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FREDERICK ENGELS LETTERS
January 1887 to July 1890

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FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

January 1887–July 1890

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

***

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

***

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

1887

1

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[1]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 January 1887

Herewith, registered, the English translation of *Das Kapital*.[a2] Last week I sent you 1 parcel—2 *Commonweals*, 1 *To-Day*, etc. More to follow. Just received the *New York Herald* with the beastly article about the Avelings; this is most valuable for us since the Avelings would otherwise have still been unaware of the pack of lies the bourgeois papers over there are making up about them.[3] The Avelings got back a week ago. both of them very well and cheerful. The Lafargues are also here and send you their kindest regards. *Capital* is going terrifically well here and supplies for America are in hand. That will soon show the Yankees what our standpoint is.

Your

F. E.

A Happy New Year.

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

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[a] Volume I

2

ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS[4]

IN THE HAGUE

London, 11 January 1887

My dear Friend,

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

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

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

The English translation of *Das Kapital*[a 2] has just come out, and at precisely the right moment for America.

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

With kindest regards from the Lafargues, the Avelings and

Your
F. Engels

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Printed according to the original

3

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

[Fragment]

London, 18 January 1887

Caro Cittadino,[b]

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

[a] Volume I – [b] Dear Citizen

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

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

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Published in English for the first time

4

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 26 January 1887

Dear Citizen,

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

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

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

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

[a] The end of the letter in missing – [b] See previous letter

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

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

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

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

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

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

With sincere greetings,

F. Engels

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

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[a] See this volume, p.11.

5

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

IN NEW YORK

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

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

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

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

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

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

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[a] The less it is drummed into the Americans from outside and the more thoroughly they test it—with Germans' assistance—by personal experience, the more deeply will it penetrate their flesh and blood

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

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

Very truly yours

F. Engels

First published, in English, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx* u. *A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] K. Marx, *Provisional Rules of the Association*

6

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[13]

IN PARIS

London, 28 January 1887

My dear Lafargue,

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

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

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

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[a] *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires* –[b] Alexander III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] See this volume, pp.5-7

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

Yours ever,

F.E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[17]

PARIS

London, 2 February 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] horns – [b] will always have the wherewithal to pay for a good dinner – [c] ex-great men

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

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

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

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

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

Yours affectionately

F. Engels

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

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[a] lies – [b] high-faluting – [c] Still it does move

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

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

IN NEW YORK

London, 9 February 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I reply at once to your letter, postmark 28th January. The preface[11] was sent on January 27th, and to your telegram received Sunday, February 6th, I replied immediately per cable: 'Sent registered 27th January'.

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

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

[a] See Engels' letter to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 28 December 1886 (present edition, Vol. 47)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] 'Aveling's Unpaid Labor', *New York Herald*, 30 December 1886

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

First published, in English, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil, Becker, Jos.Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,Moscow, 1935

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 February 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

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[a] Volume I – [b] William Swan Sonnenschein – [c] F. Engels, 'The Political Situation in Europe'

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky – [b] See previous letter

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

Your

F.E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XIVII, Moscow, 1935

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 16 February 1887

My dear Lafargue,

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

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

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[a] *Voie du peuple*, the full name of the paper, means 'the way of the people' –

[b] This refers to her letter to Engels of 28 January 1887

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

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

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

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

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

Laura will have seen our reply to Professor Menger[34], in the February number of the *Neue Zeit*.

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

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

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

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

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

[a] William I – [b] Leo XIII

11

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[17]

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 19 February 1887

Dear Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

Yours sincerely
P. W. Rosher[39]

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 29 1908

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Published in English in full for the first time

12

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 24 February 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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[a] Revolution in Germany—Capture of Berlin

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] polling cards – [b] the top candidate in Germany – [c] Engels has: Offenburg – [d] louts – [e] the educated

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

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

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

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

Half past five—*Postschluss*[e]—and Dinner Bell! So farewell for to-day.

Very affectionately yours
F. Engels

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

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13

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[49]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 3 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

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

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

[a] Leo XIII

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

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

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

Your
F. E.

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

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14

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[53]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] William Swan Sonnenschein – [b] Engels' article 'The Labor Movement in America' (see Notes 11 and 12)

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

Your
F. E.

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

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15

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 10 March 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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

[a] the English edition of Vol. I – [b] See previous letter

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

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

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

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

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16

ENGELS TO JULIE BEBEL

IN DRESDEN

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

Dear Mrs Bebel,

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

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

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

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

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[a] Volume I

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

I am,
Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 16 March 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] Gertrud Liebknecht

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

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

Your
F.E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1035

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18

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[67]

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[Extract]

London, 19 March 1887

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

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

Kindest regards to you all.
Yours,
Engels

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19

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 21 March 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Love from Nim.
Affectionately yours
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO GERSON TRIER[74]

IN COPENHAGEN

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

Dear Mr Trier.

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

[a] The Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League

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

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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21

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 6 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

Wilhelm,[a] having first shrouded himself in silence, can now scarcely

[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht

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

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

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

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

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

You will have had a copy of Aveling's reply to the second and, indeed, even more infamousq article in the *Volkszeitung*.[65]

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

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[a] Paris, the centre of enlightenment, the city of ideas, is disgusted with ideas

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

Kindest regards,
Your Engels

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

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22

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[53]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 9 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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[a] See previous letter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Are you moving to Rochester, or where?

Your
F. Engels

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23

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

IN PARIS

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

My dear Lafargue,

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

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

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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Translated from the French

24

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

IN PARIS

London, 13 April 1887

My dear Lafargue,

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

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

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

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

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[a] See previous letter

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

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

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

Schorlemmer sends his regards.

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

Yours ever,
F.E.

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

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Translated from the French

[a] This refers to Alexander III – [b] See this volume, p.46

25

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[53]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 April 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

I immediately protested. You should ask her to show you my letter.[76]

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

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

Hyndman's letter to *The Standard*[d] is both pitiful and pusillanimous.

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

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

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

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

Your
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 24 April 1887

Dear Sir,

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

Yours faithfully
P. W. Rosher[39]

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27

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 26 April 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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[a] This refers to Karl Marx's letters to Danielson – [b] the candidate for the Botanical Gardens—and the animals

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] beasts – [b] auditing committee

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

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

1) *un étranger qui aura commis*, à l'étranger (*en pays étranger*) un acte de haute trahison *contre l'empire allemand ou contre un des états fédérés, ou qui aura fait de la fausse monnaie.*'[a]

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

Enclosed the cheque Paul writes for £12.

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

Bien à vous, je vous embrasse

F. Engels

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

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

28

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[100]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 May 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

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[a] The American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* -
[b] full powers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 5 May 1887

Dear Ede,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mumma,[a] who is here at the moment, sends her regards.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Louise Kautsky

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

IN NEW YORK

London, 7 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

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

Sorge writes to me:

> 'Wischnewetzky's bedauern sehr, durch die Verheimlichungen und Unterschlagungen der Executive zur Absendung des bekannten Briefs an Dich veranlasst worden zu sein, und haben sich alle erdankliche Mühe gegebeng, Aveling in der New Yorker Sektion Gerechtigkeit zu verschaffen.'[b,112]

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

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

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

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

I remain, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

very sincerely yours
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 May 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

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

Your

F. Engels

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[a] See previous letter – [b] Father, I have sinned

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Joss Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition. Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 21 May 1887

Dear Citizen Martignetti,

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

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

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

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

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

With kindest regards,

Ever yours,
F. Engels

To Johannes Paul, Hamburg.

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

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

E l'indirizzo *esteriore*[c]
Herrn Johannes Paul
in Firma Paul & Steinberg
Alterwall 58
Hamburg
Germania

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[a] of the Italian translation of Karl Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* – [b] number of years – [c]Address *envelope*

33

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 21 May 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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

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

My congratulations to Paul for having cudgelled one of his electors. *Ça doit avoir produit un effet.*[d]

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

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

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

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

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

Affectionately yours
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[118]

IN LONDON

London, Friday 27 May 1887

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

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[119]

IN ZURICH

London, 28 May 1887

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

Your
F. E.

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

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[120]

IN NEW YORK

London, 28 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

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

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

Yours faithfully
F. E.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgeng, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[120]

IN NEW YORK

London, 31 May 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have just mailed to you, *registered*, the translation of the preface.[111] It will also be published in the *Sozialdemokrat*.[a]

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

Very truly yours—in haste
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[121]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] 'The Socialist League', *Commonweal*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

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

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

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

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[a] Thomas Aveling – [b] the Science School

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

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

I have now sent Mrs Wischnewetzky the preface in German[111] by registered post (Wednesday's[b] steamer).

Your

F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. and F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

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[a] See *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 30, 22 July 1887 – [b] 1 June

39

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 7 June 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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

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

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

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[a] See *Commonweal*, No. 73, 14 June 1887 – [b] play some sort of part here

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

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

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

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

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

Yours affectionately
F. E.

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

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

Reproduced from the original

[a] scandalmonger

40

ENGELS TO JULES GUESDE

IN PARIS

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

Dear Citizen Guesde,

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

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

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

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

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

Yours very sincerely
F. Engels

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* – [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

41

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 11 June 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Affectionately yours
F. Engels

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

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42

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

London, 15 June 1887

Dear Kautsky,

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

Your
F. E.

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

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[a] Castles in the air

43

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[125]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 18 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] Liebknecht – [b] See this volume, p.71

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

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

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

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

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

Your
F. E.

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

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44
ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 20 June 1887

My Dear Friend Martignetti,

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

Kindest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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45
ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

IN LONDON

London, 22 June 1887

Dear Mahon,

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

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[a] See this volume, pp.63-4

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

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

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

Reproduced from the original

46

ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

IN LONDON

London, 23 June 1887

Dear Mahon,

I returned you yesterday the programme with some notes which may perhaps be of use at some future time.[132]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

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

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47

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[49]

IN MOUNT DESERT

London, 30 June 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

I shall write and tell the Wischnewetzkys[76] to word the note thus: 'to

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[a] See 'The Socialist League', *The Commonweal*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

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

Aveling sends the enclosed postcard re *Time*.[135] The copies will have gone to Rochester.

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

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

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

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

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[a] See 'The Socialist League', *The Commonweal*, No. 73, 4 June 1887

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

I have written to Lafargue[76] telling him to send the *Socialiste* to you at Rochester, but have had no reply.

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

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

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

Your

F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engls, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906, and, in full, in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow 1935

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48

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 15 July 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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

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

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

Love from Nim, Jollymeier.

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

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

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[a] he eats no bootnails and drinks no ink – [b] materialist conception of history

49

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[139]

IN NEW YORK

London, 20 July 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

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

Yours sincerely
F. Engels

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

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50

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VENTNOR

London, 22 July 1887

Dear Kautsky,

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

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[a] *Bürger-Zeitung*

Here super-shirt-sleeve weather.

Your

F. E.

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

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51

ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 26 July 1887
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Mr Mahon,

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

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

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

any of these cliques more than with another, or with the Social Democratic Federation[62] or any other body.

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

Yours sincerely
F. Engels

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

Reproduced from the original

52

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VENTNOR

Eastbourne, 1 August 1887

Dear Kautsky,

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

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

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

Warmest regards from us all,

Your
F. E.

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

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53

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VENTNOR

Eastbourne, 5 August 1887

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

Your
F. E.

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

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

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

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[121]

IN MOUNT DESERT

Eastbourne, 8 August 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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

The business of the Wischnewetzkys is becoming ever more of a joke.[149] In Germany an Executive such as this would have long since been removed from office. The chaps would seem to think that they can

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

Eastbourne, 9 August 1887
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

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

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[a] William I – [b] Oh, those husbands!

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

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

Otherwise French, like all other, politics are under the influence of the hot weather. *Tout rate, même les duels.*[a] [154]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

And love from all.

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

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

Eastbourne, 13 August 1887
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bebel,

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

[a] Lydia Burns

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

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

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

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

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

Your old friend
F. E.

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[a] Julie and Frieda Bebel

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

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

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57

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 17 August 1887
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Kautsky,

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

We shall be coming back on Saturday week, 27 August,[138] by which time my house will presumably be habitable once more.

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

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

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

Your
F. E.

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[a] K. Kautsky, *Thomas More und seine Utopie*, Stuttgart, 1888

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58

ENGELS TO BRUNO SCHOENLANK

IN NUREMBERG

Eastbourne, 29 August 1887

Dear Mr Schoenlank,

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

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

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

Yours very faithfully,
Fr. Engels

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59

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

Eastbourne, 30 August 1887

Dear Bebel,

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

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

[a] See this volume, pp.94-95

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

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

Your
F. E.

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60

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[London], Saturday [3 September 1887]

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

Your
F. E.

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[a] Julia and Frieda Bebel

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV[158]

IN PARIS

London, 3 September 1887

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

Yours ever
F. E.

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62

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

IN NEW YORK

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

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have received your letter of 28 August.

I am glad the pamphlet[c] sells so well. The copies I received I shall

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

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

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

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

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

Your pamphlet on philanthropy[d] has not yet come to hand.

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

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

deal of reference to Proudhon's notions in it, and I doubt whether Mr Tucker's lucubrations deserve any attention.[162]

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

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

Faithfully yours
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[121]

IN ROCHESTER

London, 16 September 1887

Dear Sorge,

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

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

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

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[a] limits

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

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

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

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

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

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

Five thousand copies of Kautsky's work on Marx's theory[c] have already been sold.

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

Your

F. E.

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[a] Joseph Maria Baernreither – [b] William I – [c] K. Kautsky, *Karl Marx's oekonomische Lehren*, Stuttgart, 1887

64

ENGELS TO HUGO KOCH[166]

IN LONDON

[London, about 22 September 1887]

Dear Mr Koch,

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

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

Yours faithfully
F. E.

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ENGELS TO JOHANNES WEISS[167]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, about 10 October 1887)

Dear Sir,

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

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

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

Yours faithfully

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66

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 11 October 1887

My dear Laura,

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

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

It would be a splendid piece of historical irony if the bourgeois republic was doomed to kill itself by the same *révolutiondu mépris*[b] which swept away the bourgeois monarchy in 1848.[170]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours affectionately
F. E.

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

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

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

67

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[177]

IN ROCHESTER

[London] 29 October 1887

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

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

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68

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[180]

IN PARIS

[Extract]

[End October 1887]

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

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

F. E.

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

Printed according to a facsimile

Translated from the French

69

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 12 November 1887

My dear Laura,

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

[a] We are back in 1847!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ever yours affectionately
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 16 November 1887

My dear Lafargue

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

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

[a] 14 November

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours ever,
F. E.

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

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[a] Frederick William's – [b] Alexander III – [c] impulsive actions

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

IN PARIS

[Extract]

London, 22 November 1887

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

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

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

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 23 November 1887

My dear Lafargue,

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

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

For the Longuet children[a]	£ 3.18.4
" Laura	£ 3.18.4
" Tussy	£ 3.18.4
	£11.15.-

For Sam[b] 3/5	£4.14.2	
" Edward[c] 2/5	£3.12.6	£ 7.17.-
		£19.12.-

Cheque for Laura enclosed herewith.

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

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

18 " thirteenth gratis[189]

442
558
1,000

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

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

Yours ever
F. E.

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73

ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

IN KÖNIGSBERG

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

Dear Dr Schmidt,

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

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

[a] *Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung*

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

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

Your fellow-townsman Weiss came to see me here; has gone to Berne to complete his studies.[a]

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

May I thank you in advance for the article you promised to send me.[194]

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

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

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[a] See this volume, p.105 – [b] H. Herkner, *Die oberelsässische Baumwollindustrie und ihre Arbeiter*, Strasbourg, 1887

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

Cordial regards,

Your

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 November 1887

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

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

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

[a] Percy Rosher

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

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

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

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

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, p.76

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN ROCHESTER

[London, November 1887]

Dear Old Man,

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

Your old friend,
F. E.

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76

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

IN NEW YORK

London, 3 December 1887

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

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

Socialist literature, has undertaken the sale of the book.[a] He writes December 1:

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

And further, December 2:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

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[a] F. Engels, *The Labor Movement in America*

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 5 December 1887

My dear Lafargue,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[a] Felix Gustave Saussier

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

Yours ever,
F. E.

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

First published, slightly abridged, in *Le Socialiste*, No. 110, 10 December 1887 and in full in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

78

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 7 December 1887

Dear Mr Schlüter,

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

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

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[a] 4 December – [b] F. Engels, *Once Again 'Herr Vogt'* – [c] F. Engels, *Refugee Literature, IV*

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

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

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

You shall have the 'Mordspatrioten'[b] shortly: I am writing the introduction. I shall also try and put the 'Force Theory' to rights.[203]

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

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

With kindest regards,

Your

F. Engels

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

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

79

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

London, 20 December 1887

Dear Kautsky,

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

Kindest regards,

Your
F. E.

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

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80

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

IN PARIS

London, 24 December 1887

My dear Laura,

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

[a] 22 December

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours affectionately
F. Engels

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

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

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[a] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet – [b] to the proper quarter – [c] 20 December – [d] *The Judge* and *Puck*

81

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

IN PARIS

London, 29 December 1887

My dear Lafargue

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

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

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[a] H. Oberwinder, *Sozialismus und Sozialpolitik*, Berlin, 1887

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

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

I hope that the *Pucks* and *Judges* sent off yesterday have reached Laura.[b]

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

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

Laura's paintings won't dry well with the weather we are having.[206]

A thousand good wishes for the New Year.

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[a]See 'Polizeiagenten–Dynamitagenten', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 52, 24 December 1887 – [b] See this volume, p.128

Yours ever,
F. E.

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

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1888

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ENGELS TO ION NADEJDE

IN JASSY

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

Dear Citizen,

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

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[a] *Gramatica comparată a limbelor romanice*

better to understand your original articles and the pamphlets *Ce vor socialiştii romîni?* and *Karl Marx şi economiştii noştri*, which Kautsky likewise sent me.[208]

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

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

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

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[a] C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Ce vor socialiştii romîni. Expunerea socialismului ştiinţific şi Programul socialist*

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

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

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

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

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

save Europe from the horrors of a general war and would usher in universal social revolution.[a]

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

With fraternal greetings,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[211]

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 5 January 1888

Dear Sir,

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

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

I am afraid your land-bank for the nobility[213] will have about the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I enclose a little thing published some years ago.

Yours sincerely,
P. W. Rosher

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

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

84

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[217]

IN ROCHESTER

London, 7 January 1888

Dear Sorge

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

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

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[a] William I – [b] Frederick William (later Frederick III) – [c] Frederick William's son (William II)

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

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

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

Shorlemmer, who is here, sends his kindest regards.

Our people were immediately responsible for resolving the presidential crisis in Paris.[197] The Blanquists took the lead, Vaillant having carried

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[a] Of *Capital* – [b] informed

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

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

Your old friend,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

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

[a] Frederick William (later Frederick III)

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

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

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

Your
F. Engels

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[a] William I – [b] Frederick William's son (William II)

86

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[225]

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

I have no objection to Ede's printing the final part of the introduction to the *Blood-and-Thunder Patriots*.[226]

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

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

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

Your kind wishes for the New Year are heartily reciprocated.

Ever yours,
F. E.

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87

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 10 January 1888

Dear Friend,

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

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

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

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[a] *Bürgerzeitung*

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

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

With sincere regards,

Yours ever,
F. Engels

Mefistofele I will be posted this evening.

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

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Published in English for the first time

88

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London], 23 January 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

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

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

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

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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

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89

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 February 1888

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for L15.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

My love to Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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

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Translated from the French

90

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 12 February 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

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

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[a] F. Engels, *The Role of Force in History* – [b] The English edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels

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

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

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

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

With kindest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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91

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 19 February 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

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

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

As soon as possible I shall send you the English *Manifesto* for the archives.[227]

Kindest regards to you all,

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

92

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[237]

IN ROCHESTER

London, 22 February 1888

Dear Sorge,

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

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[a] F. Engels, *The Role of Force in History*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your old friend,
F. Engels

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

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[a] Frederick William (later Frederick III) – [b] William, later William II – [c] In the original: *Jardeleutenant* (Berlin dialect)

93

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[239]

IN NEW YORK

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

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mrs Campbell has not yet called on me so far.

Your remarks about my books being boycotted by the official German Socialists of New York[241] are quite correct, but I am used to that sort of thing, and so the efforts of these gentry amuse me. Better so than to have to undergo their patronage. With them the movement is a business, and 'business is business'. This kind of thing won't last very long, their efforts to boss the American movement as they have done with the German-American one, must fail miserably. The masses will set all that right when once they move.

Here things go slowly but well. The various little organisations have found their level and are willing to co-operate without bickerings. The police brutalities in Trafalgar Square[185] have done wonders in helping to widen the gap between the working men Radicals and the Middle Class Liberals and Radicals, the latter have behaved cowardly in and out of Parliament. The Law and Liberty League—a body gaining ground every day—is the first organisation in which Socialist delegates, *as such*, sit aside of Radical delegates.[242] The stupidity of the present Tory government is appalling—if old Disraeli was alive, he would box their ears right and left. But this stupidity helps on matters wonderfully. Home Rule[175] for Ireland *and for London* is now the cry here; the latter a thing which the Liberals fear even more than the Tories do. The working-class element is getting more and more exasperated, through the stupid Tory provocations, is getting daily more conscious of its strength at the ballot-box, and more penetrated by the Socialist leaven. The American example has opened their eyes, and if next autumn there was to be a repetition, in any large American town, of the New York election campaign of 1886,[7] the effect here would be instantaneous. The two great Anglo-Saxon nations are sure to set up competition in Socialism, as well as in other matters, and then it will be a race with ever accelerated velocity.

Can you get me the American Customs' Tariff and the list of internal taxes upon American industrial and other products? And if possible some information as to how the latter are balanced by the former with regard to cost of production? That is, for instance, if the inland duty on cigars is 20%, an import duty of 20% would balance it as far as foreign competition is concerned. That is what I should like to have some information about, before I write my preface to the '*Free Trade*'.[a]

Reciprocating your kind wishes I remain

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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

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94

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[243]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 February 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

The debate on the Anti-Socialist Law[235] was the biggest triumph we have ever scored in the parliamentary sphere and I'm only sorry that you were unable to be there. However, that's unlikely to go on for much longer, since you will, after all, be taking Hasenclever's place shortly.[43]

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, Speech on the Question of Free Trade'

We also have a Puttkamer over here—Balfour, Secretary for Ireland. Just as Puttkamer is Bismarck's cousin, so Balfour is Salisbury's nephew. An arrogantly obstreperous stuck-up squire, exactly like Puttkamer. He too gets soundly thrashed and last week succumbed to a lambasting at the hands of O'Brien,[244] just as Puttkamer does at those of our own people. Moreover, he's as useful to the Irish as Puttkamer is to us. However, you'll glean *absolutely nothing* from the deplorable *Saturday Review*, supposing you still take it, about what's going on over here; so far as anything of importance is concerned, a *conspiration du silence*[a] prevails.

Bismarck's speech was addressed to Tsar Alexander in person in order that the Gatchina prisoner might at long last learn the truth.[245] Whether it will help is doubtful. The Russians, such is their irresolution, are becoming ever more deeply embroiled and in the end they may not be able to draw back with honour. Therein lies the danger. As a rule they behave like utter jack-asses when they embark on a war. It's a repeat of *Croesus by crossing the Halys will ruin a mighty realm.*[b] They can place barely a million men on the border and haven't enough officers for more. France disposes of 1¼ million *very good* troops, but no longer has sufficient seasoned men and still fewer officers to provide more. With 2½ million seasoned troops and an adequate supply of officers and NCOs, Bismarck has, however, still pitched Germany's strength too low. Nor is it a bad thing that this should be so. Until the revolution gets under way in Russia, Bismarck must not be brought down by an *external* defeat. That would only restore his popularity.

But it is impossible to foretell what will come of the affair if it really gets to the stage of a war. They'll certainly try to turn it into a mock war, but that is not so easy to do. If it is to be done in the way that suits *us* best, and the odds are strongly in favour of it, then let it be a static war with changing fortunes on the French border, an offensive war with the capture of the Polish fortresses on the Russian border, and a revolution in Petersburg which will all at once throw an entirely different light on everything, so far as the gentlemen prosecuting the war are concerned. This much is certain—there will be no rapid decisions, no triumphal marches either on Berlin or on Paris. France is very strong and very cleverly fortified; so far as their disposition is concerned, the works round Paris are a masterly affair.

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[a] conspiracy of silence – [b] This sentence was in Greek in the original

Last Monday, during the meeting held to welcome Cunninghame-Graham (Communist, Marxist, on the above occasion he called for nationalisation of all means of production) and Burns,[246] Mother Schack was running round selling *Freedom*, the most extreme and strident of the local anarchist papers. She inadvertently offered one to Lessner, among others. Her unsatisfied craving for action seems to have driven her quite dotty.

Reuss has instituted proceedings against the *Commonweal* (Morris) for denouncing him as a spy.[247] Obviously the Prussian embassy wishes to regain over here the ground lost in Berlin. It may, however, be making hellish blunder. Mr Reuss has to go into the witness box, and in this country *perjury* is not to be trifled with. There's no Puttkamer over here to help!

The *Manifesto* is coming out in English, edited by myself.[54] I shall send you one as soon as I get some.

Your

F. E.

Apropos, Pfänder's widow is living over here in the most wretched circumstances. I do what I can and have just sent her another couple of £s. The louts' society[106] put on a concert for her and collected about £5. She herself is ill, her daughter paints, and the pair of them do bits of needlework, but all is wretchedness. Might the party not set aside a trifling sum every quarter? The doctor says she'll barely get through the winter. See what you can do. We really ought to set aside pensions for our veterans' widows.

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95

ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

IN THE HAGUE

London, 23 February 1888
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Nieuwenhuis,

I informed Kautsky of the contents of your letter immediately it arrived and understand that he has since seen to everything you wanted.

The news from here is pretty good on the whole. The various socialist organisations have refrained from forcibly accelerating the natural, normal and hence somewhat slow process of development of the English working class; hence less fuss, less vainglory, but also less disappointment. Moreover they get on amongst themselves. As to setting the masses in motion, that has been taken care of by the incomprehensible stupidity of the government and the imperturbable cowardice of the Liberal opposition. The Trafalgar Square affair[185] did not simply breathe new life into the working men; the deplorable way in which the Liberal leaders behaved then and subsequently is driving more and more radical workers over to the socialists, the more so as the latter behaved very well on that particular occasion and were to be seen everywhere in the front rank. Cunninghame-Graham is a declared Marxist and at the meeting last Monday[246] demanded outright that the nation confiscate *all the means of production.* So here too we are represented in Parliament.

The best proof of how far the workers over here have advanced is provided by the radical working men's clubs[22] in the East End. What impressed them above all was the example set by the New York election campaign in November 1886;[7] for what America does makes a greater impression over here than anything the whole of the continent of Europe may do. The example set by New York made it clear to the chaps that in the end the workers would do best if they formed their own party. When the Avelings returned, they seized on this mood and since then their activities have proved most effective in these clubs[84]—the only political workingmen's organisations of any importance that exist here. Both Aveling and his wife give several lectures a week down there and exert a great deal of influence; there's no doubt that they are now the

most popular speakers with the workers. The main thing, of course, is to wean the clubs from their dependence on the great Liberal Party, prepare the ground for their own labour party and gradually bring the chaps over to conscious socialism. For, as I have said, the cowardice of the Liberal leaders, as also of the majority of London Liberal and Radical Members of Parliament, has been of enormous help to us over here. The people who were elected 3 or 4 years ago as workingmen's representatives, the Cremers, Howells, Potters, etc., are already completely played out. Were a second ballot to be introduced here instead of the matter's being decided, as it now is, by a relative majority at the first ballot, we should be able to organise a labour party within six months; under the present electoral system the creation of a new, third party is made very difficult. But it will come, no question of that, and in the meantime we can content ourselves with the knowledge that we are advancing all along the line.

An English edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, revised by myself, will be coming out in the next week or two; I shall send you one—there's a big demand for it over here, which is also a good sign.

You too will have been delighted at our brilliant victory in the Reichstag in Berlin. Bebel surpassed himself.[235] He came to stay with me last autumn[173] and I only hope that gaol suits you[5] as well as it does him.[64] He says he always feels very much better afterwards (he suffers from nerves and in gaol his nervous excitation dies down).

Shall you be coming over here again next summer?

With kindest regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 February1888

My dear Laura,

I have just half an hour before post-time to give you a sign of life after sending off the last proofs of the *Manifesto*.[a] I hope you have better weather than we here: nothing but East winds, frost, snow showers, varying with a few hours' thaw. Very uncomfortable with the English system of fire-places, but then this winter cannot last for ever.

I have not sent the *Pall Mall Gazette* of late because there is literally nothing in it. It is strictly a London local paper, and consequently deadly dull when nothing is stirring in London.

Bebel and Singer had a glorious victory in the Reichstag, not only at the first but also at the third reading of the bill.[235] It was exactly like O'Brien's victory over Balfour[244] (who is a Scottish Puttkamer all over). Most of our people were at the meeting last Monday to welcome Cunninghame-Graham and Burns[246]; O'Brien spoke there again, and very well. Cunninghame-Graham who already before, at Glasgow, had publicly stated that he stood on the basis of Karl Marx 'absolutely and entirely', here again proclaimed the nationalisation *of all means of production*. So we are represented in the British Parliament too. Hyndman, who had not been asked to speak, had got some of his fellows to call for him, took possession of the platform, but only to attack violently and personally some Radical M.P.s present—invited guests—who by the way had been told before by others, quite sufficiently, about their shortcomings.[b] This attack of Hyndman's however was so uncalled for and out of place that he was hooted down.

You will have heard that Reuss has sued Morris for libel for calling him a spy in the *Commonweal*.[247] Evidently the work of the Bismarckian embassy. Morris was very funky at first, not having any evidence ready at hand, but I think we have since secured enough to

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* – [b] See J. Blackwell, 'The Release of Burns and Graham', *Justice*, No. 215, Vol. V, 25 February

make it a defeat for Puttkamer and Co. if they should persevere, which I doubt. I don't think Reuss will venture going into the witness box, perjury is only allowed to regular British police constables.

Nim wishes me to ask you again to give Longuet a hint that he better begin repaying a little of that money. She seems very sore on that point.

Shall we have war? If so, it will be the most foolish thing on the part of the Czar[a] and the French *chauvins*[b] that they can be guilty of. I have lately studied the military chances. What Bismarck says, that Germany can send out 2½-3 million of drilled and well-officered men, is rather below than above the truth. Russia will never have as many as a million actually on the seat of war, and France can send out 1¼-1½ million of drilled and well-officered men; beyond that, officers and sergeants will be either absent or unfit. Thus Germany alone will be quite capable of resisting, for a time at least, an attack on both sides at once. The great advantage of Germany is in the greater number of drilled men, and especially of sergeants and officers. As to quality, the French will be fully equal to the Germans, as far as the *line* is concerned; beyond that, the German *Landwehr*[248] is far better than the French territorials. The Russians I consider worse than they used to be, they have adopted a system of universal liability to service[78] for which they are not civilised enough and certainly are very short of good officers. And corruption is there as rife as ever—and probably will also play a certain part on the French side, if we are to judge from the Wilsoniades[168] and other scandals.

Jollymeier is very melancholy that you have not written him a line yet with that gold pen. Have you no mercy with him? He will be here again in about 4 weeks for Easter, which this year falls on Bismarck's birthday, alias All fools; day.[c] Very proper too, after people have been foolish enough for 1,800 years to celebrate such a fantastical festival!

Methinks I hear a certain bell calling me to the consumption of—I dare say veal cutlets. Farewell for today, and may the breeches of Paul, with their excessive length, lose also their perfume of sour size—a perfume too well known, alas, to an old Manchesterian!

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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[a] Alexander III – [b] chauvinists – [c] 1 April

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[125]

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 February 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

If you people will allocate 100 marks a quarter to Mrs Pfänder, I shall do the same, in which case she will have £40 a year and that will safeguard her against extreme indigence.

After Pfänder's death she had a little money, opened a lodging house, but was necessarily restricted to a very *second-rate* neighbourhood; she was also unfortunate in other respects (e.g. let rooms to several paederasts who were found out)—in short, it didn't work. Next she took a little shop, whereupon the daughter died who alone understood how to manage a small business of that sort—in short, the money melted away. Pfänder's brother, whom the former had at one time bought out of the army and supported for a long period, and who is in New Ulm, Minnesota, insisted upon her going over there with her other daughter. On arrival they found they were to be treated as 'poor relations' and do domestic service. Mrs Pfänder was not slow to decide; she returned forthwith, having been there barely a fortnight. That ate up what little resources she had left. Since then everything possible has been done for her over here, but I am the only person here who can provide for her in the long run, though not with a sufficiency in view of all the other calls upon me. But, as I say, if your proposal goes through, the worst will be taken care of. In any case, it won't be for very long.

I read the *Daily News* in the morning, the *Evening Standard* and *Pall Mall Gazette* in the evenings and the *Weekly Dispatch* on Sundays. At the moment, that is; I sometimes ring the changes. But if there is anything interesting in them, I send it to Paris for Laura and cannot very well depart from this. However, I shall see what I can send you. Provided you are looking for literary contributions rather than politics, the *Weekly Dispatch* is at all events better than the *Saturday Review*. Belongs to Mrs Ashton Dilke, editor Dr Al. Hunter, M. P. for Aberdeen. It's bigoted, middle class-radical, but comprehensive so far as English news is concerned, has much parliamentary gossip during session time, and first-rate correspondence from Paris (Mrs Crawford of the *Daily News*, who can speak her mind much more freely here). I'll send it to you sometimes.

I have never heard of the Irish tricolour you mention. The Irish flags in Ireland and over here are simply green, with a gold harp, but *no crown* (in the British Empire's coat-of-arms there's a crown above the harp). At the time of the Fenians, 1865-67,[249] many people wore green and orange to show the Orangemen of the North[250] that they didn't want to smash them but to accept them as brothers. But there's no question of that now.

I don't think Bismarck is so stupid as to believe that the Russians would be a party to his crushing France. Constant squabbling between France and Germany is, after all, their chief means of dominating Europe and this implies their holding the scales. That Bismarck desires nothing more ardently than to sink France, if possible, beneath the waves is, of course, undeniable. But it won't be so easy to do. The new French fortifications—the Mass and Moselle Lines, the two groups of fortresses in the north and southeast (Belfort, Besançon, Lyons, Dijon, Langres, Épinal) and, finally, the wonderful new groups of forts round Paris—have taken the wind out of his sails; as things are now, Germany cannot get the better of France or France the better of Germany. And that's a very good thing. If the worst comes to the worst, the frontier will probably be the scene of a static war with changing fortunes, which will instill respect for their opponents into both armies and make possible a reasonable peace. On the other hand, the Russians may suffer a formidable drubbing, and that would be best of all.

It's just begun to snow again—for the past 3 weeks nothing but snow, frost and east wind, with a bit of a thaw in between-whiles. You would also seem to be having really filthy weather where you are.

Many regards.

Your

F. E.

Do you know a workingman called Carl August Nitzer from Lindenau, who was allegedly expelled from Leipzig (after being held for 3 months on remand), but then allegedly spent another 3 months agitating on behalf of Viereck before fleeing (which is why, he says, he cannot produce an expulsion order)? The laddie has come to me two or three times asking for money, but he gives the impression of being a case-hardened layabout and sponger.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[49]

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 17 March 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Once again it's no go with the pamphlet[203] so far as the date you give is concerned. I am very sorry to have played fast and loose with you like this, but it's not my fault. I have to do exactly what my eye specialist tells me if I want to get back into proper shape again; I am not allowed to write for more than 2 hours, i.e. am forced to break off when I'm just getting into my stride, and frequently cannot even make a start because of the pressure of correspondence. So it would be better if I were to take my time over the thing and do it properly. Also, there's a mass of essential material which has only just turned up and requires perusal. In short, it would be best if you were to look to your own convenience and, when I have made enough progress, I shall write and tell you.

Lehmann the Younger[a] writes a hideously affected German. He has every reason to warn people against the dangers of an inadequate education, of which he himself, in his muddled, liberal-conservative Manchesterist proclamation,[251] presents such a terrifying example. However, it's hard to have to play the Emperor when you have one foot in the grave. Anyhow, if he holds out for another 6 months he will introduce a measure of instability and uncertainty into the economic system, and that's all we need. As soon as your philistine has any inkling that the system will not go on as it is for ever but is, on the contrary, tottering, it will be the beginning of the end. The building has lost its keystone, Lehmann I,[b] and it will soon become evident how rickety the whole contraption is. That may mean things will be momentarily better for us but also—in certain circumstances—momentarily worse; alternatively it may mean war. At all events, we are once more in for a lively time.

Kindest regards to Ede and Liebknecht if, as I suppose, he is there.

Yours,
F. E.

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[a] Frederick III – [b] William I

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 19 March 1888

My dear Lafargue,

I am sending you a *Weekly Dispatch* which sheds light on the reason why 'friend Fritz' is made to work so hard.[252] Bismarck would give two years of his life to reduce him—Fritz—to a state in which he would be obliged to acknowledge himself unfit to rule. That is why his nose is kept to the grindstone, and that is why Fritz is having to sweat. The intrigue is of long date, its original object being the total elimination of Fritz before the old man's[a] death; this having failed, they are trying to kill him by dint of hard work, state occasions, etc. All this can only lead to an open breach, provided Fritz does not succumb too soon; if he recovers a little in the course of the summer and then brings about a ministerial reshuffle, it will be greatly to our benefit. The main thing is that home affairs should become unstable, that the philistine should lose his faith in the perpetuity of Bismarck's régime and that he should find himself face to face with a situation in which he, the philistine, will have to decide and act instead of leaving it all to the government. Old William was the keystone and, now that it has fallen, the whole building is threatened with collapse. What we need is at least six months of Fritz to undermine it still further, to make philistines and functionaries uncertain of the future, and to conjure up the possibility of a change in home affairs. Fritz is spineless and, even when in good health, he agrees with

[a] William I

his last interlocutor, almost always his wife.[a] The only things that will force his hand are the intrigues of Bismarck and of his own son.[b] Once he has brought about a change of front it matters little how long he lasts or does not last; whatever the case, William II will accede in circumstances that are favourable to ourselves.

On the other hand, if Fritz dies sooner, William II will not be the same as William I and we shall nonetheless experience a sudden volte-face on the part of the bourgeoisie. This young man is bound to perpetrate follies which will not be forgiven him as were the old man's. If the doctors slit his father's throat[c] he, the son, may well suffer a similar fate, but at the hands of others. He is not paralysed, by the way. His arm was fractured at birth, no one noticed this at the time, hence the atrophy of that limb.

In any case the ice has been broken. Continuity in home affairs has been disrupted, and movement will take the place of stagnation. That is all we require.

Boulanger is undoubtedly something of a charlatan, but he's not a cipher for all that. He has given proof of military gumption and his charlatanism may serve him well in the French army; Napoleon had his fair share of it, too. But he seems politically inept, perhaps because of his overweening ambition. There can be no doubt that, if the French want to throw away any chance they have of recovering the lost provinces, they need only ape Boulanger's friends—in particular Rochefort, who seems stupid to the point of folly. All that is needed to reconcile the numbskull Alsatians with Germany is an abortive war of revenge; the peasants are mercenaries who, given the choice, will always serve in the victor's army, while the bourgeois will find their profits assured by the German tariff no less than by that of the French. As for the Russians, they are sure to be defeated; I have just been studying their 1877-78 campaign in Turkey[253]—98 incompetent generals to 2 tolerable ones, an exceedingly ill-organised army with officers beneath all criticism, with brave soldiers inured to the utmost hardship (they waded through fords, *in minus 10 degrees Réaumur*, with water up to their chests), very obedient, but also totally incapable of understanding the only kind of fighting possible today—fighting in extended order. Their strength lay in fighting in close order, a form which no longer exists, and anyone seeking to revive it would be swept by the fire of modern weapons.

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[a] Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa – [b] William (later William II) – [c] Frederick III had larynx cancer

But if Boulanger delivers you from plural lists,[254] we'll vote him a Vendôme column[255] without his having to go and earn it on the field of battle.

Tussy and Edward are leaving on Thursday for their 'castle' at Stratford-on-Avon and the Kautskys are to follow them. What a pleasant prospect—a labourer's cottage, with the cold and the wind and the flurries of snow we're now having! As for the rest of us, we have so far stood the winter very well until, a week ago, we had a brilliant, warm, spring day, followed by frost, nor'-easter and snow. It gave Nim the *mumps*, alias parotitis, and me a 'flu-like cold in the head—difficult things to get rid of in this weather. But nothing particularly irksome.

I enclose cheque for £15.

My love to Laura. What are Longuet and the children[a] doing? Nim always asks me for news of them as soon as a letter arrives from Paris.

Yours ever,
F.E.

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ENGELS TO MARGARET HARKNESS[256]

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, early April 1888

Dear Miss Harkness,

I thank you very much for sending me through Messrs Vizetelly your *City Girl*. I have read it with the greatest pleasure and avidity. It is indeed, as my friend Eichhoff your translator calls it, *ein kleines*

[a] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet

Kunstwerk[a]; to which he adds, what will be satisfactory to you, that consequently his translation must be all but literal, as any omission or attempted manipulation could only destroy part of the original's value.

What strikes me most in your tale besides its realistic truth is that it exhibits the courage of the true artist. Not only in the way you treat the Salvation Army,[205] in the teeth of supercilious respectability, which respectability will perhaps learn from your tale, for the first time, *why* the Salvation Army has such a hold on the popular masses. But chiefly in the plain unvarnished manner in which you make the old, old story, the proletarian girl seduced by a middle-class man, the pivot of the whole book. Mediocrity would have felt bound to hide the, to it, commonplace character of the plot under heaps of artificial complications and adornments, and yet would not have got rid of the fate of being found out. You felt you could afford to tell an old story, because you could make it a new one by simply telling it truly.

Your Mr Arthur Grant is a masterpiece.

If I have anything to criticise, it would be that perhaps, after all, the tale is not quite realistic enough. Realism, to my mind, implies, beside truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances. Now your characters are typical enough, as far as they go; but the circumstances which surround them and make them act, are not perhaps equally so. In the *City Girl* the working class figures as a passive mass, unable to help itself and not even making any attempt at striving to help itself. All attempts to drag it out of its torpid misery come from without, from above. Now if this was a correct description about 1800 or 1810, in the days of Saint-Simon and Robert Owen, it cannot appear so in 1887 to a man who for nearly fifty years has had the honour of sharing in most of the fights of the militant proletariat. The rebellious reaction of the working class against the oppressive medium which surrounds them, their attempts—convulsive, half-conscious or conscious—at recovering their status as human beings, belong to history and must therefore lay claim to a place in the domain of realism.

I am far from finding fault with your not having written a point-blank socialist novel, a '*Tendenz-roman*' as we Germans call it, to glorify the social and political views of the author. That is not at all what I mean. The more the opinions of the author remain hidden, the better for the work of art. The realism I allude to may crop out even in spite of the author's opinions. Let me refer to an example. Balzac whom I consider a

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[a] a little masterpiece

far greater master of realism than all the Zolas *passées, présents et à venir*,[a] in *La Comédie humaine* gives us a most wonderfully realistic history of French 'Society', especially of *le monde parisien*,[b] describing, chronicle-fashion, almost year by year from 1816 to 1848 the progressive inroads of the rising bourgeosie upon the society of nobles, that reconstituted itself after 1815 and set up again, as far as it could, the standard of *la vieille politesse française*.[c] He describes how the last remnants of this, to him, model society gradually succumbed before the intrusion of the vulgar moneyed upstart, or were corrupted by him; how the *grande dame*, whose conjugal infidelities were but a mode of asserting herself in perfect accordance with the way she had been disposed of in marriage, gave way to the bourgeois, who horned her husband for cash or cashmere; and around this central picture he groups a complete history of French Society from which, even in economical details (for instance the re-arrangement of real and personal property after the Revolution) I have learned more than from all the professed historians, economists and statisticians of the period together. Well, Balzac was politically a Legitimist[257]; his great work is a constant elegy on the irretrievable decay of good society; his sympathies are all with the class doomed to extinction. But for all that his satire is never keener, his irony never bitterer, than when he sets in motion the very men and women with whom he sympathises most deeply—the nobles. And the only men of whom he always speaks with undisguised admiration, are his bitterest political antagonists, the republican heroes of the Cloître[d] Saint-Méry,[258] the men, who at that time (1830-36) were indeed the representatives of the popular masses. That Balzac thus was compelled to go against his own class sympathies and political prejudices, that he *saw* the necessity of the downfall of his favourite nobles, and described them as people deserving no better fate; and that he *saw* the real men of the future where, for the time being, they alone were to be found—that I consider one of the greatest triumphs of Realism, and one of the grandest features in old Balzac.

I must own, in your defence, that nowhere in the civilised world are the working people less actively resistant, more passively submitting to fate, more *hébétés*[e] than in the East End of London. And how do I know whether you have not had very good reasons for contenting yourself, for once, with a picture of the passive side of working-class life, reserving the active side for another work?

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[a] past, present and future – [b] Paris high society – [c] French politeness of old – [d] monastery – [e] dull

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 10-11 April 1888

My dear Laura,

Schorlemmer returned to Manchester yesterday and so I can sit down today and write a few lines, that is to say if Edward and Tussy, who are returning from their 'Castle' and will be here about 5, do not drop in too soon.

First of all I must congratulate Paul on his splendid discoveries in etymology, which are truly astonishing.[259] That a great many French words which we used to derive from the Latin *bos* ox, are descended from the Greek *boûs* ox, is already something. But that *bouillon* comes from *boûs* and not from *bullire* to boil, is a great discovery and only pity that Paul did not follow it up a little further. Thus *Bou*-strapa[260] is evidently of the same derivation, and *Buo*-naparte (for *Boû*-naparte) also, and Bonapartism being thus connected with ox, *Bou*-langer must be derived from *boûs*; and then also its English equivalent *Baker*, which throws a completely new light on the adventure of Colonel Baker in the railway-carriage: how could he help rushing on Europa-Robinson, being descended from *boûs* Jupiter?[261] Moreover there can be no doubt that in *mou-tarde* the *m* stands for an original *b*, and that thus its derivation from *boûs* is assured—what a flood of light this throws on the fact that mustard is eaten to beef only and not to mutton!

Another great progress is to treat Sanskrit on the same level as craniology, and to have discovered *des linguistes d'Allemagne et d'Angleterre*[a] who say that *le finnois offre plus d'analogie avec les idiomes aryens que le sanscrit.*[b] I have only heard of some who, ascribing

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[a] the German and English linguists – [b] Finnish shows more analogies to Aryan idioms than Sanskrit

to the Aryan nations a *European* origin instead of an Asiatic one, find themselves placed before the awkward predicament of having to accept a Finnic origin of the Aryan language without being able, so far, to show the least trace of connection between the two. If Paul had tried to derive French from Japanese instead of from Greek, he would have done what he maintains these poor devils of Germans and English have done. They are badly off enough, as it is. They are second-rate and third-rate *epigones*—the Germans that is—some are even Bohemians—who for sensational purposes have started—or rather (by a series of mistakes) been conducted to—a paradox theory which has landed them in face of a dead wall; the Englishmen have taken the thing up as a fashion, as was to be expected from beginners who want to show off as masters—they have ventilated their rubbish at the last British Association[262] Meeting quite *en-famille*—but that which Paul ascribes to them—the discovery of the connection between Aryan and Finnish, a connection closer even than that of the other Aryan languages with Sanskrit their sister-tongue—that they are still panting for, and it is to be hoped they do not read the *Nouvelle Revue* or else they would indeed want to know who is this Fergus who holds the magic wand which transforms Aryan into Finnic and vice versa. But in case they come, Fergus can point to his Irish name in justification of his Irish Bulls or *boûs*.

But joke *à part* the articles are very good, and what does it matter to the Parisians *qui s'en fichent*[a] whether Fergus tells them a few bulls about etymology. It is far more important that they should learn a little about their own language, and that they find here. Only I don't think it is necessary to the amusement of the Parisians that an author should commit himself by such assertions. But then we all of us have the inclination to brag most of what we know least; at all events I know I am.[b]

11th April. Exactly as I expected. The two hungry souls[c] dropped in just as I finished the preceding page, bringing eggs, butter, pork pie, sausages from their truly rural retreat, and two good appetites. Today I had my American mail-day and now try to finish this.

In France things seems to me to go very well. Boulangism is the just and deserved punishment for the cowardice of all parties in the face of that bourgeois chauvinism which thinks it can make the clock of universal history stand still until France has reconquered Alsace. Fortunately

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[a] who do not care a straw – [b] Engels presumably wanted to say: '. . . I know I have it' – [c] Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling

Boulanger proves himself more and more a political ass, more dangerous, in my opinion, to himself than to anybody else. *Un homme qui a son plan comme Trochu kann sich begraben lasssen.*[a]

For the rest, the Opportunists[199] are getting more and more worn out, *verschlissen*,[b] and have to fall back upon the alliance with the Monarchists, that is to say upon political suicide. The great progress in French public opinion is this: that the Republic is recognised as the only possible government, that Monarchy is equivalent to civil war and foreign war. The action of the Opportunists (besides their flagrant corruption) drives public opinion more and more towards the Left, and compels the nomination of more and more radical governments. All this in strict harmony with the regular development since 1875. We can wish for no more than that this should continue, and if Boulanger assists this move unintentionally all the better. The sense which the French have unbeknown to themselves—the necessary logical inheritance of a great, unconsciously logical history—will I hope prove more powerful than all the nonsense they set to work consciously and intentionally.

The German philistine convinces himself more and more that with old William[c] the *clef de voûte*[d] of the present system has gone, and that the whole *voûte*[e] will gradually follow. I only hope Bismarck will not be sent to the right-about merely in order to re-enter in triumph. Otherwise he had better stop.

What a fool that Rochefort is. Quotes Catholic Munich papers to prove that the Germans are only awaiting the French again invading Germany in order to join them, upset Bismarck and restore French domination in Germany! Cannot that idiot see that nothing would more fortify Bismarck than such a French attempt to 'free' Germany, and that we intend to settle our internal concerns ourselves!

Ever yours,
F. Engels
called by Dinner Bell

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[a] A man who harbours plans similar to Trochu's is done for – [b] seedy – [c] William I – [d] keystone – [e] vault

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLY-WISCHNEWETZKY[239]

IN NEW YORK

London, 11 April 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Your call for the ms.[a] comes upon me very suddenly and I am afraid I shall not be able to oblige you. I am allowed to write two hours a day, no more; have a large correspondence to attend to; find that at the end of the two hours, am only just getting warm in harness, and then, just then, must stop. Under these circumstances I am quite unable to do *articles de saison* to order, especially for a distant market, and do not see my way to having the pamphlet ready in ms. by 15th May, much less have it ready printed in New York by that time. Still I will set about it at once, after clearing off urgent letters, and do my best. I interrupt an important piece of business[b] on purpose, to clear this matter off.

Still in my opinion you need not fear of losing your opportunity. The Free Trade question will not disappear from the American horizon until settled. I am sure that Protection has done its duty for the United States and is now an obstacle, and whatever may be the fate of the Mills bill,[263] the struggle will not end until either Free Trade enables the United States manufacturers to take the leading part in the world market to which they are entitled in many branches of trade, or until both Protectionists and Free Traders are shoved aside by those behind them. Economic facts are stronger than politics, especially if the politics are so much mixed up with corruption as in America. I should not wonder if during the next few years one set of American manufacturers after the other passed over to the Free Traders—if they understand their interests they *must*.

Thanks for the official publications[c]—I think they will be just what I want.

I am glad of your success against the Executive as far as it goes—from *Volkszeitung* weekly 31 March[d] I see they won't give in yet—there you

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*' – [b] work on Vol. III of *Capital* – [c] See this volume, p....v – [d] The item referred to appeared in the column 'Socialistische Arbeiter-Partei National-Executiv-Komite', *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*, No. 13, 31 March 1888

see what an advantage it is to be on the spot. The non-resisting weakness which went straight against the Avelings because they were absent[3]—that weakness you could work round to your favour because you were not absent; and thus the hostility to you is reduced to mere local *Klatsch*[a] which with perseverance you are sure to overcome and to live down.[264]

I was very much rejoiced to read that the Sorges feel happier again in their old quarters,[218] I hope they will continue so. Old Sorge could no more live in a hole like Rochester than I could in *Krähwinkel*[b] or its Lancashire equivalents, Chowbent or Bullocksmithy.

I return herewith the letters of the Board of Supervision.

In haste

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von John. 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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103

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 12 April 1888

Dear Bebel,

Since you wrote on 8 March, I have been taking a bit of a look at events; things now seem to be settling down sufficiently for one to size them up. Your policy of saying that nothing has changed is, when applied to the masses, tactically quite correct; but in my view it by no means does justice to the historical situation.

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[a] gossip – [b] (fig.) a godforsaken hole

Fritz's proclamations[251] show him to be of exceedingly mediocre intellect. Anyone who, after so many years as Crown Prince, can find nothing better to put forward than the elimination of this or that petty tax and, on the military side, the abolition of the third rank, which is quite pointless because long since abolished in a fighting formation, is unlikely to change the face of the world. The plaint about the evils of an inadequate education is apt to be the monopoly of the inadequately educated—as in this instance. So much for his intellect.

In assessing his character one must—because of the state of his health—proceed with the utmost caution. If a man is in constant danger of having his throat slit by his doctors,[a] he may be excused from bestirring himself unduly; this would only be appropriate were his health to improve. Hence it is understandable that in internal affairs Bismarck and Puttkamer should have a freer hand than ever before.

But that is not to imply that nothing has changed. In William[b] the building has lost its keystone and the fact that it is tottering is plainly manifest. Their internal policy betrays how desperately Bismarck and Co. are clinging to their positions. Nor is yours unchanged; it has *deteriorated* precisely because Bismarck wishes to demonstrate that nothing has changed. The ostentatious exclusion of the Social Democrats from the amnesty, the mass scale of house searches and persecution, the desperate efforts to kill off the *Sozialdemokrat* in Switzerland[81]—all this proves that Bismarck & Co. feel the ground quaking under their feet, as do the efforts of the supporters of the Kartell[265] to make Fritz realise what a monarch is.

In true monarchical fashion they give way over all political questions, yet it's a court intrigue which brings the conflict to light. The thing's absolutely farcical—according to Bismarck, the Tsar[c] has the right to forbid Battenberg's marriage, while according to Fritz and Victoria, in their particular case, all the profound and inscrutable political axioms whereby they have been guided throughout their lives are suddenly to be abolished![266]

Being in such a parlous state, Fritz will doubtless be forced to give way here again—unless he gets better and can *really* weather a ministerial crisis. It is not at all in our interests that Bismarck should sulkily withdraw, only to return in triumph 4 weeks later, the idol of your coalitionist philistine. We should be more than satisfied if the said

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[a] Frederick III had larynx cancer – [b] William I – [c] Alexander III

coalitionist philistine were to lose all faith in the stability of Bismarck's regime. Nor will that stability be restored in Fritz's lifetime.

Since absolutely nothing more is being divulged about the nature of the disease—not even Waldeyer's report which, if favourable, would certainly have been made public—there can be no doubt that it's a case of cancer. And here again our men of Progress[45] are showing what stuff they are made of. Virchow who, if only in his capacity as a medical man, and one who has already been consulted, ought now to be on the spot, is digging for antiquities in Egypt! No doubt he wishes to be called in officially!

There can be no empire without an *empereur*, no Bonapartism without a Bonaparte. The system is tailored to the man, stands or falls with him. Like the old Slav idol of Pomerania, Triglav, our Bonaparte had three heads; the middle one has been cut off and, of the other two, Moltke is already past his prime and Bismarck tottering. He won't get the better of Victoria, she having learnt from her mother[a] how to deal with ministers, even all-powerful ones. The old security is gone. The insecurity of the foundations will also become apparent in their policy; blunders abroad, at home recurrent coups de main. And it will become apparent in your philistine's loss of faith in his own idol, in the dwindling energy and zeal of civil servants, their minds bent on the possibility of change and consequently of a changed future for themselves. All this if, as seems probable, Bismarck stays where he is. But should Fritz get better and Bismarck's position become seriously endangered, then, so Lenchen maintains, they'll take a pot shot at Fritz. This might in fact actually happen, should Puttkamer and his Ihrings and Naporras be endangered.

So whatever happens there'll be an interregnum, with Bismarck yearning for the exit of Fritz and the entry of the other William.[b] In that case, however, things won't be at all the same as they used to be. In that case there'll be bedlam. Our Bonapartism has now just about reached its Mexican period. When *that* comes, so will our 1866, followed shortly by 1870; i.e. it will come from within, a *domestic* Sedan.[267] Well, let it!

In France things are taking a perfectly logical course—the right-wing Republicans are being forced into an alliance with the Monarchists and are foundering as a result, and possible governments have to be formed ever further to the left. Boulanger is obviously a political nitwit and will

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[a] Queen Victoria – [b] William II

probably soon come to grief in the Chamber. Your French provincial philistine has but *one* article of faith—the indispensability of the Republic, since Monarchy spells civil war and war abroad.

Shall send receipt for Mrs Pfänder's 100 marks in my next; I forgot to get it from her. Meanwhile many thanks for the donation. I shall do what I can to support the woman, but shall take the liberty of approaching you people again.

Kindest regards to your wife and daughter, and to Singer.

Your
F.E.

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 16 April 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

I was on the point of answering your letter of the 4th when your second one arrived with an enclosure for Karl Kautsky and giving me to understand that my answers no less than your questions were already things of the past.

All I want to do now is point out how this is connected with the Social Democratic Federation's circular.[268]

1. The Social Democratic Federation still poses as the *only* socialist organisation in England and the *only* one entitled to act and speak on behalf of the movement over here as a whole. This was why it was necessary, having regard to the preparations for the congress, to emphasise that position, the more so as the Socialist League[21] in its present form will probably fizzle out before long and the Social Democratic

Federation would like to absorb the *disjecta membra*.[a] Fortunately, however, that won't come off, for if it did the same old personal squabbles would at once begin all over again.

2. The Social Democratic Federation is closely in league with the Possibilists in Paris and, since these in their turn are in league with Broadhurst & Co.,[269] the Social Democratic Federation must manoeuvre. This second reason is the crucial one. Hyndman & Co. have become so deeply embroiled with the Possibilists that they can no longer draw back, even if they wanted to.

My opinion of all this congress business? I'm barely capable of expressing one, since I haven't the faintest idea of what has been discussed and anyway views change, kaleidoscope-fashion, even in your own case. By and large I regard all such congresses as exceedingly risky unless one is absolutely sure of success from the outset and, unless something definite and attainable is to be discussed, as somewhat unnecessary. The small fry, in particular the Belgians, have the chief say and, since the foreign department in Belgium is run, not by the Flemings, but by the old Brussels clique—the Brismée family—the same old dish is served up every time. But to want to hold your congress over *here*,[270] one week *after* the Trades Unions have held theirs, would spell utter ruin. Your funds would be used up, your people would run off and you'd be irredeemably delivered up into the arms of London's wirepullers—*ad majorem gloriam Hyndmanni*.[b]

That *Geneva* is the place where the French—never mind what sort—ought to hold a congress to celebrate the French Revolution of 1789 and *à propos* of the Paris Exhibition[c] is something you'll certainly never get them to believe.

So even if your congress doesn't materialise, it will, in my view, be no great disaster. In any case the agenda is needlessly restricted. A congress convoked by our Reichstag group would, after all, be attended exclusively by socialists and anarchists, not by Trade Unionists pure and simple. A social-democratic congress could throw the anarchists out, a general workingmen's congress cannot, and they are capable of being thoroughly obstreperous.

Fritz had better make haste and perk up—from the point of view of his health; otherwise Bismarck will prove too much for him. I hope that

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[a] scattered limbs (Horace, *Satires*, I, 4) – [b] to the greater glory of Hyndman – [c] The international exhibition which was to be held in Paris in 1889

Bismarck goes too far and gets sacked, the dissolution to be followed by fresh elections under some sort of interim administration. That would provide a nice dose of *désillusionnement* for the philistines. But obviously when you may be condemned any day to have your throat slit by the doctors,[a] you're unlikely to have much zest for a serious fight. And on his own showing Bismarck is already defending himself tooth and claw.

Kindest regards.

Your

F.E.

Was the stuff we sent you on Saturday what you wanted? If not, there has been a misunderstanding. The German is by Eccarius.[271]

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 20 April 1888
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Friend

I'm glad to hear that a fresh prospect appears to be opening up for you and hope you'll manage to prepare for the exam.[272]

I cannot, unfortunately, suggest any books that might assist your studies in this direction. For an Italian examination German books would cover too much ground on the one hand and too little on the other; moreover, I am not familiar with the more recent short

[a] Frederick III had larynx cancer

compendiums. Still less do I know of any Italian books that would suit your purpose; the most I could recommend would be Carlo Botta, *Storia dei Popoli d'Italia* which begins with Constantinus Magnus, circa AD 300. Perhaps also Pietro Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli*, covering the years 1735-1825, a classic. But probably most helpful of all would be the textbooks currently in use in your grammar schools (corresponding to the French *lycées* and *collèges* and our *Gymnasien*), since most of the candidates for archivist's appointments will have attended these establishments and the examiners will therefore have to conform to the syllabus laid down in those schools.

But since it is impossible for you in your present straitened circumstances to purchase these books I deem it my duty to offer you my assistance. I have therefore permitted myself the liberty of taking out the enclosed money order in your name for the sum of four pounds sterling or fr. 10080 *centesimi* and trust you won't be angry with me for sending you this small amount without first obtaining your consent. I only hope that it will be enough, and that you will be able to procure what you need and pass your exam.

You will have read about our Zurich friends' expulsion from Switzerland.[81]

I shall look over and return the translation shortly[231]—as soon as I have finished an important piece for America.[a] Going through a whole lot of numbers at the same time cuts down the work.

With most cordial regards.

Yours

F. Engels

For postal purposes my first name has been given in its *English* form: 'Frederick'.

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[a] 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*'

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ENGELS TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

IN PARIS

London, 27 April 1888
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Deville,

Thank you for your book on Balzac,[a] which I will read with pleasure. After Cervantes Balzac is, or so I think, the greatest novelist of all time, as well as the most faithful recorder of French society between 1815 and 1848. I am fond of Balzac in whatever form.

Your interpretation of Marx's formula is faultless. In manuscript it read: $M - C < \begin{matrix} L \\ MP \end{matrix}$ and it was only for his own convenience and delectation that the printer put the symbol <, which has given rise to endless misunderstandings.

Hence the complete formula on p. 18[b]

$$M - C \begin{matrix} \nearrow L \\ \searrow MP \end{matrix} \quad \ldots\ P \ldots\ C' - M' \quad \text{or}$$

$$M - C \begin{matrix} \nearrow L \\ \searrow MP \end{matrix} \quad \ldots\ P \ldots\ (C + c) - (M + m)$$

means:

M, money, converted into C (commodity), which commodity is made up of L (labour power) and of MP (means of production); the said commodity C is subjected to a process of production P, this last resulting in a new commodity C′ (of different quality, but this does not concern us here where we have to do only with values), of greater value than and hence equal to C plus an increment c (C + c); this C′ is once more exchanged for money, that is to say for an amount M′ greater than M, or equal to M plus an increment m (M + m).

The symbol — serves to mark the conclusion of an exchange; the ....

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[a] G. Deville, *La Femme et l'Amour*. Paris, 1888 – [b] K. Marx, *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. II, Book II, *The Process of Circulation of Capital*, Part 1, *The Metamorphoses of Capital and Their Circuits*, Ch. 1, Circuit of Money Capital

indicates that the value in question undergoes a change of form which is not an exchange—in this case the process of production.

Should you wish to have anything else explained, I shall always be at your service. This second volume will, I am afraid, prove something of a headache for you, while failing to reward you with brilliant new solutions. It is concerned with transactions between bourgeois and the results are very nice theoretically but do not have any practical application. That is why I am in no hurry to see it translated into French or English; it needs to be complemented by Volume III.

I am Sir, etc.,

Your

F. Engels

First published in: M. Dommanget, *L'Introduction du Marxisme en France*, Lausanne, 1969

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, about 29 April 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

Enclosed received this morning.[273]

It's just as well that Fritz[a] is a bit better. If young William[b] comes to the throne at this particular juncture, he and Bismarck—unless all the indications are deceptive—will compound with Russia so as to secure her permission for a war with France. It would seem that certain contingent agreements have already been concluded. In this way, and only in this way, would Boulanger constitute a danger, to France no less than to Germany. The French would be beaten, but because their fortifications

[a] Frederick III – [b] Frederick III's son (William II)

are so strong, the war would be a protracted one and other people would join in. Probably Austria and Italy *against* Germany, since Russia's permission for something like this could not be obtained without both being sacrificed to the Russians. So that means that Bismarck will help the Russians to take Constantinople, and that means a world war on terms that will *quite certainly* ensure our eventual defeat—in alliance with Russia against the world! I trust this danger will pass.

Your
F.E.

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108

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

IN NEW YORK

London, 2 May 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

By this mail I send you *registered* the ms.[a] that is to say the copy Mrs Aveling made of it when she found that with your close handwriting and absence of margin it was impossible to insert in pencil legibly the suggested alterations. There were many, arising from the fact that you translated from a German translation and we had the original to work upon. Many alterations have therefore no other purpose than to bring the English text nearer to the French original. In others, I have for the sake of clearness taken more liberties.

The preface[b] is nearly done in the rough, but as you will require a German translation, I shall have to keep it a little longer on that account.

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[a] K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* – [b] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*'

Anyhow I will hurry on as much as the two hours a day will allow me to do—my doctor has again last week bound me strictly to that limit.

Will you please tell Sorge that according to present arrangements the *Sozialdemokrat*[81] is going to be removed to London. But it will be well to keep this quiet for the present, when our friends intend this to be talked about and to get into the news-hunting press, they will no doubt arrange that themselves.

I am boycotted here almost as much as you are in New York—the various socialist cliques here are dissatisfied at my absolute neutrality with regard to them, and being all of them agreed as to that point, try to pay me out by not mentioning any of my writings. Neither *Our Corner* (Mrs Beasant) nor *To-day* nor the *Christian Socialist* (of this latter monthly, however, I am not quite certain) have mentioned the *Condition of the Working-Class* though I sent them copies myself. I fully expected this but did not like to say so to you until the proof was there. I don't blame them, because I have seriously offended them by saying that so far there is no real working-class movement here,[a] and that, as soon as that comes, all the great men and women who now make themselves busy as officers of an army without soldiers, will soon find their level, and a rather lower one than they expect. But if they think their needle pinks can pierce my old well-tanned and pachydermatous skin, they are mistaken.

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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

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[a] F. Engels, 'England in 1845 and in 1885'

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 May 1888

My dear Laura,

I have just finished, after many interruptions, a lengthy preface to the English edition of Mohr's discourse on Free Trade (Brussels 1848)[a] which is to come out in New York, and as this is the last piece of work which had to be done within a certain time I make use of my recovered liberty in order to write to you at once. And I have a rather important object too to write about, viz. that we want you here in London. You have planted, as I hear from Schorlemmer, some *Waldmeister*[b] in your garden, and as it will be utterly impossible for us to come over and use it there, there is nothing left but that you should come over and bring it here, when the other ingredients shall be duly and quickly found. The weather is beautiful, on Saturday,[c] Mohr's birthday, Nim and I went to Highgate, and today we have been on Hampstead Heath, I am writing with both windows open, and by the time you come which I hope will be next week we shall have lilacs and laburnums ready to receive you. If you only say by return that you are willing to come, *je me charge du reste*.[d] Moreover you will by this time have brought your country-house and garden to such a state of perfection that you can leave it in charge of Paul who must be by now an accomplished gardener. Nim has been sighing for Löhr for some time past, and surely you ought to be present at Edward's great dramatic triumph on the 5 of June when his dramatisation of N. Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is to be brought out at a matinée. And I need not add that I want you here as much as anybody else. There are moreover so many other reasons for your coming that I must refrain from stating them here for fear of missing the post and killing you with ennui. So make up your mind at once, and say you will.

Of Edward's remarkable preliminary successes in the dramatic line you will have heard. He has sold about half a dozen or more pieces which he had quietly manufactured; some have been played in the

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade' – [b] woodruff – [c] 5 May – [d] I'll attend to the rest

provinces with success, some he has brought here himself with Tussy at small entertainments, and they have taken very much with the people that are most interested in them, viz. with such actors and impresarios as will bring them out. If he has now one marked success in London, he is a made man in this line and will soon be out of all difficulties. And I don't see why he should not, he seems to have a remarkable knack of giving to London what London requires.

Paul's letter in the *Intransigeant*[a] was very good indeed. He managed to hit the Radicals[200] without the slightest concession to Boulangism[137] and with the demand for general armament, put a spoke in both their wheels. It was done with great tact.

Have you heard that Fritz Beust is engaged—to an Italian-Swiss girl from Castasegna, hard on the border of Lombardy. I don't know who she is, we shall soon hear from our Zurich friends,[b] who are expected here in less than a fortnight. Maybe you will see Bernstein in Paris on his journey; he may be there any day. How they are going to manage here with regard to the paper[c] I am curious to see.[81] For many reasons London is not the best place for it, though perhaps the only one now. However we shall see, and generally things do settle down at their natural level.

Paul's 'Victor Hugo' in the *Neue Zeit* is very good. I wonder what they would say in France if they could read it.

The great Stead is off to Petersburg to interview the Czar[d] and to make him tell the truth about peace or war. I sent you his Paris interviews,[e] profound man left Paris exactly as wise as when he came there. The Russians will soft-sawder him to his heart's content, I am afraid he will return from Petersburg a greater ass than what he is now. Perhaps in tonight's paper we may read that he has fathomed Bismarck.

The Romanians are queer people. I wrote to Nadejde in Jassy a letter[f] in which I tried to work them up in the anti-Russian line. Now the Jassy Marxists are quarrelling with the Bucharest Anarchists on account of the peasant revolt[275] stirred up by Russia, and so they translate and print my letter at once![g] This time I am not sorry, but it shows what indiscreet fellows they are.

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[a] P. Lafargue, 'Le Boulangisme et les parlementaires', *L'Intransigeant*, 1 May 1888 – [b] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonhard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter – [c] *Der Sozialdemokrat* – [d] Alexander III – [e] W. Th. Stead, 'The Life and Adventures of a Lady *Special.* From our Special Commissioner in Paris', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 May 1888 – [f] See this volume, pp.132–5 – [g] See *Contemporanul*, No. 6, 1888

Not only the paper is at an end, but time too—5.20 p.m. and Nim will ring directly, and in ten minutes the post closes. So farewell for today and do say you come!

Affectionately yours,
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING[130]

IN LONDON

London, 10 May 1888

My dear Tussy,

Best thanks, but we can't come. Nim has to do her marketing or else you won't get any dinner on Sunday, and I have to get off ms.[a] by the American mail on Saturday, which is anything but ready (the ms. not the mail).

Tell Mahon that on Sunday I receive my *private friends* and that there is no chance of talking business on Sundays here. If he wants to see me he is welcome any evening in the week and if he wants Edward to be present they might arrange to come together one night—perhaps you would come too?

Love from Nim.

Ever yours,
F.E.

First published in: E. P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, London, 1955

Reproduced from the original

[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade'

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 10 May 1888

Dear Mr Schlüter,

What's the position as regards your coming over here? All we have heard from Ede[a] is that he is travelling via Paris and will be hanging about there for a bit. He says nothing definite about the others.[81] So here we are, in a state of suspense and unable to do anything.

So would you be good enough to get in touch with the others and let us know when you are all arriving—yourself, Motteler and Tauscher, we presume—and whether we can do anything for you here in the meantime. Let us also know *at which station* you will be arriving and by what route, so that you can be met. Otherwise there could be a glorious muddle, in the course of which quite a lot of money might go down the drain.

With kindest regards to you all

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] Eduard Bernstein

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLY-WISCHNEWETZKY

IN NEW YORK

London, 16 May 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Per today's mail the rest of the preface[a] goes registered.

Reeves is willing to take the agency for the pamphlet[b] at the same percentage as before, and wishes to have his name on the title page under that of the New York publisher, viz.

London
William Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E. C.

This is at least *some* guarantee against piracy on his part, and he is the most dangerous man in this respect. If you will forward the copies intended for him to me I will get them delivered *against receipt*, 300-500 will do to begin with.

The German translation will follow as soon as Mrs Kautsky has done copying it. That may be delayed some days as we expect the *Züricher Ausgewiesener*[c81] here every day and they will keep us rather busy at first.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

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[a] F. Engels, 'Protection and Free Trade' – [b] K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade* – [c] Zurich exiles

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ENGELS TO AMAND GOEGG

IN BADEN

London, 2 June 1888
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W

Dear Goegg,

The lectures at universities here, in all branches of the natural sciences and literature, are open to ladies too. Fees the same as for men. The only lectures not open to ladies are those given by Ray Lankester. The fees vary—details in the prospectus which has been promised me and which I shall send on to you as soon as it arrives.

If what is wanted are medical lectures, I would recommend the college for ladies in Henrietta Street about which, if you so wish, I can let you have further details.

With kind regards,

Yours,
F.E.

First published in *Friedrich Engels 1820-1970. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente*, Hanover, 1971

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114

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[276]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 June 1888

My dear Laura,

I am very sorry you do not see your way to come just now; the woodruff having failed in your garden would not have mattered, because Nim has got some and we are going to have it tonight; it would be so

nice if you were here to take your share. We have 6 bottles of Moselle to sacrifice tonight.

Our Zurich friends[a] are getting used to London ways a little, and it is time, for their notions of the possibilities of a settlement here were uncommonly *kleinstädtisch*.[b] Next week I hope the principal questions as to locality etc. will be settled and then there will be less difficulties and discussions.

Paul's arguments about Boulanger are rather derogatory to the French character. First he says, *c'est un mouvement populaire*', but not dangerous because Boulanger is an ass. But what to think of a *peuple capable d'un mouvement populaire* in favour of an ass? This he explains thus: *En France on patauge pendant un temps donné dans un semblant de parlementarisme, puis on réclame un sauveur, un gouvernement personnel ... en ce moment on réclame un sauveur et Boulanger se présente*.[c] That is to say: the French are such that their *real wants* require a Bonapartist régime, while their *idealistic illusions* are republican and do not go beyond parliamentarism. Why, if the French see no other issue than *either* personal government, *or* parliamentary government, they may as well give it up. What I want our people to do, is to show that there is a real *third* issue besides this pretended dilemma, which is a dilemma but for the vulgar philistines, and not to take the muddling philistine and *au fond* chauvinistic Boulangist movement for a really popular one.[277] The chauvinistic claim, that all the history of the world is to resolve itself into the recovery of Alsace by France, and that until then nothing shall be allowed to happen—this claim has been far too much bowed to by our friends in France, by every one in fact, and this is the upshot. Because Boulanger incorporates this claim, which has been silently admitted by all parties, he is powerful. His opponents—the Clémenceaux and Co.—do not, dare not contradict that claim but are too cowardly to proclaim it openly, and therefore they are weak. And because the movement is at bottom chauvinistic and nothing else, therefore it plays into Bismarck's hands who would be only too glad to entangle that poor devil Fritz[d] into a war. And all this at a time when even among the German philistines the consciousness is dawning that the sooner they get rid of Alsace the better, and when Bismarck's crazy

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[a] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter – [b] provincial – [c] In France they dabble for a time in a semblance of parliamentarism and then they clamour for a saviour, personal government ... at the moment they are clamouring for a saviour and Boulanger presents himself – [d] Frederick III

passport regulations[278] are an open confession that Alsace is more French than ever!

The revolution in our household which I have been trying to set about for more than a year has at last been accomplished. Last night Annie left under notice from me, and we have another girl. Nim will at last be able to do no more work than she really likes and to have her sleep out in the morning.

Enclosed the cheque that Paul wrote about. Being Sunday, I must close, before the people come.

Ever yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Keep in mind that you *must* come this summer or autumn at latest!

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115

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN LONDON

London, 15 June 1888
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Schlüter,

Will you and Tauscher do me the pleasure of taking luncheon with me on Sunday afternoon at half past two?

Your
F. Engels

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116

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[279]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 June 1888

My dear Lafargue,

Little MacDonnell of the General Council,[a] who is editor of a working-class paper at Paterson, New Jersey,[b] has sent me a young man named R. Block, son of an old New York Socialist—his father is editor of a German bakers' newspaper[c] and secretary of their trades union. As the young man will be spending some days in Paris, I have given him a card addressed to you—his only other introduction in Paris is to Delahaye—also telling him that, since you live in the country, you can be of little use to him, save perhaps as a source of information. He is not involved in politics or socialism, and all he wants is to see Europe 'in the most approved fashion'. If, then, he should find his way to Le Perreux, I would be obliged if you could give him some good advice of the kind one might provide for a traveller desirous of seeing as much as possible in as short a time as possible. He is perfectly aware that you are in no position to show him the sights of Paris.

Aveling is back in London for a play that is to be performed tonight—his fifth, while his sixth will probably be performed next week. There can be no doubt that, by devoting himself to drama, 'He has struck oil', as the Yankees say.

Yours ever,
F.E.

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[a] Of the International Working Men's Association – [b] *Paterson Labor Standard* – [c] *Deutsch-Amerikanische Bäcker-Zeitung*

117

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN ST GILGEN

London, before 6 July 1888

Dear Baron,

Now that I've smelt you out Stieber-fashion,[a] and having noted from its longitude and latitude that it must be a very lovely district, let me reply briefly re Shelley.[280] I will gladly do the thing but ought, for the sake of the context, to have a copy of Shelley which, however, I have not got, nor do I know where to obtain one in a hurry. E. Aveling, when he was here yesterday, said he would go and fetch his for me, but has left London without keeping his word. If I had the passages, I should be able to get hold of a Shelley all right.

I trust that the *taenia mediocanellata*[b] will by now have been happily reduced *ad absurdum*. Pumps' son has got the measles which so far has taken an altogether favourable course; Lili[c] is therefore staying with us. Mrs Schlüter and Mrs Ede[d] are here and we are still expecting the Aunt[e]—when, we don't know. On Sunday they were all of them here. The muddle has not yet been [. . .][f] out. E. Aveling has been extraordinarily lucky with his [. . .][f]—unanimously [. . .][f] Louise[g] if, as I hope, she is there.

[. . .][f]
General

[. . .][f] all right again, I hope.

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

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[a] Engels uses the verb *herausstiebern*, a play on the verb *stöbern* – to hunt or rout out – and *Stieber*, name of the chief of the Prussian political police (1852-60) – [b] tape worm – [c] Lilian Rosher – [d] Regina Bernstein – [e] Emilie Motteler – [f] Ms. damaged – [g] Louise Kautsky

118

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 July[a] 1888

My dear Laura,

Today I write on business and therefore short and, I hope, sweet.

Jollymeier[b] came last night and leaves next week, probably Wednesday, for Germany. He will not have time to return by way of Paris, but the present plan is that Nim is going with him as far as Coblenz, and then to St Wendel to see her friends, and she does intend to come back by way of Paris provided you and the children[c] are there. Will you therefore be good enough to let us know if possible by a letter written on Sunday, but on Monday at latest, whether 1) you will be at home and 2) whether the children will be in Asnières, about the 26th or 28th July?

It is almost certain that you would have had a visit from Pumps at the same time, as she hoped to go with Jollymeier too, but last Sunday she came with the news that her boy has got the measles and that will keep her here.

Tussy and Edward are still at their 'Castle'[d] and expect to sail sometime in August to America where Edward is to superintend the *mise en scène* of three of his pieces, to be played simultaneously in New York, Chicago and God knows where besides. I don't think they will be away more than 8-10 weeks altogether. If his dramatic success goes on at this rate, maybe he will have to go next year to Australia, at the expense of some theatrical impresario.

Our Zurich friends[e] are not settled yet—but on the way towards it. It is most astonishing, the bother, delay and kicking about of heels that is caused by the London system of monopolist landlords who prescribe their own terms to their leaseholders so that when you want to take a business-place from one of these latter—and that you have to do—you have to wait the great landlord's pleasure in giving you leave to set up the necessary machinery. French or Prussian bureaucratic interference

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[a] In the original: August – [b] Schorlemmer – [c] Jean, Edgar, Marcel and Jenny Longuet – [d] See this volume, p.166 – [e] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter

are nothing compared to it. And the Londoners have stood this for centuries, and even now scarcely dare rebel against it!

Kind regards to Paul.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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119

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 July 1888

Dear Sorge,

In great haste a piece of news which, however, you must keep *absolutely secret*. Don't be surprised to see me suddenly turn up about the middle of August or a few days after that—I may be taking a quick trip across the ocean.[281] Could you please let me know by *return* where you lie, so that I can look you up or, should you happen not to be at home at the time, *where* you are to be found? Also whether the Wischnewetzkys will be in New York at the time. I shall not see anyone else when I come over, for I have no wish to fall into the hands of the worthy German Socialists—which is why the thing has got to be kept secret. If I do come, I shall not come alone but with the Avelings, who have business over there. More anon.

Your
F. E.

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

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 15 July 1888

My dear Laura,

You ask why Schorlemmer cannot come too, and you hope to see Pumps over at Le Perreux. Well, I am afraid you will have your wish fulfilled and your question answered with a vengeance.

Pumps' boy having improved extra-rapidly, sudden resolutions were come to last Monday, and on Wednesday the lot—Jollymeier, Nim and Pumps, all three set off for Germany. Pumps to Paulis', Nim to St Wendel. And then, according to what was arranged here, Pumps and Schorlemmer are to take up Nim at St Wendel and all three start for Paris, where they will arrive somewhere about the 29th or 30th July—but they will let you know. Nim and Schorlemmer must be here again on Saturday, 4th August; Pumps talked of going from Paris to St Malo and Jersey where Percy intends taking the children.

How you will manage to quarter the lot of them is more than I know. But Nim thought you would get over that difficulty right enough. Anyhow you will be wanting some little cash for the occasion which I shall not omit sending you in time.

Last night your letter with Longuet's document came to hand—at the same time as Edward who is again brought to London by his dramatic industry. He is going to read two plays today to speculative actors (Alma Murray is one) who intend to invest in a bit of novelty. Of course Longuet is again counting without his host, as Edward and Tussy will be going to America for at least two months and I shall take my holiday as soon as Nim comes back—if he likes to leave Jean with Nim at my place, all right, and Nim would be glad of his company; but is that what Longuet contemplates? Anyhow Tussy will return the *plaidoyer*[a] to you and write, and you and Nim can settle the remainder.

What a nice mess that was which Boulanger and Floquet cooked betwixt the two of them the other day—Boulanger's *coup de théâtre*,

[a] speech for the defence

pre-arranged in every detail and yet miscarried because he could not keep up his part to the end—Floquet's rage and invective where a cool reply would have been required—the insults, the duel, and *le beau, le brave général* worsted by an *avocat*![282] Decidedly, if the Second Empire was the caricature of the First, the Third Republic is getting a caricature not of the First, but even the Second. Anyhow, let's hope this is the end of Boulanger, for if the popularity of that fool continued, it would drive the Czar[a] into the arms of Bismarck, and we don't want that any more than the Russo-French war of revanche. If the popular masses in France absolutely require a personal god, they had better look out for a different man, this one makes them ridiculous. But moreover it is clear that this desire for a *sauveur de la société*,[b] if really existing in the masses, is but another form of Bonapartism and therefore I really cannot bring myself to believe that it is as deeply rooted and *vraiment populaire*[c] as some people say. That our people fight the Radicals, well and good, that is their proper business, but let them fight them under their own flag. And as a *journée*[d] is only possible—so long as the people are unarmed—with the help of the Radicals[200] as on Carnot's election[197]), our people have only the ballot-box to rely on for the present, and I do not see the advantage of having the voters' minds muddled by this plebiscitary Boulangism.[283] Our business is not to complicate but to simplify and make clear the issues between the Radicals and ourselves. What little good Boulanger *could* do, he has done, and the chief good he did is to bring the Radicals to power. A dissolution would be a good thing—while a Radical government is in, upon whom we can exercise pressure; but Boulanger seems to me the least likely person to bring that dissolution about.

Here, after two fine days, it rains again cats and dogs since this morning. This is really a solution—summer dissolved in rain water—which makes one dissolute and drives one to drink. In fact I shall go and open a bottle of Pilsener and drink your health. *Sur ce, je vous embrasse.*[e]

Bien à vous,[f]
F. E.

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[a] Alexander III – [b] saviour of society – [c] truly popular – [d] showdown – [e] Meanwhile the best of love – [f] Ever yours

121

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 23 July 1888

My dear Laura,

Tussy returns me Longuet's letter, instead of direct to you, so I send it herewith. She said she would write to him. Edward told me last week they would be here again yesterday, but he has a capacity of neglecting facts, when they are contrary to his wishes, that is worthy of a more juvenile age. So they won't be here before end of week.

Of course Pumps and Nim can sleep in your room and if you can find a bed for Schorlemmer somewhere in Le Perreux, he will be all right. I enclose a cheque for £15—so as to set you at ease with regard to the ways and means.

Our Zurichers[a] are at last in a fair way of settlement. Their wives have arrived, they have got a business-place—that is, the agreement for an empty and not quite finished house—and private houses for themselves, so that in a week or 14 days they will all be *unter Dach und Fach*.[b] The female part of the *Sozialdemokrat* is not over charming. Ede Bernstein's wife seems the pleasantest, a sharp little Jewess, but she squints awfully; Schlüter's is an exceedingly good-natured and retiring little Dresden article, but uncommon soft; and as to the *Tante*,[c] *id est* Mrs Motteler, let Nim give you a description of this dignified juvenile of fifty (so they say), this Swabian *Kleinstädter*[d] affecting the *dame du monde*[e]—I am told she is a very worthy woman after all, but I don't think she feels at home among our undignified lot, and I anticipate some pleasant little sparrings when Tussy and she do meet. But Nim and Pumps will give you a description of her to your heart's content. I had them all here yesterday for supper, as our new girl (I think I told you that I sent Annie away) cooks quite passably and rather prides in cooking for company, and Mrs Motteler lost no time in telling me that the custard was burnt (just as she told Pumps: *Sie sind aber mal fett*![f]

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[a] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter – [b] settled in – [c] Aunt – [d] small town resident – [e] society woman – [f] You are so fat!

—imagine Pumps's horror!) When they are once settled in their own establishments—all about Junction Road and the Boston—I hope distance will lend enchantment to the view—of considerably reduced visits from the lot—I don't quite intend to have the German element swamping everything at No. 122.[a]

I have got myself photographed before I shall be quite grey—and enclose the one they all say is the best.

Post-time and dinner-time, so here I shut up.

Love from your old
F. Engels

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122

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN LONDON

London, Saturday 21 or 28 July 1888

Dear Schlüter,

Grover has been to see me about the house in Kentish Town; I explained the whole matter to him and, unless he changes his mind, the house is yours.

Your
F.E.

Be careful in the meantime *not to call again* at Salto Rex & Co. (unless perhaps *invited* to do so by Grover or S. Rex & Co.; for I don't know of course whether Grover will be letting direct or through the above).

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[a] Engels' home, at 122 Regent's Park Road

123

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 July 1888

My dear Laura,

Hope by this time you have got the travellers[a] with you.

This morning letter from Schorlemmer. When he arrived at Bonn, his friends advised him to have his wound cured there and so he went to the University *Klinik* from which he was on Saturday discharged cured, but he still suffers from a *Magenkatarrh*[b] or, as his brother[c] who is with him and serves him as amanuensis, more properly spells it, *Magenkater*,[d] and is ordered to keep quiet for some time—he is even afraid that ulterior plans we had about a sea-trip[281] of some duration may fall to the bottom as far as he is concerned. That however we shall see by and by. Anyhow, he intended to go to Darmstadt yesterday and will write again from there.

For Nim's information: yesterday we had roast beef and peas, very well cooked; there were only Edward and Tussy, as Percy and the children dined at Sandhurst Lodge, it being his mother's birthday. After dinner they came over (and Charley,[e] whose wife had called for supper the Sunday before, and I was only sorry she did not drop in then) and later on the four Zurichers[f] with Mrs Bernstein and Mrs Schlüter—the *Tante*[g] was out of sorts fortunately—and we were very jolly. I am getting on right enough with the girl, only her sweets are not what they exactly should be; she makes a beautifully leathery paste and makes up for other defects in her custard by putting in about as much essence of bitter almonds as sugar—that however I have stopped. The girl is right enough, only she wants a bit more breaking-in by Nim; longer than three weeks' more or less independent management she is not yet fit for, as she imports a lot of superior notions from the East End lodging-house where she was attending upon 'Ladyships'. But as these are confined to

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[a] Helene Demuth and Mary Ellen Rosher – [b] stomach cold – [c] Ludwig Schorlemmer – [d] stomach hangover – [e] presumably Charles Roesgen – [f] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Herman Schlüter – [g] Aunt (Emilie Motteler)

cooking chiefly, Nim will soon break her of them, and on the whole I have no reason to complain, though sometimes to laugh.

I hope you have better weather. I went to town about 2, it began raining before 3, and is still at it.

Love to all of you.

Ever yours,
F.E.

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124

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 4 August 1888

Dear Sorge,

Your two letters[a] received with thanks. I am most grateful for the hospitality you offer me, but whether I shall be able to take advantage of it is somewhat problematical, as you will see from what follows.

For if all goes well, Schorlemmer will be coming too—he is in Germany and not particularly well but has telegraphed saying he'll be here on Monday. Since we shall have to remain together—Schorlemmer and I, at any rate—Aveling has already booked rooms for all of us at an hotel, which means that I shall have to go there—to begin with, at least. What happens after that remains to be seen. At all events Schorlemmer and I shall stay in town for a few days only and set off as soon as possible on a tour of the country, for at the beginning of October he has got to start lecturing again and we are anxious to see as much as we can.

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[a] of 21 and 23 July 1888

That I shall find little Cuno lying in wait for me is to be expected. But I think I've got a magic formula that will make him tractable. If I go back there just before I leave for home, I suppose I shall have to see one or two of the *Volkszeitung* people; it would be unavoidable and wouldn't do any harm. It's just that I'd rather they left me alone at the start.

We are sailing on the *City of Berlin* on the 8th of this month. Aveling has made a successful début in the field of drama and is to help stage 4 plays (of which 3½ are by him) in 4 cities over there.

Since Monday is a Bank Holiday,[144] when nothing can be done because all the shops are closed, and we have got to leave here on Tuesday,[a] there's a lot of shopping to be done—besides which I have got to be at Charing Cross at 5.40 to meet Lenchen and Pumps (who has been married for 7 years and has 2 children) on their return from Germany resp. Paris, and hence must close. I, too, look forward tremendously to seeing you again. So no more till we meet.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 6 August 1888

My dear Laura,

When you receive this letter I shall be floating away on the *City of Berlin*, with Tussy, Edward, and Schorlemmer towards the shores of the New World.[281] The plan has been of pretty long standing, only it was

[a] 7 August

constantly being crossed by all sorts of obstacles, last not least Schorlemmer's misadventure—but he will be here tonight (fresh accidents excepted) and tomorrow we expect to be off, leaving Liverpool landing-stage at five p.m. on Wednesday.[a] The affair had to be kept secret, firstly because indeed of the series of obstacles which threatened to wreck it, and secondly in order to save me as much as possible from the interviewers of the *New York Volkszeitung* and others (among whom, Sorge writes, little Cuno is now one of the most formidable) and from the delicate attention of the German Socialist Executive, etc. of New York,[223] on arrival, as that would spoil all the pleasure of the trip and undo all its purpose. I want to see and not to preach, and principally to have a complete change of air, etc., in order to get finally over the weakness of the eyes, and chronic conjunctivitis which Dr Reeves, Edward's friend, says is due entirely to want of tone and will most likely give way to a long sea voyage, etc. When I proposed the job to Schorlemmer, he fell in at once, but of course must be back by beginning of October, so that his Flushing accident came at a very awkward time. But that seems all right now and he is due tonight.

Edward and Tussy will not come back with us, as far as we can see; they are sure to be kept there at least a fortnight longer.

Our travellers arrived here all right, though half an hour behind time, on Saturday and as our post-card will have informed you, your currants—both raw and in the juice extracted by Helen—I mean Nim—found the fullest and most general appreciation; the enthusiasm as to your garden is almost wild in its manifestations and I think both Pumps and Nim dream of it. In spite of their partly rough passage neither was sick, they were wise enough to lay down at once.

I enclose a cheque for £25—to go on with during my absence. Shall let you hear again on arrival and report on adventures, sea-monsters, icebergs and the other wonders of the sea, unless captured by the Irish fleet which has succeeded in breaking the blockade of the English on Saturday night and is now destroying British commerce, capturing Scotch coast towns, etc.[b]—a capital augury of the real political victory of the Irish over the British philistine which the next general election is sure to bring.

So farewell until then. I was very proud to hear from Nim that you

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[a] 8 August – [b] A joking allusion to the British naval exercises then in progress

look very well and younger than ever. Hope you will keep so till our next merry meeting

Ever yours affectionately
F. Engels

and kindest regards to Paul.

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126

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[284]

IN LONDON

S.S.*City of Berlin*, between
Liverpool and Queenstown[a]
9 August 1888

Dear Ede,

Never has Berlin seemed to be so beautiful as on board this *City of Berlin*. If the young guard lieutenants[b] knew how good and plentiful the food is here, they'd instantly exchange the Berlin on land (or sand[c]) for that on water. In 2½ hours we should be at Queenstown and thence head for the open sea. Cordial regards to your wife,[d] the Schlüters, the Mottelers and Tauscher.

Your old friend,
The General

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[a] Modern name: Cobh – [b] Engels has *Jardeleutnants* (Berlin dialect), an allusion to William II – [c] The margraviate of Brandenburg, of which Berlin was the centre, was called the Sandbox ('*Streusandbüchse*') of the Empire. – [d] Regina Bernstein

127

ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

SS *City of Berlin*, between
Liverpool and Queenstown,
9 August 1888

Dear Hermann,

I set sail yesterday on a quick trip to America[281] and just wanted to tell you as much before we leave the last European port. We are a merry party of four—myself, Prof. Schorlemmer of Manchester, Dr Aveling of London and his wife, Marx's youngest daughter. Schorlemmer and I shall be returning towards the end of September and expect to be back in England on 2/3 October. My being able to realise this long-standing plan this summer was most propitious and I had also been strongly advised on medical grounds to make the two longish voyages and get a complete change of air.

Our ship is much more beautiful than the Berlin ashore; she is nearly 6,000 tons and the Avelings came back from New York on her eighteen months ago. They know the captain, purser and crew, which is very nice. We have charming cabins, the fare is excellent and on top of that there is American lager beer, which is by no means bad, a long deck to rove about on and not too many passengers, provided a large number don't join us at Queenstown—in short, it all promises to be very pleasant. I am most eager to see the world on the other side; we shall be staying for 3 or 4 weeks, which is just long enough, I think.

