sup>274</sup> These gentlemen are everywhere alike. Well, I hope you will eventually succeed, to the mortification of the whole of that clique, and thus at long last be left in peace.

I found Barth's book<sup>a</sup> a great disappointment, having expected something a bit less superficial and makeshift. A man who assesses every philosopher, not in accordance with what is enduring and progressive in his work, but in accordance with what is of necessity transitory and reactionary, in accordance with the *system*, would have done better to hold his peace. For according to him the history of philosophy is nothing but a 'heap of rubble', the detritus of exploded systems. Old Hegel stands head and shoulders above this, his supposed critic! And then he believes himself to be criticising Hegel if here and there he succeeds in detecting one of the false starts which Hegel, like any other systematic philosopher, is bound to make in hammering out a system for himself! What a colossal discovery — that Hegel occasionally rolls into one what are contrary and contradictory opposites! I could put him on the track of some far better wheezes if only I could be bothered. The man's what we in the Rhineland call a *Korinthen-scheisser*<sup>b</sup>; he reduces everything to insignificance and until he gets out of that habit he will, to use Hegel's words, 'come to nothing, from nothing, through nothing'.<sup>c</sup>

His critique of Marx is truly comical! First he concocts a materialistic theory of history such as, in his opinion, Marx *ought* to have had, only to discover that Marx's writings say something quite different. From this, however, he does not deduce that he, Barth, has put a wrong construction upon Marx — far from it; but that, on the contrary, Marx contradicts himself and is incapable of applying his own theory! 'Oh, if only these people could *read!*' as Marx used to exclaim when confronted by criticism of this kind.

I have not got the book here; if I had time I could point out to you hundreds more absurdities of the same nature. It is a pity, for one can see that the man might be capable of something if he were not in such a hurry to pass judgment. Let us hope he will soon write something

<sup>a</sup> P. Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann*. — <sup>b</sup> i. e. someone who trivialises everything — <sup>c</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, Th. I, Abt. 2. In: *Werke*, Bd. IV, Berlin, 1841, S. 15, 75, 146.

upon which more attacks will be launched; a really sound drubbing would do him good.

As for me, I am very well — better than this time last year and shall, I think, be quite fit again after a bit of a holiday. If only one could work with fewer interruptions! 2 or 3 months ago I set to work on the new edition of the *Origin of the Family, etc.*<sup>a</sup> and should have finished it in a fortnight had it not been for the arrival of the new draft programme which they wanted me to criticise,<sup>269</sup> on top of which all sorts of little ineptitudes were perpetrated on the Continent, thus making it more difficult for us here in England — where the material is good but needs careful handling — to pave the way for the Brussels Congress,<sup>135</sup> etc. All this tends to throw me off course again and to distract me, and yet the thing must not only be almost entirely revised and brought up to date, but must also be *finished* if I am to get down to Volume III. WELL, since it's got to be managed somehow, managed it will be.

You'd almost think yourself in Prussia here. On Sunday<sup>b</sup> we encountered 4 or 5 sailors from the *Stosch*, splendid fellows, very well able to stand comparison with the English MAN-OF-WAR'S MEN; this morning, constant rumbling of guns and explosions of shells from the gunnery practice at the Portsmouth forts.

Many kind regards from Pumps, Percy and

Your old friend

F. Engels

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Published in English in full for the  
first time

<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* -

<sup>b</sup> 28 June

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

[London,] 7 July 1891

My dear Laura,

That's bad for poor Paul, at least it looks bad at present.<sup>275</sup> Anyhow, he is not in prison yet. There is *cassation*, though that is one chance out of ten only in his favour. There *must* be some row in the *Chambre* about this infamous verdict, and I hope Millerand and Co. will not fail to make that row. I think it admirable policy of Paul to at once assume the offensive, revisit the battlefield of the North, and make himself as formidable to the government as he can. That is what the French always see better and clearer than our Germans, that, in order to make up for a reverse, you must attack at another point, but always attack, never show the white feather, never give way.

At all events his seat in the *Chambre* seems now pretty safe, and that would bring him out of prison if the election took place while he was in. *Le Nord nous appartient maintenant.*<sup>a</sup> What fools these governments are! To think they can put such a movement as ours down by repression. But with all his insolence M. Constans shows vacillation; the 'bus strike<sup>276</sup> showed him in quite a different light; there is no telling what he may not do, if he finds the effect of the verdict to be contrary to his expectations.

*Ravé est à ravir.*<sup>b</sup> I pity anyone who has to correct that man. What a work of Sisypheus it must have been for you!<sup>199</sup> Anyhow it may give you an opening for translations with his publisher, and then your labour may bear fruit.

By the bye, the correct French expression for '*Schutzergabung*'—the technical, juridical word, is *commendation*.

I am finishing the revision of the *Ursprung* for the 4th edition. There will be considerable and important additions; especially a new introduction<sup>c</sup> (proof sent to Ravé, the text probably in the next *Neue Zeit*)

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<sup>a</sup> North belongs to us now. - <sup>b</sup> Ravé is splendid. - <sup>c</sup> The reference is to the preface to the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 41 under the title 'Zur Urgeschichte der Familie (Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan)'. See also this volume, pp. 199, 201, 204, 232-33.

and then in the chapter on the family. I think you will like them, my inspiring genius to a great extent has been Louise who is full of clear, transparent and original views on the subject. She wishes to be most kindly remembered to you and Paul.

Ever yours,  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO JOHANN GUSTAV VOGT

IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

London, 8 July 1891  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

If I have not replied until today to your esteemed letters of 20 June and 5 July,<sup>277</sup> this is due solely to the fact that I am still vainly awaiting a line from Liebknecht whom you gave as a reference and to whom, through Richard Fischer, his colleague on the Party Executive, I also sent a special request for information; this is the more necessary in that Bebel has only just made your acquaintance, whereas Liebknecht has known you for some time past.

Compliance with your request does not depend on me alone. It is Marx's heirs, for whom I merely act as agent, and also the publisher of *Capital*,<sup>a</sup> who must have the casting vote. As regards the latter I can, I believe, tell you straight away that he would in no circumstances give his consent to such a scheme. Nor would you be likely to fare better at the hands of Marx's heirs. Neither of his two surviving daughters<sup>b</sup> would agree to their father's writings being translated

<sup>a</sup> Otto Meissner - <sup>b</sup> Laura and Eleanor

from his own German into that of another author. Indeed, upon inquiry I have already been told as much.

I myself could not, with a good conscience, endorse your proposal. You have been kind enough to send us your writings— a new system of natural history. Since it is only in my spare time that I can turn my attention to the natural sciences, it will be some little while before I can venture to give an independent opinion on your mode of thought. As soon as time permits, I shall peruse your work and am most grateful to you for sending it to me. Even though it may not convince me, I shall certainly be able to learn something from it. But of that thorough command of political economy which must be the first prerequisite for your proposed task, there is no suggestion whatever in your writings.

Hence, aside from all other doubts and difficulties, I could give my consent solely on condition that the work be revised by me. In this way, however, it would become more or less *my* work and that would not suit you or, for that matter, myself since there are already far too many demands on my time.

So I can see absolutely no possibility of your attaining your goal with the consent of all concerned, nor can I conceal from you my opinion that Marx is best able to speak to Germans in his own German. Even the working men come to understand it in due course. They are far more intelligent and, indeed, more cultivated, than is generally supposed.

Yours faithfully

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time

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 12 July 1891

My dear Laura,

Paul sends me from Lille the enclosed.<sup>278</sup> As I do not know where he may be now, I return and reply to you.

First I have absolutely no time to do *un vrai travail*<sup>a</sup> for Duc-Quercy, in order that he may make out of it *un article à sensation*. I am finishing the *Origin*,<sup>b</sup> and then I shall go and recover a bit of nervous tension, as I do feel rather unstrung. And after that—the 3rd volume<sup>c</sup> and nothing else. That is settled long since and cannot and shall not be unsettled.

If I was to write on such a ticklish question and for such a ticklish public as the French, I should certainly do it myself under my name; but never allow a journalist to turn my letter into an interview and put into my mouth, French fashion, not what I did say but what in his opinion I ought to have said.

But finally I am not capable of writing on the 3 questions proposed in a style to please the French bourgeois and readers of the *Figaro*. I should have to remind them of the fact that by their submission, for 20 years, to the adventurer Louis Bonaparte they laid the foundation for all the wars that have come over us since 1850, including the Franco-German war; that that war originated, *en dernier lieu*,<sup>d</sup> in their claim to interfere in German internal affairs, a claim which they even now think they have a right to; that if they lost Alsace etc. *c'était la fortune de la guerre*<sup>e</sup> and that I do most distinctly object to the whole fate of Europe and of the working class being made subordinate to the question as to who is to have that miserable bit of country. All this might be very useful to tell them, but would they even listen to it without accusing me of having stolen a *pendule*?

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<sup>a</sup> a great amount of work - <sup>b</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* - <sup>c</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> eventually - <sup>e</sup> it was the fortune of war

However that may be, I have no time and cannot submit to Duc-Quercy's manipulations. These are the two decisive points.

What Paul has written to me about Renard and his intended declaration, that *he* said the words attributed to Paul, he will have let you know even before me. I hope these things will help to smash up the verdict.<sup>279</sup>

Edward<sup>a</sup> is at St Margaret's Bay, he suffers from the kidneys again; so we shall have only Tussy and Sam Moore here. Wednesday<sup>b</sup> Louise intends going to Vienna, I expect Schorlemmer and then we will see what we may do. I have no fixed plans yet for the summer, but various nebulous projects are colliding in my brain.

Another thing. I should not like just now to speak about matters connected with the Vollmar affair<sup>270</sup> while the thing is being thrashed out in Germany. Anything I said in France might be used, misused and abused against them in Germany, and render their position more difficult. And it is well known to them all that I have refused to do any work for anybody until after the conclusion of Volume III.<sup>c</sup>

I believe I sent you the second batch of Field-Burrows letters in *The Star*.<sup>280</sup> Anyhow the matter has blown over—thanks to the accident of the Belgian Circular of 18th June.<sup>281</sup> This complete submission of the Belgians to the Halle Resolutions so upset all Hyndman's calculations that he is now in a towering rage against them, threatens them with his vengeance, but still holds back. In the meantime he ruins his last hopes in the East End by attacking the Gas Workers<sup>164</sup> (most of the leaders of whom are in the Social Democratic Federation<sup>29</sup>) and Tussy whom he calls Miss Marx. That's the degree of lowness he has come to.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,  
F. E.

Tussy and I have just been talking over Nimmy's inscription. After various proposals of various epithets, to all of which objections may

<sup>a</sup> Aveling - <sup>b</sup> 15 July - <sup>c</sup> of *Capital*

be made, I incline to Tussy's proposal to put nothing but the name. Then the inscription would run

In memory of  
*Jenny Marx*  
 and of  
*Karl Marx*  
 and of  
*Harry Longuet*  
 also of  
*Helen Demuth*

Born January 1st 1823, Died November 4th 1890

What do you think?

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 July 1891

My dear Laura,

The Culine business is very bad indeed—worthy of the fellow's name<sup>282</sup>—but what's to be done? With such a weapon in Constans' hands, we can only hold our tongues.

Louise went on Wednesday<sup>a</sup> and Jollymeier came on Saturday, but he is getting more and more Tristymeier, you have to work very hard to get a smile out of him now. Anyhow I'll try my best.

Paul asks me to send you a cheque, so enclosed £20; please let me know the receipt. I send it off quick because Jollymeier is still out at

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<sup>a</sup> 15 July



his walk, so if I close this letter all of a sudden, you will know the reason why.

We are preparing a tour at sea, but have not made up our plans yet, and I have not yet finished my ms.<sup>a</sup>—but am at the last addition as far as I can see. Hope to have done by Wednesday<sup>b</sup> at latest.

Paul thinks Tussy is troubling herself more than necessary about Brussels<sup>135</sup>—I don't think so. Everything *may* go well, and probably *will* go well if everybody comes up to the scratch, but I have too much experience of such congresses, not to know how easily everything can go wrong. The Belgians have convoked for the 18th August<sup>281</sup> *Tuesday*, instead of *Sunday 16th*—if our people come on the 18th and the (Possibilists) Broussists and Hyndmanites on the 16th, they can play ducks and drakes with everything. Tussy has written yesterday to Volders but these fellows never even reply! As to what the English will do, that's mere toss-up; from Germany almost certainly Vollmar will come and intrigue; what the small countries are you know: not to be trusted across the road. And one mistake on our part, one neglected opportunity, may cause us unnecessary but unavoidable work for years to come.

And then there is that irrepressible Bonnier who point-blank informed me that Guesde and he were going to go in for a restoration of the old International with a Central Council. I told him point-blank that that was putting everything in the hands of the Belgians (the only possible Central Council) knowing what sort of people they were; it was ruining every chance of the movement here in England for a couple of years by a foolish attempt to precipitate matters not ripe for action; and in fact the best means of setting French, English and Germans at loggerheads one with the other. He seemed abashed, but who can guess what he and Guesde may do in their enthusiasm?

*Viele Grüsse von Jollymeier und*

*Deinem alten<sup>c</sup>*

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*—

<sup>b</sup> 22 July—<sup>c</sup> Best greetings from Jollymeier and your old friend

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## ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 22 July 1891

Dear Adler,

In order to give the Austrians more than an academic token of my sympathy, I have told Dietz to credit you—to use an Austrian expression<sup>a</sup>—with half the fees for the new edition<sup>b</sup> of the *Origin of the Family, etc.* for your party funds. Let us hope no drastic diarrhetic will be required to bring this about. When you will get it and how much you will get at a time (it may be paid by instalments), I cannot say. For every 1,000 copies printed he pays 50 marks, of which you will get 25.

When you enter this on your printed receipts, I should like you to put 'from F. E. in London, such and such a sum', without any further particulars.

Just one more thing: Louise has agreed, should you be able to procure her a mandate, which should surely not be difficult, to accompany you to the general mounting of the guard in Brussels.<sup>155</sup> But this was on the tacit understanding that she would bring you and Bebel or you, at any rate, back to London with her for a few days. And I hope she will succeed in doing so. I shall have returned here by then and shall eagerly await your advent. For in that case, who knows what you mightn't be able to persuade me to do next year? So not too much head-scratching—and bring your wife<sup>c</sup> with you!

Your old friend

F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> Engels uses the word 'abführen' which can also mean 'purge' - <sup>b</sup> the fourth German edition - <sup>c</sup> Emma Adler

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## ENGELS TO EMMA ADLER

IN VIENNA

London, 22 July 1891

Dear Mrs Adler,

This year, alas, nothing is likely to come of the trip to the Continent which I should dearly like to make, if only to come and see you at Lunz and convince you that I can indeed eat Austrian food, and with very good appetite, as Louise can testify; she never dresses a salad for me save after the Viennese fashion. But if I don't come and see you, there is, after all, another alternative. Perhaps you will accompany Victor to Brussels,<sup>135</sup> in which case we could make one another's acquaintance just as well here in London. Brussels is but a stone's throw from here, so what do you think? If, however, you should not go to Brussels, could you not authorise your husband to spend a few days over here to recuperate from the wear and tear of the world congress? That sort of thing is a tremendous strain, and spending a few days in London after it would greatly benefit his health.

The African Chief Justice, Sam Moore, has just arrived, and I must stop—do please come. Louise is sure to coax you into it—but if *you* cannot, then send your deputy.

Kisses to your dear children about whom Louise has told me so much.

Very sincerely yours,  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE <sup>160</sup>

IN MOUNT DESERT

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 9 August 1891

Dear Sorge,

Your two letters of 14 and 20 July have been forwarded to me here. I and Schorlemmer have been spending the past two weeks here with Pumps <sup>264</sup> whose husband is the agent here for his brothers. Shall be going home in about a week.

Am very grateful for the information *re* the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*—I have such a mass of newspapers to go through that, without such advice, I should often find it very difficult to get my bearings. Also *re* Gompers and Sanial <sup>283</sup>—most important, this, since I might run into them in London.

Anna <sup>a</sup> will have to look to her own future; this nonsense is really too much.

The Possibilist-Hyndmanian racket will probably take a hard knock at the Brussels Congress. <sup>135</sup> The split in the ranks of the Paris Possibilists <sup>3</sup> has completely cut the ground from under Brousse's feet. In the provinces they count for nothing while in Paris the majority support Allemane *against Brousse*. <sup>53</sup> This has resulted in the Possibilists of *both* complexions losing control of their last great vantage point, the *bourse du travail*. <sup>57</sup> Or so the *Socialiste* of 24 July says. <sup>284</sup> The Brussels chaps who are, in their heart of hearts, themselves Possibilists and have stood by the latter as long as they could, have made a complete *volte-face* <sup>281</sup>; they aim at becoming the General Council of a new International and are paying court to the all-transcendent 'Marxists'; hence the comical lamentations of the 'friends' they have left in the lurch in Paris and London. I fear, I fear that Mr Hyndman will cease to be our official 'enemy' and will try and make out that he

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<sup>a</sup> Stanisław Padlewski

is our 'friend'. That would be a bad thing; we haven't got the time to keep a constant eye on a schemer like him.

Tussy, Aveling, Thorne and other members of the GASWORKERS,<sup>164</sup> Sanders (John Burns' secretary) and sundry others of our English supporters are going to Brussels. How things stand as regards the *old* TRADES UNIONS, I do not know.

The DOCKERS are going to pot. Though the success of their STRIKE was due solely and entirely to the £30,000, contributed in a fit of misguided enthusiasm by Australia, they imagine it was their own doing.<sup>198</sup> Hence they are making one mistake after another, the most recent being to close their lists and refuse to accept any more members, i. e. breed their own SCABS. Then they rejected a merger with the GASWORKERS. Many are DOCKERS in summer and GASWORKERS in winter. Having regard to these alternating occupations, the GASWORKERS proposed that a member's TICKET for *one* UNION should be valid for both—nothing doing! So far the GASWORKERS have nevertheless continued to honour the DOCKERS' TICKET—but how long they will do so is hard to say. Again, the DOCKERS are protesting vociferously against the immigration of FOREIGN PAUPERS (Russian Jews). Of their leaders, Tom Mann is a good chap but unbelievably weak, while his nomination as a member of the ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR has all but turned his head; Ben Tillet is an ambitious intriguer, no funds are available, membership is rapidly dwindling, discipline gone by the board.

A week ago someone wrote to me from St Petersburg saying: 'WE ARE ON THE EVE OF A FAMINE.'<sup>a</sup> This was substantiated yesterday by the banning of the export of grain from Russia. In the first place, this will ensure us a year's peace; with famine in the land, the Tsar may well rattle his sabre, but he won't unsheathe it. But **if**, as seems probable, Gladstone comes to power here next year, an attempt will be made to persuade England and France to consent to the closing of the Dardanelles to *all* fleets, even in time of war, i. e. prevent the Sultan from obtaining assistance against Russia. So that's the next item on the oriental agenda.

In the second place, however, the Russian ban on the export of grain means *extending the famine to rye-eating Germany*; only Russia can make good Germany's colossal deficit in rye. But this would mean the complete collapse of Germany's grain tariff policy, which in turn would mean a whole series of political convulsions. For instance, the landed

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 230.

aristocracy cannot forego its protective tariffs without also undermining the industrial tariffs of the middle classes. The protectionist parties will lose credit and the whole situation be totally altered. And *our party will grow tremendously*—the failure of this harvest will put us five years ahead of schedule, quite apart from the fact that it will prevent a war which would claim a hundred times more lives.

These two aspects will, in my opinion, temporarily dominate European politics, and if Schlüter would care to draw attention to this in the *Volkszeitung*,<sup>a</sup> it would be very useful. As soon as the Congress<sup>135</sup> is over, I shall also bring it up in the European press. Only I cannot, of course, be responsible for what others in Germany will make of the information I have supplied.

I am glad that Mount Desert is, as always, doing you good. I, too, am feeling the benefit of the sea air—only here in Europe the weather is so uncertain that one can't really plan anything. Schorlemmer sends his regards. I won't finish this letter off yet as there may be something more to tell you tomorrow.

11 August. The ban on the export of grain from Russia is not yet official but is almost a certainty; we may expect an official proclamation.

In East Prussia there have been 2 parliamentary elections—we gained an *enormous* number of votes. So we have at last opened up the rural areas—*cela marche*!<sup>b</sup><sup>285</sup> With the help of the price rise we may well see something happen there by 1900, unless we kick the bucket first.

Louise Kautsky is in Vienna, will be going to Brussels with a Viennese mandate, and will bring Adler back to London with her and also perhaps Bebel; I have written to him in Switzerland but have not yet had a reply.

Tussy's report to the Brussels Congress on behalf of the GASWORKERS and others is very good<sup>286</sup>; I shall send it you. Tussy is going to Brussels with a mandate from the Dublin Congress<sup>247</sup> of the GASWORKERS and GENERAL LABOURERS and will thus be representing 100,000 men.

<sup>a</sup> *New Yorker Volkszeitung* - <sup>b</sup> Things have got going.

Aveling also has 3 or 4 mandates. It would seem that the *old* TRADES UNIONS will be poorly represented—all to the good on this occasion!

Regards from Schorlemmer and myself to your wife.<sup>a</sup>

Your old friend

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

Ryde, 17 August 1891  
The Firs, Brading Road

My dear Laura,

We are still here, Schorlemmer and I, awaiting fine weather which is very slow to come; now and then we have had a fine day and could venture on an excursion but on the whole we had our enterprising spirits damped by the glorious uncertainty which is common to the law and the climate of England; not a few times, too, damped and even wetted by but too certain rain. Anyhow we may thank our stars that our plan[s] of circumnavigating this island (not Wight, which we have twice sailed round but Great Britain) were nipped in the bud, for we should have caught it and well too. So we are here admiring the British Fleet which is moored opposite us and awaiting the French which is to come up the day after tomorrow.

So poor Paul has entered upon his term of *Ste Pélagie*<sup>287</sup> — I hope he'll keep his spirits up! It's a long bout of enforced rest, but then France *c'est l'imprévu*<sup>b</sup> and nobody knows what will turn up within

<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge - <sup>b</sup> is unpredictable

a twelvemonth. I am afraid you will find Le Perreux about as solitary as he will Ste Pélagie, well we must have you over here in London off and on, which may be done I hope without very great difficulties, for surely you will not be bound by your family of pigeons, hens, etc., etc. So I hope you will arrange to come by and bye after you have made Paul as comfortable as circumstances will permit.

Our Russian friend<sup>a</sup> wrote to me about 3 weeks ago: 'We are on the eve of a famine', and indeed that prophecy has been but too soon fulfilled. While the French Chauvins and Russian pan-Slavists fraternise and hurrah at each other,<sup>288</sup> this fact nullifies all their demonstrations. With a famine at home, the Czar cannot fight. The utmost he will do is to use the present mood of the French bourgeois for his own ends, by blustering and threatening, but he will not strike a blow, and if the French bourgeois should go too far, he will leave them to shift for themselves. What the Russian government aims at, at present, is the closing of the Dardanelles *in time of war to all navies*. That he will get the French to subscribe to, and then, when Gladstone comes in here, as is hoped, at next general election, the grand old Russophile is to be coaxed into agreeing to it too. With the two great naval powers bound hand and foot by such an agreement, the Czar is master of Constantinople which he can surprise any day, and the Sultan is but the Czar's care-taker on the Bosphorus. That is the plan, to which the bourgeois republic at Paris is to act the part of cat's-paw, and when it has done its duty as such, it may go to the devil for aught the Czar cares. That is the reason why the Czar submitted to listen to the *Marseillaise* and to humour the representatives of a Republic.

Anyhow, peace is assured — unless some people turn crazy — for this and the greater part of next year. That is the principal effect of the famine in Russia.

But there are others. There will be internal commotions in Russia, and they *may* lead to a change; it is even likely they will cause *some* change, bring about some movement in that pool of stagnation; but it may be, that this is not only *le commencement de la fin mais la fin elle-même*.<sup>b</sup>

In Germany the failure of the crop seems certain too, and there the present and still rising famine prices will bring about the breakdown

<sup>a</sup> N. F. Danielson, see this volume, p. 230. - <sup>b</sup> the beginning of the end, but the end itself



of the Bismarckian fiscal policy and the protective duties. There, too, the old system will be shaken to its very foundations and nobody can tell how far that may go. Anyhow it will again swell our ranks amazingly, and help us to conquer the country districts where we are gaining ground wonderfully. There have been two by-elections in East Prussia on the borders of Russia, in thorough country districts, where two years ago we had about 400-500 votes together, this year we had about 3,000<sup>285!</sup> And if we get the rural districts of the six eastern provinces of Prussia (where large landed property and large farming predominate) *the German army is ours.*

According to *The Standard* of to-day,<sup>289</sup> neither Hyndman nor Brousse had turned up, and Allemane was to take charge of the Possibilists.<sup>3</sup> So as far as *that* class of opposition is concerned, it looks like a walk-over for our people. That question once disposed of, there will remain but little real work for the Congress; unless the various velleities of a restoration of the 'International' venture to come out.<sup>a</sup> I hope they will not, for that would cause new splits and throw us back, here in England at least, for years to come. The thing is an absurdity in every respect, especially so long as neither in France nor in England there is one strong and united party. If that were the case, and both united heart and soul with the Germans, then the end would be obtained without any formal union, the moral effect of the three great western nations acting together would suffice. But so long as that cannot be, all attempts at restoring an International would bring one of the petty nations, probably the Belgians, into an undeserved prominence and end in quarrels. The fact is, the movement is too great, too vast to be confined by such hampering bonds. Still, there is a hankering after this restoration and Bonnier was full of it last time I saw him. Certainly he looked rather perplexed when I told him my objections and had not a word to say — but will that stop him and his friends in Brussels?

On Thursday<sup>b</sup> I expect to be back in London; Adler will come from Brussels for a few days, perhaps also Bebel. As soon as I am informed about the Brussels proceedings I shall send you a letter for Paul, in the meantime kind regards to both of you from Schorlemmer, the Pumpses and

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 221. - <sup>b</sup> 20 August

Had letter from Tussy from Brussels, but written before Sunday's meeting.<sup>135</sup> Shall not know anything of what happened by the time this has to be posted. 18th August, 11 in the morning.

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## ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 2 September 1891

My dear Sir,

Today I return to you six more letters which include everything to end of 1878 — remainder will follow.<sup>290</sup>

Your prophecy about the famine has but too soon been verified, and we here in England, too, will have to suffer severely. The crop seemed excellent on the whole, when about 10 days ago terrible weather set in — just as corn cutting began in the South of England — and played terrible havoc with both cut and uncut corn, 20 to 30 per cent of the crop are said to be severely damaged if not ruined. There is but one advantage connected with this calamity: it will render a war impossible for some 20 months to come, and that, in the present state of universal armament and mutual distrust, is a blessing.

Allow me to return, on another occasion, to your very interesting communication of 1 May.<sup>291</sup> Today I am on the eve of a journey and my principal object is to request you in future to address all your letters to

Mrs Kautsky, 122 Regent's Park Road, N. W. London.