We are nearing Queenstown, so I had better close. Mind you all keep well. I shall write to you again from the other side of the ocean. Regards to your wife and children[a] and all other relatives.

With much love from
Your old Friedrich

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[a] Emma, Hermann Friedrich Theodor and Walter Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[285]

IN HOBOKEN

Postmarked Boston,
28 August 1888

Dear Old Man,

Arrived here yesterday morning; your letters[a] reached Schorlemmer and myself this morning—very many thanks. I left my cough behind in Hoboken and Schorlemmer has also got over his trouble. We have just been with Mrs Harney, who says Harney will be coming to London in October, so I shall see him there. I have not yet been able to get hold of my nephew,[b] but expect to see him tomorrow, either here in the hotel or in Roxbury. Boston is an awful sprawl but more human than New York City, and Cambridge is actually very pretty and looks quite European and continental. Warm regards to you and your wife.[c] But for the two of you we should still be ailing. We are staying until Saturday.[d] Letters are sure to find us here till Friday night.

Your
P.E.

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

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[a] of 27 August 1888 – [b] Willie Burns – [c] Katharine Sorge – [d] 1 September

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[286]

IN HOBOKEN

Boston, 31 August 1888

Dear Sorge,

The paper[a] arrived the day before yesterday and your letter[b] today. Thanks. But I'm sorry that your throat should still be troubling you and it would seem that you have actually appropriated my cough. If our staying with you gets us well and makes you ill, that is really rather dreadful.

Were in Concord yesterday, in the Reformatory and the town. Both pleased us greatly. A prison where the prisoners can read novels and scientific works, form clubs, congregate and talk without warders being present, eat meat and fish twice a day with bread ad lib., iced water in every workroom, running water in every cell, the cells decorated with pictures, etc., where the chaps, dressed as ordinary workingmen, look you straight in the eye with none of the hang-dog look of the usual criminal in gaol—this is something you will see nowhere in Europe. The Europeans, as I told the superintendent, are not bold enough for that. To which he replied in true American fashion: well, we try to make it pay, and it does pay. I acquired a great respect for the Americans in that place.

Concord is really beautiful, elegant in a way one wouldn't have expected after New York or even Boston, but a splendid little place in which to be buried, though not alive! four weeks there would either kill me or drive me crazy.

My nephew Willie Burns is a wonderful fellow, bright, energetic and with his heart and soul in the movement. He is doing well, works for the Boston and Providence Railroad (now the Old Colony[c]), gets $12 a week, has a nice wife (whom he brought with him from Manchester) and three children. Nothing would induce him to return to England; he's just the lad for a country like America.

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[a] *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of 28 August 1888 – [b] of 30 August 1888 – [a] the southern part of Massachusetts

Rosenberg's departure and the curious debate on the *Sozialist* in the *Volkszeitung* would seem to be symptoms of collapse.[287]

Such news from Europe as reaches us over here is sparse and infrequent and is supplied exclusively by the *New York World* and the *Herald*.[a]

The last of the jobs Aveling has to do in America will be polished off today and thereafter his time will be his own. It is still uncertain whether we shall go to Chicago. We have ample time for the remainder of the programme.

Warm regards to your wife[b] and yourself from us all, but especially from

Your
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[288]

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

Boston, 31 August 1888

Dear Liebknecht,

A moment ago, at 9.30 a.m., that is, we saw in the *Boston Herald* that you had been elected in Berlin with an absolute majority of more than 10,000 votes[43] and we—myself, Schorlemmer and both the Avelings—send you our heartiest congratulations.

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[a] *Boston Herald* – [b] Katharina Sorge

We spent a week in New York resp. Hoboken (with Sorge) and have been here since Monday.[a] Tomorrow we go to Niagara and if possible from there to Chicago, otherwise to the Oil Regions, and then, after Toronto, Montreal, Lake Champlain, the Adirondacks and Albandy, down the Hudson back to New York, whence we sail for Liverpool by the *City of New York* on 18/19 September. Very nice trip, have learned a great deal and have been sweating good and proper at last—something that never happened to us back home this summer. Regards to your wife,[b] Bebel and Singer.

Your
F.E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[289]

IN HOBOKEN

Niagara Falls, N. Y.,
4 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

We have been here since Sunday[c] morning and are enjoying ourselves greatly. The nature is beautiful here, the air is superb, the food is excellent and the nigger waiters are amusing—what more could one want, given this fine weather. As yet there have been no mosquitoes either, despite all the water. Our tour of the Oil Regions has been abandoned—whether we go to Chicago will be decided today—I think not. If we don't go we shall have adhered rigidly to your itinerary.

The fact that Jonas has found me out is yet another reason for delaying my return to New York for as long as possible. However, even if he

[a] 27 August – [b] Natalie Liebknecht – [c] 2 September

sends me his Cuno *now*, it will be of no consequence. My trip is pretty well over and a half hour's grilling is the most that he'll be able to inflict on me.

Warm regards from us all to your wife[a] and yourself.

Your
F. E.

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

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[289]

AT LE PERREUX

Niagara Falls, N. Y.,
5 September 1888

My dear Laura,

Here we are since last Sunday[b] morning, after having spent a week in New York and another in Boston. Don't you believe that America is a new country—it is the most old-fashioned place in the world; *vis-à-vis de nous autres Européens c'est tout simplement* la province, *et nous nous sommes tous Parisiens comparés aux Américains.*[c] The American girls on the Steamer already struck me as having all the manners of the *Unschuld vom Lande*,[d] the furniture is in the style of country house furniture of the *ancien régime*,[e] in Boston the cabs are of a shape which I saw last in

[a] Katharina Sorge – [b] 2 September – [c] to other Europeans like us it is exceedingly *provincial*, and we are all Parisians compared to the Americans – [d] unsophisticated country lass – [e] ancient times

London in 1838,[290] and upon this primitive state of things they have grafted a lot of supra-modern novelties many of which are no improvements and none of which are beautiful. They say they are the most go-ahead nation and that is true in this sense, that an American cannot bear the idea of anyone walking in front of him in the street, he must push and brush past him—roughly too, even in Boston which is their Athens—and women as well as men shove you about in that way, and sure when we poor benighted Europeans cannot see the slightest occasion either for the hurry or the rudeness.

But for all that they have very very grand features and the making of a very great nation in them, such as are only to be found in a people which never knew feudalism. They are long-suffering as to grievances of their own making, like all Anglo-Saxons, but when they do a thing they do it thoroughly. The way in which the State of New York bought up all the grounds (on the American side) about the falls,[a] turned out all the touts, hucksters and extortionists, and transformed the whole into a public park where you go about freely and unmolested, not a policeman or park-keeper to be seen, on good footpaths and safe stairs quite up to the edge of the falls—that is a thing you do not find anywhere in such places in Europe. And the simple fact of the Americans having done this compelled the Canadian government to do the same on their side, in order to attract the visitors who ran away from Canadian exploitation.

New York is the grandest site for the capital of Capitalist Production you can see. But everything there, made by man, is horrid—save Bartholdy's Statue of Liberty which is not only fine but in exact proportion—as to size—to the surroundings. We got into New York after dark and I thought I got into a chapter of Dante's Inferno. London is a fool to it as to noise, crowd, pushing—a pavement worse than in the sunkenest European village—elevated railways thundering over your head, tram-cars by the hundred with rattling bells, awful noises on all sides, the most horrible of which are the unearthly fog-horns which give the signals from all the steamers on the river (the whistle is unknown here)—naked electric arc-lights over every ship, not to light you but to attract you as an advertisement, and consequently blinding you and confusing everything before you—in short a town worthy to be inhabited by the most vile-looking crowd in the world, they all look like discharged croupiers from Monte Carlo.

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[a] Niagara Falls

Niagara is very fine. The falls are only the crowning feature. I like the rapids above and below, the beautiful little islands crowded with trees above the falls, and the fine winding gorge below, even better than the 'grand' feature.

We go from here into Canada, down the St Lawrence to Montréal, thence back to the States, via Lake Champlain and Lake George, then per Steamer down the Hudson to New York and sail per *City of New York* any time about 18th, hoping to be back in London about 28 or 29th at latest.

The little Steamer on the photo is the *Maid of the Mist* and goes quite close up to the falls (they lend you waterproof coats and helmets for the occasion) and yesterday we went quite into the mouth of the Horseshoe falls (the one facing you).

We are all very well and jolly, Edward conducts and commands, and we have appointed him General Boulanger of the port, which post he fills most creditably. As to European politics we are quite out of reach of everything. So now I close. Kind regards to Paul.

Ever yours
F. Engels

Postscripts by Engels' companions

My dear Laura, the General leaves the rest of us only room to send our loves. And it's a poor thing too. For what with Niagara Falls and Niagara Beer we are most of us beyond the writing stage. When I pull myself together I'll write.

Yours
Tussy

Dearest Laura, I shall not forget the 26th and send you your birthday letter with best love. C. S.[a]

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

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[a] Carl Schorlemmer. There is also an illegible note by Edward Aveling

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[291]
IN HOBOKEN

Montreal, 10 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Arrived here yesterday, having had to turn back because of a storm between Toronto and Kingston (it really blew pretty hard) and put into Port Hope. So the two-day trip from Toronto to here turned into *three*. The St Lawrence and the rapids were very fine. Canada is richer in ruined houses than any country save Ireland. We are doing what we can to understand Canadian French; that language beats Yankee English hollow. Tonight we go to Plattsburg and from there to the Adirondacks and if possible the Catskills as well, so we're unlikely to be back in New York before Sunday.[a] As we have to embark on Tuesday evening[b] and there are still various things we must see in New York, and as during these last few days we shall all have to keep together more than would otherwise be necessary, Schorlemmer and I shan't be able to stay with you in Hoboken this time, much though we regret it, but must go to the St Nicholas with the Avelings. However we shall come and see you as soon as we get there. The transition from the States to Canada is a curious one. First of all you imagine yourself back in Europe and then you feel you're in a land that is positively retrogressing and going to rack and ruin. Here you can see how essential the Americans' feverish spirit of speculation is to the rapid development of a new country (given capitalist production as its basis). In ten years this sleepy Canada will be ripe for annexation—by which time the farmers in Manitoba, etc., will be demanding it themselves. In any case this country has already been half annexed from the social point of view—hotels, newspapers, advertisements, etc., all conform to the American pattern. And however much they may struggle and resist, the economic need for an infusion of Yankee blood will assert itself and abolish this ludicrous boundary line—to which, when that time comes, John Bull will say Yea and Amen.

Your
F. E.

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[a] 16 September – [b] 18 September

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[292]

IN HOBOKEN

Plattsburg, N. Y., Tuesday,
11 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Arrived here safely. We leave for the Adirondacks at 1 p.m. sharp, shall return tomorrow evening and then cross the lakes to the Hudson. Back in New York by Saturday[a] evening, I hope.

Should any letters have arrived for me, would you please forward them to the Narragansatt Hotel, Albany, but they must get there not later than Friday evening.

I hope you received my letter from Montreal.[b] Is your throat all right again?

Shall we see your son[c] in New York before we leave?

All of us well and cheerful. Kindest regards from us all to you and your wife.[d]

Your
F. Engels

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[a] 15 September – [b] See previous letter – [c] Adolph Sorge – [d] Katharina Sorge

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[292]

IN HOBOKEN

Plattsburg, N. Y., Wednesday
12 September 1888

Dear Sorge,

Got back from Lake Placid this evening; tomorrow we go down Lake Champlain.

I think I forgot to ask you in my last to get us another 150 cigars of the usual brand. We're right cleaned out.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. Engels

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, New York, 1953

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[293]

IN NEW YORK

18 September 1888

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

We returned on Saturday[a] evening from our trip to Boston, Niagara, the St Lawrence, Adirondacks, Lakes Champlain and George, down the Hudson to New York City, we enjoyed ourselves very much and, all of us, brought home a stock of invigorated health which I hope will see us

[a] 15 September

well through the winter. To-morrow afternoon we are leaving per the *City of New York* and look forward to a little excitement, breakdowns of machinery and such like things, but hope to arrive, in spite of all, in 8-9 days in London. I cannot leave America without again expressing my regret that unfortunate circumstances prevented me from seeing you more than once and but for a few moments. There are so many things that we should have talked over together, but it cannot be helped and I shall have to go on board without taking leave of you personally. Anyhow I do hope that the troubles you have gone through lately[149] will be the last, that your own health and that of Dr Wischnewetzky and the children will be all you can wish for. I shall be glad to hear soon again from you, and all your wishes shall have my best attention.

I have some copies of the pamphlet[a] from Mrs Sorge, it is very creditably got up and so far I have discovered only two misprints. Please let me know how many copies you are sending me to England and how many I may distribute to the press; I believe it ought to be sent to *all* the chief dailies and weeklies in London and some in the provinces, also the monthlies. Of course, unless instructed to the contrary, I shall entrust the sale to Reeves. As he has accepted the agency for your American publication generally, his name might have been put on the title page; he will have to print a new title page and send in a bill for that.

Hoping to see Dr Wischnewetzky in London on his return, I remain, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

ever yours faithfully
F. Engels

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Reproduced from the original

[a] K. Marx, *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*

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ENGELS TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*[294]

[Draft]

Hoboken, 18 September 1888

For your private information
To the Editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung (Der Sozialist)*

At the end of my brief visit to America I intended to call in at your office in person. However, my stay in New York prior to sailing by the *City of New York* has been so short that, to my regret, it has not been possible to do as I had intended. I hope, therefore, that you will be so kind as to excuse me.

Yours faithfully,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO THE EDITOR OF THE *CHICAGOER ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*

[Draft]

Hoboken, 18 September 1888

For your private information
Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung

In the course of a short visit to America it has not, unfortunately, proved possible for me to come to Chicago and call on you in person at your office. I should like to say how much I regret this, and remain

Yours very faithfully

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ENGELS TO HERMAN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

S.S. *City of New York*
Thursday, 27-28 September 1888

Dear Hermann,

I am writing to you under difficult circumstances as our ship is rolling abominably and half the people on board are still sea-sick. We have had a very agreeable, interesting and instructive trip. After a good crossing—only one really nice storm—we arrived in New York on 17 August, stayed there about 8 days, then spent 7 days in Boston, 5 days at the Niagara Falls, then, via the Lake of Ontario to the St Lawrence River, down which a steamboat took us to Montreal, thence back to the States and Plattsburg, whence we diverted to the Adirondacks, which are very lovely, then on by steamer via Lake Champlain and Lake George (like parts of Lake Como, but smaller and quite untamed) to Albany and, finally, down the Hudson and back to New York by steamboat. As ill-luck would have it, we had booked a passage aboard the new vessel *City of New York*, the largest passenger ship afloat, 10,500 tons and said to be capable of 500 sea miles a day. But this is only her fourth voyage, the engines tend to fail, one is ailing and is operating at barely half power, while the other is put to considerable strain and is constantly having to be tinkered with. Luckily we have reached this spot, latitude 51 degrees north, longitude roughly 21 degrees west of Greenwich, without any particular mishap to the engines, and hope to be at Queenstown[a] tomorrow afternoon, and in London on Saturday[a] evening. The crossing has been pretty rough, two whopping great storms and high seas all the time except for the first two days. No one in our small company has been in the least affected by sea-sickness, we have eaten, drunk and smoked incessantly and I have just this moment—11 o'clock in the morning—been summoned to take my morning Tipple.

The voyage has done me a tremendous amount of good; I feel at least 5 years younger, all my little infirmities have faded into the background,

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[a] Modern name: Cobh – [b] 29 September

even my eyes have improved, and I would advise anyone who is feeling decrepit and under the weather to cross the Atlantic and spend a fortnight or 3 weeks at Niagara and a similar period in the Adirondacks 2,000 feet above sea level. The air there is quite excellent, while the August sunshine of Lombardy is combined with the fresh breeze of our Rhenish October. I already feel an urge to go out there again next year, if I can get someone to go with me. You ought to consider it; you and Rudolf[c] could, I am sure, do with a tonic of this kind. The tour isn't at all fatiguing; everywhere, in the better hotels, the food is first-rate and the German beer, i.e. brewed after the German fashion, quite excellent, only wine being dear, though a good bottle of Rhine wine is to be had anywhere for 1 dollar or 1 dollar and 50 cents, nor is American wine at all bad, though unfortunately not as a rule obtainable in the hotels. We have got 24 bottles on board, which we are drinking with gusto—Ohio wine (Reisling and sparkling wine) and Californian Riesling with a very good flavour but no bouquet.

Much love to Emma[b] and the children,[c] ditto to all our relations.

Your old brother
Friedrich

Friday morning 10 o'clock

Have been off the Irish coast since early morning, due in Queenstown at 12—where I shall post this letter—in Liverpool tomorrow morning and in London that same evening.

Again much love.

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[c] Rudolph Engels – [b] Emma Engels – [c] Hermann and Walter Engels

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[4]

IN BERLIN

London, 8 October 1888

Dear Dr Schmidt,

I should have answered your letter of 2 February long since had I known where to write to. I had been daily expecting news of your successful *Habilitation*[a] in Switzerland and hence of your removal to Zurich or Berne. Finally I took it with me to America, which I visited last August and September in company with Dr Aveling and his wife and Schorlemmer, but once again did not get round to answering it during the trip and now, on my return, I find a further message from you dated 23 August (on which day I was battling with mosquitoes in New York, much more dangerous adversaries than all your German professors of political economy put together).

Your account of the adventures attending your *Habilitation* bring back vivid recollections of the wretchedness of the German universities. That's what passes as freedom of scholarship. It's the old story of Bruno Bauer in the forties,[295] except that we have come on a bit and now have not only theological and political heretics but economic ones also. Still, I trust that Thucydides[296] is in a humane mood and won't place any serious difficulties in your way in Leipzig.

I was most interested to learn that a 'confessional' university still actually exists in Germany.[297] What odd things the 'reborn' fatherland continues to harbour!

I am very anxious to hear about your work. Apart from yourself, Lexis also tried to solve the problem to which I am obliged to revert in my preface to Volume III of *Capital*.[298] That you should finally have arrived at Marx's viewpoint in the course of your studies doesn't surprise me at all; I believe that this would happen in the case of anyone who tackled the matter painstakingly and with an open mind. After all, many professors nowadays, exploiting Marx as they do, have trouble enough in maintaining a more or less seemly distance between themselves and

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[a] Qualification for lecturing at universities

conclusions that are necessarily bound up with what they have annexed, while others, as the passage you extracted from our Thucydides goes to show,[299] must needs relapse into utter puerility to provide any sort of answer at all!

If, as I hope, my eyesight lasts out—my American jaunt did me a power of good—Volume III[a] will be ready for the press this winter and in a year's time will hit that company like a bombshell. I have broken off or postponed all my other jobs so as finally to be done with it and am exceedingly hard pressed. The greater part is almost ready for the printers, but two or three of the seven sections need a great deal of revision, especially the first, of which there are two versions.

I found America most interesting. It is a place one really must have seen with one's own eyes, this country whose history goes back no further than commodity production and which is the promised land of capitalist production. People's usual conceptions of it are as false as those a German schoolboy has of France. There was also much natural beauty to be enjoyed at Niagara, on the St Lawrence, in the Adirondacks and on the smaller lakes.

I have read Platter's critique of G. Cohn.[b] The beginning is very good and witty, but further on the good Platter runs out of steam.

Over here all is much as it was, save that the four people expelled from Zurich[c] have arrived, and Aveling is now writing plays which have been very well received by the impresarios. He was sent to America to rehearse 3 of his plays over there.

I still have a whole pile of letters to answer and if I miss this post I fear I shall be interrupted, so I had better close straight away. Goodbye and let me have further news of you very soon, by which time I trust you will have been duly installed as a lecturer.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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[a] Of *Capital* – [b] J. Platter, *Gustav Cohns 'ethische' Nationalökonomie*, Wien, 1886 – [c] Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Leonard Tauscher and Hermann Schlüter

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[29]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 10 October 1888

Dear Sorge,

We finally got back here last Saturday week[a] and since then I have sent off to you 2 *To-Days* and a pile of *Commonweals* and today a pile of *Gleichheits* as well as 2 more *Commonweals*. One *Gleichheit* is missing. Ede Bernstein took it and I haven't got it back yet.

Little has changed over here; the next No. of the *Sozialdemokrat* will be printed in this country.[81] Otherwise nothing at all seems to have happened.

The *City of New York* is a humbug; in a calm sea she is steady, of course, but once she starts rolling, no one can do anything to stop her. Moreover, her engines are in a deplorable state; one of them was operating at barely half power, while the other threatened to break down at any moment because of the excessive strain. We never did more than 370 sea miles in a day and once it was only 313.

In so far as the political situation makes a survey possible, the estimate we formed of it over there was quite right. Bismarck has gone on for so long spinning silly young William[b] the yarn that he's a greater version of old Fritz[c] that the lad is now taking it seriously and wants to be 'Emperor and Chancellor in one person'. Bismarck is presently letting him have his way in order that he may make a thorough ass of himself, whereupon Bismarck will step into the breach as his guardian angel. Meanwhile he has assigned his Herbert[d] to the insolent lad as spy and custodian. A row between the two will not be long in coming and then the fun will begin.

In France the Radicals[200] in the government are making bigger asses of themselves than one could have hoped for. They have renounced the whole of their old programme vis-à-vis the workers and are behaving like out and out Opportunists[199]; they are pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the Opportunists and doing their dirty work for them. That

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[a] 29 September – [b] William II – [c] Frederick II – [d] Herbert von Bismarck

would be quite splendid but for Boulanger and provided they weren't virtually forcing the masses into his arms.[137] As a person the man is not particularly dangerous but his popularity among the masses is driving the entire army over to the his side and that constitutes a grave danger—the temporary ascendancy of the said adventurer and, by way of an escape from his predicament, war.

So Jonas has wriggled quite cleverly out of it after all and faked an interview I can't very well disclaim.[300]

Mother Wischnewetzky is furious because I 'spent 10 days in New York and didn't find the time to make the two hours easy railway journey to her home. There was really so much she wanted to talk to me about'. All very well if I hadn't caught a cold and been plagued with indigestion and if I had had 10 consecutive days in New York in the first place.

Warm regards to your wife.[a]

Your old friend,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LOUISE KAUTSKY[301]

IN VIENNA

[Draft]

London, 11 October 1888

My Dear, Dear Louise,

Immediately after our return, your letter got into Tussy's hands and then went to Schorlemmer, from whom I have only just retrieved it. Hence the lateness of my reply.

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[a] Katharina Sorge

The news, which Ede had already passed on to Nimmie, left us all thunderstruck. But when I read your letter, my mind positively reeled. You must know that, ever since we first met, my regard for you has constantly augmented and you have grown ever dearer to me. But all that is as nothing by comparison with the admiration aroused by your heroic and ineffably magnanimous letter—not only in myself but in all those who have read it—Nim, Tussy and Schorlemmer. Having just been dealt the most terrible blow a woman can possibly receive—at that very moment you muster sufficient aplomb to release the man whose hand was, after all, responsible for dealing the blow. And to relinquish such a noble-minded woman after five years—one's mind reels!

You say there can be no question of guilt on Karl's[a] part. Very well, you are the best judge of that, but it does not entitle the rest of us to do *you* an injustice. You speak of a divorce as the only possible solution, your characters being what they are. But if your characters had really been incompatible, this must needs have been apparent to us too and we should have long anticipated a divorce as something both natural and unavoidable. But let us suppose it to have been a case of true incompatibility. Karl had wooed and won you in defiance of his family and yours, he knew what you had given up for his sake and, so far as we could tell, lived with you happily for five years. That being so, he should not have allowed himself to be flummoxed by what, to use your own expression, was a momentary unpleasantness. And if he was driven to take so extreme a step by a new and sudden onset of passion, he ought not to have taken that step impetuously, and should above all have avoided the remotest semblance of doing so under the influence of those who had objected to his union with you and who, perhaps, have not altogether forgiven you for becoming his wife.

Of Karl you say that, in the absence of love or passion, his personality would go to pieces. If one of the traits of that personality is to require a new love every few years, he would surely be the first to admit that, in present-day circumstances, a personality of this kind has got to be kept in check if it is not to involve him and others in one long series of tragic conflicts.

So much, dear Louise, I feel it behoves me to say. Apart from anything else, our social conditions are such as to make it positively easy for a man to do a woman a gross injustice, and how many men are there

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[a] Karl Kautsky

who can absolve themselves from all guilt in this respect? 'Go! You are not worthy of women!' as one of our greatest men once said, with a knowledge born of experience. And in reading your letter I could only re-echo his words.

We cannot get the business out of our minds. Nim and I constantly revert to it as to something incomprehensible, impossible. One of these mornings, I told her, Karl will wake up as if out of a dream to find that he has committed the greatest folly of his life. And this is what seems to be actually happening if, as he wrote and told Ede, his new love has left him after having, within the first five days, fallen in love with his brother Hans and become engaged to him.

We had all of us so much looked forward to seeing you here again and had been correspondingly cast down when we heard through Percy while in New York that you and Karl would be staying in Vienna for the winter. But neither Nim nor I can really take in the fact that we shall never see your dear face in this house again. Yet who knows what may not happen? Who knows whether, one of these days, you may not be sitting in the same old chair where you have so often sat before? Whatever happens, of one thing I can be sure—your courage will help you to overcome all difficulties and to emerge victorious from every struggle. My own and Nim's most cordial good wishes go with you. What we can do for you, we shall gladly do—we are at your beck and call and, should fate ever bring you here again, you must in all circumstances regard this house as your own.

Yours, from all our hearts

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 13 October 1888

My dear Laura,

At last. The heap of letters which Paul foresaw would meet me here and which was indeed frightful, is mostly brushed away and I can sit down to write to you a few lines.

And to begin with, a bit of gossip. When we arrived, the first news Nim told us, was that Kautsky and his wife were going to be divorced, that Kautsky had fallen in love with a girl in the Salzburg Alps, informed his wife of the fact, and Louise had set him free as far as she was concerned. We were all thunderstruck. However, a letter from Louise to me—a really heroic letter—confirmed the news, and with a generosity beyond all praise even acquitted Kautsky of all blame. We all of us here were very fond of Louise and could not make it out how Kautsky could be such a fool—and such a mean one; except that an intrigue was at the bottom, planned by his mother[a] and sister[b] (who both hated Louise) and that he had fallen into the trap. This seems indeed to have been the case, from all we can learn. The girl is a *Bezirksrichter*'s[c] daughter, longing evidently for a husband and especially for one who will take her to Vienna. Kautsky flirted with her while his wife was in Vienna nursing her sick mother; and one fine morning the discovery was made that neither could live without the other—the sister, of course, working both puppets behind the scenes, while the mother pretended not to see anything. Well, Kautsky came here, told Bernstein, sold his furniture, took his books with him and returned, with his younger brother Hans, to St Gilgen near Salzburg, the scene of the above drama. When the youthful Bella (such is her name) saw the equally youthful Hans, a *flotter strammer Bursch*,[d] she at once discovered that she had, in Karl, really loved Hans alone, and Hans reciprocated with the alacrity becoming to a young Viennese; within five days they were engaged and Karl found himself between two stools of his own setting. Karl in his generosity has

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[a] Minna Kautsky – [b] Minna Kautsky – [c] district judge – [d] jolly smart fellow

forgiven both, but the old mother fumes and threatens to forbid the young woman her house—and this throws a peculiar light, or rather shade, on her pretended innocence of the affair.

Of course, now Kautsky discovers at once that he has lived unhappily with Louise for the last 12 months (that is since his mother and sister were here and spent a month with them at the Isle of Wight) and Ede Bernstein will also have noted some disharmony when he came from Switzerland. This is all the more curious that during this time when he could not agree with her, we all here liked her all the better, the longer we knew her; which proves that she is not only a heroic woman, for that she is undoubtedly (and such are certainly not always the best for domestic use), but a woman with whom reasonable people can get on. Well I think and said to Nim: this is the greatest *Dummheit* Kautsky ever committed in his life and I do not envy him the *moralischen Kater*[a] which will be the upshot (*sans calembourg*![b]) of it all.

The matter is up to the present kept quiet. Here only Ede Bernstein and his wife, Nim, and Schorlemmer know about it, also Tussy and Edward, and probably one or two of Louise's and Tussy's common lady friends. How it will all end, I do not know, but I guess Kautsky wishes it was all a dream.

Now to business. Enclosed account of Capital, for the last 12 months, according to which I owe you £2.8s.9d, and as you must be by this time pretty short of cash I add £15—making the cheque £17.8s.9d in all.

Nim informs me dinner is getting ready and so I stop short, using the rest of the page for the account. Love from Nim and your old General.

Received from S. Sonnenschein and Co. for Royalties July 1887–June 88		£12.3.9
1/5 Longuet's children	£ 2.8.9	
1/5 Laura Lafargue	£ 2.8.9	
1/5 Tussy	£ 2.8.9	
	£ 7.6.3	
Remainder 2/5 for the Translators –	£ 4.17.6	
of which Sam Moore 3/5	£ 2.18.6	
E. Aveling 2/5	£ 1.19.–	
	£ 4. 7.6[c]	

[a] moral hangover – [b] no pun intended – [c] should be: £4.17.6

Meissner's account I have not yet received.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[211]

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 15 October 1888

Dear Sir,

I was prevented from replying to your kind letters of 8/20 January and 3/15 June—as also to a great many other letters—first by a weakness of my eyes which made it impossible for me to write at my desk for more than two hours a day, and thus necessitated an almost complete neglect of work and correspondence, and second by a journey to America during August and September from which I am only just returned. My eyes are better but as I now shall take in hand Volume III[a] and finish it, I must still be careful not to overwork them, and consequently my friends must excuse me if my letters are not too long and not too frequent.

The disquisitions in your first letter on the relation between rate of surplus value and rate of profits are highly interesting and no doubt of great value for grouping statistics; but it is not in this way that our author[b] attacks the problem. You suppose, in your formula, that every manufacturer keeps all the surplus value, which he, in the first hand appropriates. Now upon that supposition, merchant's capital and banker's capital would be impossible, because they would not make any profit. The profit of a manufacturer therefore cannot represent *all* the surplus value he has extracted from his workmen.

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] Karl Marx

On the other hand, your formula *may* serve to calculate, approximately, the composition of different capitals in different industries, under the rule of a common and equal rate of profit. I say *may*, because I have not at this moment materials at hand from which to verify the theoretical formula established by you.

You wonder why in England political economy is in such a pitiful state. It is the same everywhere; even classical economy, nay, even the most vulgar Free Trade *Hausierburschen*[a] are looked upon with contempt by the still more vulgar 'superior' beings who fill the university chairs of economy. That is the fault of our author, to a great extent; he has taught people to see the dangerous consequences of classical economy; they find that *no* science at all, on this field at least, is the safe side of the question. And they have so well succeeded in blinding the ordinary philistine, that there are at the present moment four people in London, calling themselves 'Socialist'[302] who claim to have refuted our author completely by opposing to his theory that of—Stanley Jevons![215]

Paris friends insist upon saying that Mr Mutual[b] is not dead;[216] I have no means of testing their information.

I have read with great interest your physiological observations upon exhaustion by prolonged labour time and the quantity of potential energy in the shape of food required to replace the exhaustion. To the statement of Ranke quoted by you[c] I have to make a slight exception: if the 1,000,000 kgmetres in food merely replaced the amount of heat and mechanical work done, it will still be insufficient, for it does not then replace the wear and tear of muscle and nerve; for that not only heat-producing food is required but albumen and this cannot be measured in kgmetres alone, as the animal body is incapable of building it up from the elements.

I do not know the two books of Ed. Young and Phil. Bevan,[d] but there must be some mistake in the statement that spinners and weavers in the Cotton Industry in America receive $90–120 a year. That represents $2– a week,—8/– sterling, but in reality equals, in purchasing power, less than 5/– in England. From all I have heard, the wages of spinners and weavers in America are nominally higher but in reality only

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[a] peddlers – [b] Hermann Lopatin – [c] J. Ranke, *Grundzüge der Physiologie des Menschen mit Rücksicht auf die Gesundheitspflege und das praktische Bedürfniss des Arztes*, Leipzig, 1868 – [d] Ed. Young, *Labor in Europe and America . . .*, Washington, 1875; G. Ph. Bevan, *The Industrial Classes, and Industrial Statistics*, London, 1876

fully equal to those in England; that would make them about $5-6 a week, corresponding to 12/– to 16/– in England. Remember that spinners and weavers now are all women or boys of 15-18 years. As to Kautsky's statement, he made the mistake of treating dollars as if they were pounds sterling; in order to reduce them to marks, he multiplied by 20 instead of by 5, thus obtaining fourfold the correct amount. The figures from the Census (*Compendium of the 10th census of the United States*, 1880, Washington, 1883;[a] p.1125, specific Cotton Manufacture) are:

Operatives and officers	174,659
Deduct clerks, managers etc.	2,115
	172,544 operatives
(Men 59,685 (over 16 years)	
boys 16,107 (under 16 years)	
women 84,539 (over 15 years)	
girls 13,213 (under 15 years))	

172,544, total wages $42,040,510 or $243.06 per head per annum, which agrees with my estimate given above, as what the men get more will be made up by what girls and boys get less.

To prove to you to what depths of degradation economical science has fallen, Lujo Brentano has published a lecture on *Die Klassische Nationalökonomie* (Leipzig, 1888), in which he proclaims: general or theoretical economy is worth noting, but special or practical economy is everything. Like natural science (!), we must limit ourselves to the *description* of facts; such descriptions are of infinitely higher value than all apriori deductions. 'Like natural science'! That is *impayable* in the century of Darwin, of Mayer, Joule and Clausius, of evolution and the transformation of energy!

Thanks for the No. of *Russkiye Vedomosti* with the interesting article on the interference with the statistical work of the Zemstvos. It is a great pity that this valuable work should be interrupted.

Very sincerely yours
P. W. Rosher[39]

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[a] *Department of the Interior, Census Office Compendium of the Tenth Census* (June 1, 1880), Washington, 1883, pp.1-2

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 17 October 1888

Dear Kautsky,

In reply to your letter, I can only begin by repeating what I have already written and told Louise,[a] that my mind reels at the thought of what has happened between you two. If there had been any serious discord, this must have been apparent, however slightly, to us over here, particularly when you were at Dodwell with the Avelings. But no one noticed a thing—except Ede.

You yourself say that Louise likewise refused to admit as much and, in view of the remarkable magnanimity of which she has given proof throughout, I can only assume that she feels and believes what she says. However, it could be that you are both right. According to you, your dissatisfaction began over a year ago. That takes you back more or less to your time in Ventnor. Your relations never approved of your marriage. From my experience of my own family I know how difficult and, for a time, impossible, it is for parents to do justice to a daughter- or son-in-law who has come into the family against their wishes. For all that, the parents are conscious of having the best of intentions, the only result of which is, as a rule, to pave the streets of hell for their son- or daughter-in-law and, indirectly, for their own child. Every husband has something to criticise in his wife, and vice versa; that is as it should be. But as a result of well-meaning *Ingerentz*[b] by third parties, this critical attitude may be exacerbated to the point of resentment if not lasting discord. If this is what has happened in your case, you are both of you right: Louise in saying that there is no cause for discord between you, you in saying that your relationship is, in fact, discordant.

But if the discord—no matter what the reason for it—was so grave that you seriously contemplated divorce, what you should have borne in mind above all was, I should say, the differing status of husband and wife in present-day conditions. No social stigma whatever attaches to the

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[a] See this volume, pp.223-5 – [b] intervention

husband as a result of divorce; his position in life remains intact and he simply reverts to bacherlorhood. The wife loses her status altogether; she has got to begin all over again and do so under more difficult circumstances. Hence, if a wife speaks of a divorce, the husband may beg or implore or do anything else he likes without demeaning himself, whereas if the husband so much as hints at a divorce, the wife, if she has any self-respect, is all but compelled to take him instantly at his word. It follows that only in an extreme case, only after mature reflection and when he is absolutely clear in his mind as to its necessity, should the husband take this extreme step, and then only in the most considerate manner possible.

Again, profound discord cannot occur without both parties being aware of it. And you know Louise well enough to realise that in such an event she would have been the first to release both herself and you. If, however, you were intent on making the first move, then surely you owed it to Louise to do so while in full command of your faculties and not in a state of euphoria such as you were in at St Gilgen, and which was destined to evaporate so soon.

Enough. As I have said, the thing's utterly inconceivable to all of us except Ede. While you were becoming dissatisfied with Louise, she was acquiring one friend after another here, and we were growing fonder of her every day, and envying you for being married to her. And I still maintain that this is the silliest thing you have ever done.

You say you think that you'll have to stay in Vienna. Of that you are, of course, the best judge. In your place I should feel impelled to withdraw for the time being into relative solitude, away from all the interested parties, in order to get a clear idea of the nature and implications of what has happened.

And that's enough of that. Your news about the state of the party in Austria is not particularly edifying, although hardly unexpected. Strife between nationalities is still too deeply engrained, even in the mass of the workers, to permit of a general surge forward, and that will take time. Of the 3 groups you mention, the Alpine provinces hardly come into it—except for Vienna, which I do not count. The chaps in Brno have the great advantage of being an international group. Finally, the bickering about leadership only goes to show—just as it does over here—that the masses as a whole are not yet in process of going over to the party, that everything's proceeding too slowly, which is why everyone tries to put the blame on someone else, while hoping that this or that panacea will produce better results.[303] Your only course is to be patient, and I'm glad that I needn't have anything to do with the business.

I must now get down seriously to Volume III.[a] Otherwise I'd do you something for the *Neue Zeit* about my experiences in America[304]; but I am unlikely to find the time—I have already spent more than a fortnight over correspondence, going through what has come in, etc. My sight has temporarily improved, but what it will be like when I have to go back into harness remains to be seen. I shall be seeing the eye specialist again tomorrow.

Your
F.E.

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

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 25 October 1888

Dear Bebel,

I have sent you through Schlüter *Der Hülferuf der deutschen Jugend* together with its sequel, *Die Junge Generation*, Weitling's periodical of the forties. Schlüter had got the other stuff and has sent it to you; the *Garantien, Das Evangelium des armen Sünders*, etc.[305]

In my view, it would be better to distinguish between the 3 trends in the German movement during the forties. There is very little connection between them, Weitlingian communism[306] in particular having remained aloof until it fizzled out or its members came over to us—a phase which does not figure in the literature on the subject. As regards the history of

[a] of *Capital*

'true socialism'[307] (Hess up to a point, Grün and a number of other belletrists), the material in the archives[227] is far from complete, and use would have to be made besides of Marx's and my old mss.[a] Which, however, I can in no circumstances allow out of my possession. Again, a great deal of what went on behind the scenes—notably the estrangement between Hess and ourselves—and what cannot be dismissed in a couple of lines, would be indispensable here, and this would mean that I myself would have to go through all the old stuff again. Finally, as regards the third trend—our own—the course of its development can be studied nowhere save in the old mss., while its *outward* history was recorded by me in the introduction[b] to the *Communist Trial.*[c] Weitlingian communism, on the other hand, is a subject all on its own and accounts of it are available in print.

Here it occurs to me that you ought also, perhaps, to have Kuhlmann's book—the prophetic religion that succeeded Weitling in Switzerland and to which many of his followers were converted.[308] I completely forgot to give it to Schlüter.

I enclose a letter from Weitling to Hess (from the archives). It was at a meeting of a small band of close associates that the breach between Weitling and ourselves took place. (An account of the said meeting, written by Annenkov, a Russian who was present, also appeared in the *Neue Zeit* a few years ago.)[309] What happened was as follows: Hess had been to Westphalia (Bielefeld, etc.); the chaps there—Lüning, Rempel *et al*—wished, he said, to put up the money for the publication of our writings.[310] Then Weitling came up with the proposal that his disquisitions re his Utopian system be placed with them forthwith, as also his other great works (including a new grammar in which the dative was abolished as the invention of aristocrats)[311]—things we would have had to criticise and combat the moment the plan came off. The letter shows the distorted form in which our arguments were reflected in Weitling's mind. Everywhere he saw nothing but professional jealousy, nothing but an attempt to suppress his genius, to 'come between him and the sources of money'. But in points 5 and 6 of his resumé the fundamental difference between him and ourselves emerges plainly enough, and that's the main thing.[312]

P. 3, lines 10-12: This refers to our intention of bringing out the great

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[a] K. Marx and E. Engels, *The German Ideology* – [b] F. Engels, 'On the History of the Communist League' – [c] *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*

Utopians in German translation *with critical introductions and notes*—as opposed to the piffling accounts by Lorenz Stein, Grün[313] *et al.* In this poor Weitling sees only unfair competition with *his* system.

P. 3, bottom: E. is Ewerbeck in Paris.

N.B. It finally transpired that Moses[a] had omitted to tell us the essentials, namely that all the Westphalians had offered was to *guarantee other publishers* against the *losses* they might make on our stuff. Moses had led us to believe that they, the Westphalians, would *themselves* undertake publication. As soon as we learnt what the position was, we naturally washed our hands of the whole business; to be writers guaranteed by the Westphalians was something that would never have occurred to us.

The affair of the Kautskys has astonished us all. Louise has conducted herself throughout with exceptional heroism. Kautsky was in a state of complete euphoria but was sadly sobered down when jilted within 5 days by his new beloved, who thereupon got engaged to his brother Hans. Now they both intend to wait and see how things go; the strangest part of it is that Louise is now complaining how unfair we are all being to Karl! I have written and told Kautsky that it's the silliest thing he has ever done and, if Louise thinks this too unkind, I suppose I shall have to return my sword to its scabbard.

I am now working on Volume III of *Capital.* I am still supposed to take great care of my eyes and not write for more than 2 hours daily and that only by daylight. So my correspondence will have to be severely curtailed.

Regards to Singer.

Your

F.E.

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[a] Moses Hess

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 24 November 1888

My dear Laura,

I was going to write two lines to Paul just when your letter[a] arrived. I have been busy with a very important chapter in Book III[b] which I have had to re-write entirely, the materials left by Mohr being all in the rought, and as it is a mathematical one, it required much attention.[314] And when one has only two daily fragments of 1½ hours each allowed for work by the doctor, a thing which otherwise could be settled in 14 days takes more than 6 weeks—and so I determined to do it all before I allowed myself any interruption for correspondence. Well, the main portion is finished to-day and so I can just send a line to ask Paul to let me know as usual when he wants any money and I will do what I can.

As soon as my chapter is definitely got rid of, I shall write again—I have such a lot of letter-debts!—in the meantime hope to get the *Figaro* to-night, so far it has not come. The position in France seems indeed very curious—our friends have allowed themselves by their hatred of the Radicals[200] to take Boulanger too little *au sérieux* and find now that he is a real danger[137]—anyhow he has the lower ranks of the army on his side and that is a power not to be disdained. And anyhow the way the fellow not only accepts but courts the support of the monarchists makes him more contemptible in my eyes than even the Radicals. Let us hope that the conscious breaches of logic committed by all parties—but then one must not forget that the form of all unconscious development is the *Negation der Negation*,[c] the movement by contrasts, and that this in France means Republicanism (or respectively Socialism) and Bonapartism (or Boulangism). And Boulanger's *avènement*[d] would be a European war—the very thing most to be feared.

Ever yours
F. Engels

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[a] of 5 November 1888 – [b] of *Capital* – [c] negation of the negation – [d] accession to power

Pumps' boy has had to be transformed into a Jew last Wednesday—let Paul pronounce his blessing on his favourite operation![315] He is getting better. Nim had a severe cold, home-bound nearly 3 weeks.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 December 1888

My dear Lafargue,

I have just finished editing a very important chapter in Volume III,[a] a chapter Marx left uncompleted—and a mathematical chapter at that,[314] in order to cope with it I have had to set aside all other occupations, notably letter-writing. Hence my silence.

Bernstein has sent your article to Bebel to find out what he thinks of it. As for me, my advice to you would be to withdraw it. The things you say in your historical introduction are common knowledge and we are all of one mind about them. But when you come to the Possibilists,[19] all you do is to say they've sold themselves to the government, and this without the slightest proof or even circumstantial evidence. If you haven't anything else to say about them, it would be better to say nothing at all.[316] Had you given an account of all the dirty tricks they allegedly played on the Municipal Council and on the Bourse du Travail[317] affairs, and had then gone on to provide facts and reasons in support of your assertion of their venality, it might have amounted to

[a] of *Capital*

something. But the bald assertion that they sold themselves cuts no ice whatsoever.

Don't forget that, in reply, these gentry will say that you have sold yourselves to the Boulangists. There is no denying the fact that your attitude to Boulangism has done you tremendous harm in the eyes of Socialists outside France.[277] You have coquetted and flirted with the Boulangists out of hatred of the Radicals[200] when you might easily have attacked both, thus leaving no room for ambiguity regarding the independence of your position vis-à-vis the two parties. Nothing forced you to choose between these two sets of nincompoops. You could have cocked a snook at one no less than at the other. But instead, you made much of the Boulangists, you even mentioned the possibility of sharing an electoral roll with them at the next elections—with people allied to the Bonapartists and Royalists, who are certainly no better than Mr Brousse's Radical allies! If you have been seduced by the attitude of the Blanquists[318] who, idealists though they be, are also circumspect in their dealings with Boulanger because of the money received from Rochefort, you ought to have known 'those idealists', since we used to have some in London too.

You say it is necessary for the people to personify their aspirations—if that were true, the French would be Bonapartists from birth, in which case we might as well shut up shop in Paris. But even if you did so believe, would it be reason enough to take the said Bonapartists under your wing?

Boulanger, you say, doesn't want war. What the poor fellow wants is neither here nor there! He has to do what the situation demands, whether he likes it or not. Once in power, he'll be a slave to his chauvinist programme, the only programme he's got, aside from his accession to power. Within less than six weeks Bismarck will have enmeshed him in a web of complications, provocations and frontier incidents, etc. Then Boulanger will either *have* to declare war or else abdicate; have you any doubt what his choice will be? Boulanger spells war, nothing could be more certain. And what war? France allied to Russia, and hence no possibility of revolution; the least movement in Paris, and the Tsar[a] would so arrange things with Bismarck as to stifle revolutionary ardour for good and all; worse still, once war had been embarked upon, the Tsar would be absolute master of France and would impose on you what

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[a] Alexander III

government he chose. Hence to throw yourselves into Boulanger's arms out of hatred for the Radicals is one and the same thing as throwing yourselves, out of hatred for Bismarck, into the arms of the Tsar. Is it really so difficult to make yourself say that they both of them stink, as Queen Blanka says in Heine[a]?

I don't know what Liebknecht may have done about the Possibilists. Whatever the case, I feel sure that our party in Germany could hardly bring itself to attend the Possibilist congress[319] and, if it did, this could only be as the result of grave mistakes on your part. But do not forget that the Possibilists have succeeded in posing as the official representatives of French socialism, that they are recognised as such by the English,[269] the Americans and the Belgians, that they fraternised at the London Congress[320] with the Dutch and the Danes because you, having abdicated, were not represented there. If you do nothing in the way of advertising and preparing for your 1889 congress,[321] everybody will attend that of the Broussists, there being no following for those who abdicate. So advertise your congress, make a bit of to-do in the socialist press of all countries, so that others may realise that the little chap's still alive and kicking. And if your Troyes[322] Congress is successful—and succeed it must, for otherwise your party will be done for—beat the big drum, have a central committee that bestirs itself and to which people may refer and, if possible, have a little weekly paper which will give the world proof of your existence. *And make a clean break with the Boulangists, otherwise no one will come.*

Circumstances permitting, Liebknecht will have his congress—any old congress—provided he himself is there. And if your congress seems to him to offer little chance of success, he'll go to the Possibilist one. I'll do what I can to see that others are informed; Bebel already has been, by Bernstein, who will himself write about the Possibilists in the *Sozialdemokrat*.[b] But he hasn't the power to bind the Party.

Has Liebknecht been in touch with you, and what did you reply? That's what I must know if I am to act in accordance with the facts.

Last Sunday Anseele and Van Beveren came to see me, and who do you think was with them? Adolphe Smith-Headingly! Needless to say, I lost no time in showing him the door. Can you imagine such impudence!

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[a] H. Heine, 'Disputation', *Romanzero* – [b] See E. Bernstein, 'Boulanger's Sieg in Paris', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 3 February 1889

Percy's affairs are going rather badly here; I shall not be able to see how it will all turn out until the end of the year, but 1889 is likely to be pretty revolutinary so far as my finances are concerned. In the meantime I am sending you a cheque for £15 to keep your heads above water.

My love to Laura. Nim has had a bronchial cold which she has at last shaken off, after three weeks.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[49]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 15 December 1888

In haste: You might tell Speyer that Lessner has found his sister-in-law. His people are still living in the old house and the woman has promised to write to the Speyers straight away. However, I did not wish to delay sending you this information.

Volume III[a] is proving more of a handful than I had imagined. I have had to recast the whole of one chapter from the existing material and there's another, of which only the title exists, which I am having to produce myself.[323] However it's going ahead and will cause much surprise among their worships the political economists. My eyes are better and I still feel five years younger than I did last July. Regards to your wife.[b]

Your
F. E.

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] Katharine Sorge

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

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ENGELS TO F. WALTER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 21 December 1888

Mr F. Walter
47 Marshall Street, Golden Sq., W

Dear Mr Walter,

The first time you wrote to me I knew nothing about you and hence could take no more account of your letter than of the many others on a similar subject which I receive from strangers.

You now refer to Most from which I must conclude that you belong to the anarchists. But as long as the weight of the anarchists' attack is directed at our embattled party in Germany rather than at the common enemy, my resources will be devoted to the victims of persecution at the hands of the German governments, and it cannot be expected of me that I should support people who maintain a hostile stance towards my friends and party comrades in Germany and elsewhere.

In no circumstances would I be capable of getting the broker out of your house.

If, however, I should be mistaken about your political affiliations, you will have no difficulty in establishing your bona fides with my old friend Lessner, 12 Fitzroy St, in which case I shall be happy to do some-

thing for a *genuine* member of the party, although the settlement of a debt such as yours would be far beyond my means.

Yours very truly

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1889

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[324]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 January 1889

My dear Laura,

All our best wishes for the New Year to yourself and Paul!

We got into it in a very queer way—we went as usual to Pumps' in a cab, the fog was thickening—in Belsize Road we stuck fast—the man had to lead the horse; by and bye that was not sufficient; a man with a lantern took hold of the horse and led; after a full hour's drive in the dark and cold we arrived at Pumps' where we found Sam Moore, Tussy and the Schlüters (Edward never turned up) and also Tauscher. Dinner of course was an hour late in consequence of our adventure. Well, it got blacker and blacker, and when the New Year came, the air was as thick as pea-soup. No chance of getting away; our cabman, ordered for one o'clock, never arrived, and so the whole lot had to stop where they were. So we went on drinking, singing, card-playing and laughing till half-past five, when Sam and Tussy were escorted by Percy to the station and caught the first train; about seven the others left, and it cleared up a little; Nim slept with Pumps, Schorlemmer and I in the spare bed, Percy in the nursery (it was after seven when we went to sleep) and got up again at out 12 or 1 to return to Pilsener etc.; the sun shone brightly on a beautifully frozen ground. The spree agreed with all of us most amazingly and none of us is any the worse for the bout. The others drank coffee about half past four, but I stuck to claret till seven.

I am glad to hear that the Boulangitis was a personal affection of Paul's though the *Parti ouvrier* pretends that Guesde and Deville have given in to him.[325] What you say about the Possibilists we are perfectly agreed on,[326] but I was bound to place before you and Paul

the excuses which Liebknecht and others—for instance the Belgians—may draw from the tender treatment the Boulangists undoubtedly have had from our side. All I insisted on from the beginning, and all Paul declined to let me have, was a clear and unmistakeable assurance that the Boulangists should be treated as bourgeois enemies quite as much as the Cadettists.[327] For under no circumstances could I encourage our German friends to attend a congress the convokers of which had so far forgotten the old traditional policy of the proletariat as to coquet with a bourgeois party, *et encore un parti tel que les boulangistes.*[a]

Well, the impending Paris election must bring our people to their senses—that was my first thought on Hude's death,[328] and indeed the Troyes Congress has taken at least one step in the right direction by proclaiming the necessity of an independent socialist candidature[329] (I hope Vaillant's who seems to me at present the only one to unite a certain number of suffrages, as our own people appear to be quite out of the race at this moment). But no paper says what the other resolutions of the Congress are; there have been individual anti-Boulangist pronunciamentos (though none of Paul's that I saw) but nothing on the part of the Congress officially except the above resolution.

Now Liebknecht will come to Paris about middle of January[330] and I have to write to Bebel in a few days.[b] Therefore if Paul wishes me to act in the interest of their congress, he must enable me to do so by a clear and unequivocal declaration as to what our people may expect of him and the others with regard to the Boulanger mania. And the sooner the better, there is not much time to lose.

I have never doubted the really anti-chauvinist character of the Marxists, but that was the very reason why I could not conceive how they could think of an alliance open or disguised with a party which lives upon chauvinism almost alone. I never asked more than the open acknowledgment that Cadettists and Boulangists, *dass sie alle beide stinken*,[c] surely such a self-understood thing I ought to have had long ago! Also the Troyes resolutions I ought to have.

If there has been an idea of getting some of our people into the Chamber by having them placed on the Boulangist list, that would be far worse than not getting into the Chamber at all. After all, if the poor old

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[a] and, moreover, a party like the Boulangists – [b] See next letter – [c] that both of them stink (Heine, 'Disputation', *Romanzero*)

Socialiste had been kept alive somehow or other, we should be better off, I think.

Cunninghame Graham was here last Sunday week—a nice fellow, but always in want of a manager, otherwise brave to foolhardiness, altogether much of an English Blanquist.

Love from Nim, Schorlemmer and myself.

Ever yours affectionately,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 5 January 1889

Dear Bebel,

First of all let me heartily reciprocate your kind New Year's wishes.

Today, fog permitting, I must write to you by request concerning two delicate matters. Both have to do with the fear that Liebknecht might commit the party to a not altogether desirable course when, as has been announced, he visits London and Paris[330] (if he comes *on his own*, that is), nor, in view of his dependence on passing moods (which again is often due to self-deception), can I altogether disagree with the chaps.

In Paris it is a question of the congress or rather two congresses—the Possibilists' and our own, in other words the international congress decided upon at the Trades Unions Congress in Bordeaux in November[331] and again at the Socialist Congress in Troyes.[329] Lafargue is afraid that Liebknecht has had dealings with the Possibilists and that you might perhaps send delegates to *their* congress. I have written and told Lafargue[a] that in my view you cannot possibly do this. The Possibilists, having joined

in mortal combat with our people, the so-called Marxists, have now set themselves up as the one true church which absolutely prohibits any intercourse, any cooperation with the others—Marxists no less than Blanquists—and have formed an alliance with the one true church over here (the Social Democratic Federation[269]), an alliance not the least of whose aims is to oppose the German Party everywhere so long as it refuses to join this unsavoury league and cease associating with other Frenchmen and Englishmen. Moreover, the Possibilists have sold themselves to the present government, their fares, congress expenses and periodicals are paid for out of secret funds, and all this on the pretext of combating Boulanger and defending the republic, hence also France's Opportunist exploiters, the Ferrys, etc., their present allies.[199] And they defend the present Radical government which, in order to remain in office, must do all the Opportunists' dirty work for them, a government which ordered an assault on the people on the occasion of Eudes' funeral[332] and in Bordeaux and Troyes, just as in Paris, is more rabid in its opposition to the red flag than any government before it. To go along with this gang would be a denial of your entire foreign policy to date. Two years ago in Paris the same lot made common cause with the venal English trades unions against the socialist demands[333] and if they took a different stand over here in November,[320] it was because they had no alternative. Moreover, it is only in Paris that they are strong; in the provinces they're a negligible quantity, proof of this being that they cannot hold a congress in Paris because the provinces would either stay away or prove hostile. Nor are they able to hold one in the provinces. Two years ago they went to a little place tucked away in the Ardennes[334]; this year they expected to find accommodation in Troyes, where several of the labour town councillors, having betrayed their class after the election, had joined them. But they were not re-elected and the *comité*—their own *comité*—extended an invitation to *all* French Socialists. Thereupon, dismay in the Paris camp; an attempt to rescind this—in vain. And so they didn't go to their own congress, which was taken over and brilliantly run by our Marxists. What the provincial trades unions think of them can be seen from the enclosed resolution passed at the Bordeaux Trades Unions Congress in November. On the Paris Municipal Council they have 9 men, whose main purpose it is to oppose, on no matter what pretext, Vaillant's socialist activities, to betray the workers and in return to secure not only grants of money for themselves and their supporters but also sole control of the labour exchanges.[317]

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[a] See this volume, p.239

The Marxists, who control the provinces, are the *only* anti-chauvinist party in France; the stand they have taken on behalf of the German labour movement has made them unpopular in Paris, and to send delegates to a congress there that is hostile to these people would be to cut off your nose to spite your own face. They also know how best to comb at Boulanger,[326] who stands for the general feeling of dissatisfaction in France. When Boulanger wanted to hold a banquet in Montluçon, our people took 300 tickets so as to put to him through Dormoy—a most able little chap—some highly categorical questions about his attitude to the labour movement, etc. When the worthy general learned of this, he cancelled the whole banquet.

The fog precludes any further writing today. More in a day or two.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 10 January 1889

Dear Kugelmann,

May I reciprocate with best wishes for a very Happy New Year to yourself, your wife and daughter.[a]

I should be amused to see Soetbeer's piece of sagacity[b] if you would be so good as to send it to me; the post office *here* would be unlikely to take exception to the marginal notes; all it bans is anything in the nature of a letter.

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[a] Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann – [b] H. Soetbeer, *Die Stellung der Sozialisten zur Malthus'schen Bevölkerungslehre*, Göttingen, 1886

As regards the French peasants, the thing should be taken *cum grano salis.*[a] The *cultivation* of parcels of land was the rule in France as it was in Germany and Eastern Europe while, so far as *acreage* is concerned, farming on a large scale with corvée labour was relatively rare. As a result of the Revolution,[335] the peasant *gradually* came into possession of his parcel of land, but he often for some time at least remained a nominal tenant (without as a rule having to pay rent). What happened to state-owned land (much of which Napoleon and the Restoration[336] returned to the aristocracy, the other part of it being purchased after 1826 by the aristocracy with the help of the émigré milliard[337]), and how, by 1830, small peasant landownership had reached its highest degree of development, is to be found in Avenel's *Lundis Révolutionnaires* and Balzac's novel, *Les Paysans.* Taine isn't up to much.[b] I haven't read the Schweichel article.[c]

The third volume[d] is going ahead slowly.

My health was given a tremendous fillip by my American jaunt, but my eyesight is still not all it might be—slight but chronic conjunctivitis and increasing myopia in the left eye due to the displacement of the rear wall of the sclerotic as a result of strain. The first duty of a citizen is rest.[338]

Your
F. Engels

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[a] with a grain of salt – [b] H. Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, t. 1–4, Paris, 1876–1885 – [c] R. Schweichel, 'La Terre', *Die Neue Zeit*, 7. Jg., 1889, H. 1 – [d] of *Capital*

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT[4]

IN ZURICH

London, 11 January 1889

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your two letters of 5 November and 28/31 December and have followed with much interest the progress of your experimentation with German universities.[339] The domination of the Junkers in alliance with the bourgeois differs from the pre-'48 domination of the Junkers in alliance with the bureaucrats only in having a broader basis. In those days their treatment of Bruno Bauer[295] stirred up indignation throughout Philistia; today, when similar treatment is being meted out to Dühring,[340] and the doors of all the universities are being slammed in your face, that self-same Philistia considers it perfectly right and proper.

You will, in fact, have no other recourse than to take up writing, and for that purpose there is, of course, no better place in the Empire than Berlin. I am glad that you say no more (in your second letter) about your American plans, for you would have experienced a bitter disappointment over there. I can see that anyone subject to the Anti-Socialist Law[52] might think highly of the American-German socialist press, particularly from the viewpoint of a journalist. In actual fact it isn't up to much, either from the theoretical or from the local, American standpoint. The best paper is the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*; the *St Louis Tageblatt* is well-meaning but feeble; the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* is managed in a proper, businesslike way, but is first and foremost a business; the *Sozialist* (New York), the official organ of the German party, is very poor. Just now there is little place in America for theoretical thinkers. The Germans—at any rate in their official organisation—insist upon remaining a branch of the German metropolitan party, look down with a truly Lassallean arrogance upon the 'ignorant' Americans and expect them to join their German party, i.e. place themselves under German tutelage—in short, they behave with sectarian pettiness and bigotry. Further inland things are better, but the New Yorkers still retain the upper hand. I seldom see the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* (now edited by Christensen). In America, in short, the only possible openings are in the daily press, and you would have to be

over there for at least a year in order to gain the necessary confidence and personal insights; in addition you would have to adapt yourself to the prevailing opinions, which are often all the more parochial for the persistence amongst the Germans there of that loutish mentality which, in Germany, has been eradicated by large-scale industry (one of the curious things about America is that what is most antiquated and out of date continues to vegetate happily alongside what is newest and most revolutionary). Things can and will, no doubt, improve within a year or two, but anyone who wishes to promote the scientific side will find a far better prepared public here in Europe.

Incidentally, you will also find that a career as a writer offers ample scope for worthwhile work. You will presumably have access to Braun's *Archiv*,[a] Conrad's *Jahrbücher etc.*,[b] and to Schmoller's collection of papers.[341] For instance, a work on the system of exploitation by middlemen (sweating system)—at least as prevalent in the Berlin garment trade as in that of London, etc.—would be very useful as providing a parallel to the English Report by the Select Committee of the House of Lords[c]—which I will gladly send you if you'd care to have it. Many other types of economic conditions would similarly reward investigation and description, quite aside from actual theoretical works, which might now and then provide relief from the common run of writing. We can discuss this further once you are in Berlin and have started work.

If your experiences (which might well be worth publishing) recall the time of Frederick William IV, those of Hoch hark back directly to the worst period of demagogue-hunting.[342] It must surely be the first time since 1835 that anyone has been refused matriculation because of his political views.

As regards Volume III,[d] Section I (of seven) is ready for the press, and I am busy with II and III, which I hope to finish shortly. The work is more time-consuming that I had thought, and I have to take great care of my eyes. The stupendous fogs in December caused a temporary setback, but now they are better again. On New Year's night we went to Pumps'—we being Schorlemmer, Sam Moore, Tussy and a few of the *Sozialdemokrat* people.[e] She lives 2 miles away and, because of the fog, it took us over an hour to get there. Then it got so bad that no one could

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[a] *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* – [b] *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* – [c] First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System . . . – [d] of *Capital* – [e] Hermann and Anna Schlüter and Leonard Tauscher

leave. So *nolens volens*,[a] the whole party of us had to go on tippling until day (or rather a pitch black morning) dawned, which we did with much merriment. Towards five o'clock some of us were able to leave for town by the first train; the rest lay down at seven on hastily improvised beds and slept until the first noon of the New Year. *Voilà la vie de Londres.*[b]

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 January 1889

Dear Sorge,

A very Happy New Year and my most cordial greetings to you and your wife.[c]

Have got your letter of 29 December. I am sorry to hear that you as well as your wife are beginning to find the work a strain. But I hope this is only a passing phase and that you will gradually get used to it. I am well, but during the ghastly December fogs my eyes got rather worse again. I have pretty well sorted that out by taking more exercise and spending more time out of doors.

The chief characteristic of European socialism just now is contentiousness. In France the Possibilists have sold themselves to the government and are using the secret funds to keep their unsaleable news

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[a] willy-nilly – [b] That's London life for you – [c] Katharina Sorge

papers afloat; at the elections on the 27th they will vote for the bourgeois Jacques, while our people and the Blanquists have put up Boulé,[344] of whom Lafargue believes that he will get no more than 16 to 20 thousand votes, and this they regard as a defeat. In the provinces, on the other hand, things are healthier. The Possibilists had convoked *their* congress at Troyes, but cancelled it when the local organisers issued an invitation to *all* Socialists.[322] So only our lot went, proving there that, if Paris was dominated by the Possibilists, the provinces were theirs. Now there are going to be 2 congresses (international ones) in Paris this year—ours and the Possibilists'. The Germans probably won't go to either.

Here in London the tuck[a] of an army of officers *sans* soldiers still goes on. It's like Robert Blum's column of 1849[345]—one colonel, 11 officers, 1 trumpeter and 1 private. Outwardly and before the public they appear to hit it off all right but the cliquishness behind the scenes is all the greater. Every now and again the bickering comes out into the open. Thus Champion, having been thrown out of the Social Democratic Federation,[62] has founded a paper[b] (of which one No. goes off to you this week) and is now attacking Hyndman, but more especially his ally, Adolphe Smith Headingley, who is half French, swears by the Possibilists and is chief mediator in the Hyndman-Possibilist alliance. In the days after the Commune, the fellow was co-loafer[c] of the London *Branche française*[346] by whom we were abused and misrepresented, then ditto of the pseudo-General Council consisting of Jung, Hales & Co. I have evidence that he is still telling lies about us. This lout-interpreter at the international Trades Congress over here had the effrontery to come to my house one Sunday under the aegis of Anseele and Van Beveren[d]; when Schlüter arrives, he will tell you how I sent the fellow packing.

As soon as the working class, as yet only just stirring, really gets under way here, every one of these gentry will be relegated to his level and station—some inside, some outside the movement. It's now at the tooth-cutting stage.

Contentiousness also prevails in the office of the *Sozialdemokrat*. Schlüter will be able to tell you about it. By the way, he is also to some extent party to it and capable of concealing what doesn't suit his book. When I see how badly mismanaged the paper is here at headquarters, I can only admire our workingmen the more for the way in which they counterbalance and neutralise it all.

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[a] here meaning 'farce' – [b] *The Labour Elector* – [c] In the German text *Mitloafer*, a play on the word *Mitläufer* – a political hanger-on – [d] See this volume, p.239

Mother Wischnewetzky is much offended because, instead of paying her a visit at Long Branch, I stayed with you so as to recuperate from my indisposition and get back into shape for the voyage. She seems to have been pained by the breach of etiquette and the want of gallantry towards ladies. However, I refuse to allow these little madams, who clamour for women's rights, to demand gallantry into the bargain—if they want the same rights as men they should submit to being treated as such. She will probably simmer down however.

We spent New Year's Eve with Pumps and, because of the fog, had to stay the whole night tippling there. Tussy only left at 5 a.m. by the first train. She is now staying in Cornwall for a week or two.

Bismarck has been nicely cuffed over the ears by Geffcken and Morier.[347] If the Supreme Court has not yet gone so far as to accept his undergraduate-bully boy's version of the penal code, this is thanks to the singular contempt with which young William[a] lately favoured those gentlemen at Leipzig.

Diplomatic intrigue is at its height. The Russians have received 20 million pounds,[348] in April the Prussians will get their new 8 mm magazine rifle (the 11 mm one—a new version of the Mauser—was utterly unsuitable for war), the Austrians are boasting like mad, claiming to be *prêts et archiprêts*,[b] which proves that they're ready for another drubbing, and in France Boulanger *might* come to the helm. Bismarck's machinations with Salisbury in East Africa[349] have only one purpose, namely to involve Britain so deeply in a joint operation with Germany that, even under Gladstone, it wouldn't be able to draw back. Thus it was definitely against his will that William staged the Morier affair, but it's he who has to carry the can. In short, the situation is becoming critical and *could* lead to war in the spring.

Your

F.E.

Section I of Vol. III[c] is finished, II and III in hand. Seven sections in all.

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[a] William II – [b] ready and more than ready – [c] of *Capital*

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY[10]

IN NEW YORK

London, 12 January 1889

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

No doubt you feel disappointed at my having left America[281] without coming to see you at your sea-side retreat. But I was really too unwell, while in New York, to attempt an excursion of any kind—as you are aware I arrived with a severe cold which Dr Wischnewetzky declared to be bronchitis. This got worse, instead of better, and moreover I got a severe indigestion which made me feel on shore the sea sickness I had not had on the ocean. Under these circumstances, and with a long journey over unknown ground before me, I felt bound to get cured at once and to subordinate everything else to this consideration—I therefore placed myself under the motherly care of Mrs Sorge, did not leave Hoboken for days together, and at last got right again—about the time when we had to leave New York. Had it not been for this, I should certainly have come to pass a day with you; as it was, I had to choose between perfect rest at Hoboken, and an excursion which was almost sure to have upset me for the whole of the journey and maybe laid me up somewhere far out in the country.

The 500 copies[a] from Lee and Shepard have arrived—but too late to be sent out before the Christmas holidays, when nothing but holiday literature is noticed—I have therefore kept them back until now. On Monday the copies to the press will go out and the rest be handed to Reeves. As the boycott of the London Socialists against Marx and myself (exactly like that of English prehistoric old fogies against Morgan)[350] seems still in force, I am curious what the effect will be.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Yours faithfully
F. Engels

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[a] Karl Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 January 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Reply from Liebknecht and Bebel after mutual consultation.[351] It would appear that they never had any intention of going to the Possibilist congress direct and without reference to you. But

1) Since the London congress[320] resolved to convene a congress in Paris and entrusted its organisation to the Possibilists, the latter do have certain rights, notably in regard to the nationalities represented in London who concurred with that resolution. (Why, by the bye, have you abdicated so completely and abandoned the field to the Possibilists?)

2) The Dutch have expressly asked that the Possibilists be invited to the congress, making this a condition for their (the Dutchmen's) attendance.

3) And Liebknecht is right when he says that the Germans cannot expose themselves to attack by French workers in Paris—a hazard, he avers, against which you have been unable to give them any sort of guarantee.

Apparently, then, it has been resolved to convene a preliminary conference at Nancy,[352] one delegate per foreign nationality, and one delegate from each of the three French parties—yourselves, Blanquists, Possibilists; also to move that, at the congress, the right to speak be withdrawn from any speaker alluding to the internal affairs of those three parties and to the differences between them. In this way there would be only one congress, at which everyone would be represented.

I don't see how you can turn this down. If it then be seen that you are prepared to act along with everyone else, and that the Possibilists are trying to exclude you, it would be enough to put the Possibilists in the wrong, even in the eyes of the Dutch and Belgians (the Flemings are all right but, where their foreign policy is concerned, they are under the thumb of those false brethren in Brussels of whom you know); if, on the other hand, they accept, you will only have yourselves to blame should you fail to prove to one and all that it is you, and not they, who represent French Socialism.

Here is the text of what Liebknecht says:

'Ich richtete also am Dienstag 8. Januar nach Besprechung mit Bebel eine formelle Einladung an das Blatt[a] (der Possibilisten).[b] Kommt *kein* Delegierter derselben (zur Konferenz) so haben wir freie Hand. Kommt einer oder kommen mehrere, so werden wir schon mit ihnen fertig werden. Fügen sie sich, dann gut. Fügen sie sich nicht, dann sind sie isoliert und werden von uns tot gemacht' . . . 'In jedem Fall sichert die Konferenz das Gelingen des Kongresses und die Lahmlegung der Broussisten.'[c]

If all this is correct, I cannot see that you have cause for complaint; on the contrary, it would provide an excellent opportunity to force the hand of the Possibilists. Before answering, however, I am anxious to ascertain the facts and to hear what you have to say. After consulting your friends, therefore, and after seeking the advice of the Blanquists, do write and tell me what you think about all this; and do it soon, it's urgent.

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and from myself.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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[a] *Parti Ouvrier* – [b] Engels gives this sentence in a close rendering rather than word for word – [c] 'On Tuesday, 8 January, after discussing the matter with Bebel, I sent a formal invitation to the (Possibilist) paper. Should the latter not send a delegate (to the conference), we shall have a free hand. Should one or several attend, we shall know how to deal with them. If they toe the line, well and good. If they do not toe the line, they will stand on their own and will be wiped out by us.' . . . 'In either case the meeting will ensure the success of the congress and the hamstringing of the Broussists.'

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 18 January 1889

The proposed discussion with Tussy and Edward[a] cannot take place as they are both in Cornwall and don't intend to return until next week or later. Meanwhile Tussy has already written to tell your wife what she could about the case in point. But however that may be, we've got to get you both back here and no doubt this can be done somehow or other by the spring. Now I must return to my mss.,[a] which I have had to neglect for the past month—on account of the fog and all manner of correspondences to do with the rumpuses in Paris and London. Warm regards to Louise

from your old friend
The General

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[211]

IN VIENNA

London, 28 January 1889

Dear Kautsky,

Today I have a proposal to make to you which has Ede's, Gina's[b] and Tussy's blessing.

I foresee that in the most favourable circumstances I shall have to continue to spare my eyes for a very long time if they are to get right again.

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[a] of Volume 3 of *Capital* – [b] Regina Bernstein

And that rules out the possibility, at least for several years to come, of anyone taking down the ms. of Book IV of *Capital*[353] at my own dictation.

On the other hand, I must see to it that not only this but Marx's other mss. remain usable even in my absence. There is no way of my doing so other than by giving coaching in these hieroglyphics to people who can, if necessary, take my place and in any case help me with the editing in the meantime. And for this purpose you and Ede are the only ones I can employ. So for the time being I propose that that is what the three of us should do.

But then the first thing to be tackled is Book IV, and Ede is too preoccupied with the editing of the *Sozialdemokrat* and with the many hold-ups and intrigues that are part and parcel of the shop here. But I imagine that, after a bit of coaching and practice and with the help of your wife,[a] you would in the course of, say, two years, find sufficient time to turn the 750 pages or so of the original (a good part of which will probably be dropped as having been included in Book III[b]) into a legible ms. Once you were able to read the writing fairly well, you could dictate to your wife and then things would go faster.

Now I have worked it out as follows: if, as hitherto, I could dictate to Eisengarten for 5 hours a day, that would take me a year—allowing for interruptions. In return I would have to pay Eisengarten £2 a week—£100. So that is what it would cost me in any event and, if you are prepared to take the work on for that amount, that is what I shall pay. Spread over two years it would mean a payment of £50 each year; should the work go ahead faster, payment would be forthcoming sooner. We here are of the opinion that in these circumstances you might perhaps have no objection to returning. I would suggest that I pay you in quarterly advances of £12.10, for progress would be slow at first and faster later on, and hence there would be no sense in proposing that payments should be related from the outset to the quantity of work done.

Ede simply cannot wait to be initiated in the hieroglyphics. I have in fact some other mss. for him and shall likewise give him coaching, but I told him, of course, that I could only pay one of you and this he readily accepted.

What I have in mind here is the ultimate publication at some later date—though perhaps this won't be possible during my life time—of collected editions of things by Marx and myself, and it is in regard to this

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[a] Louise Kautsky – [b] of *Capital*

particular matter that I would now like to make the necessary provisions. I have also mentioned it to Tussy and we can expect all possible help from that quarter. Once I have got you both to the stage of reading Marx's handwriting well, a heavy load will have been lifted from my shoulders and I shall then be able to spare my eyes without neglecting an important duty, for by that time there will be two people, at any rate, to whom the mss. are no longer a book with seven seals.

Apart from Lenchen, only Ede and Aveling and their wives know of my plan and, if you are in agreement, no one save the two of you need know anything about the details of the affair. It might also provide Louise with a congenial occupation.

So give the matter some thought and, if you agree to it, come over as soon as you can. You'll be able to secure Schlüter's furniture at little cost and at the same time attractive, if temporary, lodgings. Louise will doubtless want to get her course and exams[354] over first, but how that can be arranged is something of which the two of you are better judges than we over here.

Boulanger's election[344] is bringing the situation in France to a head. The Radicals, in their haste to come to power, have made themselves the servants of opportunism and corruption and by doing so have virtually become a breeding ground for Boulangism.[137] But it bodes ill for Paris that in its rage at these goings-on it has cast itself into the arms of a barely disguised Bonapartism. For the present, the only conclusion I can draw from all this is that Paris is renouncing its traditional revolutionary mission. Fortunately the provinces are better. The worst of it is that the danger of war looms ever larger and that Bismarck can now have a war whenever he wants one. He only needs to provoke another Schnaebelé-type incident[99]—which Boulanger won't be able to swallow as Ferry did.

Best wishes to Louise from Nim and myself,

Your

F. E.

Give my regards to those trusty friends who sent me their New Year's greetings, in particular Frankel. You all seem to be going strong again over there.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN LONDON

[London], 31 January 1889

Dear Schlüter,

I had hoped to see you and your wife[a] here yesterday. Did Mrs Bernstein come with you? If so, I hope to see her and you both at my house one evening—Sunday at the latest.

Kindest regards.

Your

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[324]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 February 1889

My dear Laura,

The news about the *Egalité* (ominous name, *égalité devant la mort*[b] I hope not!) is good news indeed and I await anxiously the results.[355] That the Blanquists would be brought to their senses, as to the extent of their journalistic capacities, was pretty clear—but that this necessary experience would eat up the necessary funds for a paper, was clearer still.

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[a] Anna Schlüter – [b] equality before death

So it's well that another speculative *bailleur de fonds*[a] has turned up. That our people can make a paper a success they have proved at the *Citoyen* and the *Cri* where in both cases other intruders tried to make capital out of our people's success and came to grief. And the composition of the *comité* is in their favour, the Blanquists secure them the majority on economic questions, and the Hovelacque elements will help holding Blanquist madcap notions in check. But how long will these various elements hold together? Anyhow, let us wait till everything is shipshape.

The Boulanger election[344] I cannot look upon otherwise than as a distinct revival of the Bonapartist element in the Parisian character. In 1798, 1848 and 1889 this revival arose equally from discontent with the bourgeois republic, but it took this especial direction—appeal to a saviour of society—entirely in consequence of a chauvinistic current. And what is worse: in 1798 Napoleon had to make a *coup d'état* to conquer those Parisians he had shot down in Vendémiaire;[356] in 1889 the Parisians themselves elect a butcher of the Commune. To put it mildly, Paris has, at least temporarily, abdicated as a revolutionary city; abdicated, not before a victorious *coup d'état* and in the midst of war, as in 1798; not six months after a crushing defeat, as in December 1848; but in the midst of peace, 18 years after the Commune, and *on the eve of a probable revolution.* And when Bebel says in the Vienna *Gleichheit:*

> 'Die Pariser Arbeiter haben sich in ihrer Mehrheit *einfach erbärmlich* benommen — mitt ihrer sozialistischen und klassenbewussten Gesinnung muss es sehr traurig stehn, wenn nur 17,000 Stimmen auf einen sozialistischen Kandidaten fallen und ein Hanswurst und demagog wie Boulanger 244,000 Stimmen erhält'[b] [357]

— Nobody can say that he is wrong. The effect upon our party everywhere has been that if Floquet has suffered a crushing defeat, *so have we.* Cutting off your nose to spite your face is no doubt also a sort of policy, but what sort?

Well, Boulanger is now sure to be master of France unless he commits some egregious blunder, and the Parisians will have their bellyful of him. If the thing goes off without war being brought on, it will be something gained—but the danger is great. Bismarck has every reason to hurry on

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[a] investor (Jules Roques) – [b] 'The majority of Paris workers behaved *downright despicably* – their socialist and class consciousness must be in a sorry state indeed if a socialist candidate only gets 17,000 votes and a clown and demagogue like Boulanger polls 244,000 votes.'

a row, because William[a] is doing his best to ruin the German army by putting his favourites in the places of the old generals, and if he is allowed to proceed, in five years hence the Germans will be led by nothing but nincompoops and conceited jackasses. And how Boulanger, once in power, can outlive the effects of the universal *désillusionnement* which he must produce, without going to a war—that is more than I can see.

In all this mess it is but a poor consolation that the Possibilists have ruined themselves a little sooner than they would have done otherwise. But such as it is, let us rejoice over it. I send you two *Recht voor Allen* in which you see how they are getting treated by the very mass who insisted on their presence at the Congress.[358] Bernstein has given it them this week in the *Sozialdemokrat*[b] too, and even Hyndman has not the courage to stick up for them in *Justice*. To take his revenge, he writes a letter to Bax (5 Canning Road, Croydon) and asks him what it was that he, Bax, said about this point at the office of the *Sozialdemokrat* and what was repeated to me yesterday by Joos (one of the men there). I should be the more glad of this, as Bax was here yesterday too and never mentioned a word *to me* about it—it came out only after he had left. He can tell Bax that I told him so.

Well, I hope the new paper[c] will come out; we must take the situation as it is and make the best of it. When Paul gets to work at a paper again, he will brace himself up for the fight and no longer say despondingly: *il n'y a pas à aller contre le courant.*[d] Nobody asks of him to *stop* the current, but if we are not to go *against* the popular current of momentary tomfoolery, *what* in the name of the devil *is* our business? The inhabitants of the *Ville lumière*[e] have proved to evidence that they are 2 million 'mostly fools' as Carlyle says, but that is no reason why we should be fools too. Let the Parisians turn reactionists if they cannot be happy otherwise—the social revolution will go on in spite of them, and when it's done they can cry out: *Ah tiens! C'est fait—et sans nous—qui l'aurait imaginé*![f]

With Nim's love

Ever yours
F. E.

Doesn't Paul want any cash?

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[a] William II – [b] E. Bernstein, 'Boulanger's Sieg in Paris,' *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 3 February 1889 – [c] *Egalité* – [d] there is no going against the current – [e] Luminary City – [f] Just look! It's done – and without us – who could have imagined it!

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

[London], 7 February 1889

Re the ms., there is *absolutely no hurry*.[a] So just do whatever suits you best. For the time being I shall be fully occupied with III[b] (about 1/3 is now done). *L'Égalité* comes out today in Paris as the successor to the *Cri du Peuple*, a *daily*; on it, besides Vaillant and his faction, are Lafargue, Guesde, Deville, perhaps others. Malon will doubtless have to be brought in as well. More anon as regards any other matters; today I simply wanted to get off a prompt reply to your main question.

Warm regards to Louise—also from Nim.

Your

F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p.258 – [b] Volume III of *Capital*

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 February 1889

My dear Laura,

Well this *Egalité* anyhow is quite a relief after the dear dull deadly *Cri du Peuple* (*ennuyeux*[a]). The last few numbers of that defunct paper were really crushing. Poor Vaillant who can write a very good article when a critical point has been reached, but who is the last man in the world to spin out yarns by the yard day after day—you actually saw him perspire over his daily task, and it was a desponding sight. The involutions, evolutions and circumvolutions of Longuet in his attempts to set himself right (and at the same time wrong) with his Radical ex-friends are at least amusing, and artistically done.[359] Paul's [article on] nightwork is really good; though he might have *tapé un peu plus dur*[b] on Boulanger. Today I had no *Egalité*—perhaps the snow has delayed it. We are six inches deep in it here.

I read your admonition yesterday to Tussy and she pleads guilty. How far she will mind is beyond my cognizance.

Nim was rather out of sorts last week, some sort of derangement of the bowels, but is all right now.

Of *Capital*, III, vol. I finished section IV yesterday—about 1/3 of the whole cubic foot of ms.

In the *Dispatch* I send you please note A. Smith on page 2[c]—full of lies as usual—but it shows what the Possibilists are after. That the Germans are going to their congress is a barefaced lie, and that the Danes, Dutch etc. are, is probably another. Bax told Tussy that Hyndman had sounded him as to what the Germans intended doing in this respect, and Bax asked him: are you then the representative of the Possibilists in London? to which Hyndman said *he was* and in that capacity wanted the information. Whereupon Bax said: then you better write me a letter which I can submit to Engels and Bernstein. There the matter rests at present. But you see how busy they are.

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[a] boring – [b] hit a bit harder – [c] [Ad. Smith], 'The International Workmen's Congress of 1889'

Is Paul going to the Hague 28th inst. (Conference[360])? Bebel and Liebknecht are going, from here perhaps Bernstein, I am pressing him to go.

As to the cash, herewith cheque £20—which I hope will pacify M. Vautour.

Ever yours
F. E.

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ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

IN LONDON

[London], 14 February 1889

As far as I know G. J. Harney is still in England. Will let you know positively as soon as I can, will try to write to him and ascertain his whereabouts at once. If I can be of any use to Mr. Atherley Jones,[361] shall be glad to see him, am at home almost every evening.

Have not yet had the time to study your programme[131] sufficiently to give an opinion. I am very much debarred from reading by gas by medical orders.

Yours truly
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[362]

IN VIENNA

London, 20 February 1889

Dear Kautsky,

I return herewith the *Neue Zeit* articles[a] with brief marginal notes. The chief defect lies in the want of good material—Taine and Tocqueville, those idols of the philistines, are inadequate here.[b] Had you been working *over here*, you would have found material of quite a different order—better *secondary* and masses of *primary* sources. Quite apart from the fact that the best book on the peasants, by Kareyev, is in Russian. But if, over there, you can get hold of:

Moreau de Jounès, *État économique et social de la France depuis Henri IV jusqu'a Louis XIV*, Paris 1867, you could profitably read the same.

Section II, p. 3. Here you could do with a clear exposé showing *how* absolute monarchy comes into being as a natural compromise between aristocracy and bourgeoisie and hence must protect the interests of, and share out favours to, either side. To the—politically superannuated—aristocracy falls the share of plundering the peasants and the Exchequer, and of exercising indirect political influence through the Court, the army, the Church and the upper reaches of the administration; to the bourgeoisie, protection by means of tariffs and monopolies, and a *relatively* well-organised administration and judiciary. If you make that your starting-point, much will be elucidated and simplified.

This paragraph also omits all mention of the judicial aristocracy

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[a] K. Kautsky, 'Die Klassengegensätze von 1789. Zur hundert-jährigen Gedenkfeier der grosen Revolution', *Die Neue Zeit*, 7. Jhg, 1889, Hefte 1-4 – [b] H. A. Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*; A. de Tocqueville, *L'Ancien régime et la Révolution*

(*noblesse de robe*)[a] and of lawyers—*la robe*—in general who, in fact, also constituted a privileged estate and wielded considerable power in the *parlements* where, in their *political* capacity as the champions of institutions curbing the power of the Crown, they took a stand against the latter, i.e. sided with the people but were, in their judicial capacity, the very soul of corruption (cf. *Mémoires de Beaumarchais*[b]). What you say further on about this gang will not suffice.

III, p. 49. Cf. Note I from Kareyev herewith.

P. 50 '*this species* of bourgeois' suddenly becomes '*the*' bourgeois *par excellence*, which gives the lie to the dichotomy of the bourgeois class of which you are speaking. Altogether you generalise far too much and this often makes you absolute where the utmost relativity is called for.

IV, p. 54. Here there ought to be some mention of *how* it was that these plebeians, who were *outside* the system of estates and thus more or less disenfranchised or outlawed, arrived in the course of the revolution only by degrees at what you call '*Sansculottism*' (yet another ism!); likewise some mention of the role they played. That would get you over the difficulties on p. 53, which you seek to cope with by means of casual references and veiled allusions to new modes of production. Then it becomes plain that, here as always, the bourgeois were too cowardly to stand up for their own interests, that, from the time of the Bastille onwards, all their work had to be done for them by the plebs, that without the latter's intervention on 14 July, 5/6 October, and right up to 10 August, 2 September, etc., the bourgeoisie would invariably have been defeated by the *ancien régime* and the revolution have been crushed by the Coalition in alliance with the Court, and hence that it was those plebeians alone who effected the revolution;[363] but that this would not have been possible had the said plebeians not put a construction on the revolutionary demands of the bourgeoisie which these did not possess, had they not pushed equality and fraternity to their furthest logical conclusion, thereby standing the bourgeois meaning of those catchwords completely on its head because, if taken to extremes, that meaning in fact turned into its opposite; that this *plebeian* equality and fraternity must have been sheer moonshine at a time when it was a question of producing *precisely the opposite* and that, as always, this *plebeian*

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[a] People whose patents of nobility derived from administrative or legal posts purchased by themselves or their forebears – [b] *Collection complète des Mémoires de Monsieur de Beaumarchais, avec la suite de sa justification*, t. 1-2

construction placed upon the revolutionary catchwords became, by a quirk of history, the most powerful lever in effecting that opposite—namely *bourgeois* equality—before the law—and fraternity—in exploitation.

I would say a great deal less about the modern mode of production. In every case a yawning gap divides it from the *facts* you adduce and, *thus* out of context, it appears as a *pure abstraction* which, far from throwing light on the subject, renders it still more obscure.

As regards the Terror, it was essentially a *military measure*, so long as it had any point. It enabled the class or faction of the class group which alone could secure the victory of the revolution, not only to remain at the helm (the least of their problems once the rebellions had been subdued), but also to ensure that they had freedom of movement, *elbow-room*, and could concentrate their forces at the crucial point, the frontier. By the end of 1793 this last had been pretty well secured; 1794 began well, with the French armies advancing almost everywhere. The Commune[364] with its extremist tendencies became redundant, its pro-revolutionary propagandism became an embarrassment to Robespierre no less than to Danton, both of whom—if each after his own fashion—wanted peace. In this conflict of three elements Robespierre was the victor, but now *the Terror became for him a means of self-preservation* and therefore absurd: when, at Fleurus on the 26th of June, Jourdan laid the whole of Belgium at the Republic's feet,[365] it became unwarrantable; on 27 July Robespierre fell and the bourgeois orgy began.

'Prosperity for all based on labour' is far too definite a way of expressing the aspirations of the plebeian '*fraternité*' of those days. What they wanted no one could say until, long after the fall of the Commune, Babeuf gave it definite form.[366] If the Commune with its aspirations to fraternity came too soon, Babeuf for his part came too late.

P. 100. Beggars—see Note II from Kareyev.[367]

The section on peasants suffers most from the absence of all but the most common sources.

Ranke's howlers are nice![a] in the case of Sybel[b] you unfortunately failed to make use of the Austrian refutations, from which you could have gleaned a good deal about the second partition of Poland,[368] etc., and which, in so far as they are in the *archives*, are certainly available.

As regards Rudolf,[c] history shows that even in Austria feudal licen-

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[a] L. Ranke, *Über die Epochen der neueren Geschichte* – [b] H. Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit von 1789–1795* – [c] Rudolf Franz Karl Joseph – [d] Bernstein

tiousness, whereby the prince and his family honoured their female subjects in bestowing carnal favours upon them, gives way to *bourgeois* licentiousness, whereby the bestower of the favour becomes answerable on the duelling ground or in the DIVORCE COURT to the husband or brother, etc., of the person favoured.

My cordial regards to Louise, likewise Frankel, Alder, etc. What is Bardorf doing? One never hears anything of him nowadays.

Hyndman is endeavouring to entice Ede, via Bax, into an alliance with himself and the Possibilists.[19] The silly ass imagines that we carry on in exactly the same way as the London literary cliques, in which alliances are made and broken at will simply because those concerned have no one behind them.

How do you like the *Égalité*'s novel about Rudolf?

Your

F. E.

Note I. *Fourth Estate*

The conception of a Fourth Estate, alongside I, II and III, arose very early in the Revolution. Dufaurny de Villiers' *Cahiers du 4^e^ ordre, celui des pauvres journalièrs, des infirmes, des indigents, etc., l'ordre des infortunés—25 avril 1789* appeared at the very start. But as a rule the Fourth Estate was regarded as consisting of *peasants*. E.g. Noilliac, *Le plus fort des pamphlets. L'ordre des paysans aux États-généraux. 26 février 1789*, p. 9: '*Prenons de la constitution suédoise les quartre ordres.*'[a]—Vartout, *Lettre d'un paysan à son curé, sur une nouvelle manière de tenir les États-généraux*, Sartrouville, 1789, p. 7: '*J'avons entendu dire que dans un pays qui est au Nord ... on admettait aux États assemblés l'ordre des paysans.*'[b]

A few other versions of the Fourth Estate also occur; one pamphlet suggests a Fourth Estate of *merchants*, another, of *magistrates*, etc.

According to Kareyev, *The Peasants and the Peasant Question in France in the Last Quarter of the 18th Century*, Moscow, 1879, p. 327.

Note II. *Beggars*

'Characteristically, the number of the impoverished (*niscich*; *niscyi* means beggar) was highest in the provinces which were considered the

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[a] 'Let us take the four estates of the Swedish Constitution' – [b] 'I have heard told that in a country up in the North ... the Peasants' Estate was admitted to the States-General.'

most fertile; this was due to the fact that there were very few landowning peasants in these areas.

'But let the figures speak. In Argentré (Brittany), out of the 2,300 inhabitants not living by industry or trade, more than half can barely make ends meet, and over 500 people have been reduced to destitution. In Dainville (Artois), 60 families out of 130 are impoverished. Normandy: in Saint-Patrice 400 out of the 1,500 inhabitants, and in Saint-Laurent three-quarters out of the 500 live on alms (Taine). From the *Cahiers*[369] of the Douai *bailliage* we learn that in one village (Bouvignies parish) half of the 332 families live on alms, in another (Aix parish) 65 families out of the 143 are impoverished, in a third (Landus parish) about one hundred out of the 413 are destitute, and so on and so forth. In the Puy-en-Velay *sénéchaussée*, according to the *Cahiers* of the local clergy, 58,897 of the 120,000 inhabitants are not in a position to pay any taxes at all (*Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, Vol. V, p. 467). In the villages of the Carhaix arrondissement the position was as follows: Frerogan: 10 well-to-do families (*dostatochnyi*, possessing enough), 10 poor, and 10 destitute. Motref: 47 well-to-do families, 74 less prosperous ones, 64 poor ones and families of day labourers. Paule: 200 households, most of which fully deserve the description of beggars' homes (*Archives Nationales* B^A, IV, 17). The *Cahier* of the Marboeuf parish states that out of the 500 inhabitants nearly 100 are destitute (Boivin-Champeaux, *Notice historique sur la Révolution dans le département de l'Eure*, 1872, p. 83). The peasants of Harville village say as many as one-third of them live in poverty for lack of employment ('Requéte des habitants de la Commune d'Harville', *Archives Nationales*).

'In the cities the position was no better. In Lyons 30,000 workmen were destitute in 1787. Paris, with a population of 650,000 had 118,784 indigents (Taine I, [p.] 507). In Rennes 1/3 of the inhabitants lived on alms and another 1/3 were in constant danger of destitution (Duchatellier, *L'agriculture en Bretagne*, Paris, 1863, p. 178). The Jurassian town of Lons-le-Saunier was so poor that, when the Constituante[370] introduced the electoral qualification, only 728 of the 6,518 inhabitants were qualified as eligible to vote (Sommier, *Histoire de la révolution dans le Jura*, Paris, 1846, p. 33). Small wonder, therefore, that during the revolution those living on charity were counted by the million. For instance, a church pamphlet published in 1791 says there were 6 million paupers (indigents) in France (*Avis aux Pauvres sur la rév olution présente et sur les biens du clergé*, p. 15). This is doubtless a some-

what exaggerated estimate, but that given for the year 1774—1,200,000 paupers—perhaps does not fall below the actual figure (Duval, *Cahiers de la Marche*, Paris, 1873, p. 116).'

(I thought you might like to have a few *genuine* examples.)

Kareyev, pp. 211–13.

(Should the tone of my notes appear abrupt, this is due to want of time and the narrowness of your margins. Nor did I have the time to consult my sources and had to do it all from memory—hence much is not as clear-cut as I should like it to be.)[a]

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ENGELS TO JOHN LINCOLN MAHON[130]

IN LONDON

[London], 21 February 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mahon,

I had a letter from Harney.[b] He is still at Macclesfield (58 Bridge St.) suffering from his old complaint, rheumatic gout, so badly that he had to *dictate* his letter. He says in his present condition he is

'in no mood to meet people', and, 'as you see, little fitted to write however briefly. But do not think I can be of any service to Mr Atherley Jones in his laudable object and very proper filial duty, that of collecting his father's writings for re-issue'.

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[a] This paragraph is written in pencil in the original – [b] See this volume, p.265

So I must leave you and Mr A. Jones to make the best of it, as far as Harney is concerned.

I *may* have a few odd numbers of *The People's Paper* but, if so, shall not be able to lay my hands on them until I find time for a re-arrangement of my collection of old papers, pamphlets, etc.

Faithfully yours,
F. Engels

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

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[371]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 23 February 1889

Dear Sorge,

Your postcard of 19 January and letter of 10 February received.[372] I take *The Labor Standard* and shall give Mrs Wischnewetzky's articles to Tussy, who will use them, should the 'Labor Movement' happen to be re-issued. The stuff in them is typical of America. Neglect of fire precautions, etc., on that scale simply would not pay in Europe. But it's the same attitude as you take to railroads and everything else; provided only that they *exist*, no matter how, that is sufficient.

Thank you for the item on Appleton.[373] On being approached, Sonnenschein said he had sold 500 copies of the cheap edition to Appleton.

I didn't see *Der arme Teufel*. It is Motteler's favourite reading and that is something no one will begrudge him. Any remarks it makes about Aveling, no matter what they may be, are downright lies.[374]

I shall write and tell Kautsky what you have said about Rappaport.[375] Lack of material and a desire to be versatile mean that many get in who have no business to be there. Kautsky has been in Vienna since July and won't be returning here before July.

I have sent you *The Holy Family* by registered book packet along with some French stuff. *But you mustn't tell Schlüter that I sent it to you*; I had more or less promised him my spare copy for the archives[227] before my trip to America, but you come first. It will probably arrive in March or April.

In addition to this—all of them by today's post—there's a further parcel of French stuff as well as *Commonweal* and *Gleichheit*. Lafargue's and Deville's lectures[376] are no longer to be had here and I can't get a reply out of the authors. However I keep pegging away at them.

You will have received the copies of the *Égalité*. The Blanquists have had no luck with their *Cri du Peuple*; having bored people to tears, they found themselves compelled to join forces with Guesde, Lafargue, etc. (which Vaillant wanted to do from the beginning but was outvoted). In addition there are a few discontented Radicals. Up till now they have all got on well together—let's hope it will remain so. Some more copies will go off shortly.

During the latest election in Paris the Possibilists thoroughly disgraced themselves and actively supported the Opportunist Jacques.[344] The workers are now beginning to desert them. In the provinces, which are far better than Paris, they have lost all support. Their attempt, with the help of the English Trades Unions and of Hyndman, their trusty ally over here, to arrange an international congress in Paris *without* our Frenchmen but with the Belgians, Danes, Dutch and hence, or so they hoped, the Germans as well, is proving an ignominious failure. The Germans say they will not attend *either* congress if 2 of them are held in Paris. And both parties have been summoned to a conference at The Hague on the 28th of this month[360]; of the Germans, Liebknecht, Bebel and Bernstein will be there, and so will the Dutch and Belgians. Lafargue is going. So they must either eat humble pie or face universal opposition.

In Germany things are getting more and more confused. Now that old William[a] is dead and Bismarck is tottering, the philistines have lost all confidence in the wielders of power. That vain young fool,[b] the new, greater version of Old Fritz[c] (*pour rire*[d]) wants to be Emperor and

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[a] William I – [b] William II – [c] Frederick II (Frederick the Great) – [d] in jest

Chancellor in one; the arch-reactionaries, priests and Junkers at court are doing their utmost to incite him against Bismarck and to bring about a clash—and meanwhile little Willie is pensioning off all the old generals and replacing them with his favourites. Another three years and the commands will all be in the hands of impudent coxcombs and the army will be ripe for another Jena.[377] Bismarck knows this and that is what might induce him to embark on a quick war, especially if that vagabond Boulanger gets to the top. And then we'll have a pretty state of affairs: an alliance between France and Russia which will completely *rule out any revolution* in France, for otherwise Russia will turn against her. But I hope it blows over.

Warm regards to your wife.[a]

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 12 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

The Possibilists have behaved just as they should—both as regards themselves and as regards us.[378] I was afraid they would accept—with reservations which, though apparently insignificant, would have been enough to bedevil the whole issue. Fortunately they appear to be too

[a] Katharina Sorge

much committed to the course already embarked upon—the financial exploitation of their position on the Municipal Council. This time they have dealt themselves the *coup de grâce*.

As for the Municipal Council's 50,000 frs, they will probably get them, you cannot prevent it. Let them use the money for their congress—what does it matter? Not all the money in the coffers of the Municipal Council of Paris would suffice to manufacture a socialist congress, except as a joke.[379]

The Germans have made concessions enough and are unlikely to make any more. The Dutch have been subjected to direct attack by the Possibilists, the Swiss and the Danes are following the German lead and the Belgians are divided, for while the Brussels people are, as you say, Possibilists at heart, the Flemings are very much better, and all that is wanted is to extricate them from the Brussels sphere of influence. Up till now they have left their foreign policy entirely in the hands of the Brussels people, but this time we may well see a change.

It is a great misfortune that you should be without a paper at this vital juncture. M. Roques is an idiot and is simply throwing his money down the drain. The present editors will cost him ten times the 35 frs a day on account of which he has let go the only editors who might have made a success of his paper.[380] But that does not alter the fact that this business has happened at the most inopportune moment.

If you have invited the League[21] to the conference without also inviting the Federation,[62] as I can only conclude from your letter,[a] it was a mistake on your part. Either both should have been invited, or both should have been left out. In the first place, the Federation is indubitably more important than the League and, in the second, it gives them an excuse to say that the whole conference has been arranged without their knowledge. Hyndman, face to face with all of you, couldn't have done the least harm—quite the contrary and, although he claims to represent the Possibilists over here in matters connected with the congress, he has not dared of late to stand up for them in his paper,[b] but rather has rapped them over the knuckles, if very gently. And Bernstein, who is aware of all this, would have kept him within decent limits. However, it was the Germans who were to convene the conference and, as always, Liebknecht acted—or refrained from action—in response to some passing whim.

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[a] Lafargue's letter to Engels of 5 March 1889 – [b] This refers to the items 'A Plea for Harmony' in *Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 268, 2 March 1889, and 'The Old Ruinous Game' in *Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 269, 9 March 1889

I am forwarding your letter to Bernstein so that he can use it for the issue of the paper[a] due to appear on Thursday.[381] I must also send a letter to Liebknecht by this post and so will break off. I enclose herewith a cheque for £20, which I hope will relieve you of your difficulties for the time being.

Give Laura a kiss from me. I hope she has got rid of her cold.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

IN BERLIN

London, 12 March 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Dr Schmidt,

You must excuse me for being unable to reply to your note of the 5th inst. Until today. I have had a family over here from Germany on a visit and there hasn't been a moment to spare.

So your academic adventures have been followed by adventures with the press.[382] It's just like it was between 1842 and 1845[383] and you'll now have some idea of how we fared then. However, we have made a bit of progress since that time and the tricks played by the world of officialdom today, even though they may be quite as beastly as they were then, are no longer so far-reaching.

If you approach Meissner, don't hesitate to refer him straight to me, and if he sends me an inquiry, I shall gladly do whatever I can. But I

[a] *Sozialdemokrat*

know that he usually rejects pamphlets on principle and it wouldn't surprise me if that is the reason he will give.

However, I have yet another suggestion: You should write and ask Karl Kautsky, whom you know, of course, from the time you were both over here—Igelgasse 13/I, Vienna IV—whether he cannot arrange for Dietz in Stuttgart to take the piece. Or again to Dr H. Braun, Munich, to see whether he can suggest a publisher.

If you would like me to send you an introduction to Bebel, Liebknecht or Singer while the Reichstag is in session, you are very welcome to one.

If the thing isn't too long, Kautsky might possibly take it for the *Neue Zeit*.[384]

So you too live in the Dorotheenstrasse—I myself lived there in 1841[191] on the south side, a bit to the east of the Friedrichstrasse—it will all have changed a great deal by now.

I was also glad to get your note of 18 January. I trust the plan you outlined in it to live by your pen will come off. Obviously you will first have to learn the ropes to some extent in this new world and if the gentlemen of the press are of the same breed over there as they are here, you can hardly fail to make a number of unavoidable, if somewhat undesirable, acquaintanceships.

I have taken a look at the Sweating Committee report[a]—there are two fat folio volumes (containing the witnesses' statements) and hardly believe you will feel impelled to work your way through them. However, if you want to take a preliminary look at them, you will find them in the Reichstag library; one or other of the deputies could get hold of them for you, and if you then felt inclined to go into the matter more thoroughly, I should be happy to send them to you.

Meanwhile my sincere regards combined with the request that you send me further news of yourself from time to time.

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 11 August 1888, London

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

[London], 21 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You and Bebel are both right and the thing is quite simple.

It was resolved at The Hague[385] that, should the Possibilists not accept the conditions laid down, the Belgians and Swiss *would together take steps* to convene a congress in Paris, and that a *joint declaration* would be made against the Possibilists; the congress would be held by the end of September.

This was resolved—if you were absent—in the presence of Bonnier, who was your interpreter from the German and who should know. The Belgians gave their express consent.

Now, if the Belgians and Swiss take the initiative, *it will be your organisation to which the organisation and all the preparations will be entrusted*, which means that you will be getting everything you have asked for, so do be a little patient.

If your groups prove to be as unreasonable as the Possibilists, it will be their own fault if the whole thing ends up in victory for the latter.

It's a matter of making the Possibilist congress a failure, of which there are good prospects, provided you don't spoil everything by your impatience.

The Possibilists have put themselves in the wrong in the eyes of all the world. Now, mind you don't go and do the same yourselves by appearing to want to lay down the law for the Socialists of other nations.

Either the Belgians must comply or they too will put themselves in the wrong—I would beg you not to provide them with a plausible excuse for extricating themselves from their quandary. Even if the Belgians cannot comply, all will not yet be lost, not in my opinion, at any rate. Always providing you don't spike your own guns by undue precipitation.

That you will not be able to hold your congress on 14 July is beyond doubt, unless you choose to hold it in isolation. I am not arguing about

which date is or is not suitable but, since the matter appears to have been decided at The Hague, there's no changing it, do what you will.

In negotiations one cannot always get one's own way. The Germans for their part have had to concede quite a number of points in order to ensure common action. So accept what is offered you which, in fact, is all you are entitled to ask and which, provided you don't put a foot wrong, will result in international exclusion of the Possibilists and recognition of yourselves as the only French Socialists with whom contact should be maintained.

It was a mistake that you should not have been officially presented with a copy of the relevant resolution taken at The Hague. But, as you are aware, it is not the first case of carelessness at an international conference.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Herewith a copy of *Justice.*

We are preparing a reply in which Possibilists' intrigues[386] will be unmasked to the English. So, as you can see, we are doing everything we possibly can but, if you are as obstinate as the Possibilists, it will be all to no avail.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 23 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

There is no denying that agreement was reached at The Hague[385] that, should the Possibilists fail to comply, the Belgians and the Swiss, the two neutral nations, should convene the congress; that a *joint declaration*

against the Possibilists be issued; and that the congress be convened in Paris for the end of September.

According to what Bernstein tells me, he told you as much, besides which, it seems impossible that something so important could have happened without your knowing anything at all about it. And Bonnier, so Bernstein tells me, was present—even if you were not.

Well, now, if things are to be taken to a successful conclusion, it is absolutely essential that *everyone* abides by what has been resolved.

You can perfectly well leave the initiative of the convocation to the Belgians and Swiss; an international congress can perfectly well meet without its having been convened by the Socialists of the locality where it is to be held. What is certain is that the real business—organisation and preparation—will be in your hands, and this must suffice you. If you ask anything more, you will not have a congress at all and the Possibilists will emerge victorious from the fray. Before the eyes of all Europe they will hold their *own* congress, which will then be *the only international working men's congress of the year.*

If the matter were still open to discussion, I myself would be inclined to share your view that the congress should be held alongside that of the Possibilists, even at the risk of a fight with them. But it was thought fit to hold it in September and resolved accordingly. There is no going back on that and, should you insist, you will hold a congress all on your own, to the glee of Europe and the delight of the Possibilists.

On the other hand, I have written to Bebel telling him he has no right to present you with an ultimatum or to say: if the Belgians go back on their word, we shall be free and will not attend the congress. Also that they, the Germans, are too deeply committed to pull out in such a way, and that a Belgian withdrawal, *should it take place*—and this we cannot tell—would not relieve the others of their mutual obligations. Bebel is a man of great common sense and I have every reason to believe that he will think better of it, provided you do not raise fresh objections and attempt to go back on the resolutions taken once and for all at The Hague.

Things are going admirably and you are the only people who can put a spoke in the wheel.

But even supposing the Belgians were to withdraw—in that event the Swiss would convene the congress on their own and, as they would be acting on behalf of the other nationalities, success would be assured.

But there is only one way in which the Belgians can be relieved of their responsibility or given a pretext for breaking faith and that is for you, the French, to act in contravention of the Hague resolutions and to be the first to do so. If you abide by them, I am pretty sure the Belgians will also assent, in which case the Possibilists will be isolated, which is, after all, the main objective to be kept in view.

Our reply to the attacks in *Justice*[386] (essential, now that the *Sozialdemokrat* has set up in London) has appeared and, at the same time as this, but by book post, I am sending you six copies, of which 1 each for Laura, Longuet and Vaillant. On Monday the thing is going to be disseminated throughout London, handed out at all socialist meetings, and despatched into the provinces. It will, I hope, give the Possibilist gentry and Mr Hyndman something to think about.

You have doubtless seen the attack in *Justice*, which I believe I enclose in my last letter.[a]

Now, let me repeat: Be reasonable, carry out faithfully what has been resolved, do not make it impossible for your best friends to lend you their support, give and take, use the position gained at The Hague for your point of departure, as the first position wrested from the enemy and as a base for future victories. But do not force down the throat of the other nationalities things which they certainly will not swallow. The battle's as good as won, I tell you, and if you were to lose it now, you and you only would be to blame.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p.279

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[387]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You speak of a congress in *August*, although you know that the conference[385] resolved to hold it at the *end of September*. I repeat: If you deviate by so much as a fraction of an inch from what was agreed to by everyone at The Hague, you will provide the Belgians with a pretext for withdrawing, and then, as Bebel has told you, everything will be jeopardised. I am quite willing to urge the Germans to put pressure on the Belgians, but I shall do nothing until I know for certain that you, the French, like everyone else, unreservedly assent to the resolutions taken at the conference. Otherwise people will tell me, and with reason: How can you ask us to commit ourselves for the sake of people who do not respect their own commitments?

Either, then, you hold a congress as resolved at The Hague, or you do not hold one at all. And only on the day when I am given the assurance that you Parisians whole-heartedly and unreservedly assent to the resolutions that have been taken, only then shall I feel able to act, and shall act.

It is not a question of deciding which would be better, August or September—that question has already been decided and to raise it again would be to play into the Possibilists' hands.

As for Boulanger, I myself feel pretty sure that you will have to put up with him and that that idiot Rochefort, if he doesn't become a complete scoundrel, may, as a reward for his services, find himself once again in Caledonia.[388] Every now and again the French go through a Bonapartist phase, and the current one is even more shameful than the last. They will pay for the consequences of their own actions—that is the law of history—and the day of reckoning will probably be the centenary of their great revolution.—That is the irony of history. What a fine spectacle it will present to the world at large—France celebrating her revolutionary jubilee by paying homage to an adventurer such as this.

Doubtless he will bleed the big financiers, if only to pay the debts

incurred during his dictatorial campaign and to reward his gang. And the money from the big financiers will not be enough. As Marx said of Boustrapa,[260] he would have to rob France of all her money in order to use that money to bribe the whole of France.[a] And as for you, he will crush you.

As for war, that is, to my mind, the most terrible of eventualities. Otherwise I shouldn't give a fig for the whims of Mme la France. But a war in which there will be 10 to 15 million combatants, unparalleled devastation simply to keep them fed, universal and forcible suppression of our movement, a recrudescence of chauvinism in all countries and, ultimately, enfeeblement ten times worse than after 1815, a period of reaction based on the inanition of all the peoples by then bled white—and, withal, only a slender hope that that bitter war may result in revolution—it fills me with horror. Especially when I think of our movement in Germany, which would be overwhelmed, crushed, brutally stamped out of existence, whereas peace would almost certainly bring us victory.

Nor, during such a war, would France be able to have a revolution for fear of impelling her only ally, Russia, into the arms of Bismarck and finding herself crushed by a coalition. The slightest revolutionary move would be a betrayal of one's country.

How the Russian diplomats would laugh!

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, present edition, Vol. II, pp.195–96

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 March 1889

My dear Lafargue,

You know what Hegel says: Anything that is spoiled is spoiled for the best possible reasons.[a] And your Parisians are going to the greatest pains to prove it.

This is the position:

After the demise of the *Socialiste*[91] your Party disappeared from the international scene. You had abdicated, you were dead so far as the other Socialist Parties abroad were concerned. It was entirely the fault of your workingmen; for they did not choose to read or support one of the best papers the Party had ever had. But, after having killed off your medium of communication with other Socialists, they must inevitably suffer the natural consequences of their behaviour.

The Possibilists, left in sole possession of the battle field, took advantage of the situation you had yourselves created for them. They had friends in Brussels and in London with whose assistance they have presented themselves to the world at large as the sole representatives of the French Socialists. They have succeeded in enticing the Danes, the Dutch and the Flemish to their congress. And you know what trouble we have been to in neutralising the victories they have won.

Now the Germans are offering you an opportunity, not only of re-entering the stage with éclat, but also of seeing yourselves recognised by all the organised parties of Europe as the only French Socialists with whom they wish to fraternise. They are offering you an opportunity of wiping out at one stroke the effect of all the mistakes you have made, and of all the defeats you have suffered, and of rehabilitating yourselves in the position to which your theoretical understanding entitles you, but which has been compromised by your faulty tactics. They are offering you a congress which all the genuine workingmen's parties, *even the Belgian*, will attend, they are offering you a chance of *isolating the*

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*. Theil I. *Die Logik. Werke*, Vol. VI, p.249.

Possibilists so that they will have to confine themselves to a *bogus* congress—in other words, they are offering you far more than you had a right to expect, having regard to the position you had placed yourselves in. And then—what do you do? Seize it with both hands? Not a bit of it. You behave like spoilt children, you haggle, you ask for more and, when you have at last been persuaded to assent to what has been agreed by everyone else, you insist on conditions which jeopardise everything that has been gained for you.

So far as you are concerned, what is important is *that there should be a congress* and that it should be in Paris, where you can be acknowledged by all to be the only French Socialist Party to have gained international recognition; also that the Possibilist congress should, for its part, be a *bogus* congress, notwithstanding the éclat deriving from secret funds and the 14th of July.[a] Everything else is of secondary, indeed less than secondary, importance. If you are to be set on your feet again, your congress must be held, no matter if it's a flop in the eyes of the bourgeois public. In order to regain your position in France, what you need above all is international recognition of yourselves and international condemnation of the Possibilists, etc. You are offered it—and all you do is sulk!

As I have already said, I believe your date to be the better one for creating an impact *in France*. But then this should have been explained at The Hague.[385] You can't blame anyone else if, at the critical moment, you went to the next room and everything took place in your absence. And I have conscientiously explained your line of reasoning to Bebel, asking him to give it his serious consideration. However, I felt impelled to add that, in my opinion, the meeting of the congress, on no matter what date, must be assured, and that any move that might jeopardise that meeting would be a false one. You cannot but be aware that, by re-opening the question of the date, we shall all become embroiled in endless discussions and disputes and that we can expect, probably some time towards the end of October, to obtain general assent to the date of 14 July—if, indeed, in the absence of another conference, which will certainly never take place, any new date is agreed at all.

And then, with typically Parisian naiveté, you say: We impatiently await the *fixing of a date for* the international congress! But the date *had been fixed* for the end of September, and it is the same 'we' (who 'await', etc.)—the same 'we' that want to cancel this date and open a

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[a] 14 July 1889 was the centenary anniversary of the capture of the Bastille

fresh debate. 'We' will have to wait until the others have familiarised themselves with the new proposals of these same 'we', have discussed them and have reached an agreement on the matter, if such an agreement is at all possible.

'We also await protests from the Belgians.' But the Belgians will not be the only ones to protest, all are resolved to protest in common. This protest would probably already have been lodged, had you not put everything in question by demanding a change of date. And as long as there is no agreement on this score, nothing will be done.

So accept what is being offered you, it is, in effect, what matters most: *victory over the Possibilists*. Don't jeopardise the holding of the congress. Don't give the Brussels people a pretext for extricating themselves from the business, for tergiversating and intriguing, don't upset afresh what has already been gained for you. You cannot have all you want, but you can have victory. Don't press the Germans, who are doing everything for you, to the point where they might despair of the possibility to co-operate with you. Withdraw your demand for a change of date, act like men, not like spoilt children who want to have their cake and eat it. Without this, I believe, there will be no congress and the Possibilists will jeer at you, and with good reason.

Yours ever,
F. E.

Needless to say, I have written to tell Bebel that you *assent to all the Hague resolutions*, but he will say that, after all this, you are putting everything in question again.

I have not found Bernstein, so shan't be able to send you the addresses of the Swiss before yesterday.

Our pamphlet[386] is beginning to have an effect here.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[387]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 April (St. Bismarck's Day)[389] 1889

My dear Lafargue,

If this business of the congress has done nothing else, it has at least taught me a capital lesson in patience, a virtue in which I can hardly be said to excel. Barely do we succeed in eliminating one difficulty than you conjure up another, and wax wroth about nothing at all. I have again questioned Bernstein, in whose word I have complete faith, and he has again assured me that no resolution of any kind was taken clandestinely in your absence. It is ridiculous to suppose that they were trying to hide something from you. If you did happen to be absent, Bonnier was there and could, besides, understand everything that was said in German. And unless I hear anything to the contrary, I must suppose he was sufficiently in the know to pass the information on to you; if not, what the devil was he doing there? Especially since I have drawn your attention on more than one occasion to the fact that Bonnier was, or ought to have been, exceptionally well-posted, and you have never replied to, let alone contradicted, this.

And what will be the result of this squabbling with the Germans, unless to preclude any sort of congress and to enable Messrs Brousse & Co. to flaunt their victory before the eyes of all the world and his wife.

That the Germans should have no desire to expose themselves to a bout of fistcuffs with Possibilists, aided and abetted as these would be by the police, nor to have their heads broken, as Prussians and Bismarckians, by the Paris riff-raff—valiant as in all big cities when the odds are ten to one—I can readily understand. We know from our experience in Lassallean days how unprofitable hand-to-hand fighting with a rival party can be when that party is in alliance with government and police[390]—and that was on our home ground. You certainly cannot hold it against them if they hesitate to engage in a similar struggle on ground where the mere cry of Prussian, of Bismarck's agent, would be enough to rouse against them an ignorant mob, eager to prove its patriotism at small cost to itself. And although it is my personal belief that the impact of the congress would be far greater in July than at any other time, I have

no right to tell Liebknecht or Bebel that they would not be exposed to such risks, were they to fall in with your plan.

So you can see that in no circumstances is your July congress feasible. The more you insist, the less you will get. You have the majority against you and, if you wish to co-operate with it, you will have to submit. Demand everything and you get nothing, grasp all, lose all. You should remember that, though the Germans, the Dutch and the Danes can get along very well without a congress, *you* cannot. For you, the congress is essential if you are not to disappear for years from the international scene.

If only you had a tiny little paper, as a token of your existence! The most puny party in other countries has its weekly, and you have nothing with which to make your presence felt or to keep you in regular touch with the rest. For you, it was either a daily or nothing at all. Are you going to make the same mistake over the congress?—Either all or nothing? All right, then, it'll be nothing, and no one will ever allude to you again and, six months from now, Boulanger will do the rest and snuff you out, you and the Possibilists as well.

To the best of my knowledge, Antoine[a] never did anything in the Reichstag other than protest. From his own point of view he could do nothing else.

The Radicals are mad. It is the height of stupidity to try and destroy Boulanger by means of a lawsuit[391] and to suppose that the tide of universal suffrage (foolish as this is) will be turned by a political verdict. You will get him all the same, the good Boulanger whom you crave, and the Socialists will be his first victims. For a First Consul has got to be impartial and, for every time he lets the blood of the Stock Exchange, he will place another curb on the proletariat, if only to even things out. If it weren't for war, this new development would be a prize joke, it would soon be over, and then there really would be something to laugh about.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] Jules Dominique Antoine

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 4 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

Besides your letters to myself, I have before me those to Bonnier and Ede.[392]

From them I see that, as usual, we diverge very considerably as soon as it comes to taking action.

Your 'politeness' *post festum*[a] would now simply make you look ridiculous in the eyes of the English.

Your advice to the French, namely that they might ultimately *arriver à un arrangement quelconque avec les Broussistes*,[b] i.e. deliberately go and present their backsides to be kicked, has, quite understandably, infuriated them. The above advice, and your annoyance at the fact that we—for the pamphlet was embarked upon at my instigation and almost wholly edited by me[386]—should have presented the Possibilists for what they are—recipients of reptile funds[30] of the Opportunists,[199] i.e. *haute finance*[c]—thereby opening the eyes of large numbers of Englishmen to things which had been deliberately withheld from them,—your annoyance, I say, is explicable only if you were intent on keeping a foot in the back door so that—even after being spurned by the Possibilists—you might cook up some little deal for the account and at the risk of the German party. If that's how things are, then I am not at all sorry to have taken some of the wind out of your sails.

This, along with your opinion[393] that Ede should have replied to the *Justice* with an editorial, i.e. in the *Sozialdemokrat*, i.e. in German and thus in a form neither accessible nor comprehensible to the English, shows that you are totally out of touch with conditions both in France and over here, and that your calculations are based on out-of-date information and imaginary situations. Nor is anything else to be expected since you receive none of the relevant journals there and have no regular correspondence with anyone of note (I mean, of course, in the socialist

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[a] after the event – [b] come to an arrangement of some sort with the Broussists – [c] high finance

parties) in England and France. Ede is infinitely better informed than you are about all these matters, and you would do better to turn to him for information rather than haul him over the coals about matters in which he is and must needs be far and away your superior.

That the pamphlet was not only the greatest service we could do you people, but also completely indispensable, is something I trust I shall be able to bring home, if not to you, then at least to Singer, when the two of you come over here.

One thing I do know—you can arrange the next congress yourselves; I shall wash my hands of it.

The Hague resolution was sent to me by Lafargue expressly for publication, as was absolutely essential after the brazen rebuff meted out to you by the Possibilists.[394] So I'll damned well forget about etiquette and just wait and see whether anyone else besides you complains.

As regards the date of the congress, any alteration to what has already been resolved will put fresh difficulties in the way of an understanding, since everybody will propose a different date and it will be the 10th of October before they have agreed upon, let us say, the 10th of August. For us to make proposals to you on this matter will serve no useful purpose and I can only hope that, after all this bother—for the past 4 weeks I haven't been able to do a stroke of work on Volume III[a] because of this damned business—something real will actually come of it.

Cordial regards to your wife and to the others when you see them.

Your

F. E.

I fully understand—and have plainly intimated as much to Lafargue[b] that you should want to avoid a set-to with the Possibilists which, be it noted, would take place with the consent of the powers that be, and with police protection for the Possibilists; in other words, out of gratitude for the favourable attitude you have adopted towards France since 1870, you would be beaten up as *Prussians*[c] by the French.

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] See previous letter – [c] Prussians

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 5 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

When I wrote to you yesterday I hardly expected that by today I should already be in a position to point the moral of my letter.

Our pamphlet[386]—of which, 2,000 copies were distributed in London and 1,000 in the provinces and, thanks to Tussy, just at the right places—has acted like a bombshell, making a tremendous rent in Hyndman's and Brousse's tissue of intrigue, and this at the most crucial spot. The people over here, suddenly enlightened as to the real state of affairs, have now discovered that Hyndman has shamefully deceived them about the congress, the French socialist parties, the Germans and the Hague affair[385] and has concealed the essentials from them. The rebellious, progressive elements in the Trades Unions,[395] whom Hyndman was just in process of annexing, are now turning to Ede, and all are anxious for further enlightenment. Inside his own camp, the Social Democratic Federation,[62] Hyndman has also encountered opposition, which means that our pamphlet has induced some uncertainty in the ranks of the Social Democratic Federation, the only sure ally the Possibilists had. The consequence, enclosed herewith, was Hyndman's backward-looking and, as compared with his previous insolent language, almost *hang-dog*, reply in *Justice*.[a] Never before has Hyndman beat so ignominious a retreat, and the article will bring us further victories. At one fell swoop

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[a] H. Hyndman, 'The International Workers' Congress of Paris of 1889 and the German Social-Democrats', *Justice*, 6 April 1889

the *Sozialdemokrat* has attained in London a position of respect such as would otherwise not have accrued to it for years. And instead of abusing us, they are now all but *begging* us to ensure that there should not, after all, be two congresses.

Well, Ede is going to reply to the effect that he can only speak in his own name, but believes he can say that, should the Possibilists now instantly and unreservedly accept the Hague resolutions, it might not be too late to reach an understanding and he would be glad to do what he could to bring it about.

Now that the Possibilists have also had bad news from Spain, their agent Gély having simply been sent packing in Madrid—where we are in full control—and having no prospects whatever anywhere else if you except a Trades Union in Barcelona, and now that the Belgians also appear to be taking a tougher line than they, the Possibilists, expected, there's every possibility that this final blow, which is causing their chief reserves to waver, will make them more amenable. In order that you may strike while the iron is hot, it might be a good idea for you to copy,—more or less—the enclosed letter to Ede, *preferably just as it stands*, and send it to him *without delay*.[396] I am sending the same letter to Bebel with the same request.[397] *Preferably just as it stands*, however, for one single expression inappropriate to the situation over here would prevent us from using the thing. Then the letters might be published. What we hope to do is to induce Hyndman to influence the Possibilists along the lines *we* want, in which case they'd be bound to submit and we should have salvaged *one* congress.

All this was agreed today between Ede and myself.

And now, having regard to my letter of yesterday,[a] you may again call me the rudest man in Europe.

Your
F. E.

Dear Ede,

I am very glad to hear that the Social Democratic Federation is showing itself more conciliatory. But the rejection of the Hague resolutions by the Possibilists has forced us into the position of proceeding independently and convoking a congress to which all will be admitted and

[a] See previous letter

which will have the last word in its own affairs. Preparations for this are already under way and cannot be broken off.

If the Social Democratic Federation earnestly desires an understanding, it might perhaps still contribute thereto. There may yet be time. Such an understanding might possibly still be reached if the Possibilists were *to accept* the Hague resolutions *purement et simplement*[a]—but without delay, for, having already once been rebuffed, we can no longer allow ourselves to be trifled with.

I cannot speak here in the name of the German Party since the faction is not now in session, and still less in the names of the other groups represented at The Hague. But one thing I will gladly promise: If, by the 20th of April at the latest, the Possibilists can lodge with the Belgian delegates Volders and Anseele written notice of their unconditional acceptance of the Hague resolutions, from which we cannot deviate by a hair's breadth, I shall do all I can to promote an understanding and likewise the attendance of all concerned at the congress convoked by the Possibilists with due regard for the Hague resolutions.

Your
W.L.

The date, 20 April, is important—because of the need to come to a decision *before the Belgian National Congress* on the 21st.[398]

I also enclose something from the *Sozialist*[399]—the Americans are wholly of one mind with Ede as to this.

What has proved more effective than anything else over here has, in fact, been the publication of the Hague resolution[385] concerning which Hyndman had disseminated nothing but lies and which has struck home all the more forcibly for restricting itself to the demand for things that were pretty well axiomatic.

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[a] purely and simply

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 10 April 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I have just seen Bonnier and we discussed the situation.

As I expected, your request that the date of the congress be changed has spread confusion everywhere. Liebknecht has stated in the Berlin press that, since there is little hope of the congress being held this year in Paris, it would be advisable to hold it next year in Switzerland. The Swiss press has seized on this idea with enthusiasm. Bebel, evidently tiring of all these difficulties, is prepared to leave the whole thing to Liebknecht. And the Belgians will not reply, either to Bebel or to Liebknecht.

Fortunately we know the Belgians' secret. Anseele, who is an honest man, wrote and told Bernstein about it: They intend to submit the Hague resolutions[385] to their national congress at Jolimont on 22 April, and their national council will act only after authorisation by the congress. That is how the good folk of Brussels interpret international action.

The thing's as plain as daylight. It will give the Brussels Possibilists a whole month to compound and intrigue with the Paris Possibilists; at the Jolimont congress they will put forward a proposal made by Brousse & Co., offering a few more or less derisory concessions (depending upon the position at the time), the Belgians will accept and will suggest that the others be satisfied with these great and magnanimous concessions. And, since the masses are always in favour of conciliation, and since the lesser nationalities dote on congresses, the Dutch, the Danes, the Swiss themselves, the Americans and,—who knows?—maybe also Liebknecht, will come out in favour of unity and of a Paris congress in 1889, short of having another tipsy session in Switzerland in 1890. For this much is certain: should the idea gain ground that the 1889 anti-Possibilist congress in Paris has been shelved, the Possibilists will have won the day, and everyone will attend their congress save only, perhaps, for the Germans.

It is what I have been telling you from the very start. You wanted

everything and now you run the risk of getting nothing.

There is still a chance of saving the situation, and this we have resolutely seized upon.

Our pamphlet[386] has created an immense stir here, as I have told you. You have no doubt had a letter from the committee of the rebellious Trades Unionists[395] who have written to Bernstein and to others besides. Although they incline towards the Possibilist congress, they are still in doubt. And in the Social Democratic Federation,[62] too, there are rebellious elements, otherwise Hyndman would not have written last Saturday's article.[a] We have thus undermined the Possibilists' reserves and must now follow up the advantage we have gained.

Bernstein has therefore written to *Justice*[b] saying that, in view of that journal's more conciliatory style, and speaking only for himself, it might not be too late to come to an understanding; that if *Justice* so greatly desires such an understanding, it need only urge the Possibilists to accept the Hague resolutions *unreservedly and forthwith*; that two points—the admission of all on an equal footing, subject to ratification by the congress, and the sovereignty of the congress—are not open to discussion; they must take it or leave it; but that, if the Possibilists were to accept immediately, he would do his best to promote general agreement.

He and Tussy went to see Hyndman on Monday evening to hand him this reply, which is going to be inserted. They took advantage of the occasion to let him know that they were better acquainted than he with the situation abroad and no less well than he with that in England, and that there was no hope of his bamboozling them with his usual tricks. They told him that, if there were two congresses, ours would be attended, not only by the Germans, Dutch, Belgians and Swiss, but also by the Austrians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Romanians, Americans and by those Russians and Poles living in the West. They made it clear to him that they knew perfectly well the extent to which his personal position over here had been undermined by our disclosure of the lies disseminated by him regarding the situation in France, etc. They gained the impression that his friends the Possibilists had themselves deceived him on several counts, and left, convinced that he would do all he could to make the Possibilists give way.

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[a] See this volume, p.291 – [b] E. Bernstein, 'The Paris Congress. To the Editor of *Justice*,' *Justice*, 13 April 1889

We have also had a letter from Liebknecht in which he undertakes to do what he can to bring about conciliation, on condition that the Hague resolutions are unreservedly accepted by the Possibilists before 20 April. I am also awaiting one from Bebel, whereupon we shall make use of them. It is stated in both that in no circumstances shall we budge an inch on the two main points.

According to Hyndman, the Possibilists were afraid of being chucked out of their own congress, *hinc illae lacrimae*[a]!

In this way we shall foil the Brussels intrigues, by letting it be known from the outset that no compromise is possible. Either the Possibilists accept, in which case our victory over them will be complete; we shall have forced their hand, made them eat HUMBLE PIE, and trampled underfoot for good and all their claim to be the one and only French Socialist Party worthy of recognition; you will have all that you require and the congress will see to the rest if, as Bonnier tells us, you can saturate it with delegates from the provinces. Or else they refuse, and then we shall enjoy the advantage of being seen by everyone concerned to have done our utmost towards conciliation. All the waverers will be for us, and we shall hold a congress in Paris in the autumn whatever Liebknecht may say, for by that time there will not be any one sitting on the fence anywhere.

I am sending you two papers with articles relating to the congress from which you will see how much we are bestirring ourselves.

What could be better, after all, than to destroy the Possibilists through their own congress, supposing it can be managed?

Liebknecht thought he could get the Possibilists to rally round him in opposition to Brousse, in Brousse's despite and over Brousse's head! What an idea—ruling the world with Borsdorf for your capital!

Give Laura a kiss from me. What is she doing? She isn't ill, is she?

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] 'Hence those tears', Terentius, *Andria*, II, 99

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 17 April 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

I never doubted for one moment that you aborigines of Borsdorf were the better men—better, I might almost say, to the point of incorrigibility.

Your conference at The Hague[385] gets funnier and funnier. Lafargue and Bonnier (who is over here) know nothing about one resolution—what was to happen after the Possibilists' refusal—and neither Lafargue, nor Bonnier, nor Ede know anything about the other, the maintenance of secrecy. It must have been a curious sort of presidency and an odd sort of secretariat for something like that to have happened. So what we didn't know about we couldn't have abided by.

That silence should have been observed until the Possibilists had refused goes without saying and this is what in fact happened. But afterwards it was essential to let fly at once. And if, as usual, you yourself were unlucky enough to be prevented by unforeseen circumstances from doing so and if none of the rest of you stepped into the breach and Lafargue sent me the resolution precisely for the purpose of getting it published, it was damned well up to us—especially so, considering the circumstances over here—to take this responsibility upon ourselves and commit this horrendous breach of etiquette.

Your joint protest,[a] you say, would certainly have had an effect altogether different from that of our pamphlet[386]—indeed it would, if it had ever appeared in the first place. Why then hasn't it yet done so? What the devil is stopping you? You know as well as I do that it will never materialise or not at any rate until six months post festum.[b]

Your little scheme for busting up the Possibilists by means of moral exhortations from Borsdorf and coming to an understanding with them over Brousse's head is a childish chimera from the execution of which, come to that, our 'railing' at the Possibilists will not be able to deter you.

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[a] See this volume, pp.292-3 – [b] after the event

After all, you can protest your innocence to the gentlemen for all you are worth. So long as the gentlemen you correspond with sail under Brousse's flag, they too are responsible for his intrigues, and to present these in the right light could not, one might have thought, be other than helpful to you. If everything that Brousse gets them to do is good and apparently they have, after all, absolutely no cause to oppose him.

If Ede, who throughout the pamphlet speaks on his own behalf and adopts a line no different from the one he adopts in the paper[a] itself, has provided the public prosecutors with grist for their mill, the paper itself constitutes a far greater danger to you people than the pamphlet. In which case for heaven's sake write to the chaps over here, telling them to attack rather than defend you, or better still to shut up shop. And if you're on such uncertain ground, you ought above all to avoid meddling in such things as international congresses, etc.

As to the Schlesinger business,[400] we should like to discuss this further by word of mouth. I haven't seen the piece yet, but this really *cannot* go on, a situation in which something of the kind—if only the advertisement—is able to appear under your own aegis and without you yourself protesting. What I myself shall feel it necessary to do about the matter will of course depend on the concoction's contents.

Schorlemmer has been here since Saturday. He and Lenchen send you their regards.

Your

F. E.

Your letter to Ede[b] *will not be used.* It would be far better if you wrote to Lee[c] along the same lines.

In lighter vein: Last Friday Ede was at a socialist soirée for the eddicated socialists here[401] and was told by Mr Sidney Webb, who is professor of political economy at the Working Men's College and has actually refuted Marx's theory of value, that 'we are only 2000 socialists in England but we are doing more than all the 700,000 Socialists in Germany.'

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[a] *Der Sozialdemokrat* – [b] See this volume, pp.292-3 – [c] Henry William

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 20 April 1889

Dear Kautsky,

As regards Schlesinger, I shall have a word with Liebknecht when he comes over here in about a fortnight. I have already written to him outlining the essential points. But you might be so good as to send me the thing[a]—stuff of this sort is unobtainable over here and I shouldn't like to be in the position of having to accept everything he says at its face value.

As to Schmidt, I have advised him to send you the ms. and see whether you can place it.[b] Schmidt has quietly developed into a Marxian and, as a result, no longer has any prospect of a university career, having been turned down by Halle—that noble university is confessional!—as a dissident and by Leipzig as a socialist,[297] while the Swiss have begged him to spare them his presence. Just now he is trying to get someone to publish the thesis he wrote for his *habilitation*;[c] the academic socialists[402] tell him it is too Marxist and really won't do. So the publishers are none too many. Schmidt came over to us entirely of his own accord, without any prompting and, indeed, despite numerous indirect warnings from myself, simply because he could not set his face against the truth. As things are today that is greatly to his credit and he has, moreover, acted most courageously.

Now the point is that I am the very person who *must* not read and pass an opinion on his ms. He is seeking to reply to the question I raised in the preface to Volume II.[298] But I mustn't come out prematurely with the contents of Volume III, and that is what is preventing me from taking a direct hand in the business. So I can't be of any help to you this time.

He—Schmidt—has thrown himself into journalism in Berlin; how he'll get on I have no idea. At all events he has behaved with more energy and good sense than I credited him with. For a journalist, his style is

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[a] M. Schlesinger, *Die soziale Frage* – [b] See this volume, p.276 – [c] Formal admission of a lecturer into a university faculty

quite exceptionally ponderous, but that, after all, doesn't matter much in Germany.

I hope Louise gets through her last six weeks all right, and that she'll then take a rest.[354] That damned Paris congress is causing me nothing but vexation. What a muddle! Ede helps me and I help him, where possible, and Tussy helps us both, but for the rest all is chaos.

Your lieutenant[a] hasn't been here yet. On the other hand we have Schorlemmer with us. The weather is glorious. Nim and I were in Highgate[b] today—three hours' stroll. But it's now time for a meal and—at 5.30—for the post.

Kindest regards from us all to Louise and yourself.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 30 April 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Père Duchêne,[403] I see, is in a filthy temper this morning, describing everyone as ne'er-do-wells even when they have not done anything at all. The worthy fellow would do well to look about him and ask himself what name would be most fitting for those who allowed three *Egalités* and one *Socialiste*[404] to die, thus putting paid to your Party's

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[a] Fritz Kautsky – [b] The cemetery where Marx, his wife and their daughter Jenny are buried

international existence, for a Party which can neither communicate with the others nor make its presence felt ceases in their eyes to exist.

But enough of that. Can you really not see that what the Belgians have done[405] has restored your freedom of action? That now, since you are so intent on it, you can convene your congress for whatever date you choose, 1 July, 14 July or 1 August? That it's by no means too late to do something about it now, provided you act at once and provided, as seems to be the case, you have at your back a Party prepared to foot part of the bill?

I have written and told Bebel that I shall no longer feel able to advise you not to act and that, since mistakes have been made on all sides, you were right to complain.[406] That was yesterday; today he writes[407] to say that the Dutch intend to follow the example of the Belgians and send delegates to each of the two congresses; that the Germans will not go to the Possibilist congress, despite the votes of Auer and Schippel, who expressed a contrary opinion (Bonnier replied to both)[408]; that he, Bebel, is in favour of sending a delegation to your congress, which he suggests should be held in August; but that, in order to pass a definitive resolution, the deputies would have to meet,[409] which cannot be done until the next session of the Reichstag on 7 May.

Now, having already waited long enough, you cannot wait until 7 May for an uncertain result. I shall therefore write to Bebel saying that you will probably act now, in accordance with your own views, and I shall beg him to prevent over-hasty resolutions, should the date you select not be altogether agreeable to them.

There is very good reason for the Germans' reserve. Within the next day or two there is to be a monster trial of 128 Barmen-Elberfeld Socialists. In the bill of indictment now being drawn up, the public prosecutor has made it known that, after sentence has been passed on the 128 and the Reichstag has adjourned, he intends to accuse all the Party deputies of constituting the central committee of Germany's vast Socialist secret society.[410] It's the most sinister ploy they have ever concocted against us. Included in the evidence is the convocation of the Wyden[411] and St. Gallen congresses. We knew all about this five or six weeks ago and it was fear of providing additional material for the indictment which inhibited Bebel from doing anything.

As for the attitude of the Dutch, it seems a bit dubious to me, considering the way Nieuwenhuis behaved at The Hague.[412]

Bernstein believes that, if the two congresses meet at the same time, this would suffice to create a climate of opinion, especially among the

foreign delegates, that would be strongly in favour of a merger. You will be able to judge whether or not this view holds water; in any case, supposing the above should happen, your congress might very well join the other, *on the invitation of the whole congress and after verification of credentials by each congress individually*. If you freely assent to voting by nationality, the sovereignty of the congress will be saved.

Bernstein also tells me that, as regards propaganda in Germany in support of your congress, the *Sozialdemokrat* will do its utmost, despite the right honourable deputies; he says: 'They have asked me so often to pursue an independent policy that would enable them to disown the *Sozialdemokrat*, supposedly their organ, that I shall oblige them for once. This might, of course, lead the deputies to issue a categorical order, but we haven't nearly got to that stage yet.'

So my advice is that you assemble your committee,[413] convene the congress, settle on the date you think best in the circumstances, and write a convocation circular, which Laura will translate into English and I shall gladly translate into German. All this will take until next week and if, in the meantime, further news arrives involving, perhaps, some minor alteration, there will still be time enough. Your circular should be printed in French by the end of next week and distributed forthwith. I shall send you the addresses you will need. Printing in English and German would be done over here. Your congress once convened for a definite date, the dispute will again revive and we shall help to keep it going.

In your convocation circular you must stress the sovereignty of the congress and the purely provisional character of the rules laid down by you. You would also have to suggest some basis for representation, i.e. one delegate per local group—subject, of course, to confirmation by the congress. This has been kept open by the others in order that they might have three or four delegates per Paris group in the event of your being represented by one delegate per provincial group. By proposing a cut-and-dried basis, you would force the others to lay their cards on the table.

To work then! You have a good two months ahead of you and that should be ample. And see that your convocation circular is conciliatory—the Possibilists are not sparing of soft soap, so the more thickly you apply it, the better things will go. You are perfectly entitled to say that, while yet there was hope, you submitted to all the demands made by the others, but that it has now become your duty to take the initiative. But play down the Belgian betrayal as much as you can—so as not

to give the Possibilists cause for rejoicing. Of one thing, however, we may be sure, and that is that, this time, the Belgians have done for themselves. They won't ever mislead anyone again.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 1 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Since my letter of yesterday,[a] Bernstein has received the following from Liebknecht:

> 'In the present circumstances the congress can be saved only if the French act in such a way as to present a fait accompli; they should therefore convene the congress—seeing that the Belgian resolution[405] has made combined action on the part of members of the Hague conference[385] impossible—and without the assent of the Germans, Austrians, Swiss (Danes, etc.) which, at this late date, cannot be ascertained in advance.
>
> 'It is essential that the congress be convened for precisely the same day as that of the Possibilists (14 July) and strictly in accordance with the procedure laid down at The Hague, while expressly stating that the

[a] See previous letter

date, 14 July, was chosen, not in any spirit of competition with the other congress, but in the firm hope that feelings of solidarity would compel the two congresses to hold their sittings jointly.'

This would be foolish; we, too, anticipate such an outcome, but to say so would be to play into the hands of the Possibilists, who would thereupon dictate their own conditions. You might, perhaps, say that the two congresses, by holding parallel sessions, might themselves resolve all their differences.

'At the same time, of course, a short exposé of the situation should be given, comprising recent events (the congresses at Troyes[329] and Bordeaux,[331] negotiations with a view to achieving a merger, the conference, etc.)—but omitting any kind of anti-Possibilist polemic.

'It should further be said: We would ask working-class and Socialist groups in other countries to indicate their assent to our convocation address by appending their signatures, there having been no time to obtain that assent beforehand.

'If there is no fait accompli, there will be no congress; the Belgian vote has restored freedom of action to our French friends. Once presented with a fait accompli, people will come to the congress.'

There you are—that's Liebknecht all over. He is capable of heroic determination, but only after he himself has so clouded the issue that nothing else will serve.

For that matter, I agree with what he says, with the exception of what I have noted above. In drawing up your Convocation you cannot be too mealy-mouthed, not that this need prevent your saying that the raison-d'être of your congress is the Possibilists' refusal to recognise the full and absolute sovereignty of that congress.

After Liebknecht's letter, you have no reason whatever to hesitate. So do something, hold your national congresses and, if you can, get all the delegates who attend them to go to the international congress that is to result therefrom.

As soon as your circular[414] comes out, we shall begin to agitate, first to promote your congress, and next to ensure that those delegates whom we cannot prevent from attending the Possibilist congress—Belgians, etc.,—be told that they must insist on a merger of the two congresses.

But now that you have a free hand, don't hesitate, do not lose a moment; if your circular reaches us by Monday, or Tuesday morning

even, it will go into the *Sozialdemokrat* and be advertised in the *Labour Elector*. As soon as the date of your congress has been settled, there may be something further to be done over here, although the dishonourable action of the Belgians has done us untold harm.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 2 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Now things are beginning to move. This is what Bebel writes:

> 'Liebknecht and I have agreed that Lafargue and his friends should be urged to convene a congress immediately for 14 July. This we are doing in the conviction that, once the two congresses have met on the same day, it will prove impossible for them to hold separate sessions, and that they will join forces, whether the Possibilists like it or not.
>
> I think you people should now be satisfied. As soon as the convocation circular is published by the French, we shall issue an open appeal to the Germans, asking them to elect delegates to the congress and indicating the procedure by which this may be done' (under German law). 'I have written in the same vein to the Austrians, and the Danes and Swiss will likewise be notified. In this way we shall, I hope, manage to expropriate the Possibilists—or at any rate well and truly thwart their plan.'[415]

4.30 p.m. I am just back from Bernstein's who, however, was not at home. He has had a postcard from Liebknecht in which the latter says that you are at liberty to make use of 'their names' as having assented to your congress. 'Their names' presumably means Bebel and Liebknecht, for they are not as yet *officially* entitled to commit the German Party. I didn't see the card but Bonnier, who dropped in while I was out, told Nim about it.

I hope to get a few lines from you tomorrow morning which would enable me to rekindle Bebel's ardour by telling him that you are now taking action.

Don't forget, by the bye, to return to me, deciphered, the letter from Lyons.[416] I must not keep the workmen there waiting for an answer.

Now that you've got several provincial papers, choose one to be your *Monitor* for the duration of your congress and arrange for it to be sent to the various Parties, along with all your publications.[417] Below you will find some of the addresses. The rest will follow.

Give Laura a kiss from me. I shall write to her as soon as this bally congress ceases to monopolise my right hand.

Yours ever,
F. E.

A. Bebel, Hohestrasse 22, Dresden-Plauen, Germany
W. Liebknecht, Borsdorf-Leipzig, Germany
The Editor, *Socialdemokraten*, Römersgade 22, Copenhagen, Denmark
F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, 96 Malakkastraat, The Hague, Holland
The Editor, *Recht voor Allen*, Roggeveenstraat 54, The Hague
The Editor, *Arbejderen*, Nansensgade 28A, Copenhagen, Denmark
The Editor, *Gleichheit*, Gumpendorferstrasse 79, Vienna VI, Austria
The Editor, *Muncitoriul*, 38 Strada Sarariei, Jassy, Romania
The Editor, *Justice*, 181 Queen Victoria Street, London, E. C.
The Editor, *Labour Elector*, 13 Paternoster Row, London, E. C.
The Editor, *Commonweal*, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E. C.

A. Reichel, Barrister-at-law, Berne, Switzerland
Henri Scherrer, Barrister-at-law, St Gall, Switzerland
} the two Hague delegates[385]

The Editor, *Sozialdemokrat*, 114 Kentish Town Road, London, N. W.
The Editor, *Volkszeitung*, Box 3560, New York City, U.S.A.
The Editor, *Sozialist*, 25 East 4th St., New York City, U.S.A.

(to be continued).

The (German)[3] Americans although pressed by the Possibilists and Hyndman have said that it is you they still favour, and not the Possibilists. If they get your circular in time, I have no doubt they will give their assent, but they will go to *some congress or other.*

Arbejderen is the radical opposition paper run by Petersen (who was acquainted with Rouannet and Malon in Paris, but has changed greatly since then) and by Trier, translator of my *Origin of the Family.* For tactical reasons you would be well-advised not to send them anything that is not simultaneously dispatched to the *Socialdemokraten*, organ of the moderate majority.[418]

The address of P. Christensen, delegate to London (a good one)[419] is 9 Römersgade, Copenhagen.

Belgians: *Vooruit* (The Editor), Marché au fil, Ghent. Same address for Anseele (E.). At the Jolimont congress[405] the Ghent people declared that they would not attend the congress of the Possibilists so long as the latter persisted in their claims. The report in the *Prolétariat* is riddled with Possibilist lies.[420]

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 May 1889

My dear Laura,

I was very glad to receive this morning the Convocation.[414] As you say, there is no time to lose, and Paul who seems boiling over with virtuous indignation had made me expect an interminable series of bureaucratic difficulties and delays. Now, as there has been such quick and determined action, everything is all right. The Convocation is short and

sweet, contains the needful and no more, and all the fault I can find with it is that it would have been better to state *in it*, that the second circular with the signatures of the foreigners, unobtainable on account of want of time, would follow. Moreover I hope that the announcement, that the Socialist League[21] had beforehand adhered to the Hague resolutions,[385] is founded upon fact and not upon a misunderstanding, as a disavowal on their part would be awkard. As to obtaining their signature, we ought to be informed of the contents of Morris' reply to Paul, so as not to be quite in the dark.

Now will you make an English translation and Paul put at the bottom: 'For the English translation, Paul Lafargue'—and will he authorise me to do the same with a German translation to be made by me? We will then get them printed here at once and spread them by the thousand; also forward you copies as you may require them.

The loss of time is entirely due to Liebknecht who considers himself, or would like to figure as, the centre of the international movement, and who, being cocksure of bringing about a union, allowed himself to be led by the nose by the Belgians for six or eight weeks. Even now he is certain that if only *he* shows himself on the scene at Paris, the union will follow. But as it is not too late now, the lost time is not lost in reality. It has rallied round to the date desired by the French the mass of foreigners who at first objected and certainly would have abstained, had the date been settled without these preliminaries and against their wishes. Nobody suffers in reality through Liebknecht's action, but we here, who, having entered upon our campaign with uncommon success, were entirely left to our own resources, as all the letters addressed by the working men here whom we had stirred up against the Possibilist congress, were replied to in the most uncertain and vague way by Danes, Dutch, Belgians and Germans; and nobody could tell them anything about the other congress, in consequence of which they fell into the hands of Smith Headingley and Hyndman. Well, as soon as the English Convocation is out, we must begin afresh and I hope with better success.

But if Paul thinks we can cram down people's throats, here in England, the *fictio juris*[a] that the Possibilists are no socialists, that consequently their congress does not exist at all or does not count, he is strangely mistaken. He says Bonnier's letter to the *Labour Elector*[421] was a *bêtise*[b] because it did not start from that point of view. Now I am

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[a] legal fiction – [b] a blunder

responsible for that *bêtise* as I wrote the letter and Bonnier only signed it. The Possibilists may be all that Paul says, and I believe him, but if he wants us to proclaim that publicly, he ought to have proved it first publicly, and *before* there was any question of a congress. Instead of that, our people made a *conspiration du silence* against themselves, left the whole wide world of publicity to the Possibilists, who anyhow were recognized as socialists by the Belgians, Dutch and Danes and some English last autumn in London[320]; and the decree of excommunication launched by a party which even now has not a paper in Paris in which it can make itself heard, cannot and will not be accepted by the rest of the world without further proof.[422] We must speak to people here a language which they understand and to talk in the way Paul wants us to do, would be to make ourselves ridiculous and to be shown the door at every office of a paper in London. Paul knows too well that the Possibilists are a power in Paris, and though it may be very well for our *Parisian* friends to ignore them, we cannot do the same, nor deny the fact that there will be *two rival* congresses on 14 July. And if we were to tell people here that in our Congress '*ce sont les* ouvriers *et les socialistes de France* sans distinction de parti *qui convoquent le congrès*',[a] that would not only be a *bêtise* but a gross untruth, as Paul knows well enough that the *ouvriers* de Paris, as far as they are socialists at all, are in their majority Possibilists.

Anyhow we shall here continue to work for the Congress *in our own way* and never mind faultfinding. I have not yet done a single act in this affair but it has been found fault with by someone. So I am quite used to that sort of thing and go on acting as I think is right.

The finest thing of it all is that three months after these two congresses Boulanger will be in all probability dictator of France, do away with parliamentarism, epurate the judges under pretext of corruption, have a *gouvernement à poigne*[b] and a *chambre pour rire*,[c] and crush Marxists, Blanquists and Possibilists all together. And then, *ma belle France—tu l'as voulu*![d423]

Six months after that *we may* have war—that depends entirely on Russia; she is now engaged in vast financial operations to restore her credit and cannot well go in for a fight until these are finished.[424] In that war the neutrality of Belgium and Switzerland will be the first thing that goes to smash, and if the war becomes really serious, our only chance is

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[a] 'it is the *workers* and socialists of France, *without distinction of party*, that convene the congress' – [b] strong government – [c] mock chamber – [d] my beautiful France – that's what you wanted!

that the *Russians* be beaten and then make a revolution. The French cannot make one while allied to the Czar—that would be high treason. But if no revolution interrupts the war, if it is allowed to run its course, then that side will win which is joined by England, if England goes in for the war at all. For that side can then, with the help of England, starve out the other side by cutting off the corn supplies from abroad, which all Western Europe requires nowadays.

To-morrow there will be a deputation to the *Star* to protest against last Saturday's article on the Congress (Bax, Tussy, Edward)[425] which article was smuggled in, probably by Hyndman and Smith Headingly, in Massingham's absence.

Love from Nim and from

Ever yours
F. E.

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

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 11 May 1889

Dear Sorge,

There's so much writing and running about to be done in connnection with the damned congress that I hardly have any time left for other matters. It's the devil of a job—nothing but misunderstandings, rows and vexation all round, and in the end there'll be nothing to show for it.

The Hague Conference people[385] allowed the Belgians to make fools of them. Instead of at once proceeding, as had been decided after the Possibilists'[19] refusal, to protest and convoke a rival congress (which

ought to have been done jointly by the Swiss and Belgians), the Belgians did nothing, obstinately refused to answer any letters and ended up by trotting out the lame excuse that they had got to submit the matter to their national congress—21/22 April[405] —! Whereupon the others did nothing whatever (because, through the Swiss, Liebknecht was intriguing with some of the Possibilists since it was he who must succeed in bringing about an understanding), and thus the Possibilists captured all the publicity with their proclamations while our chaps either remained silent or, when asked about the possibility of a rival congress by such Englishmen as were still wavering, returned nothing but non-committal answers. The ultimate outcome of this cunning policy was that even in Germany our people turned rebellious, and Auer and Schippel demanded that delegates be sent to the Possibilist congress.[408] This finally opened Liebknecht's eyes for him and, after I and Ede Bernstein had told the French they were now at liberty to convoke their congress, also on the 14th of July[a] as originally intended, he wrote and told them exactly the same thing. And so the French have got their way, but are rightly cursing Liebknecht's procrastination and general jiggery-pokery, the blame for which they are laying on the Germans as a whole.

In this country, however, it is we who are having to suffer worst from Liebknecht's clever-clever goings-on. Our pamphlet[386] had struck home like a thunderbolt and shown up Hyndman & Co. for the liars and cheats they are; everything was in our favour and, if Liebknecht had been prompt to act vis-à-vis the Belgians, as he damned well ought to have done, or else had let them go hang and *himself negotiated* with the others, either convoking, or getting the French to convoke, the congress at some definite date, we should have won over the masses, and the Social Democratic Federation[62] would have deserted Hyndman. But as it was, we were fobbed off with assurances and told to wait; and, since the chief bone of contention in the Trades Unions here was whether to comply with the leaders' wishes and not send delegates to the congress or whether to defy them and send delegates regardless—the quality of the congress being of secondary importance and their sole concern, entry or non-entry into the international movement—it was clear that the chaps would join forces with those who know their own minds rather than with those who didn't. And thus we lost a splendid position we had only just won, nor, unless some miracle happens, will any Englishman of note attend our congress.

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[a] See this volume, p.301

Bernstein was here just now and has held me up until posting time, so I must close.

Wischnewetzky[a] hasn't been to see me. Don't know what these people are after.

Your
F. E.

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

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

We have never called you anything but 'the so-called Marxists' and I would not know how else to describe you. Should you have some other, equally succinct name, let us know and we shall duly and gladly apply it to you. But we cannot say 'aggregate',[325] which no one here would understand, or anti-Possibilists, which you would find just as objectionable and which would not be accurate, being too all-embracing.

Tussy must have returned you your letter to the *Star* yesterday. Since Tussy's translation of the Convocation had already been in the hands of the *Star* the day before that, your paraphrase of the said document stood no earthly chance of being inserted.

What we need are letters from Paris, *sent direct to the* Star, bearing the

[a] Lazar Wischnewetzky

Paris postmark and *refuting the Possibilist calumnies which appeared in Saturday's and Tuesday's editions, namely, that Boulé's election campaign was run on Boulangist money, that Vaillant had acted as an ally of the Boulangists, etc.*[426] I should say that you could do this perfectly well without ruffling your newly-found dignity as the one and only Catholic Church in matters connected with French Socialism.

No other daily is so widely read by working men as the *Star*—the only one to which we have a measure of free access. In Paris, Massingham had Adolphe Smith for his guide and interpreter and was steered by him into the arms of Brousse and Co., who took possession of him, refused to let him go, made him tipsy with absinthe and vermouth, and thus succeeded in winning over the *Star* to the cause of *their* congress and making it swallow their lies. If you wish us to be of use to you over here, you must help us regain some influence over the *Star* by demonstrating that the course which it has been led to embark upon is a dangerous one and that, in fact, Brousse and Co. have been feeding it with lies. And here nothing will serve but letters of complaint about such articles, *sent direct from Paris.* Otherwise we shall be told as before that no one in Paris has complained, hence these things must be true.

Aside from the *Star* we have only the *Labour Elector*, a very obscure and distinctly shady paper which depends on money from unavowed sources and is therefore highly suspect. You could most assuredly do with a bit of publicity here in England, so bombard the *Star* with complaints—you, Vaillant, Longuet, Deville, Guesde and *tutti quanti.*[a] But if you leave us in the lurch, you can't complain if your congress is passed over in silence by the press and if the Possibilists are regarded over here as the only French Socialists and yourselves as a worthless clique of intriguers and nincompoops.

For the past three months Tussy and I have done virtually nothing but labour on your behalf; we had won the first battle with Bernstein's pamphlet,[386] when Liebknecht's inertia and irresolution lost us in rapid succession all the positions we had previously gained. Now that we are back on the defensive and threatened with the loss of even those positions we originally held, it is very hard to find ourselves similarly abandoned by the French when a few letters, however short, arriving at the right moment, could prove so very effective. But if you are bent on losing all means of publicity in England at the very time when it could be of greatest moment to you, there's nothing we can do about it; I, for

[a] all the rest

one, will certainly have learnt my lesson; I shall go back to Volume 3,[a] abandoned for the past three months, and shall not be unduly upset if the congress comes to nothing.

To organise lodgings and eating-places for the delegates is an excellent idea—Bebel wrote and told me about it[b] and, since Paris in July will be positively swarming with people, this is of the utmost importance.

We shall have Laura's English translation[414] printed. As for the German translation, one has appeared in the *Sozialdemokrat* of which one sentence towards the end was amended by Bernstein (No. 3 in your invitation) as being too dangerous for the Germans. Send the *French text* of the Convocation which is to be signed by *everyone* to Bebel and Liebknecht so that they can let you know what passages they cannot sign without compromising themselves in the eyes of the law, for otherwise you will run the risk of not getting any German signatures. I shall wait until I have heard from Bebel before printing the German translation here, and shall first submit to you the changes he suggests.

It is some time since Labusquière's name has appeared in the Possibilist press—can he, too, have joined the ranks of the malcontents?[427] The incipient disorganisation of the Possibilists is undoubtedly agreeable to ourselves, but our onslaughts upon them, combined with the congress, may well bring about a return to unity. In any case, the disintegration is not yet so far advanced as to make any impact on the Possibilists' allies abroad.

Herewith cheque for £20.—As for Ferry's coup d'état,[428] it might well fail, for in 1889 the foot-slogger is much more of a Boulangist than he was a Republican when he disrupted MacMahon's coup.[198] The worthy Boulanger would not be so stupid as to evoke a call to arms over the High Court affair, but the same might not apply if there were to be a direct violation of the Constitution. That Ferry will not surrender power, direct or indirect, without a struggle, I can readily believe. But there is a risk.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] Bebel to Engels, 7 May 1889

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ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING[40]

IN LONDON

[London, about 13 May 1889]

As Laura has sent her letter to you in *open* envelope, I enclose this.[429] Shall see you tonight at Sam's.[a]

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 May 1889

My dear Laura,

Could not your people in Paris, now that things are mending and going on swimmingly, look with a little less morosity upon what we are trying to do in order to help them? Nobody has asked them to enter into polemics with the *Star*, nor write long refutations. But supposing Vaillant wrote to the *Star*: 'In your No.– you assert, on the strength of Possibilist assertions made to you, that I ... (did so and so, *Star*, May 7th).[b] I have not the time nor you the space to refute in detail such rubbish. I merely ask you to allow me to state, in your next issue, that this is an infamous calumny' (or something of the sort).

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[a] Samuel Moore – [b] See this volume, p.313

And supposing the Treasurer, Chairman, or Secretary of Boulé's Committee[344] wrote: 'In your issue etc. you say that Boulé's election was supported by Boulangist money. As Chairman (or whatever he was) of Boulé's Committee, I know where the very small amount of money we could dispose of, has come from—all from working men's subscriptions. I therefore declare the above assertion which was made to you by Possibilists, to be an infamous lie' etc.

And so a few more by different people. That would strengthen our hands with the *Star* very much.

Especially at this moment. This morning's *Star* has *Paul's* invitation[430]—I am afraid, put in in order to give him[a] an excuse not to put in the official Convocation with *all the signatures*. Still, Bernstein shall try him again with that (copy enclosed) in a day or two. And Edward and Bonnier saw him this morning, when he promised to put in a letter of Bonnier's tomorrow[b] and asked Bonnier to dinner for next Monday when Bonnier must try and work him. You see the iron is still a little hot and may be welded if only we could be supported by a few blows from Paris. If we do not strike now, it will be too late soon.

You say the Paris Committee[413] will work by its numerous proclamations and that is better than letters to the Editor. Most certainly; but the letters to the Editor are wanted exactly for the purpose of getting him *to insert the proclamations when they come*. What use will be all the proclamations here when we cannot get them into any paper except the *Labour Elector*, which does perhaps more harm than good if it is the *only* paper to notice them?

As part of the conversation with Massingham was carried on in English, not understood by Bonnier, I do not yet know all that happened. Anyhow I hope you will see that our plan of campaign—to maintain the position we had from the beginning and to keep the *Star* open for communications from our side—was the only one possible, and not quite so absurd as our Paris friends seem to think. *We know* that at the *Star* office great weight is laid upon such bombardments with letters from the outside public, and in this case it is the more important as you know yourself that Possibilists, Smith Headingly and Hyndman *all'unisono* shout into Massingham's ears that the whole affair is a personal affair of the Marx family and nothing else.

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[a] Henry William Massingham, the Editor of the *Star* – [b] Ch. Bonnier, 'The Paris Congress', *The Star*, No. 40, 15 May 1889

I have written to Bebel[431] to write to Danes and Austrians to hurry on with their signatures, and through the Danes, work on the Swedes and Norwegians, and also I have consoled him about his fear of not getting lodgings and meals in Paris at the impending festive time. Bebel never having seen anything bigger than Berlin (for here he was only a few days and under good protection) is a little *kleinstädtisch*[a] in these matters. The sooner the circular with *all* the signatures appears, the better; that will tell best with people here.

I am sure your people in Paris have every reason to be content. They have got what they wanted, and there is plenty of time left for everything. Why then should they be so anxious to take revenge on friend and foe alike, look glum at every proposal made to them, try to find out difficulties where there are none and grumble like John Bulls? Surely *tout le gaîté française ne s'est pas évanouïe*[b]—let them become French again, the road to victory is open before them; it is we here that have suffered defeat but this is not the decisive position and as you see we keep fighting on as well as we can.

Ever yours
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT PERREUX

London, 16 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith my notes on your draft appeal,[432] which I have discussed with Bernstein. If, by the bye, you say that the Troyes[329] congress represented the whole of the French working class you are putting yourselves

[a] provincial – [b] not all French gaiety has vanished

in flagrant contradiction to the facts and laying yourselves open to protests and refusals from abroad—and quite needlessly at that. Your dicta will not cause the Possibilists and their Paris majority to vanish into thin air.

I have sent out the English circular to the weekly papers, tomorrow it will go to the daily press, to the London radical clubs,[22] to Socialist organisations and to such influential people as may be interested.

This will account for perhaps 1,000 copies, Tussy will dispose of 500 others and Keir Hardie of another 500 in Scotland. The addresses and wrappers are ready, and everything will go off tomorrow so that by Saturday evening, when the clubs, Trade Unions, etc., meet, all will have been distributed.

Bonnier's letter is in the *Star*.[433]

Clara Zetkin[a] has written an excellent article in the Berlin *Tribune*—had we had so exact an account of things three months ago, it would have helped us a great deal. Bernstein will make good use of it when he goes to see Massingham tomorrow, as also of the affair of the 13th[427] whose significance was not apparent from the *Egalité* article, but all the details of which she has given to Bernstein.

You are quite right not to locate the National Council in Paris—since your strength lies in the provinces, it is there rather than in Paris that the official leadership belongs. That the provinces should be better than Paris is, moreover, a very good sign.

Tomorrow will see the first performance of another of Aveling's plays.[434] Although he has not taken the public by storm, he is attracting the notice of some critics, even those who have hitherto adhered to the conspiracy of silence.

The miners' strike in my part of Germany (Barmen lies some five or six miles from the edge of the coal-field) is an event of the very greatest significance.[435] Whatever the outcome, it will open up territory hitherto closed to us and, as of now, will earn us 40,000–50,000 more votes in the elections. The government is scared stiff, for any attempt at resolute action or, as they say in Prussia (although the term is an Austrian one), '*schneidiges Handeln*',[b] might precipitate a week of bloodshed, as happened in Paris in 1872. Henceforward the miners will be ours throughout the length and breadth of Germany—and they are a force to be reckoned with.

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[a] [C. Zetkin,] 'Der internationale Arbeiterkongres und die Streitigkeiten unter den französischen Arbeitern', *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, No. 19, 11 May 1889 – [b] brisk action

As for Boulanger, I hope you are right and that that mountebank has lost the game.[391] But ...

POST-TIME!
Yours ever,
F. E.

I shall write to Danielson[a]

International Socialist Working Men's Congress.
14th to 21st July, 1889.

Workers and Socialists of Europe and America, —

The Bordeaux[331] Working Men's Congress, held by the delegates of upwards of 200 trades unions from all the industrial centres *of France*,[b] and the Troyes[329] Congress, constituted by the delegates of 300 workmen's *and*[c] Socialist groups representing the *French*[d] working class and revolutionary Socialism at large, have resolved to convene an International Congress in Paris, during the Exhibition, that shall be open to the workers of the whole world.

This resolution has been joyfully welcomed by the Socialists of Europe and America, happy to be able to meet and to clearly formulate the demands of the working-class on the subject of international labour legislation, which question will be treated at the Berne Conference, to be held by the representatives of the Governments of Europe in September.

The capitalists invite the rich and mighty to the Universal Exhibition, to contemplate and admire the achievements of the workers doomed to misery in the midst of the most colossal wealth ever possessed by any human society. We, Socialists, whose aim is the emancipation of labour, the abolition of wage-slavery, and the creation of an order of things in which all workers—without distinction of sex or nationality—shall have a right to the riches produced by their common toil; it is the producers whom *we* invite to meet us on the 14th July in Paris.

We call on them to *seal the bond*[e] of fellowship that, by consolidating the efforts of the proletariat of all countries, will hasten the advent of the new world.

'Working men of all countries, unite!'

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[a] See this volume, p.346 – [b] The word 'France' was inserted by Engels with a question mark – [c] Engels underlined this word and put a question mark – [d] Underlined by Engels – [e] Underlined by Engels

—to *seal the bond* may give rise to difficulties. The Germans are forbidden to have any kind of organisation whatever and such as they have in defiance of the law is regarded as a secret society. Hence one must avoid any expression which suggests the idea of formal organisation. Bid them to a fête of solidarity, to a public demonstration of fraternity—anything you please, so long as you do not invite them to form an official organisation or *words to that effect*, as the English jurists say.

It also seems to me that one or two good sentences are needed to make an effective ending.

And you might tell the international Socialists who are going to sign this that the details of place of meeting, etc., will be communicated later by the Paris commission. A little prose after so much rhetoric would not come amiss. It would be more businesslike.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith 25 English circulars.[422]

When are you going to send me back the—deciphered—letter from Lyons?[a] I wouldn't like to seem negligent or in any way discourteous towards French working men.

Since the *Sozialdemokrat* and the Berlin *Volksblatt* have published

[a] See this volume, p.306

German translations, there is no further need for a separate edition to be printed over here. In any case, which text ought we to use?

1) French text: The Socialist League of England[21] and the Danish Socialists ... have given their prior assent to the resolutions to be taken.

2) English text: W. Morris of the Socialist League and the Danes, etc., etc.

3) German text in the Berlin translation (probably Liebknecht's): The Socialist League and the Danes have made their excuses, and the Socialist League has given prior assent to the resolutions, etc., (according to this version the Danes *did not assent*).

Since the Possibilists have German friends in Paris and English ones over here, it seems not unlikely that they will get wind of these discrepancies. That would be most undesirable, and we can only hope it won't happen; but you can also see what might result from yet another circular,[432] featuring yourselves as 'the whole of the French working class'—the translations would again vary, for you may be sure that Liebknecht would change that in the German.

A hundred English circulars go off to America tomorrow.

The *Star* hasn't printed the circular yet. Massingham was out when Bernstein called yesterday.

Aveling's play went off better than I had hoped—it's a sketch, very well made, but ends, after the manner of Ibsen, without a solution—something to which English audiences are not accustomed. The piece preceded another—by Baby Rose and someone else[436]—a very free English version of *Conflicto entre dos deberes*[a] by Echegaray. This one, being strongly spiced with sensationalism, went down very well, although ponderous and vulgar and in the English taste.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] *The Conflict of Two Duties*

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 20 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I am sending you two newspapers, 1) *Reynolds*[a] which, at Tussy's request, printed the circular but *without the signatures*. This provides you with a first-rate pretext for writing to them as follows: 'The Commission of Organization is very much obliged to you for publishing in your paper our circular of convocation for the International Working Men and Socialist Congress at Paris to be opened on July 14th, but as you have not given any address will you allow me to state, through your columns, that all communications from abroad are to be sent to the undersigned Foreign Secretary to the Commission. Yours etc. P. Lafargue, Le Perreux, Paris, Banlieue, May—etc.,' or something of that sort.

2) The *Sun*, a new radical *Weekly*, which carries one paragraph, again thanks to Tussy's influence.[437] We shall have to see if there isn't some way in which we can make further use of this newspaper, but the influence of the *Star* might do us a mischief here.

In *Justice*, which I shall send you as soon as I have some copies of it, Hyndman gives vent to a cry of triumph[438] in the belief that, along with the *Star*, he has deprived us of all means of publicity in London. He says that, though you are an amiable and estimable man, you are making a fool of yourself, and Bebel, Liebknecht and Bernstein likewise; and he hopes that we shall at last desist from our futile intrigues, etc.

Have you seen the *Prolétaire* (or *Parti ouvrier*?) in which the Possibilists say they are sure of the Danes?[439] Bernstein has written to Germany to find out what it's all about.

The moment he no longer feels the boulevards under his feet, Rochefort insists on making a fool of himself—in Geneva when he quarrelled with old Becker, here, by drawing his revolver in Regent Street after he had been given a slap in the face. The case is to be heard today in the Police Court[440]; I shall send you the paper.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] *Reynold's Newspaper*

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 21 May 1889

Dear Kautsky,

At last a few minutes in which to write to you. The damned congress and everything connected with it has taken up all my time for the past 3 months; there's the devil of a lot of writing, running about and slaving to do, and nothing comes of it but vexation, trouble and strife. At St Gallen,[174] our worthy Germans imagined, as they have done ever since, that they only had to convoke a congress for it to happen—*jehi ôr, vajehi ôr*[a]! (get Adler to tell you what that means). Having *themselves* got over their internal quarrels, they imagined that love and friendship, peace and harmony, prevailed throughout the socialist world, and it never occurred to them that convoking a congress would mean either submitting to the Brousse-Hyndman alliance or else combating it. Now, however, having had ample experience they still seem to be somewhat in the dark and flatter themselves with dreams of the merger of *both* congresses at the instant of meeting; thus they abjure the only mode of combat capable of bringing this about, namely snarling defiance at Brousse and Hyndman. Anyone who knows anything about these men is aware that they will only cede to force and regard every concession as a sign of weakness. Instead, Liebknecht demands that we treat them considerately, not only handling them with kid gloves but even going so far as to give them a helping hand. Liebknecht has made a mess of the whole business. The

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[a] let there be light: and there was light (Genesis, 1.3)

Hague Conference, described over here as a *caucus*[441] by Hyndman because *he* wasn't invited (which in itself was a stupidity), could, in the absence of the Possibilists, only acquire significance and become something more than a *caucus* if other signatures—those of the Austrians, Scandinavians, etc.—had been secured after the event. That would also have brought pressure to bear on the Belgians. Nothing of the kind, indeed nothing whatsoever, was done; the Hague business, which had been a good start, was also, it seemed, to be the *finish*. Well, after the Possibilists' refusal, the Belgians dragged their feet, refused to reply and eventually said that they wanted to leave the decision to *their* congress on 21 April.[405] Instead of sending somebody to force the Belgians to give a prompt yes or no and then induce the others to act accordingly, they allowed everything to slide. Liebknecht made commemorative speches in Switzerland[442] and, when we let fly over here—at a crucial moment so far as this country was concerned—, he began to fume, alleging that we had infringed the secrecy agreed upon in regard to the Hague resolutions[385] (secrecy it would have been madness to observe *after* the Possibilists' refusal, and of which, moreover, we *knew nothing*), that we had frustrated, etc., his move to bring the Possibilists over to our side over the heads of Brousse, etc. (!). And when, at *our* instigation, the English—discontented Trades Unionists[395] —, sought information from Belgium, Holland, Germany and Denmark about the position as regards *our* congress, they got nothing but vague, noncommittal replies and, needless to say, came down in favour of the men who knew their own minds, the Possibilists. So months were spent dithering and dawdling while the Possibilists swamped the whole world with their circulars, until in the end people lost patience, even in the German camp, and insisted on attendance at the Possibilist congress.[408] This made its mark and, 24 hours after we over here had told the French that the resolutions of the Belgian congress[405] had set them at liberty to do as they pleased, and that they, too, could convoke their congress for the 14th of July,—24 hours later, up comes Liebknecht with this self-same and hitherto so hotly contested proposal. The fact of the matter is that, if he is to be capable of reaching a bold decision, he must first get himself into a complete and utter mess.

But now it is, in many ways, too late. *Over here* the battle has been lost all along the line because we were left in the lurch at the crucial moment. People who sympathised with us could count themselves lucky to be selected—to go to the *other*, Possibilist congress. In Belgium, thanks to those intriguers in Brussels, the Possibilists have all

but gained the upper hand; Anseele, in other respects a good chap, seems anxious to avoid a breach with the Brussels lot. And even the Danes seem to be wavering, and they'll be followed by the Swedes and Norwegians, who admittedly do not yet count for very much, but nevertheless represent 2 nations. When one considers the way in which Liebknecht has so utterly compromised, if not actually in part ruined, the magnificent international position enjoyed by the Germans, it's enough to drive one mad.

Close alliance with the Austrians; the Americans up till now merely a branch of the German party; the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Swiss as it were offshoots of the Germans; the Dutch a reliable intermediary for the West; add to that, German colonies everywhere and the non-Possibilist French almost wholly dependent on their alliance with the Germans; likewise the Slav colonies and refugees in the West, who have also been gravitating towards the Germans ever since the fiasco of the anarchists:—what a magnificent position it is! And all this placed in jeopardy by Liebknecht's illusion that he only has to open his mouth for all Europe to dance to his tune, and that, unless he gives the order to advance, the enemy won't do anything either. And, thanks to Bebel's comprehensible but most regrettable ignorance of foreign affairs, Liebknecht has had a pretty free hand. If things go wrong, it will be he who is to blame because of his failure to do anything (save intrigue) and his failure to make a public stand between the time of the Possibilists' refusal early in March and the Belgian congress on 22 April.

However, I think all may yet be well, provided we all of us pull together. If we can win over the Danes, we shall carry the day—but it so happens that it's only from Germany—i.e. through Liebknecht—that influence can be brought to bear on them. Yet it's absolutely maddening that we should have got into this frightful predicament at all, when swift action in March and early April must have secured us the whole of Europe. The Possibilists acted, whereas Liebknecht not only failed to act, but also made it impossible for anyone else to do so—the French might not lift a finger, come to any decision, issue a circular or convoke a congress—until it finally dawned on him that for the past six weeks the Brussels people had been leading him by the nose and that the effect of the Possibilists' activities, in contrast to his own *masterly inactivity*, was to make his own Germans desert him. And on top of all that there was the business of that scoundrel Schlesinger.[400] He, Liebknecht, has appealed to my better feelings, saying that the least public move might

ruin him, load him with debts to the tune of 6,000 marks and force him to emigrate to America. In these circumstances I shall wait—or so I think just now at any rate—until the whole thing has been published, and then see what ought to be done. However, the business is most compromising so far as he's concerned, and if he imagines he can simply get away with allowing his name to be attached to anything so unsavoury, he's in for a surprise. Would you be so kind as to send me the next instalments? The rascal's[a] overweening arrogance is only matched by his crass ignorance. You're perfectly right; if Liebknecht's name didn't feature on it, it would simply be a joke.

What is Louise doing? Is she still busily engaged in helping to multiply the human species? I trust she is well and happy and that she got through her last exam.[354] Nim and I send her our love. Presumably she will now be able to take a bit of a rest.

I have had to give up smoking because of its effect on my nerves and more especially on my heart, which is otherwise very sound. I have also got to cut down my drinking a lot, its effect being more marked when the nerves are disordered. I am taking sulphonal to help me sleep, and spend a lot of time in the open air in Hampstead and Highgate. That, too, is time-consuming. If only the damned congress were over, so that one didn't have to plough through so many newspapers; it prevents me from doing anything else and, when I do at last get round to some sensible reading, my eyes are too tired and I have to turn to some other occupation. The doctor tells me my eyes won't ever be quite right again, though it's nothing serious, only a constant nuisance—i.e. having to restrict the time I spend reading and writing.

Tussy now uses a machine with keys for writing with.

Kindest regards from Nim and

Your

F. E.

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[a] Maximilian Schlesinger

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ENGELS TO A. F. ROBINSON

IN LONDON

London, 21 May 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Mr A. F. Robinson
47 Little George St. Hampstead Road

Sir,

As I am informed that you are now in good work and well able to repay gradually the 25sh. I advanced to you, and Mr Lahr your neighbour is out of work, I request you to pay the above money to him in such weekly payments as you may agree amongst yourselves and as are reasonable, and I shall consider their receipt—Mr and Mrs Lahr's—for the money as good as my own.

I am, Sir,
Yours respectfully
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 24 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Do for goodness' sake expedite the circular[432] with the foreign signatures! Here as everywhere else it will be of the greatest importance to us.

Never mind the content, however colourless and devoid of rhetorical flourishes—it's the *signatures* that count. If it reaches us within the next eight or ten days, it will mean victory for us here, otherwise we shall lose the battle for the second time, and this time it will be the Parisians' fault. It is really so difficult to write a circular anyone can sign?

Herewith *Justice* with a manifesto[a] of which the fury and bare-faced mendacity betray all too plainly the effect created here by the Convocation,[414] even at this late hour. The Social Democratic Federation,[62] you see,—or rather Hyndman—are well aware that what is at stake is their position over here, and likewise that of the Possibilists in France. We shall, of course, reply. But if we could append to our flysheet the Convocation with the foreign signatures, the effect would be tremendous.

The Convocation has appeared in *Commonweal*,[b] and Morris has come out openly in support of our congress. In the *Labour Elector* W. Parnell, a delegate to the London congress[320] and a very good and capable chap—a worker—says he has got copies of the Convocation for anybody who may want one.[443] A very good acquisition. Tussy has arranged a meeting for tomorrow at which Bernstein (over here we call him Ede, so if I happen to use that name, you will know whom I mean) will meet Burns, Tom Mann and other influential working men. Burns has been nominated for the Possibilist congress by his branch. It will be a very good thing to have men of that stamp at the Possibilist congress, supposing we cannot have them at our own.

The *Star* has not yet printed Okecki's letter,[c] but only Bax's on Vaillant.[d] We shall remind him[e] about the former. As he wishes to promote the sale of his paper in Paris, we shall give him introductions to the radical Socialists of the Municipal Council, Longuet, Daumas, etc. What does Okecki say in his letter? Does he deny *outright* the imputation that Boulé accepted Boulangist money? You cannot conceive the importance—both to ourselves and to you—of this English daily, nor how much it would repay the trouble of getting it out of Hyndman's clutches.

The manifesto in *Justice* claims that Farjat voted for the Possibilist congress (at the London congress). This cannot be true! I am asking him

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[a] 'Manifesto of the Social-Democratic Federation. Plain Truths about the International Congress of Workers in Paris in 1889', *Justice*, No. 280, 25 May 1889 – [b] on 25 May (see Note 414) – [c] See this volume, p.316– [d] *The Star*, 22 May 1889 – [e] Henry William Massingham

by this post to send us a letter we can publish.[444] But no, on second thoughts, I haven't got his address, and the man I had in mind was Fréjac of Commentry and not Farjat. So you would be doing us a great service if you could obtain a letter of this kind for us, and as soon as possible, for over here there's no time to be lost if we are not to lose our public.

I have written to Denmark to find out what is holding things up there[445]—but my correspondent[a] belongs to the radical opposition and not to the moderates who lead the party. We have also written to Bebel, telling him how important it is to secure the Danes who, in turn, will be followed by the Swedes and Norwegians, and have suggested that one of the Germans should go there in person if things don't go well.

And now, my dear Lafargue, make haste with the Convocation, signed by everybody concerned. It is the only effective way of stifling all the calumnies and lies put about by the others. And it is most important for the countries still hesitating that they should get it before they have made up their minds. Liebknecht, with his irresolution and dilatoriness, has cost us many a position; do not follow his example. For of one thing you may be certain—if you cause us to lose another battle by what others can only regard as incomprehensible delays, we over here shall be fully justified in losing patience and leaving you to 'shift for yourselves'. It is impossible to help people unless they are willing to help themselves just a little. So send out a circular of some sort, but not one liable to arouse opposition, to the Parties abroad without further delay, collect the signatures and have the thing printed, or send it to us for that purpose—with an English translation by Laura to save time. The prospects are so good, if only the lot of you would deign to put first things first, setting aside all petty rivalries and matters of detail. Don't ruin your own congress, don't be more German than the Germans.

Love to Laura,
Yours ever,
F. E.

Herewith *Justice* and *Commonweal.*

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[a] Gerson Trier

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 25 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

From a letter written by Guesde to Bonnier I learn that the Convocation with the foreign signatures[432] has gone to the printers. You may add:

K. Cunninghame-Graham, English Member of Parliament, and, unless you hear to the contrary by *telegram* on *Monday*, also

W. Parnell
Tom Mann } delegates to the 1888 London congress.[320]

The latter have not given their *official* assent. Bernstein saw them this morning, as also Graham and Burns, when the latter declared his intention of disassociating himself entirely from the Social Democratic Federation,[62] saying that he is sick and tired of the underhand methods of Hyndman, who has ruined the Federation, that the circulation of *Justice* has dropped from 4,000 to 1,400 etc. Although elected to the Possibilist congress by his branch, he is going to support our line. How he can best set about doing so is still under discussion.

Send a copy of the Convocation as soon as possible.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 May 1889

My dear Lafargue,

By the same post I am sending you the report on the *Alliance*.[a] Would you also like to have the *Fictitious Splits*[b]?

Send me the article for the Russian review,[446] and I'll send it on to Danielson.

Since Lavrov has turned coy,[447] write to N. Axelrod, Kephir-Anstalt, Hirschengraben, Zurich and ask him to get you, besides his own, the signatures of Vera Zasulich (since you haven't got her address), and those of G. Plekhanov and other Russian Marxists. That will astound our worthy eclectic.

The English Convocation[432] is already at the printers; tomorrow I shall have the proofs, and distribution will begin the day after.

Parnell has refused his signature as a private person, but has given it in his capacity as the *HONORARY SECRETARY* of the *LABOUR ELECTORAL ASSOCIATION*.[448]

Since you must have received this signature, together with those of its other members (Champion, Mann, Bateman), I did not telegraph you, for you would, of course, take the signatures as sent to you direct, and not from my letter.

The reason is that he is being sent by his *TRADES UNION* (cabinet makers) to the Possibilist congress, where he and Burns will support our line. If the Possibilists oppose their proposal for a merger, they might even part company with them and join us. But that is, as yet, the music of the future.[449]

If I seemed insistent, it was because of the contradictory information that was coming in from Paris, and because I didn't know whether or

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. Report and Documents, Published by Decision of the Hague Congress of the International (see present edition, Vol. 23) – [b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International* (see present edition, Vol. 23)

not agreement had been reached as to the text of the Convocation. But now things will get going over here as well.—It will be a thunderbolt.

Your tactics are best, more especially since you haven't got a paper and since everyone in France has already taken sides. Here, where not a few are still sitting on the fence and where, in addition, we must try and shake the faith of those who have already gone over to the enemy—and it can be done—we must go into the attack.

Tomorrow I shall at least, I hope, be able to put in a little anti-Hyndman work[450]; today, all my time has been taken up with arrangements for the English Convocation and with running errands.

The letter from Lyons was in the enclosed envelope. I sent it to you so that you might decipher the name and address of the signatory for me.[416] It contained a request for copies of my writings. However, you appear to have received my accompanying letter asking you to enlighten me on the above.

Yours ever,
In haste F. E.

Farjat must let us have a definite yea or nay—perhaps he had left before the vote was taken?[444]

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[371]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 8 June 1829

Dear Sorge,

I am almost sorry that you should have taken the Wischnewetzkys seriously enough to break with them. I was glad to let them have the satisfaction of conveying to me *her* most august displeasure through *his*

failure to call; I can only assume, however, that he forced your hand by the uncouthness of his behaviour vis-à-vis yourself.

The mood re the congress in which you wrote your letter was also mine from mid-March until nearly mid-May. Now, miraculously, all is saved, as you will see from the second circular we sent you containing the convocation with signatures from almost everywhere in Europe (brought up to date in the appendix to Bernstein's No. II,[450] sent off today).

The first pamphlet, signed by Bernstein,[386] was edited by me, like everything else that appeared *in English* on the subject. Such of it as you are able to find fault with was necessary from a local point of view. Particularly the explanations concerning the Possibilists which you see as attacks. But most necessary of all was the publication of the Hague resolutions[394] which, in their wisdom, the chaps at The Hague had decided to keep *secret*, and *ad infinitum* at that. Fortunately no one either here or in Paris knew of this canny decision and we therefore let fly, since the Possibilists and their supporters over here were daily harping on those very resolutions, telling the most whopping lies about them, etc.

Prompt action ought, of course, to have been taken after the Possibilists' refusal. But the Belgians, who were, after all, supposed to be convoking the congress along with the Swiss, didn't lift a finger—they wanted to put the matter off until their congress at Easter in Jolimont,[405] and take refuge behind such resolutions as might be adopted there. And of the Swiss, Scherrer, too, was a wee bit dilatory on the pretext that, with Liebknecht's assent, he would lure the *bulk* of the Possibilists onto our side 'over the heads of Brousse & Co.'!! Liebknecht, however, was making commemorative speeches in Switzerland,[442] and Bebel was insufficiently acquainted with the terrain to go ahead independently in his absence.

The real battlefield was *here*. The impact of Bernstein's pamphlet No. I here was that of a thunderbolt. People realised they had been outrageously hoodwinked by Hyndman & Co. Had our congress been convoked straight away, they would all have rallied to us, and Hyndman and Brousse would have found they were on their own. The discontented elements in the Trades Unions here[395] appealed to us, to the Germans, the Dutch, the Belgians and the Danes. But from no one did they obtain any information about *our* congress—when, where or how it would be held. Their main concern, however, was with opposing Broadhurst, Shipton & Co. by sending delegates to a congress, no matter

which, and they therefore came down in favour of the one that had been *convoked.*

Thus, step by step, we lost ground here, and our foothold in this country's radical press grew distinctly precarious, on top of which came the resolution of the Belgian congress whereby one delegate was to be sent to *each* of the two congresses. And, even in the German party press, Auer and Schippel declared themselves in favour of attending that of the Possibilists,[408] if only to show that the Germans weren't Francophobes and chauvinists. In short, I gave the thing up for lost, at any rate so far as England was concerned.