The letters will be handed to me *unopened*, so there is no necessity for a second cover (*enveloppe*). The fact is I shall be so often absent from London<sup>264</sup> that I am afraid letters addressed in the usual way might

miscarry; I should have to trust to the intelligence and punctuality of servants.

My health is on the whole excellent; but I require once a year a holiday of about eight weeks and a considerable change of air. A sea voyage is always the best remedy for me. If I keep as well as I expect to be in a month, I shall set at once about the 3rd volume,<sup>a</sup> it *must* be finished. But I better not make any promises as to time.

Very truly yours,  
P. W. Rosher<sup>b</sup>

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>160</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 September 1891

Dear Sorge,

I have shown your letter about Mrs Schlüter<sup>c</sup> to Louise Kautsky who may be relied on implicitly and is acquainted with the circumstances. She takes the view that Mrs Schlüter has simply fired a warning shot and that she'll come back to him all right, providing Schlüter refuses to be intimidated. Nor does she believe that a third party would be required to nudge her into a decision of this kind. She did the same thing several times in Zurich—or something like it. Admittedly Schlüter's repeated infidelities have given her cause to rebel, but she regularly forgives him and the only people to suffer are those who take her wrath and her fulminations seriously. Louise is the last person to side with Schlüter in this affair or even excuse him—she and all of us know exactly what to expect of him in this respect—his

<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym - <sup>c</sup> Anna Schlüter

cock regularly runs away with him. But, though his wife invariably threatens to leave him, she nevertheless falls into his arms again when it comes to the point—and thus there's nothing left for a third party to do.

The Bernsteins return from Eastbourne today. Sanial and Mac Vey are here and will be calling on me tomorrow. I was in Ryde<sup>264</sup> for a month staying with Pumps and accompanied by Schorlemmer who, however, is now back in Manchester. Every time he has a cold he goes extremely deaf and is no good for anything; otherwise there's nothing wrong with him. I am keeping well but shall have to get out and about a bit more if I am to bring myself fully up to the mark again. Adler from Vienna and also Bebel were here for 3 days, very cheerful and satisfied with the Congress.<sup>135</sup>

I have sent you a pile of documents as well as the *Weekly Dispatch* containing the interview Mother Crawford had with Liebknecht in Paris.<sup>292</sup> That interview will cause a rumpus; at any rate Liebknecht talked a great deal of nonsense. From all I hear he has-grown quite thin! He looks rotten and is apparently at loggerheads with everyone; in Brussels he kept himself quite apart from the Germans and Austrians. Again, the best of our chaps are amazed at the disagreement that exists between him and the vast majority of the party on virtually every point. His editing of the *Vorwärts* has been quite deplorable, he has done nothing himself, has got Geiser to write leading articles for it, and has propounded the most peculiar views, in short there's the making of a catastrophe here and it may come all the sooner as a result of that interview.

The old dispute with the Broussists,<sup>3</sup> etc., has fizzled out; the Broussists were not represented at all in Brussels, nor did Hyndman dare go, while the people he did send squabbled and made asses of themselves; he now seeks a prop in Nieuwenhuis who has gone off his head, but that won't get him anywhere. In matters of principle as of tactics the Marxists have been victorious all along the line; the intriguing will still go on behind the scenes and their attacks on me, the Avelings, etc., in *Justice* will, I trust, continue as before, but there is no longer any public opposition to us as a whole.

The *Volks-Tribüne's* account of the Congress is the most detailed.<sup>a</sup>

I have already read 6 proof-sheets of the new edition of the *Origin of*

<sup>a</sup> 'Internationaler sozialistischer Arbeiter-Kongreß', *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, supplements, Nos. 34, 35; 22 and 29 August 1891.

*the Family, etc.*<sup>a</sup> Besides the new introduction, there will be many additions in Chapter 2<sup>b</sup> ('Family') and also a few later on.

The Brussels Congress<sup>135</sup> has again ratified the Hague resolutions<sup>293</sup> in that it too has thrown out the anarchists. That ought to be emphasised in the press over there. On the other hand it has left the door wide open to the English TRADES UNIONS and no doubt the better ones among them will walk in through it before long. These are the two most important resolutions. It's delicious that the English should now be the most reactionary of all, and that for their sake things have to be toned down! But we can afford to do so, for it is now merely a question of months, or at most a year or two, before they come round. True, the next TRADES UNIONS Congress will try to overturn the LEGAL EIGHT HOURS resolution passed at Liverpool<sup>27</sup> but even if this succeeds—with the help of the textile workers who swear by 10 hours—it will only add more fuel to the flames. Things are moving—there's nothing more for us to do.

Kind regards to your wife.<sup>c</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition. See also this volume, pp. 199, 201, 204, 215-16. -<sup>b</sup> Chapter 3 in the manuscript -<sup>c</sup> Katharina Sorge

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE <sup>294</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 September 1891

My dear Lafargue,

So you are back once more 'neath Madame Pélagic's<sup>a</sup> hallowed and sacrosanct vaults—in *la citta dolente fra le perduta gente*<sup>b</sup> but it won't last long, I trust, and before your 'year' is up we may have Constans there in your place. At all events it's a great pity that you weren't able to go to Brussels before you got nabbed; the effect would have been magnificent. But no matter; I am very happy about the congress<sup>135</sup> none the less. In the first place the total COLLAPSE of the Brouso-Hyndmanian opposition; it was as though it had never existed, as though the Possibilist congress of 1889<sup>52</sup> had simply been a phantasmagoria. Heaven forbid that these gentlemen should become our 'friends'—if they did, they would become a pest; as enemies they would be a source of amusement, as in the past.

Next, the exclusion of the anarchists. The new International has resumed at the point where the old one broke off. Here, 19 years later, we have out-and-out confirmation of the resolutions at The Hague.<sup>293</sup>

Lastly, the door has been thrown wide open for the English TRADES UNIONS—a move which shows how well the situation has been understood. And the utterances committing the TRADES UNIONS to *the class struggle* and *the abolition of wage labour* mean that this did not even require our making any concessions.

Hence we have every reason to be pleased. The Nieuwenhuis incident has shown that the working men of Europe have at last progressed beyond an era dominated by high-falutin verbiage and that they are aware of the responsibilities incumbent on them: it is a class constituted as a *militant* party, a party which reckons with *facts*.<sup>295</sup> And the facts are taking an increasingly revolutionary turn.

In Russia there is already famine; in Germany there will be famine in a few months' time; the other countries will suffer less, this is why:

<sup>a</sup> Ste Pélagic—a prison in Paris. -<sup>b</sup> the city of woe, 'midst the lost ones below (Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, 'Inferno', III).

it is estimated that the 1891 harvest will be in deficit to the tune of 4 million QUARTERS ( $11\frac{1}{2}$  million hectolitres) of wheat and 30-35 million QUARTERS (between 87 and  $101\frac{1}{2}$  million hectolitres) of rye; in the latter case this enormous deficit mainly affects the two rye consuming countries, Russia and Germany.

That will give us a guarantee of peace until the spring of 1892. Russia won't make a move before then. Thus, assuming the absence of some inconceivable blunder on the part of Berlin or Paris, there won't be a war.

On the other hand, will Tsarism come through this crisis? I doubt it. There are so many rebellious elements in the big cities, especially in Petersburg, that they are bound to seize the opportunity, now to hand, of deposing that drunkard Alexander III, or of placing him under the control of a national assembly—perhaps it will be he himself who takes the initiative in convening it. Russia (i. e. the government and the young bourgeoisie) had done an enormous amount of work towards the creation of big industry on a national scale (see Plekhanov in the *Neue Zeit*<sup>a</sup>) and that industry will be stopped in its tracks because its only market—the domestic one—will be denied it on account of the famine. The Tsar will see what comes of having made Russia a SELF-SUFFICIENT COUNTRY independent of abroad; he will have an industrial crisis on top of an agricultural crisis.

In Germany the government will reach a decision, too late as always, to abolish or suspend the duty on corn. That will break the protectionist majority in the Reichstag. The big landowners, the *squirearchy*, will no longer want to support the duties on *industrial* products; they will want to buy IN THE CHEAPEST MARKET. Thus we shall probably see a repetition of what happened at the time of the vote on the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>11</sup>: a protectionist majority, itself divided by divergent interests arising out of the new situation, which finds it impossible to reach agreement on the details of a protectionist system, all the possible proposals being only minority ones; there will be either a reversion to the free trade system, which is just as impossible or—dissolution, displacement of the former parties and of the former majority, a new free trade majority opposed to the present government. That will mean the real and definitive end of the Bismarckian period and of stagnation in home affairs (I am not speaking here of our own party but of parties which might 'possibly' govern); there will be strife

<sup>a</sup> G. Plechanow, 'Die sozialpolitischen Zustände Rußlands im Jahre 1890', *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg. 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 47-51.

between the landed nobility and the bourgeoisie, and between the protectionist bourgeoisie (one section of the industrialists) and the bourgeoisie favouring free trade (the other section of the industrialists and the merchants); the stability of the ministries and of the country's domestic policy will be shattered, in other words there will be movement, struggle, vitality, and it is our party that will reap the whole benefit. If things take this turn, our party will be able to come to power round about 1898 (Bebel puts it as early as 1895).

There. I haven't discussed other countries because they are not so directly affected by the agricultural crisis. But suppose this agricultural crisis were to unleash, here in England, the acute industrial crisis we have been awaiting for the past 25 years, what then?

In a quarter of an hour we shall be leaving for Highgate to plant an ivy cutting on Marx's grave. Motteler brought it back three years ago from Ulrich von Hutten's grave (Island of Ufenau, Lake of Zurich) and it has grown marvellously on my balcony.

I have had Bebel and Adler from Vienna with me here for the past few days; they are very pleased about the congress.

Enjoy yourself and make good use of the opportunity you have been offered of 'concentrating' on work, as the Berlin journalist said when thrown into jug in 1841.

With best wishes,  
Yours,  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>267</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

Helensburgh, Scotland, 14 September 1891

Dear Sorge,

I'm up here on a lightning tour<sup>264</sup> with Pumps and Louise Kautsky; the past week has been spent either in the Highlands or on the water and it has done me a power of good. We shall be home a week from now.

There's nothing one can do about the Schlüters. He can't help chasing after this petticoat or that and she<sup>a</sup> can't help burying the hatchet and forgiving him the moment she feels she has taken things as far as she dares. But if this time she nevertheless remains in Germany—which I'm inclined to doubt—, it will be because people there have talked her into it.

Mr Ferdinand Gilles, a scoundrelly man of letters, who was made to come over to us from the Party of Progress,<sup>296</sup> though we in Germany didn't want him, has joined forces in London with Hyndman & Co. and actually has a party all of his own in the Communist Society.<sup>89</sup> The man has been denounced to us as a police spy by a reliable source whose identity, however, cannot be divulged, which also explains his otherwise inexplicable source of funds (he contributes £6 a year to a school founded over here by Louise Michel). At the Brussels Congress<sup>135</sup> the fellow tried to gain currency among the Germans for the lies about Aveling being disseminated on the sly by Hyndman, Mother Besant, her lover Herbert Burrows and others to the effect that when Aveling married Tussy he had abandoned a wife and three children in a state of utter destitution and that his father-in-law was intent on beating his brains out. (Well, Aveling and his wife parted by mutual consent 8 years ago, she took back her fortune which brings her in over £500 a year, there were never any children and her father had died long before.) Since this fell flat, he sought to find a receptacle for these lies among the correspondents of the bourgeois newspapers and *that, of course, proved successful*. The entire press

<sup>a</sup> Anna Schlüter

was full of it. In Brussels Aveling could do nothing for fear of giving the Belgian police an excuse to disrupt the Congress. But when he returned to London and placed the whole matter before us, we unanimously fell in with his view that Gilles must be given a thrashing. After an attempt to do so in the German Society had been frustrated, Aveling, accompanied by Louise Kautsky as witness (lest he should falsely maintain that he had been floored by two *men*), proceeded to his house last Tuesday, the 8th, and gave him two hearty punches in the face. No doubt that will have a somewhat more salutary effect. Whether anything further came of the business I don't know, as we left the same day and have been unable to receive any news.

Aveling at once advised Liebknecht of the facts of the case for publication in the *Vorwärts*<sup>a 297</sup> and so the affair will no doubt also be discussed in America.

Of the American delegates, those I saw were Mac Vey and Abraham Cahan, the apostle of the Jews; both of them pleased me much.

The Congress has proved a brilliant success for us AFTER ALL — the Broussists<sup>3</sup> stayed right away while Hyndman's chaps withdrew their opposition. And, best of all, the anarchists have been shown the door, just as they were at the Hague Congress.<sup>293</sup> The new, incomparably larger and avowedly Marxist International is beginning again at the precise spot where its predecessor left off.

The TRADES UNION Congress in Newcastle has also been a great victory.<sup>298</sup> The *old* UNIONS with the textile workers at their head, together with the entire reactionary party that exists among the workers, had mustered all their forces in order to overturn the eight hours resolution of 1890. They failed, having secured no more than one insignificant, fleeting concession. That is crucial. There is still much confusion, but there's no stopping things now and the bourgeois papers fully recognise the defeat of the *bourgeois labour party*, recognise it with dismay and a wailing and gnashing of teeth. The Scottish liberals in particular, the most intelligent and most classical bourgeois in

<sup>a</sup> E. Aveling, 'In der *Rheinisch-Westfälischen Zeitung* vom 22. Aug. findet sich ein Artikel...' and 'Der Urheber der über mich in der Deutschen Presse...', *Vorwärts*, Nos. 211 and 212; 10 and 11 September 1891; see also this volume, pp. 248, 251, 252-53.

the Empire, are unanimous in their lamentations over this great misfortune and the incorrigible perversity of the working man.

Warm regards to you and your wife.<sup>a</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTT GART

London, 28 September 1891

Dear Kautsky,

I was on the point of writing to you about the programme when your letter arrived.

Your draft programme is *far better* than the official one and I note with pleasure that Bebel will propose it be accepted. I shall back him up there. You have avoided the only fault of your first draft—length—and have outdone the official one in brevity. However I should like to make the following suggestions<sup>299</sup>:

Section 1, pp. 785/86 of the *Neue Zeit*, para. 2, line 3: Growth of the *product* of human labour rather than yield. Marx has pointed out how ambiguous is the word '*yield*' which can mean not only the product itself but also its value, or even the total price that happens to be *realised*.

Further: Private ownership of *the* means of production throughout. What is meant, of course, are the social means of production in their

<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge

entirety or again those of one distinct working individual, peasant or artisan—in all these cases they are quite distinct and hence require the article. Omission of the article leaves one in doubt about the meaning, or so it seems to me, at any rate.

Section 2, *Neue Zeit*, p. 788, para. 1 has been edited somewhat inadequately. 'Which suffers under today's conditions' is much too weak. It would have been better to say that the ruling classes are also being intellectually and morally crippled by the class contradiction, more so indeed than the class that is oppressed. You could edit it into shape, provided you agree. The concluding sentence to the effect that the proletariat is the only class *whose interests, etc., ... are pressing* is also weak. I should prefer 'whose liberation is impossible without the socialisation of the means of production', or something of the sort.

Para. 2. ...'Without political rights they cannot embark on their economic struggles'—or establish *their organisation as a militant class* (what they need for their economic struggles and their organisation as a militant class is a measure of political freedom and equal rights that will grow with their successes?)—the remainder as in text.

Unfortunately I have no time for more than these brief suggestions as I'm inundated with jobs of every description.

I haven't yet managed to read Ede's article.<sup>299</sup>

In your first article you, too, dabble a bit in 'Utopia'. When and in what country did the things happen which you describe between p. 726 ('this metamorphosis was coincident with another') and p. 730? It seems to me that for the sake of convenience you dished up a grand pot-pourri of the times and places of various schools of thought. But there's nothing wrong in that; the great majority of your readers won't notice and each can take from it whatever suits his own particular book.

Thank you for the newspapers. It's a good thing that the party is strong enough to allow Liebknecht's speeches to pass, yet suffer no harm; as regards the paper,<sup>a</sup> which is more important, there will of course be a change before long. I must confess that the old man amazes me by the extent to which he has lagged behind. However we are now a power and as such are perfectly well able to lug along with us an heirloom of this kind and accord him the satisfaction of believing he has settled everything the moment he invents a formula that sets his mind at rest over whatever matter has happened to crop up.

<sup>a</sup> *Vorwärts*

Mr J. Wolf has also sent me concoction.<sup>a</sup> I have consigned it to my bookcase unread and there it will have to remain until I reach the preface to Volume III.<sup>b</sup> The letter you posted in Neumünster has now reached me. It reads:

'Zurich, 20 September 1891. Dear Sir, In the latest number of Conrad's *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, a Jew from Brno by the name of Wolf, who teaches at the Polytechnic here, has the cheek to accuse you of having misconstrued Marx's theory of value and hence of intending to suppress Volume III. Shall you give him a box on the ears? An Admirer.'

Hardly that, but I shall have to take a look at the rubbish nevertheless.

I wrote at once telling Schmidt that, while his solution was *not* the Marxian one, the book<sup>c</sup> contains such excellent stuff in other respects that I thought it the most important thing to have been done in the field of political economy since Marx's death.<sup>300</sup> Now, however, as soon as I have attended to current business, I shall apply myself relentlessly to Volume III and everything else will be cast aside.

C. Schmidt was in Berlin and, during the holidays, made a very good job of editing the *Vorwärts*; no doubt he will now take up the lectureship in Zurich secured for him by Stössel in defiance of the professors.

You are right to go to the Congress.<sup>301</sup> The chaps will have a great deal of fault to find with the *Neue Zeit*, but that can't be helped. You should listen to everything, be as sparing as possible with your answers and afterwards go your own way. So long as Bebel is in charge there's no doubt that everything will get back onto an even keel again.

We over here will put the Gillesiad<sup>d</sup> to thoroughly good use. Hyndman & Co., who have seen the whole of their ambitious international intrigue with the Possibilists<sup>3</sup> come to grief in so lamentable a fashion, are furious, of course, and are at the back of the whole affair. Obviously we could want nothing better than that they should identify themselves with Gilles, though unfortunately they are already turn-

<sup>a</sup> J. Wolf, 'Das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate bei Marx'. *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 2. Bd., 3. Folge. -<sup>b</sup> of *Capital* -<sup>c</sup> C. Schmidt, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes*. -<sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 237-38.

ing away. Courage is not the strong point of some of these gentlemen, as you know, nor is a box or two on the ears something they relish.

Regards from Louise.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL <sup>267</sup>

IN BERLIN

London, 29 September 1891

Dear August,

We all of us very much liked your Russian article in the *Vorwärts* <sup>302</sup>; it should prove very effective. A point on which you and I are agreed is that there is an imminent threat of war, and this specifically from Russia; also that, if it materialises, everything possible should be done, especially by us and in our own interests, to crush Russia. Where we differ is in contending, you that the Russians want war, and I that all they want is to threaten without any definite intention of attacking, while at the same time being fully aware that things might nevertheless eventually get to that stage.

I have for years studied the methods and habits of Russian diplomats past and present and know that war, inasmuch as it is invariably unsolicited by the aforesaid diplomats, invariably spells a diplomatic defeat. For in the first place, victories obtained by diplomatic intimidation are cheaper and safer and, in the second, every new war merely goes to prove how relatively weak the Russian army is when it comes to conquest. So enormously do the military in Russia overrate their preparedness for war that, even after discounting 30% of their claims, the diplomats still pitch the army's efficiency too high. Of all

the factors they must take into account, their own army is the most incalculable. Only in cases where others have to fight their battles for them (1813-14) do Russian diplomats willingly go to war.

If Gladstone comes to the helm over here, the Russian diplomats will be in a position more favourable than they could hope to achieve for decades to come. France an active ally, England a benevolent neutral—that's plenty to be going on with. That the Russians will make war-like gestures, I am in no doubt. But if they go to war it will not be intentionally.

There is no doubt whatever that the loan is a potential war loan. But that is merely a sign that the gentlemen are preparing themselves for *any* eventuality. As I see it, all the other signs you adduce—the ban on the export of rye, landing exercises in the Black Sea, etc.,—only go to prove the same thing. I would hazard a guess that, when it comes to the point, Europe, and the Triple Alliance in particular,<sup>303</sup> will be more afraid of a war than unassailable Russia will have need of one; whereupon Russia will be one up in the East while the French chauvinists will be the dupes.

You suggest that Russia is *bound* to attack because of difficulties at home. I do not think so—not, at any rate, in the sense in which you presumably understand it. In Russia three classes suffer—the land-owning aristocracy, the peasantry, the emergent proletariat. The latter is still, and the first is already, too weak for revolution, while all the peasantry could achieve would be local insurrections which would be fruitless unless given the necessary cohesion and moral support by a successful insurrection in urban centres. The new bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is flourishing as nowhere else; it is gradually moving towards the point at which it will inevitably clash with bureaucracy, but this may not be reached for years. The Russian bourgeoisie originated from farmers connected with vodka production and from army contractors plundering the state and is what it is because of the state—protective tariffs, subsidies, robbing of the state, licence and state protection for the most oppressive exploitation of labour. So things would have to get pretty bad before these people, whose turpitude far exceeds that of our own bourgeoisie, would undermine the rule of the Tsar.

*If* consideration for *this* particular bourgeoisie is conducive to war, it is only because it has translated pan-Slavism into materialist terms or, rather, has discovered the latter's material basis—the expansion of the home market by means of annexation. Hence the Slavophil fa-

naticism, hence the unbridled Germanophobia—up till 20 years ago, after all, Russia's trade and industry was almost exclusively in German hands—and hence the anti-Semitism. This really vile and ignorant bourgeoisie, unable to see beyond the end of its own nose, does indeed want war and is clamouring for it in the press. But *nowadays* no Tsar need go to war for fear of revolution at home. This may have been the case in the 70s when the decaying aristocracy in the *zemstvos*<sup>a</sup> was becoming aware and resentful of the situation to which it had everywhere been reduced. Today that same aristocracy is very much on its uppers, is being bought out of its landed property by the bourgeoisie and is altogether in the latter's financial clutches, while the bourgeoisie is Tsarism's new bulwark, particularly in the big cities which alone might present a threat. And nowadays a palace revolution or successful assassination attempt could only bring the bourgeoisie to power, no matter who had instigated the coup. Yet this self-same bourgeoisie would be even more likely than the Tsar to precipitate a war.

But that's beside the point. We both of us recognise the danger of war and, despite the famine in Russia, which you decidedly underestimate, the reins may slip from the hands of the rulers, an eventuality for which we too must be prepared. I shall see what can be done in France; while it may be necessary to draw our people's attention to certain points, this should be done by the *French themselves*. Our people have got to realise that a war against Germany in alliance with Russia would first and foremost be a war against the strongest and most efficient socialist party in Europe, and that we should have no option but to fight with all our might against any assailant who went to Russia's aid. For either we should succumb, and that would put paid to the socialist movement in Europe for the next 20 years, or we should ourselves come to the helm and then the words of the *Marseillaise*,

*'Quoi, ces cohortes étrangères feraient la loi dans nos foyers?'*<sup>b</sup>

would apply to the *French*.

In neither case would the present regime in Germany survive a war; its defence would require too strenuous an effort and means that were too revolutionary.

<sup>a</sup> provincial assemblies - <sup>b</sup> What, shall these foreign cohorts lay down the law in our own homes?



You are right; if war comes we must call for the general arming of the population. But in co-ordination with the organisation already in existence and/or prepared for war. That would mean the embodiment of *hitherto untrained men* in the *Ersatzreserve*<sup>304</sup> and *Landsturm*<sup>305</sup> and, above all, the *immediate introduction of a rough-and-ready training programme* in addition to the arming of the population and its embodiment into permanent cadres.

The address to the French would have to assume a somewhat different form.<sup>306</sup> The Russian diplomats are not so stupid as to provoke war before the whole of Europe. On the contrary, things will be so arranged as to make either France or one of the Triple Alliance countries appear to be the offending party. The Russians always have dozens of such *casus belli* up their sleeves; what the exact answer to this should be depends on the pretext adduced for war. Whatever the case, we shall have to declare that since 1871 we have always been ready to come to a peaceable understanding with France, that as soon as our party comes to power it will not be able to exercise that power unless Alsace-Lorraine is free to decide its own future but that, should war be forced upon us, notably a war in alliance with *Russia*, we should regard it as an attack upon our existence and should have to defend ourselves with all available means and make use of all available positions—i. e. including Metz and Strasbourg.

As for the actual conduct of the war, there are two aspects which are of prime importance: Russia is weak in attack but enormously strong in defence, a thrust into the heartland is impossible. France is strong in attack but, after one or two defeats, is rendered impotent and incapable of attacking. Since I have no great opinion of Austrians as generals or of Italians as soldiers, our army will have to lead and sustain the main thrust. Containment of the Russians, defeat of the French, such must be the opening gambits in a war. Once the French offensive has been scotched, but hardly any sooner, a start can be made on the conquest of Poland up to the Dvina and the Dnieper. This must be effected by *revolutionary* means and, if necessary, by conceding to Poland, as ultimately constituted, part of Prussian Poland and the whole of Galicia. If all goes well, a *volte-face* may be expected in France. This should be our cue for insisting that Metz and Lorraine at any rate be accorded the French as a peace-offering.

But things probably won't go as smoothly as all that. The French won't simply let themselves be defeated. Their army is *very good* and better armed than ours nor, considering the kind of performance our

generals put up, does it look to me as though very much is to be expected from that quarter. The French have shown this summer that they have learnt how to mobilise. Likewise that they have enough officers for the *first field army*, which is stronger than ours. Not until more troops move into the line will our numerical superiority in officers make itself felt. Moreover, the direct route between Berlin and Paris is heavily defended on both sides by fortifications. In short, and taking the most favourable view, it will probably turn out to be a campaign of changing fortunes in which both sides will continually bring in new reinforcements until one side is exhausted—or England actively intervenes, being able in the circumstances then obtaining to *starve out* the side, whether France or Germany, which it decides to oppose, and to compel it to sue for peace simply by cutting off its supply of corn. What happens meanwhile on the Russian border will depend largely on how the Austrians conduct the war, and is therefore unpredictable.

This much is, I believe, certain—if we are beaten, chauvinism and retaliatory warfare will flourish unchecked in Europe for years to come. If we are victorious, our party will take the helm. The victory of Germany, therefore, will be the victory of the revolution and, if war comes, we must not only desire that victory but promote it with all available means.

Ede's article<sup>307</sup> was intended as a reply to *Vollmar*<sup>270</sup> and, as such, would have been altogether appropriate. Instead, our good Ede dilly-dallied for so long that it appeared as a reply to the *Kronstadt fraternisation*<sup>288</sup> for which, of course, it was totally unsuitable, since the emphasis should have been laid on wholly different aspects. What certainly ought to have been said was that if France, as opposed to Germany, is the *formal* representative of revolution, Germany, by reason of its workers' party, is the *material* leader of revolution and that this would necessarily emerge in a war in which we—and with us the revolution—would either be suppressed or else come to the helm.