However, I at once wrote to the French[a] (who from the start had insisted that the congress must be held on 14/21 July, *alongside that of the Possibilists*, if it was to be worth holding at all) and told them that the Belgian resolution had restored their liberty of action and that they should immediately convoke the congress for that time. And Monsieur Liebknecht, galvanised by Auer's and Schippel's articles, tendered the same advice to the French,[b] having suddenly discovered that he had been dragging his feet long enough and rapid action was now called for. The convocation followed—and the impact it made exceeded all edpectations. Letters of adhesion came flooding in and continue to do so. And even over here we have scored more than a *succès d'estime*, while the sensation created by the publication of the signatures has still not died down. Even in this country everything outside the (very down-at-heel) Social Democratic Federation is ours, as is, morally speaking, part of what's still inside it. For John Burns, the socialist London County Councillor,[451] is probably going to resign, along with the entire Battersea Branch,[452] and may already have done so. He and Parnell (who signed our circular) have already been selected as delegates to the Possibilist congress and, while there, will be working *for us*.

With the exception of the Social Democratic Federation, the Possibilists haven't got a single socialist organisation anywhere in Europe. Hence they are falling back on the nonsocialist Trades Unions and would do anything in the world to get hold of even the old Trades Unions, Broadhurst and Co., but the latter had their fill of that last November here in London.[320] From America they'll be getting one Knight of Labor.[60]

The point of all this—and the reason why I've thrown myself into it as I have done—is that what we are now witnessing is the re-enactment

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[a] See this volume, pp.332-3 – [b] See this volume, p.311

of the old rift in the International, the old battle of the Hague.[453] The antagonists are the same, save only that the anarchist flag has been exchanged for the Possibilist—principles sold to the bourgeoisie in return for concessions on minor points, more particularly in return for well-paid positions for the leaders (Municipal Council, Labour Exchange, etc.). And the tactics are identical. The manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation, which has clearly been written by Brousse, is a new version of the Sonvillier circular.[454] And Brousse knows it full well: He still uses the same lies and calumnies in attacking *le Marxisme autoritaire*, and Hyndman apes him—his chief sources of information about the International and Marx's political activities being the malcontents of the General Council here, i.e. Eccarius, Jung and Co.

The alliance between the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation was meant to constitute the nucleus of the new International which was to be founded in Paris—with the Germans as the third party in the alliance,[a] provided they toed the line, otherwise in opposition to them. Hence the series of little congresses, each one larger than the last, hence the aloofness towards all other French and English tendencies, which were treated as though nonexistent by the allies, and hence the clique-forming, notably with the small nations, which had also been the mainstay of Bakunin. But these goings-on were rudely interrupted when the Germans naively—and in absolute ignorance of what was happening elsewhere—also entered the congress stakes with their St Gallen resolution.[178] And since the fellows preferred to oppose rather than co-operate with the Germans—whom they regarded as altogether too Marxified—a struggle was inevitable. But you have no idea how naïve the Germans are. I had to go to immense pains to make even Bebel see what was really at stake, although the Possibilists are very well aware of, and constantly proclaim, it. And because of all these mistakes I had little hope that things would turn out well, that the immanent reason, which throughout this affair has gradually been gaining awareness of itself, would triumph so soon. I am all the more glad to receive proof that what happened in 1873 and 1874 is no longer possible today.[455] The intriguers have already been beaten, and the significance of the congress—whether or not it absorbs the other—lies in the fact that the concord of the socialist parties of Europe will be plain for all the world to see, while the handful of intriguers, should they refuse to toe the line, will be left out in the cold.

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[a] An allusion to the phrase 'der dritte im Bunde' in Schiller's poem *Die Bürgschaft*

Otherwise the congress is of no great significance. I, of course, shall not attend it, being unable to throw myself into agitation again for any length of time. But if the chaps are intent on playing at congresses once more, it's better that these shouldn't be directed by Brousse and Hyndman. For it is high time a spoke was put in their wheel.

I am curious to see what effect Bernstein's No. II will have.[450] Let's hope it will be the concluding document in this affair.

In other respects, things here are so-so. I have had to give up smoking because of its effect on my nerves, and this has cost me surprisingly little effort; every 2 or 3 days I smoke about one-third of a cigarette, but next year I think I shall take it up again. Sam Moore is going to Africa as Chief Justice in the Niger territory. Leaves Liverpool next Saturday and will come back for six months after serving a year and a half; will translate Volume III[a] while out there. Kind regards to your wife,

Your

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 June 1889

My dear Laura,

At last, I can find a few minutes for a quiet chat with you. And first of all let me thank you for your charming invitation to Le Perreux for the

[a] of *Capital*

Congress. But I am afraid I shall have as yet to delay accepting it. There are two things which I avoid visiting on principle, and only go to on compulsion: congresses and exhibitions. The din and throng of your 'world's fair',[a] to speak the slang of the respectable Britisher, is anything but an attraction for me, and from the Congress I must keep away in any case; that would launch me in a new agitation campaign, and I should come back here with a load of tasks, for the benefit of a variety of nationalities, that would keep me busy for a couple of years. Those things one cannot decline at a congress, and yet I must, if the 3rd volume[b] is to see the light of day. For more than 3 months I have not been able to look at it, and it is too late now to begin before the holidays I intend taking; nor am I sure that my congress troubles are quite over. So if I do not come over to Le Perreux this year, *aufgeschoben ist nicht sufgehoben*,[c] but this summer I shall take a little rest in a quiet seaside place and try to put myself in condition again to be able to smoke a cigar which I have not done for more than two months, about a gramme of tobacco every other day being as much as I can stand—but I sleep again, and a moderate drink does no longer affect me unpleasantly.

Here is a bit of news for Paul; Sam Moore gives us tonight a parting dinner, he sails on Saturday for the Niger, where, at Asába, in the interior of Africa, he will be Chief Justice of the Territories of the Royal Niger Company, Chartered and Limited, with six months' leave to Europe every other year, good pay, and the expectation of returning in 8 years or so an independent man. It was chiefly in honour of Paul[d] that he consented to become Lord Chief Justice of the Niger Niggers, the very cream of Nigrition[e] Niger Niggerdom. We are all very sorry to lose him, but he has been looking out for some thing of the sort for more than a year and this is an excellent place. He owes his appointment not only to his legal qualifications, but very much, also, to his being an accomplished geologist and botanist and ex-volunteer officer—all qualities very valuable in a new country. He will have a botanical garden, and make a meteorological station; his judicial duties will mainly consist in punishing German smugglers of Bismarck's potato spirit and of arms and ammunition. The climate is far better than its reputation, and his medical examination was highly satisfactory, the doctor telling him he would have a better chance than young men who kill themselves—out of pure

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[a] The Paris Great Fair – [b] of *Capital* – [c] postponed does not mean cancelled – [d] An allusion to Paul Lafargue's black extraction – [e] Former name of West Sudan

ennui—with whisky and black harems. Thus when the 3rd volume comes out, a portion, at least, of it will be translated in Africa as I shall send him the advance sheets.

To return to our beloved congress. I consider these congresses to be unavoidable evils in the movement; people will insist on playing at congresses, and though they have their useful demonstrative side, and do good in bringing people of different countries together, it is doubtful whether *le jeu vaut la chandelle*[a] when there are serious differences. But the persistent efforts of the Possibilists and Hyndmanites to sneak into the leadership of a new International, by means of their congresses, made a struggle unavoidable for us, and here is the only point in which I agree with Brousse: that it is the old split in the International over again, which now drives people into two opposite camps. On one side the disciples of Bakunin, with a different flag but with all the old equipment and tactics, a set of intriguers and humbugs who try to 'boss' the working class movement for their own private ends; on the other side the real working-class movement. And it was this, and this alone that made me take the matter up in such good earnest. Debates about details of legislation do not interest me to such a degree. But the position reconquered upon the Anarchists after 1873[455] was now attacked by their successors, and so I had no choice. Now we have been victorious, we have proved to the world that almost all Socialists in Europe are 'Marxists' (they will be mad they gave us that name!) and they are left alone in the cold with Hyndman to console them. And now I hope my services are no longer required.

As they have nobody to come to them, they fall back upon non-Socialist or half-Socialist Trades Unions and thus *their congress will have a quite distinct character from ours.* That makes the question of fusion a secondary one; two *such* congresses *may* sit side by side, without scandal.

My dear Laura, I was going to write a lot more, but I cannot see hardly, it is so foggy, and thus I had to interrupt for brighter intervals, until now it is post-time. So I can but enclose the cheque £10.—about which Paul writes.

As to money for Congress, the Germans ought to do something—if I can, will write to Paul about that tomorrow.[b]

Ever yours
F. Engels

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[a] the game is worth the candle – [b] See this volume, p.341

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

IN BERLIN

London, 12 June 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

A thousand apologies for having been so thoroughly remiss in answering the inquiry in your esteemed letter of 15 April.[456] Contrary to my intentions I have got involved in the debate over the international congress and have thus taken upon myself a great deal of work, correspondence, running about, etc., which unfortunately has meant my neglecting a mass of other things, among them many letters, which remain unanswered.

So as not to keep you waiting a moment longer, I must inform you that I have not seen the pamphlet in question[a] since the time it appeared in Cologne, nor, to my knowledge, is there a copy among Marx's papers. The pamphlet came out shortly before the trial began and I have never heard of a second part. Something of that kind would probably have been advertised in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* but all I can find there is the announcement, which first appeared on 9 July 1848, of this one pamphlet, described as Part I; the proceedings began on 5 August. There are no advertisements for a second part in the intervening numbers and I feel sure it never appeared. *After* his acquittal Lassalle would have had no cause to continue with a critique whose sole purpose had been to secure that acquittal.[193]

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[a] Lassalle [Ferdinand], *Der Criminal-Prozeß wider mich wegen Verleitung zum Cassetten-Diebstahloder: Die Anklage der moralischen Mitschuld*

I am most anxious to see that piece of yours,[a] which has found a berth at last. I shan't be able to read the article on Kant in the *Vossische* until after the post has gone, so for the present I can do no more than say how very grateful I am to you for sending it.

If you join the *Vossische* and are required to belabour the East, the *Standard* is the only paper I would commend to your attention. Of all the London and, possibly, European, papers (a few in Hungary excepted), none is better informed on the East in so far as *Russia*'s interests are concerned. A day or two ago, for example, it was first with the news of Russia's little scheme, which has now re-emerged into the light of day, for a greater Serbian empire under the Prince of Montenegro—a little scheme whose furtherance has, for the present, been entrusted by the Russian government to the pan-Slav *Comité* so that, depending on circumstances, the former can either itself pursue it, or shelve it again for a while; 2., with the news of the secret agreement between Tsar[b] and Shah[c] whereby Persia would not grant railway, shipping, etc., concessions without Russia's approval and, in case of war, would place Khorassan at the Russians' disposal (i.e. make possible their strategic encirclement of Afghanistan). Months often go by without anything of this kind appearing in the *Standard*, but then the disclosures usually come thick and fast. The *Standard* is supplied with the stuff by Russophobes in the Conservative Party, the army and the Indian Civil Service.

I fear that, once Russia has fixed up the conversion of her debt[424] and acquired thereby a financial status she has never enjoyed before, the pan-Slav party on the one hand and, on the other, the need to provide employment for the army (whose younger, *educated* officers are without exception constitutionalists,[457] hence far in advance of the Prussians), thus keeping its mind off political conspiracies, will precipitate the Russian government into war. What will happen then, no one can tell; the old oracle of Delphi comes to mind: Croesus by crossing the Halys will ruin a mighty realm.

In any event much will be destroyed in the process, including, perhaps, the German army, provided a certain conceited young rascal[d] is given a bit of time to disorganise it.

Meanwhile there has also been the splendid business of the coalminers'

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[a] Conrad Schmidt, *Die Durch Schnittsprofitrate auf Grundlege des Marx'schen werthgesetzes* – [b] Alexander III – [c] Nasr-ed-Dir – [d] William II

strike,[435] which illuminated the whole situation like a flash of lightning. That's three army corps that have come over to us.

So until my next and with best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 15 June 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I have written and told Bebel[458] that your contributions are coming in rather slowly, and that you are hard put to it to obtain adequate funds for the congress, etc. I explained to him the reasons (your numerical weakness in Paris, the necessity for the provincials to scrape up their funds for their delegations, the habitual sluggishness of the French in paying contributions, etc.) and I suggested that here was an opportunity for the German Party to make a grant *as a good international investment*. You would be well-advised to ginger up Liebknecht with a view to obtaining the said grant since you would be better able than I to put your case to him, at the same time mentioning that you have written to him on the subject at my instance.

I am sending you *Justice*, containing Hyndman's reply.[459] It is an outburst of impotent rage from a man aware that he has been well and truly trounced. What he says about Parnell and Stepniak is an out-and-out lie. I have before me a letter from Stepniak, sent to Tussy yesterday just after he had seen *Justice*, in which he says it is false and that he will be writing to *Justice* without delay.[460] As for Parnell, his name was given

to us *officially* by the LABOUR ELECTORAL ASSOCIATION[448] and, so long as he has not divested himself of his functions as secretary to that Association, he cannot contest the validity of his signature.[a] He had refused to sign *as a private person* and we had respected his scruples on that score.

No one knows who this Field is—the chap who has evinced such ardour in defending our congress.[461]

The Danish paper run by Trier and Petersen[b] has come out publicly in our favour, but they are right not to have gone further than this. Should they propose sending a delegation to our congress, they would impel the official Danish Party into the arms of the Possibilists. We have the satisfaction of knowing that these cryptic-Possibilists will not dare go to the other congress.

Since the nature of the two congresses is now quite distinct—ours consisting of all the Socialists combined, the other of men who stop short at Trades Unionism (it'll get nothing more, except for the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation), it is beginning to seem unlikely that there will be a merger, and if there is none there will be no disgrace. For it is a matter of common knowledge that Socialism has, as yet, failed to unite under its banner the whole of Europe's working class—knowledge which the existence of two parallel congresses would merely go to confirm.

On the other hand, our congress being now more progressive than the other, we now have different responsibilities. If the two congresses were both avowedly Socialist, we could avoid a rumpus by making sundry concessions of a formal nature. But now that the forces have been mustered, without intervention by us, in two different camps and under two different banners, it behoves us to safeguard the honour of the Socialist banner, while the merger—if it happens—will be not so much a *merger* as an *alliance*. Hence it is a matter of thoroughly thrashing out the terms of that alliance.

Whatever the case, we must wait and see how things go, and not tie ourselves down beforehand by making irrevocable decisions. The real aim must always be to put one's adversary in the wrong and so to arrange things that, in the event of a breach, it is he who will take the blame.

You may be sure that, after what has happened, neither the Possibilists

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[a] See this volume, p.331 – [b] *Arbeideren*

nor the Social Democrat Federation will be animated by a desperate urge to effect a merger, but rather by an ardent desire to saddle us with the blame for the breach they secretly desire and which alone could give them some semblance of continued existence. To do them the kindness of *provoking* a breach would mean giving them a new lease of life. Only mistakes on our part would enable them to recover from their defeat, and those mistakes are going to be made by us if we let ourselves be swayed by passion or any kind of sentiment. It is a matter of pure calculation, nothing else.

Give Laura a kiss from me and from Nim. This morning Sam Moore left Liverpool for your African homeland.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 28 June 1889

My dear Laura,

As to your 'free and easy' translation of my *aufgeschoben*[a] etc., I am afraid I can, in this tropical heat, muster no more energy than to entirely leave to you the responsibility of the same and to do so, as lawyers say, 'without prejudice'. All I know is that if this weather lasts, I don't envy you the Congress; the only congress I care for is one with Nim over a bottle of beer from the cool cellar.

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[a] postponed; see this volume, p.337

As to this Congress of yours I see, from your letter to Maggie Harkness, that it is intended to keep the administrative sittings in private. Now I am fully convinced that this question can only be decided by the Congress itself, and after having heard the Germans, Austrians, etc. But as far as the order of the day questions are concerned, I do not see any necessity for insisting upon private meetings at all, and should think the Germans themselves would prefer public sittings all through—unless there is in some quarters a hankering after a restoration of the International in some form or other, and that the Germans would and ought to oppose with might and main. Our people and the Austrians are the only ones that have a real struggle to go through, real sacrifices to make, with always a hundred men or so in prison, and they cannot afford to play at international organisations which are at present as impossible as they are useless.

On the other hand, the Possibilists and Co. will do everything to give *retentissement*[a] to their congress, will probably have no private meetings at all, after the *vérification des pouvoirs*,[b] and perhaps not even for that—and with the odds in their favour in their connection with the bourgeois press in France and here, they will get the pull of us—handicapped heavily as we are—unless we act boldly and have the press admitted as often as ever possible.

From all this, I conclude that it will be best not to have any settled opinion upon this or other questions connected with the Congress, but to wait until the others have been heard and then come to a conclusion. This I would apply also to what Paul writes about making the fusion of both congresses impossible.[462] It strikes me that when that question crops up, there will be so many practical difficulties that, unless the Possibilists give way on every point, nothing is likely to come of it. But the Possibilists won't give way, and as they are sure to make up by Trades Unions what they lack in Socialists, and will have a pretty fair show of French and English (which two nations, as you know, make up, in their own opinion, the whole civilised world) and as they will have one Knight of Labour,[60] representing, on his own statement, at least 500,000, and one American Federationist of Labor,[463] representing 600,000, they will represent, on paper, an immense number of working men and expect us poor Socialists to give in. All I fear is that they may make a sham move to put us in the wrong before the public (a trick they

[a] publicity – [b] verification of credentials

understand to a T) and that Liebknecht will fall into the trap. In that case I reckon upon you especially, upon Tussy and D. Nieuwenhuis to open Bebel's eyes and to prevent the success of Liebknecht's *Vereinigungswut*.[a]

Tussy has replied to Paul's question about Lavy; I was not there, she knows all about it.[464]

In my opinion the two congresses might sit side by side without any harm—they are essentially different in character, the one of Socialists and the other chiefly of *aspirants* to Socialism, and I do not think Bebel would under these circumstances be prepared to go in for union at any price. He wrote to me that the fusion could only take place on the footing of perfect equality, and that will no doubt be the minimum of his conditions. But he has never lived outside Germany, and is no judge of English or French conditions of life or ideas—and there Liebknecht may become dangerous, especially as he is unfortunately, for want of a better informed man, the foreign minister of the Germans. One point you must press upon Bebel is that the Possibilists and SDF intend using the Congress as a means of restoring the International, a thing the Germans cannot countenance without calling down upon themselves prosecutions innumerable; and that therefore the Germans had better keep away from such a congress.

My congratulations to Paul for his double candidature[465]—at Avignon he is sure to win, *c'est la ville de Laure*![b] he ought to have cards engraved *Paul Lafargue, candidat, successeur (plus heureux) de Pétrarque*.[c] But I suppose you have heard these bad puns long and often enough at Paris without me.

I suppose our people in Paris are preparing a *projet de réglement*[d] for the Congress? That is absolutely necessary to save time, and it should be very short and leave all details to the chairman.

If I have time I shall send Paul a few lines on the question of national armament and suppression of standing armies.

Sam[e] will be about Senegal or Gambia now, we expect to have a few lines from Madeira in a day or two.

Of Schorlemmer not a word. Shall try and stir him up a bit. But perhaps he has written to you, he has said to M. Harkness that he intends to be at the Congress in Paris.

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[a] drive for unification – [b] this is Laura's town – [c] candidate, (happier) successor of Petrarch – [d] draft procedure – [e] Samuel Moore

Parnell has had a letter published in the *Labour Elector* that he *did* sign in his quality of Hon. Sec. of Labour Elector Association – *e ciò basta.*[a 466]

Love from Nim. Ever yours

F. E.

5 p.m. Just received your letter to, and from, Tussy, she writes the enclosed on the subject of the private meetings which I fully endorse. I shall also write to Bebel tomorrow on the same subject.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[211]

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 4 July 1889

My dear Sir,

I communicated to Mr Lafargue and to Mr Kautsky[467] what you were kind enough to say as to their articles published in the *Northern Review*. Mr Lafargue, in consequence of this, has sent me an article on the Evolution of Property[468] which he wishes me to forward to you and to request you to be good enough to offer it to the Editor of the *Northern Review*[b] on the usual terms as to honorarium etc. I forward it to you today by Book Post, *registered.*

The news you are enabled to give us about the state of Mr M[utual]'s[c] health are very cheering, and in full agreement with what we heard from

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[a] and that's enough – [b] A. M. Yevreinova – [c] Hermann Lopatin

other sources.[469] A man with such a tremendous constitution is sure to pull through and one fine morning we may hope to see him here again restored to full youthful health.

The third volume[a] has lain fallow for the last three months in consequence of various unavoidable circumstances, and as the summer season is always a very idle time, I am afraid I shall not be able to do much at it before September or October. The section on Banks and Credit offers considerable difficulties. The leading principles are announced clearly enough, but the whole context is such that it presupposes the reader to be well acquainted with the chief works of literature on the subject such as Tooke[b] and Fullerton,[c] and as this is not the case generally, it will require a deal of explanatory notes, etc.

By the way I have a second copy of Fullerton's *Regulation of Currencies*, the chief work on the question; if you have not got the book I shall be most happy if you will allow me to send it to you.

The last section 'on rent of land' will, as far as I recollect, require but formal revision, so that, the Bank and Credit section once finished (it is 1/3 of the whole), the last third (Rent, and the different classes of revenue) will not take long. But as this crowning volume is such a splendid and totally unanswerable work, I consider myself bound to bring it out in a shape in which the whole line of argument stands forth clearly and in bold relief. And with the state of this Ms.—a mere first sketch, often interrupted, and left incomplete—that is not so very easy.

I am trying to make arrangements to have two competent gentlemen[d] to copy out for me the elements of the fourth volume from the Ms. which my eyes will hardly allow me to dictate. If I succeed in this, I shall also have trained them to the deciphering of these manuscripts which at present are a sealed book to everyone except myself who am used to the handwriting and abbreviations, and thus the author's[e] other manuscripts will remain available, quite independent of my life and death. I expect that these arrangements too may be concluded this next autumn.

Yours very faithfully
P. W. Rosher[39]

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] T. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle: the Connection of the Currency with Prices, and the Expediency of a Separation of Issue from Banking* – [c] J. Fullerton, *On the Regulation of Currencies; Being an Examination of the Principles, on which it is Proposed to Restrict, within Certain Fixed Limits, the Future Issues on Credit of the Bank of England, and of the Other Banking Establishments Throughout the Country* – [d] Kautsky and Bernstein – [e] Marx

The English translator of the greater part of Volume I Mr Moore[2] has just left for Africa, having been appointed Chief Justice of the Territories of the Niger Company. Thus the 3rd volume will be translated, in part at least, at the banks of the Niger!

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 July 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I quite appreciate that a congress consisting of delegates from an association should hold private meetings for the discussion of matters that concern no one but its members and, indeed, this would as a rule be obligatory. But that a congress of working-class and Socialist delegates, convened in order to discuss general questions such as the 8 hours' day, legislation on female and child labour, the abolition of standing armies, etc.,—that such a congress should close its doors to the public and deliberate in camera, strikes me as unjustifiable. The presence or otherwise of the Parisian public is of little moment, although the interest your Party must take in the said congress should certainly suffice to ensure it some sort of audience. But even if the usual nincompoops were to be conspicuous by their absence, the public meetings would, I opine, be none the worse. What we need is some reaction from the press, and for that to happen, publicity is essential. The press can only write about those things to which it is admitted. And the evening meetings devoted to oratory, in which French is obligatory as the only language the public understands, will hold out few charms for delegates who cannot speak it. After a lengthy afternoon or morning session they will want to look round Paris

rather than listen to incomprehensible speeches. Not that this should prevent you from holding one or two evening meetings in a large hall, but to close the doors for fear of it's being said that the hall was half empty is to attach, I should say, an exaggerated importance to the Parisian public. The congress is being held for the benefit of the world at large, a fact which the absence or otherwise of a handful of Parisians does nothing to alter. You, who are for ever saying that the Possibilists carry no weight, and that it is you who represent the French proletariat, now tremble lest they may have a bigger audience than yourselves!

For that matter, Bebel has written[a] saying that, *for them*, there can be no question of closed meetings and that, so far as the Germans are concerned, publicity is the only guarantee against renewed accusations of being a secret society. In the face of that argument, lesser considerations relating to the Parisian public and its possible abstention will probably have to go by the board.

He further says that 60 German delegates will probably be coming. In Germany, enthusiasm seems to be boundless.

The Social Democratic Federation is well and truly in the shit. And who do you think has come to the rescue? Poor H. Jung, who this week declares in a letter[b] that our congress is of no consequence whatsoever, that it's a HAPPY FAMILY of enemies, that Longuet is not a Socialist, that Jaclard is not a Socialist, that Liebknecht voted for Bismarck's colonial policy (which is a lie), etc. Poor fellows, they are at their wits' end.

You doubtless know that Ferdinand D. Nieuwenhuis is going to propose a merger 'in view of the fact that the agenda is the same for both congresses'. Since the agenda is not the same, I cannot see that anyone can vote for this motion. At all events I have written to Bebel,[470] pointing out that things are no longer at the stage they had reached at the Hague[385]; that since that time you have been authorised by them to convene your congress; that this was supported by the whole of Socialist Europe and that, in consequence, you were entitled to lay down new conditions for a possible merger; that the mania for unity may force the unionists to adopt a course ultimately leading to union with their enemies and separation from their friends and allies; and, finally, that there will be a host of minor difficulties. Indeed, in my opinion, there

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[a] Bebel to Engels, 2 July 1889 – [b] H. Jung, 'To the Editor of *Justice*', *Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 286, 6 July 1889

will not be the slightest chance of a useful merger unless detailed conditions are hammered out between committees from both congresses, and are agreed by the latter. Otherwise the union will not last for more than a couple of hours. And if a solution is to be reached, time will be needed, which means that the merger, if it happens at all, could not be effected until things are nearly over.

Your article went off to Russia yesterday, REGISTERED.

What you tell me about the wine-growers of Champagne[471] is extremely interesting—the ruination of the peasant is now gathering speed, thanks to advanced capitalism!

It is most fortunate that Liebknecht should be staying with Vaillant; I have strong suspicions that he will make another attempt to join forces with the 'good elements' among the Possibilists, going 'over Brousse's head', as in March and April.

A kiss to Laura from myself and Nim.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 9 July 1889

Dear Friend,

When I read your letter of 7 June I could only conclude that you might, perhaps, no longer be at liberty by the time my answer arrived. Rather than allow my letter to fall into the wrong hands and in the end

cause you further harm, I preferred not to write at all. Your letter of the 6th inst.[472] has reassured me on that score.

The harsh blow that fate has, I'm sure, quite *undeservedly* dealt you has aroused my most heartfelt sympathy. You must allow me, at this moment when the whole of your life lies in ruins, to send you a further small loan in the shape of the enclosed money order for five pounds sterling.

As things are *now*, I certainly believe that your family is right about Buenos Aires and that you ought to put this plan into operation at once.

But circumstances being what they are at present, the slightest, albeit involuntary, indiscretion on my part might prove harmful to you. The post is not to be relied on anywhere, so I would prefer to say nothing more until we can again correspond in complete safety.

With my sincere sympathy

Yours ever,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 15 July 1889

My dear Sir,

Excuse my ridiculous oversight in not giving you the address of Mr Lafargue.

It is

P. Lafargue
60 Avenue des Champs Elysées
Le Perreux
Seine—France.

The book—and the other important one on the same question by Tooke,[a] of which too I happen to have a doublette, will be sent to you tomorrow.

Yours very truly
P. W. Rosher[39]

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 17 July 1889

Dear Sorge,

Our congress is in session[473] and proving a brilliant success. By the day before yesterday 358 delegates had arrived and more are on their way. About half are foreigners, 81 of them being Germans from all the larger and smaller states and provinces excepting only Posen. On the first day the first hall was found to be too small, on the second day the second,

[a] T. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle* ... J. Fullerton, *On the Regulation of Currencies* ...

whereupon a search was made for a third. The sessions, despite various objections on the part of the French (they thought that the Possibilists would attract larger audiences in Paris and that it would therefore be preferable to meet in camera), are all being held in public—the only safeguard against *mouchards*[a]—at the unanimous request of the Germans. All Europe is represented. The *Sozialdemokrat* will be informing America of the numbers by the next post. For the first time Scottish and German miners from the colliery districts are foregathering there for joint discussions.[474]

The Possibilists have 80 foreigners (42 British, of whom 15 are from the Social Democratic Federation and 17 from the Trades Unions), 7 Austro-Hungarians (obviously little more than eyewash, this, since the whole of the genuine movement over there is on our side), 7 Spaniards, 7 Italians (3 representing Italian societies *abroad*), 7 Belgians, 4 Americans (2 of whom, Bowen and Georgei from Washington, DC,[b] visited me), 2 Portuguese, 1 Swiss (*nommé par lui-même*[c]), 1 Pole. Almost all of them are Trades Unionists. Besides these there are 477 Frenchmen who, however, represent only 136 *chambres syndicales*[d] and 77 *cercles d'études socialistes*,[e] since each little clique may send 3 delegates, whereas each of our 180 Frenchmen represent *one* particular society.

The eyewash with regards to fusion is, of course, much in evidence at both congresses; the foreigners want fusion, but in both cases the French are holding back. Fusion on rational terms is perfectly all right; the eyewash, however, consists in the clamour for fusion *à tout prix*,[f] which some of our own people are raising.

Have just seen in the *Sozialdemokrat* that Liebknecht's motion in favour of fusion has actually been carried by a large majority. What it consists in and whether it signifies genuine fusion based on private negotiations or merely an abstract desire which might lead up to them is not, unfortunately, apparent from the report. The easy-going nature of the Germans is above such trifles, but the fact that the French have accepted it is sufficient guarantee, so far as I'm concerned, that no disgrace will be incurred vis-à-vis the Possibilists. I shan't know more until after the post has left, probably not until tomorrow.

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[a] police spies – [b] Probably delegates of the German Workers' Club in Washington – [c] nominated by himself – [d] trade union chambers – [e] socialist study groups – [f] at any cost

In any case you'll no doubt hear the essentials as soon as I shall, for the Avelings have made arrangements regarding cabling with the *New York Herald*'s man in Paris. Today I shall send you Saturday's *Reynolds*[a] and Monday's *Star*—which contain everything of any importance to have appeared in the press over here up till now. More on Saturday.

At all events the intrigues resorted to by the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation in order that they might worm their way into the leading position in France and England respectively have proved a total failure and their pretensions to the international leadership still more so. If the two congresses, one alongside the other, merely fulfil the purpose of deploying their forces—Possibilists and London intriguers here, European socialists (who, thanks to the former, figure as *Marxists*), there—so that the world may see where the genuine movement is concentrated and where the bogus, that will be enough. Obviously any real fusion, supposing it came, would do nothing whatever to stop the squabbles continuing in England and France—quite the contrary. It would merely mean an imposing demonstration for the benefit of the great bourgeois public, a working men's congress more than 900 strong, ranging from representatives of the most docile Trades Unions to the most revolutionary communists. And it would put an end once and for all to the machinations of the intriguers at subsequent congresses, for they have now seen where the real power lies, they have seen that we are a match for them in France and their superiors throughout the Continent and that their position in England is also very precarious.

I have received Schlüter's letter and shall answer it shortly.[475] I trust his business is doing well and that the American climate suits his wife.

Warm regards to your wife. Schorlemmer arrives this evening. Adler[b] of Vienna is coming over here next week from Paris.

Your

F. E.

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

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[a] *Reynolds Newspaper* – [b] Victor Adler

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

IN MOUNT DESERT

London, 20 July 1889

Dear Sorge,

In my last letter I forgot to ask you if possible to question Hartmann about the article in the *Evening News and Post*. If you could get him to write a brief note in his own hand to the effect that the story is false and that he has not been to Europe, it would be important for us over here.[476] Because,

1. Bismarck is trying to make the Tsar[a] beholden to him by revealing alleged plots against his (the Tsar's) life.

2. Hitherto these have been going on in Switzerland, but now that the Swiss have expelled all potential plotters, operations must be transferred to London.

3. This end is being served by the *mouchard*[b] Carl Theodor Reuss, who had already, on a previous occasion, used the *Evening News* as a repository for his lying allegations with regard to dynamite.

4. This latest Reussiad was telegraphed *from Berlin* to all German newspapers.

If we can expose this business outright, there'll be a nice rumpus over here.

Yours of the 7th inst. received yesterday evening.[477] I don't demand any particular satisfaction of Wischnewetzky for his failure to visit me.— It didn't grieve me. So if he eats *humble pie* vis-à-vis *yourself*, that will suit me. I did not call on his wife,[c] whereat she took umbrage, which was why *he* failed to visit me, so that makes us quits. If these people view the matter in a similar light, I shall be content. Obviously if they demand *more*, I shan't be able to oblige them. But as I have business matters to settle with his wife, it's always best to be at least *on speaking terms*; I'll be in no hurry to let them revert to anything more intimate, now that I know as much about them as you do. They're a couple of conceited fools.

Pop! The bubble of reconciliation has burst in Paris. How fortunate

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[a] Alexander III – [b] police spy – [c] See this volume, p.223

that the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation, having rightly understood their position, should have preferred to deal our people a kick, thereby bringing the silly business to an end. That the thing had been prepared *de longue main*[a] is evident from the whole series of now comprehensible manoeuvres and utterances on the part of these gentry over the past 2 months. It is the old Bakuninist libel against the Hague Congress,[453] etc., to the effect that we had always operated with false credentials.[478] This libel, which Brousse has been raking up off and on ever since 1883, was bound to come to the fore again on the present occasion, once they saw that they had been abandoned by all the socialists and that they could only save themselves with the help of the Trades Unions. The nature of *their* credentials will doubtless be revealed in the course of the furious polemic that is now flaring up. Unfortunately this old rubbish cuts no more ice today than it did back in 1873[455]; but something had to be found to cover up the fact that they have been utterly disgraced. However it's just as well that our sentimental brethren, the advocates of reconciliation, received a savage kick on the backside in return for all their assurances of friendship. That will doubtless cure them for some time to come.

I shan't be able to send you any more papers until the next post (weeklies which Aveling writes for but which won't come out until this evening and tomorrow); I have not had a single letter from Paris since Tuesday.

As regards Lingenau,[479] congratulations on the sum extracted. Liebknecht alone was at fault here; Bebel is methodical and precise in such matters. No doubt Mount Desert will do you good; I too shall make for the water before long.

Warm regards to your wife and the Schlüters.

Your

F. E.

Schorlemmer has been here since the day before yesterday and sends you both his best wishes.

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

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[a] well in advance

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 20 July 1889

My dear friend Martignetti,

All I can say in reply to your letter of the 14th inst. is that my funds are only limited and, furthermore, that there are calls on them from a great many quarters. Hence, if your Buenos Aires plan goes ahead, I cannot possibly assume the responsibility of guaranteeing your livelihood until such time as you are able to lay the foundations of a new livelihood yourself. I will tell you quite candidly what more I can do. I can place another five pounds sterling at your disposal and, should something *very important* be at stake, shall try and send you another five, i.e. *ten* pounds *in all*. That, however, would in fact exhaust my funds for a long time to come and render it impossible for me to do anything further for you.

I hope you will be justly treated by the court of appeal and remain

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO VALERIAN SMIRNOV

IN LONDON

London, 25 July 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Citizen,

I have just received a letter from Brocher[480] enclosing the one you had written him and asking me on your behalf for a loan of £20. As I am not used to reading Russian handwriting, I was not really able to decipher enough of your letter to find out exactly what is involved. But however that may be I have to tell you with infinite regret that it is out of the question for me to advance the sum for which you ask. My expenditure has of late been quite extraordinary as a result of my having to help numerous personal and political friends and then, to compound matters, there has been the congress,[473] which has necessitated my making further advances of all kinds, so that I am now completely cleaned out. Having been asked by Brocher to let you have an immediate reply, I am losing no time in so doing, and am sorry that I am not able to give you a more favourable answer.

Yours very sincerely,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

IN MOUNT DESERT

Eastbourne, 17 August 1889
4, Cavendish Place

Dear Sorge,

Letters of 1 August received.[481] So we are both taking a summer holiday—a summer of which the main feature over here is plenty of nice fresh rain.

I can't send any papers, since these are forwarded to me only at very irregular intervals from London. Just the *Labour Elector*, a paper which is now assuming some importance. It was started by Champion in opposition to Hyndman, but kept afloat with suspect funds (from a Liberal-Unionist quarter[482]), and hence was egregiously pro-Tory and inanely anti-Irish, so that one had to be very wary of it; but because it was suspect and already so notoriously Tory-Socialist[483] people stopped buying the thing. This, however, brought about a revolution. The Tory funds would seem to have run out and thus Champion—*au fond*[a] a no less unreliable bloke than Hyndman—found himself forced to do something he had long resisted, namely accept the terms offered by a committee—Burns, Bateman (typographer), Mann (engineer), Cunninghame-Graham—whereby the said committee became proprietor of the paper and Champion its temporary editor. The names of the committee members are a guarantee that all association with other parties and their funds has been broken off, and the paper, which is clearly on the up and up, is said to be almost paying its way. The Tory and anti-Irish nonsense has ceased, while the paper has done us yeoman service in the matter of the congress.[473]

The plan of Hyndman and Co's gang was to cast doubt on the credentials—which they alleged to be false—of the Marxist congress. Hence their unacceptable terms for fusion. The same old Bakuninist tactics as of yore, but specially adapted for English consumption. That it wouldn't

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[a] at bottom

be much of a catch on the Continent was plain, but all one to them; provided it caught on here in England, their position would, for a time, be secure—and here all the odds were in their favour. But our vigorous offensive brought the business to an abrupt conclusion—Burns' article[a] and mine[b] (on the Austrian credentials) in the *Labour Elector* have, I think, robbed them of all desire to cast doubt on other people's credentials, an activity in which the Possibilists themselves have recently indulged to such good purpose as to leave small scope for anyone else.

There is now some prospect that a viable socialist organisation may be formed here which will gradually undermine the Social Democratic Federation[62] or else absorb it. Nothing can be done with the League;[21] they're just a bunch of anarchists and Morris is their lay figure. The idea is to agitate for an eight hour day among the democratic and radical clubs[22]—our recruiting grounds here—and the Trades Unions, and to organise the May the First 1890 demonstration. Since the latter was decided upon at *our* congress, the Social Democratic Federation must either adhere to it—i.e. submit to *our* resolutions—or oppose it and thus commit suicide. As you can see from the *Labour Elector*, the movement is at last taking hold amongst the Trades Unions[484], and the star of Broadhurst, Shipton and Co. would seem to be rapidly on the wane. By next spring we shall, I believe, have made considerable progress.

Russian jiggery-pokery continues amain. First the Armenian atrocities, followed by others on the Serbian border. Next, for the benefit of the Serbs, magic lantern slides of the Greater Serbian Empire, and hints about the necessity of a Serbian military convention with Russia. And now the Cretan fracas which began, strangely enough, with internecine carnage among the Cretan Christians, until the Russian consul contrived to get them to sink their differences and massacre the Turks. And the stupid Turkish government goes and sends Shakir Pasha to Crete, a man who spent 8 years as Turkish ambassador to Petersburg and, while there, was bought by the Russians! The whole of this Cretan affair was intended, amongst other things, to prevent the British concluding an alliance with the Prussians.[485] That is why it was launched when William came over here[c]—so that Gladstone could return to his hobby of phil-

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[a] J. Burns, 'The Paris International Congress', *The Labour Elector*, 3 August 1889 – [b] F. Engels, 'Possibilist Credentials' – [c] William II stayed in England from 2 to 8 August 1889

hellenism and the liberals wax enthusiastic about the Cretan sheep stealers. Little Willie wanted to be 'one up' on the Russians, wangle Crete for the Greeks as a dowry for his sister[a] and, by the magic of his presence, induce the Sultan[b] to abdicate. But once again the Russians have shown him that, by comparison with them, he is but a babe in arms. If Greece gets Crete, it will be by the grace of *Russia*.

Thanks for the news about Hartmann. I'd very much like to have further details as I want to put paid to this Prussian pack of lies in the *Evening News*.[476]

It's very sensible of your son[c] to want to find a post. I only wish my Rosher nephew[d] could also be persuaded to do so. These young gentlemen imagine the whole world's made of money and that we old folk are simply too stupid to pick the stuff up. By the time they have learnt how things really are it will have cost a fortune.

Warm regards to you and your wife. Schorlemmer left here on Wednesday for Germany.

Your

F. E.

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[a] Princess Sophia of Prussia, who was engaged to the Crown Prince of Greece in October 1889 – [b] Abdul Hamid II – [c] Adolf Sorge – [d] Percy Rosher

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

Eastbourne, 17 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Liebknecht,

I have put off answering your letter of 19.4 until after the congress because there seemed to be no prospect of agreement beforehand; the fact is that our ways were utterly divergent. And even now I shall make no mention of your attempts to foist your sins of omission on to other people.

You say: 'Your complaint that, even in the matter of the congress, I was "as usual" prevented by "unforeseen circumstances" from carrying out my duty, is more than merely blunt; it is downright insulting.'

You can only make an insult of my words if you distort their meaning, turning something passive—that it is the usual thing for such and such to happen to you,—into something active—that you deliberately make a habit of such and such. You thereby turn a complaint of weakness into a complaint of wilfulness and there you have your insult ready-made.

But you must yourself by now have noticed that you very often happen not to be at home when someone wants to keep you to your word or to make a quite common or garden request. What about the Aveling business in America?[3] At the beginning, while the turpitude of the New York Executive was still fresh in your mind, you wrote:

'The New Yorkers owe Aveling an apology; I shall demand one of them and, if they dig their heels in, shall come out publicly against them.'

But later on, when it came to doing as you had said, it was a different matter: You sent a statement that was neither one thing nor the other, and did Aveling no good and the New Yorkers no harm,—unforeseen circumstances! And it was only gentle pressure from me that induced you to make a statement containing at least part of what you had promised.

Even in your letter of 19.4. you can't help providing fresh proof. Under the aegis of your name as editor, your son-in-law[a] brings out a series of books. You, knowing what he's like, entrust him with the selection, the editing—in short, the entire management of the thing. The

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[a] Bruno Geiser

inevitable happens. There appears, *under your name*, a trashy work by a more than dubious scoundrel, a really vile concoction in which the said ignorant scoundrel presumes to improve on Marx.[400] This vile concoction is recommended to German working men as instructive reading along party lines by the appearance on the title page of *your name* as editor. That such a vile concoction should be published somewhere or other is, of course, a matter of complete indifference, nor would it be worthy of mention. But that it should be published by *you*, under *your* sponsorship, as having been sanctioned and recommended *by you* (for what else does the appearance of your name on it signify?)—that is what's intolerable. Of course your son-in-law pulled the wool over your eyes—you'd never have done it deliberately. But now, when it's your bounden duty to rid yourself of the said vile concoction, to declare that you have been scandalously imposed upon and that not so much as one more sheet of it will appear under your name—what happens? You devote an entire page of your letter to the unforeseen circumstances that prevent you from doing so.

Why then the moral indignation over my having for once called this habit of yours by its proper name? Anyhow, I'm not the only person to have remarked on it. And if anyone has been insulted on this occasion it is I rather than you.

If you have taken any further steps in the Schlesinger affair, I for one have heard nothing of it. But one thing I do know: if you put a stop to the publication of Schlesinger's vile concoction, I shall be able to let the matter rest at that. But should a sequel or conclusion appear *under your name* I shall owe it to Marx to make a public protest. I trust you will not let things go as far as that, for I feel sure that this changeling that has been foisted onto you is altogether more than you can stomach. And as, no doubt, you yourself realise, Mr Geiser cannot be allowed to sell for a mess of potage the position you have attained in the party, the fruit of forty years' labour.

I have been here a fortnight and shall probably stay on through the first week in September—in the same house I was in when you left for America.[486]

Warm regards,

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN[487]

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 22 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Ede,

Who is Paul Fischer? He wishes to translate my old article in *Progress*[488] for the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*. Since I should have to do some notes for it and thus appear as an actual contributor to the *Volks-Tribüne*, I have my reservations which, having sent a non committal answer, I shall keep in abeyance until my return.

In your next number[a] you ought to deal with the dock labourers' strike.[489] The matter is one of crucial importance so far as this country is concerned. Hitherto the East End had been in a state of poverty-stricken stagnation, its hallmark being the apathy of men whose spirit had been broken by hunger, and who had abandoned all hope. Anyone who found himself there was lost, physically and morally. Then, last year, there came the victorious strike of the match-girls.[490] And now, this gigantic strike of the most demoralised elements of the lot, the dock labourers, not the regular, strong, experienced, relatively well-paid men in steady employment, but those who have happened to land up in dock-land, the Jonahs who have suffered shipwreck in all other spheres, starvelings by trade, a welter of broken lives heading straight for utter ruin and for whom Dante's words, *'lasciate ogni speranza, voi che' entrate'*[b] might be written up on the dock gates!

And this dully despairing mass of humanity who, every morning when the dock gates are opened, literally fight pitched battles to be first to reach the chap who signs them on—literal battles in the competitive struggle of the redundant workers amongst themselves—that mass, haphazardly thrown together and changing every day, has successfully combined to form a band 40,000 strong, maintain discipline and inspire fear in the powerful dock companies. It is something I am glad that I have lived to see. For *this* stratum to be capable of organisation is a fact

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[a] of *Der Sozialdemokrat* – [b] 'Abandon hope, all ye who enter here.' Dante, *Inferno*, III, 9

of great significance. Whatever the outcome of the strike may be—and I'm never sanguine about such matters before the event—it means that, with the dockers, the lowest stratum of East End working men has entered the movement and that the higher strata are bound to follow suit. The East End has a greater number of ordinary labourers, those whose work requires little or no skill, than anywhere else in England. The organisation of these strata of the London proletariat, hitherto treated with contempt by the Trades Unions of skilled working men, will set an example for the provinces.

And there's more to it than that. Because of the lack of organisation and the passively vegetable existence of the real East End workers, the lumpen proletariat has hitherto had last say there, purporting, and indeed being *held*, to be the prototype and representative of the million starvelings in the East End. That will now cease. The hawker and his ilk will be pushed into the background, the East End working men will be able to develop a prototype of their own and so organise themselves as to assert it, and this will be of enormous value to the movement. Scenes such as took place during Hyndman's procession along Pall Mall and Piccadilly[491] will no longer be possible; a ne'er-do-well who tried to go on the rampage would simply be put down.

In short, it is an event. And just look how even the abject *Daily News* is covering the affair![a] That alone shows what a tremendous impact it has made. It's just like the miners' strike at home[435]—a new stratum is coming into the movement, a new army corps. And your bourgeois who, only 5 years ago, would have been cursing and fuming, now finds himself forced to applaud half-heartedly just when, and precisely because, his bowels have turned to water. Hurrah!

What you said about parliamentarianism and its decline in your article on the anarchists[b] is absolutely right. I was delighted.

Here it's so-so—changeable weather—am again somewhat lame as a result of too much walking, and hence *teetotal*, whatever Julius[c] may say—but I'm not allowed tea in the evenings because of my nerves, and therefore I *do* take a glass of beer instead—on *teetotal* grounds!

Regards to your wife and children and all our friends.

Your

F. E.

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[a] *Daily News*, 20 August 1889 – [b] E. Bernstein, 'Anarchistische Phraseologie', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 34, 24 August 1889 – [c] Probably Julius Motteler

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Eastbourne, 22 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Hermann,

The statement of account received with thanks; no doubt it will be correct.

Would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed note to young or now, I suppose, old Caspar[a]—I don't know whether he lives in Krefeld or Barmen. As I learn from R. Blank, whom I ran into here a week ago, things aren't going too well with those chaps; if so, I am sorry.

I have been here a fortnight but am, alas, having more rain than I can do with. Ever since the English have begun holding their naval manoeuvres in August, the weather during that month has been truly atrocious and yesterday the words of the old song came true here:

> On *21 August*, just gone by,
> *In storm and rain* there came a spy,
> Who tidings to the prince did give, etc.[492]

In consequence of which three big warships sailed past this morning, but we still await the famous naval battle which is to take place in the Channel, before our very eyes.

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[a] Caspar Engels

I shall probably be staying here another fortnight or three weeks, if the rain isn't too bad, for

'Back to my home I cannot go',

the place being full of whitewashers, paperers, painters and other workmen, who make three-quarters of the rooms uninhabitable and, once they're in the house, you never know when you'll be rid of them again. This is because in England large-scale industry has ruined the crafts but has not been able to find anything else to put in their place. For a long time now the Germans have not had the sole prerogative of providing shoddy wares in return for good money; the Londoners have a positively stunning aptitude for this. In America, however, it's altogether different. So far as ordinary, everyday business dealings are concerned, in which no speculation is involved, America is, I believe, the most reliable country in the world—the only one in which you will still find 'good workmanship'.

I trust you are all well. Much love to Emma[a] and to the children and grandchildren, as well as to the rest of the Engels-kirchen, from

Your old
Friedrich

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[493]

AT LE PERREUX

Eastbourne, 27 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

That letter-writing at the sea-side is well nigh an impossibility, I thought you knew long since. And if, as in my case, a lot of people

[a] Emma Engels

whom I never saw seem to have conspired to overwhelm me with letters, visits, inquiries, requests of all sorts, the impossibility becomes a complete fact. Austrian student-clubs, a Viennese inquirer after 'truth' who wishes to know had he not better devour Hegel (better not, I replied), a Romanian socialist *in propria persona*, an unknown man from Berlin now in London, etc, etc., all have come down at once upon me and all expect to be attended to at once. So, with six people around me in the room whither they are but too often driven by rain, nothing remains for me but to retire from time to time to my bedroom and to turn that into my 'office'.

You had your adventures with Séraphine, Nim had hers with Ellen. Which Ellen having been long suspected by the knowing ones was one morning reported by the doctor to be six months gone in the way all flesh comes into the world and had consequently to leave—about a month before we came here. When we return there will be fresh engagement of someone—perhaps worse.

I am glad Paul is off on his election trip[465] and moreover with funds from his Mamma.[a] Of the three put up for Marseilles, one, perhaps two, may get in; I hope Paul may be one. But anyhow it is a distinct step in advance to have once been put up as candidate for the party, and facilitates further moves; especially with a rising party as ours at this moment undoubtedly is in France, once a candidate generally means always a candidate.

I do hope Boulangism will come to grief next elections. Nothing worse could happen to us than even a *succès d'estime* of that humbug which might prolong, at least, the apparent dilemma: either Boulanger or Ferry—a dilemma which alone gives vitality to either scoundrel. If Boulanger got well thrashed, and his following reduced, more or less, to the Bonapartists, it would prove that this Bonapartist vein in the French character—explicable by the inheritance from the great Revolution—is gradually dying out. And with the elimination of this incident the regular development of French republican evolution would *reprendre son cours*;[b] the Radicals[200] would, in their new incarnation Millerand, gradually discredit themselves as much as in the incarnation Clémenceau, and the better elements among them pass over to us; the Opportunists[199] would lose their last pretext for political existence, that of being at least defenders of the republic against pretenders; the liberties conquered by

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[a]Anna Virginia Armaignac – [b] resume its course

the Socialists would not only be maintained but gradually extended, so that our party would be in a better position for fighting its way than anywhere else on the Continent; and the greatest danger in war would be removed. To believe as the Boulangeo-Blanquists[494] do that by sustaining Boulanger they can get a few seats in Parliament is worthy of these ignorant *purs*[a] who would burn down a village in order to fry a cotelette. It is to be hoped that this experience will do Vaillant good. He knows perfectly what sort of fellows the mass of those Blanquists are, and his delusions as to the work to be got out of such materials must have received a severe shock.

Hyndman's campaign with regard to the discredit to be thrown on the Marxist credentials[478] seems to have utterly broken down. Burns' disclosures[b] were a ready blow, and our further revelations, especially about the Austrian Possibilist credentials,[c] did the rest. These people never know what a glass-house they are living in themselves. And as in France the Possibilists seem to have kept quiet with regard to that point (these fellows are far cleverer than Hyndman and Co—in their small way) there will be no further necessity to follow up the victory unless fresh attempts are made. The whole trick was calculated for the British market, and there it has failed—*cela suffit.*[d] Then there is the resolution about the 1st of May demonstration. That is the best thing our Congress did. That will tell immensely here in England, and the Hyndman lot *dare not oppose it*; if they do, they ruin themselves; if they don't, they must follow in our wake; let them choose.

Another great fact is the Dock Labourers strike.[489] They are as you know the most miserable of all the *misérables*[495] of the East End, the broken down ones of all trades, the lowest stratum above the *Lumpenproletariat.* That these poor famished broken-down creatures who bodily fight amongst each other every morning for admission to work, should organise for resistance, turn out 40-50,000 strong, draw after them into the strike all and every trade of the East End in any way connected with shipping, hold out above a week, and terrify the wealthy and powerful Dock Companies—that is a revival I am proud *erlebt zu haben.*[e] And they have even bourgeois opinion on their side: the merchants, who suffer severely from this interruption of traffic, do not

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[a] fanatics – [b] J. Burns, 'The Paris International Congress', *The Labour Elector*, 3 August 1889 – [c] F. Engels, 'Possibilist Credentials' – [d] that's enough – [e] to have lived to see

blame the workmen, but the obstinate Dock Companies. So that if they hold out another week they are almost sure of victory.

And all this strike is worked and led by *our* people, by Burns and Mann, and the Hyndmanites are nowhere in it.

My dear Laura, I am almost sure you are in want of some cash and I should have sent a cheque with this if I was not myself hard up. My balance at the bank is at the lowest ebb; a dividend of some £33, due generally about 18th August, has not yet been paid and Edward has borrowed £15 till end of month, as he was quite fast. So I have hardly room to turn round in, but as soon as I receive a supply I shall remit; at latest next Monday, I hope before.

Domela[a] becomes quite incomprehensible. Is he perhaps after all not Jesus Christ, but Jan van Leiden? *la prophète de Meyerbeer*? Vegetarianism and solitary confinement seem apt to produce queer results in the long run.

Edward and Tussy will be going to Dundee to report Trades Union Congress and then we shall get the boys[b] here in the meantime.

Ever yours
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[493]

AT LE PERREUX

[Eastbourne], 1 September 1889
Sunday

My dear Laura,

Yesterday evening late I had news from my bank that the long expected dividend of £36 has been paid in and so I hasten to send you

[a] Nieuwenhuis – [b] Edgar and Jean Longuet

cheque for £30, ten of which are the second half of the money I promised Paul for his electioneering expenses and for which he applied in a letter, to hand here last Friday, from Cette. His prospects in the town seem good but then Cette is but small and the country votes will decide—hope I shall hear more from him in a few days. Let's hope for the best.

Cannot write much being Sunday and our people always in and out, moreover have to write to Tussy about the strike[489] which was in an important crisis yesterday. As the dock directors kept stubborn, our people were led to a very foolish resolution. They had outstripped their means of relief and had to announce that on Saturday no relief could be dealt out to strikers. In order to make this go down—that is the way at least I take it—they declared that if the dock directors had not caved in by Saturday noon, on Monday there would be a general strike—reckoning chiefly on the supposition that the Gas works for want of coal or of workmen or both would come to a stand and London be in darkness—and this threat was to terrify all into submission to the demands of the men.

Now this was playing *va banque*, staking £1000 to win, possibly, £10; it was threatening more than they could carry out; it was creating millions of hungry mouths for no reason but because they had some tens of thousands on hand which they could not feed; it was casting away wilfully all the sympathies of the shopkeepers and even of the great mass of the bourgeoisie who all hated the dock monopolists, but who now would at once turn against the workmen; in fact it was such a declaration of despair and such a desperate game that I wrote to Tussy at once:[406] if this is persisted in, the Dock Companies have only to hold out till Wednesday and they will be victorious.

Fortunately they have thought better of it. Not only has the threat been 'provisionally' withdrawn, but they have even acceded to the demands of the wharfingers (in some respect competitors of the docks), have reduced their demands for an increase of wages, and *this has again been rejected* by the Dock Companies. This I think will secure them the victory. The threat with the general strike will now have a salutary effect, and the generosity of the workmen, both in withdrawing it and in acceding to a compromise, will secure them fresh sympathy and help.

On Friday[a] we shall return to London. Shorlemmer has left about a fortnight ago for Germany, where he is now, what he is doing and what his intentions are, I don't know.

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[a] on 6 September

As to Boulanger his weakness is shown in his electoral proceedings: he takes Paris and leaves to the monarchists all the provinces. That ought to disabuse his most obstinate adherents if they pretend to be Republicans. Paul writes to me that a Marseilles Boulangist has owned to him that Boulanger has had from the Russian government 15 millions. That explains the whole dodge. The Russian dynasty, now allied by Denmark to the Orléans,[496] wishes for an Orléans *restauration* and *one brought about by Russia*; for then the Orléans would be its slaves. And only with a monarchical France can the Czar[a] have a sincere alliance, such as he requires for a long war with dubious chances. To bring this about, Boulanger is put forward as the tool. If he is successful as a stepping stone to monarchy, he will, at the proper time, be bought off or in case of need put out of the way, for the Russian government will not have in that case the scruples which our Socialists have; '*denn die abzumurksen ist uns Wurscht*'[b] is their motto. As to Millerand I believe you are right. In his paper[c] there is, for all its attempted radicalism, a tone of weakness, half-despondency, and above all so much of the milk of human kindness[d] (stale as it is, it has not the stuff in it to turn sour) that compared even with *La Justice* as I have once known that paper, it inspires pity mingled with a drop of contempt. And these be the successors of the old French Republicans, *les fils des héros de la rue Saint-Méry*!

Ever yours
F. E.

Love from Nim and all the lot here.

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[a] Alexander III – [b] 'polishing one off makes no difference to us' – [c] *La Voix* – [d] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act I, Scene V

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 September 1889

My dear Laura,

Today I have the pleasant task of remitting you cheque for £14.6.8, one-third share of Meissner's Remittance of £43,—the account is to follow. A fourth edition of Vol. I[a 497] is impending, maybe before New Year we shall begin printing it.

Tussy was here yesterday with Liebknecht, his son and daughter Gertrud, Singer, Bernstein, Fischer, etc. etc. She is still over head and ears in the strike.[489] The Lord Mayor's,[b] Cardinal Manning's and Bishop of London's[c] proposals were ridiculously in favour of the Dock Companies and had never a chance of acceptance. This is the busiest time; from Christmas to April nearly no work is done at the docks, so that the real purport of delaying the advance to January would have been to delay it till April.

You will have Liebknecht in Paris in about a week, that is if you are there still. And also his wife and one or two more of the family.

Domela[d] and his Dutchmen seem to stick to their new line. Another proof that the little nations can play but a secondary part in Socialist development, while they expect to be allowed to lead. The Belgians will never give up the idea that their central situation and neutrality give them the manifest destiny of being the central seat of the future International. The Swiss are and always were philistines and *petits bourgeois*, the Danes had become the same and it remains to be seen whether Trier, Petersen and Co. can move them on out of this their present stagnation. And now the Dutch begin the same way. None of them can forget and will forget that at Paris the Germans and French led the way, and that they were not allowed to occupy the Congress with their pettifogging troubles. Never mind, there is a greater hope now of French, Germans and English pulling together, and if the little babies get obstreperous, *nous en ferons cadeaux aux possibilistes.*[e]

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[a] of *Capital* – [b] Henry Aaron Isaacs – [c] John Lubbock – [d] Nieuwenhuis – [e] we shall make a present of them to the Possibilists

Liebknecht now is awfully anti-possibilistic, says they have turned out rogues and traitors and it's impossible to act with them. Whereupon I told him we knew that six months ago and told them—him and his party—so but they knew better. He pocketed that in silence. He is not at all as cock-sure of his infallibility as he used to be—at least if otherwise, he does not show it. Otherwise he is personally the opposite of what he is in correspondence—he is the old jovial hail-fellow-well-met Liebknecht.

But I must conclude. I have got the two boys[a] here who were enchanted at little Marcel's[b] letter. They have been to the Zoo and want to write to their *cher papa* and I must clear out from the desk.

Success to Paul in the Cher—I fully expected his fate at Cette, the town being too small not to be outvoted by the 74 hamlets making up the *circonscription*.[c]

Nim's love.

Affectionately yours
F. E.

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

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY[211]

IN VIENNA

London, 15 September 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Kautsky,

I am taking advantage of its being Sunday morning to write you a letter, which I should have done long since—but for interruptions! First

[a] Jean and Edgar Longuet – [b] Marcel Longuet – [c] constituency

the congress[473] and all it entailed, then Eastbourne,[498] whither the aftermath of the congress in the shape of letters of all kinds still pursued me and, on top of that, six persons in one room—reflection or repose impossible. Then back home, only to find Paul[a] and the soldier,[b] not to mention 2 children,[c] here, then the *dock strike*,[489] etc. Today at last a brief respite. Longuet's two sons,[d] who have come to stay, do not disturb me.

We are all of us, Nim, Tussy, Edward and myself, tremendously sorry that your relations with Louise should have ended in so negative a fashion. But there's no help for it. You two alone are competent to judge, and whatever you think is right, the rest of us must accept. But what I don't understand—if I can be said to understand anything at all of this business—is your continual use of the word 'compassion'—that all you now feel for Louise is 'compassion'. Louise has conducted herself throughout with such heroism and such womanliness that we cannot admire her enough. If anyone is to be pitied in this affair, it certainly isn't Louise. And I still maintain you have perpetrated a folly which you will yet live to regret.

As I have already told Adler, this turn in your relations does nothing to alter the proposal I made you in regard to the ms. of Volume IV.[e] The work has got to be done and you and Ede are the only people to whom I can entrust it. The business of the archives[227] has, Paul tells me, likewise now been settled which means, no doubt, that you will be coming over here again this winter, when we can discuss and make a start on what is to be done. Because of the damned congress I've been able to do no work at all on Volume III since February, and even now I am kept from it by the necessity of bringing out a fourth edition of Volume I, which I must attend to first. It's no great task but when one is not allowed to spend more than three hours a day at one's desk, it tends to be rather long-drawn-out. And then we have got two months of perpetual fog and darkness ahead of us.

A correspondent in St Petersburg has informed me that the *Revue du Nord* has published a translation of your *Klassengegensätze in Frankreich* and that this has caused a furore in Russia. When you come over here I shall give you a hint or two as to how you might, perhaps, extract money from Russia for your articles.

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[a] Paul Singer – [b] Wilhelm Liebknecht – [c] Gertrud and Theodor Liebknecht – [d] Jean and Edgar Longuet – [e] of *Capital*. See this volume, p.257

Your articles on the miners in Thuringia[a] are the best you have done so far—a genuine study that deals exhaustively with the main issues and, moreover, aims simply at investigating the facts and not, as in your paper on population[b] or that on the primaeval family,[c] at confirming a preconceived opinion. That is why you have succeeded in producing something substantial. The work throws light on an important part of German history and, though there may be a few minor gaps in the argument, this is of no real moment. Reading it, I realised clearly for the first time (what I had only dimly and vaguely perceived in Soetbeer[d]) the extent to which gold and silver production in Germany (and Hungary, whence precious metals were distributed throughout the West via Germany) provided the final impulse which, between 1470 and 1530, put Germany in the lead economically in Europe, thereby making her the focal point of the first bourgeois revolution, in the religious guise of the so-called Reformation. The *final* impulse in the sense that the guild crafts and the commission trade reached a relatively advanced stage of development, thus turning the scales in Germany's favour rather than in that of Italy, France or England.

Liebknecht has *now* come to see that there's nothing to be done with the Possibilists[19]; when you're talking to him he's not nearly so cocksure as he otherwise tends to be, particularly when he writes. How lucky it was that the Possibilists refused, since a union of the two congresses would have led to fighting and general loss of life and we should have been hugely discredited. The campaign launched by the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation with a view to casting doubts on our people's credentials has failed miserably.[478] Not only were Adler's revelations about the possibilist Austrians[e] (in the *Labour Elector* here) quite devastating, but in this country—and this made an even greater impact over here—the idiots had admitted Burns to the credentials committee, whereupon he mercilessly demolished the credentials of the Social Democratic Federation in the columns of the *Labour Elector*.[f] Hyndman represented 28 people! The entire Federation, alleged to be but 1,925 strong, consists, in fact, of less than half that number!

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[a] 'Die Bergarbeiter und der Bauernkrieg, vornehmlich in Thüringen' – [b] *Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft ...* – [c] *Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie ...* – [d] A. Soetbeer, *Edelmetall-Produktion und Werthverhältniss zwischen Gold und Silber seit der Entdeckung Amerika's bis zur Gegenwart* – [e] F. Engels, 'Possibilist Credentials – [f] J. Burns, 'The Paris International Congress'

The Trades Union Congress[499] was Broadhurst's swan song. Burns, Mann and Bateman, the only people to know the details of the charges against Broadhurst, were tied down here by the Dock Strike, and Broadhurst benefited from it; but the congress was rigged, everything having been done to ensure that only Trades Unionists of the old type attended, as was still feasible on this occasion. Nevertheless, there is every sign that the old is in the process of disintegration.

In Denmark the old party leadership have put their foot in it badly over the matter of the congress, and the opposition, Trier, Petersen, etc., are gaining ground.[418] You ought to engage Trier as correspondent for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*—Gerson Trier, Ahlefeltsgade 16, Copenhagen.

The Dock Strike has been won. It's the greatest event to have taken place in England since the last Reform Bills[500] and marks the beginning of a complete revolution in the East End. The reason for the universal sympathy shown by the press, and even by the philistines, is, 1. Hatred of the monopolistic Dock Companies who, instead of writing off the non existent capital they have squandered, fleece the shipowners, businessmen and workers so as to be able to declare dividends on it; 2. The knowledge *that the Dockers are voters* and need to be cajoled if the 16 to 18 East End M.P.s of Liberal and Conservative complexion wish to be re-elected (which they won't be; this time there'll be Labour M.P.s). What decided the victory was the £14,000 from Australia, whereby the Australian workers will prevent themselves from suddenly being landed with a mass influx of English workers. Burns, Champion, Mann and Tillett have earned their laurels, while the *Social Democratic Federation was nowhere.* The strike is to England what the coalminers' strike[435] was to Germany—it means that a new system, a vast army, has entered the labour movement. If we can now get by without a war, the fun may soon begin.

Guesde is standing for parliament in Marseilles, Lafargue in Saint Amand (Cher).

Kindest regards to Adler.

Your

F. Engels

As I don't know whether you still have your hedgehog's apartment.[a] I am sending this to Adler, whose address is a safe one. Have received

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[a] Engels has 'Igelwohnung', a pun on 'Igelgasse', literally 'Hedgehog Alley', the name of the street where Kautsky lived in Vienna

only Nos 1 and 4 of the *Arbeiter-zeitung*. Is it still in the land of the living? Are you still getting the *Labour Elector*? I'm sending you a copy.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[343]

IN HOBOKEN

[London], 26 September 1889

Thanks for the *Volkszeitung*, etc. I was much tickled by the revolution in a tea-cup you have had over there.[501] May possibly be a turn for the better. The progress of Nemesis is slow but sure and, by a quirk of history, it's the very people who have always relied on the support of the New Yorkers against the bulk of the party, especially that in the West, who are now being overthrown by the New Yorkers.

Haven't heard a word from the Russian.[a] Will return his postcard in my next.[476]

If I'm writing no more than a postcard it's because there's so much work to do. Awaiting me on my return from Eastbourne was the news that a fourth edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, was wanted. Though only a few alterations and additional notes will be needed, they will have to be selected and worked out all the more carefully, and the printed text will require a minute scrutiny in order that no distortion of the sense slips through. Again, the references to Book III will now have to be made more precise.

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[a] Hartmann

The dock strike[489] was magnificent. Tussy was involved and worked like a Trojan and the envy aroused by the position she thus gained is already becoming apparent in sundry quarters. I am sending you Harney's article which was quoted in the *Labour Elector*.[502] The old chap's laid up 12 miles away from here; in August he almost gave up the ghost, but is now better. Lenchen thanks you for the *Kalender*[a] and sends her regards. In France Guesde has a chance of getting in on the second ballot. Unfortunately I have no precise news about the elections. Kindest regards to your wife and to the Schlüters.

Your
F. E.

The *Nationalzeitung* of Boston (Nos 1-5) received with thanks. They're the local '*Fabians*'.[503]

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

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[504]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 October 1889

My dear Lafargue,

So after all ours is the only Party able to register an increase in strength at the elections. Altogether, though our information is by no means complete, we can reckon on 60,000 votes for our candidates, i.e.

[a] *Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalender*

those put forward by the groups represented at our congress[473] and, in addition, 19,000 which may be accounted ours (the candidates being neither Possibilists nor 'Radical Socialists'), but to which we would not venture to lay claim in the absence of further advice.

But how comes it that we over here have been left without any statistical information regarding the elections except for that contained in the bourgeois press, from which we cannot possibly deduce the position of all those unknown candidates? How are we to know how many votes are ours when the papers fail to classify the candidates save in the vaguest possible manner? Yet I should say that it would be very much worth your while to keep German and English Socialists informed about your doings, seeing that you no longer possess a paper through which this might be done. And, as you know, we over here are all of us ready to work in the interests of your Party as, indeed, we have always done to the very best of our ability; but if you French gentlemen will not deign to keep us *au fait* with *las cosas de Francia*,[a] we shall be powerless, and more than one of our number will tire of a task so little appreciated by those for whom it is performed.

So as soon as possible after the poll send us a complete list of Socialist candidates belonging to the groups represented at our congress, as also of other Socialists (if any) who are neither Possibilists nor Radical Socialists, with the number of votes cast for each in both the first and the second ballots. We cannot here run the risk of having our facts contested by men like Hyndman, etc., as is bound to happen if we are again thrown back on our own sources of information.

At the congress you set up a National Council[505] which passed certain resolutions. Not one of you deemed it necessary to breathe a word to us about it; and if I hadn't come upon the thing by chance in the Madrid *Socialista*, it would not have appeared either in the German *Sozialdemokrat* or in the *Labour Elector*—and, what is more, two months after the event.

You yourselves must realise that, by carrying on in this way, you are playing into the hands of the Possibilists and of their friends in this country.

I have written and asked Bebel[506] to send some money for Guesde's election campaign, of the importance of which I am very well aware. I hope it will be voted, but it must be remembered that the Germans have already contributed 500 fr. towards the congress, 1,000 for Saint-

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[a] French affairs

Etienne,[507] 900 for the congress report (the first instalment of which hardly redounds to the credit of those who compiled it and who seem to have gone to undue pains to garble the names),[a] 2,500 for the Swiss paper[b] for which, furthermore, they are holding more than 3,500 fr. in reserve. In all, 8,400 fr. voted for international purposes, and this on the eve of their own general election! And, after all these sacrifices, M. Jaclard goes and gratuitously insults them in the *Voix* by calling them machines who vote to order.[508] As if it was the Germans' fault that the workmen of Paris are Possibilists or Radicadets[327] or Boulangists or nothing at all! It would seem that, in Jaclard's eyes, the Germans' ability to accept a majority vote and to act in concert of itself constitutes an insult to the Parisian gents, and that, if Paris marks time, the rest are forbidden to march on.

But if memory serves me aright, M. Jaclard is a Blanquist for whom Paris is therefore a holy city, Rome and Jerusalem at the same time.

To come back to the elections. If it is true that Guesde and Thivrier stand a chance, and if they are successful, we shall be vastly better placed in the Chamber than the Possibilists.—Baudin appears to be a certainty, then there's Cluseret, Boyer and Baslu,[509] one or the other of whom will succeed and, with four or five such, Guesde could form a group which would not only impress the Chamber and the public, but would also place the Possibilists in a rum sort of position. It was the co-existence in the Reichstag of our deputies and those of the Lassalleans which, more than any other circumstance, brought about a merger between the two groups, i.e. the capitulation of the Lassalleans.[510] In this case, too, our group would be the stronger and would end up by forcing the Dumays and the Joffrins to enter its orbit, so that the Possibilist leaders would have to choose between capitulation and abdication.

For the time being, however, all this is the music of the future.[449] But of one thing you may be sure, and that is that Boulangism is *in extremis*.[c] And to my mind that is something of the utmost significance. This has been the third attack of Bonapartist fever; the first, involving a genuine and great Bonaparte, the second a bogus ditto,[d] the third a man who isn't even a bogus Bonaparte, but simply a bogus hero, bogus general, bogus everything, whose chief attribute has been his black charger. And, even with this charlatan-cum-adventurer, it was a dangerous business—as you

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[a] *Congrès international ouvrier socialiste de Paris (Du 14 Juillet au 21 Juillet 1889)*, Paris, 1889 – [b] *Arbeitstag: Der Achtstündige Arbeitstag* – [c] on its last legs – [d] Louis-Napoleon, subsequently Emperor Napoleon III

know better than I. But the acute stage of the attack, the crisis, is over, and we may hope that the French people will now cease to suffer from such Caesarean fevers—proof that its constitution has grown much more robust than it was in 1848. But the Chamber was elected to combat Boulangism and is suffering the consequences in the shape of an inherently negative character, which leads me to doubt whether it will be capable of reaching its natural term. Unless the majority becomes convinced of the necessity for constitutional revision, it will soon have to be replaced by a new Chamber with a revisionist but anti-Boulangist majority. You, being better acquainted with the elements that make up the new majority, will be able to tell me if I am wrong. But I believe that, had it not been for the Boulangist episode, there would by now already have been a revisionist republican majority, or at any rate a healthy minority.

All this if there is no war. The Portland Place HUMBUG's[a] defeat will at least postpone that but, on the other hand, the amassing of armaments by all the powers will have the reverse effect. And if war does come, then goodbye to the Socialist movement for some time. Everywhere we shall be crushed, disorganised, deprived of elbow-room. France, bound to Russia's chariot wheel, will be unable to move and will have to renounce all revolutionary pretensions for fear of seeing her ally go over to the other camp. With the forces of the two sides pretty well equal, England will be in a position to tip the scales in favour of whichever side she may take. This will hold good for two or three years to come but, if war does break out later, I am willing to wager that the Germans will be beaten hollow for, within three or four years, young William[b] will have replaced all the good generals with his favourites—imbeciles or fake geniuses, like those who commanded the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz,[511] and each with a prescription for military miracles in his pocket. And just now Berlin is swarming with that breed, which has every chance of success since young William belongs to it himself.

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and me. I shall be writing to her soon.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

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[a] Boulanger, who had lived in Portland Place in London – [b] William II

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London,] 3 October 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

On hearing for certain that Guesde was in the second ballot, i.e. a week ago yesterday, I at once sent a most urgent letter to Bebel. What was decided I don't know.[512]

As regards your letter from Paris, I stick as firmly to my opinion concerning your conduct apropos the congress[473] in March and April as you do to yours. So it's useless to bicker over what is past.

As to the Schlesingeriad, I should be *very* happy were you to succeed in ridding yourself of it. Meanwhile you have seen that the affair cannot really be hushed up in that way and have been forced to issue a statement, which pleases me greatly.[513] Had you issued it at once, the two of us would have been spared this unpleasant correspondence. I know as well as you do, and you as well as I, that it was by no means just Kautsky and I who considered it a scandal that your name should have served to shelter a piece such as this by so worthless a fellow.

At all events your statement relieves me of the need to criticise the concoction myself. But the thing will inevitably be singled out, precisely *because* your name has unfortunately found its way onto it and not, what's more, simply as publisher, but as *editor*.

I too regard Guesde's election as highly important. So far as the number of votes is concerned, the elections have turned out very well for us. I estimate that 60,000 votes were certainly cast in favour of ourselves (of those represented at our congress) and a further 18,000 *probably* so. Against this some 43,000 throughout France for the Possibilists. Baudin seems a certainty, also Boyer, Cluseret and Ferroul and besides these there are a few others whose prospects look bright. If Guesde gets in as well, he's the sort of man round whom they would all rally. In which case the Possibilists, Joffrin and Dumay, will be in the same situation as the Lassalleans were in the Reichstag in 1874 and *then*, but *only* then, can there be any question of our having dealings with them, just as we had dealings with the Lassalleans in Germany;[510] and it is a condition of our

success that until that time they should be treated as enemies and belaboured as such, that they should learn to respect the *might* of our people.

At all events Boulangism[137] is done for and will presumably be dealt further blows at the second ballots, unless the fatuous annulment of the poll in Montmartre[514] brings it new supporters, at least in Paris. If the Russians' cash then fails to appear, *le brave général* will have to move from Portland Place to Soho,[a] or rent a couple of rooms from Lessner.

Regards to your wife and Theodor.[b]

Your F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

London, 8 October 1889

My dear Laura,

What a melancholy set our French friends are! Because Paul and Guesde have not succeeded, they seem to despair of everything and Paul thinks the less said about these elections, the better! Why, I consider the result of the elections not a *déroute*[c] but a relative success worth registering both in England and Germany. At the first ballots we had between 60 and 80,000 votes, which is quite enough to show that we are nearly twice as strong as the Possibilists, and while they got but two men[d] (of whom one moribund[e]) elected, we have Baudin, Thivrier, Lachize, and

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[a] then a poor district, where many émigrés lived – [b] Liebknecht's son – [c] defeat – [d] J. B. Dumay and J. F. A. Joffrin – [e] Joffrin

then Cluseret and Ferroul who are bound to cast in their lot with the first three; that makes five to two, and will be sufficient, with proper management, to put the two Possibilists in a very impossible position. But both in England and Germany, the effect will be made, not by the number of seats secured but by the number of *votes given*. So let me ask you to see to it that we get, as soon as possible, say *not later* than Monday morning next, but if possible before, the list of votes cast for our candidates at 1st and 2nd ballots, for the *Labour Elector* and the *Sozialdemokrat*. Surely Paul will not push the *droit à la paresse*[a515] far enough to refuse us that little bit of work.

Of course Guesde's defeat is a misfortune, but then while I thought it necessary to do everything to prevent it, I never believed much in his success, after the 1,445 votes *au premier tour*.[b] What cannot be helped we must put up with. It is a far greater advantage for us to have got rid of Boulanger. Boulanger in France and the Irish question in England are the two great obstacles in our way, the two side-issues which prevent the formation of an independent working men's party. Now Boulanger is smashed up, the road is cleared in France. And at the same time, the monarchist attack on the Republic has failed. That means the gradual passage of monarchism from the ground of practical to that of sentimental, politics, the transfer of Monarchists to Opportunism,[199] the formation of a new Conservative party out of both, and the struggle of that Conservative-Bourgeois-party with the *petits bourgeois* and peasants (Radicals[200]) and the working class; a struggle in which the working-class Socialists will soon get the upper hand of the Radicals, especially after the way they have discredited themselves. I do not expect that everything will pass off in this simple, classical form, but the innate logic of French development is sure to overcome all side-issues and obstacles, especially as both forms of antiquated (not simply bourgeois) reaction—Boulangism and monarchism—have been so well beaten. And all we can ask for is that all these side-issues be removed and that the field be clear for the struggle of the three great sections of the French society: *bourgeois, petits bourgeois et paysans, ouvriers*.[c] And that I think we shall get.

Then Ferry is got rid of and I think Mother Crawford is right when she considers him an obstacle to even his own party.[516] Colonial adventures will no longer bar the way; nor will the formation of the new

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[a] right to idleness – [b] in the first ballot – [c] and peasants, workers

bourgeois party be trammelled by the necessity of respecting the traditions of Ferryism.

Thus I do not despair at all, on the contrary; I see a distinct advance in the result of the elections, *eine sehr bestimmte Klärung der Lage*.[a] Of course you will get Conservative government to begin with; but not what you had, the government of a *distinct set* of the bourgeoisie only. The Opportunists were as much a mere section of the French bourgeoisie as were the *satisfaits*[517] of Louis-Philippe and Guizot: these were the *haute finance*,[b] the others are the set which strives to become the *haute finance*. Now, for the first time, you will get a real government of the *entire* bourgeoisie. In 1849-51, the Rue de Poitiers[518] under Thiers, too, formed a government of the whole bourgeois class, but that was by the truce between the two opposing monarchical parties, and by its very nature *passager*.[c] Now you will get one based upon the despair to upset the republic, upon its recognition as an unavoidable *pis-aller*[d] and therefore a bourgeois government which has the stuff to last until its final smash-up.

It was the splitting-up of the French bourgeoisie into so many sections, fractions and factions which has so often deceived the people. You upset one section, say the *haute finance*, and thought you had upset the whole bourgeoisie; but you merely brought into power another section. There are 1/ the legitimist or generally monarchist landed proprietors, 2/ the old *haute finance* of Louis-Philippe's time, 3/ the second set of *haute finance* of the Second Empire, 4/ the Opportunists[199] who to a great extent have still their fortunes to make, 5/ the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie chiefly of the provinces, who are generally hangers-on, practically, to whatever section happens to be in power, being themselves scattered and without their common centre. Now these all will now have to unite as 'Moderates' and 'Conservatives', will have to drop their old shibboleths and party-cries which divided them, and for the first time act as a bourgeoisie *une et indivisible*.[e] And this *concentration bourgeoise* will be the real meaning of all the *concentrations républicaines et autres*[f] so much talked about of late, and it will be a great progress, leading gradually to a scattering of Radicals and a real concentration of Socialists.

Ouf! Now that's enough on this blessed subject. Tonight I expect

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[a] a very definite clarification of the position – [b] high finance – [c] short-lived – [d] evil – [e] one and indivisible – [f] republican and others

Longuet here and shall cull wisdom from his lips. I am sorry he is beaten as it was a very important personal issue with him.

Of Sam Moore no news since he passed Sierra Leone. Tussy has tried to see his brother, but cannot find him at home. So we don't know whether his family have heard of him.

Nim has raved all the summer about your garden and the vegetables and fruit therein, and I have her special orders to say that she anxiously awaits what she calls her share of the pears, grapes and other good things now about due.

Will you give Paul the enclosed cheque for £20.

Ever your old
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[519]

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 12 October 1889

Herewith as usual the *Labour Elector* and *Commonweal.* The *International Review* is said to have already met its end, thus quickly has Hyndman ruined it by his mismanagement. Bax, however, is in negotiation over another revue[a]; if he acquires it, Aveling will probably be his assistant editor. The revolution in New York[501] gets funnier and funnier; the attempts by Rosenberg & Co. to remain on top *à tout prix*,[b] while amusing, are fortunately doomed to failure. Your exchanges with the nationalists[c] in the *Workmen's Advocate*[520] have gladdened me, firstly

[a] *Time* – [b] at all costs – [c] De Leon and others

because one can recognise old Sorge from 10 miles off and, secondly, because they have once more provided me with *public* proof of your existence.

I don't know whether I wrote and told you that Sam Moore left for Asaba on the Niger (Africa) in June as Chief Justice for the territories of the English Niger Company. I received the first letter from there yesterday; he finds the climate very good and apparently salubrious; the heat is not very great—75° F in the mornings and 81°-83°[a] in the afternoons. Cool, therefore, by comparison with New York. Thus the 3rd volume of *Capital* will probably be translated into English in Africa. I am working on the 4th edition of the 1st volume; the quotations are all having to be revised to conform to the English edition, but it can't be helped. After that I shall buckle down to the 3rd.

Longuet arrived yesterday to fetch his two elder boys,[b] who have been staying with Tussy. As a result of the Opportunists'[199] abstention he polled 800 votes fewer than his opponent. Of our people about 6 were elected, but not, alas, Guesde.[c]

Your
F. E.

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[a] 23.5° and 27-28°C – [b] Jean and Edgar Longuet – [c] See this volume, pp.384-7

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 October 1889

My dear Laura,

Many thanks from Nim and myself for the splendid box of pears which arrived in capital condition and into which we have already eaten a considerable hole. I stick to my American habit[a] of eating fruit every morning before breakfast and so you may imagine that the rate of disappearance of the produce of your garden is anything but slow. Tussy and Pumps, too, will claim their shares—in fact they are already set apart.

Since the Dock Strike[489] Tussy has become quite an East-Ender, organising Trades Unions and supporting strikes—last Sunday we did not see her at all, as she had to speechify both morning and night. These new Trades Unions of unskilled men and women are totally different from the old organisations of the working-class aristocracy and cannot fall into the same conservative ways; they are too poor, too shaky, too much composed of unstable elements, for anyone of these unskilled people may change his trade any day. And they are organised under quite different circumstances—all the leading men and women are Socialists and Socialist agitators too. In them I see the *real* beginning of the movement here.

The Federation[62] is for the moment played out—the violent attacks of *Justice* on Champion, Burns, etc., have suddenly ceased, there is instead a sort of hidden, *verschämtes*[b] sighing for some sort of universal brotherhood—the last report of the French elections[521] for instance gives *our* results too, and without any nasty allusions or remarks; it looks as if the rank and file had become rebellious. If our lot here—I mean Champion especially—don't make mistakes, they will soon have it all their own way. But I confess I cannot get myself to have full confidence in that man—he is too dodgy. He used to go to Church congresses and preach

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[a] An allusion to Engels' sojourn in America in August and September 1888 – [b] shamefaced

Socialism there, and now he has formed a Committee for organising the East End women with a lot of middle class philanthropists who held a meeting with the bishop of Bedford in the chair—and of course from this business they took good care to exclude Tussy! Now I don't like that, and if they go on that way I shall soon leave them alone. Burns is too fond of popularity to be able to resist such things and goes in with Champion—if I once see him alone, I shall speak to him.

Longuet told us you had said you were coming over at Christmas. We shall be very glad to see you here and have everything comfortable for you, unless you prefer coming in the better season, as you said to Nim you would do next time. But then what *is* the better season here? After the exceptionally fine summer we had (and are having, for it is a regular *rheinischer Altweibersommer*[a] now) perhaps we are in for a whole year's rain!

Sam Moore has arrived at Asaba and has sentenced, as soon as he put his foot ashore in Africa, a Nigger Captain of a Steamer to 9 months hard labour for attempted rape. He says the climate is very fine, 23°C in the morning, 26-29° at 3 in the afternoon (in July and August!) and to all appearance healthy. Fuller news we are promised, but alas, between Akassa and Asaba (both on the Niger) there seems to be no regular mail, and the post-mark of Akassa is the stamp of the Niger Co. with the date filled in in ink!

Love from Nim.

Ever yours
F. E.

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[a] Rhenish Indian summer

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

IN BERLIN

London, 17 October 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Schmidt,

Your work,[a] which you kindly sent me and for which I am most grateful, has brought us so much closer together that I no longer can bring myself to address you in the ceremonious style required by custom and, if you would like to oblige me, perhaps you would treat me similarly.

Even though I cannot actually say that you have solved the problem under discussion,[298] your own line of reasoning coincides with that of Volume III of *Capital* at many, and indeed, at important, points, and does so in such a way that the reading of Volume III will give you quite exceptional pleasure. For obvious reasons I am barred from making a detailed criticism of your work just at present; this will be done in the preface to Volume III[b], when it will give me particular satisfaction to accord your work the full recognition that is its due. So until then, perhaps you will be patient. This much however is now quite certain—that your work has secured you a place in economic literature that must be the envy of all the worthy professors.

The work has been a source of particular pleasure to me personally in one further respect, namely by showing that we now have someone else who can think theoretically. Among the younger generation in Germany there are remarkably few who are capable of doing so. Bebel, who has a fine theoretical brain, is prevented by his practical party work from exercising this, the best of his attributes, other than in the application of theory to practical cases. Consequently there have hitherto been only Bernstein and Kautsky, though in Bernstein's case far too much of his time is taken up by practical activities for him to be able to participate in, and further his knowledge of, the theoretical side as much as he would no doubt like and be capable of doing. And there is, after all, so

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[a]Schmidt, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes* – [b] See present edition, Vol. 37

much still to be done here in the way of theory, especially in the field of economic history and its links with political history, as with the history of law, religion, literature and civilisation generally where the only sure guide through the labyrinth of facts is a clear theoretical insight. So you can imagine how I patted myself on the back for finding a new collaborator.

It's a very good thing that you should be re-editing Knapp's *Bauernbefreiung* for the *Neue Zeit*. Excellent material for this task is provided by Wolff's *Schlesische Milliarde* from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 1849, reprinted as No. VI of Volume I of the *Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek*. I shall send it to you in separate sheets enclosed in English newspapers, which would seem to be a pretty safe way. Kautsky will also be glad to have found another capable contributor—he has to accept quite enough trash.

I haven't been able to do a stroke of work on Volume III since February. That damned Paris congress[473] saddled me with such a mess of correspondence to all parts of the globe that everything else had to be pushed into the background. The chaps had everywhere lost their international contacts and as a result hatched up the most incredible schemes—sheer good will and a lack of knowledge of one another, as of things and circumstances, would have given rise to some fine old set-tos and everywhere the chaps would have made enemies of their friends, yet failed to appease their enemies. But luckily that's all over now and I've just had news that a 4th edition of Volume I is needed. And since the English edition[2] has appeared in the meantime and a comparison by Mrs Aveling of each quotation with its original revealed occasional *formal* discrepancies but an even greater number of copyists' and printers' errors in the relevant passages, I cannot possibly allow the 4th edition to appear unless I put these right. All this will take time, after which I shall have the proofs to correct, but in a fortnight or so I shall get back to Volume III and thereafter allow nothing whatever to get in my way. I think I'm past the most difficult bits.

Kindest regards from

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO MAX HILDEBRAND[522]

IN BERLIN

London, 22 October 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your note of the 19th,[523] I made Stirner's acquaintance around the beginning of 1842 in Berlin[191] when he was hobnobbing with E. Meyen, Buhl, Edgar and subsequently Bruno Bauer, etc. It is true that his name was Schmidt; he owed the nickname of Stirner[a] to his remarkably high forehead. He cannot have been hobnobbing with this circle for very long, since he didn't know Marx, who had left Berlin, if my memory is correct, less than a year previously[524] and was much respected by the others. He was, I think, no longer a grammar school master or at any rate ceased to be one shortly afterwards. Apart from the above named, others who used to meet together at that time were a certain von Leitner, an Austrian, K. F. Köppen, who taught at a grammar school and was a special friend of Marx's, Mussak, his colleague, Cornelius, the bookseller who appears in Fritz Reuter's *Festungstid*, Mügge, Dr J. Klein, the dramatist and dramaturgist, a certain Wachenhusen, Dr Zabel, subsequently editor of the *National-Zeitung*, Rutenberg who, however, left for Cologne shortly afterwards to join the first *Rheinische Zeitung*, a certain Waldeck[b] (not the jurist and high court counsellor[c]) and others whose names escape me; there were in fact several groups which would meet and mingle depending on the time and the opportunity. Jungnitz, Szeliga and Faucher did not arrive until after November 1842, the month in which I completed my year of military service and left Berlin. We would meet at Stehely's and, in the evenings, at this or that Bavarian ale-house in Friedrichsstadt[d] or, if we were in funds, at a wineshop in the Poststrasse, which was Köppen's favourite haunt. I knew Stirner well and we were on *Du*[e] terms; he was a good sort, not nearly as bad as he makes himself out to be in his *Einzige*;[f] and

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[a] *Stirn* – forehead in German – [b] Julius Waldeck – [c] Benedikt Waldeck – [d] district in old Berlin – [e] *Du* or thou, the intimate form of address – [f] M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*

with a slight suggestion of pedantry that had clung to him since his teaching days. We discussed Hegelian philosophy a great deal; at that time he had made the discovery that Hegel's logic begins with an error. *Being*, which proves to be *Nothing* and thus becomes the antithesis of itself, cannot be the beginning; the beginning must consist in something which is itself already the immediate, spontaneously evolved unity of Being and Nothing and from which alone that antithesis arises. And this, according to Stirner, was 'It' (*it* snows, *it* rains), something which is and which, at the same time, is Nothing. Later on he seems to have come round to the realisation that there was, after all, nothing in It, any more than in Being and Nothing.

I saw less of Stirner during the latter part of my time in Berlin; no doubt he was even then pursuing the lines of reasoning that resulted in his magnum opus. By the time it came out, our views had already diverged a great deal; the two years I had spent in Manchester had left their mark on me.[525] When, later on in Brussels,[526] Marx and I felt it necessary to join issue with the offshoots of the Hegelian school, we criticised Stirner amongst others—the critique is as bulky as the book itself. The ms.,[a] which has never been published, is still here in my house in so far as it hasn't been eaten by mice.

Stirner enjoyed a revival thanks to Bakunin who, by the way, was also in Berlin at the time and, during Werder's course of lectures on logic (1841-42), sat on the bench in front of me along with four or five other Russians. Proudhon's harmless, purely etymological anarchy (i.e. absence of government) would never have resulted in the present anarchist doctrines had not Bakunin laced it with a good measure of Stirnerian 'rebellion'.[527] As a result the anarchists have themselves become nothing but a collection of '*Unique Ones*', so much so that no two of them can abide one another's company.

For the rest I know nothing about Stirner; I never found out what subsequently befell him, except that Marx told me he had almost literally starved to death; where he got this from, I don't know.

I saw his wife[b] in this country on one occasion; while here she took up with – *ah que j'aime le militaire*![c] – ex-Lieutenant Techow and, if I'm not mistaken, accompanied him to Australia.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* – [b] Marie Stirner-Schmidt – [c] Ooh, I do love soldiers!

If I have time later on I might well write a sketch of that period, which was most interesting in its way.[528]

Yours most respectfully,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO O. A. ELLISSEN

IN EINBECK

London, 22 October 1889
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your circular[529] I regret to inform you that as the papers in my possession have not been sorted for the past 20 years, I cannot possibly search out F. A. Lange's letters—there are only a few—from the pile until I have 3 or 4 weeks' spare time in which to put the whole lot in order. As soon as I have finished the final editing of Volume III of Marx's *Capital*—some time early next year—I must address myself to this task, for it admits of no further delay, whereupon I shall be glad to place the aforementioned letters at your disposal.

You may, of course, publish my letters to Lange in full or in part depending on the circumstances, but in the latter case I would ask you to be good enough to *ensure* that the passages concerned *appear in their full context*.

Yours faithfully,
Fr. Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[274]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 29 October 1889

My dear Laura,

A solemn vote of thanks I have to transmit to you for the fresh batch of pears sent by Edward and consumed, in great part, last Sunday with the port wine. They were splendid, and what was left will be mellow by next Sunday.

The Christmas trip legend[a] was also explained by Edward—that it was little Marcel[b] who caused the misunderstanding in Longuet's brain. Anyhow, whenever you are ready to come, we shall be ready to receive you.

I must have expressed myself rather badly about the impending rule of the French bourgeoisie as a class.[c] I meant that *zunächst*[d] the rank and file of the Royalists and Bonapartists will pass over—gradually—into the ranks of the Moderate Republicans, and forsake, as in 1851, when the mass of the Republicans and Royalists passed over to Bonaparte, such of their leaders as will stick to their old-fashioned party shibboleths. That will mean a strengthening of the Moderate Republicans (though not necessarily of the Ferryist or the Léon Sayist cliques of speculators) but at the same time a cessation, once for all, of the power of the old cry: *La république en danger*.[e 530] Then, and only then, the Radicals[200] can come to the fore as 'Her Majesty's, the Republic's, most faithful opposition', and then you have the real conditions of the rule of the whole bourgeois class, of parliamentarism in full blossom: two parties struggling for the majority and taking in turns the parts of Ins and Outs, of Government and opposition. Here, in England, you have the rule of the whole bourgeois class; but that does not mean that Conservatives and Radicals coalesce; on the contrary, they relieve each other. If things were to take their slow, classical course, then the rise of the Proletarian party *would* no doubt finally force them to coalesce against this new and unparliamentary opposition. But that is not likely to come off; there will be violent accelerations of the development.