Apropos, I hear that you intend to put forward K. Kautsky's declaration of principles as your programme at the party congress. I too regard it in its present version (*Neue Zeit*, No. 51) as a great improvement on our draft. My only recommendation was that he should make a few alterations in the passage on p. 788.<sup>a</sup> He has obviously given the thing a great deal of thought and to good purpose. I have not

<sup>a</sup> See previous letter.

yet been able to read Ede's article concerning individual demands.<sup>299</sup> About Leibfried-Cuno<sup>308</sup> anon, in my next.

Regards from Louise and

Your  
F. E.

1 October

I had meant to send off the above today, when your letter of the 29th turned up. I trust you read in the *original* the article by me which appeared in the *Socialiste*, for the rendering in the *Vorwärts* is atrocious and in places sheer nonsense.<sup>a</sup> Where the devil does Liebknecht unearth such appalling translators? — It is clear that the time is at hand when we shall be in the majority in Germany, or at any rate the only party strong enough to take the helm — *provided peace continues*. And for that very reason I would be reluctant to see this process of development interrupted by a crisis which might, it is true, curtail it by 2 or 3 years but which might equally well prolong it by 10 or even 20.

As regards my remarks concerning the undue consideration shown by you for your opponents' opinions, you alone are to blame; in your letter<sup>b</sup> you say of Ede's note<sup>309</sup>: 'For our opponents attack the work simply for being couched in tendentiously anti-Lassalleian terms.' This regularly reiterated argument about your opponents cannot but end by inviting the interpretation that those opponents can play ducks and drakes with us. Come to that, Marx and I used to say as long ago as 1848: 'What blunder of ours can have earned us our opponents' praise?' i. e. just as you do.

Whatever happens, you must keep Geiser away from the *Vorwärts*. After all, at St Gallen the man was the object of a formal vote of no confidence<sup>253</sup> so surely *he* cannot be allowed to take part in the editing! Blos, too, is an alarmist and, what's more, a bore. — As regards the sixth leading article Liebknecht is to write, there's no need to worry your heads about it<sup>310</sup>; I'll wager that in 3 weeks' time he'll

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Le congrès de Bruxelles. La situation de l'Europe', *Le Socialiste*, No. 51, 12 September 1891 and 'Über den Brüsseler Kongreß und die Lage in Europa. (Aus einem Brief an Paul Lafargue)', *Vorwärts*, No. 216, 16 September 1891 (see this volume, pp. 234-36 and also present edition, Vol. 27.) -<sup>b</sup> of 12 September 1891

have lost all enthusiasm for leading articles and will say, as he did in Leipzig in 1866, that anyone who supposes this to be the right time for writing leading articles cannot have a proper understanding of the times.

The Vienna *Arbeiterinnenblatt*<sup>a</sup> will doubtless be a thorn in the flesh of your women's paper ladies. The latter are all still very much 'beschacked'<sup>b</sup> and would like to have something specifically women's movementish and not confined to one feminine aspect of the labour movement. However, the latter standpoint is put forward with tremendous vigour in the Vienna journal and, if the women at home are as promising as you say, all this separate women's rights business—bourgeois trifling, no more,—will soon be pushed into the background. If the present spokeswomen are elbowed out by members of their own sex, no matter; but the Vienna paper must be given the credit for being the first of all women's papers to adopt and advocate this standpoint.

In failing to accept Aveling's anti-Gilles statement you have again proved that inside every German there lurks a bureaucrat who pops out the moment he holds some petty official post. Aveling considered it incompatible with his honour for Gilles' claim that he had likewise given him, Aveling, a licking, to go unchallenged in the German press. Aveling got Louise to attest the facts and they both of them put their names to the document. In any other country the reaction would have been: 'This is a matter in which those concerned must themselves know what they ought to do; I, the editor, though I may disapprove of their conduct, am bound to recognise their right to plead their own cause as they think fit.' With you, however, the editorial department sets itself up as censor, lays claim to complete infallibility, and forbids them to conduct their own case. The editorial department has a right to believe that *it* has finished and done with Gilles and need not *for its part* allude to him again, but if Aveling and Louise come forward in their own names, it ought not to use *this* view as a pretext for muzzling a *friend*. Incidentally, I do not in the least share your reservations—indeed it was I who drafted Louise's statement.<sup>c</sup>

Gilles at once proceeded to publish the enclosed leaflet. You will be getting Aveling's reply in a day or two. The business with Bradlaugh

<sup>a</sup> *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* (see also this volume, p. 252). -<sup>b</sup> derived from the name of Gertrud Guillaume-Schack. -<sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 237-38, 251, 252.

was a stupendous blunder of Aveling's, but he was the innocent party. At the time Aveling was, so far as money matters and political negotiations were concerned, a thoroughly naive, inexperienced and incredibly foolish young poet. Bradlaugh was aware of this and exploited him most outrageously; they started a Natural Science School and laboratory, the business side of which was managed by Bradlaugh while Aveling had to bear not only the brunt of the work but, towards the end, also the financial responsibility. When Aveling became a socialist and married Tussy, Bradlaugh falsely accused him of having engaged in dubious money transactions—Aveling was monstrously hoodwinked but altogether innocent—just unbelievably stupid. And when Bradlaugh published his circular letter, Aveling was stupid enough to keep silent and even by degrees repay Bradlaugh, by whom, for good measure, he had been cheated, something in the region of £200. It is now an old story, Bradlaugh is dead and, since he took care not to formulate any definite charges, there is nothing for it but for Aveling to make the circumstances known whenever the opportunity arises. As will happen the moment Mr Hyndman, who was originally responsible for raking up this tittle-tattle again, accepts Aveling's challenge to confront him in public.—The story of the Chicago telegram is also pure moonshine and again emanates from Hyndman. Our aim is to catch out the *latter*, for Gilles is simply his mouthpiece.

Many regards from Louise and myself to your wife<sup>a</sup> and yourself.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Julie Bebel

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>160</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 30 September 1891

Dear Sorge,

I spent a fortnight in Scotland and Ireland with Pumps and Louise Kautsky<sup>264</sup> after which I attended to the proofs of the new edition<sup>a</sup> of the *Origin of the Family*; now I am dealing with arrears of correspondence, and shall then finish off Volume III.<sup>b</sup>

Meanwhile I enclose a business communication for Mother Wischnewetzky which you will, I trust, be able to pass on to her. Except by way of business I don't, of course, want to have anything to do with her.

I am sorry to see from your letter of the 15th that you are plagued with the gout. That being so, it's certainly a good thing that you should be eating less nitrogenous food and taking more physical exercise.

The Brussels Congress<sup>135</sup> did in fact go off better than you suppose. The only one of the Germans to behave boorishly was Liebknecht, but he had been most grossly provoked by Nieuwenhuis in the rudest, clerico-jesuitical way. Louise, who represented the working women of Vienna, says that Nieuwenhuis' base attacks and insinuations were utterly outrageous.

The TRADES UNION Congress was also a success.<sup>298</sup> The 'old' unions did everything in their power to get the Liverpoolian<sup>27</sup> eight hours resolution overturned and their failure to do more than whittle away a small fragment of it is of itself a defeat for them and their middle-class allies. You ought to have seen the liberal papers, in particular the Scottish ones, and the way they wrung their hands over the aberrations of the English working man and his lapse into socialism.

*The People* is quite impossible. It's ages since I have seen such a silly hotchpotch of a paper. Who has translated my *Entwicklung*?<sup>311</sup> Jonas?

<sup>a</sup> the fourth German edition - <sup>b</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

I'll send the necessary to the *Socialiste* and report back to you later.

Lafargue has been put up as candidate in Lille and is thus entitled to spend the 5 weeks of the *période électorale* out of prison and to engage in propaganda. He is unlikely to get in but, come the general election, he is sure of being returned in the Département du Nord.<sup>312</sup>

Abetted by Hyndman, Gilles continues his attempts to besmear Aveling—not a bad thing on the whole, firstly because he's such a colossal blackguard and secondly because we shall succeed increasingly in getting Hyndman out into the open.<sup>a</sup> More news of all sorts by the next post.

Warm regards to your wife<sup>b</sup> and yourself.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 October 1891

My dear Laura,

Today I sent to you and to Ravé the sheets 7 to 12 (end) of *Ursprung*<sup>c</sup> with the alterations marked in red. I hope this will be the end of your trouble<sup>199</sup> for which I do not know how to thank you. May the effect be such as to reward you to some extent for your work.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 237-38, 248-49, 252. -<sup>b</sup> Katharina Sorge -<sup>c</sup> the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

I hope Paul is out by this time, the furlough will be very useful to him and to the cause, 'le Nord' is hot and ought to be forged while it is so.<sup>312</sup>

Boulanger was *so* dead that he evidently could no longer bear life. He died as he lived—*en homme entretenu*.<sup>a</sup> The loss of his beloved M-me de Bonnemain he might have borne, but the loss of her fortune (which the English papers say was *not* left to him)—*ah, c'était autre chose*<sup>b</sup>!

Nobody will be more glad of this comical event than Rochefort, *le brav' général* had gradually become a veritable nightmare for him.

Now, my dear Laura, what in the name of all that used to be sacred am I to write to that *Almanach*<sup>c</sup> where, if the advertisements speak true, there is to be more than a *Sammelsurium*<sup>d</sup> of men, principles and things? The progress of socialism in Germany, why that's a book! And other interesting subjects? the most interesting and most important are such that in the mouth of a *foreigner* they would appear an insult to French readers. Besides you leave me in ignorance of when the thing is wanted, and how much space it is expected to occupy.<sup>313</sup> However I am fully occupied with work, urgent work so far and could not have written a scratch. So there is no time lost.

Last Monday<sup>e</sup> Percy brought the children over and since then we have had the whole family here. Lily has had a fall and hurt her back a little, so she is going to have a support made as a matter of precaution, and that will last a few days yet. Percy is leaving today.

Louise's Hyaena-paper<sup>314</sup> will not appear before 15th instant, your, Tussy's and Louise's articles will create a sensation among the women's rights women in Germany and Austria, as the real question has never been put and answered so plainly as you three do it. And both Louise and Tussy tell me they have *heiligen Schrecken vor den deutschen (Berliner) Frauenrechtsweibern*.<sup>f</sup> But the reign of these is not to last much longer. Bebel writes quite enthusiastically about the ardour with which the working women in Germany now rush into the movement, and if that is the case, the antiquated semi-bourgeois women's rights *ânesses*<sup>g</sup> will soon be ordered to the rear.

Gilles continues issuing flysheets against Edward. More in a day or two. We are trying to bring the slanders home to Hyndman who is us-

<sup>a</sup> souteneur-<sup>b</sup> that's another matter-<sup>c</sup> *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*-<sup>d</sup> conglomeration-<sup>e</sup> 28 September-<sup>f</sup> sacred awe of the German (Berlin) women's rights women-<sup>g</sup> asses



ing Gilles as his tool—and who we hope will not be able to wash off the dirt which the dirty Gilles has spattered involuntarily on the man who uses such a tool.<sup>a</sup>

Love from Pumps and Louise and the children.

Ever yours,  
F. E.

[From Louise Kautsky, in German]

My dear Laura,

Sincere thanks for your letter. As the General<sup>b</sup> has told you, our 'epoch-making' paper will not be coming out until 15/X, probably due to Victor's Bohemian court proceedings. When will I get some more? since I assume that you, dear Laura, having begun with A, will also say B. Anything will be welcome to us. With warm greetings to yourself and the M. P. for Lille.<sup>c</sup>

Yours,  
Louise

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 6 October 1891

Dear August,

Herewith what you need in regard to the Cuno-Leibfried case.<sup>308</sup>

But now I think you would be well-advised to stop bombarding poor Ede with letters about Lassalle<sup>178</sup>; he is becoming tremendously irritable because of them and so confused over what *you people*, on the one hand, are demanding and what *he*, on the other, considers to be his duty, that this sort of thing can only make matters worse and he'll end up by producing nothing but contradictory material. You are as *much to blame as Ede* for the fact that the note<sup>309</sup> is *in it at all*, and to

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 237-38, 248-49, 251. -<sup>b</sup> Engels' jocular name. -<sup>c</sup> Paul Lafargue

condemn this excellent work in its entirety because of one wretched note is surely not right. I told him not to let this deflect him from his purpose, but to continue wearing the velvet glove over the iron fist and I also said that you would be grateful to him in the long run for having criticised Lassalle in this way. For it's clear to me that were you to re-read Lassalle's stuff *now*, you yourselves would be surprised at what it contains and at the faith in the false hero which, out of courtesy, you forced yourselves to profess when consorting with the Lassalleans at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law.<sup>11</sup> I'm positive that you, as also a whole lot of chaps who still cling to the Lassallean tradition, no longer have any knowledge whatever of what the man said and wrote (indeed, said and wrote for the most part against his better judgment). And hence the new edition of Lassalle will have a thoroughly beneficial effect on you people as well, provided only that you read the works of the prophet's critic.

Lafargue is not yet out of prison, but if the government *doesn't* release him during election time, he will probably be elected in Lille.<sup>312</sup> The prospects are rosy; Delory would have got in all right at the last election had not the by now routed Boulangists collared a whole mass of working men's votes.

In Paris there could easily be a government crisis. Rouvier is a shady individual, more so than is tolerable and, now that Boulanger has met his end, Constans is no longer needed and is detested by Carnot because he wants to step into the latter's shoes. Freycinet & Co. also want to get rid of Rouvier and Constans and so it may easily come to a split when the Chamber assembles on the 15th.

I'm glad to see that Dietz has paid you my fee.

Louise asks me to tell you that the photographs have arrived; very many thanks from us all; she has taken one of the two identical ones and I the profile.

Warm regards to your wife<sup>a</sup> and yourself from Louise and

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Julie Bebel

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 October 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Why didn't you ask me for the cheque as soon as you needed it? Why expose Laura to such humiliations when you know that one word from you—or from her—would be enough to put a stop to them?

That dear man Constans would seem to be intent on making you deputy for Lille whatever the cost—so much the better, let's hope he pulls it off. If all you have for opponent is an Opportunist, you should have every chance of success. It is of the utmost importance that we should have you in the Chamber—the other socialist deputies don't seem to be UP TO SNUFF, they're feeble, feeble, feeble!

Constans will undoubtedly do his best to upset your plans—but in that case he will be working for you, just as Bismarck in Germany worked for us. For in my country it's not the socialists who work for the King of Prussia<sup>a</sup>; rather it's the King of Prussia<sup>b</sup> who works for the socialists. And it may well be that the fury aroused in Constans' breast by the boos and catcalls at Marseilles<sup>315</sup> will prove a powerful level in getting you elected. 'Above all, don't be too zealous,'<sup>316</sup> Mr Constans!!

I have a long letter to write to Bebel<sup>c</sup> today on the subject of the Erfurt Congress<sup>301</sup>; there are several very important questions to discuss. That's why I must cut this letter short. Keep smiling, try always to poke fun at your opponents, PUT YOUR TRUST IN THE HISTORICAL LUCK OF THE PARTY, AND KEEP YOUR POWDER DRY.

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> i. e. for nothing - <sup>b</sup> William II - <sup>c</sup> See next letter.

Likewise from Pumps and the children who are still here. The little girl<sup>a</sup> needs a steel brace for her back (she is growing too fast) and the man who is making it keeps dragging his feet from one day to the next.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL  
IN BERLIN

London, 13 October 1891

Dear August,

All I have time for today is to send you a reply about the Russians and in fact this is the only item of importance; the other business is over and done with.<sup>317</sup>

As to the likelihood of war breaking out early next year, there are in Russia three important currents. First you have the diplomats. Of the latter I have said all along that they look for victories without the expense or risk of war, but for that very reason see to it that *everything is placed on a warlike footing* in order that Russia's enormously favourable defensive position may be exploited to the full. This happens every time. They can then put forward outrageous demands and stick to them up to the last minute and then, without a shot being fired, extract the maximum profit from the enemy—who has more to lose—by playing upon his fear of war. Alongside the diplomats, however, you have the soldiers who, despite their numerous mishaps on the field of battle, are exceedingly cock-a-hoop and full of bluster—more so than anywhere else. They want to let fly. And, thirdly, you

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<sup>a</sup> Lilian Rosher

have the new bourgeoisie to whom, as to the American bourgeoisie of the 40s, the expansion of the market appears as *MANIFEST DESTINY*, as Russia's historic mission, namely the liberation of the Slavs and Greeks and the domination of the eastern continent. All three must be taken into account; under Alexander III the diplomats have hitherto been consistently victorious. Now there is famine to be reckoned with and in the east and south-east this is very severe. East of the line Odessa-Nizhni Novgorod and Vyatka there is acute famine everywhere; to the west of this line the harvest showed a gradual improvement and in the west itself the wheat harvest was passable in places though the rye harvest was consistently poor. In Russia potatoes are *not* a staple food. The extremely acute form assumed by the famine in the Volga basin shows how wretched Russia's communications still are. For that reason it seems plain to me that you would expose yourself unnecessarily should you seek to place credence in the assurances of those presenting the German military estimates when they tell you that war may certainly be expected next spring. It is just as much the job of Russia's diplomats to prepare for war with an assiduity that is all the greater for their reluctance to embark on it, as it is the duty of the General Staff to talk you people in the Reichstag into believing that war will definitely break out in April '92. You are perfectly right to pay careful attention to these statements and I shall be very grateful for any authentic information in this connection; however the chaps also have their ulterior motives.

This point is not as academic as it seems. For it will assume the utmost importance the moment the government estimates are presented to the Reichstag. If we are positive that there'll be a bust up early next year, we can hardly be opposed to these estimates *in principle*. And that would be a pretty disastrous state of affairs so far as we are concerned. For the arse-crawling parties would all be overjoyed that they should have been proved right and that we should now have to spurn our policy of the past twenty years. And so impromptu a change of course would also cause enormous friction within the party. And internationally as well.

On the other hand there *may* nevertheless be a war in the spring. What then should our attitude to the estimates be?

In my view there can only be one attitude: 1. There's no longer time in which to change our weapons. If peace prevails until new cannon and a rifle of even smaller calibre are introduced, peace will in any case presumably continue to prevail. So these objections don't

hold water. 2. The same applies, if to an even greater extent, to new cadres for the standing army—I mean to the demand for new *regiments*. In view of the gigantic armies of today, the few new formations which may now be demanded are of no account and, if they are to serve as *training* cadres enabling more men to be recruited and trained, they can only do so during an extended period of peace and thus would be useless so far as a war next spring is concerned.—On the other hand we can, however, 3. vote estimates where the intention is to bring today's army closer to the concept of a whole people under arms, to strengthen the *defensive* side alone, to train and arm bodies of men of *any* age between 17 and 60 who have not yet been conscripted and to incorporate them into permanent cadres without a proliferation of pettifogging regulations. While the threat of war persists we cannot demand that the existing organisation of the army be revolutionised, but if we seek to prepare the vast mass of untrained but able-bodied men as best as we can and organise them in cadres—for actual battle, not for show or pettifoggery—that will bring us closer to our concept of a people's militia which alone is acceptable to us.

Should the threat of war increase, we can then tell the government that we should be prepared, if enabled to do so by decent treatment, to support them against a foreign enemy, provided they prosecuted the war ruthlessly and with all available means, including revolutionary ones. Should Germany be attacked from the east and west, all means of defence would be justified. It is a question not only of the nation's existence but also, in our own case, of asserting the position and the future prospects for which we have fought. The more revolutionary the prosecution of the war, the more it will be waged in accordance with our ideas. And it might happen that, in contrast to the cowardice of the bourgeoisie and Junkers, who want to save their property, *we* should turn out to be the only truly vigorous war party. Of course it might also happen that we should have to take the helm and do a 1794 in order to chuck out the Russians and their allies.

I must close so as to get this letter registered (cannot be done after 5 o'clock). From past experience I felt pretty sure that the first field army would be surreptitiously receiving substantial reinforcements but we are glad to have authentic confirmation of this

point. So far as the Austrians are concerned, the men are *absolutely first-rate*, the junior officers possess pluck but vary greatly in the matter of battle-training, while the senior ranks are utterly unpredictable. A man can rise to the top there on the strength of his services as pimp to Francis Joseph.

I shall get something done for the French on the question of the war,<sup>313</sup> but it will be damned difficult not to do more harm than good; the chaps are so touchy.

Constans is doing all he can to promote Lafargue's candidature<sup>312</sup> by resorting to some typical Prussian chicanery; that is no good in France.

But how will things work out with the present war policy and with Liebknecht at the Foreign Office? His foreign policy—Parnell, Garibaldi festival in Nice, etc.—is beneath contempt.<sup>318</sup> What with his adoration of the 'Republic', there's the prospect of a nice old rumpus before long.

If you are so certain that war will break out in the spring, it seems to me that you ought at least to discuss the matter behind the scenes when you hold your party congress.<sup>301</sup>

Regards from Louise and

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 October 1891

My dear Laura,

Herewith the cheque £20— to turn your landlady out of your domicile.

Now as to your *Almanach*.<sup>a</sup> I am writing you an article<sup>313</sup> but as it will have a practical turn toward the end of it, I can hardly send it off, or give it its final shape, until a short time before publication. Therefore I *must* know when your *Almanach* is to appear. Otherwise the thing may turn stale, or even be completely upset by events. It won't be more than 2 or 3 pages, 4 at outside, so there will be no necessity to send it early—as far as *technical* matters are in question. But you will see that it is impossible to write *un article d'actualité* unless it be printed and published at once. So please let me know and I shall gladly do my best to oblige *nos amis de là-bas*.<sup>b</sup>

Thanks for the papers. That *Action de Lyon*<sup>c</sup> seems a splendid specimen of the present state of fusion and confusion amongst the French socialists, out of the midst of which arises, erect, unavoidable, *zudringlich*, *unausstehlich*,<sup>d</sup> the everlasting Adrien Veber, basking in his own conceit, in which he is hardly second to his worthy master Benoît Malon.<sup>319</sup> How does this new harmony of all the disharmonies work? I see in the *Secrétariat du travail*<sup>320</sup> there are all sorts, Possibilists A<sup>53</sup> and B,<sup>3</sup> aside of our people and a lot of others, and so far they seem to have respected each other's carcasses without coming to blows. I cannot imagine how it is done and what may be the upshot of it.

How much was the fine inflicted on Paul?<sup>275</sup> I cannot find it in the *Socialiste* and have not any other paper ready at hand—and what chances have you to evade it?

---

<sup>a</sup> *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier* - <sup>b</sup> our friends over there - <sup>c</sup> *L'Action* - <sup>d</sup> impertinent, intolerable



Love from Louise, Pumps, the children and your old ever thirsty  
(going to have a bear with Pumps)

F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY <sup>321</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 14 October 1891

Dear Kautsky,

On reading your draft as published in the *Vorwärts*,<sup>322</sup> I find to my great surprise 'one reactionary mass' cropping up all of a sudden. I am writing to you about it immediately though I very much fear that this will come too late. By striking a shrill, discordant note, this propagandist phrase utterly destroys the harmony of the concise, rigorously formulated scientific propositions. For it is a propagandist phrase and an excessively biased one at that and hence—in its apodictically absolute form where alone it sounds effective—utterly false.

False because it presents an in itself correct *historical tendency* as a *fait accompli*. The moment the socialist revolution comes, all the other parties will *appear* as a reactionary mass by comparison with ourselves. Maybe that is what they *are* already, being no longer capable of progressive action of any kind, although this is not necessarily the case. But *at this moment* we cannot say as much, not with the assurance with which we put forward the other propositions in our programme. Even in Germany circumstances may arise in which the parties of the Left, deplorable though they are, will be *compelled* to clear up part of the vast quantity of anti-bourgeois, bureaucratic and feudal rubbish that still remains there. In which case they could hardly be described as one reactionary mass.

Until we are strong enough to seize power ourselves and put our principles into practice there cannot, strictly speaking, be any question of *one* reactionary mass *by comparison with ourselves*. Otherwise the entire nation would be divided into a reactionary majority and an impotent minority.

Take the chaps who dismantled the system of small states in Germany, who provided the bourgeoisie with elbow-room in which to carry out its industrial revolution, who introduced a unified transport system—both for things and for persons—, thereby inevitably according greater freedom of movement to ourselves—were their actions those of a ‘reactionary mass’?

Take the French bourgeois Republicans who between 1871 and ’78 put paid once and for all to the monarchy and the rule of the clergy, who secured freedom of the press, of association and of assembly to an extent hitherto unknown in France in non-revolutionary times, who introduced compulsory schooling and standardised education, raising it to a level that might well serve as an example to us in Germany—were their measures those of a reactionary mass?

Take the Englishmen of the two official parties who have vastly extended the suffrage and brought about a fivefold increase in the number of voters, who have evened out the size of constituencies and introduced compulsory and improved schooling, who at every session still vote not only for bourgeois reforms but also for one concession after another in favour of the working man—their progress may be slow and sluggish but nobody can condemn them out of hand as ‘*one* reactionary mass’.

In short we have no right to present a tendency in gradual process of realisation as an already accomplished fact, the less so in that in England, for example, such a tendency will *never* quite get to the point of becoming a fact. Come the revolution over here, the bourgeoisie would still be prepared to introduce all sorts of minor reforms, though by then it would be quite pointless to insist on minor reforms in a system that was in the process of being overthrown.

*Under certain circumstances* the use in propaganda of Lassalle’s phrase is justified, though in our case it has in fact been misused to an enormous extent, e. g. in the *Vorwärts* ever since 1 October 1890. But it *should not be included in the programme* where it would be utterly false and misleading. It would look like Bethmann the banker’s wife on the balcony someone proposed to build onto his house for him. ‘If you

build me a balcony,' he said, 'my wife will go and sit there and muck up me whole façade!'

I can't comment on any other alterations in the *Vorwärts* version as I've mislaid the paper and this letter must go off.

The party congress<sup>301</sup> began on an illustrious date. The 14th of October is the anniversary of the battles of Jena and Auerstedt when the old, pre-revolutionary Prussia collapsed. Let's hope that the 14th of October 1891 will usher in for Prussianised Germany the 'domestic Jena' predicted by Marx!<sup>323</sup>

Your  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 22 October 1891

My dear Laura,

Herewith my article.<sup>313</sup> Please look it over and say what you think of it. If you think that it won't do, or not without essential alterations, please say so. If you think it will do, let it be judged by others, *quant au fond*. *Le fond*<sup>a</sup> once agreed upon, please tell me where that particular lady *la langue française* wants alterations. I could not, in a matter of this sort, where I should be held answerable for every word published, allow the Frenchies to make changes without seeing them myself first. If only formal changes are required, will you send me the

<sup>a</sup> as far as the substance is concerned. The substance

manuscript back with your proposed changes and then we can settle.

Kind regards to our prisoner.<sup>a</sup>

In great haste—*Postschluss!*<sup>b</sup>

Love from Louise and yours

ever

F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>267</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 24 October 1891

Dear Sorge,

I have in front of me your letters of 15 September and 2 and 9 October.

As regards Barondess' decamping (presumably with the funds?), perhaps you could send me some further details just in case the little man turns up here.

For heaven's sake do me a kindness and stop supplying me regularly with *any* American monthlies. I am dying to be able to read a *book* again; despite the fact that I can only take a proper look at  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the newspapers that arrive here, they swallow up all my time—but the movement is now so huge and one must, after all, remain *au courant*<sup>c</sup>! On the other hand, please send me...<sup>d</sup>

That the movement is again in the doldrums over there I can readily believe. With you people it's one long succession of great UPS AND DOWNS. But with each UP you ultimately gain ground so that in the end it represents an advance. Thus the tremendous onward surge achieved by the KNIGHTS OF LABOR<sup>324</sup> and by the wave of STRIKES between

<sup>a</sup> Paul Lafargue - <sup>b</sup> time for the post - <sup>c</sup> informed - <sup>d</sup> Engels did not finish this sentence. See this volume, p. 277.

1886 and 1888 did on the whole, and despite all setbacks, spell advancement for us. For, after all, the masses are stirring in a way they have never done before. Next time even more ground will be gained. But none the less the standard of living of the NATIVE AMERICAN WORKING-MAN is notably higher even than that of his English counterpart and this alone is enough to put him out of the running for some time to come. Again, there is the competition from immigrants and other factors besides. *When* the time comes over there, things will move with tremendous speed and dynamism, but that may not be for some while yet. Miracles never happen. And, in addition, there's the unfortunate business of your supercilious Germans who, wishing to double the role of schoolmaster with that of commanding officer, discourage the natives from learning even the best they have to offer.

I shall send the money to the *Socialiste* as soon as I know who it's for; Lafargue is in jug, as you know; I have not yet had an answer.

The *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*,<sup>a</sup> translated by Aveling and edited by me, is to appear over here in English (in Sonnenschein's Social Series); this authorised translation will pretty well neutralise the pirated American edition<sup>311</sup> which has been done into quite execrable English. And the thing isn't even complete—what they found too difficult they simply left out.

Needless to say, Mother Wischnewetzky gladly consented to Sonnenschein's publishing the *Condition, etc.*<sup>b</sup> in her translation. The fee, however, is to go to Mrs Foster-Amery. *Cela m'est bien égal.*<sup>c</sup> For the rest, she seems really pleased to have been able to establish contact again and tells me what a rotten time they are having, etc., etc.

I should like to have Bakunin's biography<sup>325</sup>; from it one could get some idea of how present-day anarchist tradition depicts that Messiah.

Letter of the 12th of this month now also received. Thanks.

In Erfurt everything went off very well.<sup>301</sup> I shall send you the official record as soon as it comes out; Bebel says that the reports of the speeches are very garbled. The insolent Berliners of the opposition, instead of acting as prosecutors, immediately became the accused, behaved with abysmal cowardice and will now have to get along *outside* the party if they propose to do anything. There are quite undeniably

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*. Translated by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co, 1892. - <sup>c</sup> It's all the same to me.

*police elements* in their midst, while some are also *covert anarchists* who are out to surreptitiously convert our chaps; along with these are the jackasses, swollen-headed students and failed candidates, would-be bigwigs of all descriptions. Barely 200 of them all told.— Mr Vollmar likewise had to eat humble pie; the latter is far more dangerous than the former, being more cunning and tenacious as well as vain to the point of folly, and intent at all costs on playing a role. Bebel put up an excellent performance, as did Singer, Auer and Fischer (used to be on the *Sozialdemokrat* here, a really sterling chap, aside from being the bluntest of blunt Bavarians). To Liebknecht fell the bitter task of having to recommend Kautsky's draft programme which, with Bebel's and my support,<sup>a</sup> was accepted as the *basis* of the new programme's theoretical section. We have had the satisfaction of seeing Marx's critique<sup>b</sup> win all along the line. Even the last traces of Lassalleanism have been eliminated. With the exception of a few poorly written bits (though it's only the way they're put that is feeble and commonplace), there is nothing to complain of in the programme or not, at any rate, after a *first* reading.

You will have seen that Lafargue is standing in Lille, and will hear the result of tomorrow's election<sup>c</sup> long before you get this letter. If he isn't elected, he will be sure of a seat in the Département du Nord at the coming general election.<sup>326</sup>

The threat of war looms larger despite the famine in Russia. The Russians want to make prompt and thorough use of the diplomatic possibilities presented by the new French alliance<sup>288</sup> and, although I am convinced that the Russian diplomats do not want war and that the famine would make it seem an absurdity, the military and pan-Slav currents of opinion (the latter being now supported by the *very powerful* industrial bourgeoisie with an eye to expanding markets) may nevertheless prevail, while in Vienna, Berlin or Paris there might also be blunders which would lead to a war. Bebel and I have been corresponding about this and are of the opinion that if the Russians start a war against us, German socialists should lash out *à outrance*<sup>d</sup> at the Russians and their allies, whoever they may be.<sup>e</sup> If Germany is crushed, so shall we be, while at best the struggle will be so intense that only revolutionary means will enable Germany to hold its own, and hence there is every likelihood that we may be forced to take the

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 239 and 246-47. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. -

<sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 269. - <sup>d</sup> with all their strength - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 242-47 and 256-59.

helm and play at 1793. Bebel made a speech to that effect in Berlin which attracted a great deal of attention in the French press.<sup>327</sup> I shall try and make all this clear to the French in their own language,<sup>313</sup> which won't be easy. But though I should regard it as a great misfortune if there were to be a war and it were to bring us to power prematurely, we have got to be prepared for that eventuality and I am glad that in this I have Bebel on my side, for he is by far the most efficient of our chaps.

Next week I start on Volume III.<sup>a</sup>

Warm regards to your wife<sup>b</sup> and to you yourself.

Your  
F. E.

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL<sup>267</sup>

IN BERLIN

London, 24 October 1891

Dear Bebel,

Many thanks for the postcards and packages without which it would have been difficult for us to follow the course of events in Erfurt.<sup>301</sup> Things really went off quite capitally—you, Auer, Singer and Fischer covered yourselves with glory, and the wretchedness of the opposition was the only thing you had to complain of, it being no pleasure to do battle with such small fry. At all events the gentlemen will now have to show what they are capable of outside the party,

<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> Katharina Sorge

where they are innocuous, and the better elements amongst the youthful rowdies will now be accorded time for reflection. The fact that Mr von Vollmar has seen fit to reject the new course in the arms of Caprivi, if without 'personal spite',<sup>328</sup> may provide temporary alleviation, but you are very far from being quit of the chap, and the more tense the situation becomes, the closer a watch you will have to keep upon him. However, every big party has *one* intriguer-in-chief and if you were to get rid of this one, another would take his place.

We were pleased that there should have been so much merriment on your side, and it made us laugh a lot—the sorry opposition and the worthy Vollmar are almost enough to send one to sleep.

On the *first* reading the programme makes an excellent impression, with the exception of a few weak spots to which I had already drawn K. Kautsky's attention earlier on.<sup>a</sup> It must have been a bitter pill for Liebknecht to swallow when *he* had to give an account of the new programme from which the last traces, not only of Lassalleanism, but also of his much-beloved People's Party<sup>154</sup> slogans had been eliminated. Indeed the speech—which, if the account in the *Vorwärts* is to be believed, he himself drafted—provides painful evidence of this. And then he suffered a further blow in the shape of Kurnert's motion<sup>329</sup> on his son-in-law.<sup>b</sup> I hope Liebknecht may find a gently inclined plane down which he may slowly glide into retirement—he is remarkably outmoded in the party.

Monday, 26 October.—In the meantime another letter arrived from you this morning.<sup>330</sup> That Fischer had made enemies I am ready to believe, for it's something I know from my own experience. In my younger days I was just as inclined to be uppish at the wrong time and in the wrong place as he is, and in the same way I seldom detect a failing in the younger generation which I myself did not possess to a greater or lesser degree. It gradually wears off, provided one occasionally gets a slap in the eye which one has to admit is deserved.

I don't know whether you will in future be able to avoid settling such matters in public. I think it's better that you *should*, despite minor disadvantages and much personal unpleasantness. But there's no doubt that, unless your central organ<sup>c</sup> changes, you would be well-advised to hand it over entirely to the Berlin party and to acquire

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 239-41. -<sup>b</sup> Bruno Geiser -<sup>c</sup> *Vorwärts*



a national weekly advertiser which, however, should and would have to be properly edited.

It was most sensible to expend the 400 marks on Lafargue's election. This will come in *very handy* for the second ballot. Since unions and party are distinct in your case, it is perfectly all right if French and other STRIKES receive support *direct from the trades unions* in Germany, leaving the party funds free for political purposes. This being so, however, you should see to it that the unions do something for the glassworkers.<sup>331</sup> Quite a lot has been done for them from over here.

Lafargue is in a good position. He obtained 5,005 votes, the Opponent and government candidate Depasse 2,928, the second Opponent Bere (Beer or Bear, as you choose) 1,246, and the Radical Roche 2,272. *The latter is stepping down in favour of Lafargue.* That means that Depasse, his real competitor in the second ballot, could only get in if all Roche's voters were to abstain and if he were to poll, say, another 1,000 votes amongst the reserve of abstainers in the monarchist camp, or if 3,000 or more votes from that reserve were to more than outweigh the 5,005 + 2,272. I don't know how many registered electors there are and therefore am unable to judge; at all events the position is better than we had dared to hope.

Gilles is doing well for himself. The fellow must be living in clover at police expense. He has *bought* nearly everyone in the Communist Society<sup>89</sup> by lending them money and they *durst* not chuck him out. Since the fellow claims that, *as a member of that society*, he is *ipse facto* a member of the German party, it may be asked whether you people are prepared to put up with this particular 'comrade'. The funds available to him for his loans and his circulars — that sort of thing costs a pretty penny over here — can only emanate from the Embassy.

I have not yet seen anything about the Magdeburg meeting<sup>332</sup> either in the *Vorwärts* or in the *Echo*.<sup>a</sup> That the *Vorwärts* should suppress the opposition meeting in Berlin<sup>333</sup> was only to be expected in view of its previous practice. But it's abysmally stupid.

I am sending you an article by the great Paul Brousse from which you will see how that chief of all quarrel-pickers, mischief-mongers and authoritarians, now that he's been thoroughly trounced and reduced to a cipher, is holding forth to *you people*, whom he has combatted for years as his arch-enemies on the Continent, about peace and federation.

<sup>a</sup> *Hamburger Echo*

Herewith a few cuttings about the Russian famine which is spreading even farther west than I thought. Such things are to be found daily in the British press. The position is indeed a serious one and still more troops, or so Mendelson assured me yesterday, are being sent to the west simply in order that they may be fed. It would be madness for the Russians to go to war, but militarist parties always are mad and the Russian bourgeoisie is blinkered, stupid, ignorant, chauvinist and grasping in the extreme. If war there *must* be, then the sooner the better, for in that case the Russians would be treated to a rude awakening.

Since I thought it necessary to let the French know exactly what our position would be in case of war—a damned difficult task, mind you—I have written an article in French and sent it to Laura.<sup>313</sup> Today she writes to say that both she and Paul are absolutely delighted with the article and that it was exactly what was wanted for the French, etc. If Guesde is also of that opinion—he is still at Lille where he is doing duty for Lafargue with the electors—the article will be published. It was originally intended for the French socialist almanac<sup>a</sup> but may (I think will) be too strong for that paper's motley crew, in which case it will probably appear in the *Socialiste* which I trust you see. What I tell the chaps is this: We are virtually certain of coming to the helm within 10 years; we can neither seize power nor retain it without making good the wrongs done to other nationalities by our predecessors by 1. openly paving the way for the restoration of Poland and 2. putting the people of northern Silesia and Alsace-Lorraine in a position to decide freely where their allegiance lies. Between a socialist France and a socialist Germany, I go on, there is no such thing as an Alsace-Lorraine question. Hence there could be no grounds whatever for going to war over Alsace-Lorraine. But if the French bourgeois should begin such a war notwithstanding, and if to that end they should place themselves in the service of the Russian Tsar who, indeed, is the enemy of the *middle classes* throughout western Europe, this would represent a repudiation of France's revolutionary mission. We German socialists, on the other hand, who would come to power in 10 years' time provided peace is preserved, would be duty bound to assert the position acquired by us in the vanguard of the labour movement, not only against the internal, but also against the external, foe. If Russia were to win, we should be

<sup>a</sup> *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*

crushed. So, have at 'em, if Russia goes to war, have at the Russians and their allies, *whoever they may be*. We should then have to ensure that the war be prosecuted with all available revolutionary means and that the existence of any government refusing to use those means be made impossible; alternatively that we ourselves take the lead at the crucial moment. We have not yet forgotten the glorious example set by the French in 1793 and, if our hand is forced, we might in fact celebrate the centenary of 1793 by showing that the German working men of 1893 are not unworthy of their predecessors the Sansculottes, in which case, should French soldiers cross our frontier, they will be welcomed with the cry:

*Quoi ces cohortes étrangères  
Feraient la loi dans nos foyers?*<sup>a</sup> (*Marseillaise*)

That is the gist of the thing. As soon as the text has been finally decided on (I naturally anticipate that one or two minor amendments will be suggested) and printing has begun, I shall translate the article into German and we shall see what can be done with it. I'm not sure whether the conditions governing your press are such as to permit its publication in Germany; maybe if you qualified it a bit it might do — it'll be managed somehow. *My* articles are not in any case binding on the *party*, which is a great piece of luck for both of us, although Liebknecht supposes I regard it as a personal misfortune though this would never have occurred to me.

The reports quote you as saying that I had prognosticated the collapse of bourgeois society in 1898. There must have been a little mistake somewhere. All I said was that by '98 we might possibly have come to the helm. Should this *not* happen, bourgeois society might continue to potter along as it is for a bit, until such time as an impulse from without causes the whole rotten structure to come crashing down. In still air a dilapidated old wreck of that sort can survive for a couple of decades even when it is to all intents and purposes defunct. So I should have been exceedingly careful about making predictions of this nature. On the other hand, the possibility of our coming to power is merely a calculation of probability in accordance with mathematical laws.

Nevertheless, I hope that peace will prevail. Our position is such that we have no need to take a gamble — and war would compel us

<sup>a</sup> What, shall these foreign cohorts lay down the law in our own homes?

to do so. And again, ten years from now we shall be far better prepared. *Voici pourquoi.*<sup>a</sup>

If we are to take over and operate the means of production, we need people who are technically trained and plenty of them. These we have not got, and have even been pretty glad hitherto to have been largely spared the company of the 'educated'. Now things have changed. Now we are strong enough to absorb and digest any quantity of educated riff-raff and I would predict that in the next 8 or 10 years we shall recruit enough young technicians, doctors, jurists and schoolmasters for the factories and large estates to be managed for the nation by party members. In which case our accession to power will take place quite naturally and will run a—relatively—smooth course. If, on the other hand, we come to the helm prematurely and as a result of war, the technicians will be our principal opponents and will deceive and betray us at every turn; we should have to inaugurate a reign of terror against them and would lose out all the same. This is what *always* happened to the French revolutionaries, if on a smaller scale; even in everyday administration they had to leave the subordinate, really operative, posts to their former reactionary incumbents—men who hampered and paralysed everything. I therefore hope and pray that this splendid, unerring progress of ours, evolving with the impassivity and inexorability of a natural process, will continue along its appointed course.

Warm regards to your wife<sup>b</sup> and yourself.

Your  
F. E.

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Published in English in full for the  
first time

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<sup>a</sup> That is why. - <sup>b</sup> Julie Bebel

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 25 October 1891

Dear K. K.,

My congratulations on the acceptance of your draft programme at Erfurt and on the deletion of 'one reactionary mass'.<sup>a</sup> I have not yet had time to compare your draft in detail with the programme as finally accepted.

I have proposed to Dietz that the fee for the 2nd edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* be divided equally between all 5 concerned — 240 M for the 3 heirs and 160 M for the 2 translators, assuming 400 M to be the total, or pro rata if not. I hope you will agree to this so that we can get the business settled once and for all. The heirs are not entitled to the *whole* fee for this edition.

I have also asked Dietz to hand you on my behalf a copy of the new edition<sup>b</sup> of the *Origin, etc.*, a bound copy, that is.

Everything went off really splendidly at Erfurt.<sup>301</sup> Auer's and Fischer's speeches in particular caused us a great deal of merriment. But those two thoroughly deserved a chance to vent their wrath on the 'opposition'. Pit a Bavarian against a Berliner and there'll be damned little left of the Berliner at the finish. But the behaviour of these gentry, like that of Vollmar, shows how greatly that little crew had overestimated their own power. Retreats such as these are quite unheard of. But it could not fail to make an impact abroad, and over *here* it has meant a resounding defeat for Hyndman who first took Gilles publicly under his wing and obviously believed his boasts about the collapse of the German party — he would now like to disassociate himself from the scoundrel if he could. Incidentally, Gilles has been elevated in *Figaro* to the status of great man!

You may, if you wish, put an announcement in the *Neue Zeit* to the effect that the following will be coming out in Swan Sonnenschein's & Co.'s SOCIAL SERIES: 1. my *Condition of the Working-Class*<sup>c</sup> in *la Wisch-*

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 261-62. -<sup>b</sup> the fourth German edition -<sup>c</sup> *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*

newetzky's translation, 2. my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*<sup>a</sup> translated by Aveling. 3. Ede's introduction to Lassalle translated by Tussy.<sup>334</sup>

Louise has suggested to me that it might be in the interest of the *Neue Zeit* to send a copy regularly to the editor of *The Review of Reviews*, W. T. Stead, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W. C. The thing has a sale of over 100,000 copies and prints extracts from reviews from all over the world together with the contents (titles of articles) of all of them, no less than 23 of these are from Germany, including the *Deutsche Revue*, *Ueber Land und Meer*, *Gartenlaube*, *Nord und Süd*, *Preußische Jahrbücher*, etc., etc. From the *Economic Journal* our draft programme's demands. Since Stead is a thoroughly mad sort of chap, albeit a brilliant businessman, it may well be of benefit to us and, on occasion, prove enormously effective if you were to send him copies—for whenever there's a chance of creating a sensation, he ruthlessly seizes on it, irrespective of the source. The thing would also be enormously useful to you people, costs only 6d. a month and contains a tremendous amount. It would save your reading *any other* English revue.

Now I must go out for a spot o' fresh air; the Avelings and Edes<sup>b</sup> will be arriving for luncheon shortly.

Your  
F. E.

Monday.<sup>c</sup> I am sending you a copy of *The Review of Reviews* in which Stead butters up Mother Besant with the intention of instructing her in Christianity.<sup>d</sup> He obviously wants to win fame as the man who led her back to Jesus. There's one way to do that. For Mother Besant invariably shares the religion of the man who *downs* her.—Ede and Tussy agree to my proposal about the distribution of the fee.

Lafargue obtained 5,005 votes in Lille, the two Opportunists 4,174 together and the Radical, Roche, 2,272; the latter stepped down in favour of Lafargue. Hence, if an Opportunist is to get in, 3,000 ab-

<sup>a</sup> *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* - <sup>b</sup> Eduard and Regina Bernstein - <sup>c</sup> 26 October - <sup>d</sup> 'Character Sketch: Mrs Annie Besant:—Portraits of the Leading Officials of the Theosophical Society', *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. IV, No. 22, October 1891.

staining Monarchists will have to *support* him in the second ballot. A most satisfactory position, therefore.<sup>326</sup>

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 October 1891

*Mein liebes*<sup>a</sup> Löhr,

*Das ist ja ein ganz famoseres Resultat,*<sup>b</sup> Paul heading the Poll—pretty Poll—you see enthusiasm makes me half mad and drives me into Pantomime puns, but when I came to ‘pretty Poll’ and remembered your name was Kakadou, that brought me to a dead stop, I might be accused of blasphemy and what not! *Au, au, sagt der Jud’ in Berlin, wenn der christliche Germane auch einmal versucht einen Witz zu machen.*<sup>c</sup>

Well, if I only knew *le nombre des électeurs inscrits*,<sup>d</sup> I should make a shrewd guess. The *Défense* de Lille bragged with 6,000 monarchist and clerical votes, that I doubt very much, and so think Paul almost safe. We drank success to him last Sunday in 1868 Port, and I am sure at least the 5 votes over the 5,000 are due to our efforts. Never mind, next Sunday week we’ll try another and more successful sort and that is sure to smash up all his opponents. What a fine country France is to be locked up! You attack the government, the government makes you M. P. (Pélagie) but Pélagie makes you M. P. (Parliament).<sup>335</sup> In Germany it’s the other way about. You get elected into Parliament and then you may well write behind you name M. P. because that means Member of *Plötzensee*—the new monster prison near Berlin.

<sup>a</sup> My dear - <sup>b</sup> The result is absolutely splendid. - <sup>c</sup> Oh, oh, says the Jew in Berlin, if the German Christian ventures as much as once to make a joke. - <sup>d</sup> the number of registered electors

But *trêve de bêtises*<sup>a</sup>! I am very glad indeed you and Paul like my article.<sup>313</sup> But will the *Kuddelmuddel*<sup>b</sup> people of the *Almanac*<sup>c</sup> be of the same mind? *Never* mind (another Pantomime effort, I shall soon be M. P. (Pantomime)), it can then go in the *Socialiste*.

Old Sorge who does not want to have the *Socialiste* without paying for it asks me to send 10s. for his subscription. I send a postal order, they sell readily in Vienna, as Louise tells me, so no doubt they will be legal tender in Paris.

*Post mark:*

|    |                |                    |
|----|----------------|--------------------|
| I. | 525, 490, 10/- | Regent's Park Road |
| 38 |                | 24 September 91    |

Things in Erfurt went very well.<sup>301</sup> The execution of the insolent young student and *commis-voyageur* lot was very necessary. They will soon disappear now, and the next lot of the same sort will be less cheeky.

But now it's post-time and dinner-time too. Give Paul a hearty cheer in our name when you come into Pélagie, and take a hearty embrace yourself from Louise and

Your old incorrigible  
General

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<sup>a</sup> enough of stupidities - <sup>b</sup> mixed up - <sup>c</sup> *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*



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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 29 October 1891

I was interrupted when on the point of asking you in my letter of Saturday 24 October<sup>a</sup> if you would from time to time send me a *women's paper* or magazine—from the bourgeois female's movement, needless to say. For the good of the *working women's* movement in Germany, Austria and over here, Louise is obliged to pay some slight heed to this stuff, too, and hence would very much like to take an *occasional* look at what these little ladies are up to in America.—Lafargue's prospects are rosy: 5,005 votes. Depasse, Opportunist, 2,928; Bère (read Beer), also Opportunist, 1,246; Roche, Radical, 2,272. The latter stepped down in favour of Lafargue who has the support of the extreme Radicals in the Chamber.<sup>336</sup>—In Germany the party congress takes pride of place over everything.<sup>301</sup> The few intriguers who were chucked out will attract no one save a number of stuck-up little students—GOOD RIDDANCE!

Regards to your wife.<sup>b</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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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 264. -<sup>b</sup> Katharina Sorge

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON <sup>337</sup>

IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 29-31 October 1891

Dear Sir,

When your letter of 21 September arrived I was travelling in Scotland and Ireland <sup>264</sup>; only today I find time and leisure to reply to it.

Your letter of 20 January was indeed lost, which I regret doubly, first because the interesting information it contained was kept from me for so long, and second because it put you to the trouble of working it out again for me. Many thanks!

The '*Züchtung von Millionären*',<sup>a</sup> as Bismarck puts it, seems indeed to go on in your country with giant steps. Such profits as your official statistics show, are unheard of nowadays in English, French or German textile manufactories. 10, 15, at the outside 20%, average profits, and 25-30% in very very exceptional years of prosperity, are considered *good*. I was only in the childhood of modern industry that establishments with the very latest and best machinery, producing their goods with considerably less labour than was at the time socially necessary, were able to secure such rates of profit. At present, such profits are made only on lucky speculative undertakings with new inventions, that is to say on one undertaking out of a hundred, the rest mostly being dead failures.

The only country where similar, or approximatively similar profits are nowadays possible in staple industries, is the United States, America. There the protective tariff after the civil war, and now the Mackinley tariff,<sup>338</sup> have had similar results, and the profits must be, and are, enormous. The fact that this state of things depends entirely on tariff legislation, which may be altered from one day to another, is sufficient to prevent any large investment of *foreign* capital (large, in proportion to the quantity of domestic capital invested) in these industries, and thus to keep out the principal source of competition and lowering of profits.

Your description of the changes produced by this extension of mod-

<sup>a</sup> rearing of millionaires

ern industry in the life of the mass of the people, of the ruin of their home industry for the *direct consumption of the producers*, and by and by also of the home industry carried on for the capitalist purchaser, reminds me vividly of the chapter of our author on the *Herstellung des innern Markts*,<sup>a</sup> 339 and of what took place in most places of Central and Western Europe from 1820 to 1840. This change, of course, with you has different effects to some extent. The French and German peasant proprietor dies hard, he lingers for two or three generations in the hands of the usurer before he is perfectly ripe for being sold out of his land and house; at least in the districts where modern industry has not penetrated. In Germany the peasantry are kept above water by all sorts of domestic industries—pipes, toys, baskets, etc.—carried on for account of capitalists; their spare time being of no value to them after they have tilled their little fields, they consider every kopek they receive for extra work as so much gain; hence the ruinously low wages and the inconceivable cheapness of such industrial products in Germany.

With you, there is the resistance of the *obuzna*<sup>b</sup> to be overcome (although I should say that that must be giving way considerably in the constant struggle with modern Capitalism), there is the resource of farming land from the large proprietors which you describe in your letter of May 1<sup>st</sup> 291—a means of securing surplus value to the proprietor but also of continuing a lingering existence to the peasant as a *peasant*; and the *kulaki*,<sup>c</sup> too, as far as I can see, on the whole prefer keeping the peasant in their clutches as a *objet à exploitation*,<sup>d</sup> to ruining him once for all and getting his land transferred to them. So that it strikes me, the Russian peasant, where he is not wanted as a workman for the factory or the town, will also die hard, will take a deal of killing before he does die.

The enormous profits secured by the youthful bourgeoisie in Russia, and the dependence of these profits on a good crop (harvest) so well exposed by you, explain many things otherwise obscure. Thus what should I make out of this morning's statement in the Odessa correspondence of a London paper: the Russian commercial classes seem to be possessed of the one idea, that war is the only real panacea for the ever increasing depression and distrust from which all Russian industries are now suffering—what should I make of it and how explain it but for this complete dependence of a tariff-made industry on

<sup>a</sup> creation of domestic market - <sup>b</sup> commune (Russ.) - <sup>c</sup> rich peasants in Russia -

<sup>d</sup> object of exploitation

the home market and on the harvest of the agricultural districts on which depends the purchasing power of its only customers! And if this market fails, what seems more natural to naive people than its extension by a successful war?