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[a] See this volume, p.390 – [b] Marcel Longuet – [c] See this volume, pp.384-7 – [d] to begin with – [e] The Republic is in danger

The progress consists, to my mind in the proof that to fight against the Republic has become hopeless; in the consequent gradual dying out of all anti-Republican parties, which means the participation of all sections of the bourgeoisie in the government—as Ins, or as Outs; the Ins to be, for the present, the reinforced Moderates, and the Outs the Radicals. One election cannot do everything at once, let us be satisfied that this one has cleared the ground.

About the defeat of the Socialists we agree perfectly. Only that I expected it—and a far worse one—and that our Paris friends have expected miracles which of course did not come off. I am perfectly satisfied with the result—under the circumstances. That we got six or seven men in against either the Cadettists[327] or the Boulangists, and something like 120,000 votes, is more than I expected.

As to the policy with regard to the fellows that came in under Boulanger's flag, I am rather of the opinion of Vaillant and Guesde than of Paul. If you admit the Boulangists, you must admit the Cadettists too—Joffrin and Dumay. But moreover, after the infamous way in which the Boulangeo-Blanquists[494] behaved to Vaillant in his *circonscription*[a] and brought him to fall, we ought I believe not to have anything to do with them. Moreover, we have no interest to reconstitute the dissolving Blanquist faction *as such*. We know what peculiarly 'pure' elements it always contained. Granger is an imbecile *chauvin*, to have got rid of whom appears to me a blessing. As to Jourde (who seems to me the one after whom Paul really longs), perhaps he can be made to slip in later on, if he *vaut la peine, ce que j'ignore*,[b] and if he breaks off point blank with the Boulangists. But there is no mistake, Paul's whilom Boulangist sympathies have done us an immense deal of harm and are now being used by Liebknecht who throws them into my face.

As it is, the new socialist faction will be hard to manage, and the less its numbers are swelled by doubtful (still more doubtful) elements, the better it will be. Especially as Guesde is not elected. If the thing is found to work well, then fresh additions of the above sort might be less harmful and could be taken into consideration; and then, the novices ought to do public penance, unless the French party is to stand out as corrupt before the Germans, Swiss, Dutch and even Belgians. What a triumph would it be for the Possibilists[19] if they could point to declared Boulangists in our ranks! And how difficult then for me to make the Germans understand the doings of our French party!

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[a] constituency – [b] deserves it, which I do not know

Now another subject. Percy is completely smashed up. In order to avoid getting execution into their house, they have locked it up and are all here. There are negotiations going on with his father and brothers, to avoid an open bankruptcy, but how that may end nobody can tell; and unless it comes to something, he will have to declare himself bankrupt before the week is out. Old Rosher is half idiotic, has muddled his affairs irretrievably, has handed his business over to the two younger boys, and says he is himself without cash or credit (the latter he *has* managed to ruin almost deliberately). I had an interview with his mother the other day—it's a precious mess altogether. However it may end, it's sure to cost me a lot of money.

Kautsky is not here yet.

Great lamentations by all here when they heard that Diane was lost or stolen.

Love from Nim and yours affectionately
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 October 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

I can tell you very little about the Prophet Gottschalk, having long since forgotten the creature. Moses Hess brought him into the League[531] prior to 1848 and made him out to be a veritable prodigy. In Cologne

early in March 1848 he posed as a working men's leader.[532] For the conditions as they *then* were, he was the perfect demagogue who flattered the masses at the very moment of their awakening and pandered to all their traditional prejudices—but apart from that he was a complete numskull, as befits a prophet, and for that reason actually regarded himself as a prophet. Moreover, as a genuine prophet he was above all scruples and thus capable of every kind of dirty trick. Whether he ever uttered the words you cite[533] seems to me doubtful; he would systematically invent legends about himself. In short, he played a certain role in Cologne at the beginning of March and had quite crazy schemes, the details of which I have forgotten, that were supposed to work miracles overnight. All this was before our time. When we arrived in Cologne in April his star was very much on the wane and, when we foregathered there again, having finally decided to publish the paper,[a] it had all but set. The paper and our Workers' Association[534] placed him in a quandary; either he went along with us or he opposed us. Luckily for him, he and Anneke were arrested at the beginning of July—on account of speeches of some sort, I believe. They were acquitted at the end of 1848 or the beginning of 1849 (I have been vainly searching through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for the date, etc., and shall have to discontinue the search if this letter is to go off). Thereupon the Prophet Gottschalk went into voluntary exile in Paris in the expectation of being recalled by gigantic demonstrations. But no one lifted a finger. After our departure Gottschalk returned to Cologne (it might even have been just before we left) and, having gained his former popularity on the strength of his medical practice in the poorer districts, went back into harness with a will at the outbreak of the cholera epidemic, treated his proletarian patients free of charge, contracted cholera himself, and died.

That is all I know.

In Paris things would seem to have settled down again. Lafargue is by no means as bad as you make him out to be—Jourde is no Boulangist; rather, he masqueraded as a Boulangist in Bordeaux with the consent of the local party comrades, which I, of course, definitely disapprove of. The man has blundered and will have to pay for it, at any rate for the time being. If, however, he is all right in other respects, and that is something I don't know, he may be restored to grace later on.

I'm very sorry that the *Volks-Bibliothek*[535] should have involved you

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[a] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

in such losses. But in view of your lack of business experience it was only to be expected that Geiser would land you in the cart. After all, the rotten stuff he published was made no better by having your name on it, while the Schlesingeriad must inevitably have proved the last straw. That, I think, explains it all quite naturally, without your needing to seek the reason in the ill-will of others. You surely can't expect the party to enthuse over *this Volks-Bibliothek*.

I too am having a bad time. Percy has gone bankrupt and the whole family is living here so as to avoid execution at their house; nothing has been decided yet. Negotiations are going on with the old man[a] but he maintains that he himself is in a mess—and he's really a bit cracked. In short Augustine is in a mess—O my darling Augustine, everything's gone.[b] How it will all end I don't know.

Warm regards from Lenchen and

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI[536]

IN BENEVENTO

London, 9 November 1889

Dear Friend,

Difficult as your situation is I can proffer no definite advice; for that, I should have to be on the spot, it being impossible to give an expert opinion from a distance.

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[a] Percy Rosher's father – [b] An allusion to the song *O du lieber Augustin*.

Only one thing can be said with certainty, and that is that neither here not anywhere else in Europe would it be possible to find anything for you. Your proximity to Italy would mean that, wherever you were, they would demand your extradition, and not for a moment would you be safe.

To find you even temporary employment in this country would be *utterly impossible*. Neither I nor my friends could procure this for you—your having been sentenced could not be kept secret. It would be impossible to accommodate you on the *Sozialdemokrat*. And in any case, the demand for your extradition would soon catch up with you. On the other side of the Atlantic things might be different.

So there only remains the choice between prison and Buenos Aires. If you are finally convicted by the court of appeal and go to prison, it seems unlikely that, on the day of your release, you will have any other alternative but to go to Buenos Aires, for you would surely not be able to find work in Europe. In my opinion, therefore, the only question is whether you want to go now, or after having spent three or four years in gaol.

Should you decide to go now, I can put 200 francs at your disposal as a contribution towards your travelling expenses. *But this is the last help I shall be able to give you.* At the moment I am having to maintain *two families* who are related to me, which means that I am myself sometimes at a loss to know where to turn for the necessary cash.

I am sorry that I cannot do more for you. But the funds I have available are limited, and I am powerless against the Italian judiciary. I know full well how desperate your plight is and assure you of my sincere sympathy but it is not in my power to help you beyond the extent indicated above.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 15 November 1889

Dear Bebel,

I got your letter of 17 October when I was up to my eyes in work on the 4th edition of *Capital*[a]—no small task, as it meant comparing yet again all the quotations Tussy had checked for the English edition and correcting the numerous copyist's and printer's errors. Hardly had that been done than I had to set to work again on Volume III, which has now got to be brought out quickly, for in Berlin little Schmidt has published a work on the average rate of profit[b] which shows that the laddie has—greatly to his credit—puzzled out more than one could wish. So you can see that my hands are already completely full; add to that the necessity of keeping up with the international party press and referring back to the economic literature relevant to Volume III, some of which has to be read cover to cover—and you will see that I'm pretty well bogged down and hence you must forgive me if I don't communicate with you as often as I should like.

As for the French,[537] if you were to spend longer in their midst and become more closely acquainted with the sort of effect produced by their curious modes of procedure, you would probably take a more lenient view. The Party[33] there found itself in what was, for France, the unprecedented, if *in the long run* favourable, position of being strong in the provinces and weak in Paris. Thus what was needed was a victory of the steady-going provinces over arrogant, domineering, supercilious and partially corrupt Paris (the corruption being evident in 1. The dominance there of the corrupt Possibilist leaders, 2. The fact that successful opposition to that domination could, in Paris, *only take the form of Boulangism).* On top of that, there were two executives in the provinces—one in Bordeaux for the Trades Unions and one in Troyes[538] for the socialist groups, these being organised *as such*. So they lacked not only the customary executive in Paris (or any possibility thereof) but

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[a] Volume I – [b] Conrad Schmidt, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marxschen Werthgesetzes*

also a unified provincial executive resp. the intellectual aptitude for such and the general recognition it would call for.

That the position during this interregnum should seem to you people exceedingly confused and unsatisfactory I can quite understand. It is but temporary, however, but it was typical of the French that, despite *such* a disorganisation of their own party, and despite having made one mistake after another, they should nevertheless have convoked a congress in Paris[473] where all this must be plain for Europe to see. They rightly considered that any discredit incurred would be far outweighed by the fact of Europe's being represented at *their* congress and no more than a few sects at that of the Possibilists.[478]

That the creation of an immediate impact on the public should be to them a consideration of greater moment than it is to you and me and the bulk of the German party is a failing that is not confined to France. Here and in America the case is just the same. It comes from the greater freedom of their political life and their long familiarity with it. Besides, Liebknecht is acting in just the same way in Germany (one of the chief reasons for our perpetual rows), and, if you were to abolish the Anti-Socialist Law[52] tomorrow, you'd soon see how quickly the deplorable consideration mentioned above would come to the fore.

Again, I think you would be deceiving yourself were you to conclude from what you experienced at the Paris congress that the working men were being thrust into the background by, say, the literary men. Such may appear to be the case at a congress in Paris, the more so as the impossibility of communicating in foreign languages thrusts the working men into the background. In actual fact the French workers set far greater store than those of any other country by complete and, in particular, formal, equality with men of letters and bourgeois, and, had you read the reports I received regarding Guesde's, Lafargue's, etc., agitation during the last elections,[539] you would probably take a different view.

It was only on account of Protot (see enclosed proclamation) that Guesde wasn't elected at Marseilles.[540] In France (because the number of candidates is not restricted in the second ballot, while the *relative* majority is decisive) it is the general rule that where there are 2 candidates of the same party, the one who polled fewer votes at the first ballot must stand down. Protot was in that position, but he remained a candidate and disseminated the most infamous calumnies about Guesde. Neither was known locally in Marseilles but, as an old member of the Commune, Protot was supported by the followers of that braggart Pyat, the former deputy for Marseilles. Hence it was understand-

able that he should obtain the 900 votes that would have put Guesde in the Chamber. The best constituency in Marseilles had been chosen by Boyer who had, indeed, previously been returned there, and it was he who got in.

So now we have 7 men—by no means the best possible ones. They have chosen Guesde for their secretary and he is to concoct their speeches for them. On the Municipal Council, Vaillant, Longuet and others likewise constitute a separate group. The two groups will enlist the co-operation of Lafargue, Deville, etc., and afterwards form a central committee of the united (or federated) Blanquists and Marxists.[541] In this way an organisation will gradually take shape.

Besides the above, 3 socialists were elected as Boulangists and 2 as Possibilists but these will, of course, be excluded and allowed to fend for themselves.

I am very sorry that Auer should be in such poor case[542]—but no doubt you'll be getting better news anon. I can only deplore the relative weakness—and this also applies in the field of theory—of the younger generation. But now we have got little Schmidt; he was here for a year and I should never have guessed how much he had in him. If he retains his former modesty—megalomania being today the most insidious and commonest of diseases—he may do excellently.

Over here everything is going swimmingly, but not along the same simple, straightforward lines as in Germany. That calls for people with a natural aptitude for theory. In this country we shall have blunders and to spare. But never mind; the masses *are* now in motion and every new blunder will bring its own lesson with it. So *man tau*,[a] as the Lower Saxons say.

What are your wife and the future wife of the doctor of medicine[b] doing?

Your

F. E.

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[a] let 'em do – [b] Julia and Frieda Bebel

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ENGELS TO J. H. JOHNSON, J. JOHNSON AND G. B. ELLIS

IN LONDON

[London, 15 November 1889]

[Draft]

Dear Sirs,

I have received and considered your letter of the 7th inst.[543] It strikes me as rather peculiar that you expect me to treat your enquiries as 'confidential', but never offer to extend the same treatment to my reply. Of course I cannot undertake such one-sided engagements.

If I understand you rightly, I am to report to you and eventually name the author of any reports I may have heard on board, from passengers, officers, or sailors, as far as they may have been disrespectful towards the circulating pumps of the *City of New York*. Such communications, if any, could only be made to me in the expectation that I would treat them after the manner of gentlemen, and not bring their authors into difficulties even supposed they had used an unguarded word or two. To act otherwise, would in my opinion be to turn common informer. Unless I misinterpret what seems to me the clear meaning of your proposal, that is what it amounts to; and in that case it is of a *naiveté* equalled only by its refreshing coolness.

Anyhow, to set your minds at rest, I will tell you that I don't recollect that anybody in my presence, cast the slightest slur upon the immaculate circulating pumps which you have the honour to represent and that I neither know nor care who made them.

I will not condescend to ask you to treat this letter as confidential. A perusal of this correspondence by a Continental or American lawyer or man of business might lead to some valuable hints as to the manner of conducting similar enquiries.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[274]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 16 November, 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Let us say no more about your proclivity for Boulangism, now happily a thing of the past, and why re-read, at this late date, your letters of yesteryear? In any case the gallant general has ruined himself, not only by his failure to remain on the field of battle, but—and this was infinitely worse—by his royalist and Bonapartist alliances; this he now sees and would like to recover his Republican virginity but, as in the case of the fair Eugénie:

> Should he this night find a maidenhead,
> (Bonaparte, on his wedding-night)
> It'll mean the fair lady had two.

No one is in any doubt that the discontent underlying Boulangism[137] is justified, but it is precisely the *form* assumed by that discontent which goes to show that the majority of Parisian working men are as little aware of their situation as in 1848 and 1851. Then, too, their discontent was justified; the form it assumed, Bonapartism, cost us eighteen years of Empire—and what an Empire! And at that time a fair number of the Parisian working men were still fighting against it; but in 1889 they thought fit to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of 1789 by grovelling at the feet of a mere scallywag. That being so, you can hardly expect other people to defer to the Parisians with the same respect they so readily accorded their forebears.

I am much relieved to hear that the Boulangists—genuine or otherwise—have been kept at arm's length by the Party, and the Possibilists[19] likewise. Had they been admitted such as they are I should have been at a loss what to say to the English, Danes, Germans, etc. For the past twenty years we have been advocating the formation of a Party that was distinct from and opposed to all bourgeois parties—and the inclusion of men elected under Boulanger's banner, a banner whose protection, in those same elections, was extended to the Monarchists and repudiated by them—would have spelt our French Party's ruin vis-à-vis other

national parties. And how exultant would the Hyndmans and Smiths have been then!

You say that the attacks on Boulé achieved nothing save to gain him access to the *Intransigeant* and to get him nominated as a municipal candidate—in other words, publicly profess himself a Boulangist, fall into line with that crew and receive the due reward of his treachery.[544] Thank you!

Your plan is very good if it is practicable—if, that is to say, the provinces are prepared to assume the leadership of this committee.[a]

You keep talking about your provincial papers, but you hardly ever send me any.[545] A few used to be forwarded to me by Bonnier, but now I seldom see one. Everything you send me, or get others to send me, will bear fruit in that it will help me keep Bebel posted, and Bebel is ten times more important than Liebknecht; if, moreover, I know what is going on, I can get to work on Ede and the *Sozialdemokrat*.

It would be a good idea if all your newspapers were to arrange exchanges with the *Sozialdemokrat* and the *Labour Elector*, 13 Paternoster Row, E. C. In all other countries this is done as a matter of course; but the French gentlemen wait to be begged—and sometimes begged in vain—to put us in a position to work in their interest. Should this kind of behaviour exceed certain limits, we for our part might begin to tire. Is it really too much to expect some small modicum of order and organisation?

But enough of that. I stand up for you so often and with such ardour vis-à-vis other people that, by way of return, it is only fair that I should give you a thorough dressing-down. At the moment I have no means of checking M. de Paepe's intimations[546] and the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung* has received confirmation of his death[b] from St. Petersburg; in view of the Russian government's mendacity and the myths about Russian revolutionaries, there's no knowing what is true and what is false.

Now for Laura.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p.402-3 – [b] The death of Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 16 November 1889

My dear Laura,

After I finished the enclosed to Paul, I went in the kitchen and had some Pilsener with Nim and Pumps, partly for the sake of the Pilsener and partly because I am ordered to write with interruptions only. Having been, before, to the bank to pay in Sonnenschein's cheque, because I cannot afford to run the risk of keeping it, it will not astonish you to learn that it is now close upon four p.m. and as I dare not write by the gas-light you see I am rather pinched for time.

Anyhow you have done a marvellous thing in the *Senator*[547], about the most difficult thing on earth to be put into English. Not only that you have done it with all the proper impropriety, but even with a near approach to the lightness of the original. And that while both subject and metre are rebellious to translation, the Senator of Empire No. 1[a] being an unknown quantity over here. If you were a boy I should say: *Molodétz*, but I am not versed enough in Russian to know whether that epithet (equal about to the English: you're a brick!) can be feminised into: *Molodtzà*!

The reflex of Thivrier's blouse has fallen upon, and lighted up for a moment, even the English press.[548] If he tears a hole into it, the whole respectability of great Britain will cry out about the bad manners of these Frenchmen. Barring old Mother Crawford, who is Irish and with all her crotchets immensely superior to the other lot—because she *does* move on—the rest of the British journalists in Paris beat your French ditto into fits as far as imbecility goes.

The wise men of Cette appear to be quite up to our *Krähwinkler* and *Schildbürger*.[b] If Sénégas has retired, Paul would be deputy.[465] If they had not put up Sénégas—they inside or outside the town—Sénégas (who seems to be a worthy descendant of Seneca) would never have been in a position not to retire.

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[a] of Napoleon I – [b] Equivalent to 'wise men of Gotham'

Glad to learn that the barometer is rising again with our French friends—it is sure to rise more than it ought, but that we are used to and cannot be avoided; how else could the proper average be restored.

Kautsky is in London and has been in possession of Paul's letter, etc., for about a fortnight, I will tell him tomorrow that Paul expects news from him.

Your pears are gradually being eaten up, but we keep them religiously until at their best, and then I get most of them for my breakfast. Nim has just discovered that the long-shaped ones are sold here at 5d a piece today. Nim has what my poor wife[a] called 'a gammy leg', rheumatism (articular) wandering from knee to hip and back. That of course is a most variable quantity though not, unfortunately, *une quantité négligeable*.[b] The asthma will become less whenever the weather allows me to take her out a bit to Hampstead. Gumpert told her hill-climbing would mend it and so it does.

Pumps and Co are still here—if a settlement is come to today, they will go back to Kilburn on Monday. The family of Percy has been forced to fork out a bit, but the job will cost me some 60 pounds at least, and then fully half their keep. Percy works for his brother Charlie who has some inventions that seem just now to suit the British philistines, but the pay is but trifling, and the whole thing uncertain.

The 4th edition Vol. 1[c] is in the press and I am back to my Vol. III. No easy job, but mun be done as they say in Lancashire.

Tussy is hard at work—tomorrow she won't be here at all, having two speeches afternoon and evening, so she won't get her cheque before Monday. Yours is enclosed, also the account—your share unfortunately but £1.17.6, but then in francs it looks much bigger.

We have got hold of another Mother Schack in Miss Harkness. But this time we have nailed her, and she will find out whom she has to deal with.

Ever yours
F. E.

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[a] Lizzy Burns – [b] a negligible quantity – [c] of *Capital*

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 18 November 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith cheque for £20.

If the editors of your newspapers do not understand foreign languages, it would be sensible for them to send out *their* papers, without the others (the foreigners) having to reciprocate with what is, for the French, incomprehensible gibberish. But I can't see that this would be any reason for the French not to send their papers to people who can read them and who are more than willing to make use of them in the interests of the French Party.

The Pumpses are still here and it is hoped that things will be settled today.

Last night I read Laura's translation of the *Sénateur*[a] to some friends. Everyone was delighted. That ought to be printed, Aveling said—But where? I asked—in the *Pall Mall Gazette*?—whereupon Aveling's face assumed almost unlimited vertical dimensions.

Suppose Laura was to set about translating some of Heine's stuff—next time she comes over here she could go to the British Museum, compare the translations that have already appeared, and choose some different piece—it might be possible to do something with it over here. Heine is fashionable at the moment and the translations are so British!

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and myself—Nim is pretty fit.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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[a] Beranger, *La Sénateur* (see this volume, p.408)

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ENGELS TO JULES GUESDE

IN PARIS

London, 20 November 1889,
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen Guesde,

I have just had a letter from Mrs Aveling who asks me to write to you if I should happen to have your address. Luckily it had been given me by Bonnier and hence I am doing so without delay. The case is as follows:

In Silvertown, a London suburb, Mrs Aveling is conducting a strike[549] in Messrs Silver's works where rubber goods, etc., are produced. The strike, in which three thousand working men and women are involved, has been going on for ten weeks and has every prospect of success. That it should succeed is important, for its failure would mean the interruption of the long series of successes scored by the workers since the dock strike,[489] and would spell victory for the English employers whose rapidly dwindling confidence would thus be restored.

A few days ago, the Silver company received very urgent orders they would not possibly be able to carry out with 3,000 out of their 3,500 work people on strike. Furthermore, there was an order for a considerable quantity of submarine cables, which was to be shared out between four factories, among them Silver's. They will miss their chance, if the strike continues. They made tempting offers to some of the strikers, but to no avail. They then played their last card.

Messrs Silver (a joint stock company which operates under that name) owns a similar establishment at Beaumont-Persan near Paris, where Frenchmen work under English foremen. Some of them were brought over to England. It is known for certain that 70 working men and women from Beaumont have arrived at the docks, but whether they have been introduced into the Silvertown factory is not yet known. It is now imperative that a stop be put to this. They were probably induced to come over under false pretences, without having been told that it was because of a strike.

Mrs Aveling at once telegraphed to Lafargue and Vaillant but, the matter being urgent, we are also addressing ourselves to you, with the

request that you do everything in your power to prevent the French workers from coming to replace the Silvertown strikers, and that you make known the true situation, thus calling upon the class feeling of your workers. It would be frightful were the strikers' resistance to be broken by the arrival of a number of French *Blacklegs*. There would be a revival of old national animosities and no means of suppressing them. For the past four months the workers of London's East End have not only given themselves to the movement body and soul; they have also provided, for their comrades in all other countries, an example of discipline, self-sacrifice, courage and perseverance equalled only by the Parisians when under siege from the Prussians.[550] Just imagine what the effect would be if now, in the midst of the struggle, they were to find French workers fighting under the standard of the English bourgeoisie! No, that is unthinkable! Only let the true situation be known in France and it will, on the contrary, be thanks to the action of the French proletariat that the English strikers will achieve victory.

When, during the dock strike, we sent Anseele a telegram informing him that the employers were bringing in Belgian workmen, he immediately took the necessary action and his letters and telegrams went a long way towards reviving the sometimes flagging spirits of the combatants.

If you feel able to offer similar encouragement to the people of Silvertown, you should write direct to Mrs Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane, London, W. C., which would create an excellent impression.

I hear from Bonnier that your health has greatly improved and that the Marseilles campaign[551] has strengthened your constitution instead of weakening it. I am delighted, for we need every ounce of your energy. It is good news that your slogan 'Neither Ferry nor Boulanger' should have excluded the renegades and traitors of *both these camps* from the Socialist Workers' Party[552] in the Chamber.

With cordial and fraternal greetings,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 30 November 1889

Dear Friend,

This is just to let you know in great haste that, immediately after the receipt of your letter, I wrote to Lafargue about Labriola.[553] I have today heard from Lafargue, who tells me that he had already written to Labriola about your case, asking him to do all he could for you, and that there was hence no need for me to write to him as well.

Trusting that these steps will meet with success, I remain

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

First published, in Italian, in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-95*, Milano, 1964

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ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER[554]

IN VIENNA

London, 4 December 1889

Dear Adler,

I suggest that you undertake a *revision* of Avenel's *Cloots*[a] for the following reasons:

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[a] G. Avenel, *Anacharsis Cloots: d'orateur du genre humaine*

In my view (and Marx's) the book contains the first accurate account, based on a study of the records, to deal specifically with the *critical epoch of the French Revolution*, namely the time between 10 August and 9 Thermidor.[555]

The Paris Commune[364] and Cloots were in favour of a propaganda war as the only possible expedient, whereas the *Comité de salut public*[556] went in for *politics*, was afraid of the European coalition and sought peace by *dividing* the members of that coalition. Danton wished for peace with England, in other words with Fox and the opposition party, which hoped to come to the helm at the elections. Robespierre was conducting intrigues in Basle with Austria and Prussia and wished to compound with *those* powers. Both joined forces against the Commune, primarily with the intention of overthrowing the men who wished for a propaganda war—the republicanisation of Europe. They succeeded and the Commune (Hébert, Cloots, etc.) had their heads cut off. From then on, however, no peace was possible between those who wanted to conclude peace only with Britain and those who wanted to conclude peace only with the German powers. The English elections turned out in favour of Pitt, which meant Fox's exclusion from power for years to come; as a result Danton's position was ruined, Robespierre emerged victorious and cut off Danton's head. But—and this was a point upon which Avenel didn't lay enough stress—whereas the reign of terror was now intensified beyond all reason, because indispensable if Robespierre was to remain at the helm in the conditions then obtaining in France, it was rendered wholly superfluous by the Fleurus victory of 26 June 1794,[365] which not only liberated the frontiers but delivered up to France both Belgium and, indirectly, the left bank of the Rhine, whereby Robespierre was also rendered superfluous and fell on 28 July.

The whole of the French Revolution is dominated by the war with the coalition, a war upon which its every pulsation depends.—Let the coalition army advance into France, and the vagus takes over, the heart pounds, there's a revolutionary crisis. Let it be pushed back—and the sympathetic ganglion takes over, the heart slows down, reactionary elements again push themselves to the fore, the plebeians—the forerunners of the later proletariat, thanks to whose energy alone the Revolution was saved—are restored to reason and order.

The tragic thing about it was that the party of war *à outrance*,[a] of war for the liberation of the peoples, eventually turned out to be right, and

[a] to the knife

that the Republic successfully tackled the whole of Europe, but not until after that party had itself long since been decapitated, while instead of the propaganda war, there ensued the Peace of Basle[557] and the bourgeois orgy of the Directory.[558]

The book must be completely revised and abridged—the bombast must be excised, and the facts, having been supplemented from ordinary history books, made to stand out clearly. In the process Cloots can be completely relegated to the background; the most important things from the *Lundis révolutionnaires* can be interpolated[a]—and in this way it can be made into a work on the Revolution such as has never existed before.

The account of how the Battle of Fleurus precipitated the collapse of the reign of terror appeared in 1842 in the (first) *Rheinische Zeitung*, in an excellent review by C. F. Köppen of H. Leo's *Geschichte der französischen Revolution*.[559]

Many regards to your wife and to Louise Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

First published in: *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe, Heft 1, Vienna,* 1922

Printed according to the text of the book

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON[560]

IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 5 December 1889
11 Burton Road Kilburn, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Immediately on receipt of your letter of the 14/26 November[561] I informed Mr Lafargue of its contents. He replies that he has written to you at once, saying that he never received any letters from the Lady

[a] G. Avenel, *Lundis revolutionnaires 1871-1874*

Editor of the *Northern Review*,[a] that he places at her disposal 5 articles or any of them; as to the cutting out of certain passages of the article now in hand he says nothing *to me*, but if he should have omitted replying on that point, it seems to me clear that such must be left to her discretion. His address is

P. Lafargue,
60, Avenue des Champs Elysées
Le Perreux
Seine, France

I now forward to you *registered* a copy of Th. Tooke, on the Currency Principle,[b] London, 1844. This is a copy I bought second hand, it contains some pencil notes by the former owner, mostly confused stuff; also two old newspaper cuttings, one referring to the crisis of 1847 and rather interesting.

In the meantime I have got ready the 4th edition of Volume I[c] now in the press, there are two or three fresh additions from the French edition; the quotations have been looked over with the help of the English edition, and I have added a few notes of my own, especially one about Bimetallism.[562] As soon as ready I shall forward you a copy.

Yours sincerely yours
P. W. Rosher[39]

First published in Russian in: *Minuvshiye gody*, No. 2, 1908

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[a] A. M. Yevreinova – [b] T. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, etc. – [c] of *Capital*

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[563]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 7 December 1889

Dear Sorge,

Letters of 8 and 29 October received with thanks.[564]

That the 'Socialist Labor Party'[3] might go into liquidation is too much to hope. Apart from Shevich, Rosenberg has other heirs in plenty, and the conceited, doctrinaire Germans out there will certainly not be anxious to give up their position as self-appointed tutors to the 'immature' Americans. Otherwise they'd be complete nonentities.

Here, too, we have seen that it's not so easy to educate a great nation in doctrinaire and dogmatic fashion, even if one is in possession of the best of theories deriving from that nation's own mode of existence, and has relatively better educators than those of the Socialist Labor Party. Now the movement *has* at last got going—as I believe for good. But it isn't actually socialist and those Englishmen who have understood our theory best remain outside it—Hyndman because he's an incorrigible intriguer and dog-in-the-manger, Bax because he's too much of an academic. In form, the movement is first and foremost a trades union movement, but totally different from the movement of the old Trades Unions, that of the skilled labourers or working men's aristocracy. The way the chaps are tackling the job now is altogether different; they are leading vastly greater masses into the fray, are convulsing society far more profoundly and making much more extensive demands—8-hour day, the universal federation of all organisations, complete solidarity. Thanks to Tussy, the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union[565] has, for the first time, got women's branches. Moreover, the chaps consider their present demands to be merely provisional, although they themselves don't yet know what their ultimate goal will be. But this obscure presentiment is deep-seated enough for them to choose *only* avowed socialists for their leaders. Like everyone else, they will have to learn by experience and from the consequences of their own mistakes. But it won't take them long since, unlike the old Trades Unions, they greet with derision any reference to an identity of interests between capital and labour. I hope there won't be any general elections for the next three years, 1. so

that Russia's minion, Gladstone, should not be at the helm at the time when the threat of war is greatest, this being alone sufficient to make the Tsar[a] precipitate a war: 2. so that the anti-Conservative majority grows big enough to ensure genuine Home Rule for Ireland,[175] for otherwise Gladstone will again play a dirty trick on the Irish and this obstacle—the Irish question—won't have been removed: 3. but also so that the labour movement can develop still further and, perhaps, mature more quickly as a result of the bad trading conditions that will surely come as a backlash of the present boom. Then the next parliament might boast between 20 and 40 labour M.P.s, and they of a quite different calibre to your Potters, Cremers & Co.

What is most repellent here is the workers' deeply ingrained sense of middle-class '*respectability*'. The division of society into innumerable, incontestably recognised grades, each having its own pride but also an innate respect for its '*betters*' and '*superiors*', is so old and so firmly established that it's still pretty easy for the middle classes to practise their allurements. I am by no means sure that John Burns, for one, isn't secretly prouder of his popularity with Cardinal Manning, with the Lord Mayor[b] and with the middle classes generally than he is of his popularity with his own class. And Champion—an ex-subaltern—has always indulged in intrigue with middle-class, and notably Conservative, elements, preached socialism at the priest-ridden Church Congress, etc. And even Tom Mann, who to my mind is the best of the lot, likes to say that he's going to lunch with the Lord Mayor. You only have to compare them with the French to see what the benefits of a revolution are. Incidentally, it won't greatly profit the middle classes if they do succeed in luring a few of the leaders into their web. By then the movement will be strong enough to cope with things of that kind.

The 4th edition[c] has been finished and is printing.

Rappaport has been sent to Kautsky.[566] Anyone with such an appalling name must be capable of every kind of nonsense.

Little Hepner[567] is such a clever and, in his own eyes, such an impartial, and at the same time such an impractical, little chap (what the Jews call *Schlemihl*—a born Jonah) that I'm surprised he hasn't long ago *come to grief* out there. It's a pity about the little fellow, but there's nothing we can do.

Time has now been bought by Bax, who has also, I believe, arranged

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[a] Alexander III – [b] Henry Aaron Isaacs – [c] of the first volume of *Capital*

everything with the Avelings. But it depends on what Bax makes of it. For all his talent and good intentions, Bax is an unknown factor—an impractical academic who has plunged himself into journalism and been somewhat thrown off balance as a result. Add to that his peculiar notion that nowadays it is men who are downtrodden by women.

Your catalogue of the *Tribune* articles by Marx[568] is doubtless buried under a mountain of unsorted letters. I have got the *Tribune* articles pasted in somewhere, but whether they are complete I can't say just now. I only came upon them again this autumn.

Strictly between you and me, I have only just heard that, before leaving here, Schlüter's wife apparently alleged that Kautsky had elbowed Schlüter out of his post. If she should say anything of the sort *out there*, there is no truth whatever in it. Schlüter *resigned of his own accord* and his resignation was accepted by the parliamentary group in Germany.[409] He had a personal quarrel with Motteler, with whom no one can get on, but who is of great value to the party leadership because of his absolute and universally acknowledged reliability in money matters. If on this occasion Schlüter didn't get from Ede Bernstein all the support he might have expected, the blame rested partly with Ede but also partly with *Schlüter himself*. Our thoughts only turned to Kautsky as a replacement for Schlüter in the post of archivist[227] *after Schlüter's resignation*. I would not have bothered you with this tittle-tattle, but now feel obliged to do so.

A fortnight ago a long letter arrived from Sam Moore. He finds the district salubrious, the situation very fine, and the company tolerable, subscribes to a whole lot of periodicals, but nevertheless would already appear to be looking forward to 1891 and his 6 months' leave in Europe.

In Germany things are going swimmingly; little Willie[a] is an even more proficient agitator than Bismarck, the miners of the Ruhr are certainly ours, those of the Saar soon will be, and the Elberfeld trial, with its revelations about *mouchards*[b] is also doing its bit.[569] In France our parliamentary group now numbers 8 men, amongst whom 5 of the delegates to the Marxist congress in Paris[473], Guesde is their secretary and prepares their speeches for them. There is once more some prospect of a daily paper. The group is going to put forward as a motion the resolutions taken by the congress. Everywhere work is under way for May Day 1890.—In Austria things are also going very well, Adler[c] has managed splendidly and the anarchists there are done for.

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[a] William II – [b] police spies – [c] Victor Adler

I, too, am well, my eyes have improved and if this goes on until the end of January, through the period of fog and shorter days, I shall be able to work at a brisker pace again. Tussy is busy with the Silvertown strike,[549] which would have been over long ago had it not been neglected by Burns & Co.

Cordial regards to your wife,

Your
F. E.

First published, slightly abridged, in: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. and 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 CONRAD SCHMIDT[570]

IN BERLIN

London, 9 December 1889

Dear Schmidt,

Best thanks for your letter of 10 November. I am glad to hear that you are getting along so well in your journalistic career, only you should make sure you are properly paid, otherwise it's only half the battle. Journalism is a very useful training ground, particularly for us Germans since we all of us tend to be a bit clumsy (which is why the Jews are so 'superior' to us in this sphere too); it makes one more flexible in every way, one gets to know and assess one's own abilities better and, above all, one learns to do a given piece of work in a given length of time. On the other hand, it can also lead to superficiality because shortage of time

accustoms one to dashing off things one knows one has not yet fully mastered. But someone like you with a scientific bent will nevertheless be able to preserve his powers of discrimination and not be tempted to place a dazzling tour de force, calculated for immediate effect and drawn exclusively from the handiest sources, on a par with a scientific work painstakingly produced if outwardly, perhaps, not so brilliant; although here too the cash forthcoming tends to be in inverse proportion to the actual value.

Once you have made a position for yourself in journalism you ought to try and establish contacts that would enable you to return to London for a year or two. It's pretty well the only place that is any good for the study of political economy. Despite the great advances happily made by German industry during the past 25 years, we still lag behind others—in the customary manner—in this respect too. England has anticipated us in heavy goods, and France in fashion goods; for the export trade, as I once said in an article for the Paris *Égalité*, our industry could have recourse only to goods that *'étaient trop mesquins pour les Anglais ou trop vilains pour les Français'*.[a] Hence, too, the remarkable phenomenon in Germany that the most notable feature of the present industrial boom is a *drop* in exports because, with the rise in internal consumption and thanks to protective tariffs, the manufacturers can sell more goods at home at monopolistic prices and are therefore having to sell fewer abroad at give-away prices. Hence all the economic phenomena there are manifested, firstly in a derivative form and, secondly, in a form vitiated by the protective tariff system, and are therefore always special instances nor, save as exceptions and after having been thoroughly purged of irrelevancies, can they be used to demonstrate the general laws and phases of development of capitalist production. Today, more than ever before, free trade has made England the classical field for the study of those laws and this all the more in that England, though in absolute terms still increasing its production, is, in relative terms, definitely declining by comparison with other countries and rapidly becoming a Holland-type nation. However, the decline of British industry is, in my view, coincidental with the collapse of capitalist production generally. And whereas there can be little doubt that Germany will be the ground on which the struggle will be fought out, it may well be in England that the issue is decided.

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[a] 'were too mean for the English and too ugly for the French' (F. Engels, 'The Socialism of Mr. Bismarck', see present edition, Vol. 24, p.275)

Which is why it's so splendid that here too, and at this particular juncture, the movement should have got under way in real earnest and, as I think, for good and all. The strata of working men who are now buckling to are infinitely more numerous, energetic and aware than the old Trades Unions, which represented only the aristocracy of the working class. They have far more drive. Whereas the old men still continue to believe in 'harmony', the young deride anyone who mentions an identity of interests between capital and labour. And whereas the old reject all socialists, the young refuse to have anyone at all except avowed socialists for their leaders. Here I have a splendid informant in the person of Tussy, who is deeply involved in the said movement.

As I have already said, do try and come back here. You could risk it if you were to work as correspondent and do various other jobs for the *Neue Zeit*, Braun's *Archiv* and one or two other magazines. We should all—and I especially—be delighted to see you here again.

Sam Moore is in Africa, in Asaba on the Niger, as Chief Justice to the territories of the Royal Niger Company. He left in the middle of June and writes very contentedly; he finds the region salubrious and the company tolerable. Sleeps sweetly, I hope, in a negress' arms.

Otherwise everything here is much as it was. Aveling seems to be doing well with his dramatic endeavours—his last piece, a fortnight ago, was much liked. The Swiss expellees[81] are gradually settling down. *Time*, a monthly controlled by Bax, will be appearing as from 1 January.[b]

With kindest regards

Yours
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO GERSON TRIER[571]

IN COPENHAGEN

London, 18 December 1889

[Draft]

Dear Mr Trier,

Many thanks for your interesting communication of the 8th.[572]

Since you ask my opinion about the recent dramatic events in Copenhagen[418] to which you fell victim, let me begin with one point upon which I am *not* of one mind with you.

You reject on principle any kind of collaboration, however transient, with other parties. I am revolutionary enough not to deprive myself even of this recourse in circumstances in which it would be more to our advantage or at any rate do us least harm.

That the proletariat cannot seize political power, which alone will open the doors to the new society, without violent revolution is something upon which we are both agreed. If the proletariat is to be strong enough to win on the crucial day, it is essential—and Marx and I have been advocating this ever since 1847—for it to constitute a party in its own right, distinct from and opposed to all the rest, one that is conscious of itself as a class party.

This does not mean, however, that the said party cannot occasionally make use of other parties for its own ends. Nor does it mean that it cannot temporarily support other parties in promoting measures which are either of immediate advantage to the proletariat or spell progress in the direction of economic development or political freedom. I would support anyone in Germany who genuinely fought for the abolition of primogeniture[573] and other feudal relics, of bureaucracy, protective tariffs, and Anti-Socialist Law[52] and restrictions on the right of assembly and of association. If our German Party of Progress[45] or your Danish Venstre[418] were genuine radical-bourgeois parties and not just a miserable bunch of windbags who creep into their holes at the first threat uttered by Bismarck or Estrup, I would by no means *unreservedly* reject any kind of temporary collaboration with them having a specific end in view. When our deputies vote for a motion tabled by a different party—as they all too often have to do—even this could be described as a form

of collaboration. But I would be in favour of it only if its immediate advantage to ourselves or to the country's historical progress towards economic and political revolution was instantly apparent and worth the effort. And provided the proletarian class character of the party were not jeopardised thereby. Thus far and no further I am prepared to go. You will find this policy propounded as early as 1847 in the *Communist Manifesto*[a]; we pursued it in 1848 in the International, everywhere.

Disregarding the question of morality—a point I am not concerned with here and shall therefore not discuss—I would, as a revolutionary, countenance any means, the most violent but also what may seem the most moderate, that were conducive to the ends.

Such a policy demands insight and strength of character, but what policy does not? It exposes us to the dangers of corruption, or so say the anarchists and friend Morris. Very well, if the working class is an assortment of blockheads and weaklings and downright venal blackguards, then we might as well pack up at once, for in that case neither the proletariat nor any of the rest of us would have any business to be in the political arena at all. Like all other parties, the proletariat will be best taught by its own mistakes, and from those mistakes no one can wholly save it.

In my opinion, therefore, you are wrong when you elevate what is primarily a question of tactics to the level of a question of principle. And so far as I'm concerned, the only question that confronts us at the start is a tactical one. A tactical error, however, may in certain circumstances, lead to an infringement of principle.

And here, so far as I can judge, you are right in criticising the tactics of the *Hovedbestyrelsen*.[b] For years the Danish Left[c] has been acting out an undignified comedy of opposition, nor does it ever tire of demonstrating its own impotence to the world at large. It has long since missed the opportunity—if ever it had one—of avenging the infringement of the Constitution[574] by force or arms; indeed, an ever increasing proportion of the Left would seem to be yearning for reconciliation with Estrup. A genuinely proletarian party could not, or so it seems to me, collaborate with a party of that kind without in the long run forfeiting its class character as a working men's party. Hence, in so far as you stress the class character of the movement as arguing against this policy, I can only agree with you.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp.477-520 – [b] Central Executive – [c] the Venstre Party

Now as regards the methods adopted towards you and your friends by the *Hovedbestyrelsen*, such summary expulsion of an opposition from the party certainly occurred in the secret societies of 1840-51; the very secrecy of the organisation made this inevitable. It also occurred—not infrequently—among the English *Physical Force* Chartists[575] under the dictatorship of O'Connor. But the Chartists, being a party specifically organised for the use of force as their very name implies, were subject to dictatorship, and expulsion was an act of military discipline. On the other hand I have heard of no such high handed procedure in time of peace save in the case of the Lassalleans in J. B. von Schweitzer's 'rigid organisation'; von Schweitzer had to make use of it because of his suspect dealings with the Berlin police, and in doing so only precipitated the disorganisation of the General German Workers' Association.[576] It would be most unlikely to occur to any of the socialist labour parties presently in existence—now that Mr Rosenberg has happily made himself scarce in America [501]—to treat along Danish lines an opposition it had nurtured in its own bosom. No party can live and prosper unless moderate and extreme tendencies grow up and even combat one another within its ranks, and one which expels the more extreme tendencies out of hand will merely promote their growth. The labour movement depends on mercilessly criticising existing society, criticism is the breath of life to it, so how can it itself avoid being criticised or try and forbid discussion? Are we then asking that others concede us the right of free speech merely so that we may abolish it again within our own ranks?

If you should wish to publish the *whole* of this letter, I should have no objection.

Yours sincerely

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ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 24 December 1889

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

First of all my most sincere thanks for the greetings you and your son[a] so kindly sent me on my last birthday, which was a most merry occasion. We all had to sit up until midnight so as to kill two birds with one stone, for the next day was Aveling's birthday and this we proceeded to celebrate together.

We were glad to hear that you are all in the best of health. We, too, are getting on pretty well; Nimmi has had some bad colds and all of us have had attacks of rheumatism—not that it can be wholly avoided in this climate, but so long as it doesn't get too bad, no one complains about it.

All is also well with the Roshers, except that last Sunday Papa Percy caught a bad cold which very nearly developed into pneumonia. However he's improving though it will, of course, put paid to any Christmas jollifications so far as he is concerned and he won't be allowed to leave the house tomorrow. At the moment Pumps is without a maid; the last one upped and left a fortnight ago while she and the children were out, and when Pumps returned she found the house deserted and locked and, since she had no key, the company had to come round to me and await Percy's arrival; until then they were unable to get in. So here too, you see, all kinds of *petits misères*[b] keep cropping up.

There will be a big party here tomorrow evening if Pumps and her children are able to come; besides them, the Mottelers, Fischers and Bernsteins will be coming, as will the Avelings, of course, and then there'll be Schorlemmer, who has been here since yesterday. The number coming corresponds exactly to the number we can, at a pinch, find place for. Nimmi is busy cooking and baking—the plum puddings were made a week ago. It's an awful chore, with no purpose other than to bring on attacks of indigestion! But such is required by custom, and one has to conform. Nevertheless we'll make merry, even if we're sorry for it on Boxing Day.

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[a] Theodor Liebknecht – [b] little calamities

Ever since the dock strike,[489] when she worked day and night on the committee—the real executive work was done by 3 women—Tussy has been deeply involved in the strike movement. While the dock strike was on, a small strike broke out in Silvertown[549] on the furthest outskirts of the East End, some 3,000 people. She was in the thick of it, organised a branch of the union for the girls and had to make her way there every morning—after 12 weeks, however, the strike ended in defeat. She is presently taking part in the gas strike in South London[577] and on Sunday morning spoke in Hyde Park, but it isn't so exhausting, of course, and gives her more free time. She and Aveling will be taking on the assistant editorship of a monthly[a] which has been acquired by E. B. Bax with effect from 1 January and that will be work enough in itself. Besides this she is secretary to two women's trade societies.

I also got a letter from Liebknecht yesterday[578] and would ask you to be good enough to thank him for it on my behalf. He will doubtless be with you tomorrow. We over here are anxiously awaiting the verdict at the Elberfeld trial.[569] I have long since lost all faith in the Prussian judiciary and only trust that Bebel won't be convicted along with others.

The people in Paris are, it seems, to have a daily paper again—but my hopes on this score have so often been dashed that I won't really believe it until I see it. Our French parliamentary group of eight men has not done at all badly up till now and has shown remarkable discipline when one considers that they have come together from all parts of France and are, to a great extent, strangers to one another.

And now, dear Mrs Liebknecht, I should like to send my best wishes for a merry Christmas and a thoroughly enjoyable New Year to you, Liebknecht, Theodor and all the other children, not forgetting Mrs Geiser. I heard from the Schlüters yesterday; they seem to be getting on pretty well.

With warm regards from Nimmi, the Roshers and myself

Yours very sincerely
F. Engels

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[a] *Time*

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ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 December 1889

Dear Kugelmann,

A Happy New Year to you.

Thank you for the prescription for my eyes, which, however, is not nearly concentrated enough for me. Last year and up till August I used cocaine and, as this grew less effective (on account of habituation), went on to $ZnCl^2$, which works very well. If I weather the present short days successfully—the last daylight we saw was on 28 December—since yesterday morning it has been perpetual night—I shall have put the worst behind me.

Kindest regards.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO MRS ZADEK

IN LONDON

[London, beginning of January, 1890]

[Draft]

Dear Mrs Zadek,

We were both, Lenchen and I, as surprised as we were delighted when we received the beautiful pieces of handwork you so kindly sent us. It was surely too much for you to have sat down, your eyes being as troublesome as they are (and I know what that means from my own experience), and made such complicated things. And for that reason they will be all the more treasured. Lenchen is in absolute raptures over her fine warm skirt and, even though you may have flattered me a shade too much in regard to the smallness of my feet, I'm perfectly sure that the slippers and I will, on longer acquaintance, become most intimate friends. We both of us thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I hope your health permitted you to spend a happy 70th birthday surrounded by your dear ones; may we please send you our belated congratulations? This distinction still lies ahead of Lenchen and myself—in my case it actually falls this year. It is a peculiar decade in which to enter it.

With my kindest regards to you and Dr Zadek.

Very respectfully, Yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO SERGEY STEPNIAK

[London,] 3 January 1890[a]

My dear Stepniak,

As I have no Geneva address, I must send you my article. Please have the German original returned to me as soon as possible so that I can then write the second article.[579]

How often will your Review be published?

Happy New Year to you, Mrs Stepniak and all friends.

Ever yours
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in the collection *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdeniye Truda'*, No. 1, Moscow, 1924

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 8 January 1890

My dear Laura,

Prosit Neujahr avant tout! Et puis après,[b] as I cannot bear the idea that you should translate Walther von der Vogelweide from a modernisation, I send you a copy of the original.[580] You are quite right, the metre and rhyme of the original ought to be preserved in every translation of poetry, or else go the whole hog like the French and turn it at once into prose.

Hope you got over your influenza by this. We have it here too and pretty thick, although of our nearer circle none has as yet been caught.

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[a] The original erroneously has: '89' – [b] First of all, a Happy New Year to you! Then, next,

Percy is better, but Pumps is laid up with bronchitis and congested lungs, will however be up soon. Charley R.[a] is the only one I know who can boast of having the influenza.

Old Harney is laid up at Enfield with chronic bronchitis; I shall have to go some day this week and see him. Poor fellow, but he feels happy in one thing: *being out of America*! It is most amusing to see how America makes all Englishmen patriotic, even Edward was not without a touch. And all on account of a quarrel about 'manners' and 'breeding'! The Yankees, too, have a rather provoking way of asking you how you like the country, what you think of it, and expect of course an outburst of admiration. And so poor old Harney has got so disgusted with the 'Land of the free' that his only wish is to be well back to the 'effete monarchy' and never to return to Yankeeland. I am afraid he will have his wish; *bodily* he is aging very much, no wonder after the eight years' torture with rheumatic gout he has had. But in spirit he is the old inveterate punster and full of humour.

I was glad, on receiving Paul's letter about the new paper,[581] that I had written to Bonnier my opinion that they ought formally to *engage you* on the *rédaction* for the German part. So he will see that I had no idea of the situation and at the same time considered it as self-understood that everybody got paid. He has not written again to me but to Tussy, saying the paper will come out 11th January, and wanting them to write and to get Burns, etc. to do the same.

I really think you are about the only person who can keep his or her head above water and clear in Paris; that place seems to make people cracked. Here is Bonnier who was sensible enough as long as he was here and now all at once he is as mad as Guesde can be over this impossible paper. A daily paper with unpaid *rédaction*, unpaid correspondents, unpaid everything—why it is ruination to begin with, and being kicked out of the paper you have made as soon as you demand the payment due for your work! He might well write to me *que la partie internationale doit être écrasante*[b]—when the *partie parisienne* is as good as non-existent from the beginning! And to expect people here to write *à jour fixe*[c] regular letters, so that the fact may be announced *la veille*![d] for that he actually expected all of us, Burns and God knows whom besides, to do here, and all for the honour of having the honour of being allowed to speak to the inhabitants *de la ville lumière qui se fichent pas mal de nous tous*![e]

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[a] Either Charles Roesgen or Charles Rosher – [b] that the international side must be an overwhelming burden! – [c] on fixed days – [d] the day before – [e] of the City of Light which doesn't give a damn for any of us

It strikes me this affair will end in all sorts of muddles, if not in quarrels amongst our own people at the moment when everything seemed to promise well.

Anyhow I shall feel obliged and it will be useful to all of us if you or Paul will keep us well posted up with regard to this matter; for we shall surely be bombarded with all sorts of demands when once the paper is out, and experience shows that 'in the interest of the cause' one half of the facts are kept from us. Of course we shall be very shy in engaging ourselves, but at the same time it will be better if we have not in every case first to inquire from you how the matter really stands.

I don't understand how Guesde can act in that way upon his own hook and let his meridional imagination run away without the consent of Paul, Deville and others. Bonnier's letters sound as if these people thought the whole world was idle, had more time on their hands than they knew to employ, and was anxiously waiting for the chance of a French paper coming out to which they might contribute gratis! Such things would not be suffered in the German or any other party—that one man engages the responsibility of all without a special mandate; that he acts upon delusions, as to the chances of his getting foreign contributors, which you and Paul would have at once destroyed, or if you had a chance of refuting them, acts in spite of your better experience. Really if our friends will be guided by their delusion and fancies alone, nobody can prevent them from coming to grief.

I am called away suddenly and must conclude.

Ever yours
F. Engels

Richtig wäre:

Under der linden	
an der heiden	
dâ unser zweier bette was,	
dâ *mugent* ir vinden	muget
schône beide	
gebrochen bluomen unde gras	
vor dem walde in einem tal	
tandaradei	
schône sanc diu nahtegal.	
Ich kam gegangen	
zuo der ouve:	
dô was mîn *friedel* komen ê.	vriedel
dô wart ich *empfangen*	emphangen

hêre *frouwe*,	vrouwe
daz ich bin saelic iemer mê.	
kuster mich? wol tûsentstunt:	kuste er
tandaradei	
sêht wie rôt *ist mir* der munt.	Mir ist
Dô *het* er gemachet	hete
alsô rîche	
von bluomen eine bettestat:	
des wirt noch gelachet	
innecliche,	
kumt iemen an daz selbe *pfat*.	phat
bî den rosen er wol mac	
tandaradei	
merken wâ mirz houbet lac.	
Da zer bî mir *gelaege*,	laege
wessez iemen	
(nu enwelle* got!) sô *schamt* ich mich.	schamte
was er mit mir *pflaege*,	phlaege
niemer nîemen	
bevinde daz, wan er unt ich,	
unt ein kleinez vogellon -	
tandaradei	
daz mac wol getriuwe sîn	

*enwelle = wolle nicht.

Pronunciation:
ie, iu, uo, the accent on first vowel: íe, íu, úo.
ei = ei in Portuguese, Italian, Danish, Russian etc. e+i, not a+i as in Neuhochdeutsch
sch = s+ch same as in Dutch & Greek.
H at end of syllable or before consonant = Swiss ch, nahtegal, schr. nachtegal, lacht.
Z = ts, zz = ss.
Vowels with circumflex long, *all others short*: tal, not tâl, schamt, not schâmt.
Dipthongs of course long.

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

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 9 January 1890

Dear Hermann,

Many thanks for your good wishes which, and this goes for you all, I heartily reciprocate. I'm glad to hear that you're all getting on so well and I, too, cannot complain. I put on weight again last year and am now back to 168 English lbs, which is about as heavy as I've ever been, though all of it is firm muscular flesh without any loose adipose tissue. My eyes are also improving; as a rule the foggy season, when the days are shortest, used to be the critical time during which they invariably got worse, but I've come through the present season in better shape than I've known for years and so there's a fair prospect of my being able to return to full-time work before long. Even the doctors won't believe me when I tell them I'm in my seventieth year; they say I look ten or fifteen years younger. Of course all this is simply on the surface and even in my own case may prove deceptive, for all kinds of minor ailments may be lurking underneath and over a period these many little things can add up to quite a lot, but all in all I can't complain and when I see how so many people make their lives an utter misery for nothing and less than nothing and to no purpose whatsoever, I can count myself lucky that I have retained my *joie de vivre* unimpaired and can laugh at such idiotic behaviour.

But by now you will doubtless have heard enough about my esteemed person to last you for a long time and I too believe that it's high time I stopped.

I duly got your circular about the boys and at once drank a hearty toast all on my own to the health of the new partners.[582] It is very wise of you to have brought the boys into the partnership; after all, most of the work fell to them, as did most of the responsibility whenever the two of you were away from Engelskirchen, and it will give them quite a different incentive if their status in the firm corresponds to the work they do. I now advise you and Rudolf[a] to devote as much as possible of your well-earned leisure to open air pursuits and, in summer, to travelling (you won't, I imagine, forget to go shooting in the autumn). Just you see how that sets you up.

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[a] Rudolf Engels

I was notified by circular of Fritz Boelling's death (I was about to say *August* Boelling) and I think I heard about Fritz Osterroth in the same way. August Boelling may have been a pretty frail little chap, but he still managed to live to eighty, though no doubt he was careful not to overdo things towards the end. People like that can get away with it, while we, who enjoy better health, take on more and more work as we grow older, catch some beastly ailment and crack up as a result. That, however, is not altogether a bad thing, and also has its advantages. You at any rate will, in 2 or 3 years' time, reap the benefit of having reared your own doctor,[a] to whose care you can consign your body, thereby relieving yourself of any further responsibility in that respect also.

I trust Emma[b] enjoyed the New Year's cake as much as I have the numerous German dainties I have been consuming during the past three weeks over and above the obligatory plum pudding, mince pies, etc. For we now have a gas stove, as our range has ceased to draw and the landlord hasn't installed a new one. This transition from difficult to easy cooking has put my old housekeeper[c] into a real culinary frenzy and I must now eat my way through the fruits thereof.

Influenza, so-called, which, however, is said to be actually quite different from our old, familiar grippe, has also begun to take hold over here and a number of my acquaintances have already got it. An Englishman who came here for a meal last Sunday is in a state of such trepidation that he always keeps a bottle of ammoniated quinine in his pocket to drink from at table. May it do him good, but I'd rather have influenza than guzzle the bitter, evil-smelling stuff between meat and vegetables and spoil my good wine!

So I trust that all of you will remain in good health and good spirits.

My love to Emma, the children, Rudolf and family and yourself.

Ever yours,
Friedrich

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[a] Walter Engels – [b] Emma Engels – [c] Helene Demuth

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[583]

IN NEW YORK

London, 11 January 1890

Dear Schlüter,

Warmest thanks for your and your wife's good wishes, most cordially reciprocated by all of us over here. I also received your letter of 1 July,[584] shortly after that date, likewise the *Commonwealth* with Marx as a gigantic tree and, all round it, the inhabitants of the new communist Jerusalem. Also the article about G. Weerth, but unfortunate only No. 1 and not the final part.

Now as for Reid, I have sent your letter to Tussy and asked her to make inquiries from Champion (*Labour Elector*), but haven't so far had an answer.[585] The chaps over here are frightfully dilatory about anything with which they are not immediately concerned and are, besides, exceedingly busy; Tussy may have something to tell me tomorrow, in which case I'll let you know by the next post.

As regards the matter of John Burns' trip to America, this would seem to me highly problematical; he cannot really leave this country without making way for his rivals and he also has to be present on the County Council,[451] since he is the only labour representative there.

The movement's headlong progress last summer has slackened off a bit. And, best of all, the bourgeois rabble's mindless sympathy for the labour movement as manifested during the dockers' strike has also abated and is starting to give way to a far more natural feeling of mistrust and anxiety. During the gas strike in South London,[577] which the Gas Company forcibly imposed on the workers, the latter have again been left completely in the lurch by the philistines. This is excellent, and I only hope that some day Burns will himself meet with a similar experience in a strike led by him, for in this respect he is subject to all manner of illusions.

On top of that there is, as was only to be expected, all manner of friction, e.g. between gas workers and dockers. But despite all this the masses are in spate and there's no restraining them. The longer the tide is dammed back, the more violent the irruption will be when it comes. And these unskilled men are a very different proposition from the stick-

lers of the old Trades Unions; not a trace of the old formalist spirit, of the narrow guild outlook of, say, the engineers;[586] on the contrary, a general call for the organisation of all Trades Unions into one brotherhood and for an outright struggle with capital. During the dockers' strike, for instance, there were three engineers at the commercial docks who kept the steam-engine going. Burns and Mann—both are engineers themselves and Burns is on the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineers Trades Union—were asked to induce the men to leave, for in that case the cranes would be unable to work and the Dock Co. be forced to give way. The three engineers refused, nor did the engineers' Executive intervene—hence the long duration of the strike! Again, at the Silvertown Rubber Works—12 weeks' strike[549]—the strike failed because of the engineers, who didn't join in, even doing labourers' work in contravention of their own union's rules! And why? In order to 'limit the supply of workers', these idiots have a rule whereby only those who have served a proper apprenticeship are admitted to their *UNION*. In this way they have created a host of competitors known as black-legs, who are no less skilled than themselves and who would like to join the union but are forced to remain black-legs because kept out by this pedantic regulation, which today has become quite meaningless. And because they knew that, both in the commercial docks and in Silvertown, they would immediately have been replaced by the said black-legs, they remained where they were, thus themselves becoming black-legs vis-à-vis the strikers. Therein you may see the difference: The new unions stick together—during the present gas strike, the sailors and (steamers') firemen, lightermen, coal carters, etc., are all standing shoulder to shoulder, but here again not the engineers, needless to say; they just carry on working!

However, the old Trades Unions, the big self-opinionated ones, will soon be cut down to size; their mainstay, the London Trades Council,[587] is gradually being worsted by the new unions and, in 2 or 3 years at the most, the Trades Union Congress[269] will itself have been revolutionised. Even at the next one your Broadhursts are going to get the shock of their lives.

The main thing about your revolution in the American socialist teacup is that you have killed off Rosenberg & Co.[501] *As such*, the German party over there has got to go; it is proving the worst obstacle. The American workers will come along all right but, just like the English, they will go their own way. You can't drum theory into them before the event, but they will soon light upon it as a result of their

own experience, their own blunders and the undesirable consequences thereof—and then it'll be *all right*. Independent peoples go their own way and the English and their offshoots are the most independent of all. Their insular, stubborn inflexibility may often be irritating but it also ensures that, once they have got going, they will finish what they have begun.

I am pretty well and my eyesight has improved at last, but I'm not allowed to write for more than 3 hours a day (by daylight). Nim is also well. In the Rosher household, first Percy and then Pumps have fallen ill. Aveling has got influenza. In Kentish Town[a] things are going on much as usual to the inevitable accompaniment of tirades from Germany.—The Edes have settled down very well. So have the Fischers.

Tell Sorge he'll be getting a letter one of these days but, having waited for so long, you were first on the list. Cordial regards to your wife and self from Nim and

Your
F. Engels

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

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[a] The seat of the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial office in London

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI[588]

IN BENEVENTO

London, 13 January 1890

Dear Friend,

I have been deliberating the matter of the letter of introduction for Buenos Aires.[a] I cannot conceal what has happened from the comrades out there. In so far as I enjoy the workers' trust, this rests upon the assumption that what I tell them is the whole truth and nothing but the truth, no matter what the circumstances.

If I were you, I would prefer not to have any such letter of recommendation. The moment one person out there gets wind of your conviction, a hundred others will get wind of it too, and notably those who would neither read nor give a rap for my testimonial. And then you would be no better off there than you were at home; your conviction would pursue you everywhere. Better a new life under a new name. You are young and, to judge by your photograph, strong—just take courage!

But in order to take care of all eventualities, I enclose a document in which I say in your favour whatever can and may be said with a clear conscience. However, I would again advise you not to make use of it. This may render the struggle more arduous in the early days. But in the long run a complete break with the past cannot but make it easier.

Well, you must be the best judge of what you ought to do. But I hope that none of this will be necessary and that the Court of Appeal will pronounce you innocent.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

Addresses

Vorwärts, Editorial Department; Calle Reconquista 650 nuevo (the streets have *old* and *new* numbers) Verein Vorwärts,[589] Calle Commercio 880.

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[a] See this volume, p.351

Mr Pasquale Martignetti of Benevento (Italy) has corresponded with me regularly for some six years past. Under the most difficult circumstances and with great perseverance he has learned German so as to make German scientific socialism available to his compatriots in translation. He then proceeded to translate, first my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopia zur Wissenschaft*[a] and later my *Ursprung der Familie*,[b] etc., into Italian and to publish the translations after they had been looked over by me. Unfavourable circumstances[232] prevented the publication of his translation of Marx's *Kapital und Lohnarbeit*.[c]

Mr Martignetti was employed as clerk in the Royal Notary's Office—a legal agency—in Benevento. There he was accused of embezzlement and this, or so it seems to me, simply by way of retaliation for his activities as a socialist writer; and Mr Martignetti was eventually sentenced to imprisonment by the Italian stipendiary magistrates of two courts. I have read neither the documents of the case nor the reports of the proceedings, but only the accused man's defence. However, I believe that he was wrongly convicted, and this for the following reasons:

1. Because he was accused only as an accomplice of the chief defendant; the said chief defendant, however, was acquitted whereas Mr Martignetti, who was allegedly only his abettor, was convicted.

2. Because the sums alleged to have been embezzled were first stated to be over 10,000 francs but dwindled as the trial went on until finally only 500 fr. were said to have been embezzled.

3. Because the Prefect of Benevento, a highly placed civil servant, was so convinced of his innocence that he employed him in his office after his dismissal from the Notary's Office and even while the trial was in progress.

4. Again, because he was simply a clerk, no court funds passed through his hands, so that he could not very well have embezzled any.

Whatever the outcome of his trial may be, Mr Martignetti will probably choose to leave Italy and seek out a new home for himself. If such be the case, I hereby authorise him to make use of this, my testimonial, in any way he thinks fit. Should he anywhere encounter German comrades to whom my opinion is not a matter of complete indifference, I would ask them to rest assured that the above is strictly in accordance

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[a] *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* – [b] *Origin of the Family* – [c] *Wage Labour and Capital*. In the draft the ensuing sentence reads: 'By engaging in these activities, Mr Martignetti has done signal service to the labour movement, notably in furthering mutual understanding between Italian and German socialists.'

with the truth and that I have withheld nothing whatsoever. Should they be able to help him find a post in which he could earn an honest living and upon which he could found a new existence, they would be doing a kindness to a man who, in my opinion, has been prosecuted only because of his activities on behalf of the international labour movement.

122, Regent's Park Road, London, N. W.
13 January 1890

Friedrich Engels

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ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING

IN LONDON

[London, 14 January 1890]

Just received Tuesday 9.30 p.m. – I send it to you – do not think it requires a long reply, at all events I have not time to write one. Please return.[590]

Hope Edward is better. What does the doctor say?

Yours
F. E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER[591]

IN NEW YORK

[London,] 15 January 1890

Burns has sent us word that he does not know the man concerned,[a] so the firm is at any rate an obscure one.[b]

A great deal of flu around – so far we've been spared. Otherwise nothing new.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO CHARLES ROSHER

IN LONDON

[London, before 19 January 1890]

[Draft]

Dear Charles,

Within two months of your engaging Percy you wrote to me asking for a loan, and in terms which hardly could leave any doubt of your intention to terminate that engagement unless I acceded to your wish.

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[a] George W. Reid – [b] See this volume, p.436

And as soon as I had replied in the negative, you did terminate it. You can hardly deny, that if you intended to convey the idea that the engagement was a mere preliminary to the loan, you could not have done it better. But you now say there was no connection whatever between the two, and of course I am bound to believe you.

Yours sincerely
F. E.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL[592]

IN BERLIN

London, 23 January 1890

Dear Bebel,

Congratulations on the Elberfeld acquittal[569] and no less on your brilliant handling of the case, which emerged quite clearly despite the bad reporting. It was no small thing to steer your way through it as you did, with a train of 90 accused, including a Röllinghof[593] and, no doubt, a number of other worthless elements: but I don't suppose that Mr Pinoff will ever want to see you confronting him from the dock again. So that chap is the ultimate of which the Prusso-German Public Prosecutor's Office is capable. He interprets the law just as Bismarck does the Constitution, i.e. as an undergraduate in a pub interprets the students' beer drinking ritual—the greater the uproar the better. It's enough to make a French—not to mention English—lawyer's hair stand on end.

Today, no doubt, the Anti-Socialist Law will again be debated in Berlin.[594] I think you are right when you say (in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*[595])

that, if Bismarck doesn't cop it from this Reichstag, he'll cop it from the next one; the ever-mounting tide of our votes will break the back of any and every bourgeois opposition. In this I do not see eye to eye with Ede. He and Kautsky—they both have something of a bent for 'higher politics'—believe that what we should aim for in the next elections is a majority hostile to the government. As though anything of the sort still existed among the bourgeois parties in Germany! The men of Progress[45] will disappear with the suspension of the Anti-Socialist Law; the bourgeois elements among them will go over to the National Liberals,[596] and the petty bourgeois and working men to us. That is why they will cry off every time it looks as though the Anti-Socialist Law might be thrown out. And in other respects also Bismarck will always obtain a majority; even though they may still show some tendency to bridle and jib in the first year, he'll talk them round in the second and they are, after all, safe from their constituents for the next 5 years! But if Bismarck goes off the rails or otherwise disqualifies himself, it doesn't really matter what sort of people (bourgeois, I mean, not Junkers) there are in the Reichstag; let the wind but shift and they are all equally capable of reviling their idols of yesterday. On this occasion, therefore, I can see absolutely no reason for *not* repaying the Progress people in kind for their infamous behaviour in 1887[597] and bringing it home to them that if they exist at all, it is only by courtesy of ourselves. It was Parnell's decision in 1886 to get the Irish in England to vote everywhere against the Liberals and for the Tories, i.e. to abandon the role of a tame Liberal electorate for the first time since 1880, which, in the space of 6 weeks, turned Gladstone and the Liberal leaders into Home Rulers.[598] And *if* ever something is to be made of the men of Progress, this can only be done by showing them *ad oculos*[a]—in the second ballot—that they are dependent upon ourselves.

I am looking forward enormously to the actual elections.[595] For then our German working men will again show the world what finely tempered steel they are made of. It's possible that you'll have a new element in the Reichstag—labour representatives who are not as yet socialists. The movement amongst the miners[435] will have given you an idea of the way in which the movement is progressing *over here*—a hitherto indifferent stratum of the working class, largely proof against agitation, is being galvanised out of its lethargy by having to fight for its immediate interests and is virtually impelled into the movement by the

[a] plainly

bourgeoisie and the government, which, in present circumstances and provided we don't insist on precipitating matters, means that they are impelled into our arms. It is much the same here, save that they have behind them, not a powerful socialist party, but only small cliques, at variance amongst themselves and for the most part led by ambitious men of letters or poetic dreamers. But here, too, things are proceeding inexorably and it is precisely these people, now coming over to us *en masse*, who will soon make short work of the cliques and create the unity that is needed.—In our case this new element lends added interest to the elections.

I have just received your Hamburg speech[600] but shall not be able to read it till after luncheon.

The French are making a collection for your election fund, though I doubt that very much will come of it; the point is that it's an international gesture.

Unless something unforeseen happens, peace would seem assured so far as this year is concerned—thanks to the tremendous advances in technology whereby every new gun, every new type of gunpowder, etc., is already obsolete even before it can be introduced into so much as *one* army, and thanks to the universal fear of unleashing these vast masses of men and powers of destruction, of which no one can say what their effect would be in practice. Thanks also to the French and the way they have dropped Boulanger, who was in the pay of Russia (they'd put 15 million francs at his disposal), thereby eliminating all prospects of a restoration of the monarchy (that being the only purpose Boulanger was supposed to serve). But neither the Tsar[a] nor Russia's diplomats care to embark on anything they are not sure of attaining; an alliance with the Republic is to them too dubious—the Orléans would better suit their book.[601] Nor does the anti-Turkish campaign launched by Gladstone for the benefit of his Russian friends[602] cut any ice here and, since Gladstone is not yet in office and the Tory government is decidedly pro-German, pro-Austrian and anti-Russian, the Little Father will have to bide his time. But we are indeed sitting upon a live mine and a spark would be enough to set it off.

Our people's Paris daily, already advertised by Liebknecht in German newspapers,[603] has not yet been born—the birth pangs still continue. The matter will probably be decided within the next 2 or 3 weeks. At all

[a] Alexander III

events, now that we have a group in the Chamber, the outlook is far more promising and in due course the Possibilists and Boulangists will again be vanquished in Paris. In the provinces, we alone of all the socialists reign supreme.

You people will be unlikely to get much money from America too. *Au fond*,[a] not a bad thing. A *genuinely* American party is of far greater use to you and the world generally than the few pence you used to get, precisely *because* the so-called party over there was not a party but a sect, and a purely German sect at that, a branch on foreign soil of the German party and of its specifically Lassallean and outmoded elements in particular. But now the Rosenberg clique has been thrown out[501] and, with it, the greatest obstacle to the development and rise of a genuinely American party.

Cordial regards to yourself and your wife,

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[604]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 8 February 1890

Dear Sorge,

Have got your letter of the 14th and 2 postcards re H. Schlüter.

What we shall lose as a result of the official socialists in America going

[a] Basically

over to the Nationalists[503] is, to my mind, scarcely worth considering. If it meant the disintegration of the entire *German* Socialist Labor Party,[3] it would be a gain, but we're unlikely to be so fortunate. For, after all, the really useful elements will eventually come together again, doing so all the sooner for the rapid self-separation of the dross, and will be sufficient, by reason of their superior theoretical insight and experience, to assume the leading role the moment events themselves set the American proletariat in motion. And then you will find that all your years of toil have not been in vain.

The movement over there, just like the one in this country and now, too, in the mining districts of Germany, cannot be produced by exhortation alone. It's the facts themselves that will have to bring all this home to the chaps, after which, however, things will move fast—fastest, of course, where an organised and theoretically educated section of the proletariat already exists, as in Germany. Today the coal miners belong to us, potentially and of necessity; in the Ruhr, the process is well under way, the Aachen and Saar Basins will follow, then Saxony, then Lower Silesia and, finally, the Wasserpolaken of Upper Silesia.[605] Considering our party's position in Germany, all that was needed to call forth an irresistible movement was the impulse arising out of the miners' own living conditions.

Over here the same thing is happening. The movement, which I now regard as irrepressible, arose out of the dock strike,[489] out of the sheer necessity of their standing up for themselves. But here again the ground had been so well prepared by the various propaganda campaigns of the past eight years that the men, though not themselves socialists, refused to have any but socialists for their leaders. Now, without themselves being aware of it, they are adopting a theoretically correct course, *they drift into it*, and the movement is so vigorous that I believe it will survive, without undue damage, the inevitable blunders and the friction between the various trades unions and the leaders resulting therefrom. More about this below.

And that, I think, is what will also happen in America. For now we know that it's not lectures that will convert the Schlewswig-Holsteiners and their successors in England and America;[606] that stubborn and presumptuous breed have got to learn by bitter experience. They are doing so increasingly from year to year; but they are ultra-conservative precisely *because* America is so utterly bourgeois, has absolutely no feudal past and is therefore proud of its purely bourgeois system—and that is why only practice can ride them of their old, traditional, ragbag

of ideas. So if it's to be a mass movement it will have to begin with trades unions, etc., and each successive step will have to be forced on them by defeat. But once the first step beyond the bourgeois outlook has been made, then things will go ahead rapidly like everything else in America, where the natural momentum of the movement, as it gathers speed, will startle the Schleswig-Holstein Anglo-Saxons, normally so sluggish, into a semblance of life whereupon, by reason of its greater mobility, the foreign element in the nation will also prove its worth. The decay of the specifically German party, with its absurdly muddled theoretical notions, its corresponding arrogance and its Lassalleanism is, to my mind, a real blessing. Only when these separatist conspirators have been got out of the way can the fruits of your labours again become manifest. The Anti-Socialist Law[52] was a misfortune, not for Germany, but for America, whither it sent the last of the louts. While in that country, I was often surprised at encountering so many genuine examples of your lout, who flourishes out there but is extinct in Germany.

Here we are having yet another storm in a tea cup. You will have seen the outcry in the *Labour Elector* on the subject of Parke,[607] the assistant editor of the *Star*, who, in a local paper, and à propos the buggery scandals among the aristocracy here, actually accused Lord Euston of paederasty. It was a scurrilous article, but only in a personal sense, the matter being hardly a political one. But it caused a great scandal, the *Star* took it up and challenged Burns outright and Burns, instead of consulting the committee, disavowed Champion outright in the *Star*. There was a great rumpus on the committee of the *Labour Elector*, all of whose members were opposed to Champion but each of whom wishes to get into parliament and must look to his own particular interests; nothing, therefore, was decided, which may also have been because they had no power (last autumn Champion told Tussy that the paper belonged to the committee, he being merely a temporary editor, but I doubt whether that was really the entire truth)—in short, Burns and Bateman resigned from the committee on account of this affair (Burns also on account of the chauvinistic article on the Portuguese rumpus),[608] and this week the entire committee absented itself from the paper. Tussy, too, has now written off Champion, whom she used to provide with international items on France, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Scandinavia—(the crazy stuff about Spain, Portugal, Mexico, etc., is by Cunninghame-Graham, a very honest, very brave but very muddle-headed *ex-ranchman*).

All that the case has proved, so far as I'm concerned, is that Champion did in fact accept Tory money and then, with the opening of

Parliament, found himself under an obligation to do something for the value received. The actual author of the articles is alleged to be our sometime friend of The Hague, Maltman Barry, who is regarded over here as a Tory agent and of whom Jung, Hyndman, etc., tell marvellous if untrue stories of a cock-and-bull nature. But all these gentlemen are behaving stupidly, for Champion has utterly ruined himself in the process and, at a meeting of his own Labour Electoral Association,[448] was shouted down and had to leave the platform under the protection of 2 policemen. Wonderful grist to Hyndman's mill, of course, but I believe both these gentlemen are finished for good. What happens next remains to be seen. But it will no more wreck the movement than did the defeat of the gas stokers in South London.[577] The chaps were too cocky, everything had been made too easy for them, and at this juncture a few checks will do no harm.

In Paris our people are still trying to bring a daily into being. The Possibilist *Parti Ouvrier*, a daily financed by the government, has perished; *on n'a plus besoin de ces messieurs.*[a]

Bax's *Time* is quite an ordinary, middle-class affair and he's terrified of making it socialist. Well, it can't carry on just as it is, but there is still no room here for a *purely* socialist monthly, especially at 1/- a copy. As soon as there's anything interesting in it, I shall send it to you.

Here too we have our Nationalists, the Fabians,[176] a well-meaning gang of eddicated middle-class folk who have refuted Marx with Jevons' worthless vulgar economics[215]—so vulgar that you can make anything of it, including socialism. As in America, its chief object is to convert your *bourgeois* to socialism and so introduce the thing *peacefully* and *constitutionally*. They have brought out a bulky tome on the subject, written by 7 authors.[b]

I trust you are keeping well and the work is becoming easier as you grow accustomed to it.

I am having the same trouble with Percy Rosher as you are with your Adolph,[c] only more so. The laddie has got into such a hole with his mania for speculation that his family and I have had to compromise with his creditors, and now all he can do is try and find some position or other for himself. But it would be better not to mention this to the Schlüters, lest word of it gets back here.

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[a] They no longer have any need of those gentry – [b] *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, London, 1889 – [c] Adolph Sorge Junior

My eyes seem to be improving and I have put on 10 pounds; on the other hand, I have virtually had to give up smoking on account of insomnia, and now find that alcohol sometimes has a similarly disagreeable effect. What bitter irony it would be if I had to become a teetotaller in my old age!

Cordial regards to your wife.[a]

Your
F. E.

Schorlemmer isn't allowed to drink either.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 17 February 1890

Dear Bebel,

Karl Kautsky says you are proposing to telegraph to me on the evening of the 20th such results as are known to you, and it occurred to me that I had better let you have some information about the night delivery service here so that you might not err through ignorance and we not get the telegram until the following morning after all. Ede, Fischer and Kautsky all take the view that it would be best to telegraph *me*, as they will all be here on Thursday evening and, I hope, also Julius.[b]

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[a] Katarina Sorge – [b] Julius Motteler

Details below, as I am still awaiting the information.

For the rest I cannot congratulate your people enough. Yourself, first of all, on the perspicacity with which, in your last-but-one Viennese letter, you smelt out William the Younger's edicts before they had been promulgated,[609] and the whole lot of you not only on the splendid situation in which you have been placed by our opponents—never have things been so favourable on the eve of an election—but also on the new situation which is apparently about to arise in Germany.

From the start I have thought that, because of his thirst for action *qua* efficient new broom, and because of his imperiousness that was bound sooner or later to clash with Bismarck's, William the Younger[a] was better suited to the task of undermining the ostensibly stable system in Germany, destroying the philistines' faith in the government and stability and causing a general state of confusion and uncertainty, than was even the 'noble' Frederick[b] (of whom, by the way, I have here seen a photograph in which he has exactly the same shifty, hereditary, Hohenzollern expression as his half-uncle Willich, son of Prince August, Frederick William II's brother). But I couldn't have expected that he would attend to this with such promptitude and brilliance as he has done. The man is worth more than his weight in gold to us; he need fear no attempts on his life, for shooting him would not only be a crime but a colossal blunder. If the worst comes to the worst, we ought to provide him with a bodyguard against anarchist assininities.

As I see it, the position is as follows: The Christian Social Conservatives have got the whip hand with young William and, since Bismarck can do nothing to prevent this, he is giving the laddie a free rein in the hope that he will get himself into a thorough fix, at which time he, Bismarck, will step into the breach as guardian angel and thereafter be safe from any relapse. Hence Bismarck hopes for the *worst possible* Reichstag, which would soon be ripe for dissolution, thus enabling him once again to invoke the philistines' fear of the threat posed by the labour movement.

But here there is one thing Bismarck has forgotten, namely that, from the moment the philistine becomes aware of the discord between old Bismarck and young William, the aforesaid philistine will become an unknown quantity so far as Bismarck is concerned. The philistine will still be afraid, more so even than now, if only because he won't know

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[a] William II – [b] Frederick III

whom to look to for support. For now their own fear will drive the cowardly herd, not *together*, but *apart. Confidence will have been lost*, never to return in the *same* form as before.

From now on all Bismarck's expedients will avail him less and less. He wants to avenge himself on the National Liberals for having thrown out his expulsion clause.[610] In so doing he will kick away his last, feeble prop. He wants to bring the Centre[44] over onto his side, and in so doing will dissolve the Centre. The Catholic Junkers ardently desire to ally themselves with the Prussian Junkers, but the day that alliance is sealed the Catholic peasants and workers (on the Rhine the bourgeoisie is predominantly Protestant) will cease to be of any use. This breakup of the Centre will benefit no one so much as ourselves; for Germany it is, on a small scale, what the agreement over nationalities was for Austria on a large one—the elimination of the last party structure not resting upon a purely economic basis, in other words, an important factor in the process of clarification, a setting free of labour elements hitherto ideologically enslaved.

The philistine can no longer put his faith in little Willie because he is doing things which the philistine necessarily regards as foolish pranks; he can no longer put his faith in Bismarck because he sees that it's all up with his (B's) omnipotence.

What will come of this confusion, seeing how craven our bourgeoisie is, we cannot possibly say. At all events the old order has been smashed for good and can no more be resuscitated than an extinct species. Things are livening up again, and that's all we require. At first you will be better off, but it's worth considering whether Puttkamer's prediction of a *greater* state of emergency[611] might not eventually be realised. That too would be a step forward—the last, the very last panacea—pretty frightful for you while it lasted, but beyond all doubt heralding our victory. Before then, however, a great deal of water will have flowed down the Rhine.

Since conditions for the elections are favourable to a degree we could never have hoped for, my only fear is that we shall obtain *too many* seats. Every other party in the Reichstag can have as many jackasses and allow them to perpetrate as many blunders as it can afford to pay for, and nobody gives a damn, whereas we, if we are not to be held cheap, must have nothing but heroes and men of genius. Well, the fact is that we are becoming a great party and must learn to take the consequences.

In Paris the Boulangists have scored yet another victory.[137] It's all to the good. Paris has been greatly spoiled by the sybaritism of the many

novices in this sphere and by a chauvinism (not only the general French variety, but the specifically Parisian) that is based on the city's great past; the workers are either Possibilists[19] or Boulangists or Radicals—and the more the provinces thrive, as they are doing by comparison with Paris, the better we shall progress. The provinces have spoiled many a movement set in train by Paris; Paris will never spoil a movement emanating from the provinces.

Well, as regards telegraphing, I shall write to the head office here to say that, *this week*, telegrams should be delivered to me at *any* hour of the night. But if your telegrams are to be of any use, they must arrive here before 1 o'clock in the morning. So if, on Thursday night, you telegraph before 11.30, that will leave 2¼ hours for transmission, allowing for the time difference; but not any later, as it wouldn't be much use. So 11.30 p.m. on Thursday *at the latest*. Ede is going to arrange for telegrams to be sent to us direct from Berlin, Hamburg, and Elberfeld.

But if you have no results to telegraph before 11.30 on Thursday, then it would be better to wait until about midday or 1 o'clock on Friday, when you are bound to know something, and perhaps *again* on Friday night at about 10 or 11; the latter would be desirable whatever happens.

Further, only the *names* of towns where we have won or got into the second ballot. Where there are several constituencies in one town, I suggest the following: For *Hamburg* write Hbg, all 3 seats; for Hamburg one two, write Hbg I and II constituency. Again: All victories first, then all second ballots that we are in; e.g. thus,—victory Berlin four, five, six, Hamburg, Breslau one, Chemnitz, Leipzig Province, etc., second ballot Berlin three, Breslau two, Dresden one, Leipzig city, etc. If that's too long, then: Fifteen victories, seventeen second ballots, etc. And in the *second* telegram: So many victories *all told* and so, etc. second ballots.

This will save money and time.

Cordial regards and 1,200,000 votes.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 26 February 1890

My dear Laura,

Since last Thursday evening when the telegrams announcing victory came raining in here thick and fast, we are in a constant intoxication of triumph, brought, provisionally at least, to a climax this morning by the news that we had obtained 1,341,500 votes, 587,000 more than 3 years ago. And yet—next Saturday[612] the orgy may begin again, for the stupefaction of all Germany at our success is so enormous, the hatred against the Kartell[265] swindlers so intense, and the time for consideration so short that fresh successes, as unexpected as those of last Thursday, are quite possible, though I for one do not expect many of them.

The 20th February 1890 is the opening day of the German revolution. It may be a couple of years yet until we see a decisive crisis, and it is not impossible that we have to pass through a temporary and severe defeat. But the old stability is gone for ever. That stability rested on the superstition that the triumvirate Bismarck, Moltke, William, was invincible and all-wise. Now William is gone and replaced by a conceited *Gardelieutenant*,[a] Moltke is pensioned off, and Bismarck is very shaky in his saddle. At the very eve of this election, he and young William had a squabble over the latter's itching to play the working men's friend; Bismarck had to give way and took care to let the philistine know he had done so; he himself evidently wished for 'bad' elections, in order to give his master a lesson. Well, he has got more than he bargained for, and the two have made it up again for once. But that cannot last. The 'Second old Fritz[b] only greater', cannot and will not stand leading by the chancellor's hand, '*in Preussen muss der König regieren*'[c]—this he takes *au sérieux*,[d] and the more critical the time, the more divergent will be the views of these two rivals. One thing is certain to the philistine: the man he can trust is losing his power, and the man who holds the power, he cannot trust. Confidence is gone even among the bourgeoisie.

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[a] The Berlin dialect in the original. This refers to William II – [b] William II – [c] the King must rule in Prussia – [d] in earnest

Now look at the state of parties. The Kartell[265] has lost a million votes, has had 2½ milliions for, 4½ against itself. That ministry of Bismarck's parliamentary power has gone to smash, and all the King's horses and all the King's men cannot put Humpty Dumpty together again. To form a government majority, there are but two parties: the Catholics (centre[44]) and the Freisinnigen.[613] The latter, although already burning with the desire to form a fresh cartel, cannot do so—as yet at least—with the Conservatives, but only with the National Liberals,[596] and that gives no majority. The Centre? Bismarck reckons upon it, and the Catholic Junkers of that party are eager enough to unite with the old Prussian Junkers. But the sole *raison d'être* of the Centre is *hatred of Prussia*, and just you try and make a Prussian government party out of that! As soon as the Centre becomes anything like that, the Catholic peasantry—its force—break loose, while the 100,000 votes the Centre had less (against 1887) have been taken away by us in the Catholic towns, see Munich, Cologne, Mainz, etc.

So this Reichstag is unmanageable. But Bismarck's last resource, a dissolution, will hardly help him. The confidence in the stability of things being gone, the supreme factor now is the discontent with the oppressive taxes and increasing dearness of living. That is the direct consequence of the fiscal and economic policy of the last 11 years, and by this Bismarck has driven the people right away into our arms. And Michel is rising against that policy. So the next Reichstag might even be worse.

Unless—Bismarck and his master—on this point they will always agree—provoke riot and fighting and crush us before we are too strong, and then alter the constitution. That is evidently what we are drifting to, and the chief danger to be avoided. Our people, you have seen, keep excellent, wonderful discipline; but we may be forced to fight before we are fully prepared—and there is the danger. But when that comes on, there will be other chances in our favour.

Nim's dinner bell—so good-bye for to-day—more about your dogs in more peaceable times—also about Paul's articles.

En attendant, vive la révolution allemande![a]

Ever yours
F. E.

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[a] In the meantime, long live the German revolution!

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE[87]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 March, 1890

My dear Lafargue,

Election time[a] is over at last. Impossible to do anything amidst such a commotion, such comings and goings and perpetual running of errands. But never mind, for once it's all been worth while. Our working men have made the German Emperor[b] *travailler pour le roi de Prusse*[c] and have sent the *Gaulois* reporter out to Le Perreux.[614]

The worthy William is first and foremost an emperor. One cannot, as you seem to suppose, send a Bismarck packing as simply as all that. Only give the quarrel time to come to a head. William can no more part company so abruptly from the man who compelled the younger man's grandfather[d] to turn himself into a panjandrum, than can Bismarck from the same William whom he, Bismarck, has accustomed to seeing himself as a Frederick II[2]. But there is one thing, and one thing only, upon which both will be agreed, and that is to open fire on the Socialists at the earliest opportunity. On all other matters, divergence, and later on, an open breach.

The 20th February marks the beginning of the revolution in Germany,[e] and that is why it is our duty not to let ourselves be prematurely crushed. As yet only one soldier out of four or five is ours—on a war footing, maybe one in three. We are making headway in rural areas, witness the elections in Schleswig-Holstein and, more especially, in Mecklenburg, not to mention the eastern provinces of Prussia.[615] In three or four years' time we shall have won over the farm labourers and hired hands, in other words the staunchest supporters of the status quo, and then Prussia will cease to exist. That is why we must, for the time being, advocate lawful action, and not respond to the provocations they will lavish upon us. For short of a blood-letting, and a pretty rigorous one at that, there will be no saving either for William or Bismarck.

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[a] to the Reichstag – [b] William II – [c] to work for the King of Prussia, i.e. for nothing – [d] William I – [e] See this volume, p.454

These two stalwarts, it is said, are in a blue funk and have no settled plan, while Bismarck is kept pretty busy combatting the innumerable court intrigues of which he is the object.

The petit bourgeois parties will muster on common ground, namely fear of Socialists. But they are no longer the parties they were. The ice is cracking and will soon begin to break up.

As for Russia, she will yet need many millions from France before she is fit to go to war. Her army is equipped with weapons that are completely out of date, and there is still some doubt as to whether Russian soldiers should or should not be issued with repeating rifles; the Russians are extremely steady when fighting in massed formations—which, however, is no longer done; as sharp-shooters they are useless and totally lacking in personal initiative. Besides, where find the officers for all these men in a country without a bourgeoisie?

The April and May numbers of *Die Neue Zeit* and *Time* will carry articles of mine on Russian foreign policy.[a] We over here are trying to wean the English Liberals from Gladstone's Russophilia; the time is ripe, for the unheard-of cruelties perpetrated on political prisoners in Siberia[616] have made it almost impossible for the Liberals to continue in this strain. Aren't they talking of it in France? But your bourgeoisie has grown almost as stupid and rotten as in Germany.

As for *Time*, it is not a Socialist review, quite the contrary; Bax quails at the very thought of the word 'socialism' appearing in its pages. By not replying to his 'reply paid' telegram you have drawn down upon youself his sovereign displeasure. But it would be a mistake for you to take offence as he has done. *Time* could not carry an article signed Lafargue too often. Nor could it possibly take one that had appeared in the *Nouvelle Revue*,[b] just as Mme Adam would not take it if it had already appeared in *Time*. And as for an arrangement that would ensure simultaneous publication, would Mme Adam really lend herself to that? Do try and be reasonable. The article has been placed with her and in her company it will make a world tour.

Aveling and Tussy intend to publish *one* article a month by a foreigner. The English public would stomach no more and, since you had had an article in the February number,[c] this gave Bax an excuse to reject a second one, the more so since, a few months from now, nobody

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[a] F. Engels, 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom.' – [b] P. Lafargue, 'Rousseau et l'Égalité, réponse au professuer Huxley', *La Nouvelle Revue*, t. 63, 15 mars, 1890 – [c] P. Lafargue, 'Darwinism on the French stage', *Time*, February 1890

will be talking about Huxley's attack on Rousseau. And all this, just because you failed to send the 'reply paid'! It's piffling, but that's Bax all over!

Poor Laura! Let's hope she has no further dealings with Castelar. He's a man I find as repellent as I did the handsome Simon von Trier in 1848 whose conversation was wholly made up of SCRAPS taken from Schiller and of whom the Frankfurt Jewesses, young and old, were all enamoured. Thank you for Iglesias's letter which I shall return in my next. The man Back is a German Russian from the Baltic provinces who, some ten years ago in Geneva, used to bring out a Baltic review[a] (in German) and whom old Becker, for want of anyone better, attempted to convert to Socialism. He has also sent an article to Kautsky on the Spanish party he himself invented, but Kautsky gave me the MS without having printed it. What cheek—a Balto-pseudo-Russian, putting himself at the head of a Spanish party consisting of three officers and no men!

I had wanted to add something about Laura's dogs, but it's already five o'clock and the new GONG (a present from Aveling) is summoning us to dinner. Between Laura and Nim, duty pulls in two directions, but my stomach joins in the fray and settles the matter. Nim might scold me, and Laura is far away.

Good wishes to you both,
F. E.