Very interesting are your notes on the apparent contradiction that, with you, a good harvest does *not* necessarily mean a lowering of the price of corn. When we study the real economical relations in various countries and at various stages of civilization, how singularly erroneous and deficient appear the rationalistic generalizations of the 18th century — good old Adam Smith who took the conditions of Edinburgh and the Lothians as the normal ones of the universe! Well, Pushkin already knew that

и почему  
 Не нужно золота сму,  
 Когда простой продукт имѣсть.  
 Отецъ понять его не могъ  
 И земли отдавалъ въ залогъ.<sup>a</sup>

Yours very sincerely,

P. W. Rosher<sup>b</sup>

Next Monday I begin again with Volume III<sup>c</sup> — and hope not to discontinue until complete.

This letter has been delayed until today 31 October in consequence of interruption.

First published, in Russian, in *Minuushiye*  
*gody*, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

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<sup>a</sup> and why/it needs no gold if a supply/of *simple product* supplements it./His father failed to understand/and took a mortgage on his land. (A. Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin*, Ch. I.) - <sup>b</sup> Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym - <sup>c</sup> of *Capital*

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 31 October 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Louise and I send you our hearty congratulations on the result of last Sunday's<sup>a</sup> vote. 'It's magnificent' and it is 'war'.<sup>340</sup> True there may have been some 4,400 abstentions and missing voters, but more than 3,100 of those who abstained would have been needed to rally round your opponent if Dépassé was to surpass you by passing you (a pun, alas, passing through like an attack of diarrhoea, let's hope it will pass!). And no such thing has ever been known. And you yourself have won an intoxicating victory. So a week tomorrow we shall drink to your definitive victory<sup>341</sup> — though we shan't forget you tomorrow either.

I see from the newspapers sent me by you and Laura that the press, both governmental and of radical tendency, has at last been compelled to take notice of your election. The nonsense talked by *Le Temps*<sup>b</sup> cannot but be of use to you. Once the ice has been broken, anything these gentlemen may say will work in your favour. Even the worthy Pelletan of *La Justice* has had to come down on your side.

Should you be elected, that would be a further embarrassment to the Chamber: whether to vote or whether not to vote for your release.

What on earth is this new split that is about to happen amongst the Chamber's radicals, between Millerand, Hovelacque and Moreau, on the one hand, and the bulk of the Clemencists on the other? You speak of the possibility of joining forces with the former.<sup>342</sup> But up to what point are they keeping in step with you? To the best of my knowledge the nominally 'socialist' radicals in the Chamber have hitherto been merely the detritus of Proudhonism and, as such, the avowed opponents of the socialisation of the means of production. And in my view it would be impossible for us to effect a merger, form a *group*, with people who don't subscribe to that, at any rate in principle. Alternatively I believe we might enter into a more or less tempo-

<sup>a</sup> 25 October - <sup>b</sup> Presumably Engels has in mind the leader 'Il y avait trois élections hier...', *Le Temps*, No. 11118, 27 October 1891.

rary alliance with them, but not a merger. However there has evidently been some new development I don't know about and I shall await further word from you before forming an opinion. How truly splendid it would be if the radicals in the Chamber began to come over to our side—symptomatic indeed!

I'm delighted that you and Laura should have found my article<sup>313</sup> both good and topical—but what will the others—Argyriades & Co. of the *Almanach*<sup>a</sup>—say? In all my experience I have never had the good fortune to comply with the wishes of those gentlemen, those friends of all the world, having found that, whenever I have done an article at their request, it has always been quite different from the article they requested. Alongside the solemn lucubrations of Mr Bénédict Malon and other choragi of Parisian socialism, that would be well-nigh impossible. Besides it's all one to me. I warned Laura in advance that the situation would compel me to write things that many people would find distasteful. Well, she asked for it and I obliged. I know very well that the *Socialiste* won't hesitate, but as for the *Almanac*, that's another matter. Anyway we shall publish the thing one way or another and it will probably cause a rumpus.

At Erfurt everything went off very well.<sup>301</sup> The jackasses of the opposition left the representatives of the whole party in no doubt that they were indeed jackasses and poltroons undeserving of sympathy. They are either fools or covert anarchists or policemen. Last night there were meetings in Berlin at which delegates had to submit their reports, thereby probably demolishing the gentlemen of the opposition.<sup>343</sup> Vollmar, on the other hand, has had to recant, not only at Erfurt, but also, and more specifically, at Munich<sup>344</sup> before his own constituents. They rejected a resolution proposed by him in which he sought, without unduly infringing the resolutions passed against him at Erfurt, to introduce various passages acknowledging the point of view he had espoused in his reactionary speeches. Vollmar himself was forced to propose a fresh resolution, viz. outright submission to the Erfurt resolutions, and this was passed unanimously. As Bebel points out in a letter to me, whoever leaves the party or is shown the door by the party is, in political terms, dead.<sup>345</sup> Mr Vollmar is well aware of this and has taken good care not to do something that would place him in such a position. But that won't prevent him from being the most dangerous intriguer in our party.

<sup>a</sup> *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*

London, le 31. Oct. 91.

Mon cher Lafargue

Louise & moi nous vous envoie par ces  
Cordons postaux quelques papiers de l'Institut de l'art  
d'aujourd'hui d'aujourd'hui. "C'est un magnifique", et c'est  
la guerre. "Il y a bien 1400 observations et objections  
égarés, mais il faudrait que plus de 2000 de ces  
observations et objections se réunissent sur notre concourse  
pour que l'épave en soit définitivement passé à la  
Calumbry, ça passe comme s'il y avait une étape  
de diable, espérons que ça passe!". Et c'est un  
shel j'aurais vu. Et vous avez pour vous le succès  
qui arrive. Bonne, de nous en huit nous boirons  
à votre succès définitif - nous tous fois comme on  
fait demain.

Je vois des journaux qui laissent vous se voy  
envoyé que la presse gouvernementale & radicale  
d'aujourd'hui de votre élection. Les articles de  
l'aujourd'hui se peuvent que vous être, utiles. Une fois le  
pace pompée, tout ce que ces machines peuvent  
dire, agit en votre faveur. même le travailleur  
de la justice a dû se déclarer pour vous.

Si vous êtes élu, c'est une nouvelle victoire  
pour la Chambre: c'est une telle, et c'est elle  
que votre union se libère.





Anyway things are going ahead in Germany and before long the same thing will happen in France. We shall, perhaps, avoid a war and, since we are slow and methodical, that may give the French a chance to overtake us again by pulling off some mighty coup. It augurs well for the '*fin de siècle*' and could put 1793 in the shade.

What idiots your bourgeois and the Russians are! In a war, England with her fleet and her command of the sea would hold the balance — which is why those gentry are impelling her into the arms of the Germans by teasing her on the subject of Egypt<sup>346</sup>!

Love to Laura — the Viennese women's paper<sup>a</sup> hasn't appeared yet — for want of money, no doubt.

Yours ever,  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT<sup>267</sup>

IN ZURICH

London, 1 November 1891

Dear Schmidt,

First of all, my congratulations on your engagement and, I hope, very imminent marriage. Let me know what the fateful day is to be so that we may drink to the health of yourself and your young bride, as we shall meanwhile be doing at lunchtime today with a glass of port.

May I also congratulate you on the agreement with Guttentag; it's a worthwhile undertaking but you will have to devote a good deal of time to it.<sup>347</sup> Next week I shall be tackling Volume III<sup>b</sup> (which part-

<sup>a</sup> *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* - <sup>b</sup> of *Capital*

ly explains this expeditious reply since all my correspondence must be polished off first), and won't, I think, have to stop till whole thing's polished off. Thus you will also be able to include this essential final section.

You cannot, of course, do without Hegel and he's another chap whom it will take you time to digest. The short paper on logic in the *Encyklopädie* would be quite good to start off with, but the edition you should have is that in Volume 6 of the *Werke* — not Rosenkranz's separate edition (1845) — since the former contains far more explanatory notes from the lectures, even if that idiot Henning himself frequently fails to understand the latter.

In the introduction, in §26, etc., you have first the critique of Wolf's version of Leibniz (metaphysics in the *historical* sense), then that of the English and French empiricists in §37, etc., then that of Kant, §40 et seqq. and, finally, that of Jacobi's mysticism, §61. — In the first section (Being), you ought not to linger too long over being and nothing — the last paragraphs on quality followed by quantity and measure are much nicer, but the theory of essence constitutes the main section: the dissolution of abstract opposites into their insubstantiality when, as soon as one tries to grasp one aspect alone, it changes imperceptibly into the other, etc. At the same time you can always clarify things by means of concrete examples. E. g. you, as a fiancé, and your affianced yourselves present an outstanding example of the indivisibility of identity and difference. It is quite impossible to ascertain whether sexual love is the pleasure derived from identity in difference or that derived from difference in identity. Remove the difference (in this case of sex) or the identity (the humanity of both), and what remains? I remember how tormented I used to be at first by this indivisibility of identity and difference, though we cannot take one step without stumbling over it.

On no account, however, should you read Hegel as Mr Barth has read him, namely so as to discover the paralogisms and shabby expedients that served him as tools for constructing his system. That is a schoolroom exercise, nothing more. What is far more important is to discover the truth and the genius beneath the falsity of the form and the factitious context. For instance, the transitions from one category or opposite to another are almost always arbitrary — and are often achieved by means of a joke, as in §120, when positive and nega-

tive 'fall to the ground' so that Hegel may proceed to the category 'ground'. To rack one's brains over this is a waste of time.

Since, in Hegel, each category represents a stage in the history of philosophy (as, indeed, he usually indicates), you would be well-advised to read the *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Philosophie*—one of his most brilliant works—by way of comparison. For recreation I would commend the *Ästhetik*. Once you have gained some familiarity with it you will be amazed.

The inversion of Hegel's dialectics is based on the assumption that it is the 'self-development of the idea' of which, therefore, the dialectic of facts is only the image, while the dialectic in our minds is but the reflection of the actual development taking place in the natural world and human history in obedience to dialectical forms.

You should try comparing the Marxian progression from commodity to capital with the Hegelian from being to essence; this would give you quite a good parallel—on the one hand, the concrete development which follows from the facts, on the other, the abstract construction, in which extremely brilliant ideas and, in certain cases, very just transformations such as that of quality into quantity and vice versa, are elaborated to produce what appears to be the self-development of one notion out of another, of which, indeed, it would be possible to concoct a dozen of the same kind.

The noble Wolf has sent me his opus<sup>a</sup> in the form of an off-print. But, although asked by an anonymous 'admirer'<sup>b</sup> whether I intend to 'box the fellow's ears', I haven't looked at it yet. An academic of that sort can wait.

The party congress went off very well.<sup>301</sup> The amount of attention devoted to the 'opposition' did no harm; though it may have amused the philistines it undoubtedly had a very salutary effect upon the party.

Bebel and Adler spent a few days over here after the Brussels Congress,<sup>135</sup> when we were all very jolly. Bernstein's excellent introduction to Lassalle is coming out in English.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> J. Wolf, 'Das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate bei Marx', *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 2. Bd., 3. Folge. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 241.

Well, I hope that a whole lot of students, both male and female, will attend your first course of lectures.

Kindest regards.

Yours,

F. Engels

Mrs Kautsky sends you and likewise your fiancée her most sincere congratulations.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 November 1891

My dear Laura,

*Victoire!* Though hidden in one of its most desolate corners, amongst the paragraphs that help to make up columns, *The Daily News* did inform us that Paul had beaten Depasse (who now would do well to change the *a* of his name, source of so many calembours, into *i*) by 1,400 or thereabouts.<sup>a</sup> So the two toasts, in Port and Claret, offered up yesterday by us, were not without effect. Well, that's so much gained. And what is worth more than the victory itself almost, is the way in which it was won and which turns a common by-election into a great political action, a cause of incalculable effects. Paul may well back his Constans against the *roi de Prusse*<sup>b</sup> as an involuntary promoter of Socialism; but the real likeness lies between Constans and Bismarck, as it laid between Bismarck and Louis Bonaparte—they all partake of that short-sighted cleverness and *Dumm-schlaueheit*<sup>c</sup> of the ordinary merchant and speculator who aims at one

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 269. - <sup>b</sup> William I - <sup>c</sup> low cunning

thing, and by miscalculating causes and effects, arrives at effecting the very opposite.

Anyhow Constans' stupidity has resulted not only in Paul's election, which gives a tremendous *élan* to Socialism all over France, but also in loosening the coalition for the maintenance of the ministry which was formed against Boulangism at the Rue Cadet.<sup>223</sup> I don't think the mass of the *Clémencist* Radicals will as yet fall away from the ministry, they are held too tightly. But the old feeling of security does no longer exist since the *Roche*-debate.<sup>348</sup> And some, the more consistent elements like Millerand, can hardly keep within the ministerial alliance. That, and the personal ambitions and intrigues *within* the ministry will be sufficient to bring on a change — and every change loosens the bonds between the Czar<sup>a</sup> and French Chauvinists, and thus is in favour of peace. By the bye, what an irony of history that the Russian government, after having spent millions on Boulanger, must now spend fresh millions on the very people who upset Boulanger!

It was a nice exciting time and I have to thank you very much for enabling me to follow all the *péripéties* of it in the Paris press. What a miserable helpless political ass that Ranc has become. *Il doit être en train de s'enrichir, celui-là!*<sup>b</sup>

I have sent a few lines of humorous congratulations to Paul direct, so that *M. le directeur de la prison* might have the perusal of them.<sup>153</sup> If he should confiscate them I will send you a copy. But I hope and trust there will be more respect shown to *M. le député*.

I am anxious to see what Constans and the Chambre will do now. If they try to keep Paul in Ste-Pélagie, it will be all the worse for them.

It strikes me Mother Crawford is not far wrong in saying the strength of the present ministry is its having brought about outward signs of the French and Russian *entente*; and that this makes the Radicals<sup>147</sup> fear a dissolution.<sup>c</sup> But if, as is probable, *internal* dissensions break up the ministry, taking advantage of another such doubtful victory as that on Saturday week,<sup>d</sup> then everything changes. First, the Russian *entente* becomes very vapoury as soon as the instability of governments is evidenced again, and secondly, if the Cabinet splits up,

<sup>a</sup> Alexander III. - <sup>b</sup> He must be getting rich now, that man. - <sup>c</sup> Engels has in mind E. Crawford's 'The French Ministry' in *The Daily News*, 9 November 1891. - <sup>d</sup> 31 October

either fragment will claim the merit of that *entente*. And thirdly, after a split nobody can tell either what the reconstruction may turn out to be, or how long it may last.

I have looked at the *Justice* of Clemenceau lately again more often, and it strikes me that at the bottom of the antiboulangist Alliance must have been the idea that there was only one way of taking the wind out of the sails of any present or future Boulanger, and that is: to close with Russia at any price and *then hasten on the guerre de revanche*.<sup>a</sup> That is the only conclusion I can draw from the tone of the *Justice*: *soyons plus patriotes que Boulanger!*<sup>b</sup> And no doubt that plan would suit them all: settle the account with Germany, raise France again to a position of supremacy (which Russia might allow them to show of, provided France gave her the reality) and then, but not before, settle our internal republican party quarrels. Unless that is the fact, I cannot make out either the language or the action of the Radicals. They may be fools, but there is a limit to all folly, outside the madhouse at least.

Louise is going to write a few lines, so I close with love

Ever yours,  
F. E.

My dear Laura,

I am very proud that my definition of the letters M. P.<sup>335</sup> turned out right at last though you have been right before and are right as long as the things last. The notice about M. P. (in your sense) election was underneath a paragraph 'The murder of a wealthy widow'; General found it out, as I did not know, that the election of a Socialist ranges itself under the impression of a bourgeois...<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> retaliatory war - <sup>b</sup> let us be greater patriots than Boulanger! - <sup>c</sup> The end is missing.

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 9 November 1891

Dear August,

Thank you for your letter of 29 October and the many other things you have sent me, including the postcard of 30 October.<sup>349</sup>

So Lafargue has won a victory.<sup>330</sup> It's quite an event, firstly because of the immediate impact on France, which will be very great, secondly, because on his occasion literally *all* the socialist parliamentary groups, including the Possibilists<sup>3</sup> — if sometimes wryly —, pulled together, and thirdly because, with a low cunning and brutality worthy of a Bismarck, M. Constans succeeded in turning what was merely a second ballot into a gripping political drama.

The government had two main vantage grounds: 1. Victory over the common threat, Boulanger. 2. The apparently deliberate display of an intimate relationship with Russia. Add to which a 3rd, namely the display, successful at any rate so far as the plebs were concerned, of France's newly restored military might during the big September manoeuvres. These 3 points enabled the government to compel the extreme Left to support it; the combined 'Republicans' constituted a majority vis-à-vis the combined Monarchists, Boulangists and to some extent also socialists. Then, contrary to the practice of 1869, Constans did not set Lafargue free to enable him to stand as candidate. In this the Radicals could not go along with him. Hence the big debate on the 31st October, following Roche's interpellation,<sup>348</sup> hence the government's Pyrrhic victory—240 for the government, 160 against, but—170 *monarchist abstentions*. In reality, therefore, anti-government majority of 90. Defection of Radicals<sup>147</sup> therefore = fall of the Cabinet the moment the Monarchists desire it and vote with the Radicals. After the division, needless to say, the alarm of the Radicals was as great as that of the government, especially since the latter threatened to dissolve parliament while giving the Radicals to understand that they would find the electorate far more pro-government than the present Chamber, as seems more than likely. In short, Constans' behaviour has shown the 'one Republican' mass

that, after the disappearance of the only opponent capable of uniting them, there are internal questions which hopelessly divide them; the rift exists, cannot be patched up and, now that Constans is flouting all the republican conventions by his continued detention of Lafargue in Ste-Pélagie, things will liven up still more. Not that I anticipate the early demise of the government as a result of the Radicals' defection—on the contrary, there are likely to be a number of occasions on which the latter, having scored a victory despite themselves, will have to eat humble pie and beg the government's pardon; but within the government itself there is open warfare between Freycinet and Ribot on the one hand and Constans and Rouvier on the other, warfare which another doubtful division might bring to a head, thus inducing a split and, with it, a change of ministers, renewed instability in the Cabinet, i. e. a cooling off of Russia's ardour since what the Tsar needs is *stable* government in France; and finally—fresh elections under different circumstances and with different results.

While Liebknecht goes into ecstasies in the *Vorwärts* about the non-existence of chauvinism in France, the Paris press—which I have been able to study exhaustively during the period of the elections—and notably Clemenceau's *Justice* which Liebknecht, I believe, also sees every day, has convinced me that the secret behind the 'Republicans' (Opportunists, Radicals, Possibilists<sup>3</sup>) anti-Boulangier pact was the government's determination to outbid Boulangier in patriotism, to engineer the Russian alliance, to present the army to the world as ready for battle, to rattle its sabre and, should a retaliatory war ensue, to conduct it with might and main—in other words, to head as straight as maybe for a retaliatory war, the dearest wish of every French bourgeois. Just as the republic of 1849 and 1871 was the form most calculated to unite the Monarchists, so now retaliatory war is the issue that will most surely bring *all* Republicans, i. e. all *middle-class* ones—for the workers count only as election fodder—into the same fold, indeed the only issue that could bring this about once the republic had been attained and consolidated. Retaliation was the secret of the Boulangists' success—let us preach retaliation! The re-acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine! If you compare *La Justice* of pre-Boulangist and Boulangist days with that of today, you would find it hard to draw any other conclusion. But that is against Liebknecht's principles. In France, a strong chauvinist tendency cannot be *allowed* to exist, it would fly in the face of the eternal principles and hence it is denied. If things go on like this, you people may have to pay dear-



ly for the policy pursued by the *Vorwärts*, and come to rue the fact that the man who directs your foreign policy is colour-blind. I don't know what ideas Hirsch may have on the subject; at one time he, too, used sometimes to harbour curious views in regard to France. But no doubt he will be open to discussion.

10 November. So Lafargue has been set free. For the period of the session — and even Meyer Opper von Blowitz doubts whether he will have to go back to Ste-Pélagie once it's over. That represents another defeat for Constans. At first he and his Opportunists wanted to keep Lafargue in gaol — but the conviction that, if they did, the Radicals and Monarchists would form an *anti*-government majority and set him at liberty, compelled the gentlemen to give way. So the extreme Left has twice been compelled to disassociate itself from the government.—The politics of the French Chamber, by the by, are completely incomprehensible to anyone who fails to bear constantly in mind that the government and the Opportunists are exploiting their term of office for their personal enrichment in the most outrageous manner and that the vast majority of Radicals are not only implicated but have an *interest* in these goings-on, and are only waiting for the time when *they* are strong enough to seize power themselves and skim off the cream which is now the prerogative of the Opportunists.

Now for an example of the vicious stupidity of the French government: a few days before the second ballot at Lille a levy was made in *Fourmies* as a result of which 30 young men were drafted into the battalion of the 145th Regiment garrisoned at Maubeuge, the regiment *which*, on *May Day in Fourmies*, had opened fire on these same men<sup>243</sup> — and among those 30 was the *brother of Marie Blondeau*, the girl killed on May Day by this self-same battalion. You'd think you were in Prussia. The *Vorwärts* chooses to ignore all this!

There was much rejoicing here over your victories in Berlin<sup>349</sup> and Vollmar's most resounding and, for him, unpleasant defeat in Munich.<sup>344</sup> It will, I imagine, be some time before you have any more trouble with defections and/or expulsions, and in the meantime the party will grow to such an extent that *this particular* method of opposition might very well disappear altogether. But whether it will be pleasanter for you when the cabalist crew remains within the bounds of legality is another question.

The Zurich business<sup>350</sup> has shown you yet again how much of

a drag on you the foreign associations are. Could you not seize on the opportunity and sort things out once and for all with that gang? The *Vorwärts* dealt admirably with Hans Müller, but that doesn't prevent these foreign idiots from presuming to subject you to a vote of no confidence. In this country the same thing applies to the Society<sup>89</sup> and Gilles.<sup>a</sup> Unless you counter Gilles' statement by *publicly* declaring how the said Society stands vis-à-vis the party, no amount of protests in private letters will be of any avail. That you people are responsible for the stupidities of this gang is simply taken for granted over *here*—and with justice, in view of the Society's past history, so long as you people remain silent.

We were very pleased about Stolp-Lauenburg and your article on the subject in the *Vorwärts*, which fully accords with my views.<sup>351</sup> The bulk of rural day labourers east of the Elbe (as also in England) are in fact still too much in thrall for our propaganda to have any real effect until they have been through the dame school of Progress.<sup>296</sup> It is the task of the men of Progress to pave the way for us there, and this they will surely do. So if in Berlin their inertia is such that, as opposed to ourselves, the men of Progress must be accounted part of the reactionary mass, in the rural areas their position is decidedly different at any rate as things are now. Admittedly this won't go on for long.

Though the term of the Reichstag has been extended to 5 years,<sup>352</sup> it is likely to be interrupted. Provided the pressure is kept up, the majority will disintegrate and the government will *have* to resign because it will have no alternative. Particularly in case of war. This very winter you may witness some ludicrous goings-on.

I am glad to hear that so much sympathy is already felt for us in technologically educated circles.<sup>353</sup> But from what I experienced in 1848 and 1870/71 of the French Republicans, who were after all themselves bourgeois, I know only too well just how far one gets with such silent hangers-on and sympathisers—in time of danger—and how horribly one can put one's foot in it, not to wish for a couple of years' respite in which to take a closer look at these gentlemen's qualifications and character, particularly in relation to so important a business as the socialisation of large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture. Not only would this save friction; it might also, at a moment of crisis, avert an otherwise inevitable and decisive defeat. There will

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 269.

in any case be stupendous blunders, and plenty of them — that is inevitable. As you yourself have said, there are, among the postulants, plenty whose ambitions exceed their talents and knowledge, nor have I forgotten what Singer once said to me, *à propos* of Nonne, about students being driven into the arms of Social-Democracy by their fear of examinations. However, the very fact of *their coming* is a portent of what lies ahead.

In Russia the famine is assuming fearsome proportions. At Simbirsk, rebellious starvelings are given 500 lashes, i. e. flogged to death. The winter wheat in the south either could not be sown because of drought or else has been killed by an early frost. So there'll be more distress next year. It would seem to me that the Russians are bent on appeasement (Giers' trip to Milan), having also put a bit of a damper on the overhasty overtures of the French, and it was *precisely because of this* that the Tsar felt he could afford to travel across young William's domains without paying him a visit which is, after all, a flagrant case of *lèse-majesté*.<sup>354</sup> Only wait till the French Ministry begins to totter, and then you'll see how peace-loving the Tsar becomes — needless to say without desisting from his encroachments in the East and in Central Asia.

Yesterday Salisbury told the jackasses and speculators in the City that not one little cloud troubles the peaceful horizon. That would be a bad sign, for in 1870, a fortnight before the outbreak of war, the same thing was said by Granville, the Foreign Secretary.

The French September manoeuvres with 4 army corps were a fearful sham. Sir Charles Dilke, Parnell's colleague in adultery — albeit on a different basis — described them in enthusiastic Francophil terms, yet his article shows that there was much that was exceedingly rotten and much that had remained unchanged since 1870. Notably *the inefficiency of the officers*. Once the chaps begin to mobilise on a large scale, even more inadequacies will come to light.

Regards from Louise.

Your  
F. Engels

The Russian loan<sup>302</sup> weighs heavily on the Paris bankers. Has dropped 4% below the issue price, and crowds of people *in this country*

are busily disposing of other funds and shares so as to be able to make a fresh payment to the Russians on the 20th of this month in Paris.<sup>a</sup>

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ENGELS TO OSCAR HEIDFELD<sup>355</sup>

IN LIVERPOOL

[Draft]

[London,] 12 November 1891

Dear Sir,

...I still hold the documents mentioned in your letter<sup>356</sup> but they are of no value whatever now, the policy having lapsed long since through Mr Dronke's failing to pay the premiums as he ought to have done. The very first premium due in November 1877 I did pay expecting to be repaid by him, but when I applied for the money he never replied, nor have I been able ever since to make out his address, though my Manchester solicitors took every trouble to find him out. Under these circumstances, and in view of the almost certainty that the gradual payment with interest on the same and on the original loan would eat up more than any possible return for the policy, there was nothing left to me but to let the policy drop.

From what you tell me I must conclude that the same result would have been arrived at had he not pledged the policy.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The postscript was written by Engels in the margin. - <sup>b</sup> The beginning and end of the letter are missing.