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[a] *Baltische föderalist*

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN DRESDEN

London, 9 March 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

My congratulations on the 42,000 votes that have made you the *premier élu de l'Allemagne*.[a 617] When, in future, you are interrupted by a Kar-, Hell- or any other Junkerdorf[b], your retort can be: 'It would take a dozen of the likes of you to muster as many constituents as I've got. So draw in your horns—if you can!'[c]

After the prolonged intoxication of victory, we over here are sobering down by degrees, but without any unpleasant after-effects. I had hoped for 1,200,000 votes and everyone said I was unduly sanguine; now we see that my figure was too modest.[618] Our lads have behaved quite magnificently, but it's no more than a beginning and they've got a hard fight ahead of them. Our successes in Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg and Pomerania[d] mean that we shall now be making tremendous headway amongst the agricultural labourers of the East. Now that the towns are ours and word of our victories has penetrated to the remotest baronial estates, we shall be able to kindle, in rural areas, a blaze of quite a different order from the flash in the pan of 12 years ago. In three years the agricultural labourers will be ours and with them the crack regiments of the Prussian army. Nor can this be prevented save by one means, the ruthless application of which is now the only point upon which little Willie[e] and Bismarck are still agreed, namely a hail of shot to the inevitable accompaniment of an acute reign of terror. To this end, they will seize upon any pretext and, once Puttkamer's 'cannons'[611] have sprayed the streets of a few big towns with shrapnel, there will be a state of siege throughout Germany, the philistine will return to his right mind again and vote blindly as directed, and we shall be crippled for years to come.

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[a] the first among the elected in Germany – [b] A play on words in the original. Engels made up this word by analogy with the names of two Reichstag deputies – [c] A literal rendering of this German expression would be: 'Withdraw into your foreskin, if you've got one.' – [d] See this volume, p.456 – [e] William II

This is something we must prevent. We must not, in our triumphal progress, allow ourselves to be diverted from our purpose, we must not spoil our own game or prevent our enemies from doing our work for us. So I agree with you to the extent of saying that, *for the present*, we should conduct ourselves as peacefully and constitutionally as possible and avoid every pretext for a clash. True, your philippics against the use of force in any form and under any circumstances seem to me inopportune, firstly because none of your opponents would believe you, they are not as stupid as all that, and secondly because your theory would make anarchists even of Marx and myself, since we were never inclined, like good Quakers, to turn the other cheek. This time you have definitely overshot the mark somewhat.

Nieuwenhuis is, to my mind, more or less innocent of the article to which you are replying;[619] according to what we have heard over here, Croll is the crib-biter who refuses to leave you in peace—he's said to be a trouble-maker par excellence. These people from little countries are our bane in the international field—they are excessively demanding, expect always to be handled with kid gloves while themselves being as rude as they please, and constantly feel themselves slighted because they cannot always play first fiddle; all the trouble and strife at the last congress, both before and during it, was caused by them alone—first the Swiss with their deluded idea that they could get the Possibilists to defect, then the Brussels people, and after them the Dutch. Well, no doubt our German victory will put them more or less on the right track and enable us to be magnanimous.

Will you please let me know in advance when you intend to cross the Channel. We've only got one spare room, and in the spring it is often occupied—as at Easter, for instance, by Schorlemmer, while the Lafargues or Louise Kautsky might also be coming; so a bit of management may be necessary to keep it free for you.

Since you specifically give a Dresden address, I can only take it as an indication that I should write to you there.

The Nineteenth Century is, after *The Contemporary Review*, the most highly thought-of journal in this country—but since I am always confusing the two, I shall not be able to provide details until later today when the Avelings have arrived. Meanwhile, I would simply say: 1. Get them to pay you *well*, 2. Under English law the article *belongs* to the journal and the editor can make what alterations he likes unless you have a prior agreement to the contrary. In such a case I stipulate, 1. *that the copyright remains vested in me*, 2. *that no alterations are made without my express consent.*

Evening. *The Nineteenth Century* belongs to Mr Knowles: Gladstone sometimes writes for it and for the *Contemporary*, which belongs to Percy Bunting, whom you were taken to see by la Schack. Otherwise I have nothing to add to the above. Knowles is every inch a businessman, so beware.

Regards from Nim, the Avelings, the Edes, Dr Zadek and Mrs Romm-Zadek, likewise Pumps and Percy, all of whom are here.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 14 March[a] 1890

My dear Laura,

Last night Bernstein called. We think it best you should write to Bebel asking him for some information. He has the *Parliamentsalmanach* which we have not and a Secretary who might copy out a few extracts. You might say Bernstein and I had suggested this to you.

If you like you might write also direct to
Carl Grillenberger, Weizenstrasse 14, Nürnberg
G. von Vollmar, Schwabing bei München,
J. H. W. Dietz, Furthbachstrasse 12, Stuttgart,
F. Kunert, Red. Der 'Breslauer Nachrichten', Breslau[b] and ask them

[a] In the MS 'February' – a mistake – [b] Wraclaw

for personal details which no doubt they would be glad to give you. Other addresses we have not got.

I will ask Tussy about that niece of Mohr's Paul has written about. I have not heard anything about her. Would be curious if you should turn out to be connected with little Abraham, vulgo Alexander, Weill!

Things are getting serious in Germany. The *Kreuz-Zeitung*, ultra-conservative, declares the Socialist law useless and bad! Well, we shall probably get rid of it, but Puttkamer's word will then become true: we shall have the major state of siège instead of the minor one, and cannons instead of expulsions.[611] Things go so well for us, we never dared to hope half so much, but, but, it will be stirring times and everything depends upon our men not allowing themselves to be provoked into riots. In three years we may have the agricultural labourer, the mainstay of Prussia, and *then*—feu[a]!

Ever yours
F. E.

We went to-day up to Highgate. Tussy had been already in the morning, planted Mohr's and your Mama's grave with crocus, primroses, hyacinths, etc. very beautifully. If Mohr had lived to see this!

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

Reproduced from the original

[a] fire

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ENGELS TO ANTONIO LABRIOLA

IN ROME

[Draft]

London, 30 March 1890. Labriola. Dear Professor,—Please accept my thanks for the pamphlets you were so very good as to send me. I read the first, *Del socialismo*, with much interest and next week, when I hope to have some leisure, shall go carefully through the second one, that on the philosophy of history.[a] This is a subject in which Marx and I had long taken a special interest. A new contribution from Vico's mother country and from a scholar conversant with our German philosophers calls for my fullest attention. I should like to take the liberty of sending you in return my little piece of Feuerbach.[b]

I am also indebted to you for your kind endeavours on behalf of P. Martignetti, which have, I am glad to say, met with their first big success. I have been in correspondence with Mr Martignetti since 1884 and am morally convinced that he is innocent of the actions imputed to him and has fallen victim to a shabby intrigue. Perhaps, when you have occasion, you would convey to Mr Avv.[c] Lollini my most sincere thanks for his willing, able and successful defence of Martignetti. I trust that this magnanimous intervention on the part of you both will succeed in protecting him from undeserved vilification and ruin.

You must forgive me for writing to you in German. Over the last few years, however, my Italian, such as it is, has, alas, grown exceedingly rusty and I dare not mangle the Italian language in front of a master of that beautiful tongue.

Very respectfully yours,
F. E.

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

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[a] *I problemi della filosofia della storia* ... – [b] *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* – [c] Advocate

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO[620]

London, 30 March 1890

Dear Friend,

Herewith the letter to Labriola you asked for.[a]

As to his *terra libera*,[621] it is in fact altogether too much to expect of the present Italian government that it will allocate property in the colonies to small farmers for themselves to cultivate and not to monopolists, whether companies or individuals. Small-scale farming is the natural and best system for the colonies presently being founded by bourgeois governments, on which point cf Marx, *Capital*, Volume I, last chapter, 'The Modern Theory of Colonisation'.[b] So we socialists can, with a good conscience, support the introduction of the system of small farms into colonies that have already been founded. But whether this will be done is another question. All governments today are so much the creatures and hirelings of financiers and the stock exchange that there's nothing to stop the speculators themselves from gaining control of the colonies in order to exploit them, and no doubt that will also apply in Eritrea. But one can, after all, hit back, even if it's in the shape of a demand that the government should give the emigrant Italian farmers an assurance that they will enjoy the same advantages there as they seek and generally find in Buenos Aires.

I can't discover from the *Messaggero's* article[622] whether Labriola combines his demand with still further requirements, namely government loans for emigrants to Eritrea, co-operatively run settlements, etc.

Unfortunately I have absolutely no time to spare for revising the translation of *Wage Labour and Capital*.[232] I have had some urgent jobs to do, and must now get back at once to Volume III of *Capital* before events in Germany take a revolutionary turn, as is very possible.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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

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[a] See previous letter – [b] See present edition, Vol. 35, pp.751-64

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 1 April 1890

Dear Kautsky,

I have just received the Russian *Sotsial-Demokrat* and have compared my article[a] with the *Neue Zeit*.[623] I now find that Mr Dietz has had the impudence to alter without reference to ourselves various passages *which he had not even scored in red*. Not one of these passages infringes the penal code or contravenes the Anti-Socialist Law;[52] they were, however, too strong for philistine tastes.

Yet I have behaved as decently as possible and have done all I could to make the elimination of harmful matter easier for him. But censorship of this kind, carried out behind my back, is something I won't stand for from any publisher. I shall therefore write to Dietz *expressly forbidding him* to print the remainder of the article in any form other than that in which it appears in the proof corrected by me, and by that I mean *word for word*. What else I shall do remains to be seen. At all events, Mr Dietz has made it impossible for me to send further contributions to a periodical in which one is exposed to this kind of treatment.

Your
F. Engels

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

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[a] Engels, F. 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom' (present edition, Vol. 27).

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ENGELS TO JOHANN HEINRICH WILHELM DIETZ

IN STUTTGART

London, 1 April 1890

To
Mr J. H. W. Dietz, Stuttgart.

I have just noticed that you have taken the liberty of making various alterations to my article on Russian policy[a] without the consent of myself or of the editors,[b] alterations which are wholly uncalled for, whether from the viewpoint of the penal code or of the Anti-Socialist Law.

I have behaved as decently as possible towards you over this matter. I asked Kautsky to get you to score any passages that struck you as objectionable when you read the proofs. I in turn altered many of the scored passages and sent a request that if you felt further alterations to be advisable, you should write to us, stating your reasons. Since no more objections were forthcoming, I could only assume that the article would appear unaltered.

Instead of that you have altered passages which you had not even scored.

As it is not my habit to put up with this sort of thing from publishers, *I hereby forbid you to print the remainder of the article unless it agrees word for word with the proofs corrected by myself* and I reserve the right to take any other steps I think fit.

I need hardly say that in future I shall be careful not to write again for a periodical in which one is exposed to things of this nature.

Yours very faithfully,
F. Engels

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[a] See previous letter – [b] of the *Neue Zeit*

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ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH

IN MORNEX (FRANCE)

London, 3 April 1890

My dear Citizen,

As soon as I got your letter,[624] I let Stepniak have the rest of the article (in proof) and, since part of it was slightly damaged, I added the corresponding MS for you to use as a check. I hope that by now it will already have reached you.

Stepniak also gave me a copy of the *Review*, for which I thank you; I look forward keenly to reading your article and those of Plekhanov.[625]

You are perfectly right; in a publication of this kind all the articles in any given number should be complete in themselves and quite independent of any sequel in the ensuing number. Indeed, I should have acted on that principle had I not been pressed for time.

That it is imperative to combat Narodism[a], no matter where—whether German, French, English or Russian—I entirely agree. Nevertheless, I believe it would have been more fitting if what I felt impelled to say had been said by a Russian. Admittedly, the partition of Poland, for example, necessarily looks very different when seen from the Russian rather than the Polish standpoint, which last has become that of the West. But I must, after all, take equal account of Polish sentiment. If the Poles lay claim to territory which most Russians regard as inalienably theirs and as being Russian by nationality, it is not for me to decide between them. All I can say is that—or so it seems to me—it is for the populations concerned to decide their fate themselves, just as the Alsatians will have to choose for themselves between Germany and France. Unfortunately, in writing about Russian foreign policy and its effect on Europe, I found it impossible not to mention things which the present generation in Russia regards as 'internal affairs'[a] and the impropriety, or apparent impropriety, consists in its being a foreigner rather than a Russian who was thus holding forth. But that was unavoidable.

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[a] These words are in Russian in the original

If you think it might be of help to write a short note along these lines and to put my name to it, I should be glad if you would insert it wherever you think fit.

I hope that the publication of my article in English will make some impact. The faith of the Liberals in the Czar's[a] liberating zeal has been severely shaken just now by the news from Siberia, by Kennan's book[616] and by the recent unrest at Russian universities.[626] That is why I hastened into print, so as to strike while the iron was hot. The diplomats in St. Petersburg were counting on the advent of Gladstone, Czarophil and admirer of the 'DIVINE FIGURE OF THE NORTH', as he called Alexander III, to enable them to embark on their next campaign in the East. After the Cretans and Armenians had been unleashed, a diversion in Macedonia might have followed; with France in thrall to the Czar and a benevolent England, they might perhaps have risked yet another step forward, and even the seizure of Czaregrad,[b] without Germany's hazarding a war in such unfavourable circumstances. And, Czaregrad once captured, there would be hope of a long spell of chauvinist intoxication of the kind we experienced in Germany after 1866 and 1870.[267] That is why the resurgence of anti-Czarist sentiment among the English Liberals seems to me so important to our cause; it is most fortunate that Stepniak should be here and thus able to fan the flames.[627]

Now that a revolutionary movement is under way actually inside Russia, her foreign policy, once invincible, is suffering one setback after another. And that is highly desirable, for the said foreign policy is our most dangerous enemy, and not only ours, but yours. It is the only force to have remained unshaken up till now in Russia where the Czar is losing his hold even over the army, as evidenced by the numerous arrests of officers which prove that Russian officers in the matter of general intelligence and character, are infinitely superior to the Prussians. And as soon as you have partisans and loyal agents in the ranks of the foreign service—you or, come to that, the Constitutionals[457]—will have won hands down.

Kind regards to Plekhanov,

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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[a] Alexander III – [b] Constantinople

First published in Russian in the collection *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdeniye truda'*, No. 1, M., 1924

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[1]

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 April 1890

In great haste. Am sending you *Time* containing my article. *Beware* of the *German version* in the *Neue Zeit*, which has been shamefully mangled. Will reappear in its *correct* form in the May issue.[a] Kindly inform Schlüter so as to ensure that the mangled version is not made use of over there in the *Volkszeitung*, say, or elsewhere. In Germany things are going ahead merrily; the *débâcle* has begun and little Willie[b] will doubtless make certain that it doesn't come to a standstill again. Schorlemmer is here and sends cordial greetings to you and your wife, as do I.

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

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[a] See Engels' letters to Dietz (this volume, p.466) and to Kautsky (this volume, p465) – [b] William II

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ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

IN THE HAGUE

London, 9 April 1890

Dear Comrade,

I fear that there is no chance of your son being taken on as an apprentice in an engineering workshop over here. Thirty or forty years ago, engineering firms used to engage apprentices of this kind and my brother[a] worked as such in Bury near Manchester for a year. He had to pay a premium of one hundred pounds sterling, was enrolled as an apprentice in the Engineers' Trades Union and in due course received 15 shillings a week. But now that the continentals and especially the Germans are competing with the British in the engineering field, they have ceased by and large to accept any more foreigners as apprentices. I shall make further inquiries in Manchester and, if anything more hopeful comes to light, shall get in touch with you straight away.

I'm glad to hear that things are also moving ahead briskly where you are; after the excitements of last summer a certain torpor has set in over here, while at the same time the personal, local and other forms of friction inevitable in England are proliferating again to a greater extent than is desirable. However a practical people like the English and, for that very reason, one that is very *terre à terre*[b] in its way of going about things, must eventually learn from its own mistakes; it's the only way here, and then again the movement has already penetrated far too wide sections of the working class for it to be held up more than temporarily by all these squabbles.

The third volume of *Capital* weighs heavily on my conscience; certain parts are in such a state that they won't be fit for publication until they have been carefully revised and to some extent rearranged and, as you may imagine when so imposing a work is at stake, I shan't do anything of the kind without the most mature reflection. Once the 5th section is polished off, the two that follow will involve less work; the first four have to be read over, but apart from that are ready for the press. If I could spend a year right away from the day-to-day affairs of

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[a] Emil Engels – [b] matter of fact

the international movement, a year without newspapers to read, without letters to write, without involvement in anything else, I should polish it off easily.

With kind regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN VIENNA

London, 11 April 1890

Dear Kautsky,

A line or two in great haste before the post goes. First of all my heartiest congratulations on your engagement. You have been through a difficult time and to me this news is a sign that you've got over it, that you've put it behind you. May you find the happiness you expect.

Schorlemmer and Nim also send you their sincerest congratulations.

Thank you for your letter from Stuckart;[a] yesterday I also got one from Dietz, which I answered straight away, saying that I was entirely satisfied and also confirming that, as I had previously told you, I agree to a new edition of the *Origin*, etc.,[b] as part of the *Internationale Bibliothek* and shall make some additions.

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[a] Stuttgart – [b] Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

Now as to Dietz's plan to bring you to Stuckart, that is really a matter you must settle between the two of you. Schorlemmer and I were in Kentish Town[628] today, but Ede was out and so I doubt whether I shall be able to consult with him before Sunday. As for myself, all I can say is that I should much prefer to have you here, but if your presence in Stuttgart[629] is really necessary and you are nevertheless able to visit this country for a month or two each year, I must, for better or for worse, content myself with that. The *Neue Zeit* has become a stronghold which is worth defending to the utmost. And having an influence over Dietz's publishing business generally, which henceforth will be a more important lever in party life than was the case during the period of oppression, is also *à considération*.[a] To some extent, naturalisation and a secure berth in Germany can cut both ways, since it means that you would be liable to be thrown out of Austria. And you are also familiar with dear Stuckart and its delights. I shall give the matter further thought to see whether there may not be some other, not immediately apparent, snags and talk it over with Ede on Sunday.

However I wanted to get this line off to you straight away and it's now 5.25, *ergo* time for the post.

Your
F. E.

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

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[a] worthy of consideration

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 12 April 1890

Dear Sorge,

Letter of 3-6 March received with thanks. The business of Miquel's letters[630] is not without considerable snags. 'Wilhelm'[a] would also like to have them, only to spring them on the world just at the wrong moment and thus deprive us for good of the hold we have over Miquel. For once the scandal had blown over, Miquel wouldn't give a fig for us. To me it seems far more important to keep some control over the chap by this means than to raise an unnecessary clamour as a result of which he would elude us and, what's more, have the pleasure of getting away unscathed. In any case everyone knows he was a member of the League.[531]

Again, my experience of the American press[300] has been altogether too startling for me to fall for the bait. If someone on the *Volkszeitung* were to get wind of the fact that the afore mentioned letters were in America, none of those sensation-mongers would have a moment's rest or repose until they had got hold of them—nor would I willingly subject anyone to such torment and temptation. Besides, how am I to know how long Schlüter will remain with the *Volkszeitung* and whether they mightn't make the publication of the said letters a condition of his remaining?

In short, I cannot possibly agree to this deal.

In Germany everything's going better than we could have hoped in our wildest dreams. Young William[b] is positively *mad*—as if cut out, that is, for the task of thoroughly disrupting the old order, shattering what little confidence remains among the propertied classes as a whole—whether Junkers or bourgeois—and preparing the ground for us in a way even the liberal Frederick III could not have done. His sudden urge to be amiable to the workers—purely Bonapartist and demagogic but adulterated with muddled dreams of a divinely inspired princely

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht – [b] William II

mission—makes no impression whatsoever on our chaps, something for which we have the Anti-Socialist Law to thank.[52] Even in 1878 it might still have served *some* purpose, have created some confusion in our ranks; it could not possibly do so now. Our people have been all too keenly aware of the iron hand of Prussia. A few weaklings—as, for example, Mr Blos and, perhaps, some of the 700,000 who have come to us as new recruits during the past three years—might waver a bit in this respect, but they'll quickly be voted down and, before the year is out, we shall see William wondrously disappointed as regards his power over the workers, whereupon love will turn to rage, and cajolery to persecution. Hence our policy should be to avoid creating any disturbance until the expiry of the Anti-Socialist Law on 30 September; for by then the Reichstag will have dispersed completely, and to declare another state of emergency would scarcely be feasible. But once we have regained our ordinary rights as citizens, you should witness renewed expansion on a scale such as will put in the shade even that which took place on 20 February.[599]

Since Little Willie's amiability towards the workers has as its counterpart an urge for military dictatorship (this shows how the present gang of princes are all turning Bonapartist, nolens volens) and he is all set to shoot people down at the first sign of resistance, it's up to us to see that he doesn't get the chance. As we found during the elections, we have made truly enormous headway in the country, particularly where, besides the big estates, there were, at most, *big* farmers, i.e. in the East. Three second ballots in Mecklenburg, 2 in Pomerania! The 85,000 votes that accrued between the first official count (1,342,000) and the second (1,427,000) all came from country districts where we were not expected to get any at all. Thus there is a prospect of our soon being able to capture the rural proletariat of the eastern provinces and, with it,—the soldiers of the 'crack' Prussian regiments. That will bring down the old order with a vengeance, and we shall govern. But the Prussian generals would have to be greater fools than I suppose for them not to be just as much aware of this as we are, and so they *must* be dying to stage a ceremonial massacre and thus put us out of harm's way for a while. That, therefore, is our second reason for proceeding in an ostensibly peaceable manner.

A third reason is that the electoral victory has gone to the heads of the masses—particularly in the case of new recruits—and they now believe themselves able to take *everything* by storm. Unless something is done to check this, all sorts of silly things will happen. And the bourgeois—vide the colliery owners—are doing all they can to encourage and provoke such silliness. For this they not only have their former reasons,

but also the additional one of hoping they may thus put paid to little Willie's 'amiability towards the workers'.

I would ask you *not* to let Schlüter see the passages side-lined above. He tends to act impulsively and then, I know my *Volkszeitung* people—as journalists they ruthlessly seize upon anything that may be of use. But these matters must *not* get into the press, either out there or here, at least not into the German papers, and least of all as emanating from myself.

If, in the immediate future, therefore, our party in Germany should seem a trifle placatory—even as regards May Day—you will know the reason why. We are aware that the generals would gladly take advantage of May Day to do some shooting. In Vienna and Paris there is a similar intention.

In the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), Bebel's contributions from Germany are of particular importance. I never make up my mind about any point relating to German party tactics before having read Bebel's views on the subject, either in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* or in one of his letters. He is wonderfully perspicacious. It's a pity that only Germany is known to him from his own observation. This week's article, 'Deutschland ohne Bismarck', is also by him.

You will have had *Time* (sent a week ago today)[a] containing my first article on Russian policy.[b]

My nerves are settling down a bit now that I have turned almost *teetotal*; in fact, I shall have to go on restricting myself until the autumn. Schorlemmer is still a total abstainer. He and I send our cordial regards to you and your wife. He is staying here over Easter and will go back to Manchester on Monday. Sam Moore is getting on well in Africa;[c] in a year's time he will be coming home on 6 months' leave.

Your
F. E.

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[a] See this volume, p.469 – [b] The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom (see this volume, p.469) – [c] See this volume, p.336-9

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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

IN BERLIN

London, 12 April 1890

Dear Schmidt,

I am precluded today by lack of time from replying save very briefly to your letters of 25.2 and 1.4, but as the second requires an early answer,[631] I must get on with it today.

I realised as much as a year ago that I should require help with Marx's mss. I therefore proposed that Ede—i.e. Bernstein—and Kautsky should assist me with these, needless to say not without remuneration, and both accepted. Well, so far I have had from Kautsky a copy of part of the ms. of Book IV, mentioned in the preface to Volume II[632]; he has got quite adept at reading the handwriting and still devotes some of his spare time to this. Now there is, in fact, a possibility that he will be leaving London for good, i.e. at any rate for a few years, but in that case, as has already been agreed, his place will probably be taken by Ede, particularly in view of the fact that, though his position might change should the Anti-Socialist Law[52] expire and not be renewed, he might still not be able to return to Germany there and then. As things stand *at present*, therefore, I could not offer you any real prospect of work in this sphere; but in six months things can change a lot, and I shall be all the happier to bear your kind offer in mind in that I am anxious to familiarise as many properly qualified people as possible with Marx's handwriting—something that can't be done without teachers, of whom I am the only one. For if I were to kick the bucket, as might happen any day, these mss. would otherwise be a book sealed with seven seals and would be subject to guesswork rather than a correct reading. So if a situation should arise in which I lost my present collaborators or otherwise obtained a free hand in this respect, I should at once apply to you and can only hope that you would then still feel inclined to accept; perhaps you will succeed in coming over here notwithstanding and, once you were in this country, much might easily be arranged which, from a distance, appears difficult.

Our electoral victory[a] was indeed astonishing and the success it

scored in the outside world was no less glorious. Bismarck's victories may have earned us—i.e. the Germans generally—respect as soldiers, but have tended rather to diminish the respect for our personal characters *qua* Germans; the boot-licking of the bourgeois has seen to the rest: Germans fight well if well commanded, but commanded they must be—never any question of independence, of character, of ability to resist tyranny. Since the elections this has changed. People have seen that the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers do not constitute the German nation; the brilliant victory of the workers after 10 years of oppression, and *while subject to* that oppression, has impressed people more than Königgrätz and Sedan.[633] The world knows that it was we who overthrew Bismarck, and the socialists of all countries are now aware that, like it or not, the movement's centre of gravity has shifted to Germany. Nor, after all I have experienced, am I at all afraid that our workers will not show themselves equal to this new position. The more recently recruited elements may not yet be sufficiently versed in the correct tactics, but that is something they will soon learn and, whatever is left undone by their older comrades-in-arms, the government will, in its wisdom, surely make good. The attitude adopted by the whole of our press towards the famous edicts[609] shows how much spade-work the Anti-Socialist Law had done in this particular. Once bitten twice shy—and something which, in 1878, might for a time have had a somewhat disruptive effect, now cuts absolutely no ice whatever. I know that there are people, even within the new group,[b] who would gladly go half way to meet the amiability manifested towards the workers from on high, but they would be voted down as soon as they opened their mouths. Puttkamer was quite right—the Anti-Socialist Law has had an enormous 'educative effect', but not in the way he supposed.

Have you seen a review of your book by Achille Loria of Siena,[c] in Conrad's *Jahrbücher*? It was sent me from Italy—maybe indirectly by Loria himself. I know the said Loria; he was over here and he also corresponded with Marx. He speaks German and writes it as in his article—that is to say, badly—and he is the most consummate careerist I have ever met. At one time he believed that world redemption lay in small-scale peasant landownership, but whether he still does, I cannot say. He

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[a] to the Reichstag in Germany – [b] Social-democratic parliamentary group – [c] A. Loria, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Wertgesetzes*

writes one book after another and plagiarises with an effrontery that would not be possible outside Italy—even in Germany. For instance, a few years ago he wrote a little book[a] in which he proclaimed Marx's materialist conception of history as *his* most recent discovery, and sent the thing to *me*! When Marx died, he wrote and sent me an article[b] in which he maintained that, 1. Marx had based his theory of value on a sophism which he himself had recognised as such (*un sofisma consaputo*[c]) and 2. Marx had never written Book III of *Capital*, nor had he ever intended to write it, but had merely referred to it in order to pull everyone's legs, and knowing full well that the solutions he had promised were quite impossible! Despite all rebuffs and incivilities[d] I can never be quite sure that he will not again pester me with letters or packages; the chap's impertinence knows no bounds.

Kind regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

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[a] A. Loria, *La teoria economica della Constituzione Politica* – [b] A. Loria, *Karl Marx: Nuova antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Serie II, Bd. 38, vom. 1. April 1883 – [c] A known sophism – [d] Engels to Loria, end of April 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 47, pp.24-5)

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 16 April 1890

My dear Laura,

At last! a free hour to write a line to you. I am pestered almost to death with letters, verbal and other applications of all sorts, and wish I could shut myself off for a month or so—for I find it impossible to reply to all my letters, much less to do any serious work.

Many thanks for the kind wishes in your poem but I am afraid the Lord on high and the lord below will settle my hash for me some day and find me a place somewhere. But that need not trouble us now.

And now a little business:

1) Will you give me Longuet's address?

2) Will Paul procure me the title, publisher's name, etc. of a pocket edition (cheap) of the Code Napoléon[634] as at present in force, for Sam Moore? (*les cinq codes suffiront, civil, procédure civile, pénal, procédure criminelle, de commerce*[a]) and price.

3) Enclosed a bill found in last lot of French newspapers.

The Parisian workmen are acting indeed as if they had but one purpose to live for, and that is to prove how utterly undeserved was their revolutionary reputation. It's all very well for Paul to repeat over and over again that they are Boulangists out of pure opposition against the bourgeoisie—but so were those who voted for Louis Bonaparte, and what would our Parisians say if the German workmen, to spite Bismarck and the bourgeoisie, threw themselves blindfold in the arms of young William? It is plainly cutting off your nose to spite your face, and the Parisians have still so much left of their former *esprit* that they can still back up the worst of all possible causes by the best of all possible reasons.

No, the cause of this surfeit of Boulangism lies deeper. It is Chauvinism. The French Chauvins, after 1871, resolved that history should stand still until Alsace was reconquered. Everything was made subordinate to that. And our friends never had the courage to stand up

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[a] five statutes will suffice: civil, civil and penal procedure, criminal procedure and commerce

against this absurdity. There were fellows at the *Citoyen* and *Cri*[a] who howled with the masses against everything German, no matter what, and our friends submitted to that. The consequences are there. The *only* excuse for Boulangism is *la revanche*, Alsace reconquered. What not one party in Paris ever dared to oppose, is it a wonder that the Parisian workmen now cling to as a gospel?

But in spite of French patriots, history did not stand still—only France did, after the fall of McMahon.[198] And the necessary consequence of this French patriotic aberration is that the French workmen are now the allies of the Czar[b] against not only Germany, but against the Russian workmen and revolutionists too! In order to preserve to Paris the position of revolutionary centre, the revolution must be crushed in Russia, for how to reconquer, without the help of the Czar, the leading position belonging to Paris by right?

If the desertion en masse to Boulanger of the French or rather Parisian workmen should cause socialists abroad to consider them as completely *déchus*,[c] there would be no cause to be astonished. What else can they expect?

Of course, I should not be so hasty in my judgment. This momentary aberration should not lead me to such a conclusion. But it is the third time that such an aberration recurs since 1789—the first time Napoleon No. I, the second time Napoleon No. 3 was carried to the top by that wave of aberration, and now it's a worse creature than either—but fortunately the force of the wave, too, is broken. Anyhow, we must apparently come to the conclusion that the negative side of the Parisian revolutionary character—chauvinistic Bonapartism—is as essential to it as the positive side, and that after every great revolutionary effort, we may have a recrudescence of Bonapartism, of an appeal to a saviour who is to destroy the vile bourgeois *qui ont escamoté la révolution et la république*[d] and in whose traps the *naifs ouvriers*[e] have fallen—because, being Parisians, they know everything from birth and by birth, and need not learn like vulgar mortals.

So I shall welcome any revolutionary spurt the Parisians may favour us with, but shall expect them to be again *volés*[f] afterwards and then fly to a miracle-performing saviour. For *action* I hope and trust the Parisians to be as fit as ever, but if they claim to lead with regard to *ideas*, I shall say thank you.

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[a] *Cri du Peuple* (see also Engels to Lafargue, 30 October 1882, present edition, Vol. 46) – [b] Alexander III – [c] degraded – [d] Who have done away with the revolution and the Republic – [e] Simple working men – [f] cheated

By the bye Boulanger is so deep down now that the other day Frank Rosher who was in Jersey on business—a boy of 22, and the most conceited snob in London—called on him and was received courteously and both assured each other of their mutual *bienveillance et protection*[a]!

I hope the 1st of May will not disappoint the expectations of our French friends. If it turns out a success in Paris, it will be a heavy blow to the Possibilists and may mark the beginning of an awakening from Boulangism. The 1st May resolution was the best our congress took.[473] It proves our power all over the world, is a better revival of the International than all formal attempts at reorganization, and shows again

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I am afraid I shall not be able to take one of your two dogs. The one is a bitch and Nim objects firmly to have again to do the massacre of the innocents, and the other is a pointer, *id est* a sporting dog, and there are most absurd laws here with regard to them—I could not take him out to Hampstead without being stopped by the police as a potential poacher; that is the reason why pointers, fox-hounds, setters, etc. are kept only for real sporting purposes and never, as with us on the continent, for private amusement. *Voilà ce que c'est que de vivre dans un pays aristocratique*.[b]

In Germany we shall have to keep the 1st May as quiet as possible. The military has strict orders to interfere at once and not to wait for requisition from the civil authorities, and the secret police—on the point of being discharged—are straining every nerve to provoke a collision. In fact if the telegrams just to hand by Reuter are worth anything, they are beginning already and have found a few anarchists to provoke some 'outrages'.

Nim says she can't come, her gardening days are over. She has rheumatism in the hip-joint—not much, but there it sticks.

By the bye our Paris friends seem to go all to pieces. There is the *Parti socialiste*—a paper to work the Municipal elections, that I can conceive as a rational purpose. But then there is Okecki's *Autonomie*, and then a daily paper, the *Combat* in Boyer's hands, and now Guesde wants to organize a lithographic correspondence—why this looks like an attempt at *gaspillage*[c]—they all cry after a daily paper and now they have one they don't seem to use it—or are they all at sixes and sevens? I cannot make it out.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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[a] Goodwill and protection – [b] That's what comes of living in an aristocratic country – [c] squandering

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ENGELS TO VERA ZASULICH[635]

IN MORNEX (FRANCE)

London, 17 April 1890
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Citizen,

When I read Beck's article, I had a feeling it might anger you and your friends, and I told Bernstein that, in his place, I would not have published such twaddle. To this, his answer was that he felt he had no right to suppress an article which did, after all, express the views of a fair number of young Russians, people who had no other organ in which to reply, for the benefit of *Sozialdemokrat* readers, to the article which had preceded it, and that what he had chiefly in mind was to give you an opportunity to answer those criticisms; he added that he would naturally, and with the greatest pleasure, print any reply you cared to send him.[636]

The position of the *Sozialdemokrat* vis-à-vis the Russians in the West is somewhat delicate. Needless to say, the paper looks upon you as the allies and particular friends of the German movement, but other socialist groups can also lay claim to some measure of consideration. If they are to communicate with German working men, they are more or less obliged to write to the *Sozialdemokrat*; should that paper refuse them its hospitality? To do so would be to meddle in the internal affairs of the Russians—something to be avoided at all costs. Consider the internal struggles of the French and Danish Socialists; for as long as it was able, i.e. so long as it was not itself called in question, the

Sozialdemokrat maintained its neutrality vis-à-vis the Possibilitsts,[19] as it has continued to do vis-à-vis the two Danish parties, although its sympathies lie entirely with the 'revolutionary' side.[418] And the same thing applies to the Russians; Bernstein has never harboured any ill-will whatsoever towards you, of that you may be assured, but he has an exaggerated sense of justice and equity; and rather than perpetrate *one* injustice against an enemy or a man he finds uncongenial, he will sooner perpetrate *ten* against his friends and allies; all his friends criticise him for an impartiality so excessive that it ends up as bias against his allies. This is why he always tends to give the enemy the benefit of the doubt.

Add to that the fact that we are all very much in the dark as regards the various, and far from immutable, groupings which occur among the Russians in the West, so that we are liable at any given moment to drop a brick. Bernstein is much better informed than I am, having had at least some first-hand experience of this kind of thing in Zurich, whereas I, on the contrary, did not know so much as the names, or even suspect the existence of the journals you cite.[637] Bernstein tells me that, in Beck's letter, he detects the accents of Lavrov's followers—whether rightly or wrongly, I do not know—but this was one of the reasons which induced him to publish the letter.

He also told me that he had arranged for a translation of Plekhanov's preface to be sent him from Paris so that he might print it in its entirety; it had arrived, he said, and would appear as soon as possible. He arranged this as soon as he got Beck's letter, which can only mean that he intended to take advantage of its publication to give Plekhanov another say. I would now suggest that you write a reply to Beck—in French, if you so wish—and send it to me or else direct to the *Sozialdemokrat* (address 4 Corinne Road, Tufnell Park, London N.). While you, for your part, may know the said Mr Beck who, outside Russian circles, is quite unknown, and while you may regard entering into debate with him as a somewhat demeaning occupation, this is, after all, the sort of unpleasantness to which one is all too often compelled to submit, as I am only too well aware.

I know from experience what an upheaval is like when it takes place, as now, in the bosom of a small community of the Russians in the West. Everyone knows everyone else, having had with them personal relations of a friendly or hostile nature and, as a result, any development—accompanied as it inevitably is by divisions, schisms and controversies—will assume a wholly personal character. Such things are inherent in any

political emigration, and we had our fill of them between 1849 and 1860. But what I also learned is that the first party to have the moral fibre to rise above that atmosphere of personalities, to refuse to let itself be dominated by the influence of such squabbles, will find itself in consequence at a considerable advantage as compared with the rest. The less vulnerable you are to pinpricks of this kind, the better will you be able to preserve your strength and husband your time for the great struggle. Come to that, what harm can it do you if an article by Beck or by someone else appears in the *Sozialdemokrat*, provided you can be sure of being able to reply to it fairly and squarely? It would, after all, be impossible to close the columns of the entire Socialist press in the West to your Russian adversaries; and it would surely be to the advantage of the Russian movement itself if it ran its course somewhat more openly before the wider public in the West, rather than covertly, in small, isolated circles which, for that very reason, become hotbeds of intrigue and conspiracy. To inveigle his adversaries out into the open, into the light of day, and to attack them in full view of the public, was one of Marx's most powerful and most frequently used ploys when confronted by clandestine intrigue.

If you wish to rob your enemies of all desire to swagger in front of the German Socialists, your best way would be to contribute regularly to the *Sozialdemokrat* and the *Neue Zeit*. Once the identity of your views with those of the Germans has been thoroughly established and recognised, let the others say what they will—no one will heed them. I am sure that contributions from you would be welcomed with open arms, and was delighted to hear that Plekhanov's article on Chernyshevsky was to appear in the *Neue Zeit*.

My cordial regards to Plekhanov, as also to yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

Bernstein is an excellent chap as regards both intelligence and character, but it is typical of him that the measure of the esteem in which he holds you should be the number of attacks he permits others to make upon you in the *Sozialdemokrat*; the greater his respect for you, the more anxious he is to appear impartial where you are concerned.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[237]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 19 April 1890

Dear Sorge,

I get the *Nationalist* regularly but unfortunately there's not much in it. Just feeble reflections of our Fabians[176] over here. Dreary and shallow as *Dismal Swamp*,[638] but pleased as Punch about the magnanimous magnanimity with which they, *eddicated* middle-class folk, condescend to emancipate the workers who, however, are expected in return to be sweetly submissive and kowtow obediently to the eddicated *cranks* and their *isms*. Let them enjoy their little pleasure while they may; one fine day the movement will efface all this. Indeed, we continentals are at an advantage in that this sort of thing would not be possible in our case because of the very different effect the French Revolution has had on us.

Today I am also sending you *The People's Press*, which, so far as reports on the new Trades Unions are concerned, has now taken the place of the *Labour Elector*. The latter, as you will have seen, no longer carries any factual news because the workers flatly refuse to have anything further to do with it. Not that this prevents Burns, Mann and others (particularly some of the dockers) from consorting a great deal with Champion on the sly and allowing themselves to be influenced by him. *The People's Press* is edited by a very youthful Fabian named Dell, the second in command being the parson Morris; both, from what I have heard so far, are decent people and most obliging to the gas workers. The

(secret) leader of the gas workers is Tussy and the union is, to all appearances at any rate, far and away the best of the lot.[565] The dockers have been spoiled by the philistines' subventions and are anxious not to blot their copybook with the bourgeois public. Moreover, their secretary, Tillett, is the mortal enemy of the gas workers, whose secretary he vainly strove to become. The dockers and gas workers, large numbers of whom are dockers in the summer and gas workers in winter, really belong together; hence the latter proposed an agreement whereby anyone who was a member of one of the two Unions should not, on changing his job, be forced to join the other. So far this has been rejected by the dockers, who demand that a gas worker who turns docker in the spring should pay his joining fee and membership dues. Hence a lot of unpleasantness. Altogether the dockers are putting up with the hell of a lot from their Executive. The Gas Workers and General Labourers take in all the unskilled workers, and in Ireland the agricultural day labourers are also flocking to join it—to the annoyance of Davitt, who has progressed no further than Henry George and considers, though quite without reason, his domestic Irish policy to be threatened.[639] Here in London, the gas workers south of the Thames have been thoroughly trounced by the South Metropolitan Gas Co.,[577] that was all to the good, as they were getting altogether much too cocky and thought they could carry everything before them; in Manchester they suffered a like fate and now they are calming down and starting to consolidate the organisation and fill its coffers. In the Union Tussy represents the girls and women of Silvertown (India Rubber, etc., Works) whose strike she led,[549] and will probably soon take her seat on the London Trades Council.[587]

In a country such as this, with an old political and labour movement, there will always be a vast accumulation of traditionally received *rubbish* to be gradually got rid of. There are the prejudices, all of which need to be broken down, of the skilled Unions—Engineers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Joiners, Type Compositors, etc., the petty jealousies between individual trades which, fomented in word and deed by the leaders, are surreptitiously exacerbated to the point of outright enmity and strife; there are the incompatible ambitions and the intrigues of the leaders—this one wants to get into Parliament, so does that, the other wants to get on to the County Council[451] or the School Board, yet another to establish the universal centralisation of all workers, and another still to found a newspaper, a club, etc., etc.,—in short, there are endless causes of friction; and, in the midst of it all, the Socialist League,[21] contemptuous of everything that is not downright revolution-

ary (which means here in England as with you in America, everything that's not confined to spouting hot air to the exclusion of everything else), and the Federation,[62] which continues to behave as if, except for itself, there were nothing but fools and bunglers, even though the modicum of support *it* is regaining is due solely to the vigour of the new movement. In short, anyone who merely considered the surface of things would say that all was confusion and personal quarrels. But *beneath* the surface the movement continues, spreading to ever wider strata, for the most part precisely those *at the very* base of the hitherto inert masses, nor is the day far off when those masses will suddenly discover their identity, when it will dawn on them that it is they who are these vast dynamic masses and, on that day, short work will be made of all the shabby tricks and petty quarrels.

Needless to say, the above details as to persons and momentary differences are solely for your own information and must not on any account be allowed to get into the *Volkszeitung*. *Let this be understood once and for all*—for when Schlüter was over here, he more than once demonstrated a tendency to take this sort of thing rather too lightly.

I much look forward to the First of May. In Germany the group in the Reichstag was duty-bound to restrain any excess of zeal. The bourgeois, the political police, whose 'bread and butter' is at stake, the worthy officers—all are itching for mayhem and slaughter and are seeking any pretext to persuade young William[a] that it's never too soon to shoot. But this would completely ruin our game. First we have to get rid of the Anti-Socialist Law,[52] i.e. survive the 30th of September. And after that our prospects in Germany will be much too brilliant for us to wreck them merely for the sake of blowing our own trumpet. Come to that, the parliamentary group's proclamation[640] is bad; it stems from Liebknecht and the nonsense about a 'general strike' was wholly unnecessary. But either way, our people have been so elated by the 20th of February[599] that a certain amount of restraint is necessary if blunders are to be avoided.

In France the First of May *might* be a turning-point, for Paris at any rate, provided it helps to restore to their right minds the large numbers of working men who have gone over to Boulangism there. For this, our people have only themselves to blame. They have never had the courage to oppose the outcry against the Germans, *qua* Germans, and now in Paris they are falling victim to chauvinism. Luckily the position is better in the provinces. But abroad people look only to Paris.

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[a] William II

If the French sent me their stuff, I would send it on to you. But I think they themselves are ashamed of the things. *Well, it's in the French nature*—defeat is more than they can stomach. The moment they again have a taste of success, all will suddenly change.

Cordial regards to your wife[a] and yourself.

Likewise to the Schlüters.

Schorlemmer returned to Manchester last Monday. We are both of necessity strict abstainers. *Quelle horreur*![b]

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN[641]

London, 30 April 1890

Dear Sorge

If, next Sunday, a gigantic demonstration for the eight hour day takes place here in London, this will be thanks only to Tussy and Aveling. Tussy represents her Silvertown working women on the council of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union and enjoys so much popularity on that Council that no one calls her anything but our mother. The gas workers—the best of the new Unions—were greatly in favour of the 8 hours demonstration for, besides having fought for and secured an 8 hour day for themselves, they had also learnt how insecure in practice is such an achievement, liable as it is to being reversed by the capitalists

[a] Katharina Sorge – [b] How awful!

at the first opportunity; for the gas workers as for the Miners, the main thing is that it should be *legally* established.

Thus it was the gasworkers and the Bloomsbury Socialist Society[642] (the best section, which seceded from the Socialist League 2 years ago and of which Lessner, Tussy and Aveling are members) who initiated the thing, and obtained a strong following among the smaller Trades Unions and the Radical Clubs,[22] which are increasingly splitting up into socialist working men's clubs and middle-class Gladstonian clubs. In all sincerity, they approached the London Trades Council[587] and suggested they take part in the proposed demonstration in Hyde Park. That body (next year it, too, will be in our hands), consisting mainly of representatives of the old skilled Trades Unions, realised that there was no avoiding the thing and attempted to gain control of it by a *coup de main*.

In collusion with the Social Democratic Federation[62] (Hyndman), they applied to the Commissioner of Works and reserved Hyde Park for the 4th of May, something the others had as yet failed to do. For whenever a large meeting is to be held in the park, prior notice must be given to the Commissioner of Works, who then stipulates how many platforms may be erected, etc. Since the regulations also prohibit the holding of *any other meeting* at the same time on the same day, these gentlemen imagined they now had the upper hand and, having monopolised the park, would be able to order the original committee about.[643] They had applied for 7 platforms, intending to allow the Social Democratic Federation to have two of them—thus, or so they thought, preserving a *semblance* of impartiality towards the socialists while at the same time gaining a socialist ally.

Hence they decided that *only* Trades Societies, *not* political associations (thus excluding the clubs), were to parade with banners and provide speakers. They edited the resolution, omitting all mention of the legal 8 hours day and referring only to the 8 hours to be striven for by means of Trades Union action. Not till they had arranged the procession, the routes to be taken, etc., did they call a meeting of delegates—of Trades Societies only. When this took place, 1. Tussy was not admitted on the grounds that she was not herself employed in the calling she represented! (and yet Mr Shipton, the secretary of the Trades Council, hasn't done a hand's turn in his trade for 15 or 16 years!!) 2. An amendment calling for the re-introduction of the legal 8 hours day into the resolution was not allowed to be put to the vote or debated—*this matter having already been settled*! 3. The delegates were given plainly to understand that the Trades Council was the man in possession, that the

Park was his for the 4th of May, and if they did not like it they could leave it alone.

Much wrath and consternation among the delegates of the original committee. The following day the tables were turned, however. Aveling went to the commissioner of Works and told him that, unless the original committee were *simultaneously* awarded a sufficient number of platforms, there would be a set-to; luckily the Tories are in power (the Liberals would have prevaricated and conceded nothing) and cannot afford to make any more enemies amongst the workers—Aveling was awarded seven platforms, and now it was the turn of the gentlemen on the Trades Council to eat humble pie, for a clash *at this juncture* would really have shown how weak they were.

Our committee then buckled to, settling the details of its plans and of the routes to be taken by the procession—these it published forthwith—and thus was first to be ready. Yesterday Aveling and Shipton met and so arranged matters as to preclude all possibility of a clash, which means that Sunday's meeting will be one of the biggest there has ever been.

You may get this published in the *Volkszeitung* and also in the Workmen's Advocate; I should be only too pleased if it were to come back to the gentlemen in *English* from America.

I am now sending you a few *Stars*, which will be comprehensible to you in the light of the above (NB each article as a rule contains news emanating both from our side and from the other lot, in addition to that obtained by the reporters themselves, all of it lumped together indiscriminately).

Further, the May number of *Time*. Also a bundle of *Combats* (belongs to us, Guesde editor-in-chief) and with them the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. The object of the threats of expulsion in Bebel's article[644] is Schippel—one of the chief intriguers and a great adept in sharp practice, whom Liebknecht discovered several years ago and introduced into the party but now mortally detests. Luckily Schippel is a *coward*, like Hyndman.

This is *our first major victory in London* and it shows that *we* now have the masses behind us in this country too. Four strong branches of the Social Democratic Federation, which is to have two platforms of its own, will be marching with us and are represented on our committee. The same applies to many of the skilled trades—the old, traditional leaders side with Shipton and the Trades Council—the majority with us. The whole of the East End is on our side. The masses over here, though not yet socialist, are well on the way there and have already got to the stage

of wanting to have only socialist leaders. The Trades Council is the only labour organisation of note to be still anti-socialist but already includes a socialist minority and, the moment the gas workers—who so far have been kept at arm's length by all manner of little ruses—get into it, things will begin to move fast. I feel convinced that, after the 4th of May, the movement here will take on an altogether different character, and then you will hear more about Tussy's public activities. We have shown the intriguers of the Trades Council and the Social Democratic Federation that we are a match for their wiles and ruses and, much though the chaps hate us, they cannot deny the facts. The English proletariat would now at long last appear to be entering the movement en masse and, should this be the case, all the petty intrigues, swindlers and would-be bigwigs will, by this time next year, either have been relegated to the modest position that is their due or else swept away.

Another edition of the *Manifesto*[a] is now printing; we want to bombard Germany with another 5,000 copies before the demise of the Anti-Socialist Law.[52]

A superb spring day. In a week's time the gilliflowers, white and pink may, laburnum and apple blossom will be out—the cherry trees have already been in flower for 5 days.

I trust you and your wife will keep well—cordial regards to you both.

Your

F. E.

Did you know that the *Labour Elector* had gone bust? It sold 23,000 copies during the *dockers' strike*,[489] but was spoilt by Tory money.[b]

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* – [b] See this volume, pp.446-50

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 9 May 1890

Dear Bebel,

Thank you for your news from Zurich—I am glad that we should have arrived at the same opinion in regard to this point too.[645] *Your* corroboration was of particular importance to me, the likes of us being so dependent in matters of this sort upon conclusions that are inadequately founded as to feel reluctant to use those unreliable conclusions as a basis for further inferences, let alone actions, without corroboration from an authoritative quarter.

My hearty congratulations to you and your wife on your daughter's engagement.[a] The fact that it will eventually mean her emigrating to America is certainly most unpleasant for you, though for me it might have the agreeable consequence of our some day making a trip together across the Atlantic. What do you feel about it? I am firmly convinced that you would get over your sea-sickness within 2 or 3 days and quite possibly for good and all. And a sea voyage of that kind is an invaluable antidote to wear and tear—even now, almost two years later, I can still feel the beneficial effects of my jaunt. Moreover, Zadek claims to have discovered a sure remedy for sea-sickness (anti-pyrin is said to be excellent) and, according to medical opinion, only 2 or 3 per cent of all human beings are unable to get used to the motion within 2 or 3 days. So consider the matter.

If you find my article[b] wanting in logic, the fault lies probably more with me than with Blos. To compress such a lengthy and complex matter into less than 2 printed sheets is a difficult feat and I am aware that there are all too many passages in which the thread gets lost and the reasoning is inadequate. In the event of my going into the subject—which is of the greatest importance to us—in rather more detail, some critical notes from you would be very welcome indeed just brief indications as to *where* you lost the thread and *how* you think it got snarled up.

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[a] Frieda Bebel – [b] F. Engels, *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom*

Well, no doubt the bourgeoisie will everywhere have had time enough to sweat out the fear inspired in them by the First of May and to wash the linen they dirtied in consequence. The *Daily News* correspondent in Berlin, one of the most vociferous Jeremiahs, complained on the First of May that the workers had made April fools of all and sundry, nor, until 4 days later, did the truth dawn on him that, despite the workers having insistently declared beforehand that all they wanted was a *peaceable* demonstration, no one had believed them.

You did perfectly right in so arranging things as to preclude the possibility of clashes. After 20 February[599] there is no longer any need for the German workers merely to kick up a row. Under the circumstances Germany was *bound* to make a more modest showing on the First of May than the others did, and no one thought the worse of you for that, either here or in France. But there is, I think, *one* lesson to be drawn from the Schippel business,[646] namely the need to ensure that, next time there's an interregnum between the general elections and the convocation of the Reichstag, the leadership of the parliamentary group is either empowered to continue functioning as before, or is expressly reinstated in office by the newly elected representatives for the period of the interregnum. It could then confidently intervene and also act, if necessary, while the gentlemen in Berlin, who would like to behave Paris-fashion, as though they were *natural* party leaders, would not be given the opportunity of throwing their weight about prematurely. Always providing that, after 1 October,[52] the organisation stays as it is.

Over here the demonstration on 4 May[647] was quite *overwhelming*, as the entire bourgeois press actually had to admit. I was on platform 4 (a heavy goods waggon) and could only see part—a fifth, say, or an eighth—of the crowd, but it was one vast sea of faces, as far as the eye could reach. Between 250,000 and 300,000 people, about 3/4 of them demonstrating workers. Aveling, Lafargue and Stepniak spoke from my platform—I was just an onlooker. Lafargue, with his mixture of southern vivacity and excellent English—if spoken with a strong French accent—elicited a storm of applause. So did Stepniak, while Ede, who was on the same platform as Tussy, was accorded a stunning reception. Each of the 7 platforms was 150 metres away from the next, the last ones being 150 metres from the edge of the park,[a] so that *our* meeting (the one in favour of international legal enforcement of an 8 hours working day)

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[a] Hyde Park

occupied an area more than 1,200 metres in length and at least 400-500 metres in breadth, the whole being absolutely jam-packed, while beyond it were the 6 platforms of the Trades Council[587] and the 2 of the Social Democratic Federation,[62] but with audiences barely half the size of ours. All in all, the biggest meeting that has ever been held here.

And, what's more, a stunning victory, particularly for *us*. You will have read the details in Ede's report in the *Volksblatt*.[648] The Trades Council and the Social Democratic Federation had, or so they thought, done us out of the park for that day, but they were bilked. Aveling persuaded the Commissioner of Public Works to allow us to have 7 platforms in the park as well, though this was, in effect, contrary to regulations. But luckily the Tories were in power and he succeeded in intimidating them by saying that our people would otherwise storm the other lot's platforms. And our meeting was the biggest, the best organised and the most enthusiastic. The vast majority here are already in favour of an eight hours law. Aveling and, even more so, Tussy organised the whole thing, and their position in the movement is now altogether different from what it was. The Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers[565]—by far the best of the new trade societies—supported them manfully nor, without them, would the thing have been possible. Now it behoves us to keep together the committee that organised our meeting—delegates of Trades Unions, and of radical and socialist clubs—and to make it the centre of the movement over here.[643] The first moves towards this end will probably be made tonight. Of one thing we may be certain: the workers, the bourgeoisie, the heads of the old, rotten Trades Unions and of the many political and social sects and sub-sects, and the careerists, place-seekers and men of letters intent on exploiting the movement, are well aware that the *real socialist mass movement began on the fourth of May*. Now the masses are at last on the move and, after a few battles and a certain amount of wavering to and fro, will, just as it happened in Germany, put an end to the personal ambitions and attempts at exploitation of the careerists and to the rivalries of the sects, and will relegate every man to his proper place. And since an international mentality will evolve very strongly in the process, you will soon discover what stuff your new allies are made of. All that the English do in the way of action, agitation or organisation shows that they are much more akin to us than the French, and once everything has got going along the right lines here and the internal friction, unavoidable at the start, has been overcome, you will be able to march alongside these people in truly fine style. What wouldn't I give for Marx to have

witnessed this awakening, he who, on this self-same English soil, was alive to the minutest symptom! You people can have no conception of the pleasure I have experienced during the past fortnight. And things are coming thick and fast. First Germany in February, then the First of May there and in America, and now this Sunday when, for the first time in 40 years, the voice of the English proletariat rang out once again. I carried my head a couple of inches higher as I climbed down from the old goods waggon.

Regards to your wife[a] and Singer,

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[649]

AT LE PERREUX

London, 10 May 1890

My dear Laura,

Only a few lines this busy Saturday—I am awfully behindhand with my correspondence—to thank you for your card and to enclose the £20 cheque I promised Paul. I also send you the *People's Press* with report of Sunday last.[650] It was tremendous. England at last *is* stirring, and no mistake. And it was a great victory for *us* specially, for Tussy and Aveling

[a] Julie Bebel

THAN ONCE TO PUBLISH THE ARTICLE OF MR LAFARGUE BUT IN VAIN; OUR CENSORS ARE TOO SEVERE ... EXCUSE ME THAT I SEND YOU PER NEXT POST THE MS.; I DO NOT SEND IT DIRECT TO THE AUTHOR SINCE I AM NOT SURE THAT HE RECEIVES MY LETTERS. I HAVE WRITTEN TO HIM TWICE, IN MARCH AND IN APRIL, IN ANSWER TO HIS KIND SENDING.'[652]

Have you had his letters? I shall send you the MS as soon as I get it. You would be well-advised to let him have another, non-suspect, address in Paris where he could send his letters for you, and also not to put your name to your own letters. That is what I do myself, and our correspondence has never been interrupted by such mishaps.

It's good that your Eight Hours Committee should continue to function—we are doing the same thing here, the Legal Eight Hour Day League is in process of formation, the Committee,[643] in particular, will continue to function, and new societies (among them branches of the DOCKERS Union) are affiliating themselves. Since the question is a completely practical and straightforward one, it might, perhaps, bring back those of your adherents who defected to Boulanger's camp two years ago. By a strange quirk of history the Parisians, after having upset their digestions with grandiloquent phrases dubbed ideas, have now been reduced to a diet of 'DR RIDGE'S FOOD FOR INFANTS', the eight hour day, and suchlike easily digested stuff.

The end of the Boulange[a] is comic indeed. Having been given a kick by universal suffrage, the gallant general passes it on to his 'committee'[653] so that there may be no intermediary between himself and universal suffrage!

Rumour has it that Frank Rosher's visit gave him the coup de grâce.[b] After that, he could sink no lower.

Is Laura making preparations to come over here? The month is nearly over.

Give her a kiss from Nim and myself.

Yours,
F. E.

Martignetti has been acquitted.

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

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Translated from the French

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[a] Bread-making, here meaning General Boulanger – [b] See this volume, p.481

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

[London,] 24 May 1890

[Dear friend,]

[Many] congratulations on your [acquit] tal!

What joy for you and your [family, who] must have suffered no less [than yo]u did yourself! I immediately wrote a [note o]f thanks to A.L [abriola] and also asked him to thank Lollini.

Now you will be embarking on a new existence, and doing so better and more hopefully than you would have been able to do on the other side of the Atlantic.

Yours sincerely yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE[655]

IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 May 1890

Dear Sorge,

Have received letters of 30 April and 15 May, likewise *Volkszeitung* containing passage from my letter.[a] Your statement will be appearing in the *Sozialdemokrat*[656] but, when I arrived at the office with your

[a] See this volume, p.488-91

statement yesterday, I found that they *already had it there, in print in the Berliner Volksblatt*. So Schlüter had sent it off before. That's what I call Schlüter's excess of zeal and what tends to be a bit embarrassing to a chap like me when he turns up at a newspaper office with an allegedly brand new ms. only to find the thing has already appeared in another paper. Not that I've had any other indiscretions to complain of since he's been in America, but I know him from days of yore.

I must now burden you with another piece of gossip about Schlüter which I would not otherwise have thought worth mentioning. But Motteler, a mortal enemy of Schlüter's, who was also responsible for Schlüter's leaving here, has recounted *his* version of the affair to Jonas and so it is necessary for you, at any rate, to know the true story.

Motteler is a crib-biter of the first water and is very difficult to get on with; he's a *faux bonhomme*,[a] a Swabian and an unrecognised genius who feels he has been downgraded because, though he was at one time *solely* responsible for managing the *Sozialdemokrat* and for party affairs abroad, others had to be appointed alongside himself, things having expanded. Not only is he absolutely reliable in money matters, however, but, more important still, he is generally recognised to be so by the whole of the party, and no one would venture to doubt him. In the post of party treasurer abroad, therefore, he is a most valuable man, and the others can only be glad to have been relieved of that responsibility for so long. Well, should anyone he dislikes happen to join the business, the results will be perpetual squabbling and never-ending persecution. That's what happened, first with Derossi and then with Schlüter, both of whom were hounded out by him. He now brings two charges against Schlüter—first, that he embezzled money. There is absolutely no proof of this save that, in accounts that were over a year old at the time and had *already been passed by the auditors*, Motteler discovered a sum of 150 marks in respect of which Schlüter had failed to provide either proof of payment or a signed receipt. No one in Germany or over here, save for Motteler, cares a rap about this, for the sums paid out by Motteler himself are said frequently to have been certified only by the entries he made, and the way the chaps run the business, while egregiously pedantic like everything Motteler does, is far from businesslike and accurate. That Schlüter was careless and guilty of small oversights—which he

[a] speciously benevolent

glossed over in such a way as not *himself* to be the loser—may well be. But nothing more could be alleged against him.—Again, Schlüter is much given to the pursuit of the Eternal Feminine, and likes variety at that, and it would seem to be a fact that he had flirtations with one or two of the book-binding girls they employed in Zurich and even seduced them. But since there aren't any girls in the business over here, that no longer applied and the only grounds for quarrelling with Schlüter was Motteler's ineradicable dislike of him. That's the whole story and, if Schlüter had only stood up to Motteler a bit more, things might have gradually settled down. We others didn't make anything of it because the affair of the girls had long been a thing of the past, because Motteler himself had refused to have the matter out with Schlüter in the presence of the party's auditors, and because the same thing could not have recurred *over here*.

So if Jonas should start spreading gossip, you will be in possession of the true facts.

Jonas did indeed come to see me, somewhat embarrassed, but found Tussy and Edward Aveling here (it was just after the Hyde Park meeting)[647] who gave him a very cool reception (on applying to the Central Committee[643] for a journalist's pass for the meeting, Jonas had already been told by Aveling that he hoped the *Volkszeitung* would be more truthful in its report than heretofore)[3]. So he very soon went away again when the Bernsteins had to leave on account of their children. The more elegantly the man tries to dress, the commoner he looks.

One more thing. For the new edition of the Origin etc.[a] I have got to have Morgan's last work,[b] but cannot go to the British Museum early enough in the morning to compete for a seat in the Reading Room with the novel-readers. I am therefore sending you the enclosed letter for the department concerned, and two copies of the book. The question now is how these things—the letter and 1 copy—should be conveyed, whether direct to the department or through an intermediary who would vouch for me? Aveling believes that Ely in Baltimore would be glad to oblige. You are better acquainted with the chap, and I shall therefore leave it to you to decide what the best procedure would be. In case you should decide on an intermediary, I have included a second copy for him. I also include a note for Ely in case you think fit to use him as an intermediary.

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[a] Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26) – [b] L. H. Morgan, *Houses and houselife of the American aborigines*

I am very glad that the *Volkszeitung* and the *Workman's Advocate* put in the piece about the preliminaries to the Hyde Park meeting; through doing so they have made possible a rapprochement between the Avelings and the Americans. Even Mr Jonas cannot fail to have realised while here what a blunder he had made when he contented himself with simply parroting the Executive's accusations against Aveling.

The meeting, by the by, did not mark the end of the matter over here. You will have seen from the last *People's Press* that the Central Committee is remaining in existence and is founding a Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League.[657] The constitution has been drafted and will be submitted on 22 June to a delegates' meeting to which *all* London labour organisations, radical clubs, etc., have been invited. The constitution demands 1. the implementation of the resolutions of the Paris Congress[473] in so far as these are not yet law in England, 2. such further measures for bringing about the full emancipation of the workers as may be decided upon by the Association, 3. the founding of an independent labour party with its own candidates for all constituencies in which they would stand some chance of getting in. You may publish this.

In the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (by the next post) there is a longish article of mine[a] about the happenings over here.

Cordial regards to your wife,[b]

Your

F. Engels

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

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[a] 'May 4 in London' – [b] Katharina Sorge

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ENGELS TO PAUL ERNST[658]

IN BERLIN

[Draft]

London, 5 June 1890

Dear Sir,

Unfortunately I cannot do as you ask and write a letter to you for use against Mr Bahr.[659] This would involve me in a public polemic with the same, and for that I should literally have to rob myself of my own time. What I am writing to say, therefore, is solely for your private information.

Moreover, what you describe as the northern women's movement is totally unknown to me; all I know is a few of Ibsen's plays, nor could I possibly say whether, or how far, Ibsen can be held responsible for the more or less hysterical lucubrations of middle class and lower middle class female careerists.

Again, the field which we have accustomed ourselves to describe as the woman question is so extensive that nothing of an exhaustive or even moderately satisfactory kind can be said about it within the confines of a letter. But of one thing you may be sure—Marx could never have 'made such a fuss' as Bahr asserts he did. He was not as crazy as that.

As regards your attempt to handle the matter in a materialist way, I should say first of all that the materialist method turns into its opposite if, in an historical study, it is used not as a guide but rather as a ready-made pattern in accordance with which one tailors the historical facts. And if Mr Bahr believes he has caught you out in this respect, it seems to me that he may not be altogether unjustified.

You subsume the whole of Norway and everything that happens there under one category, philistinism, and then unhesitatingly and erroneously apply to that Norwegian philistinism your opinion of German philistinism. But here there are two facts which present an insuperable obstacle.

Firstly: When, throughout Europe, the victory over Napoleon turned out to be the victory of reaction over the Revolution, the fear inspired by the latter sufficing only in its cradle, France, to wrest a bourgeois-liberal constitution[660] from the returning legitimists, Norway took occa-

sion to give itself a constitution[661] that was far more democratic than any of its coevals in Europe.

And, secondly, Norway has, during the past 20 years, experienced a literary revival unparallelled in any other country during that period save Russia. Philistine or not, this people has been far more creative than all the rest and is, indeed, putting its stamp on other literature, not least the German.

These facts, in my view, render it necessary to examine Norwegian philistinism in the light of its particular characteristics.

And in so doing you will probably find that a very important distinction emerges. In Germany philistinism was born of a failed revolution, a development that was interrupted and repressed. Its idiosyncratic, abnormally pronounced character made up of cowardice, bigotry, ineptitude, and a total lack of initiative, resulted from the Thirty Years War[221] and the period that ensued—the very time in which practically all the other great nations were experiencing a rapid rise. That character persisted, even after Germany had again been gripped by the historical movement, and was strong enough to imprint itself, more or less as a generalised German type, on all the other social classes in Germany until such time as our working class broke out of these narrow confines. If the German workers are flagrantly 'unpatriotic',[662] it is precisely because they have completely shaken off German philistine bigotry.

Hence German philistinism is not a normal historical phase but a caricature taken to extremes, a form of degeneration, just as your Polish Jew is a caricature of the Jews. The English, French, etc., lower middle class is not at all on the same level as your German lower middle class.

In Norway, on the other hand, the class of small peasants and the lower middle class with a slight admixture of middle class elements—as it existed, say, in England and France in the 17th century—have, for several centuries, constituted the normal state of society. Here there is no question of an archaic state of affairs having been forcibly imposed upon them by the failure of a great movement or by a Thirty Years War. The country has been retarded by its isolation and by its natural circumstances, but its state was commensurate with the conditions of its production, and hence normal. It is only quite recently that large-scale industry has, sporadically and on a very small scale, begun to come into the country, where, however, there is no place for the most powerful lever for the concentration of capital—the stock exchange; and even the tremendous expansion of maritime trade has proved to be a conservative factor. For whereas everywhere else steam is superseding sail, Norway is

enormously increasing the number of its sailing vessels and possesses, if not the largest, then certainly the second largest, fleet of windjammers in the world, most of them owned by small and medium-sized shipping firms, as in England in, say, 1720. But nevertheless this has brought some animation into the old, sluggish existence—animation which finds expression in, among other things, the literary revival.

The Norwegian peasant was *never a serf*, so that the whole process takes place against an entirely different background as in Castile. The lower middle class Norwegian is the son of a free peasant and, such being the case, is a *man* compared with the degenerate German philistine. And in the same way the Norwegian lower middle class woman is infinitely superior to the German lower middle class wife. And whatever the failings of, for example, Ibsen's plays, these reflect a world which is, it is true, lower middle and middle class, but utterly different from the German world—a world in which people still have character and initiative and act independently if, by the standards of other countries, often eccentrically. Personally, I would prefer to get to know all I could about things of this sort before passing judgment.

But in return to the above-mentioned sheep, namely Mr Bahr, I can only marvel at the fact that people in Germany take each other so terribly seriously. Wit and humour seem to be more than ever taboo there, and boredom to be a civic duty. Otherwise you would surely have taken a closer look at Mr Bahr's 'woman' from whom all that is 'historically evolved' has been removed. Her skin is historically evolved, for it must perforce be either white or black, yellow, brown or red—hence she cannot have a human skin. Her hair, whether crinkled or woolly, whether straight or curly, whether black, red or blond, is historically evolved. Hence human hair is forbidden her. What, then, remains after you have removed what is historically evolved along with skin and hair, and 'the woman as such appears'? What is revealed? Simply a female ape, anthropopitheca, and may Mr Bahr take her to bed with him, 'purely tangible and perceptible', together with her 'natural instincts'.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON (NICOLAI-ON)[592]

IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 10 June 1890

My dear sir,

I am in possession of your kind letters of 18th December, 22 January, 24th February and 17th May, as also of Mr. Lafargue's article returned which was sent back to him. I wrote to him[a] that you had written to him twice in March and April but have not had any positive reply as to whether he received these two letters. His wife who is here at present, cannot from memory tell positively. She regrets very much the change of ownership in the *Northern Review* and desires me to convey to you her and her husband's thanks for your kind efforts in their interest.

Of the 4th edition *Capital* I am now reading proof-sheets 39-42, there will be less than 50 in all, as the print, though larger, is closer. As soon as out, it will be forwarded to you.

I have had the letters of our author[b] you kindly lent me, copied by typewriter (the author's youngest daughter[c] did them) and shall now return them to you in a registered letter, unless you instruct me to the contrary.

I thank you very much for your continued and interesting information respecting the economic condition of your great country. Under the smooth surface of political quietude there is as great and as important an economical change going on as in any other European country, to watch which is of the highest interest. The consequences of this economic change must sooner or later develop themselves in other directions too.

We had heard here of the death of N.G.C.[d], and with much sorrow and sympathy. But perhaps it is better so.

Many thanks for your congratulations of 24th February—they have rejoiced more than one.[663]

I have been so exceedingly busy, and my eyes, though improving, are still so much affected by reading Russian printing, that I have not as yet been able to read the article in the *Statistical Yearbook*[e] but

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[a] See this volume, p.497 – [b] Marx – [c] Eleanor Marx-Aveling – [d] N. G. Chernyshevsky. The initials are written in Russian letters in the original – [e] This word is written in Russian in the original

shall do so as soon as I find a free moment.[664] The misuse of economic terms, you point out, is a very usual defect of all literatures. Here in England, Rent is applied as well to the payment of the English capitalist farmer to his landlord, as to that of the Irish pauper farmer, who pays a complete tribute composed chiefly of a deduction from his fund of maintenance, earned by his own labour, and only in the smallest consisting of true rent. So the English in India transformed the land-tax paid by the ryot (peasant) to the State into 'rent', and consequently have, in Bengal at least, actually transformed the zamindar (tax-gatherer of the former Indian prince) into a landlord holding a nominal feudal tenure from the Crown exactly as in England, where the Crown is nominal proprietor of all the land, and the great nobles, the real owners, are by juridical fiction supposed to be feudal tenants of the Crown. Similarly when in the beginning of the 17th century the North of Ireland was subjected to direct English dominion, and the English lawyer Sir John Davies found there a rural community with common possession of the land, which was periodically divided amongst the members of the clan who paid a tribute to the chief, Davies declared that tribute at once to be 'rent'.[a] Thus the Scotch lairds—chiefs of clans—profited, since the insurrection of 1745, of this juridical confusion, of the tribute paid to them by the clansmen, with a '*rent*' for the lands held by them, in order to transform the whole of the clan-land, the common property of the clan, into their, the lairds', private property; for—said the lawyers, if they were not the landlords, how could they receive *rent* for that land? And thus this confusion of tribute and rent was the basis of the confiscation of all the lands of the Scottish Highlands for the benefit of a few chiefs of clan who very soon after drove out the old clansmen and replaced them by sheep as described in *Capital*, chapter 24, 2 (p. 754, 3rd edition).[b]

With kind regards

Yours very faithfully
P. W. Rosher.[39]

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[a] Davies, J. *Historical tracts* – [b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, Erster Band, Buch I. Der Produktions-process des Kapitals. Dritte vermehrte Auflage. Hamburg. Verlag von Otto Meisner, 1883

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN NEW YORK

London, 14 June 1890

Dear Schlüter,

This is to advise you in much haste that you are welcome to reprint Marx's biography—but I have no time to finish it.[666] You will find material in, inter alia, Marx's obituary in the *Sozialdemokrat* of March 1883.[a]

Congratulations on becoming 'chief'.

So far everything is going well over here, as also in Germany, where little Willie[b] is threatening to abolish universal suffrage—what better could befall us! In any case we're heading quite fast enough either for a world war or for a world revolution—or both.

Kind regards to your wife—I'm glad to hear she's in better health than she was over here.

Your
F. E.

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[a] Frederick Engels, *Karl Marx's Funeral* – [b] William II

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

London, 19 June 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

Hardly a minute goes by without a *changement de décoration.*[a] Schorlemmer has asked me to join him on a cruise in July—a variety of plans have been submitted for my kind consideration. My doctor tells me I must get away as soon as possible and devote this summer to the betterment of my health so as to be up to the mark again when winter comes. I myself have noticed that my bad nights have also been conducive to bad work and that I shall have to break off as soon as possible. So I can't very well reject the plan out of hand.

On the other hand Laura is pressing Lenchen to accompany her on a fortnight's trip to Paris, which would be perfectly feasible during my absence and would do the old lady a power of good.

A further consideration is that your Reichstag is still in session and there's no knowing a fortnight in advance when or whether it will adjourn.

So it could be that in about 10 days' time I shall take myself off for 3 weeks. I shall in any case be back here by 25-26 July and Lenchen probably a few days before that. So if you could arrange your trip in such a way as to arrive *after*, say, 21 or 22 July, you would find everything ready for you, and a few days later I myself should also be back.

All this is, of course, provisional for the moment, and I shan't be able to tell you anything more definite for a day or two, but I thought it as well to inform you immediately of this circumstance; *that* I shall go is pretty certain, but there's still some doubt about the details. All that is certain is that I shall be back in London *before* the end of July and Lenchen *before* me. None of these plans would keep me away later than the 26th.

So Heligoland is to become German.[667] I really look forward to the outcry of the good Heligolanders, who will fight tooth and nail to prevent their incorporation into the vast barracks of the fatherland. And

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[a] change of plan

they have every reason to do so; no sooner has it been annexed than their island will be converted into a large fortress commanding the anchorage to the north-east, and they, poor devils, will be subject to *eviction*, as though they were so many Irish tenant farmers or, perhaps, Scottish sheep who must make room for deer.

O nay, O nay, enlarge his fatherland they say,[a] yet not one German from without, therein would make his way. A sea-girt Alsace à la Schleswig-Holstein! That was the only prop still lacking in the German imperial force.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

London, 19 June 1890

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

If I made a reference to your remarks about your being isolated and virtually ostracised in Leipzig, this was perfectly natural. From what you said I was bound to conclude that you found Leipzig insufferable and am glad to learn that such was by no means the case.

As to any other comparison between the merits of Leipzig and the drawbacks of Berlin, this is something I am really unable to discuss, as I don't know the former at all, while the latter are no more than a distant memory and since those days Berlin is said to have improved quite miraculously, or so the Berliners maintain. However I'm perfectly willing

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[a] E. M. Arndt, *Des Deutschen Vaterland*

to believe you when you say that, from the point of view of family life, Leipzig has immeasurably more to offer than the metropolis of the Brandenburgian Sahara.[668]

All these, I have written to tell Singer and Liebknecht, are matters which everybody must thrash out with himself, his family and the party and in which we outsiders must acquiesce. However I can only say that I am also firmly of the opinion that Liebknecht's place is in Berlin if the party leadership and the party organ are transferred there. *Whether* or not that happens is not for me to say; I can only express an unauthoritative opinion. But *should* it happen and Liebknecht remain in Leipzig, he would, by so doing, lower himself to the status of a second-class party leader, pension himself off, so to speak, and find himself in a situation in which he could be neither consulted nor heard when an important problem arose—in short, it would be the first step towards resignation and you wouldn't want that.

People like us are tossed around by politics in a quite singular way. When in 1858 Lassalle wanted to bring out a paper with Marx and myself in Berlin, we couldn't actually say no and were prepared to move to the sandy metropolis—fortunately negotiations broke down.[669] And for me that would have meant terminating my contracts with the firm[a] and for us both a removal with much more far-reaching consequences than those of a transition from Leipzig to Berlin. If, therefore, circumstances arise which make your removal to the imperial sand-box unavoidable, you can certainly draw comfort, not only from the belated discovery that life there is bearable after all, but also from the certain knowledge that Liebknecht is thereby assuming the position in the party that is his by right and that he has come to the place where he can do full justice to his position.

At all events this business will be decided before very long and it is my hope that, whatever that decision may be, you will in the long run become reconciled to it.

Kindest regards from Nim, Mme Lafargue, the Roshers and

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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[a] Ermen and Engels

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ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 June 1890

Thank you very much for the many and various items you sent me; I tried to get hold of the no. of the *Daily Telegraph*[670] but did not succeed, having been unable to tell the chaps on which day the article had appeared; they also said the number had probably been sold out. You never get any information out of clerks over here when it's a question of a transaction to the value of one penny!

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT[671]

IN BERLIN

[London,] 30 June 1890

A reply in your own name[672] issued by me would only provoke Mr Hyndman into retorting: it's not Mr Engels' opinion we want, but Liebknecht's own testimony—and, besides, that sort of approach is quite contrary to local custom. As you know, Mr F. Gilles seized on the

affair so as to make capital out of it. If you don't wish to write direct to *Justice*, you should send your reply to *The People's Press* (editor Robert[a] Dell), 1 Hare Place, Fleet Street, London, E.C.; I am sending you its latest number.

Searching for lodgings in Berlin must certainly be a pleasant occupation!

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

[Odde], Friday, 4 July 1890

My dear Laura,

I hope you got as safe to Paris as we did to Norway. We had a very quiet passage, though lots of people sick, sighted the coast of Norway yesterday afternoon, and by 6 were between the islands and rocks. Went up the Harvanger Fiord which leads right into the heart of the country, and are now at the farthest point, Odde, where we remain until to-morrow. Had a drive up the valley this morning and only just back; it rained a little, but not enough to spoil the scenery which is grand. The sun set yesterday at 10 and there was no real night, only a rather deep dusk, and red sky in the north. The people are very primitive, but a sound strong handsome race; they understand my Danish but I cannot make much of their Norwegian. Here at this place the invaders coming by this one ship have cleared the place of Norwegian money in change for English, and the post-office of postage stamps.

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[a] Richard in the ms

We sail from here to-morrow and shall on Monday be at Trondheim, a good way farther up north. If the scenery does not get worse than what we saw to-day, I shall be quite satisfied. It is in some respects like Switzerland, in others very different. So far the beer is not what one might expect, but I shall reserve judgment until I have seen the towns. This Odde is about twenty houses, including church, hotel, post-office and skolehus.[a] Everything built of timber, although they have about 1.000.000 times more stone than wood.

Well, I hope Nim is well; enjoying herself, and you and Paul are the same. If Mémé[b] was here, she would have plenty to say about my *nase*,[c] the sun has burnt it so that it cracks at every corner.

So now love to the lot of you and enjoy yourselves.

Ever yours
F. Engels

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

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Trondheim, 8 July 1890

We're about to sail for North Cape and I don't want to miss sending you a line from Trondheim. Have just eaten the best lobster I've had in my life and there was some very passable beer to go with it; have also seen a big waterfall. We sail at 9 o'clock, calling first at Tromsö and then at North Cape, after which we return via various Norwegian fjords and arrive back in the Thames on the 26th of this month. The weather has

[a] a school-house – [b] Jenny Longuet – [c] nose

been pretty good up till now, though yesterday was wet, but it's fine again today. I like the people pretty well; the girls wear a kerchief on their heads just as at home, and one feels one must have already run into them at some time or another in the Siebengebirge or the Eifel. But my pen is atrocious and it is only with difficulty that I have scrawled my way as far as this.

Much love to Emma and your children, Rudolf, Mathilde, Hedwig, etc.[a]

Your
Friedrich

First published in: *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. 3, 1921

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

Steam Yacht *Ceylon*
Bergen Roads, 22 July 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

Having safely returned to civilised latitudes after our trip to North Cape—Schorlemmer and I left London in the above vessel on the 1st of this month—I hasten to inform you that we shall be back in London on Saturday the 26th inst. And look forward to seeing you as soon as may be. Come straight away if that suits you, since we shall probably be setting off for the seaside shortly afterwards and intend to inveigle you into joining us;[673] that will still leave you some time to do what you have to do in London.

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[a] Emma Engels, Rudolf Engels, Mathilde Engels, Hedwig Engels

The first news to reach us from the outside world is today pinned up in our vessel and reads: *The German Social Democracy will reorganize on October 1st and is preparing a plan of organization to be discussed and adopted at a congress in October.*[674] Otherwise nothing of any importance—but it's enjoyable to be promptly presented with *that* news.

As young William[a] was favouring Norway with his presence at the same time,[675] I kept as quiet as possible about my itinerary, lest there should be any police chicanery. On our way home we met the fleet in Molde; '*young Hopeful*', however, was not present, having gone off gallivanting in a torpedo boat; he sneaked past us in the Geiranger Fjord, much to the annoyance of the middle-class English gang on board our ship, who would have liked to give three cheers for a real *live emperor.*

While the sailors in the fleet were splendid chaps, the junior officers and midshipmen differed little from the ensigns of the Prussian guards, their every turn of phrase being of the kind we've known from time immemorial; the senior officers we met in the hotel dressed in mufti were quite different and were in no way distinguishable from ordinary civilians. The predominant accents were those of old Prussia. We nearly died of laughter at the sight of two fat admirals sitting squashed together in a minute Norwegian cab (there was barely room in it for one) as they went to pay their calls (Primrose Hill would accommodate the whole of Molde twice over); all one could see from behind were apaulettes and tricorns.

It was a very pleasant and very interesting trip and I liked the Norwegians a great deal. Up in Tromsö we visited the Lapps and their reindeer and in Hammerfest saw piles of dried cod—at first I took it to be firewood—and, at North Cape, the famous midnight sun. But there's nothing one gets sick of more quickly than perpetual daylight when for a solid week there's literally no night at all and it's always quite light when one goes to bed.

We sampled the beer conscientiously right up to 71 degrees of latitude; it was good but not so good as the German stuff, and invariably bottled. Only in Trondheim could one actually get draught beer. Here too, by the way, the legislators are much concerned with temperance and it would seem that sales of Bismarck's spirits have been steadily dropping. We shall probably carry out a reconnaissance today to see whether there is a beer hall in Bergen where draught ale may be had.

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[a] William II

The train from Gossevangen to Bergen covers 108 kilometres in 4 1/2 hours—24 kilometres per hour! But it passes through rock of all kinds out of which pretty well the whole line had to be blasted.

Up north on the Svartisen, which is one enormous ice field, we walked on a glacier separated from the sea only by the low moraine, i.e. it drops to approximately 100 feet above sea level.

But now it's time for breakfast and I shall close so as to be able to hand this letter in for posting immediately it is over.

Warm regards to your wife and children and to yourself from Schorlemmer and

Your
F. Engels

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

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN MOUNT DESERT[676]

[London], 30 July 1890

Schorlemmer and I are home again after our very delightful and very interesting trip to North Cape and Norway generally and, as from Sunday, I shall be able to start sending stuff to you again and make up for arrears. Morgan[a] received with many thanks, the more so as Ely's intervention was avoided. It is always disagreeable to be beholden to an intermediary. The relevant letters[b] have likewise come back and been destroyed.

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[a] L. H. Morgan, *Houses and houselife of the American aborigines* – [b] See this volume, pp.499-500

The *People's Press* is also likely to go under in a fortnight's time. It was an attempt by the Fabians[176] to insinuate themselves into the leadership of the movement—at the same time there was much good will but to an even greater extent a lack of journalistic and business experience on the part of the 2 men actually running it,[a] with the result that the whole thing has got into a muddle. There'll be an unpleasant hiatus but it will, I trust, lead to the founding of an organ representative of the new *unions*.

Those two battles in Leeds were magnificent.[677] It was splendid news to be greeted with on our return.

There is also a social democratic organisation in Bergen, but we had neither the time nor the occasion to look it up; I merely saw in the newspapers that it had its own premises and had applied for a licence to sell beer.

Our trip has done us a power of good. Tussy and Edward are themselves off to Norway next week. Regards from Schorlemmer and

Your
F. E.

Also and especially to your wife.

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[a] Robert Dell and William Morris

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE[40]

AT *LE PERREUX*

London, 30 July 1890

My dear Laura,

Here we are again from the icy regions of the North—temperature mostly 10° in cloudy weather, very hot when the sun shone, two flannels and a topcoat not too much on an average! The journey has done us both a world of good, and with a *Nachkur*[a] at the seaside I hope to be completely set up again. I found Nim quite enthusiastic about her stay in Paris, she never enjoyed herself so much, and if I am not mistaken and you do not take care, you will have her an annual customer.

We met the German fleet at Molde but young William[b] was not there—he sneaked past our steamer later on in the Sunelvsfjord in a torpedo boat—so that with the impossibility of getting papers we were out altogether of *la grande politique*. Fortunately nothing happened worth knowing—the first news at Bergen were about the reorganisation of the German Party after Oct. 1st,[52] and on arriving here, the splendid news about the two fights in Leeds[677] where young Will Thorne proved himself a leader in battle of both courage and ability. This mode of *lawful* resistance is very much to be approved of, especially here in England—and it succeeded.

Enclosed I found on my return and opened, but it is for Mémé.

Cannot anyone in Paris give us any information about that de Lavigerie who here gives as references Baudin, Ferroul, Guesde, the whole of the party in the Chamber and those in the *Conseil Municipal*? Of course, if none of all these gentlemen will either disavow or acknowledge this man, or give any information about him, what must the people here do? So long as none of his references repudiate him, the people here cannot but take him for genuine. And if afterwards he turns out a black sheep, or does harm to our French friends (for to the people here he can do none), they must blame themselves.

Now I must conclude. You will not want telling that I found an immense heap of correspondence, papers, etc. here and that I have my

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[a] after-cure – [b] William II

hands full for some days—so excuse this short note. Have you seen Paul's Portrait in the *Neue Welt Kalender*—it is very good, so are the other Frenchmen.

Love from Nim, Schorlemmer,
and Yours ever
F. Engels

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

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Appendix

1

PAUL LAFARGUE TO NIKOLAION (DANIELSON)

IN ST. PETERSBURG

Le Perreux, 14 December 1889

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter and for the news it contains about my articles: I have still not received anything from the directress of the *Review*.[a]

Engels' eyes are still ailing: however I think that, thanks to the precautions he is taking, they are better rather than worse. Engels does not like to talk about himself; it is only from third parties that I learn about his state of health which, fortunately, is satisfactory.

He is working at the moment on the 3rd volume;[b] Kautsky is helping him.[678] You are familiar with Williams'[c] cramped handwriting; on the manuscripts it is even worse; since they contain abbreviations which have to be guessed at, crossings-out and innumerable corrections which have to be deciphered; it is as difficult to read as a Greek palimpsest with ligatures. Kautsky reads the manuscript through and makes a copy which Engels then verifies with the other manuscripts. In one of his recent letters, Engels wrote that he was satisfied with this way of working, and that Kautsky was very good at making out Williams' writing.

Engels has just passed his sixty-ninth birthday and, as he wrote to me, even if one turns the figures upside down, they still read 69; I replied that he had only to wait until he was 99 to become 66 by inversion. It is extraordinary that he is able to work on the publication of Williams' works, and keep up his vast correspondence with almost all the countries of Europe and America. I do not know if he writes to you in Russian, which he reads fluently, but he insists on corresponding in the language of the

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[a] A. M. Yevreinova – [b] of *Capital* – [c] Marx's pen-name

person he is writing to. He is a veritable polyglot and knows not only literary languages, but even dialects such as Icelandic, and ancient languages such as Provençal and Catalan. His knowledge of these languages is not superficial; in Spain and Portugal I read letters to friends there who found that they were written in perfect Spanish and Portuguese, and I know that he writes in Italian. There is nothing more difficult than to write in these three sister-languages full of similarities, and not become confused. Engels, however, is a marvellous man, I have never come across such a mind, so young and alert and an erudition so encyclopedic. When one thinks that for more than 20 years he worked as a legal consultant with a Manchester trading establishment, one wonders when he found the time to amass all the knowledge contained inside a head which, be it said, is not very large, in spite of the fact that he is very tall.

I shall pass on to Kautsky what you say about him, and he will be happy, as I am, to learn that his work is appreciated in Russia as it is in Germany and France.

My articles will contain tables to illustrate, it is impossible to engage in comparative and philosophical statistics without illustration. I am sending you one of the tables. If the *Review* so wishes, I can send the cliches for the tables; but I would prefer it if they had them remade, since I shall extend my research up to 1888, and not 1886. I shall have the engravings made, it will not be very expensive; because they will be reproduced using the photo-engraving method, as was the one which I am sending you.

My best regards
P. Farguale[a]

First published in Russian in: *Letopisi marksizma*, book II, 1926

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] A secret pseudonym of Paul Lafargue which he used in his correspondence.

Notes

1. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads: F. A. Sorge Esq., Hoboken N.J., U.S. America.
2. Marx first thought of the need for an English translation of *Das Kapital* while working on the manuscript in 1865 (see his letter to Engels of 31 July 1865; present edition, Vol. 42, p172). The English journalist Peter Fox, a member of the General Council of the International, was to look for a publisher. However he died, in 1869, and the matter remained unsettled. The English version of Volume I, edited by Engels, was published by Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co. in January 1887, after Marx's death. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, between mid-1883 and March 1886. Eleanor Marx-Aveling helped prepare the edition. The translation was based on the third German edition of *Das Kapital*, due account being taken of the French edition and Marx's directions for the English translation, which failed to materialise, planned for late 1877.
3. Between September and December 1886 Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling toured the United States at the invitation of Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America. They gave talks and lectures in a number of cities on the theory and history of socialism, on the working-class movement in Europe and on other themes. After the tour the Executive, which had financed it, accused Aveling of over-expenditure. This charge was taken up by the bourgeois press and used for anti-socialist agitation. The conflict between Aveling and the Executive lasted for several months. Engels took part in settling it. The Socialist Labor Party of the United States (originally called the Workingmen's Party) was set up at the Philadelphia union congress, 19-22 June 1876, through the merger of the US sections of the First International, led by F. A. Sorge and Otto Weydemeyer, with the Lassallean-type Labor Party of Illinois and the Social Democratic Party, led by A. Strasser, A. Gabriel and Peter J. McGuire. It was the first Marxist party in America. However, it failed to win a mass following because of the sectarian policy of its leaders, who wanted no links with the mass organisations of the indigenous US workers, and because of the Lassalleans' prevalence in a number of local branches.
4. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On the United States*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1979.
5. In June 1886, a Hague court sentenced F. D. Nieuwenhuis to one year in

prison and a fine of 50 guldens on charges of 'lese majeste' and 'denigration of officials' in the press. Early in January 1887 the conviction was upheld by the Netherlands Supreme Court. The charges were based on two articles by Nieuwenhuis published anonymously in the newspaper *Recht voor Allen*. He was released from prison on 1 September 1887.

6. In the Mayoral election in New York on 2 November 1886 Henry George, the candidate of the United Labor Party, got 68,110 votes, 31 per cent of the total cast. During the preparation for the municipal election in New York in August 1886, the United Labor Party was founded to rally the workers for joint political action. The initiative came from the New York Central Workers' Union, an association of New York trade unions formed in 1882. Similar parties were set up in many other cities.
7. In November 1886 elections were held to the US Congress and the State legislatures. Led by its parties, the working class achieved substantial success in the elections in New York (see note 6), Chicago and Milwaukee. In Chicago, ten Labor Party candidates were elected to the State Legislative Assembly (one to the Senate and nine to the Lower Chamber). The party's candidate to the US Congress was short of only 64 votes. In Milwaukee, the Labor Party candidate was elected Mayor, one of its men got into the State Senate, six into the Lower Chamber, and one into the US Congress.
8. In his letter of 9 January 1887 Martignetti informed Engels that he was being persecuted for his socialist views and was, as an official of the government notary archives, in danger of dismissal. He asked Engels to help him find employment outside Italy.
9. From November 1850 Engels supervised the Manchester branch of the Ermen and Engels German textile firm. The German side of the enterprise was run by Fr. Engels Sr., with the assistance of Anthony Ermen. The firm's office was in Barmen. In 1860, after his father's death, Engels received £10,000 from his brothers in compensation for his share in the family concern in Engelskirchen, which consolidated his financial and legal standing in the Manchester firm. From June 1864 to June 1869 Engels was a co-owner of the Ermen and Engels firm. After five years in this capacity he withdrew from the firm and devoted himself entirely to party work, scholarship and journalism.
10. This letter was first published abridged, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszuge 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: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.
11. In a letter dated 10 December 1886 Kelley-Wischnewetzky asked Engels to write a preface to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, which she had translated into English. She argued

that Engels' Afterword, written for this edition in February 1886, was out of date (see present edition, Vol. 26), and suggested that the new preface should, above all, contain a critique of Henry George and that the words 'in 1844' should be omitted from the title. In reply to her request Engels wrote the article 'The Labor Movement in America', which was to open the book.