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 November 1891

Dear Sorge,

A line or two in great haste before the last post goes. You will have heard by cablegram about Lafargue's victory.<sup>330</sup> It was brought about by M. Constans, who is as stupidly cunning and doltish as Bismarck, if not more so. 1. In a scandalously biased trial he blamed Lafargue for the government's fusillade at Fourmies<sup>243</sup> and got him sentenced to a year's imprisonment. 2. Having thus made Lafargue enormously popular in the Département du Nord, and after the latter had been put up for the first seat to become vacant at Lille, Constans kept him in prison, contrary to the *precedent established* 22 years earlier *by the Empire itself*, instead of releasing him for the period of the election; 3. when, in the first ballot, Lafargue polled 5,005 votes, i. e. only 780 fewer than were needed for an absolute majority, Constans still did not release him, despite being severely rapped over the knuckles by the Chamber. Since the Radical candidate,<sup>147</sup> Roche, who had polled 2,274 votes, then proceeded to step down in favour of Lafargue, Lafargue's victory was assured.

But the best thing about it is that that idiot Constans further succeeded in making Lafargue's election into an *événement*,<sup>a</sup> thereby seriously endangering his own position. For on 31 October, when a demand for Lafargue's release was made in the Chamber by Millerand, the proposal to go over to the order of the day was carried by 240 votes against the Radicals' 160. *But only because 170 Monarchists did not vote.* This was the *first time the Radicals had voted against the government since the Boulangade*, thus demonstrating that the government can be toppled at any moment by the combined votes of the Radicals and Mon-

<sup>a</sup> event

archists. And when, *after Lafargue's election*, a motion for his release was again tabled on 9 November, it was only the prospect of those combined votes that forced the government to abandon its intention of opposing the motion.

But now that the Cabinet is torn by dissension and Freycinet would rather obtain his majority *through* the Radicals, whereas Constans would rather do so through the Monarchists and *against the Radicals*, now that Constans has incurred the odium of the workers by his actions since May Day and his friend Rouvier is the most notorious and corrupt man in the Ministry, while Carnot, for his part, finds Constans intolerable because the latter is trying to succeed him, Carnot, as President of the Republic, all these parliamentary fluctuations assume significance. For the recurrence of ministerial instability in France is another guarantee of peace, since the Tsar would be chary of going to war arm-in-arm with a French government that is liable to topple any day.

Again, these symptoms are significant so far as France's domestic situation is concerned. A large number of Radicals — Millerand, Hovelacque, Moreau, etc. — realise that they simply can't do without the workers and that the government's duplicity in introducing into the Chamber bills ostensibly favourable to labour while ensuring that these are thrown out by the Senate, is something that just won't do. But if Lafargue should now get in and the small 7 or 8 strong socialist group — all of them small fry and incapable of any initiative — thus obtain a leader, things might soon begin to change. Only on condition, however, that Paul himself doesn't allow his eighth or twelfth part of negro blood to run away with him.

In Germany everything is going swimmingly. In Munich<sup>344</sup> itself Vollmar suffered an even more decisive defeat than at Erfurt.<sup>301</sup> The opposition<sup>13</sup> is virtually non-existent, and will soon be completely under the wing of the police. Any newspaper reports to the contrary, particularly such as are cabled to you, are false — I have seen some prime examples of this.

What will happen about the *Vorwärts* I cannot say. It has im-

proved, but Hirsch isn't going to join it. Not that I really regard this as a misfortune.

Regards to your wife.<sup>a</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>357</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 November 1891

Dear Sorge,

Have had your letter of 6 and postcard of 8 November.

When Adler and Bebel came over here from Brussels, the former promised me that he would send you the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* regularly, and the Viennese stand by their word. Now that the Austrian movement is growing in importance, I am having to keep copies of the paper myself.

*Der arme Teufel* caused much merriment over here. Adler took the first Adolfinade with him and I sent the second to Bebel.

It goes without saying that you should publish Marx's letters to yourself if you want to, without asking me or anyone else. As soon as your articles on the American labour movement are complete, you ought to bring them out — booklet form<sup>358</sup> — in Dietz's Internationale Bibliothek, say — so that they can be kept permanently together.

<sup>a</sup> Katharina Sorge

If you like, I could do what is necessary to set the ball rolling with Dietz. He will, of course, have to pay for the things again.

Bakunin's biography<sup>325</sup> received with thanks — haven't looked at it yet.

In one of my letters<sup>a</sup> I asked you *not* to send me any middle-class American reviews — I can get all the *good* ones over here (from Mudie's) if there's anything in them — and Tussy keeps her eyes open. On the other hand I was about to add a request when I was interrupted and thus sent off the letter *as it stood*; namely, that you send me from time to time individual numbers of some women's rights organ — any old one. Louise looks at such stuff from time to time in order to keep herself — and hence also me — more or less informed about that racket.

In Berlin and other cities more victories in the municipal elections — in Berlin the number of votes has *trebled*.<sup>359</sup>

The *Jungen*<sup>301</sup> have formed an association<sup>333</sup> and are bringing out a rag, *Der Sozialist* — impertinent and silly. Nothing but tittle-tattle and lies. True, they would be easier to combat if Liebknecht didn't make so many blunders and edit the *Vorwärts* so deplorably.

So Mrs Schlüter intends to come back after all! Just as we thought.

In this country, too, we have scored sundry little victories in the municipal elections; in West Ham (it's called WEST BECAUSE EAST OF THE EAST END), Will Thorne, secretary of the Gasworkers Union<sup>164</sup> and a really splendid chap, was elected, etc., etc.

Warm regards to your wife<sup>b</sup> and yourself from

Your  
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 264. - <sup>b</sup> Katharina Sorge



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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 25 November 1891

Dear Bebel,

I had been trying to find time, in the intervals of work on Volume III<sup>a</sup> now proceeding at a good, brisk pace, to answer your letter of the 15th, when some news arrived which compels me to write forthwith. At a meeting at Bordeaux on the 22nd<sup>360</sup> Lafargue is alleged to have said that in 1870 he had *servi le pays à sa manière en communiquant à M. Ranc des plans qui, si l'on en avait tenu compte, pouvaient complètement changer la face des choses. Ces plans lui étaient communiqués par des frères de l'Internationale en Allemagne, parmi lesquels se trouvaient plusieurs officiers de l'armée allemande.*<sup>b</sup> Now Lafargue cannot have said this, but I can't for the life of me think what he *did* say. However, the thing is so patently silly and the accusation so monstrous that you people probably ought to reply to it before you hear *what* Lafargue actually said. In order to ascertain the facts, I at once wrote yesterday, and again today, to Laura and to Lafargue himself,<sup>153</sup> to whom I also said that you would probably have to take immediate countermeasures and that if you showed a total lack of consideration for him, he would have to lump it. Not that he really deserves any; but all the same I would beg you not to act in anger which, as so often in my own case, always leads one to do something stupid; rather you should do all you can to ensure the continuance of concerted, or at any rate parallel, action with the French workers. You will, of course, repudiate any suggestion that the above preposterous assertion could apply to yourselves—that goes without saying. You did not yourselves, directly or in-

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<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> served his country in his own fashion by communicating to M. Ranc plans which, had they been taken into account, might have completely changed the face of things. These plans had been passed on to him by *his brothers of the International in Germany, amongst whom were several German army officers.*

directly, send the French government in Bordeaux either military information or plans from German officers, having, so far as I know, had no connections of any kind with officers at that time. So the more vigorously you repudiate this truly insane accusation the better, though I would suggest that it would nevertheless be advisable, and also less conducive to eventual complications, for you to repudiate *only the report* as such, without as yet holding Lafargue responsible for it. After all, this would not preclude a further statement as soon as the text is known; I shall let you have this the moment I get it.

What Lafargue can have said and what he had in mind, I simply cannot conceive. For neither did we, the General Council of the International in this country, have any connections of any kind with German officers, and thus were never in a position to send him 'plans' of that description from gentlemen of that ilk. And even if he had been able to establish connections elsewhere in France upon his revisiting that country—I believe in 1868, after his marriage (or in 1869—I couldn't exactly say at the moment)—he concealed the fact from us so carefully that nothing whatever transpired before his return to France in 1880, nor, for that matter, has it done so since.

At all events, he has committed a quite unpardonable blunder—whether he told lies or tales out of school is something he himself must decide—and placed you people in a position such as might very well rob you of all desire for international intercourse. While I foresee the nature of the deluge that is about to engulf you, I cannot yet see how it is to be stemmed. I can only suppose that it's the eighth or sixteenth part of negro blood which flows in Lafargue's veins and occasionally gains the upper hand that has led him into this quite inexplicable folly—it is, to put it mildly, a quite inconceivable piece of stupidity.

In view of the large number of German officers who settled abroad in 1848/49 and after, there is always the possibility that something of the kind came into his hands, but to make the *frères d'Allemagne*<sup>a</sup> responsible really does take the cake.

Should you so wish, I shall at all times be prepared to testify that on no occasion during the war was the General Council of the International in a position to pass on to France information of any kind deriving from you, other than what was to be found in your own newspapers; indeed I should be prepared to make any statement that

<sup>a</sup> brothers in Germany

might help to clear you of the slightest suspicion of conniving at such foolishness. For if anything of the kind *did* happen, you people were as innocent of it as the unborn babe.

Nevertheless, these confounded vexations gave way to joy last night upon our learning from *The Evening Standard* of the victory in the Halle elections.<sup>361</sup> This does after all go to show that, despite all the blunders made by individuals, we as a mass continue to advance.

Apropos, what I wrote on the postcard<sup>153</sup>—I thought somebody over there would be able to read it—was Russian: *Da zdárvstvuyet Berlin!* Long live Berlin!

But now, luckily, it's time for the post—registered, which is safer, so I shall deal with the contents of your letter in my next. The Russians would appear to be drawing in their horns; the bankers in Paris have had difficulty moving the loan and the Russian government has had to take back a third or more as unplaceable<sup>302</sup>—on this occasion the unpatriotic character of capital again appears in a favourable light.

Writing to your wife<sup>a</sup> is another pleasure I shall have to keep in store. She will have had a letter from Louise.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Julie Bebel

## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 November 1891

My dear Laura,

You need not be afraid that it ever entered my mind to think Paul capable of a wilfully mean and dishonorable action. That is entirely out of the question. But the man may be the very soul of honour, and yet commit an *étourderie*,<sup>a</sup> the consequences of which may be incalculable. And my letters contain no charge against Paul except the expression of the possibility that he *may* have been led into such an *étourderie*, and, besides, the attempt, supposing that to be the case, to help him out of it as much as lay in my power. To do which, it was absolutely necessary to make clear to him the full *portée*<sup>b</sup> of the words put into his mouth.

Now you yourself admit that it is just possible he *may* have been led to commit such a blunder.

To recall the facts. On Monday evening<sup>c</sup> *The Evening Standard* contains the *Reuter*<sup>360</sup> which showed to me the necessity of immediate action, 1) to obtain authentic information, 2) to prevent further blunders, in case one had been committed. Hence my letter to you<sup>153</sup> which I hope you will, on re-reading, find less unjustifiable than when you had read it first. Well, the same night, or next morning at latest, I receive from you 1) the enclosed cutting from a paper not named — from which report *Reuter* had evidently abridged, 2) an *Intransigeant* 25. Novembre where under the heading: 'Le cit. Lafargue à Bordeaux', it is equally stated that on 22 November Paul, *before a meeting of cinq ou six cents personnes ... dans la salle des Chats*, said *qu'à différentes reprises il avait (en 1870) remis à M. Ranc, alors directeur de la Sûreté générale, divers plans et documents importants sur la situation des armées allemandes qui lui avaient été communiqués par des socialistes allemands et qui auraient pu changer la face des choses*<sup>d</sup> etc. etc.

<sup>a</sup> error - <sup>b</sup> meaning - <sup>c</sup> 23 November - <sup>d</sup> ...five or six hundred people in the Chats hall, said that he (in 1870) provided M. Ranc, the then chief of the Secret Police, with different plans and important documents pertaining to *dislocations of the German armies*

From that I was forced to conclude that *you knew* the contents of these two reports, and that the very fact of your sending them to me *without a word of comment*, implied a tacit acknowledgement that they were in substance correct. On that conclusion, and moreover remembering certain expressions in the Lille speech, equally sent by you, and which expressions I considered *at least* uncalled for, I could not act otherwise than write to Paul my letter of Wednesday 25th.<sup>153</sup>

Now of course I see that you had never read a report of Paul's speech, and that my letters to you and to Paul gave you the first intimation of what had been put into his mouth. But now you will also see that this is a matter which must be attended to; that the statement about the action of some German socialists during the war of 1870/71—whether substantially true or substantially false—ought never under any circumstances to have been made, *if it was made*, and ought to be clearly and unmistakably disavowed, *at once*, if it was not made; that so long as this report is not completely and absolutely disposed of, it will be absurd to expect our German friends to place any confidence in our French friends; and that the government and bourgeois in Germany will at once exploit this report against our German party in a way which is absolutely incalculable; if it leads to nothing more than a renewal of the old Socialist law,<sup>11</sup> *it will be lucky!*

So if Paul has been slandered, if he is prepared to declare publicly that he never said a word implying in any way the assertion that German socialists, *either in or out of Germany*, provided him with military statements, plans, news or anything of the kind for the use of the French government during the war 1870/71—then let him send me that declaration *at once* and in a registered letter. But it must be plain, without reservation or qualification of any kind, or it will be useless and *may* turn out worse than useless.

If that plain declaration cannot, for one reason or another, be made, then I see no other way out of the mess but that you and Paul come over here at once and discuss by word of mouth such matters as will evidently be fitted for that mode of settlement alone. Your presence will be almost as necessary as his, to moderate our hot heads and to give us the views of your cool head on the situation in France; and also to help us in finding 'the way out' by your feminine sagacity and *souplesse*,<sup>a</sup> in cases where we male clumsy stick-in-the-muds are left in

which he received *from the German socialists* and which could have changed the course of events.

<sup>a</sup> pliancy

the dark. You see I am anxious as anxious can be, to keep Paul out of the difficulty if he has got himself into one; but the very first thing is to prevent the commission of fresh mistakes in case *one* has already been committed. Tomorrow his election <sup>330</sup> will be settled, on Monday at latest I shall have the first reports from Germany on the effect of this thunderbolt from a clear sky, so if you come on Sunday, to be here in the evening, we might succeed in dispersing at least the worst of the clouds on Monday. A telegram 'Coming to-night' would be agreeable, as we receive no letters on Sunday. And under all and any circumstances I do hope Paul will not take any public steps in a matter deeply concerning other people without first consulting these people, the slightest blunder might be fatal to himself, and he will see, I hope too, that this is no joking matter and must be got out of the world as soon as possible.

Ever yours affectionately,

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 1 December 1891

Dear August,

At last, after three exuberant days, my birthday mood may perhaps have subsided sufficiently for me to write a moderately rational letter again. First, then, the Lafargue affair has been settled. I have today heard from Laura—Lafargue has gone to Lyons,<sup>362</sup> having only been in Paris for a couple of hours on Saturday to attend to his scrutiny—who says:

'Paul authorises me to say, 1. that he confirms his letter to you' (see below); 2. 'that the meeting at which he spoke in Bordeaux was *private*',—a closed meeting for members of the Workers' Party—'that no reporters had been admitted and no official re-

cord exists; 3. *the incriminating statements are the invention of a reporter brochant sur le texte d'un article publié par Rancé* (embroidering on the text of an article by Rancé); 4. 'the words used by Paul were as follows: "If I insisted upon the war being continued, this was because the information at my disposal led me to believe that Germany was not in a position to hold out for very much longer."'

She adds:

*'There was no question of plans obtained by Germans or through their agency; in general Paul declares that, throughout the war, he received no communications of any kind from Germany. And Paul also says that he subscribes to your demands, and not only subscribes to them but challenges any refutation of his above statement.'*

(Le Perreux, 28 November; only reached me today.)<sup>363</sup>

In his letter to me (Lyons, 26 November), Lafargue says that the purport of his speech had been such and such, that in 1870 the International in all countries had considered it its duty to prevent the crushing of the French Republic by Bismarck's troops, and that while the other Internationals had fought under Garibaldi, the Germans had protested against the continuation of the war and the rape of Alsace-Lorraine.

My demands to which he subscribes were for the repudiation, without reservation or qualification, of the statements ascribed to him and of their purport. These you now have and may *use as you think fit*.

So that's *one* weight off my mind, I'm glad to say. Thanks to the colossal stupidity of our enemies, they have lost this opportunity for a scandal, and now it is gone for ever. Should anything be brought up now, you will be forearmed and your assailants will look foolish in the extreme. But while the uncertainty lasted we over here were in a muck sweat, I can tell you, for fear that some reptile<sup>364</sup> or other should get his fangs into the thing before we knew what answer to make and *how* to give him the lie. But what idiots they are! As Tussy said only last Sunday, if *we* had got hold of some information like that about our enemies, what wouldn't we have done with it!

I missed the incident at Potsdam involving William II; what was it<sup>365</sup>? The affair would certainly seem to be assuming a growing pace, and every such straw in the wind is of interest. According to the papers over here, your Emperor intends to relinquish all the honorary colonelships he holds in the Russian army because of the impolite way in which Alexander travelled across his domains.<sup>364</sup> I should say that the Russians are trying to inveigle him into untimely escapades so that *he* may appear to be a disturber of the peace whilst *they*, who are pretty well unassailable, can afford to play for the highest stakes and allow him to purchase peace at the price of further conces-

sions. That they really intend war seems to me impossible. The failure of the French loan <sup>302</sup>—instead of £20 million a bare £12; famine of unprecedented dimensions and intensity; the winter crops virtually destroyed by lack of seed and unfavourable weather; the wholesale death or slaughter of cattle and horses in the most fertile regions for lack of fodder, so that agriculture will be paralysed for years to come—all these are things which, in a semi-barbarous country like Russia, will deprive the army of any prospect of successful action. But despite all this, the Russians are not deterred from behaving politically as though they were deliberately heading for war; this they can permit themselves because of their strategic position and their expertise in betraying their friends. Of course, their little plan may always go awry—hence mobilisation and troop concentrations on a massive scale which, if things go off peacefully, can also serve as an instrument of diplomatic pressure.

Wonderful. France and Russia are confronting the Triple Alliance, <sup>303</sup> based 'on the existing status quo', with a Dual Alliance <sup>288</sup> which has 'a far loftier principle, namely the maintenance of the treaties!' Or so the papers say. Thus France, wishing to *break* the Treaty of Frankfurt, declares itself desirous of supporting it with the help of Russia, while Russia, which customarily breaks all treaties, enters into alliance with this self-same France because of the latter's steadfast demeanour. How stupid men such as *these* must consider the public to whom they address themselves.

Your budget speech was brilliant <sup>366</sup>—to judge by the *Vorwärts*. Do let us have the stenographic report. The allusion to *our* soldiers could not have been more apt. Why keep one's mouth shut about things our enemies know as well as we do?

The fact that Carl Hirsch isn't coming is not, to my mind, a disaster.<sup>a</sup> I didn't like to say anything once matters had been settled, but over here I at once remarked that it wouldn't work out. Hirsch is not only pig-headed but also embittered without reason, believing as he does that he was unfairly excluded from the editorship of the *Sozialdemokrat*; in fact, I believe that his resentment was directed more against Marx and myself than against you people.<sup>367</sup> For, as you will remember, what he wanted was that *we* should *press* him to accept, which had never ever crossed our minds. At all events he thereupon ceased to play any active role and has since accumulated such a mass

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 299.



of grievances and crotchets that, if for no other reason, it might, I think, be better were he to void his costiveness elsewhere, after which he will gradually return to a more normal frame of mind and thus again become capable of doing something worthwhile. But I feel sure that Liebknecht and he would not have endured six weeks of each other's company without falling out. Schoenlank, too, has certain bees in his bonnet; so far as I can judge he hasn't nearly enough guts to put up the necessary resistance and will soon chalk up so many sins of omission as to make his chief editor his chief *in real earnest*. Well, we shall have to wait and see how things go — they can't get very much worse.

You are always comparing the situation in Germany with that of 1787-88; it is far more like that of 1847 in France and the scandals which brought about the downfall of Louis Philippe: Teste, the venal minister, the duc de Praslin, who murdered his wife, an equerry to the king who was caught cheating at cards in the Tuileries, or Fould who paid bribes in high places to get into the Légion D'Honneur, etc., etc. What's odd is the way people in Germany carry on about a bank crisis; for the few tin-pot firms that have gone to the wall are quite outside international trade as such — money brokers to civil servants, officers, landed aristocracy, petty bourgeoisie — to everyone in fact except wholesalers. If Anhalt & Wagener, Diskonto-Kommandit, Deutsche Bank, etc., were to put up their shutters, then it might be permissible to speak of a bank crisis. But even so, things aren't so dusty and, if the cloak falls, the Duke will soon come tumbling after.<sup>a</sup>

What you tell me about the kind of 'comrades' who are now presenting themselves is most interesting and also significant so far as the situation is concerned.<sup>368</sup> They have noticed that we are, to use a reptilian expression, becoming a 'factor' in the state and, since the Jews have more intelligence than the other bourgeois, they are the first to notice this — especially under the impulsion of anti-Semitism — and the first to come over to us. We can only be glad of the fact but, precisely *because* these chaps are brighter and have, as it were, been thrown back on and schooled in careerism by centuries of oppression, one has to be rather more on the qui vive.

Please will you convey my best thanks to the parliamentary group for their kind telegram of the 28th.<sup>369</sup> As soon as I get the photo-

<sup>a</sup> Paraphrased from Schiller's *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua*.

graphs I shall endeavour to pay back in kind all the testimonies of friendship I have received.

Ede tells me you had suggested that he should spend more time at the Society.<sup>89</sup> I am firmly convinced that every minute he spends there would not only be completely wasted but would also discredit the party. He would have to consort with Gilles there and that is completely out of the question. But what he ought to do is frequent the English, get to know the chaps personally and enlighten them about things in Germany by conversing with them; as it is, he sits at home and forms an opinion of local affairs from the accounts he reads in *one* or at most *two* newspapers, there being no coffee houses or reading-rooms in his district.

Finally, let me assure you — as expressly requested — that Louise has executed her commission with a dignity worthy of a president of the Reichstag — at the very least; she had no opportunity for making bad jokes since I invariably forestalled her with some of my own. In other respects we were, however, exceedingly merry during the time in question, not least on account of your ostensible admirer<sup>370</sup> who, on the last page, revealed himself to be a 'Junger'<sup>301</sup> desirous of placing you on the shelf. The fellow is really priceless, with his ultra-High German.

Warm regards to Mrs Julie<sup>a</sup> and yourself from Louise and

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Julie Bebel

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 December 1891

My dear Laura,

Your letter of the 28th, postmark Le Perreux 30th, arrived today and took an awful weight off my mind.<sup>a</sup> I have at once sent a translation to Bebel and authorized him to use it whenever necessary.<sup>b</sup>

Fortunately the stupidity of our enemies in Germany has been so colossal that they have, so far at least, seemingly overlooked the whole affair. What I was most afraid of, was that they should raise a storm in Germany before we had been able to ascertain the facts and to be armed with the materials for a crushing reply. Hesitation on the part of the German leaders, or random assertions that might be contradicted, would have been equally dangerous. Now the first danger is over, and although it is quite on the cards that the German Embassy in Paris may have sent reports which in consequence of the usual bureaucratic delays get into the press a week too late, we have a strong position and can meet the charge if it should come.

Still for that purpose it would be important to have Ranc's article. If it was possible to *broder*<sup>c</sup> such stuff upon it, it must form a peculiar canvas, and not only the false report of Paul's speech,<sup>360</sup> but also Ranc's words may be quoted; and we ought to know what they are. Paul merely wrote, Ranc had written in his favour with regard to Bordeaux 1870. Could you procure us the number, and if not, at least say what paper it appeared in, that we may try to hunt it up here?

Now as to other matters.

1) Some time ago I sent you 10s. for account of Sorge for the *Socialiste*; please say whether you have received it, you know how particular old Sorge is.

2) Have you received the copy of 4th edition *Ursprung der Familie*<sup>d</sup> I sent rather more than 3 weeks ago? I sent a lot of copies to the Continent and not one has been acknowledged. As the English Post sim-

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 306-07. - <sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307. - <sup>c</sup> embroider - <sup>d</sup> *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

ply confiscates book-post matter for abroad if a half-penny is short on the postage, I begin to feel rather anxious.

3) Tussy is bothered to death by Greenwood, the secretary of the glass-workers who has sent a lot of money for the French glass-workers on strike and cannot get a single acknowledgment of receipt. He says in a letter to Tussy November 28th that he has sent to Paul same day £49 for that purpose — will you please do your best to get Paul to acknowledge all sums sent through him and also to get Pierre Morrier of Lyons who has had several sums, to do the same? The Castleford Glass Bottle Makers have behaved very well to their French comrades, and the least these latter can do is to acknowledge receipt, so as to enable the senders to *account* for the money to their constituents. Unless this simple act is complied with, it will be doubtful whether the English Trades Unions will not get tired of supporting Continental strikes, and certainly nobody could blame them.

Bebel's speech on the budget was very good.<sup>366</sup> As soon as I get a pretty full report I shall send it you.

Last night a letter from Sam Moore; had arrived at Lagos in the Niger delta, and would be back in the arms of his black wife in about a week or ten days.

Yours ever,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT<sup>371</sup>

IN BERLIN

London, 2 December 1891

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind good wishes on yet another birthday<sup>372</sup>; they have, for the present at any rate, been

pretty well granted, as I'm in the happy state of being physically fit and mentally alert and I trust this will so continue. We spent an exceedingly cheerful day and good wishes poured in from all sides; even Mr and Mrs Motteler paid us a visit while we were sitting down to our morning glass of beer. In the evening, however, we went to Tussy's where the Bernsteins were also present, and by doing so we frustrated a serenade which had been planned for me by the choir of the Workers' Society.<sup>89</sup> As I did not hear about this until Saturday morning, I was unfortunately not able to warn the gentlemen sooner.<sup>373</sup> All in all I was not sorry that it turned out as it did; I have a deep-rooted aversion to such demonstrations which are impossible to get out of if one's occupation is that of agitator, popular speaker or member of parliament. However I have been lucky enough to avoid them up till now and intend to do so in future.

Otherwise there's nothing particularly new to report; Tussy enjoys the not wholly unjustified reputation of being in charge of the Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers<sup>164</sup> and the week before last she was away for eight days on a propaganda trip to Northern Ireland. But they are in fact quite splendid chaps, these gasworkers, and their union is far more progressive than any of the others. Moreover they're so conversant with agitation 'in conformity with the law' that eighteen months ago in Leeds they fought and won two regular battles, first with the police and then with the police and dragoons, and forced the city council, the owners of the gasworks, to capitulate.<sup>374</sup> As an old soldier I'll say this for Will Thorne, General Secretary of the union, who was in command during these battles — I could not find the slightest fault either in his strategic or in his tactical dispositions.

For the rest, we are leading a somewhat quieter life than at the time when the *Sozialdemokrat* was functioning. Apart from the Avelings and Bernsteins, we see only few people; the Mottelers seldom go out, the Mendelsons are busy with their Polish club on Sunday evenings and, since March of this year, Pumps and her family have been living in Ryde on the Isle of Wight where her husband runs an agency business. I go down to see them occasionally and in July spent a month there, accompanied by Schorlemmer<sup>264</sup> just at the time when the French fleet was in. So far as one can judge from their external appearance, their ironclads, which are of the latest design, are far superior to those of the British. Pumps leads a delightful existence in a little house some 20 minutes' walk from the town and right out in

the country, which is obviously an enormous advantage so far as the children are concerned. She is very fond of the life down there and if, as we hope, her husband does well, they will all benefit from having exchanged the air of London for that of the sea. The Isle of Wight is very pretty, indeed beautiful in parts; you can sail right round it in a steamer in seven hours, a very nice trip during which the tyro runs the risk of being seasick for about 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> hours.

Will you please give Liebknecht the enclosed notes and convey to him, as well as to your son,<sup>a</sup> my sincere thanks for their good wishes.

I trust that Berlin will continue to please you and that your health will permit you to enjoy the amenities of the 'imperial capital' in all its aspects. Meanwhile perhaps you will remember kindly

Yours sincerely,  
F. Engels

Louise also sends her best wishes to you, Liebknecht and family.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>177</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 3 December 1891

Dear Kautsky,

Your letter of 30 October has long been awaiting an answer; the blame for this must be placed upon Volume III<sup>b</sup> which I am once again sweating away at. I have just got to the most difficult part, i. e. the last chapters (six to eight or thereabouts) on money capital, banks, credit, etc., and, once having started, I shall have to keep at it

<sup>a</sup> Theodor Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> of *Capital*

without a break and work through the relevant literature again, in short make myself completely *au fait*, if only so that I may—as is probable—eventually leave most of it as it stands, yet at the same time feel quite sure that I have committed no blunders either in the positive or the negative sense.

Very many thanks for the reports on Erfurt<sup>301</sup>; they were of value to me in many respects, the discussions of the programme committee being of particular interest. You describe the Executive's draft as *his*, Liebknecht's. Bebel sent me all the material relative to the genesis of this draft<sup>269</sup> from which it is evident that at each stage a fair portion of Liebknecht's initial work had been dropped and replaced with Bebel's propositions until in the end little or nothing remained. What did remain, however, was a lack of coherence, of rigour in the co-ordination of individual propositions, both being attributable to the consideration paid to Liebknecht's work. That was what gave your draft<sup>299</sup> the advantage, as everyone was bound to acknowledge at first glance, and it was that, too, along with Bebel's public admission of the fact, which immediately convinced the others.

The recent investigations, which have rendered obsolete Marx's chapter on the historical trend of capitalist accumulation,<sup>375</sup> are in any case the work of Geiser who is of course regarded in Breslau<sup>a</sup> as a genuine scientific authority. However it is also possible that in his embarrassment Liebknecht said (for he was obviously unaware that these propositions had been taken from *Capital*) the first 'bit of nonsense', as he would put it, that came into his head.

At any rate the theoretical part of the programme is now perfectly presentable; the main thing is that it should contain nothing that is theoretically controversial and in the main this aim has been achieved. The practical demands contain all kinds of snags; many of them seem philistine—if applied to conditions today—but now that we occupy a position of power we can reply quite rightly that they will certainly not be implemented until we come to the helm and that they will then assume quite a different character. As, for instance, free legal advice. A six hours' working day up till the age of 18 obviously ought to have gone in—as also the banning of night work for women and of any sort of work at the very least one month before and 6 weeks after a confinement.

I'm sorry for Liebknecht. For he had to sing the praises of the new

<sup>a</sup> Wrocław

programme although it was perfectly plain to everyone that he had had no part in it whatever. But he took on the job of his own accord, so what can one do about it?

What you say about Tölcke's speech is new to me and most interesting.<sup>376</sup> Ede's work<sup>178</sup> goaded the Old Lassalleans into a state of great activity at a time when Marx's letter<sup>a</sup> had already roused them from the complacency induced by the obligatory deification of Lassalle. Even Jacob Audorf, the discoverer of the path of boldness along which we were led by Baron Izzy<sup>377</sup> (as Marx used to call the chap), has been letting forth indignant battle cries amidst the Sunday chit-chat of the *Hamburger Echo*.<sup>b</sup> But they no longer count for anything. Incidentally, Ede got much more upset than he needed to over Bebel's, etc., criticism. Bebel was most reasonable, merely demanding that, so far as the *form* was concerned, his procedure should be such as not, at the very outset, to frighten off those readers with a tradition of Lassalle worship or to give the Old Lassalleans any justified grounds for complaint. To this was added the unfortunate circumstance that Ede had inserted a note that was admittedly quite uncalled for (because he turned it into a piece of tittle-tattle by using 'probably') about syphilis<sup>309</sup> and the worthy censors in Berlin *did not spot this note* until it was too late. The fact that *they* had made a hash of the business caused them, of course, to fly momentarily into a mighty Achillean rage whereupon Ede, of course, had to atone, not only for *his own* lapse but even more for *theirs*, by receiving a number of indignant letters. Naturally I have backed him up as best as I could throughout the whole affair.

The opposition press *lives* on the antithesis of the *national* Lassalle and the *unpatriotic* Social-Democrats. So they'll take care not to lay their hands on a book in which the legend of the nationalist Lassalle is so thoroughly demolished.

Ede's work is really very good and gave me great pleasure; it will elicit the major response it deserves in Germany—in the course of time—and, on completion of this edition, ought to be printed separately and/or expanded by Ede and divested of its special purpose. By then things will have progressed far enough for this to be perfectly feasible. In this country, too, it will have a good effect, for over here your socialistically inclined bourgeois is also seeking to oppose Marx by making a legend out of Lassalle.

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. - <sup>b</sup> [J. Audorf,] 'Zum Parteikongresse', *Hamburger Echo*, No. 245, 1st Supplement, 18 October 1891.



I shall take another look at the letter Labriola wrote to Tussy. My impression is that it would be better *not* to print it. Labriola is very dissatisfied with the way things are going in Italy and I'm not sure that it may not have something to do with his disappointment over the fact that *his* joining the movement did not immediately revive and revolutionise it. So far as I recall, the letter was of the kind that might have elicited dozens of replies. Some strange things are certainly going on there.

You will regret Lafargue's translation from Pélagie<sup>a</sup> to the Chamber. It will deprive you of many a nice article.

*Addio.*

Your  
F. E.

Plekhanov's articles are excellent.<sup>b</sup>

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## ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>141</sup>

AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 December 1891

My dear Lafargue,

After your formal repudiation of all those passages in the Bordeaux report<sup>c</sup> of which I had a right to complain, it only remains for me to take back all the wounding words I may have used about you and outright to ask your forgiveness.

As my only excuse I shall describe for your benefit the situation in

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 297-98. - <sup>b</sup> G. W. Plechanow, 'Zu Hegel's sechzigstem Todestag', *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 1. Bd., Nr. 7-9. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 306-07.

which I found myself. One evening<sup>a</sup> *The Evening Standard* arrived with the Reuters report you know about<sup>360</sup>; the next evening a bundle of newspapers from Laura, amongst them the *Intransigent* with the report in question; then a cutting from yet another paper with the same report. All three versions were in agreement on the main point. So what conclusion could I have come to other than that Laura had read those reports and that, if she had sent them to me without a word of comment, they were to all intents and purposes accurate. Hence Paul must have said something of the sort.

Again, it contained things — whether true or not — which could only have been said by you or by Ranc. If said by Ranc, you would certainly not have hesitated to advise me of a fact that could have the gravest repercussions on the situation of the German socialists — well then?

Just so. For our friends in Germany it would mean at best the re-introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law,<sup>11</sup> frenziedly acclaimed by all the Chauvins in our ruling classes, the suppression of our newspapers and meetings, of all our literature and, in the event of war, the arrest of all the *LEADERS* at the very time when we would have most need of them to take advantage of the impending revolutionary moment. It would also mean the implantation of an element of discord, of mistrust, between French and German working men at the very moment when unity was more necessary than ever.

Thanks to the stupidity of our enemies, these accounts have not yet been cited in the German press. But the Embassy will undoubtedly have made use of them in its reports. And although your disavowal, which was at once passed on to Berlin,<sup>b</sup> has lifted a terrible weight from my mind, there is always the danger that the German government will keep this accusation up its sleeve so as to imprison our best men at the outbreak of war and annihilate them with an accusation that would be doubly appalling at a time when chauvinist passions were running riot. So your disavowal would go only half way towards protecting them and this is why.

You say that the reporter embroidered the article by Ranc. But that embroidery, such as it is, would not have been possible had not Ranc at least *sketched out* the design on the canvas. I haven't set eyes on that canvas. So please be so kind as to send me either the article itself or at least a copy of the relevant passages; or else let me know the

<sup>a</sup> 23 November - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 301 - 02.

name of the paper and the date of the number in which it appeared so that I can seek it out here. Then we shall at least know what the attacks will be which we shall have to parry.

Yours ever,

F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 December 1891

My dear Laura,

Today I have just the time to inform you that the box with the usual pudding, cake, etc., has been safely forwarded by the usual instrumentality yesterday and hope will reach you safely and in time.

20th December. You see I had *not* 'just the time' yesterday, for the dinner-bell called me off, it being 5.20 and only ten minutes to spare before closing of mail—so I thought it better to wait till today.

Schorlemmer cannot come this Christmas, and Pumps and family, whom I saw at Ryde for a few days last week, are in the same position. So then it struck me; would it not be a bit of a change and rest for you and Paul to come over and take possession of the top front bedroom for a week or so? Surely you must want some interruption of that restless sort of life which Paul's election<sup>330</sup> and its consequences have thrown you both into. And the bright skies of Paris must make you long for a good old-fashioned London fog such as is now overhanging me. So I do hope you will make up your minds, and if Paul should have engagements up to Christmas, you might come first, and he follow next week to spend at least the passage from '91 to '92 with us.

In the meantime I must not forget 'the compliments of the season' and the old-established form in which I ought to present them to you, namely the enclosed bit of pink paper which I hope you will do me the kindness to accept.

Schorlemmer is still suffering from deafness but hopes to be cured, if he can keep free from colds this winter. So I have not the heart to press him, especially as his ear-doctor says he always comes back from London worse than he went.

I am glad Paul has deposed a motion on the separation of Church and State. In his first speech, it appears to me as if the violent interruptions from all sides had prevented him from developing clearly and unmistakably what he intended to say, and that the Dumays and Radicals<sup>147</sup> and even Floquet tried to use that as a peg to hang on their cheap criticisms. This motion will re-establish clearness.<sup>378</sup>

My dear Laura, the fog is getting so perfect that I must give up writing in order not to ruin my eyes — writing by gas-light being still strictly prohibited. So in the hope of soon learning that you are getting ready for the road, and with kind regards from Louise, I remain

ever yours,

F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN LONDON

[London,] Wednesday, 23 December 1891

Dear Ede,

Idiot that I am, it never crossed my mind yesterday that you might need some money after your mishap on Sunday<sup>a</sup> and, even though I believe there is some justification for my assuming that you would not have felt shy about mentioning the matter despite such gross remissness on my part, I shall, now that I see the whole thing clearly, hasten to make amends by offering you the unrestricted use of my balance at the bank and my CASH ON HAND. I still have about £ 5 here at home and tomorrow morning I shall draw some more — FOG PERMITTING.

Warm regards to you all.

Your  
F. E.

Käte<sup>b</sup> could spend Friday night with us if you think that would be preferable. Won't be any bother.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 324. - <sup>b</sup> Käte Schattner

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY<sup>177</sup>

IN STUTTGART

London, 27 December 1891

Dear Baron,

A line or two in haste. I have fallen very far behind with everything as a result of a five-day fog which (abetted by tipping) has again affected my eyes somewhat and, on top of that, the following extras:

1. Proof correction of the English *CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS*,<sup>a</sup> of which so far 6 sheets remain unread.

2. Revision of Aveling's translation of *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*,<sup>b</sup> which has got to be done *properly*; since I live in the place of publication I shall ineluctably be held responsible for every slip.

3. The colossal amount of correspondence, swollen by the festive season.

Not to mention a working day greatly curtailed by having to spare my eyes.

You will understand that, since work on Volume III<sup>c</sup> must be resumed as soon as possible and thereafter continued *without interruption* until finished, I shall only be able to run through your ms.<sup>379</sup> very cursorily, but what can be done I shall gladly do.

The new things about exchange value and value in the third edition of *Capital*<sup>d</sup> derive from handwritten addenda of Marx's, of which unfortunately there are very few, while such as there are were elaborated in the very difficult circumstances of illness. Marx spent a long time searching for the *mot juste* and made a lot of corrections.

So far as Fireman<sup>380</sup> is concerned, it is certainly quite plausible that, if  $\frac{v}{C} = \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{3} = \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{5}$ , etc., occurs in practice, then *one* fraction or another should correspond to the proportion whereby profit and surplus value coincide (crudely speaking, for it is also subject to all manner of reservations). However, the chap is nevertheless to be commend-

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - <sup>c</sup> of *Capital*. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. Erster Band. Buch I: Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Dritte vermehrte Auflage, Hamburg, 1883.

ed for having lighted on this idea. If he is agreeable, please send me his paper. It will, indeed, have to remain closeted in my desk until such time as I write the preface to Volume III,<sup>a</sup> at which point, *provided it is really worth the trouble*, I shall be able to accord it a place alongside other attempted solutions. I can do no more and with that Schmidt, too, was content.<sup>381</sup> If he doesn't like it, let him publish his paper and see what happens.

That poor R. Meyer should be reduced to taking refuge with us is almost tragic. POOR DEVIL, in addition to bad luck and diabetes, he has found out just what his conservative friends, wherever they may be, are like.<sup>382</sup>

Having boxed Gilles' ears, Aveling is in even less of a position to reply to his flysheets. Gilles doesn't of course publish that kind of filth in the press over here, and no one could expect Aveling to sue him for LIBEL and spend several hundred pounds on bringing a law-suit only to see Gilles vanish into thin air on the eve of the proceedings. Labouchère, when accused of LIBEL, was asked by defending counsel: 'HAVE YOU EVER BROUGHT AN ACTION FOR LIBEL?' 'No,' came the reply, 'I NEVER WAS SUCH A FOOL.' Whereat judge and lawyers alike pronounced him one of the leading authorities ON THE LAW OF LIBEL.

The Berliners, or Liebknecht at any rate, have made fools of us over the composers' strike.<sup>383</sup> Mr Döblin, who came over here on behalf of the composers, bearing letters of introduction from Liebknecht to everyone you can think of *save Ede and myself*, has not only ignored the German party over here, but has treated it *de haut en bas*<sup>b</sup> and denigrated it, at any rate in a *negative* sense. At Burns' he said the party had done *nothing whatever* for them, whereas it had in fact donated 20,000 marks. And when Sanders who was there asked him whether the entire party press hadn't backed them up, he was forced to admit that it had. And then Liebknecht writes<sup>153</sup> asking me to do everything I can for the composers, but omitting to tell me what he and the party have done and not so much as mentioning the fact that one of the chaps' representatives is over here. In the circumstances I could not, of course, do anything — after all, it was only through the *English* press that I learnt what was afoot and I wasn't a fool as to impose myself on a man who had carefully shunned the party and dealt with the TRADES COUNCIL<sup>196</sup> direct. This, as you can imagine, was grist to the Hyndman-Gilles mill — 'Now you can see,' they say,

<sup>a</sup> In the ms: of the third edition - <sup>b</sup> with contempt

'that there's nothing whatever behind the much vaunted German party. Even the workers don't want to have anything to do with it and say it's no good.' And only this week we see the fruits thereof in the *Justice* in which Gilles publicly sides with the Independents.<sup>a 333</sup> A piece of good luck, as it happens, for it means that Hyndman will compromise himself and put his foot in it just as he did of yore with Brousse & Co.

The German bosses will be fools if they don't now introduce linotype machines which are increasingly being used by all the big newspapers both here and in New York.

Burns was horrified to learn that the compositors are given 21 M a week strike pay whereas here it's never more than 10 or 15sh. at the outside.

When the compositors sent someone over here, our Berlin chaps should either have *insisted* that he act in concert with Ede, the German party's representative here, or else have refused to co-operate. The party is no longer under any compulsion to throw itself at the heads of these aristocrats of the working class.

Last Sunday<sup>b</sup> Ede was burgled and lost £10, as you may already have heard. His nerves are in a very bad state and he needs rest and fresh air.

Thanks for your good wishes. Our entire household, including Tidlums, wish you and your wife<sup>c</sup> and your son<sup>d</sup> the best of health and happiness in the coming year. Tidlums has grown into a large, majestic tomcat, the sultan of all the female cats in Regent's Park Road and the terror of all competitors and rivals.

Your  
F. Engels

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

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first time

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<sup>a</sup> F. Gilles, 'The Independent Socialists in Germany', *Justice*, No. 415, 26 December 1891. - <sup>b</sup> 20 December - <sup>c</sup> Luise Kautsky, née Ronsperger - <sup>d</sup> Felix Kautsky



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ENGELS TO ANNA AND  
HERMANN SCHLÜTER <sup>384</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 30 December 1891

A Happy New Year!

Louise  
General

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1892

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ENGELS TO THE LIEBKNECHT FAMILY <sup>385</sup>

IN BERLIN

[London, 1 January 1892]

A Happy New Year. *F. Engels, L. Kautsky, Gine Bernstein,  
Eug. Oswald, Tussy, Edward,<sup>a</sup> Ede.*

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*Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 38,  
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time

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE <sup>386</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 6 January 1892

Dear Sorge,

I hope you received our New Year's greetings card. Today I shall reply to your letters of 20 and 23 November and 9 December.

I have happily survived my 71st birthday and am, all in all, healthier and stronger than 5 or 6 years since. If I go on till 1900—though I don't know whether this would be a blessing or the reverse—I shall, I hope, still witness all manner of things. In America

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<sup>a</sup> Aveling

you've got a movement which progresses by UPS AND DOWNS, frequently disappoints, and is therefore readily conducive to a mood of pessimism. If I incline to the opposite extreme, it is through having here, before my very eyes, a European movement which is on the whole making gigantic strides and has at its core the German movement, steadily forging ahead with the inexorability of a natural force. I have written something on the subject<sup>a</sup> for the French almanac and shall send it you as soon as I get another copy.

War with Russia has fortunately been delayed by another 3 or 4 years, provided nothing idiotic is done anywhere. Since a peaceful course of development in Germany promises victory for us under the *most favourable* circumstances—somewhat later perhaps, but all the more surely for that—there is no reason for us to stake our all on a gamble, as we would have to do should there be such a war.

I do not believe there is as yet room for a *third* party in America. In that vast area the disparity of interests, even in the *same* section of one class, is so great that completely different sections and interests are represented according to locality in each of the two big parties and that, to a very great extent, virtually every separate stratum of the propertied class has its representatives in each of the two parties, although *nowadays* big industrialists constitute the bulk of the Republicans as do the big Southern landowners that of the Democrats. The apparent fortuitousness of this amalgam is a first-rate breeding-ground for corruption and the exploitation of the state which thrive so wonderfully over there. Only when the land—the public lands—is entirely in the hands of speculators, i. e. when settlement has become increasingly difficult and/or subject to fraud, only then, or so it seems to me, will the time have come for a third party, provided, that is, things develop *peacefully*. Speculation is based on the *land* and the mania as also opportunity for speculation in America are the chief means whereby the native-born workers are kept in thrall to the bourgeoisie. Only when there is a race of native-born workers with *nothing more* to expect from speculation, shall we have firm ground beneath our feet in America. But then, who can expect things to develop *peacefully* in America? There you have sudden economic advances like the political ones in France—where they admittedly also have the same momentary set-backs.

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Le Socialisme en Allemagne', *Almanach du Parti ouvrier pour 1892*, Lille, 1892.

It seems improbable that the small farmers and the lower middle classes, consisting as these do of all-too rapidly changing elements, will ever succeed in forming a strong party; furthermore the farmer is often a migrant who cultivates 2, 3 or 4 farms in succession in various states and territories<sup>387</sup>; in both cases immigration and bankruptcy promote a steady turn-over of individuals, while economic dependence on creditors is yet another impediment to independence. On the other hand, however, they provide a first-rate element for politicians who make capital out of their discontent and then proceed to sell them to one of the big parties.

The 'doggedness' of the YANKEES who are actually resurrecting GREENBACK HUMBUG again<sup>388</sup> is a consequence of their theoretical backwardness and their Anglo-Saxon contempt for all theory. By way of retribution they are inflicted with a superstitious belief in any kind of philosophical and economic nonsense, and indulge in religious sectarianism and economically idiotic experiments, the benefit of which, however, is reaped by sundry bourgeois cliques.

Louise asks that you should send her *nothing but* the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) and this *only up till 31 March* unless otherwise advised by us. She needs it for the Vienna *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* (of which she, Laura and Tussy are the mainstays) and says it wouldn't occur to her to impose the foolish chit-chat of the American SWELL MOB LADIES on her working women. Thanks to your kindness in sending her the things, she is once more *au courant* and able to see that the said ladies are still as snotty and narrow-minded as ever they were and only wants to give this one paper a month or two's trial. In the meantime she thanks you most sincerely for your good offices.

At his first appearance in the Chamber Lafargue allowed himself to be somewhat flummoxed by the interjections and general uproar.<sup>378</sup> But he'll soon make up for it. The French always improve when engaged in hand-to-hand fighting.

The position as regards Gompers is *this*. He wrote, sending me detailed PAPERS concerning his association.<sup>389</sup> I was away a great deal at the time — during the summer<sup>264</sup> — besides being tremendously busy, nor had I any clear idea of what was afoot and supposed that *Iliacos extra peccatur muros et intra*.<sup>a</sup> Then I heard that Gompers was going to Brussels and might come here, so I thought things could be settled by word of mouth. Later, when he *didn't* turn up, I put off do-

<sup>a</sup> Sins were committed within as without the walls of Troy (Horace, *Epistles*, I, 2, 16).

ing anything. But I shall look out the papers and then reply to him; I thanked him for the list.

The other day I wrote to K. Kautsky<sup>153</sup> asking him to inquire from Dietz about the publication of your articles in book form<sup>358</sup> and am still awaiting a reply. More haste less speed, as they say in Germany, especially in Stuckert<sup>a</sup> on the Neckar's banks.

Blatchford has left *The Workman's Times*, which is a great relief. For that matter the paper evinces the defects that will always be inseparable from any such *private* undertaking in this country so long as it isn't backed by a party strong enough to control it.

I have now got to 1. read the proofs of the new edition of the *CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND 1844*, 2. go over Aveling's translation of the *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*,<sup>b</sup> 3. attend to a few other oddments<sup>390</sup> and then 4. get down to Volume III<sup>c</sup> again, having now the most difficult chapters ahead of me. However, I think I shall manage if I vigorously exclude everything extraneous. What will then remain to be done will not, I believe, present any but formal difficulties.

Warm regards to your wife<sup>d</sup> and yourself from L. Kautsky and

Your  
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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<sup>a</sup> Stuttgart - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. - <sup>c</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> Katharina Sorge

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 January 1892

My dear Laura,

The pears have arrived in very good condition, the few that were urgently in want of being devoured, have been at once attended to, and the rest is being gradually, thankfully and pleurably consumed. That the old Fry's Cocoa box should return to us with such agreeable contents, and as they say of expired directors in joint-stock companies, 'offer itself for re-election' next Christmas, was a pleasant surprise indeed.

Paul wants to know about the constitution of the Board of Health.<sup>391</sup> I will try to find it out, but am afraid I shall have to ask Tussy or Edward to hunt it up at the British Museum. If I only knew the year when the Board of Health was instituted, I might get the original Act of Parliament — if Sam was here, we should have it in a jiffy.

Your intermittent husband seems to be indeed seized with the fever of the wandering Jew — perhaps he wants to supersede him by the wandering Nigger<sup>392?</sup> Anyhow the proposition about separation of Church and State in the sense of the Commune<sup>378</sup> was the best thing he could do, it stops their mouths at once. Especially now when the French Clergy begin to face the eventuality and try to make it out that they ought to be, in that case, disestablished as the Church of Ireland was,<sup>393</sup> that is to say not only keep all their property, but have the salaries capitalised and bought off in a lump sum — *les milliards de l'Eglise! après ceux de M. Bismarck!*<sup>a 394</sup> The priests are too much in a hurry for to pronounce this is to make it impossible. If the thing was kept quiet, and sprung upon the people all at once in the shape of a government proposition, the surprise might pass, and the Radicals<sup>147</sup> would only be too glad to swallow it — but to have it discussed in public beforehand, is to ensure its failure. The French Republic, with its revolutionary principles of civil law, cannot *buy off*

<sup>a</sup> the thousands of millions of the Church! After those of Mr Bismarck!

the Church in the way the English semi-feudal monarchy did. Here the system developed by Lassalle in Vol. 1st of his *System der erworbenen Rechte* <sup>166</sup> is alone applicable, as it was exclusively applied by the Great Revolution. See Bernstein's Introduction to Lassalle's *Works*, <sup>178</sup> if you have not got it I'll try to get it. It is Lassalle's *only* juridical *Leistung*,<sup>a</sup> and not a great one, but quite correct *juridically*. We ought to start it in France, and *then* set Longuet to work the Radicals in that sense.

I have to interrupt again. Old Harney is laid up with bronchitis in Richmond — same complaint which last spring brought him to the grave's edge. I must go and see him, but hope to be back in time to finish that letter. I am crushed with work, there are 1) proof-sheets and new preface of new English edition of *Lage der arbeitenden Klassen in England*,<sup>b</sup> 2) revision of Edward's translation of *Entwicklung des Socialismus* — with another new preface, 3) German translation of my article<sup>c</sup> in the *Almanach* before anybody else seizes upon it, 4) a lot of letters to answer. And then *possibly* I may return to Vol. III<sup>d</sup> where just the very difficultest chapters of all await me.

4.30 p. m. Just returned from Richmond where I found old Harney much better — hope it will last.

I suppose you have got Louise's *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* with the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* direct from Vienna. Your article reads uncommonly well, Tussy's article will be in next number,<sup>314</sup> and as the paper is by its nature insatiable, I can only say that all further contributions will be thankfully received, in the meantime I send you Louise's thanks which like all thanks are double-edged, viz. 1) thanks for favours received, 2) 'a sense of favours to come', as the bourgeois said.

Poor Adler is sadly overworked, and moreover, the momentary rest he gets, he only gets as the nurse of his wife<sup>e</sup> who is seriously ill — they are at Salò, Lago di Garda, for the present. And as Victor is responsible for the filling of the paper, you do an indirect kindness to him and the Austrian party by helping to fill the women's paper with *good* matter; the *bourgeoises émancipées* would only be too glad of an opportunity of deposing their crotchets and nostrums in the working women's organ.