12. Engels' article 'The Labor Movement in America' opened the American edition of his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published in New York in 1887. That same year the article appeared, in Engels' German translation, under the heading 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika', in the *Sozialdemokrat* (10 and 17 June). In July separate prints, in German and English, were distributed in New York. The article was also published as a pamphlet in London (see present edition, Vol. 26) and, in French, in *Le Socialiste* (9, 16 and 23 July). Even before the publication of the book the article was, without Engels' knowledge, translated into German by Alexander Jonas, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, and published in this paper in April 1887. Engels, displeased with the quality of the translation, lodged an official protest.
13. This letter was first published in English, abridged, in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence. 1887-1890*,Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.
14. Russo-German rapprochement appeared to be on the cards in early 1887. In the course of negotiations between the two countries, the Russian ambassador, P. Shuvalov, proposed to Bismarck that the 'alliance of three emperors', which was expiring in the summer of 1887, should be resumed, but without Austrian participation. Shuvalov's proposal also envisaged Russia's neutrality in the event of another Franco-German war and a free hand for Russia in the Balkans. Addressing the Reichstag on 11 January 1887, Bismarck urged the need for friendly relations with Russia. An anti-French press campaign, the mobilisation of reservists and other steps on the part of the German government gave rise to fears of an imminent military clash with France (the 'war alarm' in January 1887). However, the Russian government refused to back up Shuvalov's proposals and Bismarck's actions.
15. On 14 January 1887, Bismarck dissolved the Reichstag in view of its refusal to endorse the proposed seven-year military budget (the bill on the septennate). The elections to the new Reichstag, held on 21 February, were attended by a brutal campaign of terror, directed above all against the Socialist Party. Nevertheless, the Social Democrats polled 763,128 votes (10.1 per cent of the total), 213,038 more than in the 1884 elections. However, owing to the undemocratic additional ballots law the number of Social Democratic deputies declined to 11, as against 24 in the previous Reichstag.

16. In January 1887 the *Daily News* reported that the Bismarck government intended to demand that the French government explain the concentration of French troops on the German border. On 25 January the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine zeitung* emphatically denied this report.
17. An excerpt from this letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.
18. On 1 February 1887 Laura Lafargue informed Engels of the conflict that had arisen between Caroline-Rémy Séverine-Guebhard, publisher of the newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, on the one hand, and the associate editors of this paper – Jules Guesde, Gabriel Deville, Albert Goullé – on the other. The latter emphatically objected to Séverine's public pronouncements in defence of the anarchist Duval, convicted on charges of burglary, and to the publication in the paper, as a leader, of an anti-German article by one Bienvenu. They also demanded the dismissal of the journalist Georges de Labruyère, notorious for his Boulangist views (see note 137). As a result of the conflict, almost all leading members of the editorial board withdrew from the *Cri du Peuple*. They started a new paper, the *Voie du peuple*, the first issue of which appeared on 2 February 1887. The paper lasted only a few weeks, the last issue appearing on 17 March.
19. The Possibilists (Broussists) were a reformist trend in the French socialist movement between the 1880s and the early 20th century. Its leaders – Paul Brousse and Benoit Malon -caused a split in the French Workers' Party (see note 33) in 1882 and formed the Federation of Socialist Workers. Its ideological basis was the theory of municipal socialism. The Possibilists pursued a 'policy of the possible' ('la politique des possibilites'). At the beginning of the 20th century the Possibilists merged with the French Socialist Party.
20. Presumably Engels means the newspaper *Le Citoyen*, of which Jules Guesde was a co-founder. It appeared from 1 October 1881 to 8 March 1884. In October 1882 it merged with the newspaper *La Bataille*, edited by Prosper-Olivier Lissagaray. As a result, the French Workers' Party (see note 33) lost its influence on the paper.
21. The Socialist League was founded in December 1884 by a group of English socialists who had withdrawn from the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62). The League's organisers included Eleanor Marx Aveling, Ernest Belfort Bax and William Morris. 'The Manifesto of the Socialist League' (see *The Commonweal* No.1, February 1885) stated that its members advocated 'the principles of Revolutionary International Socialism' and sought 'a change in the basis of Society ... which would destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities'. The tasks of the League included the formation of a national socialist party, the conquest of political power through the election of socialists to local government bodies, and the promotion of the trade union and co-operative movement. In the League's early years its leaders

took an active part in the working-class movement. However, in 1887 the League split into three factions (Anarchist elements, 'parliamentarists and 'anti-parliamentarists'). With sectarian tendencies growing stronger, the League gradually distanced itself from the day-to-day struggle of the British workers and finally disintegrated in 1889-90.

22. Radical Clubs began to emerge in London and other cities in the 1870s. They consisted of bourgeois radicals and workers. In the Clubs of London's poorer areas, such as the East End, the workers predominated. The Clubs criticised the Irish policy of Gladstone's Liberal government and urged an extension of the suffrage and other democratic reforms. From the early 1880s they engaged in socialist propaganda. In 1885 London's Radical Clubs united in the Metropolitan Radical Federation.
23. Two French translations of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* were made, almost simultaneously, by the French socialists Paul Lavigne and Edouard Fortin. Fortin's translation, sent to Engels somewhat earlier (see Engels' letter to Paul Lavigne of 1 December 1885 in Vol. 47 of the present edition) and edited by Engels at Fortin's request, was published first in *Le Socialiste*, the newspaper of the French Workers' Party, in January-November 1891 and appeared in book form in Lille the same year.
24. This concerns the charges the levelled at Aveling by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3). This letter was the first of the many Engels wrote to American and German working-class leaders in defence of Aveling.
25. On 30 December 1886 *The New York Herald* published an article headlined 'Aveling's Unpaid Labor', containing accusations against Aveling (see note 3). Cabled to London, it was reprinted, abridged, in *The Daily Telegraph* (1 January 1887) and *The Evening Standard* (13 January 1887). After the publication of the article in England, Aveling cabled a denial to America, which appeared in *The New York Herald* on 10 January 1887. An official denial by the Avelings addressed to the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party was published in the *Herald* on 15 January 1887.
26. This refers to the article 'Aveling und die Sozialisten' in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 10, 12 January 1887, which was the first public statement of the charges levelled at Aveling (see note 3). The article was reprinted in the *Wochenblatt* (weekly supplement) of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* on 22 January. As can be seen from F.A. Sorge's letter to Engels of 28 February 1887 the article was written by Alexander Jonas, the chief editor of the paper.
27. At the end of November 1886 a court in Leipzig sentenced the Social Democratic worker K. Schumann to four years in prison and another eleven people to various prison terms on charges of 'rebellion'. The pretext for the prosecution was the farewell party given to Schumann by Leipzig workers on 21 September 1886 in connection with his expulsion from the city under

the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52).

28. On 11 November 1887 the US Supreme Court sentenced four leaders of the Chicago Labor Union – Albert K. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer and George Engel – to be hanged. In the spring of 1886 a mass working-class movement for the eight-hour day developed in America's leading industrial centres (Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St Louis, Boston, Baltimore and Milwaukee). In Chicago, up to 65,000 struck in the early days of May. On 3 May, workers clashed with police at a rally. At another rally, held in Haymarket Square on the following day, an agent provocateur threw a bomb, killing seven policemen and four workers. The police opened fire. Several people were killed and over 200 injured. Many people were arrested, including the leaders of the Chicago Labor Union. Despite the broad campaign in the US and Europe in defence of the four convicted men, they were executed. In commemoration of the Chicago events of 1886, the 1889 International Socialist Congress in Paris proclaimed the 1st of May international workers' solidarity day.
29. This letter was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.
30. 'Reptiles' and 'the reptile press' were designations used by left-wing writers for the venal reactionary pro-government press. The 'reptile fund' referred to Bismarck's special fund for bribing periodicals and individual journalists.
31. In her letter of 7 February 1887 Laura Lafargue asked Engels to remind Eleanor of Pyotr Lavrov's copy of the *Historical Review* and to send her (Laura) the January issue.
32. This refers to the Circular containing accusations against Aveling (see note 3) which was directed by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party to the party's branches on 7 January 1887. It was signed by Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg, Hermann Walther and others.
33. Engels means the French Workers' Party (*Parti ouvrier francais*), formed at the 1880 Le Havre congress, when a party programme drawn up with Marx's participation was adopted (see his 'Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party', present edition, Vol. 24). The adoption of the programme led to an aggravation of the inner-party struggle between the Possibilists (see note 19) and the Guesdists (the revolutionary wing), and to a split at the 1882 St Etienne congress. The Guesdists retained the name of the Workers' Party. They relied for support on the workers of France's largest industrial centres, in particular those of some big plants in Paris. The struggle to win broad support among the workers was one of the party's top priorities.
34. On 30 October 1886 Laura Lafargue informed Engels of the publication of the book *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung* by the Austrian sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger. The

author alleged that Marx's economic theory was 'not original'. Some of Marx's conclusions, he maintained, were borrowings from William Thompson and other English Ricardian Utopian Socialists. Engels believed that by attacking Menger directly he would provide him a welcome opportunity for self-advertising. He therefore decided to answer him either in an editorial in *Die Neue Zeit* or in a review signed by the journal's editor, Karl Kautsky. Poor health prevented Engels from writing the bulk of the text as intended. The article was completed, with his help, by Kautsky. It appeared unsigned, under the title *'Juristen-Sozialismus'*, in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 2).

35. Engels means diplomatic preparations for the 1866 Austro-Prussian war. Early in March of that year he had secured, through Robert Goltz, the Russian Ambassador to Paris, an undertaking by Napoleon III that France would maintain positive neutrality towards Russia in the event of an Austro-Prussian war. At about the same time, Bismarck conducted talks with the Italian general Giuseppe Govone in Berlin on forming a Prusso-Italian coalition against Austria. On 8 April 1866 Prussia and Italy signed a treaty establishing a defensive and offensive alliance. It provided for the transfer of Veneto to Italy in the event of victory over Austria.
36. On 14 January 1887 the German Reichstag, by 186 votes to 154, adopted a bill limiting the army contingent to 441,000 persons, with a three-year term of service (the government had insisted on 468,000 for seven years). As a result, the Reichstag was disbanded and new elections held (see note 15). On 11 March 1887 the new Reichstag passed the bill on the septennate despite opposition from the Social Democratic group.
37. This refers to the festival of international brotherhood which was to be held in Paris on 19 February 1887 on the initiative of a number of socialist émigré organisations. German, Scandinavian, Polish and Russian socialists took part. The festival was to protest against the arms drive and war preparations in Europe. At the request of one of the organisers, the Russian socialist émigré Ossip Zetkin, Engels addressed a message to the Organising committee of the festival (see present edition, Vol. 26). It was read out at the festive meeting and published in *Le Socialiste* on 26 February and, in German translation, in the *Sozialdemocrat* on 11 March and the New York *Sozialist* on 19 March.
38. Danielson's letter to Engels was dated 22 January (3 February new style) 1887.
39. This is the pseudonym Engels used in his correspondence with Nikolai Danielson. Percy White Rosher was the name of the husband of the niece of Engels's wife.
40. This letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. 2 (1887-1890), Paris, Ed. sociales, 1956.

41. On 24 February 1887 the *Voie du peuple*, under the general headline 'La Revolution en Allemagne. Prise de Berlin', carried an editorial entitled 'Victoire!' devoted to the German Reichstag election of 21 February (see note 15).
42. Engels compares Paul Singer's success at the Reichstag election to that of the French Radical Edouard Lockroy, who obtained 272,680 votes, more than any other candidate, at the 1885 parliamentary election and was called 'le premier elu de la France' (France's first choice). As can be seen from Singer's letter of 7 March 1887, Engels congratulated him on the great success.
43. After failing to poll the requisite number of votes at the Reichstag election of 21 February 1887,Wilhelm Liebknecht succeeded in winning a seat in the run-off in Berlin's Fourth constituency on 30 August 1888 in lieu of Wilhelm Hasenclever, who had dropped out for health reasons.
44. The Centre was a political party of German Catholics formed in June 1870. It expressed the separatist and anti-Prussian sentiments current in West and Southwest Germany. (The seats of its Reichstag deputies were in the centre of the hall, hence the name of the party.) The Centre's following consisted of socially disparate sections of Catholic clergy, landowners, bourgeois and peasants. Its deputies usually took a noncommittal attitude, manoeuvring between the pro-government parties and the Left opposition groups. Although it opposed the Bismarck government in the mid-1870s and early 1880s, the Centre voted for its measures against the working-class and socialist movement. Engels gave a detailed characterisation of the Centre in his work *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26) and in his article 'What Now?' (see Vol. 27).
45. The Party of Progress, founded in June 1861, advocated the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and a liberal Ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, it did not support the basic democratic demands - universal suffrage and the freedom of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the Party of Progress split. Its right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck government. After the final unification of Germany in 1871, the Progressists continued to describe themselves as an opposition party, but their opposition was purely declaratory. In March 1884 they merged with the left wing of the National Liberals to form the German Free-Thinking Party (*Die Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*).
46. Despite Bismarck's anti-French press campaign in Alsace Lorraine, which was supported by the clergy, candidates opposing his militarist ambitions were put up in the Reichstag elections. All the fifteen nominees elected were members of the Elsasser (Alsatian) party.
47. This refers to Aveling's letter of 26 February 1887 which was circulated, in printed form, to the sections of the Socialist Labor Party of North America

and other socialist organisations. It was a detailed answer to the accusations levelled at Aveling by the party's Executive on 7 January 1887 (see note 32).

48. On 8 February 1887 the *Voie du peuple* began serialising Guy de Maupassant's novel *Bel Ami.*
49. A passage from this letter was first published in English in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Letters to Americans. 1848-1895.A selection*, New York, International Publishers, 1953.
50. The second ballot, in eighteen constituencies, brought the Social Democrats another five seats in the Reichstag (Breslau-West, Elberfeld, Frankfurt am Main, Hanover and Solingen).
51. At the end of 1884, Bismarck, seeking to activate Germany's colonial policy, demanded that the Reichstag should vote an annual subsidy to shipping companies to enable them to operate regular lines to East Asia, Australia and Africa. The left wing of the Social Democratic parliamentary group, led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, came out against the government scheme. The right wing, which made up the majority (Dietz, Frohme, Grillenberger and others), intended to vote for the subsidy, on the pretext that it would help promote international communications. Under pressure from the majority the group decided that the issue was of a non-fundamental nature and every deputy should be free to vote as he chose (see *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 50, 11 December 1884). The sharp critique of the proposed subsidies in *Der Sozialdemokrat* and in resolutions of the party leadership forced the majority of the Social Democratic group to somewhat modify its stand during the discussion of the matter in the Reichstag in March 1855. The group made its support for the subsidies conditional on the adoption of a number of its own proposals. Since the Reichstag rejected these, all Social Democratic deputies voted against the subsidies.
52. The Anti-Socialist law (*Gesetz gegen die gemeingefahrlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie*) was introduced by the Bismarck government, with the support of the majority of the Reichstag, on 21 October 1878, as a means of combating the socialist and working-class movement. It imposed a ban on all Social Democratic and working-class organisations and on the socialist and workers' press; socialist literature was subject to confiscation, and Social Democrats to reprisals. However, under the Constitution, the Social Democratic Party retained its group in parliament. By combining underground activities with the use of legal possibilities, in particular by working to overcome reformist and anarchist tendencies in its own ranks, the party was able to consolidate and expand its influence among the masses. Marx and Engels gave the party leaders considerable help. Under the pressure of the mass working-class movement the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed (1 October 1890). For Engels' characterisation of the law see his article 'Bismarck and the German Workers Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp407-09).

53. This letter was first published in English, abridged, in *The Labour Monthly*, No. 2, London, 1934 and, in full, in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A selection,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.
54. In his letter of 20 February 1887 Sorge suggested to Engels that Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky should be asked to translate the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into English for publication in the USA. This project did not materialise. An English edition of the *Manifesto*, in Sam Moore's translation and edited by Engels, appeared in London in 1888.
55. On 20 February 1887 Sorge informed Engels that the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* was not selling well in the USA, and suggested sending copies of the book to the editors of leading American journals for reviewing.
56. Part of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* was bought by the American firm Scribner & Welford, which gave the book a new title page, reading *Capital. A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*; from the German by S. Moore and E. Aveling, and edited by Frederick Engels, N.Y., Scribner & Welford, 1887, 2 v.
57. An unsigned review of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* appeared in the London literary and critical journal *Athenaeum*, No. 3097, 5 March 1887.
58. The third, cheap English edition (10s 6d) of Volume I of Capital appeared in London in 1888. Copies of the first two editions (both 1887) were sold at 30s.
59. Engels means the following passage, referring to the socialist Labor Party of North America, in his work 'The labor movement in America'. 'This section is a party but in name, for nowhere in America has it up to now, been able actually to take its stand as a political party' (see present edition, Vol. 26).
60. *Justice,* No. 164, 5 March 1887, carried an item by Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg, secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, headlined 'Letter from America - The Great Strike', which characterised the longshoremen's strike in New Jersey as an unmitigated defeat for the workers, incurred through the fault of the Knights of Labor leaders. The party, Rosenberg stressed, must not support this organisation. The Knights of Labor (The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor) was an American workers' organisation founded in Philadelphia in 1869. Originally a secret society (up to 1878), it included mostly unskilled workers, among them black workers. The Knights' aim was the promotion of co-operatives and mutual aid societies. They took part in a number of working-class actions, but the organisation's leadership opposed workers' participation in political struggle. It forbade members of the organisation to take part in the 1886 general strike; however the rank and file ignored the ban. After the strike the Knights' influence among the workers began to shrink. Towards the end of

the 1890s the organisation disintegrated.

61. The Central Labor Unions were mass trade union centres of US and foreign workers, both white and black, in a number of American cities in the 1880s. The first was formed in New York in 1882. Many of these centres joined the American Federation of Labor (AFL), set up in December 1886.
62. The Social Democratic Federation was a British socialist organisation, the successor of the Democratic Federation, reformed in August 1884. It consisted of heterogeneous socialist elements, mostly intellectuals, but also politically active workers. The programme of the Federation provided for the collectivisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Its leader, Henry Hyndman, was dictatorial and arbitrary, and his supporters among the Federation's leaders denied the need to work among the trade unions. In contrast to Hyndman, the Federation members grouped round Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris and Tom Mann sought close ties with the mass working-class movement. In December 1884, differences on questions of tactics and international co-operation led to a split in the Federation and the establishment of the independent socialist league (see note 21). In 1885-86 the Federation's branches were active in the movement of the unemployed, in strike struggles and in the campaign for the eight-hour day.
63. In 1886 and 1887 the Social Democratic Federation conducted a broad campaign of agitation among London's unemployed. The church parades were a form of this agitation, practised in early 1887. It was an attempt to address the unemployed from the pulpit. One parade, on 27 February 1887, took place in front of St Paul's Cathedral. During the sermon, parade participants proclaimed socialist slogans. After the service the Social Democratic Federation held three meetings in the streets, the speakers including John Burns, George Bateman and Fielding. However, this form of agitation failed to produce tangible results and was abandoned.
64. From mid-November 1886 to 14 August 1887 August Bebel was in prison in Zwickau. He was one of a group of German Social Democrats (others included Ignaz Auer, Johann Dietz, Georg Vollmar, Karl Frohme) condemned on trumped up charges of belonging to a 'secret union' whose purpose it was to obstruct by illegal means the enforcement of laws and government regulations. The indictment was based on the defendants' participation in the 1883 Copenhagen Social Democratic Party Congress. The court brought in a verdict of not guilty. However, the government appealed to the Imperial Court, which sent the case for re-examination to the Saxony State Court in Freiberg. On 4 August 1886 the latter sentenced the defendants to various prison terms. In the subsequent two and a half years another 55 trials of socialists were staged, resulting in the conviction of 236 people.
65. This refers to Aveling's answer to the article in the *New Yorker*

Volkszeitung, No. 10, 12 January 1887 (see note 26). The answer was published by the paper on 2 March, Issue 52, 1887, alongside another attack on Aveling, an editorial headlined 'Affaire Aveling noch einmal'. To this second article Aveling answered by a letter dated 16 March 1887, mentioned here, which, as the rough copy shows, had been written by Engels. It was published on 30 March, in Issue 76.

66. In a letter dated 28 February 1887 Sorge informed Engels that a long statement in support of Aveling, signed by K.H. Muller, had appeared in the Chicago *Arbeiterzeitung*. Sorge sent Engels a clipping from the paper. On Aveling's second Circular see note 47.
67. This extract is the last page of Engels's letter to Hermann Schluter of 19 March 1887. The whereabouts of the letter are unknown. The text is reproduced from a facsimile of a publication in *Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender fur 1902*, New York, 1901.
68. At the Reichstag elections of 21 February 1887 (see note 15) the Social Democrats obtained 11 seats. Under the existing regulations, 15 mandates were needed to form a faction.
69. No information is available concerning this postcard.
70. Rumours published in the last issue of the *Voie du peuple* (17 March 1887) caused a quarrel and even an exchange of seconds between Albert Goulle, who contributed to this newspaper, and Georges de Labruyere, a contributor to the *Cri du peuple*. The two then accused each other of trying to evade the duel. In publishing its version of the incident, the *Cri du peuple*, while careful to avoid referring to the *Voie du peuple* by name, suggested that its demise had been due to the lack of readers. On 20 March 1887, *Le Radical* published Albert Goulle's and Gabriel Deville's answer to the *Cri du peuple*.
71. This presumably refers to an item published in the 'Topics of the Day' column of the *Weekly Dispatch* on 20 March 1887 denying the rumours about the death of William I.
72. On 13 (1) March 1887 a group of members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), led by Alexander Ulyanov, Lenin's elder brother, made an attempt on the life of Alexander III in St Petersburg. The police arrested and handed over for trial thirteen people, five of whom, including Alexander Ulyanov, were executed, while the rest were given long prison terms. The official declaration of the tsarist government referred to by Engels maintained that 'some foreign newspapers' were exaggerating the role of the constitutional party and that 'the most influential classes in Russia do not consider that ... the time is ripe for the introduction of constitutional government.' It also declared that the Russian government was 'carefully studying state socialism, which is being successfully implemented in Germany by Prince Bismarck', and expressed the Tsar's hypocritical regret at 'the need for costly precautions to safeguard his personal security'.

73. Engels refers to the political crisis in Bulgaria brought about by the overthrow, on 9 August 1886, of Prince Alexander Battenberg by a group of Russophile military conspirators (see note 109). In an attempt to regain the throne, Battenberg sent an obsequious message to Alexander III promising every support to the Tsar's 'noble intention to bring Bulgaria out of the grave crisis'. The closing sentence read: 'Since it was Russia that gave me my Crown, I am prepared to return it into the hands of her sovereign.'
74. Engels is replying to Trier's letter of 22 March 1887 in which Trier informed him that he was sending the manuscript of his Danish translation of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and asked for Engels' opinion. The translation, revised by Engels, appeared in Copenhagen in 1838.
75. On 25 March 1887 Sorge informed Engels that Hepner had openly protested against the accusations levelled at Aveling (see note 3), describing them as 'insidious and mean', but saying that the whole thing could have been avoided had Aveling been 'more frank'. Sorge also said that according to his information Kautsky did not know what to make of the matter and Liebknecht kept silent.
76. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown.
77. This refers to the attempt on the life of Alexander III which took place on 13 March 1887 (see note 72) and to the widespread rumours that preparations for another attempt, to be staged in Gatchina, had been uncovered on 1 April.
78. Engels means the replacement of recruitment in Russia by conscription. Under the introduction of compulsory military service of 1 January 1874, the entire male population aged 21 to 43, with the exception of natives of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and men belonging to certain peoples of the Caucasus, Siberia, the Volga area and the Arctic regions, were liable for military service in the regular army, the reserve or the militia. The call up was conducted by casting lots. This system was to turn the Russian army into a mass army. However, under the existing autocratic and landlord system, the implementation of universal military service was hampered by the numerous privileges of the propertied classes and the unequal conditions of army service for members of different social strata. As early as 9 January 1877, during the Russo-Turkish war, Engels pointed out that conscription was contributing to the 'disorganisation' of the Russian army (see present edition, Vol. 45).
79. At Engels' request Sorge sent a message to Alexander Jonas, Editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, on 29 March 1877, asking why he was not publishing Edward Aveling's letter of 16 March 1887 (see note 65).
80. On behalf of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, the translator of Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Rachel Foster, Secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association, was trying to find a publisher for

the book in America. On 8 February 1886 the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party, which she had approached for support, set up a special committee to deal with publishers, but the negotiations dragged, and the book was published in May 1887, independently of the Executive.

81. At the insistence of the German authorities the Swiss Federal Council on 18 April 1888 expelled several associate editors of and contributors to the *Sozialdemokrat* (Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Hermann Schluter and Leonard Tauscher) from the country. Until 22 September the paper continued to appear in Switzerland, edited by the Swiss Social Democrat Conrad Consett. From 1 October 1888 to 27 September 1890 the paper was published in London.
82. Pan-Slavism was a social and political movement predicated on the notion that the Slavonic peoples ought to oppose themselves to other peoples and merge in a single state with tsarist Russia. In Russia itself, Pan-Slavism assumed a reactionary character in the 1830s. The Russian historian Mikhail Pogodin, drawing on official populism, asserted that the Slavs were superior to other nations and that Russia was destined for hegemony in the Slavonic world. The same ideas, with various modifications, were propounded by the Slavophiles in the 1850s and 1860s (see note 187).
83. Nihilists were the extreme wing of the radical movement in Russia in the 1860s, intellectuals who believed in the destruction of existing society and culture. The Nihilists rejected the dominant ideology and morality and fought against religious prejudices. They demanded freedom of the individual and equality for women, and favoured the study of the natural and exact sciences. Towards the end of the 1860s the term practically ceased to be used in polemic literature, but in later years reactionary journalists occasionally applied it to revolutionaries. In West European literature the term was used to denote Russian revolutionaries, including the members of the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will), in the 1870s and 1880s.
84. After their return from the USA (see note 3) Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling launched a large-scale socialist propaganda campaign in London's Radical Clubs (see note 22). Their purpose was, among other things, to familiarise the British workers with the experience of the US labour movement.
85. At the April 1887 municipal elections in the USA, workers' organisations put up candidates in about 60 cities and succeeded in having them elected in twenty. In Cincinnati (Ohio), Milwaukee and Chicago their candidates failed by a few hundred votes.
86. In the first half of April 1887 the British House of Commons discussed a Crimes Bill for Ireland which was to introduce a simplified judicial procedure for quelling the growing peasant unrest. The executive authorities were to be allowed to outlaw various societies, and members of the judiciary to pass sentence on charges of plotting, illegal assembly, disobedience to the

authorities and the like without a jury. On 11 April 1887 several mass meetings to protest against the Bill were held in Hyde Park, with 100 to 150 thousand people attending. The meetings, held separately by different organisations, were addressed by speakers for the Liberal Party (William Gladstone), the Social Democratic Federation (George Bateman, John Burns, Michael Davitt, John Williams and others), the socialist League (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and others) and other organisations. A report headlined 'Irish Crimes Bill, Great Demonstration in Hyde Park, Processions and Speeches', in *The Daily Telegraph* of 12 April 1887, said that Eleanor Marx-Aveling's speech was warmly greeted and heard with great interest. Despite the protests the two chambers of parliament passed the bill in July 1837. Beginning 23 July, a state of emergency was introduced on the strength of it, initially in four and ultimately in about 30 counties of Ireland.

87. This letter was first published in English in *Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue. Correspondence. 1887-1890*, Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.
88. This refers to Marx's *Misere de la phi1osophie*. In 1884 Laura Lafargue failed to reach an agreement on a second French edition of the book. In 1887 Paul Lafargue again conducted negotiations on the matter. However, it was not until 1896, after Engels's death, that the project materialised (in Paris).
89. This presumably refers to the Avelings' series of articles, 'The Labour movement in America', published between March and May 1887 in the journal *Time*, which appeared in Swan Sonnenschein's publishing house in London.
90. Engels means the municipal elections in Paris held on 8 May 1887. Lafargue stood for election in the Fifth arrondissement (Jardin des Plantes). In the first ballot he received 568 votes and was third. In the second, on 15 May, he got 685 votes and was second.
91. After Jules Guesde, Gabriel Deville and other members of the French Workers' Party had resigned from the editorial board of the *Cri du peuple* and after the *Voie du peuple*, the paper they had started, also ceased publication (see note 18), the Party's weekly *La Socialiste* likewise closed down (the last issue appeared on 26 March 1887). The Party's paper resumed publication on 11 June 1887.
92. On 11 April 1887 the European press reported that another conspiracy to assassinate Alexander III had been uncovered. It was to take place during the Tsar's inspection of a Guards cavalry regiment. These reports were not confirmed (see also notes 72 and 77).
93. This refers to the Peasant Reform of 19 February 1861 ('Regulations concerning Peasants Emerging from Serf Dependence'). It put an end to serfdom in Russia and brought freedom to about 22.5 million peasants. However, even after the abolition of serfdom some of the former serfs (the

so called temporarily liable peasants) were obliged to do corvee work or pay quit-rent for the use of land. It was not until 28 December 1881 that a law was passed stipulating the obligatory redemption of the peasant plots as of 1 January 1883. Corvee and quit-rent in their open form were abolished, but continued to exist in the shape of the redemption system until the first decade of the 20th century.

94. The American economist Henry George favoured a uniform progressive state tax on land values as an alternative to nationalisation of the land, thus 'resolving' all the contradictions of the capitalist system. George's theory enjoyed wide currency in the USA, England, Ireland and Australia. Engels gave his assessment of George's agrarian views in 'The Labour Movement in America' (present edition, Vol. 26).
95. On 29 May 1887 the third annual conference of the Socialist league (see note 21) was held in London. Delegates from 24 sections attended. The anarchists gained the upper hand; a resolution was adopted saying: 'This conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action, hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it.
96. This refers to the fresh wave of government reprisals against Social Democrats and the trade unions that swept Germany in 1886, after the third promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (See Note 52). On 11 April 1886 the Prussian minister of the Interior Puttkamer issued a circular on strikes, spearheaded against the trade unions. In the spring of that year the authorities expelled from Berlin the leaders of the city's stonemasons and disbanded their union with a view to paralysing the building workers' movement. This was also the lot of three women's unions and all the district workers' unions. Workers' mutual aid funds were being closed down and their assets, like the trade unions', confiscated by the state. From the beginning of 1878, public meetings in Berlin could only be held with police permission. As a result, 47 meetings, including 33 trade union ones, were banned that month. Similar measures were taken in the provinces. In the early years of the Anti-Socialist Law a number of trumped-up trials of Social Democrats were staged, resulting in the imprisonment of prominent working-class leaders (see notes 27, 64 and 81). During the Reichstag elections (see note 15) the workers' party was made the object of terrorist attacks.
97. In her letter of 24 April 1887 Laura Lafargue told Engels that she was contributing to the magazine *European Correspondent* co-owned by the American journalist Theodore Stanton and was being paid extremely irregularly.
98. Engels received the second circular letter of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, dated 30 March 1887, from Friedrich Adolph Sorge on 18 April. On Aveling's statements see notes 47 and 65. Wilhelm Liebknecht issued a statement in defence of Aveling on 16 May.

99. This refers to the 'Schnaebelé case', a conflict between France and Germany engineered by the Bismarck government. On 20 April 1887 Police Commissioner Schnaebelé, a French border official in Pagny-sur-Moselle, was invited onto German territory, ostensibly for negotiations, and arrested on charges of organising espionage and encouraging young people in Alsace-Lorraine to emigrate from Germany. At the same time, the German ruling quarters launched a virulent anti-French press campaign. This was taken advantage of by French revanchist circles for stepping up anti-German propaganda. However, the governments of Russia, Great Britain and Austria-Hungary refused to support Bismarck. Germany was forced to beat a retreat. On 30 April Schnaebelé was released and the conflict thus settled.
100. This letter was first published in English, abridged, in *Labour Monthly*, No. 2, London, 1934, and, without the first paragraph, in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection,* International Publishers, New York, 1953.
101. In the letter in question Sorge, replying to remarks contained in Engels' letter of 10 March 1887, pointed out that the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party of North America had, by their mistaken tactics, to a considerable extent nullified the successes achieved in the US labour movement by Marx's adherents at the time of the First International.
102. This refers to the English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* made by Samuel Moore (published in 1888). The three manuscripts mentioned are those of a French translation of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see note 23), an Italian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* and a Danish translation of Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see note 74).
103. An item headlined 'A Costly Apostle', published in *Justice* No. 172, 30 April 1887, reproduced the contents of the circulars of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America attacking Edward Aveling (see notes 32 and 98). Aveling answered in a Letter to the Editor, published in *Justice*, No. 174. 14 May 1887.
104. An American exhibition opened in London in May 1887, the programme including the show Buffalo Bill's Wild West.
105. In his letter of 29 April 1887 Eduard Bernstein asked Engels and Kautsky to find out, confidentially, whether the Austrian anarchist Joseph Peukert, resident in London, was not, as he, Bernstein, assumed, a police agent. In late 1887 Peukert was exposed.
106. This refers to the London German Workers' Educational Society. It was founded by members of the League of the Just Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer in London in 1840. In 1847 and in 1849-50 Marx and Engels took part in its activities. The Society changed its name in subsequent years. From the 1870s it was called the Communist Workers'

Educational society. Soon after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany (see note 52), the Society was overruled by the faction that rejected the tactics adopted by German Social Democracy for the period of operation of the Law. It opposed combining legal and illegal methods of struggle, objected to the Social Democrats' use of the Reichstag platform and favoured individual terrorism. In March 1880 a considerable part of the Society's members formed an independent organisation of their own, retaining the Society's name. This new Society declared that it would be guided by the principles and tactics of German Social Democracy. The remainder of the members, in particular the followers of Johann Most, stuck to their extreme Left views. They operated under the same name.

107. This refers to data on the state of affairs in the French republic at the time of the conspiracy of the Equals, which Bernstein needed for his Afterword to Gabriel Deville's book *Gracchus Babeuf und die Verschworung der Gleichen*. Translated by Bernstein into German, the book was published, with his Afterword, in the series *Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek*, in Hottingen-Zurich in 1887. The Conspiracy of the Equals, organised by Babeuf and his followers, aimed at provoking an armed uprising of the plebeian masses against the bourgeois regime of the Directory and establishing a revolutionary dictatorship as a transitional stage on the way to 'pure democracy' and 'egalitarian communism'. The conspiracy was exposed in May 1796. At the end of May 1797 its leaders were executed. Buonarroti's *Conspiration de Babeuf*, which Engels mentions later in his letter, was translated into English and published by William O'Brien, a prominent Chartist.

108. Engels's remarks contained in this paragraph were used in the column 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' of *Der Sozialdemocrat*, No. 20, 13 May 1887.

109. Engels means the political crisis in Bulgaria in the summer of 1886 created by the overthrow of Prince Alexander Battenberg by a group of military conspirators linked with agents of the Russian Government. The provisional government formed on 9 August was replaced, a few days later, by a pro-Austrian regency. An attempt to re-enthrone Alexander Battenberg failed in the face of open opposition from Russia. In September, the Russian Government dispatched Major General N. V. Kaulbars to Sofia with the task to prepare the ground for the election of a Russian candidate to the Bulgarian throne. However, his mission failed, owing in particular to the stance taken by the West European powers, notably Britain. On 5 November Russia recalled Kaulbars and broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.

110. On 31 March 1887 two Bulgarian émigrés staged an attempt on the life of Mantoff, prefect of the Bulgarian city of Ruschtschuk, in Bucharest for negotiations with the Russian ambassador. Mantoff was seriously injured. On the night of 23 April a bomb was set off in the house of Major Popoff, chief of the Sofia garrison. The attack had been organised by members of

the pro-Russian Liberal Party. The Russophile officer Olimpi Panoff was shot in Bulgaria in February 1887.

111. Kelley-Wischnewetzky had suggested that Engels's article, 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in America' ('The Labour Movement in America'), written as a preface to the US edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, should be issued in the form of separate German and English pamphlets. This was also suggested by Sorge in his letter of 26 April 1887. Engels translated the preface into German himself. The pamphlets appeared in New York in July 1887. Engels's German translation was also published in the *Sozialdemokrat*, Nos 24 and 25; 10 and 17 June 1887.
112. Engels is quoting from Sorge's letter of 26 April 1887. Enclosed in it was a clipping from the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of 25 April with a report on a sitting of the New York Section that had concerned itself with the Aveling case.
113. In his letter of 26 April 1887 Sorge informed Engels that Alexander Jonas, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, had stayed away from the meeting of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party which discussed the Aveling case (see note 3). Sorge also noted that the Executive had dealt itself a mortal blow by its second circular on the matter (see note 98).
114. On 21 May 1887, *Justice*, No. 175, carried an editorial note in the 'Tell Tale Straws' column which gave the following resume of Aveling's latest Letter to the Editor (see *Justice*, No. 174, 14 May 1887): 'The gist of it is that the Board of Supervisors in America exonerate him from all blame, and that Mr. Friedrich Engels, Mr. F. A. Sorge, and Mr. Wilhelm Liebknecht (who writes a letter to that effect) are ready to answer for Dr. Aveling's correct behaviour in the matter of his expenditure on his American trip'.
115. Aveling's answer to the second circular of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party (see note 98) was printed in the form of a pamphlet, containing Aveling's statement of 27 May 1887 (a detailed reply to the charges levelled at him); a statement by Eleanor Marx-Aveling of 24 May, confirming her husband's arguments and adding certain details; a statement by Wilhelm Liebknecht in defence of Aveling of 16 May.
116. Six Possibilists (see note 19), including Paul Brousse, were elected to the Paris Municipal Council in a second ballot on 15 May 1887.
117. On 17 May 1887, in a debate at the French Chamber of Deputies, the budget committee opposed the draft budget for 1888 submitted by Rene Goblet's Radical Cabinet (see note 200). The majority of deputies supported the committee, thus forcing the Cabinet to resign. The government crisis lasted for 13 days. On 30 May 1887 Maurice Rouvier formed a Cabinet composed mostly of Rightists.
118. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads K. Kautsky Esq., 54 Langdon Park Road, Highgate, No 661. The text of the letter is slightly damaged.

119. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads. Herr E. Bernstein, Florstr. 10, *Riesbach-Zurich*, Switzerland.
120. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads Mrs. F. Kelly-Wischnewetzky, 110, East 76th St., New York, U.S. America. For data on the first publication of the letter in English see note 139.
121. An excerpt from this letter was published in English in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 2.
122. Congregationalists (Independents) – adherents of one of the Protestant trends in England. In the 1580s and 1590s they formed the Left wing of the Puritans. Consisting of members of the commercial and fledgling industrial bourgeoisie and the 'new' bourgeois nobility, they constituted a radical opposition to absolutism and the Church of England. During the English revolution of the seventeenth century the Congregationalists formed an independent political party, which came to power under Oliver Cromwell at the end of 1648. The Congregationalists rejected every kind of Church deriving from the State. They favoured complete autonomy for every congregation of believers and did not tolerate any coercion in matters of faith.
123. Laura Lafargue's French translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, revised by Engels, was printed in *Le Socialiste* from 29 August to 7 November 1885. No separate French edition of the *Manifesto* appeared in Engels's lifetime.
124. The British Association for the Advancement of Science, founded in 1831, still exists. The proceedings of its annual conference are published. The Association issues *The Advancement of Science*, a quarterly journal.
125. An excerpt from this letter was published in English in: Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.
126. The *Commonweal* weekly, Nos 71, 72, 74, 76, 79 and 80; 21 and 28 May, 11 and 25 June, and 16 and 23 July 1887, carried a polemic between Ernest Belfort Bax and Charles Bradlaugh on the subject, 'Will Socialism Benefit the English People?'. Each author contributed three articles. Bax advocated socialism, Bradlaugh opposed it.
127. Engels means the differences within the Liberal Party and the incipient rapprochement of its Right wing (the Whigs) with the Conservatives. The Right-wing Liberals opposed Home Rule for Ireland. In 1886 they broke away from the Liberal Party and formed the Liberal-Unionist bloc led by Joseph Chamberlain. It favoured retaining the 1801 Union of Ireland with Great Britain and supported the Conservatives on most issues. Unionist Liberals reflected the regrouping of Britain's ruling classes and their shift to the Right.
128. On 19 March 1883 Sorge had informed Engels that Henry George's propaganda in America was leading the working-class movement astray and

suggested publishing Marx's letter to him, Sorge, of 20 June 1881 (see present edition, Vol. 46). The letter contained a critique of George's book, *Progress and Poverty*, published in New York in 1880. However, at the time, Engels held that a publication of Marx's letter in the US would be premature. Engels gave a critique of George's views on land nationalisation in his Preface to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 26).

129. On 8 November 1887 elections to the State legislatures were held in twelve US Federal States. Henry George, who stood for election to the post of Secretary of State in New York State on behalf of the United Labor Party (see note 6), failed.
130. This letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in Edward Thompson's book, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1955.
131. Engels means *A Labour Programme*, the statement of principles of the North of England Socialist Federation, established by Socialist League (see note 21) member John Mahon and other socialist workers in Northumberland on 30 April 1887. On 14 June Engels received a copy of the programme from Mahon with the request to comment on it. Engels sent his suggestions concerning the introductory part of the programme (see present edition, Vol. 26). They were not put into effect since the Federation only lasted a few months.
132. This letter, like the previous one, is Engels' reply to Mahon. In his covering letter to the programme of the North of England Socialist Federation (see note 131) Mahon set forth a plan for creating a socialist organisation for England and Scotland. This was to be achieved by uniting the various extant socialist societies. The constituent congress which was to discuss the programme, was to be preceded by broad socialist propaganda within the trade unions. Mahon intended to start a special fund for preparing the congress and asked Engels for material assistance.
133. Mahon, who intended to write an essay on the Luddite movement, had asked Engels to recommend him relevant material. The Luddites came out against the introduction of machinery as ruinous to craftsmen. The Luddites were active in the late 18th and early 19th century. They owed their name to Ned Ludd, the legendary journeyman supposed to have been the first to wreck his knitting machine in protest against his master's arbitrariness.
134. The separate edition of Engels's article *The Labor Movement in America* (see note 12) contains a brief footnote (see present edition, Vol. 26) in which Engels refers to the relevant articles by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling (see note 89). In this connection Engels states his attitude to the anti-Aveling campaign launched by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party (see note 3). The passage to this effect which Engels gives in his letter

is worded in the footnote as follows: 'I am all the more pleased to refer to these excellent articles since this offers me an opportunity simultaneously to reject the wretched slanders concerning the Avelings which the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party has had the impudence to circulate'. The footnote was not reproduced in the separate American edition of this work, but it was included in the separate German edition put out in New York in 1887.

135. Sorge had informed Engels that he had not received the three issues of *Time* containing the Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling's series of articles on their tour of America, which they had sent him.
136. In a letter of 16 June 1887 Sorge informed Engels that an advertisement for the forthcoming publication by Scribner & Welford (New York) of two volumes of Marx's *Capital*, translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, had appeared in the journal *Jahrbucher fur Nationalokonomie und Statistik*, 1887, Vol. 14, p477.
137. After his resignation from the post of War Minister, General Boulanger continued to whip up a revanchist campaign with the support of the chauvinist elements of different parties, from the radicals to the monarchists. On 8 July 1887, when Boulanger was leaving for Clermont-Ferrand to assume command of the 13th Corps, his supporters staged a chauvinist demonstration at the Lyons railway station. Boulangism was a reactionary movement in France in the mid-1880s, led by ex-War Minister General Boulanger. It urged a revanchist war against Germany to win back Alsace, annexed by Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. In alliance with the monarchists, the Boulangists sought to capitalise on the masses' discontent with the government's policy. Their large-scale demagogic propaganda was especially effective among the lower ranks of the army. France was under the threat of a monarchist coup. Measures taken by the republican government, with the support of the progressive forces led to the collapse of the Boulangist movement. Its leaders fled from France.
138. Engels holidayed in Eastbourne from 23 July to 2 September.
139. This letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszuge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A Sorge und Anders*, Stuttgart, 1906.
140. Kelley-Wischnewetzky had sent Engels clippings from the US (New York and provincial) press with reviews of the American edition of the Condition of the Working Class in England.
141. On 21 July 1887 Mahon wrote to tell Engels that he no longer trusted Aveling and considered it impossible further to co-operate with him. He did not give any reasons.
142. Aveling and Mahon, along with some other members of the Socialist League, opposed the anarchist policies of its leaders (see note 95).
143. In a letter of 30 July 1887 Kautsky asked Engels to send his signature, a

facsimile of which he wanted to give under Engels' portrait in the annual *Osterreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender* for 1888, where Kautsky's article, 'Friedrich Engels' was to appear. The article was published, with some addenda and amendments, after Engels' death, in 1895, in *Vorwarts* (Berlin), under the title 'Friedrich Engels, sein Leben, sein Wirken, seine Schriften'.

144. Bank Holidays – in 1871 additional holidays were legally introduced for all English banks: Easter and Whit Monday, the first Monday of August and 26 December.

145. The Austrian Social Democrat Heinrich Mandl questioned the 'iron law of wages' in his article 'Ist das eherne Lohngesetz richtig?' (*Gleichheit*, No 21, 14 May 1887). Leo Frankel answered him in an article headlined 'Zur Kritik des "ehernen" Lohngesetzes' (*Gleichheit*, Nos 28-30; 2, 9 and 16 July 1887).

146. The 'iron law of wages' was formulated by Ferdinand Lassalle, in the pamphlet *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, pp15-16.

147. Engels means J.M. Baernreither's book *Die englischen Arbeiterverbande und ihr Recht. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in der Gegenwart*, Bd 1 Tubingen, 1886. The second volume, which was to deal with the English trade unions, was not published.

148. On 27 July 1887 Sorge wrote to tell Engels that Julius Grunzig, associate editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, had asked him for biographical data on Engels, since he intended to write an article on him for the Pionier calendar, published by that newspaper.

149. On 16 July 1887 Florence Kelley-Wischnewetsky and her husband, Lazar Wischnewetzky were expelled from the New York section of the Socialist Labor Party of North America for defending Edward Aveling at a section sitting (see note 3).

150. The August 1887 issue of *To-Day* (Vol. 8, No. 45) contained a note by its editor, Hubert Bland, setting forth the contents of Edward Aveling's circulars on the charges levelled at him by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3). Bland dealt with the charges favourably to Aveling, pointing out that at the bottom of it all was a difference of policy, as Aveling had advocated a line of action which the Executive Committee had disliked.

151. In connection with the death, on 1 August 1887, of the Russian political writer M.N. Katkov, who advocated an anti-German alliance of Russia with French chauvinistic circles, the French bourgeois press published a series of articles eulogising Katkov as a 'great friend of France'. On the other hand, the socialist press exposed Katkov as a reactionary and champion of the autocracy. In particular, Jules Guesde, in an article headlined 'Republicains et cosaques' (*l'Action*, 4 August), pointed out that Katkov was responsible for the Tsarist government's reprisals against Polish patriots and that revo-

lutionary France must side with the Russian people, fighting for freedom, rather than with official Russia.

152. The elections held in Germany on 21 February 1887 were won by the pro-Bismarck 'cartel' – the conservatives of both trends and the National-Liberals (see note 265). The newly formed Reichstag endorsed the septennate demanded by Bismarck (see note 36). It again increased the peacetime complement of the army (by more than 40,000) and sharply raised the import duties on corn, which made it possible to inflate the military budget beyond the special allocations provided by the Reichstag. It was at this time that Bismarck coined one of his most bellicose dictums: 'We Germans fear God and no one else'. The Schnaebelé case, provoked by Bismarck (see note 99), further exacerbated the chauvinistic and militaristic passions. A real threat of a military conflict arose.
153. J Guesde's translation of Engels' article *The Labor Movement in America*, written as a preface to the American edition of Engels book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, appeared in the newspaper *Le Socialiste*, Nos 88, 89 and 90, of 9, 16 and 23 July 1887.
154. Speaking at Epinal on 24 July 1887, the former French prime minister Jules Ferry called Boulanger a 'général de café-concert'. Boulanger challenged Ferry to a duel, which, however, did not take place, for the seconds could not agree on the terms. On 22 July 1887, the newspaper *La France* (edited by Francis Laur, a Boulanger supporter) carried an article intended to prove that at the time of the 'Schnaebelé Affaire' (see note 99) a group of French monarchist generals incited Boulanger to stage a coup d'état. Replying in the newspaper *L'Autorité* on 24 July 1887, one of the Bonapartist leaders, Paul de Cassagnac, described this report as a lie. Laur challenged him to a duel, which also failed to come off.
155. Apparently this refers to the biography of Engels, written by Karl Kautsky for the *Osterreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender* of 1888.
156. In his letter of 20 August 1887, Bruno Schönlank, a German Social Democrat, told Engels about his intention to dedicate to him, Engels, the book being prepared for the press *Die Fürther Quecksilber-Spiegelbelegen und ihre Arbeiter*, of which excerpts had been printed in *Neue Zeit*, Nos 4, 5 and 6, 1887. The book came off the press in Stuttgart in 1888.
157. Joannes Wedde, the editor of the Hamburg newspaper *Bürger-Zeitung*, with whom Engels was in correspondence, applied to him with the request to help the *FreundschaftsClubs der Zigarren-Sortierer* deposit the money, saved up by this alliance (10,000 Reichs marks), in the English bank, so as to protect this sum against a possible confiscation by the authorities. Wedde asked Engels either to deposit this money to his name or help find a man who might mediate in this transaction.
158. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the reverse side: Monsieur P. Lavroff, 32 rue S. Jacques, Paris, France.

159. The report about G. Lopatin's death proved wrong.
160. In a letter of 28 August 1887, Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky voiced her regret over the fact that Kautsky, to whom the American editor of the Engels-written book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, John Lovell, had sent a considerable number of copies, did not take the trouble to send it to London newspapers and magazines for reviewing.
161. Characterising the resolution of the conference of the United Labor Party of the State of New York, held on 17-19 August 1887, in Syracuse, N.Y. (see note 6) on the expulsion of the Socialists from this party, ostensibly in conformity with its Rules, Henry George declared in his paper *The Standard* that this decision largely furthered the success of his efforts to enlist representatives of the petty bourgeoisie and even big capitalists; as he explained, these social groups would have certainly refused to back the new independent political movement had it involved the Socialists with their 'doctrine of the class struggle'.
162. The American edition of Marx's speech on free trade, which he made in Brussels on 9 January 1848 (See present edition, Vol. 6, pp450-65), appeared in Boston in September 1888, in Kelley-Wischnewetzky's translation. Engels wrote a special preface to this edition – first published in the author's translation into the German by the magazine *Neue Zeit* No 7, July 1888, under the title 'Schutzzoll und Freihandel' and then in the English original, in the latter half of August 1888, in *The Labor Standard* of New York. Appended as an addendum was the slightly abridged version of the 'Seventh and Last Observation' from Chapter II ('The Metaphysics of Political Economy') of Marx's work *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp174-78). Kelley-Wischnewetzky suggested that the fourth part of this chapter, 'Property of Rent' (*ibid.*, pp197-206) be likewise included in the addendum; she argued that the American anarchists, Benjamin Tucker in particular, raised a noisy publicity campaign in connection with the publication of Proudhon's works they had undertaken. However, Engels did not find it necessary to include this part.
163. In connection with Engels' note to a separate edition of his article 'The Labor Movement in America' (see note 134), the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party issued a statement published in the newspaper *Sozialist*, No. 35, on 27 August 1887. It expressed surprise that a comrade in such an exposed position as Engels could not expect such ... accusation against a whole number of persons who ... have taken their stand under the circumstances...' and also claimed that allegedly none of the sections of the party 'has come out against the National Executive Committee concerning the financial aspect of the matter'.
164. Apparently the reference is to the convention of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3) held on 17-20 September 1887, in Buffalo, NY.

165. The annual 20th Trades Unions Congress, held at Swansea from the 5th to the 12th September 1887, passed a decision to set up an independent labour organisation. A meeting convened for the purpose outlined a programme of this National Labour Association which was to act as a Labour Electoral Committee. Likewise, the Congress adopted a decision on convening, in November 1888, an international labour congress in London. For the first time ever, the Congress adopted resolutions on nationalisation of landed property, and on holding a plebiscite among the trade union members concerning the struggle for an eight-hour working day, along with other resolutions.
166. This letter is a reply to the letter from the editorial secretary of the socialist newspaper Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung, Hugo Koch, of 21 September 1887; Koch had asked Engels whether the rumour of his negative pronouncements about the newspaper was correct.
167. Engels wrote this letter on the letter from Johannes Weiß, written on 9 October 1887, requesting a long-term loan for the completion of his education.
168. On 6 October 1887, Deputy Chief of the French General Staff General Louis Charles Caffarel was dismissed from his post and arrested on a charge of selling Légion d'honneur Orders. The investigation revealed that MP Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of the President of the Republic, Jules Grévy, was one of the chief accomplices of General Caffarel. As a result, General Caffarel was demoted, stripped of his decorations and discharged with disgrace; Grévy had to retire.
169. Engels means the pronouncements made by Emile de Girardin, a French bourgeois journalist and editor of the newspaper *La Presse*, in 1846 and 1847. E. Girardin accused some of the figures of the July Monarchy and the Guizot Ministry of corruption (selling peer titles, bribery of the press, etc). His exposures had a role to play in exacerbating the domestic political crisis on the eve of the Revolution of 1848. For more details, see Engels' article 'The Decline and Approaching Fall of Guizot – Position of the French Bourgeoisie' (present edition, Vol. 6, pp213-219).
170. *Révolution du mépris* – a phrase in use during the February Revolution of 1848 in France, when the bourgeois-republican quarters presaged a *révolution du mépris* ('revolution of contempt) for the corrupt regime of the July Monarchy.
171. On 24 September 1887 a group of Frenchmen on a hunting party near the Franco-German border at Raon-sur-Plaine (Vexaincourt), was shot at by a German soldier, R. Kaufmann, from German territory; one of the Frenchmen was killed, and another wounded. Kaufmann said he had taken them for poachers. The German government expressed its regret over the incident and pledged to pay an indemnity to the families of the victims.
172. On 11 June 1887, the newspaper *Le Socialiste* (2 Serie) resumed its publication following a break from March 26; its format was considerably enlarged.

173. Bebel visited Engels as guest in the latter half of October 1887.
174. The Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was in session from the 2nd to the 6th October 1887, at St. Gallen (Switzerland). It was attended by 79 delegates. The congress discussed the following questions: a report of the Reichstag faction of the party, the activity of Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag and the Landtags, the party's attitude to the issue of taxes and customs duties in connection with the steps taken by the government in the social sphere, the party's policy at the last election and at the election to come, the convocation of an international socialist congress, and the attitude to the anarchists. It was stressed in the congress resolutions that in its parliamentary activities, the party was to concentrate on the critique of the government and on the agitation for the principles of Social Democracy; Bismarck's social policies, it was said, had nothing in common with the genuine concern for working people's needs. It was also pointed out that anarchist views were incompatible with the socialist programme. The congress passed a decision to convene an international labour congress in 1888 to consider labour legislation. Most of the delegates upheld the party's revolutionary wing, led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht. The leaders of the opportunist wing found themselves in relative isolation.
175. Home Rule – this refers to the struggle for Irish self government from the 1870s to the beginning of the 20th century. Although Home Rule provided for an Irish parliament and national bodies of administration, it envisaged supreme power being vested with the British cabinet which retained the administration of foreign, military and customs affairs.
176. The British Fabian Society was founded by democratic minded intellectuals in 1884. This society was named after the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus (3rd century B.C.), who was named *Cunctator* ('the delayer') from his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal. Playing the leading part in it were Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Bernard Shaw and others. Local organisations of the Fabian society sometimes included working-class members. Rejecting notions of militant class struggle and the revolution, the Fabians believed it was possible to move from capitalism to socialism by means of reforms implemented within the framework of a municipal socialism.
177. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the back – F. A. Sorge Esq., Rochester N.Y., U.S. America.
178. The German Social Democrat Congress held at St. Gallen adopted a decision (along with other resolutions (see note 174)) on convening an international labour congress to consider the issue of labour legislation. Almost simultaneously, a similar decision was passed by the British Trades Unions Congress (see note 165). The trade unions convened their congress in London in November 1888; the German Social Democrats abandoned their

plan and took part in the convening and holding of an international socialist labour congress in Paris on 14-20 July 1889, first suggested by the French Workers' Party (see note 33); it stood at the beginnings of the Second International (see note 473).

179. The reference is to the Social Democratic Federation (See note 62) and the Socialist League (see note 21).

180. The full text of this letter is not available. For first publication in English, see note 87.

181. Here the reference is to the Caffarel-Wilson case (see note 168) in which connection Engels recalls the exposures made by the French journalist Emile de Girardin in 1846-47 (see note 169). The journalist Albert Eduard Portalis, referred to in the letter, was the publisher of the newspaper *Le XIXe Siécle* which was taking a particularly vigorous stand against Wilson, and which published a number of materials compromising him. During the court trial the dossier, entitled *Los antécédents financiers des membres du cabinet Rouvier*, was stolen from Portalis, and an attack was made on Portalis himself.

182. In response to the inquiry of the editorial board of *Le XIXe Siécle* to the Paris procurator's office with the demand to give back the documents seized during the search *le prefet de police* offered copies of the documents but retained the originals on a formal pretext.

183. Mme Limouzin (née Scharnet), a favourite of the former War Minister General Jean Thibaudin, was arrested in connection with the Caffarel case as his intermediary in selling Légion d'honneur Orders.

184. Early in November 1887, Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels about squabbles among some of the members of the Paris branch (agglomération parisienne) of the French Workers' Party.

185. In view of the frequent meetings of the unemployed from the autumn of 1886 to the spring of 1887, the Chief Constable of London, Charles Warren, banned demonstrations and meetings in Trafalgar Square by his fiat of 8 November, 1887. In reply the Metropolitan Radical Federation (see note 22) appointed Sunday, 13 November 1887, as the day of a rally. On that day Trafalgar Square was cordoned off by the police and soldiers, and nearly all the demonstrators, about a hundred thousand strong, were dispersed with exceptional cruelty on their way to the square. Hundreds of workers sustained injuries in clashes with the police (with three workers receiving deadly wounds); numerous arrests were made. Also taking part in the demonstration was Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who described the events of that day in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the 14th of November 1887. 13 November 1887 went down in the history of the British working class movement as 'Bloody Sunday'.

186. The reference is to the joint meeting of the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, the Labour Emancipation League and the London

Radical Clubs in London on 20 September 1885, in protest against the arrest of Socialist speakers who had addressed rallies in the East End in July-September 1885 when the British Socialists were fighting for freedom of speech ('the free speech struggles against the police suppression of outdoor meetings'). The September 20 rally brought together several thousand who offered resistance to the police trying to arrest the speakers. Several people were detained nonetheless, but they were set free the next day. September 27 saw an even larger demonstration and a rally that adopted a resolution protesting the police actions. Thereupon the authorities ceased their attempts to silence Socialist speakers.

187. Slavophiles (e.g. A. Khomyakov, the brothers Aksakov, I. Kireevsky, Yu. Samarin and others) were a trend in nineteenth-century Russian social and philosophical thought. In the late 1830s-1850s they advanced a theory of Russia's unique path of historical development which, in their opinion, differed from that of Western Europe. Among the characteristic features of their theory were monarchism, a negative attitude to revolution and a leaning towards religious-philosophical conceptions. The Slavophiles met mostly in the literary salons of Moscow.
188. On 10 November 1887, die Deutsche Reichsbank announced, on Bismarck's orders, that it would no longer accept Russian securities as deposits.
189. It was common practice in the book trade for a publishing house to grant a discount to bookstores on wholesale purchases depending on the quantity ordered; for example it might offer about 12 copies, a thirteenth part of the total print, free of charge. Referring to '18 copies – a thirteenth part – free of charge', Engels meant 224 copies of the book sold in Britain.
190. As Conrad Schmidt told Engels in his letter of 22 November 1887, his relatives in Königsberg had been searched on having received a box with books which he, Schmidt, had sent them from Paris during his trip abroad. The police tried to prosecute Schmidt on the grounds that the parcel had contained several numbers of the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat* which was banned in Germany. He managed to avoid arrest.
191. From the latter half of September 1841, to about 10 October 1842, Engels stayed in Berlin for his tour of duty in an artillery brigade. In his spare time he attended lectures at Berlin University and forged close contacts with left-wing Hegelians, progressive writers and scholars. It was at that time that Engels maintained close ties with East Prussian liberals (Eduard Plottwell and Johann Jacoby). Through them he might have contacted the bourgeois newspaper *Königl. Preuß. Staats-Kriegs-und-Friedenszeitung* (a progressive paper in the 1840s); however, we have no evidence that Engels really co-operated with the newspaper. 'The restricted intelligence of loyal subjects' ('beschränkter Untertanenverstand') was a phrase coined by the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow; it gained wide currency in Germany.

192. On behalf of Ernst Elsters, preparing a new edition of Heine's works for publication, C. Schmidt appealed to Engels on 22 November 1887, with the request to clarify some 'mysterious innuendoes' made in Heine's letter to Lassalle on 7 March 1846, which was to be included in that edition. This letter appeared in the second volume of *Heine-Briefwechsels*, München-Berlin, 1917, published by Friedrich Hirth.
193. As a lawyer, Lassalle conducted Countess Sophie Hatzfeldt's divorce proceedings in 1846-54. In February 1848, he was arrested on a charge of abetting the theft of a casket with documents with intent to present them to the court. Lassalle was held in custody till 11 August 1848, when acquitted by the jury.
194. On 22 November 1887, Conrad Schmidt wrote to Engels that he had read with much interest Volume II of *Das Kapital*; he said if some economic newspaper could accept his article on the Marxian system, he would like to send it to Engels. It must have been Schmidt's work *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes*, Stuttgart, 1889.
195. On 3 December 1887, *The Commonweal* (No. 99) carried an article by Henry Ambrose Barker, 'The Condition of the Working Classes. I', which was a précis of the first chapters of Engels' book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*; this abstract contained extensive quotations from those chapters. There was no continuation of the article.
196. Engels means Kelley-Wischnewetzky's translation into English of Marx's speech on free trade (see note 162). Asking Engels to write a preface to the American edition of the Marxian speech, Kelley-Wischnewetzky, in her letter of 24 October 1887, wished the preface to contain a critical evaluation of pronouncements made by the American protectionists.
197. The reference is to the resolution of a presidential crisis in France over the exposure of speculatory machinations committed by Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of President Jules Grévy (see note 168). Under public pressure J. P. Grévy had to tender his resignation on 1 December 1887. Nominated as candidates for the presidency were the moderate republicans M. F. Sadi Carnot, Jules F.C. Ferry, Charles Louis de Freycinet, among others; the ultra Right nominated Félix Gustave Saussier. Ferry's candidacy elicited sharp protests from left-wing organisations and Paris workers. The Blanquists, headed by Emile Eudes, a former general of the Paris Commune, and Edouard Vaillant, a member of the municipal council, joined hands with the Guesdists (see note 33) and organised several meetings and demonstrations against Ferry's candidature. After the first round of the election Ferry and Freycinet withdrew their candidacies in Marie François Carnot's favour, who was then elected president.
198. Pertaining to the coup attempt of 1877 by Marshall Macmahon, President of the Republic, with the aim of restoring a monarchy in France. Yet

Macmahon found no support among the broad popular masses or in the army (among the soldiers and the greater part of commissioned officers), which reflected the republican sentiments of the French peasantry. The parliamentary election of October 1877 brought victory to the republicans, with a bourgeois republican government being formed; in January 1879 Macmahon resigned.

199. Opportunists was the name given in France to the party of moderate bourgeois republicans upon its split in 1881 and the formation of a left-wing party of radicals under Georges Clemenceau. The name was first used in 1877 by Henri Rochefort, a journalist, after the leader of the party, L. Gambetta, had said that reforms were to be implemented at 'an opportune time' ('un temps opportun').
200. The Radicals were a parliamentary group in France in the 1880s and 1890s that emerged from the party of moderate republicans ('Opportunists', see note 199). The Radicals relied chiefly on the petty bourgeoisie and to some extent on the middle bourgeoisie; they upheld the bourgeois-democratic demands: a unicameral system of parliament, separation of the church from the state, a progressive income tax, limitation of the workday, among other social issues. The Radicals were led by George Clemenceau. This group transformed itself into the Republican Party of Radicals and Radical-Socialists (*parti républicain radical et radical-socialiste*) in 1901.
201. On 4 December 1887, London was the scene of several meetings of the unemployed, organised by the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62). Although significant police reinforcements were moved in, no clashes were reported. For an account of the meetings, see *Justice* Vol. IV, No. 204, 10 December 1887: *The Unemployed Agitation*.
202. Such a collection was not published at the time; in 1894 the Social Democratic Publishers *Vorwärts* released a collection of Engels' works under the title *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat'* (1871-75) which comprised all the articles mentioned in the letter with the exception of *Refugee Literature IV*. Friedrich Hermann Schlüter also suggested that Engels include in the collection some of his articles from *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Ökonomische Revue*, as well as excerpts from his pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.
203. Engels replies to F. Schlüter's suggestion to revise three chapters from the second part of *Anti-Dühring* and have them published as a separate pamphlet. These chapters, under the single title *The Theory of Force* contained an explanation of materialist views on economics and politics. Engels subsequently changed his plan and decided also to add a fourth chapter on Germany history from 1848 to 1888 and a critique of Bismarck. The proposed title of the pamphlet was *The Role of Force in History*. Engels wrote this (fourth) chapter somewhat later, at the close of 1887 and in the

first three months of 1888. Having interrupted his work in March 1888, Engels must have never resumed it. This unfinished work of his, an outline of the preface to the pamphlet, the plan of the fourth chapter, as well as the plan of the concluding part of this chapter (this plan delineated the contents of the unfinished part of the work) are published in the present edition, Vol. 26.

204. Engels replies to Paul Lafargue's inquiry in the letter of 25 December 1887, concerning Heinrich Oberwinder, formerly active in the First International, and exposed as an agent of the Prussian police. The exposure was made by Swiss socialists in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 24 December 1887; they had found one of the German émigrés, Christian Haupt, to be Bismarck's agent. Subsequently they uncovered other spies as well, including Heinrich Nonne and Heinrich Oberwinder.
205. The Salvation Army was a religious-philanthropic organisation founded by William Booth of the Church of England in 1865. Subsequently it extended its activities to other countries as well (it adopted the present name in 1878 upon being reorganised after a military model).
206. On 25 December 1887, Paul Lafargue told Engels in jest about Laura's 'new-found talent' as an artist.
207. The following works of Engels were translated into Romanian: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (the journal *Contemporanul* Nos. 17-21, 1885, and Nos. 22-24, 1886) (present edition, Vol. 26) and the article *The Political Situation in Europe* (the journal *Revista Socialista* No. 2, December 1886) (present edition, Vol. 26, pp410-17).
208. The author of both pamphlets, published anonymously, was Constantin Dobrogenau-Gherea.
209. The Holy Alliance was an association of European monarchs founded on 26 September 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries.
210. *Règlement organique* (1831-32) constitutional acts laying down the socio-political system of the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The *Règlement*, based on a draft framed by P.D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration, was adopted by an assembly of boyars and clergymen. Legislative power in each of the Principalities was vested in an assembly elected by the big landowners. Executive power was wielded by *hospodars*, the titled rulers elected for life by representative of the landowners, the clergy and the towns. The *Règlement* envisaged a number of bourgeois reforms: abolition of internal customs duties, introduction of free trade, and the right of peasants to move from one owner to another. However, in view of the preservation of serfdom and concentration of political power in the hands of the big landowners and boyars, the progressive forces in the Principalities regarded the

Règlement as a symbol of feudal stagnation. Reimposed in 1849 during the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia by Russia and Turkey, the *Règlement* became invalid with the setting up of an independent Romanian state in the 1860s.

To suppress the revolutionary movement in Wallachia and Moldavia, Russia and Turkey sent in their troops in the summer of 1848. By the Balta-Liman Treaty of 19 April (1 May) 1849, the occupationist regime was to be in force till after the revolutionary threat had been eliminated in full (the foreign troops were withdrawn only in 1851); as a provisional measure, the *hospodars* were to be appointed by the Turkish Sultan with the consent of the Russian Tsar. Also, Turkey and Russia were to take steps, not excluding another military intervention, in case of repeated revolutionary unrest. In keeping with the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 12 May 1812, virtually all of Bessarabia up to the River Pruth was ceded to Russia. By the Paris Treaty of 1856 Turkey annexed a portion of this territory. However, in accordance with the Berlin treaty of 1878, this part of Bessarabia was ceded back to Russia.

211. An excerpt of this letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in the book: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, London, 1983.

212. In his letter of 11 (23) December 1887, Nikolai Danielson told Engels that Volume IV of Johannes v. Keussler's work *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des bäuerlichen Gemeinbesitzes in Rußland* had come off the press. These four volumes, he pointed out, were the only reliable source of data based on the relevant statistical and economic studies of the Russian *zemstvos*. Danielson regretted that Keussler undertook his work after only 20 volumes of the total 100-volume edition of the extensive statistical study of the *zemstvos* had seen print.

213. In the same letter Danielson wrote to Engels about the institution of a State Land Bank for the Nobility in Russia. The State Land Bank for the Nobility was set up in 1885 with the aim of helping the Russian landed proprietors from among the nobility in the maintenance of their estates. The landowners could get loans from this bank on fairly easy terms by mortgaging their land. The tsarist government provided substantial financial assistance to this bank. Loans were issued on a long-term basis and at a lower interest rate than in other Russian banks.

214. The Peasant Land Bank was a state mortgage bank instituted in Russia in 1882 for providing long-term loans to peasant farmers for land purchases. Catering to the interests of the big landowners, the bank charged high interest rates. Its activity resulted in soaring land prices. The land of insolvent real estate owners who failed to pay off the loans on time was auctioned off by the bank or sequestered into its land pool. The Peasant Land Bank was operating in close contact with the State Land Bank for the Nobility set up

in 1885 (see note 213) and became a vehicle of the reactionary agrarian policies pursued by the tsarist government. As a consequence, a significant part of the land found itself in the hands of the rich gentry and the rural bourgeoisie. One sequel to this process was the further stratification of the peasantry.

215. The reference is to 'marginal utility theory', the counter of vulgar political economics to the labour theory of value, whereby the value of commodities is deduced from the calculation of their utility and value. The marginal utility theory evolved into a major theoretical system in the 1870s. Its main advocates in the late 19th and early 20th century were Karl Menger, Eugen Böhm-Bawerk (of the Austrian School), William Stanley Jevons, and others. See also Engels' Preface to Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).
216. In August 1887, Nikolai Danielson informed Engels of Lopatin's death in the Schlüsselburg Fortress. Engels immediately applied to Lavrov with the request to verify this report. It proved to be wrong.
217. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in the book: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence*, 1846-1895, London, Lawrence 1934.
218. From September 1887 to March 1888, Friedrich A. Sorge lived in Rochester, N.Y., i.e., where his son did.
219. The Bismarck government followed a dual policy with regard to the workers: along with the continued repression (see note 96) it tabled, on 17 November 1881, a new programme of social legislation to be considered in the Reichstag. Although adopted by the Reichstag, this programme was implemented very slowly and inconsistently. In 1883 the Reichstag passed a law on a mandatory sickness insurance, in 1884 a law on old age and disability insurance. The entrepreneurs contributed only a 1/3 to the social insurance fund, with the other 2/3 being drawn from the employees. The issue of a shorter workday and of restrictions on female and child labour was not considered.
220. In view of the expiration of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the Bismarck government tabled a motion (November 1887) to prolong it for another five years and supplement it with some new clauses with stiffer penalties for the promulgation of socialist literature and for membership in Social Democratic unions, to the extent of banishment and deprivation of citizenship (expatriation).
221. The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) was a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France – rivals of the Habsburgs – supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle arena or the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany.

222. Probably Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote in his letter to Engels that in case of a prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52) he and his family would have to emigrate to America. One of the additional clauses to the law envisaged banishment and deprivation of citizenship (expatriation) for Social Democratic activities (see also note 220).
223. Engels means the leaders of the Socialist Labour Party of North America (see note 3).
224. An allusion to the events of 'Bloody Sunday' in London's Trafalgar Square on 13 November 1887 (see note 185). Among those arrested were the prominent figures in the socialist and trade union movement Robert Cunninghame-Graham and John Burns. On 18 January 1888, the two men were sentenced to 6 weeks' imprisonment. However, they were soon set free under public pressure (see note 246).
225. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the preface to *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*. Dritte Abteilung, Bd. 1, 1929.
226. On 30 December 1887, Hermann Schlüter told Engels about Eduard Bernstein's request to allow *Der Sozialdemokrat* to publish the final part of the Engels-written introduction to S. Borkheim's pamphlet *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten 1806-1807* pending the publication of the pamphlet itself. On 15 January 1888, *Der Sozialdemokrat* carried the second part of the Engels introduction under the title *Was Europa bevorsteht*. The booklet was printed in June 1888.
227. The German Social Democratic archives were set up at the Zurich Conference of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held on 19-21 August 1882. Their purpose was to preserve the manuscripts of prominent figures in the German labour movement (including the works of Marx and Engels), and documents pertaining to the history of Germany and the international working-class movement, and the labour press. The initial site of the archives was Zurich. The first materials were collected by Eduard Bernstein. From April 1883 the archives were in the custody of Hermann Schlüter. In June 1888, following the expulsion of some members of the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial staff and co-workers from Switzerland (see note 81), the archives were moved to London and, after the abrogation of the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52), to Berlin.
228. In his letter of 30 December 1887, Schlüter wrote to Engels that the book dealers had cut the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* into separate pieces and sold these articles separately as independent works. Meanwhile, longer works of Marx and Engels were printed in instalments in different numbers of the journal.
229. The reference is to the manuscript of *The Great Men of the Exile* written by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp227-326). At the end of June 1852, Marx passed on the manuscript to the Hungarian émigré, Kossuth's emissary abroad Janos Bangya, who offered to have it published

in Germany. Later, it turned out that Bangya was a police spy who had handed over the manuscript to the Prussian police. The actions of Bangya, who managed to win Marx's confidence for a time, were unmasked by Marx in his article 'Hirsch's Confessions' written in April 1853 and published in American newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp40-43). The reference is to the following part of the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp219-20): Karl Bruhn made slanderous accusations against Marx and Engels by claiming they had allegedly sold the MS of the pamphlet to the Prussian police (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp117-118).

230. Early in 1887 Pasquale Martignetti, an Italian socialist, approached Engels with the request to help him find work outside Italy as he was being persecuted for his views (see note 8). Engels, through the mediation of Johannes Wedde, editor of the Hamburg-based Social Democratic newspaper *Bürger-Zeitung*, tried to find a job for Martignetti, but failed in his attempt.
231. Martignetti's letter to Engels (dated 3 January 1888) was accompanied by the issue of the journal *Mefistofele*, carrying the first instalment of the Italian translation of Engels' biography written by Karl Kautsky. Martignetti intended to continue the publication in this journal of excerpts from Kautsky's work and then have it published in full as a separate pamphlet. For this reason he asked Engels to look through the translations in the *Mefistofele* and send him comments on the translation. The Engels biography was published in the journal between 1 January and 30 November 1888.
232. In February 1886 P. Martignetti sent his Italian translation of *Marx's Wage Labour and Capital* for Engels to peruse. However, because of his work on the English edition of Volume I of *Capital*, and his eye disease, Engels was unable to read the Italian translation immediately. It was published in Milan only in 1893.
233. The reference is to Engels' article *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp109-27). The publication of this work, exposing the Prussian Junkers, in the newspaper *Volksstaat* and in the form of a reprint, caused exasperation in government quarters. Therefore the promulgation of Engels' works in Germany was banned.
234. In his letter of 5 February 1888, Paul Lafargue informed Engels about the cessation of the publication of the newspaper *Socialiste*, an organ of the French Workers Party (Guesdists), on 4 February of the same year (see note 33).
235. The debates in the Reichstag about the motion to prolong the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52) in January-February 1888 ended in a defeat for the government. This outcome was largely predetermined by the speeches of August Bebel (30 January and 17 February) and Paul Singer (27 January and 17 February) during the first and the third reading of the draft bill, respectively. Both speakers exposed the provocative activities of the government

which was planting spies in the labour unions. On 17 February 1888, the Reichstag prolonged the law for the last time, but not for a term of five years, as the government had suggested – the action of the law was extended for two years only (until 30 September 1890). The new clauses suggested by the government for the law were not adopted (see note 220).

236. An allusion to the entry of Napoleon's troops into Berlin in 1806 following the defeat of the Prussian forces, at Jena and Auerstedt.
237. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in the journal *The Socialist Review*, London 1908, III-VIII.
238. The reference is to a scandal over the criminal actions of Louis Charles Caffarel and Daniel Wilson (see note 168). In 1847, just before the Revolution of 1848, there were many scandalous exposures of cases of corruption involving French statesmen (see note 169). For *Révolution du mépris* (a revolution of contempt) see note 170.
239. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in the book *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.
240. The first American edition of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (reprint of the English translation from the *Red Republican*) under the title *Manifesto of the German Communist Party* (without the names of the authors being mentioned) was published by *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, New York, 30 December 1871.
241. As Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky wrote to Engels, the attitude of the German socialists in New York to his book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* was tantamount to a boycott. Engels described the Executive of the Socialist Labour Party of North America, with Lassalle's supporters in it, as 'the official German socialists of New York'. (See note 3).
242. *The Law and Liberty League* was set up on 18 November 1887, after the Trafalgar Square demonstration (see note 185). The League united representatives of labour radical clubs, socialist organisations, trade unions affiliated with the Fabian Society, etc. Active in the League were: Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris, John Burns, Sidney Webb, and others. The League championed freedom of speech and assembly, and came out for independent representation of working men in Parliament. The League ceased its activities in February 1888 because of the differences among its members.
243. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the language of the original by the journal *Die Kommunistische Internationale* No. 24, 1931; in Russian it appeared in the journal *Kommunisticheski Internatsional*, Nos. 19-20, 1931.
244. An allusion to William O'Brien's speech in the House of Commons on 16 February 1888, with scathing criticism of the policy of Arthur Balfour,

Secretary of State for Ireland and nephew of the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Salisbury.

245. Speaking in the Reichstag on 6 February 1888, in debates on a draft bill providing for reorganisation of the German armed forces, Bismarck lauded the pro-German policies of Alexander III in contrast to the anti-German pronouncements of some organs of the Russian press. Still, he spoke in favour of a stronger military might for the German Reich in view of a possible anti-German alliance between France and Russia. By calling Alexander III a 'Gatchina prisoner', Engels referred to the fact that, ascending the throne after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by members of the radical organisation *Narodnaya Volya* ('People's will') on 1 March 1881, Alexander III feared revolutionary action and fresh acts of terrorism, so used to seclude himself in his palace at Gatchina.
246. On 19 February 1888, a big rally was held in London on the occasion of liberation of the socialists Robert Cunninghame-Graham and John Burns, convicted for taking part in the Trafalgar Square demonstration of 13 November 1887 (see note 185).
247. *The Commonweal*, the organ of the Socialist League, reprinted a list of police agents promulgated in *Der Sozialdemokrat* under the heading *Polizeiagent – Dynamitagenten* with 12 police agents in it (see note 204). The newspaper augmented this list without giving cogent proof of the culpability of the persons mentioned, including Theodor Reuß.
248. Landwehr was the army second reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. In the 1840s it consisted of men under forty who had done three years of active service and had been in the reserve not less than two years. In contrast to the regular army, the Landwehr was called up only in case of extreme necessity (war, or threat of war).
249. The Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the 'Féne', a name for the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals.
250. The Orange Order, named after William III, Prince of Orange, was an organisation set up in Ireland in 1795. The English authorities, the landlords and the Protestant clergy used this organisation to fight the Irish national liberation movement. The Order united English and Irish elements from all strata of society and systematically incited the Protestants against the Irish Catholics. The Orangemen had a particularly great influence in Northern Ireland, where the majority of the population were Protestants.

251. The reference is to the manifesto of Frederick III on the occasion of his ascension to the throne on 12 March 1888. This proclamation – *An mein Volk* (To my people) – was marked by the same date as his message to Chancellor Bismarck.
252. On 18 March 1888, the newspaper *Weekly Dispatch* published the manifestos of Frederick III ('Letter to Prince Bismarck', 'Proclamation of the Emperor') (see note 251).
253. Engels alludes to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.
254. In his letter to Engels of 18 March 1888, Paul Lafargue expressed his conviction that the only chance of preventing General Boulanger from being elected to the Chamber of Deputies would be to abrogate the balloting procedure 'according to the lists', introduced in June 1885 instead of the former procedure providing for voting 'in small arrondissements'. The new system of balloting, effected in keeping with departmental lists, envisaged integration of small constituencies into larger ones, each corresponding to a department in size. A voter would be offered a list of candidates from various parties, and was supposed to cast his ballot for the overall number of candidates due to be elected as deputies in a given department (proceeding from the ratio: 1 deputy to 700,000 of the population). An absolute majority of votes was needed in the first round for a candidate to be elected, but he could do with a relative majority in the runoff.
255. The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Parts between 1806 and 1810 in tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. It was made of bronze from captured enemy guns and crowned by a statue of Napoleon; the statue was removed during the Restoration but re-erected in 1833. In the spring of 1871, by order of the Paris Commune, the *Vendôme Column* was destroyed as a symbol of militarism.
256. An abridged version of this letter was first published in English (in facsimile) in the book *Literary Heritage* 1932, No.2; and in full it was published in: Marx K., Engels F. *Literature and Art,* New York, Intern. Publ., 1947.
257. Legitimists were the party who supported the French Bourbon dynasty (overthrown in 1792); they represented the interests of the big landed aristocracy and the top clergy; they took shape as a party and assumed this name in 1830, after the second overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. During the Second Republic, the Legitimists, together with the other monarchist parties, formed the Party of Order. Failing to win support from the people under the Second Empire, they confined themselves to marking time and issuing critical pamphlets and were galvanised into action only in 1871, when they joined the general counter-revolutionary onslaught against the Paris Commune.
258. Engels refers to the uprising in Paris of 5-6 June 1832, prepared by the Left Wing of the Republican Party and secret revolutionary societies. The immediate cause of this uprising was the funeral of General Lamarque, who had

been in opposition to the government of Louis Philippe. The revolutionary workmen raised barricades and fought back with great courage and tenacity. One of the barricades, put up in rue Saint-Martin (formerly the site of the Saint-Méri cloister) was among the last to fall. In his novel *Illusions perdues* and story *Les secrets de la Princesse de Cardignan*, Balzac depicted a republican Michel Chrestien who 'died at the walls of the cloister Saint-Méri ('mourut au cloître Saint-Mérri'). Balzac called him a 'great statesman who could have changed the face of the world' (*'ce grand homme d'Etat, qui peut être eût changé la face du monde'*).

259. The reference is to Paul Lafargue's article 'La langue francaise avant et après la Révolution' published in the journal *Nouvelle Revue*, t. 51, 1888, under the nom de plume Fergus. As is apparent from Lafargue's letter to Engels on 27 November 1887, this article was conceived as part of a larger work in which he intended to look into changes that had occurred in matters of property, philosophy, art, etc., after the French Revolution.
260. *Boustrapa* – nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the places where he and his supporters staged Bonapartist *putsches*, or coups: Boulogne (August 1840), Strasbourg (October 1846) and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851).
261. An allusion to a scandalous incident involving the British colonel Valentine Baker who had seduced a young girl in a railway carriage and was brought to trial. Engels compared this incident in jest to the rape of Europa when Jupiter, in love with the young Phoenician princess Europa, assumed the form of a white bull to carry her off.
262. For British Association for the Advancement of Science see note 124; for the materials of the discussion mentioned by Engels, see *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Manchester in August and September 1887*, London, 1888, pp885-95. Engels usually familiarised himself with the materials of the Association's annual meetings by means of publications in the journal *Nature*.
263. The reference is to a bill tabled by Roger Quarles Mills at US Congress in April 1888 on rescinding taxes on raw materials used in industry and on reducing duties on many import items. The bill was not adopted.
264. Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky and her husband, Dr Lazar Wischnewetzky, both expelled from the New York section of the Socialist Labour Party of North America in July 1887 (see note 149), did not agree with the decision of the Executive and pressed for reinstatement of their membership in the party. On 31 March 1888, the newspaper *Wochenblatt der N.Y. Volkszeitung* carried a report on the Executive sittings of 2, 9 and 16 March 1888, which decided first to study the additional evidence before discussing the Wischnewetzkys' appeal.
265. The Kartell was a coalition of conservative parties – die Deutsch-

Konservative Partei, die Deutsche Reichspartei (Freikonservative) und die Nationalliberale Partei – which was formed after Bismarck had dissolved the Reichstag in January 1887 (see note 15). Supporting the Bismarck government, Kartell won the election of February 1887 by obtaining the largest number of seats in the Reichstag (220). Assisted by the coalition, Bismarck was able to secure the passage of reactionary laws in the interests of the Junkers and the big bourgeoisie (imposition of protectionist tariffs, higher taxes, etc.) (see note 152). However, he could not get the Reichstag to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law. The exacerbation of differences among the parties affiliated with the Kartell and the electoral defeat of 1890, with only 135 seats secured in the Reichstag, resulted in the disintegration of the coalition.

266. A reference to the intended marriage of Victoria, the daughter of Frederick III, to Prince Alexander Battenberg of Bulgaria, who occupied the Bulgarian throne in 1879-86 and steered a policy hostile to Russia. Fearing a worsening of Russo-German relations, Bismarck opposed the marriage.

267. Believing that the Bismarck regime was in for a political crisis, Engels considers, by way of comparison, the landmark stages of the political crisis of the Second Empire in France: *The Mexican period of Bonapartism* – the abortive armed intervention of France in Mexico (1862-67) with the aim of suppressing the Mexican revolution. The military expedition incurred huge expenses and caused grave damage to the empire of Napoleon III. 1866 – the defeat of Austria in her war against Prussia deprived Napoleon III of an essential ally in the confrontation with Prussia. 1870 – the routing, on 1-2 September, of French troops at Sedan during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. The Sedan debacle speeded up the collapse of the Second Empire and led to the proclamation of a republic in France on 4 September 1870.

268. Engels means *Die Erklärung der Sozialdemokratischen Föderation Englands in Sachen des nach London einberufenen internationalen Gewerkschaftskongresses* which was published by the newspaper *Sozialdemokrat* on 14 April 1888. The Declaration came in view of the intended convocation by the British trade unions of an international congress of labour unions in November 1888 (see note 165). The Declaration was a response to the protest of the German Social Democrats against the decision of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Unions Congress of Great Britain (see note 269) on conditions for representation at the Congress: only delegates officially elected by trade unions were to attend. Thereby the German Social Democrats were unable to take part on account of the enforcement of the Anti-Socialist law in Germany. In its Declaration the Social Democratic Federation voiced its discontent at the protest of the German Social Democrats.

269. The reference is to the rapprochement of the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) and the Possibilists (see note 19). Starting in 1884, the Federation, acting through its organ *Justice*, conducted

a broad campaign in support of the Possibilists; it recognised them as the principal organisation of French Socialists and maintained no relations with the French Workers' Party (see note 33). The Social Democratic Federation was the only socialist organisation to support the Possibilist International Congress in Paris in 1889 (see note 478). An allusion to the Parliamentary Committee, an executive body of The Trades Union Congress of Great Britain formed in 1868 and uniting the British trade unions. As of 1871 the Parliamentary Committee was annually elected by Trades Union Congresses as a steering body of the trade unions in between the congresses. It was designed to nominate trade union MPs, support draft bills tabled in the interests of the trade unions, and prepare regular union congresses. Henry Broadhurst was the parliamentary Committee's Secretary from 1875 to 1890. In 1921 the Parliamentary Committee was replaced with the Trades Union Congress General Council.

270. The Congress of the German Social Democratic Party at St Gallen (see note 174) passed a decision to convene an international labour congress in 1888. However, the party's Executive stated its readiness to refrain from the convocation of that congress and to participate in a congress being convened in London by the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Unions (see note 165). Following its unsuccessful negotiations with the Parliamentary Committee which had stipulated unacceptable conditions for representation of German Social Democracy at the London congress, the party's Executive reverted to the resolution of its congress.
271. Probably the reference is to the work of Johann Georg Eccarius *Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's* republished by the Social Democratic Publishers of Zurich in 1888. Originally written in English for the journal *The Commonweal* (10.11.1866, 27.3.1867), it first appeared in German in 1869 as a pamphlet in Eccarius' translation.
272. In this letter to Engels on 11 April 1888, P. Martignetti said he was offered a job in the archives of the Italian town of Benevento, but had to pass competitive examination to be able to qualify.
273. Engels sent Lafargue's letter on 27 April 1888, addressed to Wilhelm Liebknecht, pertaining to the preparation of an international labour congress. P. Lafargue believed that in this way his letter would reach the addressee the sooner.
274. A brief excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. For the first publication of this letter in English, see note 40.
275. In March-April 1888 a peasant uprising broke out in Romania's central districts. The rebels burned landlords' estates, destroyed promissory notes, and divided bread, cattle and land amongst themselves. The revolts were crushed brutally by the government.

276. This letter was first published in English by the journal *Istoricheskv Arkhiv* (*Historical Archives*), No. 2, 1956 (the facsimile of the first page) and in full in: F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, T. 2 (1887-1890), Paris, 1956.
277. The French Socialists differed in their attitude to Boulangism (see note 137). Some of them, including P. Lafargue, at first erroneously qualified Boulangism as a 'popular movement' with little regard for the aims of this movement and Boulanger's personality. The Workers' Party majority with Jules Guesde at the head and the greater part of the Blanquists led by M.E. Vaillant adhered to a policy of non-interference with respect to Boulangism by regarding this movement only as a bourgeois party; they said they were loath to intervene in partisan strife among the bourgeois parties. Yet the sectarian stance of non-interference isolated the party from the popular masses and gravely prejudiced its influence in the home country.
278. The decree adopted by the German Ministry of the Interior on 22 May 1888, prohibited free passage of the French into Alsace and Lorraine. All foreigners crossing into Germany from France were supposed to have passports with a visa from the German embassy in Paris.
279. This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3 (1891-95), Supplement Letters, Moscow, 1963.
280. Engels, at the request or Karl Kautsky, and Eleanor and Edward Aveling, was translating poems by Shelley into German for the Avelings's article 'Shelley als Sozialist', published in the December issue of *Neue Zeit* in 1888.
281. Refers to the voyage of Engels, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and their friend Carl Schorlemmer to the United States where they spent over a month – from 17 August to 19 September 1888. They journeyed from New York to Boston and nearby towns, then on to the Niagara Falls and across Lake Ontario to Canada. Engels made this tour incognito, without meeting German Socialists or representatives of the press.
282. On 12 June 1888, Georges Boulanger addressed the Chamber of Deputies demanding its dissolution and a revision of the Constitution. The head of the government, Charles Floquet, proposed that Boulanger's demand be turned down and pointed out to the general's unseemly activities. Accusing Floquet of slander, Boulanger presented the Chairman of the Chamber with a waiver, framed in advance, whereby he relinquished his mandate as a deputy; the matter culminated in a duel in which Boulanger was wounded.
283. Plebiscitary Boulangism was a description that Engels gave to Boulanger's attempt to obtain a deputy's mandate from many departments of France. Making use of the voting 'according to the lists' (see note 254), Boulanger nominated his candidacy in any department where a deputy's seat happened to be vacant. As soon as a new vacancy was open, Boulanger relinquished his mandate so as to run for Parliament in another department. Boulanger

hoped that with the aid of such tricks he would appear an elected representative of the entire nation. Boulanger's victory at the election of 1889 compelled the French government as early as 31 January 1889 to table a draft bill on restoring the old system of balloting in electoral constituencies. This bill was approved and came into effect on 13 February. On 17 July 1889 Parliament passed yet another law whereby no one could be elected deputy other than in one constituency only.

284. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. On the back was the address: E. Bernstein Esq. , 4, Corinne Road, Tufnell Park, N. London.
285. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the back: F. A. Sorge, Hoboken, New Jersey. For the first publication of the letter in English see note 29.
286. This letter was first published in English in *Science and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1938. It was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Adams House, No. 553, Washington Street, Boston.
287. The reference is to the dissent in the Socialist Labour Party of North America (see note 3). Speaking of the resignation of the Executive Secretary Wilhelm Rosenberg, Engels proceeded from a report made by Friedrich Sorge in his letter of 30 August 1888. The official decision on Rosenberg's resignation was adopted in September 1889 (see note 501).
288. The letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Adams House, No.553. Washington Street, Boston.
289. The letter was written on hotel notepaper with a picture of the Niagara Falls and the address: Spencer House, Niagara Falls, N.Y.
290. Engels stayed in London in July-August 1838 when he accompanied his father on a business trip to Britain. That was the first trip of the young Frederick Engels abroad (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp99-100)
291. This letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Richelieu Hotel, Montreal. For the first English publication, see note 286.
292. This letter was written on a hotel notepaper with the address: Paul Smith's Fouquet House, Phelps Smith, Manager, Plattsburgh, N.Y. About the first English publication of the letter, see note 29.
293. This letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Broadway, opposite Bond Street, Julius A. Robinson Prop'r, New York. For the first English publication of the letter, see note 29.
294. The available rough copy of this and the next letter was written on a single sheet.
295. In the autumn of 1841 Bruno Bauer, one of the leaders of the Young Hegelians, was suspended from teaching at Bonn University by Eichhorn, the Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine. In March 1842, he was dismissed from his post as lecturer in theology on account of his atheistic views and opposition speeches. Bauer's dismissal evoked sharp protests from radical and liberal intellectuals.

296. Telling Engels about his intention to obtain the post of senior lecturer at Leipzig University, Conrad Schmidt wrote: 'Whether I will succeed in getting a position in Leipzig is doubtful to me in view of the personal attitude of Mr "Thucydides" Roscher to Marx'. Speaking ironically, Marx and Engels called Professor Roscher by the name of the great historian of the ancient Greece, Thucydides, for, as Marx wrote, Herr Professor Roscher had modestly declared himself a Thucydides of political economy (see present edition, Vol. 32, p570). See Roscher's preface to the first edition of his work *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie* 1854.
297. On 23 August 1888 Conrad Schmidt wrote to Engels that he was not eligible as lecturer at Halle University on account of his atheist views.
298. In his preface to Volume II of *Capital* that appeared in 1885 Engels suggested that economists clarify the question 'in which way an equal average rate of profit can and must come about, not only without a violation of the law of value, but on the basis of it' (see present edition, Vol. 36). Marx had offered a solution to this problem in Volume III of *Capital* on which Engels was working at the time. Having taken an interest in the problem raised by Engels, C. Schmidt was working on the book *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes* which came out in 1889. In the review of Volume II of *Capital – Die Marx'sche Kapitaltheorie* – published by the journal *Jahrbücher fur Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, new series, Vol. XI, 1885, Wilhelm Lexis likewise raised this problem, though he could offer no solution. Engels made a circumstantial appraisal of these works in his preface to Volume III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).
299. W. Roscher, *Geschichte der National-Ökonomie in Deutschland* München, 1874, S. 1021-1022. In it Roscher gave an evaluation of the Marxian economic theory.
300. On 20 September 1888 the newspaper *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* carried Engels' interview with Theodor Cuno (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp626-27), formerly a member of the First International. Acting on the assignment of the editor-in-chief Alexander Jonas who had learned about Engels' sojourn in New York (see note 281), Cuno had the interview published without prior consultations with Engels. In October 1888 this interview was reprinted by *Der Sozialdemokrat*.
301. A fragment of this latter was first published in English in K Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality*, Moscow, Novosti Publishers, 1974.
302. Engels probably meant the leaders of the Fabian Society – Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, Edward Pease (see note 176).
303. Following their abortive attempts in the 1870s to form a party of their own, the Austrian Socialists remained split into several groups for many years. There were also anarchist and moderate radical groups besides the adherents of scientific socialism among them. The above groups were divided on

such issues as the significance and nature of workers' political activity (specifically, the parliamentary struggle), the makeup of the party, ethnic problems, and so on. A reunification attempt was undertaken in Vienna in the first half of 1887. Of much significance in this respect was a party congress of the Czechoslovak Socialists late in 1887 which passed a decision on forming a single Social Democratic Party. The Austrian Social Democrats held their unity congress from 31 December 1888 to 1 January 1889 at Hainfeld. They put an end to the party's division into organisations representing separate lands and separate ethnic groups. The party programme adopted by the congress relied on Marxist postulates.