<sup>a</sup> achievement - <sup>b</sup> *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland'. - <sup>d</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>e</sup> Emma Adler

Pumps has been out of sorts a bit, so that she could not come during the holidays, but we shall have her and the children here in the course of this month.

What in the world made Vaillant fight that fool Gégout—*égout*<sup>a</sup>?

Love from Louise and myself to both of you. And do keep in mind the obligation you are under to come over here with Paul before long. It will do some of our working men good to see a live French *député socialiste*.

*A vous de coeur*<sup>b</sup>

F. E.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 January 1892

My dear Laura,

Last night I had a letter from Paul from Bordeaux in which he writes me to send you a cheque to pay the *propriétaire*.<sup>c</sup> Now I should only be too glad to help you over this *mauvais quart d'heure*,<sup>d</sup> but the fact is, January and February are my worst months in the year, Christmas pumps one out almost completely, and I have next to nothing to come in before 1-5th March. In fact I do not yet see my way how to get over this awkward time myself, as besides the usual Christmas expenses, I had some considerable extra advances to make. Old Harney I had to lend money when he was ill, and Tussy and Edward have mortgaged with me the proceeds of four agreements with Sonnenschein, on which I advanced them a pretty round sum which comes in from Sonnenschein only gradually and at rather uncertain

<sup>a</sup> bastard - <sup>b</sup> Yours sincerely - <sup>c</sup> landlady - <sup>d</sup> bad spell



times—certainly not now when I want it most. In fact I am hard up myself. But if you can manage to find some one who, on my giving him my cheque for the amount, *dated say March 5th*, so that it cannot be presented before that date, will advance you the needful, then you can have my cheque with pleasure. I should think Deville might do that, as my cheque is absolutely safe. In that case please let me know what the amount is, for Paul merely speaks of ‘*un chèque*’.

My article<sup>a</sup> in the *Almanach* is appearing in Italian in the *Critica Sociale* and yesterday I was at last able to send to Bebel the German text of it — with a rather lengthy postscriptum on the Russian famine, which insures peace for a time and deprives my article of its most actual *actualité*.

The fight with Hyndman & Co. goes on here — at present the *Kommunistischer Arbeiterverein*<sup>89</sup> is the chief theatre, and there is a chance of Gilles being beaten and kicked out, and then Hyndman will have made with his German speculation (backing Gilles) even a worse *four*<sup>b</sup> than in his French speculation on Brousse.<sup>395</sup>

Hyndman you know is candidate for Parliament in Chelsea. When his meetings in Sloane Square were stopped by the police he was fined 1s. and paid it, and gave up Sloane Square. Now he makes the Federation<sup>29</sup> fight for a far worse place in Chelsea called *the World's End* (the name is enough to show it's no place for public meetings). Well they have had some 15-18 men summoned and sentenced, and now they tried to get the *other bodies* out to fight their battle, under the name of ‘the right of public meeting in danger’. For Hyndman said, if he could keep this going on till the dissolution, *his seat was safe*. But it won't come off. The Gas Workers said they would send speakers to be arrested and tried, *if Hyndman on that occasion took the chair*<sup>396</sup>; and at a meeting last week where Burns, Edward and Tussy were, Hyndman was terribly taunted with his cowardice, and finally the whole attempt to rescue Hyndman by the intervention of the other Societies and Trades Unions was practically dropped. Croesel, one of our best Germans here, told Hyndman to his face he was a liar, in public delegate meeting, and he pocketed it.

Now I must go and see Ede Bernstein who has had the influenza, so good-bye. Louise says as Paul is always away you might use your spare time to write something for the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* — you see she is awfully ambitious to make the Viennese paper beat the Stuttgart

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, ‘Le Socialisme en Allemagne. - <sup>b</sup> blunder

one <sup>a</sup> which however won't be difficult — that was first edited by Frau Ihrer, and damned badly, and now poor Clara Zetkin has it, and the first two Nos are certainly very poor and very slow. So if you have something to tell about *ces charmantes françaises* <sup>b</sup> and their movements, all the better.

I hope your animal family is going on all right — we have the influenza all round us, but so far our two servants here have only got a touch of it, Louise suffers from what my poor wife <sup>c</sup> used to call 'pains all over' (general muscular rheumatism) and I am not yet caught.

Ever yours,  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY  
IN STUTTGART

London, 26 January 1892

Dear Baron,

Proofs of the article <sup>d</sup> promptly returned yesterday. I cannot attend to those of the *Anti-Proudhon* <sup>e</sup> as I have got to tackle Volume III <sup>f</sup> without delay and look over the English translation of the *Entwicklung* <sup>g</sup>, which I cannot refuse to do since it is I, after all, who will be held responsible for anything of that kind that appears in *London*; so I can take on *absolutely nothing else whatever*.

If the Berliners should object to anything in my article, I would ask you to substitute *dots*. There can be no question of toning things down

<sup>a</sup> *Die Gleichheit* - <sup>b</sup> these charming French ladies - <sup>c</sup> Lizzy Burns - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland'. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.* - <sup>f</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>g</sup> F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

because the French original is generally accessible and I might be accused of *falsifying* the text.

I should be grateful if you would send me the proofs of the *Poverty* — for I've got to take another look at the preface<sup>a</sup> in any case.

I have written and told Dietz,<sup>153</sup> by whom I've been saddled with a draft for an address to Bebel on the 25th anniversary of his entry into Parliament,<sup>153</sup> that in future *all* my fees are to be sent to Adler. As it is, the Berliners get the lion's share, since I can't deprive them of those accruing from what is published by the *Vorwärts* publishers. So it's only fair.

Well, the happy result of Julius<sup>b</sup> underground activities was to get Gilles evicted from the Society<sup>89</sup> by 48 votes to 21, at 3 o'clock on Sunday morning.<sup>c</sup> He (Julius) conducted the campaign most ably and called in here on Sunday evening; he was full of beans and gave us a delightfully humorous account of his negotiations with the Society members whom he conjured up to the life. It was the same old story. At first the dullards thought they were only 7 strong, a figure which, on further investigation, turned out to be more like 50 — good men, if sluggardly — but once they'd been got together and galvanised into action, Gilles was done for. It's a matter of some significance because, in the eyes of the English, it has knocked the ground from under his feet; Hyndman is the only one who now has him hanging at his coat-tails, nor will he be able to shake him off.

Hyndman has also suffered some severe defeats. See the account in last week's *Workman's Times* of the delegates' negotiations at the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION<sup>29</sup> HALL, Strand, concerning the FREE SPEECH MEETING at the World's End, Chelsea. On that occasion he was hard pressed by Shaw, Burns and Tussy. Burns said that, if it came to the point, he hoped it would not be necessary to go and look for speakers in the LAVATORIES (as for Hyndman in Trafalgar Square<sup>397</sup>), etc. Hyndman, he went on, could have saved the day if, instead of the untenable World's End (300 men constitute an OBSTRUCTION OF TRAFFIC, whereupon the police have *got* to intervene), he had stuck to Sloane Square which he had relinquished on being fined one SHILLING. The GASWORKERS said they would attend if there was any prospect of a fight, and would provide speakers if Hyndman would preside.<sup>396</sup> In short, his cowardice was at long last brought home to him. On Sunday he

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Marx and Rodbertus. Preface to the First German Edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Karl Marx'. - <sup>b</sup> Julius Motteler - <sup>c</sup> 24 January

fared even worse at the delegates' meeting about the same subject. A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION man said that the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION was too weak to carry the thing off on its own and since it apparently was on its own, ought to drop it; someone else said that it wouldn't do for Hyndman to be arrested since the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION was solely dependent on subsidies from MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY Hyndman and Hunter Watts. The jackass has got so involved in his own intrigues that things may go badly for him. The real nub of the matter, as he himself had privately said, was this: if the squabbling over the World's End RIGHT OF MEETING could be kept going until the dissolution of Parliament, *it would ensure his being returned in Chelsea* (for which he is standing).

Many regards and my congratulations on the birth of your second son.<sup>a</sup> But surely it is now time you slowed down the tempo a bit? We are glad to hear that mother<sup>b</sup> and child are doing well. Over here influenza is still on the rampage; Percy had it, and pneumonia immediately afterwards; I anxiously await news of Pumps. Louise also had a touch of it, likewise Aveling.

Well, once again warm regards from Louise and

Your  
General

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 28 January 1892

Dear Baron,

Your omission of Bebel and Liebknecht ALL RIGHT.<sup>398</sup> It makes no difference at all to the thing.

<sup>a</sup> Karl - <sup>b</sup> Luise Kautsky (née Ronsperger)

*Six Centuries, etc.*<sup>399</sup> would probably be worth translating, more so at any rate than the same author's *Economic Interpretation of History*, most of which he undoubtedly cribbed from *Capital*; it is somewhat pedantically written although it does contain individual insights. In *Six Centuries* there is much that is unknown in Germany—genuine material but a number of false interpretations, as is inevitable with a bourgeois. But I should have thought you'd have found writing works of your own pleasanter and more necessary than translating.

Kindest regards from

Your  
General

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## ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

IN NEW YORK

London, 28 January [18]92

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

1) The following is an abstract of my agreement with Swan Sonnenschein and Co.

a) we (that is I in yours and Mrs Aveling's name) transfer to them the *English* copyright of the *Condition*<sup>a</sup> etc.;

b) that they produce it in one volume in their Social Science Series;

c) that they pay us (i. e. you through me) 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>% on full price (2s. 6d. per copy), 13 copies to be reckoned for 12;

d) the same for stereotype plates and copies sold for colonies;

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*.

- e) the same on proceeds of copies sold by auction, or at reduced prices;
- f) that we do not suffer from bad debts contracted by them;
- g) that accounts be made up as on 30th June each year and settled within 3 months;
- h) that we get 12 free copies.

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2) The book is now printed, out of the appendix.<sup>a</sup> I have made a new preface for the British reader.<sup>b</sup> I have suppressed the preface of the American edition. On reading the proofs I have changed a few expressions, chiefly technical terms and evident misprints or slips of the press. As soon as I get our copies I shall send you six of them.

I had another tussle with Sonnenschein, but again had the best of him. On reading proof of title page, I found that he had struck out your name on the front and put it on the back in small print! Of course I at once protested, and asked Dr Aveling to see him about this, as I could not submit to have the translator, and the party *whose simple agent I was in this matter*, thus insulted. Of course the man gave in, but it seems impossible to do business with him without having to fight such little tricks. And all this on account of that unpronounceable Russian name which he fears might injure the sale of the book, as its bearer surely cannot be expected to know English!

3) I shall account and remit proceeds to you as soon as received every year.

4) Of course this arrangement with Swan Sonnenschein and Co. puts an end to the agency, for this book, of Reeves. I have, through the kindness of Dr Aveling who lives close to Reeves' shop, after a deal of trouble managed to get an account out of him, it amounts to about £5, and also part of the money; there are £4 to be paid yet, but the fellow has caught the influenza just in time to excuse delay, so that I do not expect to get it before next week — *if then*, for it is easier to get the truth out of a statesman than a farthing of cash

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Appendix* [to *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1887)]. -

<sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1892 English Edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*'.

out of Reeves. This settlement therefore must be delayed til my next.

5) Sonnenschein asked me, would it be right for him to *send copies to America*? I replied certainly not, for the American edition was still on sale, and then I doubted whether you *could* give him a valid permission to do so even if you liked. But I said I would submit the matter to you, and of course in the meantime he does not send any copies.

So, this is I believe the whole budget of news I have to send you today, and as I am obliged to write about half a dozen long letters today, I must conclude.

Yours faithfully,  
F. Engels

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*Florence Kelly*, New York, 1966

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 28 January 1892

Dear Hermann,

I think it's high time I let you have some news of myself again, the more so because gently impelled thereto by business. For in your last statement you credited me with 79.40 marks, being a reimbursement by F. Engels & Co. This is presumably the cost of the power of attorney, certified by notary and consul at Rudolf's request. Otherwise everything seems to tally.

Then I should also like you to tell me how much the Schaaflhau-sens you are holding for me are actually worth today, i. e. the price and nominal value of my shares. The holding was reduced at one time and so I no longer know exactly how many I've got; there is a possibility I might prefer to get rid of the lot.

For the rest, I can't complain. My health is pretty good; my eye

trouble has more or less cleared up and can be disregarded apart from the fact of my not writing by lamplight which admittedly is awkward in wintertime. I still enjoy eating and drinking, can still walk pretty briskly and am generally considered to be one of the youngest old men in London. On the other hand I have to restrict my smoking very considerably because, like good wine and, alas, Pilsener beer also, it tends to upset the cardiac nerves which, in turn, makes me sleep badly. But this only lasts from the New Year to the spring, during which time I take sulphonal once a week, and that sees me through the bad months as well—the sulphonal all comes from Bayers in Elberfeld—and, as soon as the weather is good and I can get out into the open air, things begin to look up again, and then comes the summer with holidays beside or on the sea, when I shall once again be on top of my form. Last summer I spent 4 weeks in the Isle of Wight followed by a fortnight in Scotland and Ireland,<sup>264</sup> mostly afloat; this is what always suits me best, now that riding is out of the question. If I could go riding here in winter and spend the summer at sea, then I should certainly be on top of my form again. But since this can't be done, I shall have to content myself with climbing London's Chimborazo, namely Hampstead Heath, which is about the same height above sea level as your house in Barmen, that is 150 metres. Fortunately this suffices at a pinch to keep one's spirits up.

So far I have fortunately missed having influenza which, however, is a veritable scourge over here; people in my street are going down like flies, though they most of them eventually recover; but it seems to be a wretched affliction, and makes everyone so terribly depressed that it quite takes one's appetite away.

But now it is your turn to tell me how things are with you, what you and Emma are doing and all the children and grandchildren, Rudolf, Hedwig and their not inconsiderable appurtenances, the Blanks, the Engelskirchen lot—indeed, all the innumerable hordes of whom one simply can't keep track over here. Since Rudolf Blank left this country I no longer get any news, particularly since marriages and christenings seem to have become fewer and further between; these used to provide as it were milestones which enabled one to keep tabs on what you were all of you up to.



With love to Emma and all your family, the Rudolfs, Hedwig & Co. & Co.

Your old  
Friedrich

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS  
IN BARMEN

London, 29 January 1892

Dear Hermann,

It is often said of women that what they really have to say never goes into the letter but into the postscript. But we old buffers are in even worse case—for hardly was yesterday's letter<sup>a</sup> in the post when I remembered the most important thing of all. Namely that, in strange contrast to the surplus of cash on the London money market, I am suffering from a slight shortage of that article and, since I can only expect small dividends up till 1 March, I should be grateful if, some time soon, you could send me some £30 of the balance you hold on my behalf. Then I shall make out quite well; between March and June money will again be coming in at a brisk pace.

Love from

Your  
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,  
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<sup>a</sup> See previous letter.

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## ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 1 February 1892

Dear Baron,

Herewith Labriola's letter to Tussy; I don't believe that you could pull off publishing it without creating bad blood amongst divers persons in Italy, and in the end it would be the German party that would have to suffer for it, in as much as the *latter* would be held responsible for taking sides with or against those people who felt affronted by the article. For in Italy things are in such a mess that all kinds of people are sure to feel affronted, whether rightly or wrongly, as indeed I have written and told Labriola.<sup>153</sup> And those people would then be driven into the arms of the Possibilists,<sup>3</sup> Hyndmanists, Fabians<sup>87</sup> and God knows what other dogs-in-the-manger.

I have written and told Labriola that I thought it better not to publish but would leave the matter entirely in your hands and that you two should sort it out between you. At all events, *Tussy wants to have the letter back.*

It recently occurred to me that an account of *Luther* based on his actions and writings is urgently called for. In the first place a rectification not only of the Protestant legend, but also of the blinkered Catholic attack upon it by Janssen (who is now doing so well in Germany) would certainly not come amiss just now, and there is a distinct need for a demonstration, from *our* standpoint, of the extent to which the Reformation was a *bourgeois* movement. Also of particular importance would be a parallel between Luther *before* and Luther *after* Karlstad, the Anabaptists and the Peasant War,<sup>400</sup> on the one hand and, on the other, the bourgeoisie *before* 1848 and *after* that year. Likewise a detailed demonstration of how this transformation came about in Luther's case. There's still something to be accomplished in this field, and without any need for undue study; also it's something for which you are particularly fitted as a result of your

*Thomas Morus*.<sup>a</sup> And again you have in Stuckert<sup>b</sup> a library on Protestantism that is second to none. Surely that would be better than translating Rogers<sup>399</sup> whom any child could translate.

Greetings from one family to the other.

Your  
F. E.

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time

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## ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 2 February 1892

Dear August,

Am glad you liked the article.<sup>c</sup> I fully approve of the omission of the two names on the second occasion.<sup>398</sup> So far as France was concerned the repetition was necessary; in Germany it might do some harm and is in any case wholly superfluous.

Why, you ask, are the Russians still acting in a warlike manner and concentrating troops in the West? Nothing could be simpler. In my very first letter,<sup>d</sup> in which I maintained that the famine would put paid to Russia's desire for war, I told you that their sabre-rattling, far from ceasing, would tend to grow louder. It's what they always do. But only for the benefit of the public at home and abroad; foreign diplomats are not expected to *believe* but merely to *acquiesce* in it. The public is intended to see Russia's retreat as the retreat of the others before Russia.— But this time another factor is involved. The south-east

<sup>a</sup> K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*. - <sup>b</sup> Stuttgart - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland'. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 242-46.

and the east are in a state of famine and cannot provision an army. The area where the harvest has failed is roughly bounded by the line which runs through Odessa, Moscow, Vyatka and Perm up to the Urals, then along this range to the northern extremity of the Caspian, from there to the eastern extremity of the Sea of Azov and back again to Odessa. Proof that only east<sup>a</sup> of the Odessa-Moscow line can large numbers of troops be provisioned; anywhere further north will itself need to be constantly supplied with corn. Besides, the Russians are now disseminating information about the movements of troops to the west that is downright *false*.

A comment in Sunday's<sup>b</sup> *Vorwärts* in no way tallies with what you say about your correspondence with Frenchmen regarding Alsace-Lorraine<sup>401</sup> and would seem to have been made without reference to you. However you would do well to keep a weather eye on *Figaro* which is a thoroughly blackguardly paper.

Your conversation with Köller<sup>402</sup> tickled us greatly. That's a typical Prussian for you. Herkner<sup>c</sup> had already dinned into the chaps how short-sighted it was to suck up to the Frenchified and rabidly French notables while antagonising the workers who don't even understand French and who by nature and language are still consummate Germans, thereby driving them into the arms of the Francophiles. It would have been a splendid opportunity to practise demagoguery from above and with enormous success. The mere imposition of German factory legislation and laws on association, etc., and a tolerant attitude towards the workers would have won them over within 10 years when, along with the Protestants and the wine and tobacco growers, they would have more than counterbalanced the Frenchified middle and lower middle classes and aristocracy. But how could that have been countenanced by the self-same people who were responsible for the Anti-Socialist Law<sup>11</sup> in Germany and who fought the workers at every turn? The German middle classes, you see, always arrive too late, and not even the Prussian government, which enjoys so much more elbow-room than they, would dare hazard *that* sort of Bonapartist policy. And as you say, your Prussian bureaucrat, soldier or Junker cannot, by his very nature, voluntarily surrender any position of power, however useless or, indeed, damaging to himself it may be—for would not the policy of petty oppression which is his be-all and end-all suffer in consequence?

<sup>a</sup> Should be: west. -<sup>b</sup> Should be: Saturday's. -<sup>c</sup> H. Herkner, *Die oberelsässische Baumwollindustrie und ihre Arbeiter...*

As you know, Gilles has at last been well and truly kicked out. But it was silly of the *Vorwärts* to have suppressed the name in *this* of all cases.<sup>403</sup> One ought not, after all, to take the shine off one's own achievements by playing them down in a report. And after all the Society<sup>89</sup> and those who induced it to act did at least deserve that an accurate account of what they had done for the party should appear in the official party organ. However, I realise that you can't do anything for the present, but it almost seems to me as though someone was intent on stirring up trouble.

My advising Julius<sup>a</sup> to be less verbose would be about as effective as your advising Liebknecht not to write indiscreet letters. I shall certainly not meddle in Julius' affairs unless absolutely *forced* to do so. Nor have I any alternative, considering the way the couple has deliberately cut itself off from us. His aunt<sup>b</sup> demands that visit be returned for visit, formal philistine etiquette, but among us communist bohemians that sort of thing is, first, simply not done and, second, simply impossible. Such philistine intercourse — known here as the SOCIAL TREADMILL — is admissible only for people with too much time on their hands; no one who wishes to work either can or does indulge in that sort of thing. I never conformed, even amongst the bourgeois in Manchester, and it is more than ever out of the question for me to do so now. Anyone wanting something of someone else goes and sees him, and that's that. But the fact that such is the case is what lies at the bottom of all the trouble in Hugo Road.<sup>c</sup>

I had suspected that Geiser was back at the *Vorwärts* from the unsurpassed dreariness, tedium and vacuity, for which he alone can be responsible, of certain articles. In other respects the *Vorwärts* has on occasion been noticeably better during the session of the Dresden Landtag.

Ah yes — the *Condition of the Working-Class*<sup>d!</sup> This is the umpteenth time the worthy Dietz has got someone to dun me, only to receive the same answer he has already had from me in writing, namely, that I'll be glad to oblige the moment Volume III of *Capital* is finished, but can take on absolutely nothing else before then. There are a lot of snags to your proposal that I should authorise him to negotiate with Wigand; hitherto I have always found that in such cases unnecessary and often irreparable mistakes tend to be made. Above all, I have got

<sup>a</sup> Julius Motteler - <sup>b</sup> Emilie Motteler - <sup>c</sup> Street in London where the Mottelers lived. -

<sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.

to know what my legal position is vis-à-vis Wigand. I enclose a résumé of the facts; if, as once before, you could obtain some legal advice as to this, we might resume negotiations. Your previous advice made it perfectly clear to me that, thanks to the lousy Saxon legislation whereby the publisher is protected at the author's expense, I was still very much in Wigand's hands; but what it failed to make clear, since the case did not then arise as now it might, was what my position would be, should Wigand refuse to bring out a new edition on the old terms. If it transpires that I should be as much in his clutches as ever, we shall *then* certainly have to see what can be done.<sup>404</sup>

The printers are reaping what they themselves have sown.<sup>383</sup> If it means they are driven to join the party, so much the better.

Yesterday, when I read Prince George of Saxony's Order of the Day,<sup>405</sup> I almost jumped onto the table for joy. How it will enrage the high and mighty! A thing like that, getting into the impious Social-Democratic press! Can it really be that those fellows are already in such close touch with 'my glorious army'? A telegram a column long has already appeared in today's *Daily News* about it—it will cause the dickens of a sensation all over the world. And they imagine that that kind of treatment will induce the troops to 'shoot down everything in sight', above all their own parents, brothers, etc.! *Sont-ils bêtes, ces Prussiens!*<sup>a</sup>

I am prepared to maintain, *envers et contre tous*<sup>b</sup> and despite anything that may be said to the contrary, that Louise is a very good housewife and, moreover, an excellent cook. I'm not quite sure that this housewifeliness isn't due in part to the fact of our not being married and, should this prove to be the case, it would be lucky for me because of the circumstance that the difference in our ages precludes marital no less than extra-marital relations, so that nothing remains but that self-same housewifeliness.

Warm regards to your wife and yourself from Louise and

Your  
F. E.

*Postscript.* Louise is indignant because you reply to the letters she writes with six-page letters to me. I told her to write and tell you so herself, to which she replied that she was far too indignant to do any such thing.

<sup>a</sup> How stupid these Prussians are! - <sup>b</sup> against all comers

Herewith Gilles' latest masterpiece. The Society over here is distributing it by the hundred in the hope that it will prove his own undoing.

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 February 1892

My dear Laura,

Can you get me from the *Intransigeant* the London address of *Roche-fort*? Wróblewski all of a sudden sends me a letter for that distinguished foreigner and supposes I know his address, but I will be hanged if I know anybody who can procure it me here — everybody advises me to write to Paris as the shortest and safest way to get it — so I suppose I must follow their advice and submit the case to you, especially as I have a slight suspicion that the poor devil of Wróblewski applies to Rochefort for cash, and would not have it said for the world that I was the cause of delaying even for one hour the — undoubtedly negative — answer he is sure (if any) to get from *le grand boulevardier*.

Here we have suffered from influenza right and left — I have been spared so far, but Louise and my servant have had a touch. Percy has had a pretty severe attack followed by pneumonia and is not yet on his legs again, Bernstein has been down, and E. Aveling is not quite himself. Our street and neighbourhood has suffered severely, cases right and left.

The latest scandal: all over London goes the rumour that the Duke of Clarence on his death had called his mother<sup>a</sup> and told her that 'May'<sup>b</sup> was in the family way by him. If true it is the only action

<sup>a</sup> Princess Alexandra - <sup>b</sup> Princess Victoria - Mary von Teck

for which I respect the boy. They say he was after her for a good time past, but the old queen<sup>a</sup> did not approve of the match at first. And if they did take the law into their own hands, it's more than I should have expected from 'Cuffs and Collars' and show that after all he was good for something.

Paul's migrations are very interesting,<sup>392</sup> but won't he soon get tired of it? It's very useful and very good work, but if he carries it on till May 1st, he will lose a deal of weight and come back, may be, to his parliamentary duties with the 'lean and hungry look', which, as a Cassius,<sup>406</sup> might become him in the eyes of the *épicier*.<sup>b</sup> At all events he has silenced the Brousses<sup>3</sup> and other *Neidhämmler*<sup>c</sup> who came down upon him for a slip of the tongue or two in his first speech.<sup>378</sup> The statistics about *Notre Dame de la fabrique* etc. are the best reply.

My article<sup>d</sup> from the *Almanach* has come out in Italian in the *Critica Sociale* di Milano and will appear in German in the *Neue Zeit* next No. with additions. Bebel has sent me some Alsatian papers with reports of his speech in Mülhausen,<sup>407</sup> one in French, I want to send it to you if I can find it (*Louise says she forwarded it to you*),<sup>e</sup> to show you what horrid French these 'patriots' of the *Industriel Alsacien* do perpetrate.

An awful row will be caused by the publication of the order of Prince George of Saxony to the 12th German (Saxon) Army Corps in yesterday's *Vorwärts*.<sup>405</sup> That shows how far our connexions in the army reach, and William<sup>f</sup> will be awfully vexed. It is sure to cause a deal of sensation in France, and if you can forward me Paris papers with comments on it, to be forwarded to Bebel and to be used in the Reichstag, it will be very very useful.

In great haste — kind regards from Louise and

ever yours,

F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959

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<sup>a</sup> Victoria - <sup>b</sup> grocer - <sup>c</sup> grudger - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, 'Le Socialisme en Allemagne'. - <sup>e</sup> The words in brackets were inserted by Engels later. - <sup>f</sup> William II