304. Engels intended to write travel notes of his tour of the United states, as shown by an excerpt from *Notes on My Journey Through America and Canada* (see present edition Vol. 26), as well as by rough notes which Engels wrote in the latter half of September 1888, evidently, aboard the steamship *City of New York*. In them Engels planned to give his assessment of the country's social and political life. This intention was not realised.

305. August Bebel intended to write a large work on Wilhelm Weitling in which he also wanted to take up the subject of 'the social movement of the 1840s'. He applied to Engels with the request to help in the collection of material.

306. Weitlingian communists held to a doctrine of egalitarian utopian communism that gained wide currency among German artisans, especially among tailors in Paris. Being a progressive movement in the early 1840s, before the development of modern Socialist ideas, the Weitling doctrine (with its negation of the need for an active political struggle of the proletariat and its emphasis on sectarian, conspiratorial methods of struggle) became to some extent a hindrance to the growing class consciousness of the German workers The reactionary characteristics of the Weitling doctrine, gradually taking on a religious-Christian colouring, became increasingly manifest. Weitling's supporters, always suspicious of 'scholars' (i.e. revolutionary intellectuals), would in their practical activities confine themselves to projects involving communes, partially borrowed from Fourier and his followers, and to small-scale experiments like establishing collective canteens, etc. In May 1846 Marx and Engels, with their adherents, broke from Weitling. Engels, living in Paris in 1846-47, had regular and stubborn discussions with workers to explain the backward nature of Weitling's views.

307. The reference is to German, or 'true socialism' which became widespread in Germany in the 1840s, mostly among intellectuals. The 'true socialists' – Karl Grün, Moses Hess and Hermann Kriege – substituted the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood for the ideas of socialism and denied the need for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. Marx and Engels criticised this trend in the following works: *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5), *Circular Against Kriege*, *German Socialism in Verse and Prose* and *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Vol. 6).

308. A reference to Georg Kuhlmann's book *Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden Verkündigung*, Geft, 1845. For a critique of this book, see present edition, Vol. 5.
309. This refers to Weitling's letter to Moses Hess on 31 March 1846, in which he describes the sitting of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee held on 30 March 1846, culminating in its breaking of relations with Marx and Engels. The controversy flared up over the best way of carrying on propaganda in Germany. Marx wanted to prove that calling on the workers to rise up without a proper programme was to deceive them and could result in dire consequences for the entire movement. Pavel Annenkov's reminiscences of this meeting were originally published in Russian. An excerpt from these reminiscences (one about Annenkov's meetings with Marx) was reproduced by the journal *Neue Zeit*, No. 5, 1883, under the heading 'Eine russische Stimme über Karl Marx'.
310. A reference to the two volumes of a quarterly journal the publication of which was negotiated in 1845 and 1846 by a number of Westphalian socialists, the publishers Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel among others. Marx and Engels intended to publish in it their criticism of the German ideology which they started to write in the autumn of 1845. It was also planned to publish a number of polemical works to their colleagues, in the first place those containing criticism of German philosophical literature and the works of the 'true socialists'. In November 1845 Moses Hess reached agreement with Meyer and Rempel on financing the publication of two volumes of the quarterly. Further negotiations were conducted by Weydemeyer, who visited the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. In a letter to the Committee of 30 April 1846 from Schildesche (Westphalia) he wrote that no headway was being made and proposed that Meyer should form a joint-stock company in Limburg (Holland), as manuscripts of less than 20 printed sheets were subject to preliminary censorship in Germany. He also recommended that Marx should sign a contract with the Brussels publisher and bookseller C.G. Vogler for the distribution of the quarterly and other publications. The contract was not drawn because Vogler could not assume even part of the expenses. Weydemeyer continued his efforts, but succeeded in getting from Meyer only a guarantee for the publication of one volume. However as early as July 1846 Meyer and Rempel refused their promised assistance on the pretext of financial difficulties, the actual reason being differences in principle between Marx and Engels, on the one hand and the champions of 'true socialism', on the other, whose views both publishers shared. Marx and Engels did not abandon their hopes of publishing the works, if only by instalments, but their attempts failed. The only chapter of *The German Ideology* known to be published during their lifetime was Chapter IV of Volume II, which appeared in the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* in August and September 1847 (publisher of this journal was O.

Lüning). The rest of the existing *German Ideology* was first published in the Soviet Union in 1932.

311. Engels means Weitling's non-extant work *Allgemeine Denk-und Sprachlehre nebst Grundzügen einer Universalsprache der Menschheit* which was written in the first half of the 1840s.
312. The fifth and sixth points at the résumé in Weitling's letter were as follows: '5. It is necessary to combat "artisan communism" and "philosophical communism" and to criticise the idea that everything is a fantasy. There should be no propaganda by word, no secret propaganda. The very word propaganda should no longer be used. The realisation of communism is now out of the question. First the bourgeoisie must take the helm'.
313. A reference to L. Stein, *Der Socialismus and Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1842; K. Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien*, Darmstadt, 1845. Marx and Engels made a critique of like publications in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp484-530). At the beginning of 1845 Engels and Marx had formed the plan to publish in Germany a 'Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers' with a general introduction and commentaries to each issue (see Engels' letters to Marx of 22-26 February, 7 and 17 March 1845). The draft plan of this publication, drawn up by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 4, p667), shows that it was conceived as a representative series of works of French and English authors. The plan was not carried out because of publishing difficulties, apart from the translation of a few chapters of Fourier's *Des trois unités externes* (see present edition Vol. 4, pp613-44).
314. Engels was working on Chapter III of Volume III of *Capital* at the time. For more detail, see Engels' preface to Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).
315. An allusion to P. Lafargue's article 'Die Beschneidung, ihre soziale und religiöse Bedeutung', published by the journal *Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1888.
316. A reference to P. Lafargue's article intended for the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* and containing a critique of the views of the Possibilists (see note 19). On Engels' advice Lafargue abandoned his plan to have it published.
317. Bourses du travail, Labour Exchanges – institutions set up in France largely as local government bodies in major cities, consisting of representatives of various trade unions. Originally they were assisted by state bodies in a bid to divert the workers from the class struggle – not infrequently, in the form of financial aid. The labour exchanges provided jobs for the unemployed and led to the founding of new trade unions.
318. There was a marked trend in the late 1880s toward a rapprochement between part of the Blanquists and the Boulangists. Victor Henri Rochefort, a prominent figure in the Boulangist movement, described Blanquists as 'our friends' in pronouncements made for his newspaper *Intransigeant*;

they were nominated with the Boulangists in common electoral lists. A group led by Ernest Roche and Ernest Granger separated itself from the rest of the Blanquists and gave open and vigorous support to General Boulanger.

319. The reference is to the proposed calling of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889. The Possibilists (see note 19) received powers to organise this congress from the 1886-held Paris International Conference which they had sponsored and which involved representatives of the British trade unions, delegates from German Social Democracy, and the workers' parties of Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Sweden and Australia (about this conference, see note 333).
320. The reference is to the London International Congress of Trades Unions held on 6-10 November 1888 at the initiative of the British trade unions. The congress involved trade union representatives of Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy as well as French syndicates aligned with the Possibilists. Stipulating that delegates to this congress should be officially elected by respective trade unions, its organisers thereby deprived the German and Austrian. Social Democrats, as well as representatives of the French Workers' Party (the Guesdists), see note 33, of an opportunity to attend. Yet the leaders of the British trade unions failed in their attempts to foist reformist decisions on the congress and isolate it from the Socialists. The congress adopted a number of positive decisions. Thus, the workers were not to confine themselves to forming purely professional organisations – they were to unite into an independent political party as well. One of the resolutions stressed the need to press for legislative regulation of the working day and working conditions. In its most significant decision, the congress resolved to convene an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889; organisation of this congress was entrusted to the Possibilists.
321. The National Congress of French Labour Unions (syndicates) held on 23 October – 4 November 1888 (see note 331) adopted a decision on convening an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889.
322. Troyes was the proposed venue of a convention of the Workers' Party of French Socialist-Revolutionaries (the Possibilists) (see note 19). The organisers of the congress – local party functionaries – invited representatives of the Guesdists to attend as well. However the Paris Possibilists, fearing that the Guesdists might be in a majority, refused to take part (see also note 329).
323. The reference is to Chapters III and IV of Volume III of *Capital*, (see present edition, Vol. 37).
324. Excerpts from this letter were first published in French in the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. Concerning the first publication of this letter in the language of the original (English), (see note 40).
325. The newspaper *Parti Ouvrier*, the mouthpiece of the Possibilists (see note

19), on 28 December 1888 carried an article 'L'Agglomération parisienne' that accused the Guesdists of lending support to the Boulangist movement (see note 277) so as to have Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville in Parliament. The Paris Amalgamation (*Agglomération*) was the name of the Paris branch of the French Worker's Party.

326. In her letter to Engels of 27 December 1888 Laura Lafargue wrote that the anti-Boulangism of the Possibilists was similar to their other deception. They used to good advantage the pronouncements of the Guesdists in support of the international and, specifically, the German working-class movement and, as a result, the latter lost its popularity in Paris. For the Guesdists' attitude to Boulangism see note 277.
327. Cadettists was the name by which members of the *Société des Droits de L'Homme et du Citoyen* were known. The Society was set up on 25 May 1888 by bourgeois radicals and moderate republicans for combating Boulangism. The Possibilists became affiliated with this organisation. Its name came from Rue Cadet, where it was located.
328. In view of the death, on 23 December 1888, of the deputy to the Chamber from Seine-Department, Antoine Auguste Hude, the Prime Minister Floquet fixed a by-election on 27 January 1889.
329. The convention of the French Workers' Party held in Troyes in December 1888 (see note 322) passed a decision on nominating a socialist as an independent candidacy for the by-election of 27 January 1889. The candidature of Boulé, a labourer and stonemason, was nominated accordingly. This convention also decided to hold an International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889, thus confirming the decision of the National Congress of the French trade unions (see note 331).
330. On 29 December 1888 Wilhelm Liebknecht told Engels he intended to visit Paris and London to hold preliminary negotiations with local socialists about the forthcoming International Socialist Congress in Paris.
331. The National Congress of the French Trade Unions took place on 23 October-4 November 1888. It represented 272 labour unions – the workers' syndical chambers and industrial groups. Most of the delegates belonged to the revolutionary wing of the French workers' movement. The congress had been opened in Bordeaux, but its sessions had to be transferred to Le Bouscat after the police declared the congress disbanded because of a red banner over its rostrum. The congress passed a decision to convene an International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889 to commemorate the centennial of the French Revolution Also discussed was a general strike, considered to be the only revolutionary way.
332. The funeral of the Paris Commune general Émiles Eudes on 8 August 1888, developed into a mammoth demonstration of the Paris proletariat; its participants carried red flags and posters urging a new commune. This demonstration was dispersed by the police.

333. Engels refers to the Paris International Conference convened by the French Possibilists in 1886 (see note 319). The conference discussed issues related to international labour legislation. Its resolutions denied the need for working-class political struggle.
334. Engels alludes to the Ninth Congress of the Party of the Possibilists at Charleville on 2-8 October 1887. The main issue on the agenda was participation in electoral campaigns.
335. An allusion to the French Revolution of 1789-99.
336. The reference is to the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France, first in May 1814 and then in July 1815. After the defeat of Napoleonic France in the war against the sixth coalition, Napoleon had to abdicate in April 1814, and the Bourbons were restored to power. Louis XVIII became King of France. In March 1815, Napoleon regained power, but his rule did not last long ('The Hundred Days'). Following his defeat at Waterloo by British and Prussian troops, he again abdicated on 22 June 1815 and Louis XVIII was again restored to the throne (8 July) with the help of the foreign armies.
337. The reference is to the sum assigned by the King in 1825 as compensation for aristocrats whose property had been confiscated during the French Revolution.
338. 'Tranquillity is the first duty of the citizen' is a dictum coined by the Prussian minister Schulenburg-Kehnert in his address to the population of Berlin on 17 October 1806 following the defeat at Jena (*Le Moniteur universel*, No. 304, 31 October, 1806, 'Prusse', Berlin, du 18 octobre).
339. In these letters Conrad Schmidt told Engels that his own attempts to obtain a position of senior lecturer at Leipzig University failed because of his socialist views.
340. As assistant professor at Berlin University, Eugen Dühring, beginning in 1872, criticised the university professors, Hermann Helmholtz in particular, and the University customs in general. Such criticism riled the reactionary faculty which started hounding Dühring. In July 1877 he was deprived of the right to teach at the University. His dismissal sparked vigorous protests from his supporters and was condemned by the public.
341. The reference is to the monographs on the history of Germany's national economy under the heading *Staats- und socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen* edited by Gustav Schmoller in 1878-1916, and in co-operation with Max Sering as of 1903. Containing a wealth of factual and historical evidence, these publications offered no theoretical analysis at all. This series mirrored the views of the 'young historical school' in Germany's political economy, a trend led by Schmoller. Its followers thought the chief task of political economy was to collect factual material on the history of the national economy, with theoretical analysis being left to the generations to come.
342. 'Demagogues' was the name given to participants in the students' opposition movement in Germany after the country's liberation from Napoleonic

rule. The name gained currency after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision on the persecution of the Demagogues.

343. This letter was first published, abridged in English by the journal *Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 3.

344. In the by-election scheduled for 27 January 1889 in Paris (see notes 328, 329), the following candidacies were nominated: Georges Boulanger – from the Right-wing groups, Edouard Jacques – from the Republican Party (this candidature received support from the Possibilists as well), and the labourer Boulé – from the Workers Party (see note 33) and the Blanquists. In a bitter electoral struggle, General Boulanger received about 250,000 votes, Boulé 7,000 votes.

345. This refers to the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849 in Germany. For greater detail, see Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, present edition, Vol. 10, pp147-239.

346. The French Section of 1871 (branche francaise) was formed in London in September of that year by French refugees. The leaders of the Section established close contacts with Bakunin's followers in Switzerland. The Rules of the French Section of 1871, published in *Qui Vive!*, its official organ, were submitted to the General Council at its extraordinary meeting on 16 October 1871 and referred to a special committee. At the General Council meeting of 17 October, Marx tabled a resolution on behalf of the committee (present edition, Vol. 23, pp24-27), recommending the Section to bring several paragraphs of its Rules into line with the Rules of the International. In its letter of 31 October, signed by A. Avrial, the Section rejected the General Council resolution. This reply was discussed in the commission and at the General Council sitting of 7 November 1871. Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for France, submitted a resolution written by Marx, which was unanimously adopted by the Council (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp37-42). In December 1871, the French Section split up into several groups. The 'pseudo-General Council' applies to a group within the British Federal Council; this group, led by John Hales, Hermann Jung and others, refused to act on the decisions of the Hague Congress and was expelled from the International on 30 May 1873.

347. In September 1888 the German Professor Friedrich Heinrich Geffcken had the journal *Deutsche Rundschau* publish excerpts from the diary of the German Emperor Frederick III, a close friend of his. These excerpts, dating back to the time of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, showed Bismarck's role in the building or the German Empire in an unfavourable light. Bismarck had criminal proceedings initiated against the professor who was charged with high treason. The Reichsgericht acquitted Professor Geffcken on 4 January 1889; on the following day he was released from custody. At about the same time Herbert von Bismarck, the Reichskanzler's older son,

accused the British diplomat Morier of mediation between Frederick, then the crown prince, and France. Morier countered by publishing his correspondence with Marshal Bazaine of France, through whom he had ostensibly been passing information on the German army. These materials showed up the slanderous nature of the charges. The progressive press viewed the acquittals of Geffcken and Morier as major defeats for Bismarck.

348. In December 1888 a Russian loan with a 4 per cent interest rate was issued in Paris to a sum of 125 million roubles, or about 20 million pound sterling.
349. In connection with an apparent rapprochement between France and Russia, Bismarck initiated negotiations on a defensive alliance with Great Britain in January 1889; these negotiations involved colonial issues as well. Britain and Germany were supporting each other in East Africa in putting down popular uprisings in Uganda and Zanzibar. The British and German navies, acting together, imposed a blockade on the eastern coast of Africa. At a later date, on 1 July 1890, Britain and Germany concluded a treaty which defined a boundary between their possessions in East Africa. In addition, Britain agreed to cede to Germany the strategic island of Heligoland in the North Sea. However this rapprochement did not result in a solid alliance and imperialist rivalry subsequently led to a sharp deterioration in Anglo-German relations.
350. Lewis Morgan's book *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization* appeared in London in 1877. Marx and Engels thought highly of this work; in 1884 Engels wrote his *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan* (see present edition, Vol. 26). Meanwhile, Morgan's works did not win due recognition among British scholars and were ignored for a long time.
351. At Paul Lafargue's request Engels approached the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party to learn their opinion concerning the forthcoming International Socialist Working Men's Congress. In this letter he informed Lafargue about the replies of August Bebel of 8 January 1889 and Wilhelm Liebknecht of 11 January 1889.
352. A preliminary conference, scheduled for 18 January 1889 at Nancy and suggested by representatives of German Social Democracy, did not take place.
353. Engels refers to the manuscript of *Theories of Surplus Value*, written by Marx in 1862-63 and being the only outline of the concluding, historical-critical part of *Capital*. Engels could not prepare book IV of *Capital* in his lifetime: Marx's MS of *Theories of Surplus Values* was first published by Karl Kautsky in 1905-10, i.e., after Engels' death (see present edition, Vol. 38 for a revised version).
354. Louise Kautsky was attending obstetrics classes.
355. Laura Lafargue informed Engels about the termination of the publication of

the Blanquist newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple* and about the foundation of a new organ, the newspaper *Égalité*. Its editorial committee comprised representatives of the revolutionary wing (the Guesdists) – Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Gabriel Deville; the Blanquists were represented by Edouard Vaillant, Ernest Granger and Place; the Possibilists – by Benoît Malon; and the Independent Radicals – by the municipal councillors Alexandre Abel Hovelacque and Boulé. Its first number came out on 8 February 1889. At first *Égalité* carried articles by Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue and other Marxists. But as early as 3 March of the same year the Guesdists and the Blanquists, collaborating on the editorial staff, broke with Jules Roques, an entrepreneur financing the paper (see note 380). From that time on *Égalité* ceased to be an organ of the Socialists.

356. Engels means the coup d'état of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799) when Napoleon Bonaparte imposed a military dictatorship; also, the election, on 10 December 1848, of Louis Bonaparte to the presidency in France. On 12-13 Vendémiaire (4-5 October) 1795, the government troops under General Bonaparte crushed a royalist uprising in Paris.
357. August Bebel's report, carried in the feature 'Deutschland' and marked 'Aus Norddeutschland, 29, Jänner', was published anonymously by the newspaper *Gleichheit* No. 5, on 1 February 1889.
358. The reference is to the editorial article 'Boulanger en Bourgeois Republiek', carried by the Hague-based newspaper *Recht voor Allen* and to the report filed by Souvarines in *Parijsche Brieven*, XV and published on 1 February 1889.
359. An allusion to the article 'Que faire?' ('What is to be done?') written by Charles Longuet and published by the newspaper *Égalité* on 10 February 1889. In it he attacked the Radicals (see note 200) for their alliance with the Opportunists (see note 199).
360. A reference to the International Socialist Conference in the Hague convened on 28 February 1889 (see note 385).
361. Atherley Jones was the son of Ernest Jones, one of the leaders of the Chartist revolutionary wing, approached Engels through John Lincoln Mahon and asked for help in publishing his father's works.
362. The abridged text of this letter was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1956.
363. 14 July 1789 – the day of the storming of the Bastille by the popular masses of Paris and the beginning of the French Revolution. On 5-6 October 1789, the popular masses, who had come to Versailles from Paris made King Louis XVI return to the capital from which he had fled. The monarchy in France was toppled on 10 August 1792 as a result of a popular uprising. There was mass unrest in Paris on 2-5 September 1792, caused by an onslaught of foreign interventionist troops. Parisians seized prisons and staged impromptu trials of the inmates: many were executed.

364. A reference to the Commune of Paris in 1789-94. Formally being no more than a body of municipal self-government, the Commune from 1792 actually guided the struggle of the people of Paris in the revolution. The Commune played an active part in the overthrow of the monarchy, in the imposition of a Jacobin dictatorship, in the introduction of a price maximum, in the adoption of a 'law against suspects' (i.e. against the counter revolutionaries), etc. Following the overthrow of 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794) most of the Commune members, supporters of Robespierre and his adherents, were executed. The Commune was thereafter abolished.
365. At Fleurus (Belgium) on 26 June 1794, French troops defeated the Austrian army under the Duke of Coburg. This victory enabled the French revolutionary army to enter and occupy Belgium.
366. Francois Noel (Gracchus) Babeuf was a French revolutionary and advocate of utopian egalitarian communism based on the ideas of natural law.
367. Preparing his notes on Kautsky's article, Engels translated excerpts from Nikolai Kareyev's article., 'Peasants and the Peasant Problem in France', expressly for the author; Engels gave the full names of the sources which Kareyev had indicated in an abbreviated form.
368. By the Second Partition of Poland (12 /23/ January 1793) Russia gained eastern Byelorussia and the Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper; Prussia acquired Gdansk, Torún, part of Great Poland, Mazovia and of the Kraków province.
369. This refers to the mandates and complaints (cahiers de doléances) sent to deputies of the General States at the time of the French Revolution by representatives of the French 'third estate' who were reduced to penury. The General States (États généraux) were the highest body of estate representation in France in a period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century.
370. *Constituante* – the Constituent Assembly (Assemblée nationale constituante) of France which was in session from 9 July 1789 to 30 September 1791.
371. A fragment of this letter was first published in English by *Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 3, and in full in Marx K., Engels F., *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, A Selection, International Publishers, New York 1953, I.E. Mins (trans).
372. Engels might have made a mistake by indicating the date, 19 January. He meant the post card of 29 January and the letter of 10 February, sent by Friedrich Sorge, who called Engels' attention to F. Kelley-Wischnewetzky's article on child labour, carried by the newspaper *The Labour Standard* on 19 and 26 January 1889.
373. On 29 January 1889, F. Sorge sent a cutting from the New York newspaper *Standard* to Engels with an advertisement announcing a sale of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* by the American book dealers Appleton and Co.

374. In his letter of 10 February 1889, F. Sorge called Engels' attention to a report carried by the newspaper *Der arme Teufel*, Nos. 9 and 10, 26 January and 2 February 1889, entitled 'Korrespondenz des A.T. aus London, England', containing disparaging comments about Edward Aveling.
375. A reference to Philipp Rappaport's article 'Über die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika' published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 2, 1889. In his letter of 10 February 1889 F. Sorge pointed to the poor quality of the article and said it would be better to publish excerpts from Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, *The Labour Movement in America* (see note 89).
376. The reference is to a series of lectures by Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville (*Cours d'Économie Sociale*) on Marx; these lectures were arranged by a circle at the Socialist Library of the French Workers' Party on Sundays as of 23 January 1884. Lafargue's series of lectures was called *Le Matérialisme economique de Karl Marx*. To his second lecture Paul Lafargue gave the following title: *Le Milieu naturel. Théorie darwinienne*. Gabriel Deville entitled his course of lectures *L'Évolution du capital*. There were five lectures in all: *Genèse du capital, Formation du proletariat, Coopération et manufacture, Machinisme et grande industrie* and *Fin du capital*. The lectures were published in the press and in separate editions in 1884.
377. Engels refers to the defeat of the Prussians and Saxons at the hands of Napoleon at Jena (14 October 1806).
378. Engels refers to the refusal of the Possibilists to take part in the International Hague Conference (see note 360).
379. An allusion to the request of a group of Possibilists to the Municipal Council of Paris to grant them 50,000 francs for the organisation of an International Working Men's Congress.
380. Jules Roques, the publisher of the newspaper *Égalité*, fired a group of printing-shop workers who had been paid at rates fixed by the printers' union and had then replaced by non-unionised workmen. The indignant members of the editorial board, the Guesdists and the Blanquists, declared on 3 March 1889 they would leave the editorial board (see also note 355).
381. The materials of P. Lafargue's letter of 5 March 1889 were indeed used in the report *Aus Frankreich*, Paris, 9 March, 1889 in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 12, 23 March, 1889, S.2-3.
382. On 5 March 1889, Conrad Schmidt asked Engels to help him come to terms with Otto Meissner with the publication of his monograph *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes*; this work appeared somewhat later at Stuttgart published by Dietz. Schmidt also wrote about his failure to obtain the position of senior lecturer at Leipzig University because of his socialist views.
383. This refers to the setbacks of Marx and Engels in connection with the publication of their works in those years, specifically, *The German Ideology* (present edition, Vol. 5).

384. C. Schmidt's article 'Das Wertgesetz und Profitrate' was published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 10, 7 Jhrg. 1889.
385. The International Socialist Conference was held in the Hague on 28 February 1889. It was attended by representatives of the socialist movement of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. The conference was convened at the suggestion of the Social Democratic faction in the German Reichstag with the aim of framing the conditions for the calling of an International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris. The Possibilists refused to attend the conference despite the invitation and did not recognise its decisions. The conference defined the powers of the forthcoming congress, its date and agenda. The International Working Men's Congress took place on 14 July 1889.
386. A reference to the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to 'Justice'*, London 1889. Its original version was written by Eduard Bernstein at Engels' suggestion in reply to the editorial comment entitled *The German 'Official' Social Democrats and the International Congress in Paris* and carried by the newspaper *Justice* on 16 March 1889, No. 270. Having been edited by Engels, the pamphlet appeared in English in London, and then it was published by the German newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* and signed: E. Bernstein.
387. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. About the first English publication of the letter, see note 77.
388. In the latter half of the 1860s the government of the Second Empire exiled Henri Rochefort to New Caledonia for his virulent attacks against Napoleon III. In the 1880s, being an active supporter of General Boulanger and one of the editors of the newspaper *L'Intransigeant*, he placed it at the disposal of the Boulangists.
389. April 1 – Bismarck's birthday. Engels refers to April's Fool Day (1 April).
390. A hint at the ties with the Prussian police and the Bismarck government, incriminating for Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, President of the General Association of German Workers.
391. The French government, alarmed at General Boulanger's popularity, decided to put him on trial on the pretext of his conspiring in a plot threatening the security of the republic. On 1 April 1889, Boulanger and some of his supporters fled abroad. On 8 April Boulanger was deprived of his parliamentary immunity; and on 14 August 1889, the Supreme Court sentenced him, together with Dillon and Rochefort, who had fled in company with Boulanger, *in absentia*, to banishment.
392. The reference is to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Charles Bonnier of 26 March 1889, about the need to change the date of an International Socialist Congress or, as an alternative, reaching agreement with the Possibilists. Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Eduard Bernstein has not been found.
393. A reference to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letters to F. Engels of 20 and 28 March

dealing with the forthcoming International Congress, in particular, when it was called, and British representation in it.

394. The resolution of the Hague Conference (see note 385) was published in the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to 'Justice'*, (see note 386).

395. Engels means the Trade Union Committee of Protest Against the Parliamentary Committee's Actions With Regard To the Paris International Working Men's Congress. The Parliamentary Committee (see note 269) refused to take part on the pretext of British workers having a shorter working day and higher wages than the workers of other European countries and thus not needing any protection of their interests. The newly established Protest Committee of representatives of many trade unions organised protest meetings and entered into correspondence with socialist parties abroad concerning the preparation of the Congress.

396. Wilhelm Liebknecht's letters of this period are not available. However, Engels' letter to P. Lafargue of 10 April 1889 suggests that Liebknecht must have written to Bernstein.

397. The whereabouts of this letter of Engels is not known but it is apparent from A. Bebel's letter to Engels of 14 April 1889 that he had received the Engels letter.

398. The Workers' Party of Belgium had its congress at Jolimont on 22 April 1889 (see note 405).

399. The newspaper *Der Sozialist*, the organ of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, carried the article 'Zum Internationalen Kongres in Paris' in its issue of 16 March 1889.

400. In the book series Volks-Bibliothek, with Wilhelm Liebknecht as one of the editors, his son-in-law, Bruno Geiser, published Maximilian Schlesinger's pamphlet *Die soziale Frage*, Breslau 1889. In it Schlesinger attempted to 'make a critical revision' of Marxian ideas. Liebknecht did not come forward with an open protest against this work. Subsequently Liebknecht dissociated himself from the book, a fact that made Engels indignant.

401. Living in London, E. Bernstein made regular visits to the Fabian Society meetings at which problems of socialism were being discussed – The Fabian Society, see note 176.

402. The academic socialists (*die Kathedersozialisten* – literally 'lectern socialists') were representatives of a trend in German political economy in the latter third of the 19th century, a response to the growing working-class movement and the propagation of the ideas of socialism. They used university lecterns (*Katheder*) to preach bourgeois reformism under the flag of socialism and claimed that the state, the German Reich in particular, was above class, and that with its help the working class would be able to improve its position through social reforms.

403. *Le Père Duchêsne* was a newspaper published at the time of the French

Revolution by the Jacobins (1790-94), as the mouthpiece of genuinely popular interests. The paper got its name from the French folk hero, le père Duchêne, allegedly a real person, who had been defending the oppressed and destitute. The same name was given to newspapers during the revolutions of 1848-49 and 1871. By calling Paul Lafargue 'le père Duchêne' ('Father Duchêne), Engels questioned Lafargue's confidence that he could speak out on behalf of all the French Socialists.

404. Engels refers to Guesdists' blunders that led to the closure of the newspapers *Égalité* and *Socialiste*. By 'three *Égalités*', Engels means a socialist weekly founded by Jules Guesde in 1877 and published on and off in five series until 1883. In 1886 an attempt was made to resume its publication; but only one issue came out, and the publication of the second *Égalité* was discontinued. By a 'third *Égalité*', Engels refers to a newspaper appearing in 1889 (see note 355). About *Socialiste*, see note 234.
405. This refers to a congress of the Workers' Party of Belgium on 22 April 1889 at Jolimont, which decided to send delegates both to the International Working Men's Congress convened by Marxists in Paris and to the congress convened by the Possibilists, contrary to the opinion of the Ghent delegation that opposed the convocation.
406. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown.
407. Apparently Engels means August Bebel's letter of 28 April 1889, about the preparation of the International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris and the stand of the German and Dutch Social Democrats with respect to the congress contemplated by the Possibilists.
408. The reference is to the appeal of the German Social Democrats Ignaz Auer and Max Schippel in the German Party press for participation in the Possibilist-sponsored congress. The newspaper *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, where Schippel was one of the editors, carried the article 'Zum Pariser Arbeiterkongres' in its issue of 27 April 1889. *The Berliner Volksblatt* came forward with the article 'Der internationale Arbeiter-kongres', No. 94, 21 April 1889, pp1-2. Speaking of Charles Bonnier's reply to these articles, Engels has in mind his article 'In Sachen des internationalen Arbeiterkongresses' published by the newspaper *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 97, 26 April 1889 in its feature *Politische Übersicht*.
409. Under the conditions of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the Social Democratic faction in the Reichstag exercised the functions of the party's Executive Board. On 18 May 1889, it issued an appeal to Germany's workmen and urged them to elect their representatives to the International Socialist Workingmen's Congress in Paris, convened by the Marxists. This appeal was published in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 21, 25 May 1889, p2, (*Die sozialdemokratische Fraktion des deutschen Reichstages*).
410. The court prosecution of most of the defendants was discontinued due to numerous protests from the workers, and the court proceedings adjourned.

The Elberfeld trial took place in November-December 1889 (see note 569).

411. Wyden (Switzerland) was the venue of the first illegal congress of the German Social Democrats after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52). This congress, held on 20-23 August 1880, denounced the activities of the anarchist group that denied any use of legal methods of struggle and staked all on individual terror. The anarchists embarked on an open struggle against the party leadership. The congress expelled the anarchist leaders Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann from the party ranks. The congress decided in a unanimous voice to amend the second clause of the party's Programme adopted at Gotha in 1875 – a clause stipulating that the party was to prosecute its aims 'by all legal means' – and strike out the word 'legal'. The newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* was endorsed as the party's official organ. About the St Gallen Congress, see note 174.
412. At the Hague Conference (see note 385) some of the delegates, Ferdinand Nieuwenhuis among them, displayed a conciliatory attitude towards the Possibilists.
413. A reference to the Organising Committee for the Convocation of an International Working Men's Congress. Set up in Paris on the eve of 1889, it included representatives of the Syndicates Federation (Boulé, Besset, Féline, Monceau, Roussel), of a group of socialists – members of the Paris Municipal Council (Longuet, Vaillant, etc.) and of a socialist group from the Chamber of Deputies (Ferroul, Planteau). Paul Lafargue and Besset became its secretaries.
414. The circular was written with P. Lafargue's active participation so as to inform the working-class and socialist organisations of all countries about the decision of the Hague Socialist Conference (February 1889) (see note 385) and about the International Working Men's Congress due on 6 May 1889. Lafargue sent the text of the circular to Engels who approved it and translated it into German. Engels also saw about it being published in English. In German the circular was published, in the Engels translation, by the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 11 May and, in Wilhelm Liebknecht's translation, by the newspaper *Berliner Volksblatt* on 10 May; in English, the text of the circular came cut in the form of a leaflet, published by the newspapers *Labour Elector* on 18 May and by *Reynold's Newspaper* on 19 May under the heading 'International Workmen's Congress', as well as by *The Commonweal* on 25 May.
415. Engels cites an excerpt from August Bebel's letter of 30 April 1889.
416. Engels had received a letter from the workmen of Lyon, but, since the signatures and the address were illegible, he asked Lafargue to transcribe them.
417. The International Working Men's Congress must have used the weekly *Socialiste* as its official organ. This newspaper came out from 20 April to 14 July 1889 as an organ of the Workers' Party. It carried reports relating to the preparation of the Congress.

418. Engels is referring to the expulsion of two Leftwing members (one of whom was Trier) of the Executive Committee of the Danish Socialist Party, because they were opposed to the Socialist Party forming a bloc with *Venstre*, the Danish liberals, who expressed the interests of major landed proprietors and factory owners.
419. The reference is to the International Trade Union Congress in London (see note 320).
420. On 27 April 1889 the newspaper *Le Proletariat* published an article entitled 'Au congrès belge' which subscribed to the Possibilist point of view concerning the preparation of the International socialist Workingmen's Congress.
421. 'A Letter to the Editors' of the newspaper *Labour Elector*, Vol. I, No. 18, published on 4 May 1689 and signed by Bonnier, was written by Engels and sent in at his suggestion. Bonnier was staying in London at the time and taking an active part in the preparation for the International Working Men's Congress.
422. A reference to an appeal by the Paris Chamber of Labour, urging participation in the Possibilist Congress due in the latter half of July 1889. The authors of this appeal said they were speaking on behalf of 78 trade unions of France that had allegedly agreed to take part. Bonnier's letter of 4 May 1889 to the editorial board of the newspaper *Labour Elector* said the authors of the appeal had abrogated the right to speak on behalf of the entire working class of France. Engels, the real author of the letter, urged the French socialists not to confine themselves to declarative statements but prove their case by deed and convince the masses by irrefutable facts.
423. A paraphrase of 'Vous l'avez voulu, George Dandin, vous l'avez voulu' from Molière's *George Dandin*.
424. In March 1889 a new external Russian loan was issued to a sum of 175 million gold roubles for the conversion of the older 5 per cent bonds.
425. On 3 May 1889, the newspaper *The Star*, No. 400, published an article entitled *The Paris International Congress*.
426. The reference is to the issues of the newspaper *The Star* of 4 and 7 May 1889. On 7 May the newspaper carried the article 'The Workingmen's Party – A Chat with Some Practical Socialists at the Hôtel de Ville', which contained the attacks on Edouard Vaillant mentioned in the text of the letter.
427. Several Possibilist organisations, dissatisfied with the behaviour of their leaders during the election to the chamber of Deputies on 27 January 1889, and in the course of the preparation for the International Working Men's Congress, levelled strong criticism at them. In its turn, the leadership of the Possibilist Party on 16 April expelled the group of the 14th arrondissement of Paris from its ranks; late in April 1889 the key organisations of the 13th arrondissement left the Federation of the Possibilists. For more detail, see

the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the 'Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation'* (see note 444).

428. After General Boulanger's flight abroad (see note 391), which actually amounted to his departure from the political arena of France, Jules Ferry, one of the leaders of the moderate bourgeois republicans, developed vigorous political activity with the aim of forming a government of his own. On 6 May 1889, he made a speech at Saint-Dié in defence of the republic. Engels here uses an expression from one of P. Lafargue's letters unknown to us.
429. The text of this letter was written on the last page of Laura Lafargue's letter to Engels of 12 May 1889. L. Lafargue said in her letter she had been unable yet to persuade Vaillant and others to send letters to the newspaper *The Star*; she expressed her doubts about the expedience of such a mode of procedure. Engels replied on 14 May (see the next letter).
430. On 14 May 1889, the newspaper *The Star*, in the section *The People's Post Box* carried *An Invitation*, signed by P. Lafargue, and containing a précis of the circular in connection with the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris (see note 414).
431. The whereabouts of this letter of Engels is not known.
432. The circular about the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress, written by P. Lafargue and J. Guesde, was sent by the authors to Engels on 14 May, 1889. In June 1889 it was printed in the form of a leaflet in French in Paris and in English in London, and also published in German by the newspapers *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 1 June and *Berliner Volksblatt* on 2 June. The newspaper *The Star* had also printed it on 14 May 1889 in the Feature *The People's Post Box* (in English); the circular likewise appeared in the weekly *Commonweal* on 8 June and also as an appendix to the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the 'Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation'* (see note 444).
433. The reference is to Bonnier's letter published by *The Star* on 15 May 1889, under the heading *The Paris Congress*; it exposed the collusion of the Possibilists with the reactionary wing in the Paris Municipal Council.
434. Engels is referring to E. Aveling's play *Dregs*, staged by the Vaudeville Theatre on 16 May 1889.
435. The German coal miners' strike in the Ruhr was a major event in the German working-class movement of the late 19th century. It began on 3 May 1889 in the Essen and on 4 May in the Helsenkirch coal mining districts; then it spread to the entire Dortmund area. At its height the strike action involved as many as eighty thousand miners. The main demands were: higher wages, an eight-hour working day and recognition of the worker committees. Frightened by the scope of the strike action, government bodies had the entrepreneurs make a promise to fulfil some of the miners' demands. As a result, some of the miners resumed their work in mid May. However, the mine-owners broke their promises, and a meeting of

coal miners' delegates on 24 May decided to continue the strike action. The threat of reprisals and the new promises made by mine-owners resulted in the termination of the strike in the beginning of June.

436. Engels refers to the piece *Her Father* with the subtitle *Time of Trial*, written by Edward Rose and I. Douglas.
437. An allusion to two notes by Alec Rubie, published by *The Sun*, No. 5, Vol. I, 19 May 1889 in the feature *Political Men and Matters.* Both dealt with the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris.
438. The reference is to Henry Hyndman's note 'Much Ado About Nothing' published anonymously by the newspaper *Justice*, No. 279, Vol. VI, on 18 May 1889, in the feature *Critical Chronicle.* While paying tribute to Paul Lafargue's literary talent, eloquence and charisma, the author attacked the French and German socialists for their ostensibly deliberate action in not inviting the Possibilists to the Hague Conference.
439. In reference to a brief note, bearing no title, carried by the newspaper *Prolétariat*, No. 268, 18 May 1889, p1, col. 5, which opened with the following words: 'Les irlando-guesdo-blanquistes assurent dans leur circulaire a l'étranger que le Danemark leur a donné son adhésion'.
440. In Regent Street on the evening of 18 May 1889 Rochefort met Pilotell, a well-known caricaturist of the Commune days, who boxed his ears. Rochefort drew his revolver, but was disarmed. The matter ended in the English Courts.
441. Henry Hyndman called the Hague Conference (see note 385) a 'caucus' in his editorial note 'Much Ado About Nothing' (see note 438).
442. In mid March 1889 Wilhelm Liebknecht spent about two weeks in Switzerland as a representative of German Social Democracy; on 17 March 1889, he attended the unveiling of a monument to Johann Becker at the St Georges cemetery near Geneva.
443. The appeal was published by *Labour Elector* on 18 May 1889; yet the paper had nothing to say about William Parnell and about copies of this appeal which he allegedly had.
444. According to *The Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation,* the International Congress of Trade Unions in London (see note 320) voted unanimously to authorise the Possibilists to convene an International Workingmen's Congress in Paris. The manifesto also claimed that Gabriel Farjat, described as a representative of the 'French soidisant Marxists, or Guesdists', voted for this resolution. E. Bernstein, in his pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation* rebutted these fabrications by proving that as a representative of the French trade unions, not Socialists, Farjat could not vote for this resolution. Subsequently one of the publications released by the Organising Committee for the Convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris had a special postscript with

Farjat's statement to the effect that, far from voting for the resolution entrusting the convocation of an International Congress to the Possibilists, he could not do it for the simple reason that the resolution was never put to the vote.

445. Pertaining to the collection of signatures to the circular for the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris. Representatives of the Danish Social Democratic Party, who had not attended the Hague Conference (see note 385) but had announced in advance that they agreed with all of its decisions, unexpectedly refused to send delegates to both congresses. Concerning the two trends in the Danish socialist movement, see note 418.
446. P. Lafargue asked Engels to write to Nikolai Danielson (see Lafargue P., F. Engels, 14 May 1889, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, Moscow 1960) and request him to get in touch with the publishers of the *Northern Review*. In 1889, in its issue No. 4, this journal published the Russian translation of Lafargue's article 'The Machine as a Factor of Progress' (see note 468), the final chapter of his major work *Das Proletariat der Handarbeit und Kopfarbeit* published by *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 3, 1888.
447. The reference is to the difficulties in getting the signatures of Russian Socialists to the circular about the convocation of the Paris Congress (see note 432). Lafargue had approached Pyotr Lavrov, with whom he was acquainted, on the matter. Lavrov declined at first by saying that, not being a representative of any particular revolutionary organisation in Russia, he was not entitled to sign. Subsequently he was authorised to do this. However, by that time Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky, Vera Zasulich, Pavel Axelrod and Georgy Plekhanov had given their consent.
448. *The National Labour Electoral Association* – a trade union organisation that succeeded, in 1887, to the Labour Electoral Committee; its aim was to have workmen being elected to Parliament and municipal councils.
449. The expression 'music of the future' gained popularity with the publication, in 1861, of Richard Wagner's letter to Frédéric Villot, the custodian of French museums, under the title: 'Zukunftsmusik. An einen französischen Freund' ('Music of the Future. To a French Friend').
450. A reference to the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the 'Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation'*, London 1889. Its original version was written by Eduard Bernstein on Engels' initiative in connection with the campaign waged by the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) in support of a Congress convened by the Possibilists in Paris, with the aim of preventing the success of an International Socialist Workingmen's Congress which the Marxists were to hold. This work was edited by Engels and published as a pamphlet in English.
451. The reference is to the elected council of the London County in charge of taxes, local budget, etc. All persons entitled to take part in parliamentary

elections were eligible to elect county councillors as well as women 30 years of age and older. This reform of local government was implemented in August 1888.

452. The section of the Social Democratic Federation in Battersea; affiliated with the Trade Union Protest Committee (see note 395).

453. The Hague Congress (2-7 September 1872) of the International was the most representative forum of the International Working Men's Association; taking part were 65 delegates from 15 countries. The Congress reviewed the results of the struggle against the Bakunin anarchists within the International and outlined a programme of action under new conditions obtaining after the Paris Commune. The main decision of the Congress was the endorsement of Resolution IX of the London Conference of 1871 on the political action of the working class, summed up as Article 7a of the General Rules of the International. The Congress also adopted a number of resolutions designed to strengthen the organisational structure of the Workingmen's Association. The anarchist leaders, Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume, were expelled from the International Working Men's Association. After the Congress, Bakunin and his supporters openly opposed its resolutions, a move that resulted in an actual split of the International.

454. A reference to the congress of the Bakuninist Jura Federation in Sonvillier on 12 November 1871, which adopted the *Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*.

The Sonvillier circular countered the decisions of the London Conference of the International with anarchist dogmas on political indifferentism and complete autonomy of sections; it also calumniated the General Council of the International. The Bakuninists suggested that all federations should demand an immediate congress to revise the General Rules of the International and to condemn the General Council's actions. About the *Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation*, see note 444.

455. Engels alludes to the split within the International Working Men's Association following the Hague Congress of the First International (see note 453). In 1873 the anarchists convened their congress in Geneva which set the stage for an international association of anarchists – an organisation which they would describe as a genuine International Working Men's Association.

456. Pertaining to C. Schmidt's letter to F. Engels of 15 April 1889. Seeking a publisher for his work *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate* auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes; C. Schmidt asked to send him F. Lassalle's book *Der Criminal-Prozeß wider mich wegen* Verleitung zum Cassetten-Diebstahl oder: Die Anklage der moralischen Mitschuld, Koln, 1848. Schmidt thanked Engels who had offered him to give letters of recommendation to A. Bebel and W. Liebknecht.

457. Engels must have meant representatives of the bourgeois opposition of the latter half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, particularly, the Russian liberal gentry who were playing a significant part in the *zemstvos*. These liberals exhibited much moderation, lack of will and loyalty toward the tsarist autocracy, and sought to come to terms with tsarism through petty reforms. *Zemstvos* were bodies of restricted local self-government introduced in Russia in 1864.
458. On 16 June 1889, August Bebel notified Engels about the receipt of his letter. The whereabouts of the Engels letter is unknown.
459. In his article 'The International Workers' Congress and the Marxist Clique', Henry Hyndman claimed that the signatures of W. Parnell and S.M. Stepniak were appended without their consent.
460. The letter of Stepniak (S.M. Kravchinsky) was published in the newspaper *Justice*, No. 284, on 22 June 1889.
461. A reference to an article by Arthur Field, an English journalist, in the *Kent Times and Tribune* on the occasion of the International Socialist Congress (see P. Lafargue's letter to F. Engels of 2 June 1889).
462. Apparently, pertaining to P. Lafargue's letter to F. Engels of 18 June, 1889, in a reply to F. Engels' letter of 15 June.
463. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was a federation of labour unions of the United States and Canada, founded in December 1886. The AFL comprised skilled workers by and large, unionised in keeping with the shop principle. In the initial stage of its activity, the AFL had a positive role to play in rallying American workingmen and in the struggle for a law on an eight-hour workday.
464. P. Lafargue asked Engels how true it was that Jean Lavy, a Possibilist delegate elected by school teachers to the London Congress of Trade Unions in November 1888, had not been admitted on account of his being a manual worker.
465. In September 1889 an election to the chamber of Deputies was to be held in France. P. Lafargue suggested nominating his candidacy in the 5th arrondissement of Paris and at Avignon; however, a tentative enquiry showed he would be blackballed. Therefore Lafargue tried to nominate his candidature in the provinces: in Marseilles, Cette and elsewhere, but he suffered a defeat by polling only 6.26 per cent of the votes.
466. W. Parnell's letter was published in the *Labour Elector*, Vol. 1, No. 25, on 22 June 1889 (about the *National Labour Electoral Association*, see note 448).
467. The whereabouts of these letters of Engels is not known.
468. Nikolai Danielson must have referred to articles by P. Lafargue and K. Kautsky published in 1889 in the Russian journal *Northern Review*.
469. On 27 March (8 April) 1889, Nikolai Danielson informed Engels that Hermann Lopatin, gravely ill a few months before, had made a recovery and was in good health at the moment.

470. The whereabouts of the letter is not known.
471. Writing to F. Engels on 2 July 1889, P. Lafargue told him he met at Epernay, in the champagne-producing district, a large number of revolutionary socialist winegrowers, small growers completely ruined by the big champagne manufactures.
472 In these letters P. Martignetti told F. Engels about the outcome of the court trial and about the persecutions he had been subjected to from 1885 for the translation and circulation of F. Engels' works in Italy. Martignetti said he would leave for Buenos Aires if the sentence was endorsed (see note 230).
473. *The International (Socialist) Working Men's Congress* was in session in Paris on 14-20 July 1889, on the centennial of the storming of the Bastille. In fact, it became a constituent Congress of the Second International. Taking part were 393 delegates, representing the worker and socialist parties of 20 countries of Europe and America.

    The Congress heard the reports of representatives of the socialist parties on the situation in the labour movement in their countries; it outlined the principles of international labour legislation in respective countries by supporting demands for a legislative enactment of an 8-hour working day, prohibition of child labour and steps toward the protection of the work of women and adolescents. The Congress stressed the need of political organisation of the proletariat and of a struggle for implementation of democratic demands of the working class; it spoke out for a disbandment of regular armies and their replacement by armed detachments of the people. It resolved to hold, on 1 May 1890, demonstrations and meetings in support of an 8-hour working day and labour legislation.
474. The International Conference of Miners was held on 18-19 July 1889; it was attended by delegates to both international working men's congresses which were in session at the time in Paris (see note 473). The Conference discussed reports on the situation of miners' trade unions and decided to set up an international association of miners' unions, which was formed in 1890.
475. Engels must have been referring to F. Schlüter's letter of 1 July 1889 about the labour and trade union movement in North America and about his futile attempts to get a job in American labour newspapers.
476. At that time many German newspapers carried reports about a conversation allegedly held by a correspondent of the London newspaper *Evening News and Post* with Lev Hartman, who said he had been staying for six months in Germany, Austria, France and Switzerland under an assumed name with the aim of organising there an 'overthrow party' and that this party was getting ready for big events. At Engels' request, Sorge turned to Hartman for explanations; the latter refuted such inventions – he said he had not left the United States at the time. Sorge informed Engels about this in his letter of 7 August.

477. In this letter Sorge notified Engels about the sending of the newspaper *Nationalist*, as well as about attempts of Mr and Mrs Wischnewetzky to establish contacts with him.
478. A reference to a campaign by the Possibilists in France, and their supporters from the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62), to discredit the International Working Men's Congress held by the Socialists (see note 473).

Only a few foreign delegates attended the Possibilists Congress held in Paris at the same time as the International Working Men's Congress; the representation of most of its delegates was of a purely fictitious nature.
479. On 18 March 1876, Ferdinand Lingenau, a German socialist who had emigrated to the United States, bequeathed about $7,000 to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, naming August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Bracke, August Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Marx as executors. Upon Lingenau's death in the United States on 4 August 1877, his executors tried to act on his will and have the above sum placed at the party's disposal. Bismarck succeeded in preventing this.
480. Gustave Brocher appealed to Engels and asked for material assistance for V. Smirnov.
481. The reference is to two letters from Sorge in which he confirmed the receipt of the newspapers sent to him by Engels. They reported on a denial, sent to Schlüter, of the assertion of the newspaper *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* about the alleged presence of Engels at the Paris Congress, as well as a denial of the report carried by *The Evening News and Post* on Lev Hartman's trip to Europe (see note 476).
482. The Liberal-Unionists were a J. Chamberlain-led group which in July 1886 broke away from the Liberal Party, because of differences over the draft of Home Rule legislation (April 1886) tabled by the Liberal government for Ireland which provided for a restoration of the autonomous bicameral parliament, with the British government continuing its control over the Irish economy. The Liberal-Unionists came out for the preservation of the Anglo-Irish union which had been in existence from 1801. They made common cause with the Conservative Party and officially joined it several years later.
483. By 'Tory-Socialists' Engels meant the left wing of the Conservative Party; this faction comprised mainly representatives of the big industrial bourgeoisie and intellectuals (men-of-letters, lawyers, etc).
484. In August 1889 the *Labour Elector* published material on the forthcoming Trades Union Congress at Dundee; its agenda included issues of labour legislation, specifically, a law on an 8-hour working day.
485. Engels referred to events of the 1880s, in particular the arbitrary actions of the Turkish authorities with regard to the Armenian population. A special government commission (Commission of Inquiry) which was dispatched there suggested that victims of the reprisals should go to Constantinople

(Istanbul) to have the conflict settled. However, the Turkish courts failed to settle the conflict. In July 1889 the population of several rural communities in Crete rose in rebellion against the Turkish authorities. This revolt escalated into bloody clashes between the Muslim and Christian populations of the island. The Russian government sent a message to Turkey in which it demanded action on her commitments with respect to the ethnic groups and nationalities inhabiting that country To restore order, the Turkish government sent Shakir Pasha, a former Turkish ambassador to Russia, as a new ruler of Crete. The bloodshed between the Muslim and Christian communities on the island continued till December 1889. About the Anglo-Prussian union, see note 349.

486. An allusion to Wilhelm Liebknecht's trip to the United States for agitation purposes, which he undertook with Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling in September-December 1886 (see note 3).
487. A fragment of this letter was first published in English in the collection *Marx K., Engels F. On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, pp520-21. An excerpt from this letter was first published by the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 31 August 1889, as a leading article entitled "Der Streik der 'Unqualifizierten'".
488. A reference to P. Fischer's letters to F. Engels of 21 and 31 August in which he asked Engels' permission to translate into German – for the weekly *Berliner Volk-Tribune* – the article 'Book of Revelation' (see present edition, Vol. 26) which Engels had written for the journal *Progress*; Fischer also asked to mention the collection in *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* which had published Marx's article 'Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction' (see present edition, Vol. 1).
489. The strike of the London dockers from 12 August to 14 September 1889 was a major event in the chronicle of the British labour movement of the late 19th century. It involved thirty thousand dockers and over thirty thousand – largely unskilled – workers of other trades not affiliated with the trade unions. Displaying tenacity and organisation, the strikers succeeded in their demands for higher wages and better working conditions. The strike contributed to stronger proletarian solidarity (with about £50,000 being donated to the strike fund) and promoted working-class solidarity. It gave rise to the dockers' union and other trade union organisations uniting a large number of general and unskilled workmen; the 'new trade unions' emerged as a result. The text of the excerpts from this letter coincides with some passages from a series of articles by E. Bernstein in the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* (No. 35, 31 August, No. 36, 7 September and No. 37, 14 September 1889) on the London dockers' strike; these articles were written on F. Engels' advice.
490. As a result of their strike action (July 1889), the working women of London's match-making factories won their demands for higher wages.

491. On 8 February 1886, supporters of the protectionist tariffs held a rally in Trafalgar Square. Taking part were also trade union activists of pro-Conservative leanings (S. Peters, T.M. Kelley, W. Kenny and T. Lemon, who were expelled at the Trades Union Congress at Manchester in 1882). The Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) organised a protest meeting and a demonstration of unemployed against the agitation of the Conservatives for protectionist tariffs. The demonstration was joined by lumpen-proletarian elements who started sacking and looting the surrounding shops. Subsequently the police arrested the federation leaders Henry Hyndman, John Burns, Henry Champion and John Williams on charges of inciting riot in their speeches. The court acquitted all the men on 10 April.
492. Engels cites words from the German folk song *Prinz Eugen, der adle Ritter*.
493. An excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. In English the text of this letter was first published in full by *Labour Monthly*, London, 1955, No. 8.
494. Engels refers to the group of Blanquists led by E. Roche and E. Granget that gave open support to General Boulanger.
495. Engels cites the name of V. Hugo's novel *Les misérables*.
496. The Russian Empress Maria Fyodorovna (wife of emperor Alexander III and mother of the last Russian tsar Nicholas II) was a daughter of the Danish King Christian IX. Her brother Waldemar was married to Louis Philippe's granddaughter, Maria, the Princess of Orléans.
497. A reference to the fourth German-language edition of Volume I of *Capital* (Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. Erster Band. Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals. Vierte durchgesehene Auflage. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels. Hamburg, Verlag von Otto Meissner. Druck von Hesse & Becker in Leipzig, 1890), prepared for the press by F. Engels. The book came out late in 1890. In a preface to this edition and also in his letter to Nikolai Danielson of 5 December 1889, Engels pointed to the amendments made in the text of the third edition (two or three new additions from the French edition, a few notes of his own – one on bimetallism in particular; the quotations were collated with the English edition).
498. Engels alludes to his vacation at Eastbourne from 8 August to 6 September 1889.
499. Another regular Trades Union Congress took place in Dundee (Scotland) at the beginning of September 1889. Both the preparatory stage and the very course of the Congress mirrored the struggle between the old Conservative leadership with Henry Broadhurst at the head (see note 269) and representatives of the new trade unions with broad masses of general and unskilled workers as members. One of the main issues discussed at the Congress related to a legislative enactment of an eight-hour working day. However, the absence of some of the leaders or the new trade unions, because of the

dockers' strike in London (see note 489), had a negative effect on the overall results. The demand for a law on an 8-hour working day was turned down by 88 votes against 63. Broadhurst and the old leadership managed to retain their position. Yet ultimately Engels' prediction concerning a victory of the protagonists of the law proved correct: at its next session in Liverpool in September 1890, the Trades Union Congress adopted a resolution in favour of an enactment of an eight-hour working day.

500. Pertaining to the electoral reforms of 1867 and 1884 in England. According to the reform of 1867, in towns the right to vote was granted to house owners and house leaseholders, as well as to tenants with a residence record of not less than a year and paying the rent of not less than £10. In counties the property qualification was reduced to £12 rent per annum, which enabled some of the industrial workers to obtain voting rights. The electoral reform of 1884 extended the provisions of the 1867 reform to rural districts. Consequently, part of the rural population became eligible. Both reforms notwithstanding, the number of voters was only 13 per cent of the entire population. Suffrage was denied to non property owners and women.

501. The reference is to the changes within the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (note 3) that had occurred as of September 1889; these changes reflected the factional struggle in the party ranks. National Secretary W. Rosenberg and several members of the Executive were removed from the leadership. A sequel to the ensuing split was the holding of two separate conventions in Chicago. The convention of 12 October 1889, held by a group of party members who had rallied around the newspaper *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, adopted a new party programme that reflected the views of its progressive wing.

502. George J. Harney's article 'The Revolt of the East End' was published by the newspaper *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* on 26 September 1889. Excerpts from this article were published by the newspaper *Labour Elector*, Vol. II, No. 38, on 28 September 1889, p203, in an editorial note 'A Voice from the Past'.

503. Engels compares the Fabians (see note 176) to the 'Nationalists', representatives of a social movement that emerged in the United States late in the 1880s. 'Nationalist clubs' sprung up with the appearance of Edward Bellamy's utopia *Looking Backward*. The first such club was set up in Boston in 1881; in 1891, the total number exceeded 160. Representatives of the urban middle class constituted the bulk of the membership in these propagandistic clubs. The 'Nationalists' set the aim of ridding society of the worst evils of capitalism through nationalisation of production and distribution; they advocated a peaceful development of capitalism into socialism. The nationalist movement had some impact on the further course of socialist thought in the United states.

504. An excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal *La*

Pensée, No. 61, 1955. About the full text of the English publication, see note 87.

505. During the International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris (see note 473) 206 French delegates held two separate conferences; this led to the formation of the National Council of the French Workers' Party (see note 33). Elected to the Council were Camescasse, Crépin, Dereure, Deville, Guesde, Lafargue and Laine for the practical guidance of the party. The next party congress, convened by the National Council in Lille on 11-12 October 1890, finalised the set-up and the functions of the Council. The report on the setting up of the National Council, referred to by Engels, was published in the *Labour Elector*, No. 38, on 28 September 1889, under the headline 'Foreign Notes: France', p198.
506. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown. It must have been written on 24 September 1889. On 27 September A. Bebel wrote the following in reply: 'At the moment the proposal is put to the vote whether we should give money for the French election or not. It is also my opinion that the 'money should certainly be assigned for Guesde's election if the proposal is endorsed. I have clearly stated that'. It was said in P. Lafargue's letter to F. Engels of 7 October 1889, that A. Bebel, on a commission from the party leadership, had sent 500 francs for Guesde, and 610 francs for Lafargue.
507. During the International Socialist Working Men's Congress in July 1889 the German delegates passed 1000 francs to the French delegates as relief for the families of disaster victims at one of the mines of Saint-Etienne.
508. This article by Charles Jaclard – which he wrote for his weekly feature in the newspaper *La Voix* and which he entitled 'Lundis socialistes' – was published on 30 September 1889.
509. A reference to the forthcoming second round of the general and parliamentary election of 1889. The candidates mentioned by Engels gained a majority of votes in the first round and thus were eligible to run in the second.
510. Refers to the unification at Gotha in 1875 of the Social Democratic Workers' Party set up in 1869 (the Eisenach party) and of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded in 1863. The party programme, adopted by the Gotha congress, incorporated as its essential part some of the ideas of the Lassallean agitation concept, a fact that elicited sharp criticism from Marx and Engels.
511. The battle of Austerlitz (Moravia) on 2 December 1805, between the Russo-Austrian and French armies, was won by Napoleon I.
512. W. Liebknecht, while in Paris in September 1889, asked Engels to write to A. Bebel and ask him about monetary aid to the French Workers' Party in connection with the forthcoming parliamentary elections. W. Liebknecht received the necessary information from P. Lafargue in his letter of 10 August 1889. On 28 September the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* (no. 39) in its editorial on the French elections carried reports from Paris calling on

the German Socialists to display internationalist solidarity and help the French Socialists in securing Guesde's election to the Chamber of Deputies.

513. W. Liebknecht's statement concerning the publication of M. Schlesinger's book *Die soziale Frage* in the Volksbibliothek series (see note 400) was prompted by the article 'Ein sozialdemokratischer Antimarxist' published by the newspaper *Die Kreuz-zeitung* on 18 September 1889 (no. 435). In his statement of 27 September, Liebknecht wrote that the Volksbibliothek had no connection 'with the Social Democratic Party and its Reichstag faction' and that the printing of Schlesinger's book was undertaken without his consent. Liebknecht's statement was published in the newspapers *Berliner Volksblatt* on 29 September and *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 5 October 1889. Carried simultaneously with this statement was one made by A. Bebel on 19 September 1889, refuting the assertion of *Die Kreuz-Zeitung* about the connections of the Volksbibliothek with the Social Democratic faction in the Reichstag and about Schlesinger's membership in the Social Democratic Party.

514. At the general election of 22 September 1889, Georges Boulanger was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the Montmartre constituency of Paris. Yet his election, as well as that of his close associates, Victor Rochefort and Dillon, was overruled by the Minister of the Interior E. Constant on the grounds of all the men having been convicted, *in absentia*, by the Supreme Court and sentenced to banishment (see note 391). The Possibilist Jules Joffrin therefore became deputy in Boulanger's place – Joffrin polled the second largest number of votes, 5,500, in the Montmartre constituency (after Boulanger).

515. An allusion to P. Lafargue's pamphlet of the same name, published by *Égalite* in 1880 and appearing in a separate edition in 1833; *Le droit à la paresse. Réfutation du Droit au Travail de 1848*, Paris.

516. The bourgeois republican Jules Ferry, nominated from the department of Vosges, suffered an electoral defeat. Engels mentions an article in *The Daily News* of 8 October 1889, published under the title 'The French Elections. Composition of the New Chamber'.

517. 'The Satisfied' ('Les satisfaits') – the reactionary majority of the French Chamber of Deputies that backed the Guizot government on the eve of the 1848 Revolution. They were called this after saying they were 'satisfied' with the government explanations of corruption among the ruling quarters. This issue was discussed at the Chamber of Deputies in February 1848.

518. Engels referred to the Rue Poitiers Committee, the steering body of a 'Party of Order' which was formed in 1848 as a coalition of two monarchist groups: the Legitimists (adherents of the Bourbon dynasty) and the Orléanists (adherents of the Orléans dynasty). Representing the interests of the big conservative bourgeoisie, this party held a dominating position in the legislative assembly of the Second Republic from 1849 down to the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.

519. Engels wrote these lines on a post card. On the back was the address: F.A. Sorge, Esq., Hoboken N J, US America. About the English publication, see note 343.
520. A reference to a polemic between Friedrich Sorge and Daniel de Leon who shared the views of the 'Nationalists' at the time (see note 503).
521. A reference to the unsigned article in the newspaper *Justice*, no. 300 of 12 October 1889, published under the title 'Socialists and the French Elections', p3, col. III-IV.
522. A fragment from this letter was first published in English in the collection Marx K., Engels F., Lenin V. I., *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Int. Publ., New York, 1972, p179.
523. On 19 October 1889, Max Hildebrand wrote to Engels that he had, for more than 15 years, been interested in Europe's democratic movement. Accordingly, he had studied a number of works, among which of particular interest to him was Max Stirner's book *Der Einzige und Sein Eigenthum*. Hildebrand asked Engels for some information on Stirner's life and suggested that he, Engels, write historical biographies of thinkers representing different ideological trends, provided no such biographies had been written before.
524. As a student of Berlin University, Marx lived in Berlin from the latter half of October 1836 to mid April 1841.
525. Engels refers to his stay in Manchester in 1842-44 where he was studying commercial business at the cotton mill belonging to the firm Ermen & Engels (see note 9).
526. Marx lived in Brussels from February 1845 to the beginning of March 1848 when he was expelled by the Belgian authorities. Engels lived in Brussels, on and off, from early April 1845 to the latter half of March 1848.
527. A critique of Stirner's views was made in Volume I of *The German Ideology*, in Chapter III entitled 'Saint Max' (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp117-451).
528. Engels replies to Hildebrand's suggestion to write the history of the period preceding the Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. As Hildebrand observed in his letter, Engels was perhaps the only person capable of tackling such a work (see this volume, note 523).
529. O.A. Ellissen, who intended to write a book about Friedrich Lange, had found Engels' letters in his personal archives. He therefore asked Engels to give him Lange's letters (addressed to Engels) and allow him to use their correspondence in his book. Engels made the following marginal notes on Ellissen's letter, 'The letters are out of order and cannot be made available before the completion, next spring, of Vol. III; then they will be at your disposal. They may be reproduced in full or in part – in the latter case I beg you to give the respective excerpts in *their total context*'. Einbeck, Okt. 89. Dr O. A. *Ellissen wegen* Langes Briefe.

530. The reference is to the slogan 'Fatherland in Danger' ('La patrie en danger') proclaimed by the French Legislative Assembly on 11 July 1792, i.e., during the French Revolution of the late 18th century. The Assembly issued an appeal to the army and the French people in which it called on everybody to rise in the struggle for liberty and Constitution.
531. The Communist League was the first German and international organisation of the proletariat, and was formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In 1849 and 1850, after the defeat or the revolution, the League was reorganised and thus continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which resulted in a split within the league. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the Communist League as an organisation actually ceased its activities in Germany. On 17 November 1852, on a motion from Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.
532. On 3 March 1848, a mass demonstration took place in Cologne, called by the local representatives of the Communist League. On behalf of all those taking part, Andreas Gottschalk handed a petition to the town magistrate with demands for democratic freedom and for protection of working men's rights. The police dispersed this demonstration; A. Gottschalk, Willich and F. Anneke were arrested and brought to trial. However, under a royal pardon, the three men were released from custody on 21 March 1848.
533. On 26 October 1889, W. Liebknecht wrote to Engels and asked if he knew when A. Gottschalk could have made the following statement: 'I am here on behalf of 20,000 proletarians who do not care at all whether we have a republic or a monarchy'.
534. The Cologne Workers' Association was a workers' organisation founded by Andreas Gottschalk on 13 April 1848. The Association was led by the President and the committee, which consisted of representatives of various trades. After Gottschalk's arrest Moll was elected President. He held this post till a state of siege was proclaimed in Cologne in September 1848, when he had to emigrate under threat of arrest. On 16 October Marx agreed to assume this post temporarily at the request of Association members. In November Röser became acting President and on 28 February 1849, Schapper was elected President and remained at this post until the end of May 1849. The majority of the leading members (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League. During the initial period of its existence, the

Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk who, sharing many of the views of the 'true socialists', ignored the historical tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, carried on the sectarian tactics of boycotting indirect elections to the Federal and Prussian National Assemblies, and came out against supporting democratic candidates in elections. He combined ultra-left phrases with very legalistic methods of struggle (workers' petitions to the Government and the City Council, etc.) and supported the demands of the workers affected by craft prejudices, etc. From the very beginning, Gottschalk's tactics were resisted by the supporters of Marx and Engels. Under their influence, at the end of June a change occurred in the activities of the Workers' Association, which became a centre of revolutionary agitation from the autumn of 1848 onwards, also among the peasants. Members of the Association organised democratic and workers' associations near Cologne, disseminated revolutionary literature, including the 'Demands of the Communist Party in Germany', and studied Marx's writings. The Association maintained close contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations. When, in the spring of 1849, Marx and Engels took steps to organise the advanced workers on a national scale and actually started preparing for the creation of a proletarian party, they relied to a considerable extent on the Cologne Workers' Association.

535. On 26 October 1889, W. Liebknecht informed Engels that he had declined to take part in the publication of the Volksbibliothek (see note 400), a move that incurred significant material losses.
536. This is in reply to P. Martignetti's letter of 30 October 1889, in which he wrote about the sentence passed on him by the Naples court for alleged forgery and destruction of documents, as well as for alleged misappropriation of a sum which, at various stages of the court proceedings, ranged from 15 thousand to 500 liras. Martignetti, sentenced to a prison term of 3 years and 9 months, asked Engels for help in job finding and for advice on what to do under the circumstances – either emigrate and part with his family, or serve his prison term.
537. In his letter of 17 October 1889, A. Bebel criticised the French Socialists for their poor propaganda and organisational work.
538. A reference to the National Council in Bordeaux and the Executive Commission in Troyes, set up in 1888 at a labour unions congress in Bordeaux and at a Workers' Party Congress in Troyes, respectively (see notes 329; 331).
539. During the election campaign of September 1889 the French Workers' Party and the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Blanquists (see note 33) issued a joined manifesto, signed by Guesde, Lafargue and Vaillant and circulated in more than 100 towns.
540. On the eve of the parliamentary election of 1889, E. Protot mounted a campaign of slander against J. Guesde in Marseilles with the aim of prevent-

ing him from being elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Protot accused Guesde of espionage for the German Government: he claimed that in 1879, as editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Égalité*, Guesde had received 4 thousand francs from Höhberg, allegedly the chief of the German police. Sued by Guesde for libel, Protot was sentenced to a fine. Under the court decision, Marseilles and Paris newspapers carried a report about the sentence.

541. P. Lafargue wrote to Engels in his letter of 4 November 1889, about the plan to set up Socialist factions in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Municipal Council; this initiative came from J. Guesde, E. Vaillant, G. Deville and P. Lafargue. He said that if this plan came off, the parliamentary faction should issue a declaration, stating its independent and socialist stand and setting the objective of inducing the Chamber of Deputies to give a legal seal to the decisions of the International Working Men's Congress of 1889. The unification of the Guesdists and the Blanquists into the Socialist Party of France took body and form at the Rheims Congress of September 1903.
542. In his letter of 17 October 1889, A. Bebel told Engels about I. Auer's nervous disease and his stay at Zurich for treatment. The newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* (19 October, No. 42) reported Auer's plans to move south after treatment. In Switzerland Auer had been collecting documents on the subject 'The Law on the Socialists in Ten Years' Time'.
543. The reference is to the letter of J.H. Johnson and G.B. Ellis to F. Engels of 7 November 1889, in which they requested him for the opinions of the passengers aboard the steamship *The City of New York* about the performance of the ship's circulating pumps.
544. Mr Boulé, representing the French *syndicats*, was running as a Socialist candidate at the by election in Paris in January 1889; thereupon, at a municipal election in the department of Haute Marne, he nominated his candidacy as a Boulanger supporter. As a result, he forfeited his post of Secretary of the Federation of Syndical Chambers in Paris in the autumn of 1889. The newspaper *Le Parti ouvrier* exposed Boulé in J. Vidal's article 'Exécution d'un traître' published on 26 October. The newspaper *Intransigeant* on 29 October carried E. Roche's article in Boulé's defence and, on 2, 3 and 5 November it featured a series of Boulé's articles on the port workers' strike at Bourget.
545. Probably a reference to *Le Cri du Travailleur* (Lisle), *Le Salariat* (Rouen) and *L'Action sociale* (Lyon).
546. Engels had received from Lafargue an article by C. de Paepe; published by the Belgian press, it contained a report on Nikolai Chernyshevsky's death.
547. Laura Lafargue made a translation of Béranger's poem *Le Sénateur*. Laura added a postscript to Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 4 November 1889 in which she asked for his opinion about the quality of the translation.
548. In her letter of 14 November 1889, Laura Lafargue told Engels about the reaction of the French bourgeois press to Christophe Thivrier, a coal miner,

appearing in the Chamber of Deputies in working clothes among the other Socialists.

549. In September-December 1889, there was a strike in Silvertown, a district in London's East End, by workers engaged in the production of underwater cables and rubber articles. The strikers, about three thousand strong, demanded higher pay rates (both hourly and piecework rates), higher pay for overtime and on holidays, as well as higher wages for women and children. Eleanor Marx-Aveling was actively involved in the organisation of this strike, during which she helped form the Women's Branch of the Gas Union. The strike, which continued for nearly three months, ended in failure: the Silvertown workers were supported by other unions, notably the Gas Workers and the Dockers unions.
550. A reference to the siege of Paris by the Prussian army during the Prusso-French War of 1870-71. The siege was on from 19 September 1870 to the signing of an armistice between France and Germany on 28 January 1871.
551. An allusion to the electoral campaign of September-October 1889 in France. Jules Guesde was running for the Chamber of Deputies as a candidate from one of the constituencies in Marseilles but failed to be elected (see also note 465).
552. Engels cites a call to the voters at the end of the Manifesto of the French Workers' Party (see note 33) and the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Blanquists (see note 539).
553. In his letter of 23 October 1889, P. Martignetti asked Engels to recommend him, through P. Lafargue's mediation, to Antonio Labriola. Engels' letter to P. Lafargue is not available now.
554. An abridged text of the letter was first published in English in Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, Lawrence, London 1934, pp457-58. The English version of this letter was published in full in Marx K. and Engels F., *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1955, pp405-407.
555. 9th Thermidor (27-28 July 1794) was the date of a counterrevolutionary coup which brought the big bourgeoisie to power. About the events of 10 August 1792, see note 363.
556. *Le Comité de salut public* (Committee of Public Safety) was established by the Convention on 6 April 1793; during the Jacobin dictatorship (2 June 1793-27 July 1794) it was the leading body of the revolutionary government in France.
557. The Peace of Basle was concluded on 5 April 1795 between France and Prussia, the latter being a member of the first anti-French coalition. This treaty came as a consequence of the French victories as well as of the differences among the members of the coalition, in particular between Prussia and Austria.
558. The Directory was the regime established in France as a result of the over-

throw of the Jacobin government on 27 July (9 Thermidor) 1794, and the introduction, on 4 November 1795, by the Thermidor Convention, of a new anti-democratic constitution. Supreme executive power was concentrated in the hands of five Directors. The Directory, whose rule was marked by unrestrained profiteering and speculation, continued until the coup d'état of 9 November (18 Brumaire) 1799 leading to the personal rule of General Napoleon Bonaparte.

559. K.F. Keppen's article 'Leo's Geschichte der Revolution' was published in *Die Rheinische Zeitung* (Nos. 139, 141 and 142) on 21 and 22 May 1842.
560. The whereabouts of this letter is not known.
561. Engels received N. Danielson's letter of 26 November in which N. Danielson summed up the gist of the letter sent by the editors of the Russian journal *Northern Review* to P. Lafargue concerning the intended publication in it of P. Lafargue's article about the evolution of property.
562. Karl Marx *Capital* Part I, Ch. III, 'Money, Or the Circulation of commodities', Section 3, Universal Money.
563. The English translation of a fragment of this letter was first published in Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence 1846-1895*, London, 1934, pp460-62.
564. In these letters F. Sorge aired his views about the split within the Socialist Labor Party of North America.
565. The Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union was the first trade union of general and unskilled workers in the history of the British working-class movement; it was formed late in March – early in April 1889 against the background of the growing strike movement of the 1880s and 1890s. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and E. Aveling did much for the organisation of this union and for its guidance. The Union put forward a demand for a legislative enactment of an eight-hour working day. Within a brief space of time, it gained considerable influence – as many as 100,000 gas workers joined it within a year. It took an active part in organising the London dockers' strike of 1889 (see note 489).
566. A reference to P. Rappaport's article in the newspaper *Indiana Tribune*, sent to Engels by F. Sorge.
567. Hepner participated in the work of the conventions held by two conflicting groups within the Socialist Labor Party of North America in Chicago (see note 3). Sorge remarked in this connection in his letter to Engels of 18 October 1889, that 'Hepner wanted to play a non-partisan's part and went to Chicago to attend both conventions so-called'.
568. Writing to Engels on 29 October 1889, Sorge asked if he knew about the fate of a list of Marx's articles in the *New York Daily Tribune* which he, Sorge, had given to Marx in 1872, as well as of the clippings from the corresponding numbers of the paper. The list of Marx's articles for the *Tribune* had been compiled by Hermann Meier; Sorge had handed it to Marx during their meeting at the Hague Congress of the First International.

569. The Elberfeld trial of members of the German Social Democratic Party took place from 18 November to 30 December 1889. Brought to trial were 87 party members, among them A. Bebel (Reichstag deputy), F. Harm, G. Schumacher, K. Grillenberger and E. Röllinghoff. The aim of this put-up trial – which the Social Democratic press described as a *Monster trial* and compared to the Cologne trial of the Communist League of 1853, staged by the Prussian police – was to prove the existence of a 'secret alliance' led by the Social Democratic faction of the Reichstag with a far-flung network throughout Germany. About 500 witnesses were summoned to testify. However, the government failed in its attempt to have all the defendants convicted. Forty-three, A. Bebel among them, were acquitted, while the others received prison terms ranging from 14 days to 6 months.
570. The English translation of a fragment of this letter was first published in Marx K., Engels F., *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1984.
571. A fragment of this letter in English was first published in the collection Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages, Publishing House, Moscow 1956, pp491-92.
572. Trier, writing to Engels on 8 December 1889, told him about the differences within the Danish Social Democratic Party over the issue of a possible bloc with the bourgeois Left-Radical parties at the forthcoming election to the Riksdag; he also wrote about a controversy between the party leadership and the opposition, involving party members who did not agree with the leaders' policies.
573. The primogeniture principle was the right of the eldest son in the family or kin to inherit his father's estate. This was instituted by the feudal law of England, France, Germany and other West European countries in the 11th-13th centuries with the aim of keeping landed estates intact and preventing their fragmentation among many heirs. Only the eldest son was eligible to inherit.
574. A reference to a constitutional conflict in Denmark which began in 1875 and which manifested itself in a struggle between the government and the liberal opposition in Parliament, pressing for constitutional limits to the King's powers. Financial issues sparked off an acute controversy between the government and the parliamentary majority. Proceeding from Article 49 of the Constitution, according to which no tax could be levied in the absence or a parliamentary decision, the *Folketing* (lower house) would every now and then, beginning with 1877, reject budget bills tabled by the government. The government responded by introducing a provisional budget – it gave a loose interpretation of Article 25 of the Constitution which empowered the King, if need be, to issue provisional legislative enactments. The conflict continued until 1894 when the government and the liberal opposition came to some sort of settlement.

575. 'Physical force' was the name given to one of the two trends in the Chartist movement. In contrast to the other trend, the 'moral force' Chartists, it opted for revolutionary methods, for the independence of the Chartist movement and against its subordination to the bourgeois radicals.
576. The General Association of German Workers was set up on 23 May 1863 at a meeting of worker societies in Leipzig. The founding of this political organisation, which included some of the members of the former Communist League (see note 531), contributed to the subsequent progress of the German labour movement and its emancipation from the ideological sway of the liberal bourgeoisie. Lassalle and his followers were agitating for universal suffrage which, as they deemed, could help the working people take on power in the state. A new democratic body politic, as Lassalle and his supporters saw it, was to provide a credit for setting up workers' production associations (see also note 508).
577. The Gas Workers Strike in South London took place in December 1889, February 1890. It was touched off by the failure of the company owners to honour the earlier agreement on an eight-hour working day, higher wages, and employment priority for unionised workers, members of the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union (see note 565). Among other things, the strikers demanded that three activists of the Union, dismissed from their job, be reinstated. The strike action did not succeed in the absence of vigorous support from other unions, the dockers' union in particular.
578. An allusion to W. Liebknecht's letter of 20 December about the Elberfeld trial and his own difficult conditions.
579. Herewith Engels sent to S.M. Kravchinsky (Stepniak) the first chapter of his work *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom* (see present edition, Vol. 27) so as to have it published in the Russian literary and political journal *Social Democrat* run by the 'Emancipation of Labour' group; among its editors were V.I. Zasulich, G.V. Plekhanov and P.V. Axelrod (see also note 623).
580. In her letter of 31 December 1889, Laura Lafargue complained that for her translation of Walther von der Vogelweide's poem *Unter der Linden*, she had only an updated edition of the text.
581. Writing to Engels on 24 December 1889, P. Lafargue told him about the French Workers' Party (see note 33) planning to start a new daily. In keeping with the terms of an entrepreneur who had agreed to finance the newspaper, the editorial staff was supposed to work without remuneration, with the exception of J. Guesde and Quercy. It was somewhat later that this daily was launched. Engels' letter to C. Bonnier is not available.
582. A reference to the proceedings to have Engels' nephews – Hermann, Moritz and Emil – made co-owners of the firm Ermen & Engels at Engelskirchen.
583. A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, Lawrence, London, 1934, pp463-64.

584. F. Schlüter, in his letter to F. Engels of 12 December 1889, wrote this: 'Last week I sent you a number of the *Commonweal* with the image of a tree that had been baptised after our Marx'.
585. In his letter to Engels on 20 December 1889, F. Schlüter asked him to make inquiries about a George Reid, who had come to New York City from London and who was agitating among stevedores and seamen. In Schlüter's opinion, Reid was acting in the spirit of Hyndman's sectarian policies: 'For about three months there has been a certain George G. Reid here who says that he has been sent from London to organise longshoremen and seamen employed in the port ... The longshoremen are beginning to mistrust him. No attempt has been made to learn more about him.'
586. A reference to the Amalgamated Engineers' Society, founded by W. Newton and W. Allen in 1851 and known as the first trade union of a 'new type'.
587. The London Trades Council was elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. The Council headed the London trade unions, numbering many thousands and was fairly influential among the British workers. In the first half of the 1860s it led the British workers' campaign against intervention in the Civil War in the United States, in defence of Poland and Italy, and later for the legislation of the trade unions. The leaders of the large trade unions played a major role in the Council.
588. Appended to this was a letter of recommendation from Engels; the rough draft of this letter is extant.
589. Refers to the socialist club *Vorwärts*, founded in Buenos Aires in January 1882 by German socialist émigrés – H. Lalman, A. Kuhn and F. Weber. In 1886 this club launched the newspaper *Vorwärts* which advocated socialist ideas and called for strike action to secure better working and living conditions.
590. Engels sent the present note to Eleanor Marx-Aveling., together with Bonnier's letter to Engels of 14 January 1890. Engels sent this letter to Eleanor Aveling at Bonnier's request. It was a continuation of Bonnier's talk with Engels about the French Workers' Party preparing to start a newspaper of its own (see also note 33). This plan only materialised in September 1890, as the party resumed the publication of its weekly newspaper *Le Socialiste*, which became its central organ. In his letter Bonnier asked Eleanor Marx-Aveling for her comments on the Gas Workers' strike (see note 577) for the French newspaper *Le Cri du travailleur*.
591. These lines were on a post card, with the following address at the back: H. Schlüter Esq., 73, First Avenue, New York City, US America.
592. The English version of a fragment from this letter was published in the collection Marx K., Engels F., *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1971.
593. Engels hints at acute differences – which came into the open during the

Elberfeld trial of 1889 – between A. Bebel, the state prosecutor and the defence, as testified by Bebel's speech of 27 December, published in the *Freie Presse* (Nos. 302 and 303) on 28 and 29 December.

594. Refers to the discussion in the German Reichstag of a draft bill for amending the then effective Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52). The suggested amendments aimed above all at converting the provisional legislation against the Socialists into a permanent law; they provided for more rigorous regulations with respect to periodicals, etc. The draft law also envisaged banishing, for up to a year, all those whose activity might pose 'a threat to public tranquillity and order'. The draft law, discussed at Reichstag sessions on 5 and 6 November 1889, and then again on 22, 23 and 25 January 1890, was turned down by 169 votes versus 98.
595. A reference to A. Bebel's report carried by *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 3) on 17 January 1890, in the feature 'Ausland, Deutschland'; this report was marked: Berlin, 14 January.
596. The National-Liberal Party, the party of the German and, above all, the Prussian bourgeoisie, formed in the autumn of 1866 as a result of the split of the Party of Progress. The policies of the National-Liberals reflected the capitulation of a significant part of the liberal bourgeoisie to Bismarck's Junker government, after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and its subsequent pre-eminence in Germany.
597. During the second balloting of February 1887 at the Reichstag election the supporters of the Party of Progress voted for candidates of the 'Kartell' (see note 265) and thus promoted the victory of a bloc backing the Bismarck government.
598. In April 1886 the Liberal government of W. Gladstone tabled a draft Home Rule Bill in the Commons (see note 175) providing for reinstitution of the bicameral Irish parliament after the late 18th century model; the British government was to retain its control over the country's economy and have a free hand in exercising all foreign policy, military and police functions.
599. Another regular election to the German Reichstag was scheduled for 20 February 1890 (see note 612). Eventually the Social Democratic candidates polled 1,427,298 votes or nearly 20 per cent of the total ballots cast. The Social Democrats could thus claim 35 seats in the Reichstag, which meant an astounding victory for the party.
600. On 20 January 1890 the Socialist leader August Bebel addressed an election rally, many thousand strong. Concluding his speech, he called on all those present to execute their duty on 20 February by electing representatives of the Social Democratic Party to the Reichstag. Bebel's speech was published by the newspaper *Hamburger Echo* (No.18) on 22 January under the headline 'Reichstagsabgeordneter August Bebel vor seinen Wählern'.
601. The Franco-Russian alliance – a military and political alliance between France and Russia; it took shape against a background of the growing might

of the German Reich and dramatic exacerbation of the Franco-German and Russo-German contradictions. As a first step, France and Russia signed a political agreement on 15 August 1891. The two countries concluded a secret military convention on 15 August 1892.

602. Engels must have meant Gladstone's speech at a Liberal meeting in Chester on 22 January 1890; in it the British statesman censured the actions of the Turkish government in Crete and Armenia (see *The Times*, 23 January, No. 32, 916, p10, 'Mr Gladstone at Chester').

603. W. Liebknecht's communication was published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 1, 4 January 1890, in the regular feature 'Aus Frankreich'. In his letter to Engels of 24 December 1889, P. Lafargue laid down a detailed plan for launching the newspaper.

604. A fragment of this letter was first published in English by *The Communist*, N-Y 1929, Vol. VIII, No. 5, May, pp263-64.

605. Water-Polacks (Wasserpolacken) – original name of ferrymen on the Oder who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia. Subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles.

606. Speaking of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, Engels means the tribes of Angles, Jutes and Saxons who, in the early centuries A.D., used to populate the southern part of Jutland, a peninsula which, since the 14th century, has come to be known as Schleswig-Holstein.

607. Engels refers to the editorial comments in *The Labour Elector* (Vol. III, No. 57, 1 February 1890 and Vol. III, No. 56, 25 January 1890), which condemned E. Parke's attacks on Lord Euston. The 1 February issue carried protests from T. Mann, G. Bateman and others. The editors do not have at their disposal the numbers of *The Star* with the below mentioned materials.

608. In April 1889 a conflict flared up between Portugal and Britain over the latter's influence in some of the East African territories which Portugal regarded as a sphere of its interests. In November 1890 and in May 1891 both countries signed agreements on settling the border disputes. Portugal allowed free passage and ship navigation for the British in their African possessions. *The Labour Elector* (Vol. III, No. 56, 25 January 1890, p51) carried an article entitled 'True Patriots All'; it justified the policy of the British government.

609. Engels means A. Bebel's report which *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 6) of 7 February 1890, carried in its regular feature 'Ausland: Deutschland'. The report was marked: Berlin, 4 February. The two edicts, promulgated by Emperor William II on 4 February 1890, on the eve of an election to the German Reichstag, actually amounted to a government pre-election programme.

In his first edict, the Emperor instructed the Reichskanzler to appeal to the governments of a number of European countries with the proposal to convene an international conference on a unified labour legislation. (Such a

conference was indeed held in Berlin in March 1890.) In his second edict, addressed to the Ministers of Public Works, Trade and Industry, William II expressed the desire to revise the existing labour legislation with the aim of improving the condition of workers employed at government-run and private enterprises.

610. As the new draft legislation against the Socialists was put to a vote in the Reichstag (see note 52), the deputies from the National Liberal Party voted against the additional clause providing for the banishment from Germany of 'undesirable persons' involved in the revolutionary movement.

611. The reference is to R. Puttkamer's election speech at Stolpe on 31 January 1890, against a repeal of the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52). In it he expressed the hope that the army and the Civil Service, loyal to the government, would be guarantors of order (Ordnung) in Germany. However Puttkamer did not rule out the government having to impose a major state of siege (instead of a 'minor' one). The minor state of 'siege' was envisaged by Clause 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law; the governments of German states, with the consent of the Federal Council, could impose a stage of siege for one year in certain districts and localities. In this case no meeting or assembly could take place without permission of the police; it was forbidden to circulate printed matter in public places; politically unreliable persons were to be deported from a given locality; the right to have or hold arms, their import and sale were prohibited or restricted.

612. 1 March 1890 was the date of the second round of an election to the German Reichstag; the first round was held on 20 February 1890. As many as 20 socialist deputies were elected in the first round, and 15 in the runoff (see also note 599).

613. The reference is to the German Party of Free Thinkers (Freisinnigen) formed in 1884 with the unification of the Party of Progress and the left-wing National-Liberals (see note 45). One of the leaders of the party thus formed was Richter, a Reichstag deputy. Reflecting the interests of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, this party was in opposition to the Bismarck government. The National-Liberals – a right-wing bourgeois political party between 1867 and 1918, first on the Prussian scale and, as of 1871, as an all-German party; one of the bulwarks of the bloc of the Junkers and the bourgeoisie.

614. Engels means the interview by a correspondent of the newspaper *Gaulois* with P. Lafargue and P. Roche about the attitude of the Socialists to the proposal made by Emperor William II to convene an international conference on unified labour legislation (see note 609). This interview was published on 3 March 1890, in the regular feature 'En Allemagne'.

615. In the course of the election to the German Reichstag, the Social Democrats gained votes in 6 constituencies of Brandenburg, Pomerania (Stettin) and East Prussia; in 3 constituencies of Mecklenburg, and in 4 constituencies of Schleswig-Holstein.

616. The horrible conditions of political exiles in Siberia were described by George Kennan, an American journalist, in his series of articles 'Siberia and the Exile System', which he wrote after his journey thither in 1885-86 and which were published by the New York-based journal *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (Vol. XXXVII, November 1888, No. 1; Vol. XXXIX, April 1890, No. 6, London). In 1889-91 this work vas published in separate editions in English, German and Russian.
617. At the election of 20 February 1890, W. Liebknecht polled 42, 274 votes in the 6th constituency, while the 'Free Thinkers' (see note 613) got 14,195 votes as representatives of the cartel (see note 265) 10,836.
618. At the 20 February election the Social Democratic Party received 664,170 votes more than in 1887.
619. This refers to an article in the Dutch socialist newspaper *Recht voor Allen*.
620. The main part of this letter, which P. Martignetti had sent to the editorial board of the journal *Cuore e critica*, was published in Italian in No. 7 of this journal on 16 April 1890, under the heading 'L'opinione di F. Engels'. This publication was prefaced with the following editorial text: 'Professor Labriola's proposal concerning the settlement of the colony of Eritrea is also finding support abroad. After reading the letters of Professors Labriola and Loria in *Il Messaggero*, Frederick Engels wrote from London on 30 March to our regular contributor P. Martignetti'.
621. A reference to the project to use free land (terra libera) in the Italian colonies, as suggested by Antonio Labriola in his letter to Baccarini. Part of this letter was published on 15 March 1890 by the journal *Il Messaggero* under the heading 'La terra a chi la lavora'. Martignetti sent this number of the journal to Engels.
622. Refers to Antonio Labriola's letter to Achille Loria published by the journal *Il Messaggero* on 15 March 1890 under the title 'La terra a chi la lavora – La colonia Eritrea e la questione sociale'. A. Labriola sent this publication to P. Martignetti who, in his turn, forwarded it to F. Engels.
623. The present work was prompted by a proposal for co-operation which Vera Zasulich, on behalf of the editors of the Russian journal *Social Democrat*, then being prepared for publication in London, addressed to F. Engels (see also V. Zasulich's letter to F. Engels of 30 January 1890). Complying with this request Engels sent his article to the editorial board for publication in Russian translation; he likewise decided to have it published in other socialist periodicals (see Engels' letter to V. Zasulich of 3 April 1890 this volume, pp467-69). The first part of this work appeared in February 1890 under the title 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom'. The latter part of the article was published only in August 1890. Meanwhile, the first two parts appeared in the language of the original, German, in the April number of the journal *Die Neue Zeit*; the editors amended the text without Engels' knowledge. Thus they softened somewhat the characterisation of the ruling heads of

Russia and Prussia, representatives of the Hohenzollern dynasty, among other things. Engels discovered this editorial tampering as he compared the Russian translation with the German text (see also his letter to J. Dietz of 1 April 1890). The May issue of *Die Neue Zeit* carried these two parts without amendments, together with the third part. Indicated at the end of this publication was the date Engels had completed the article: London, end of February 1890.

624. In her letter to Engels late in March 1890, Vera Zasulich asked him for the text of the last, third, chapter of the article 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom' (present edition, Vol. 26) so as to have it published together with the second chapter in Book II of the *Social Democrat*.
625. The February issue of *Social Democrat* (1890), which S.M. Stepniak-Kravchinsky passed to Engels, carried V. Zasulich's article 'Revolutionaries from the Bourgeois Midst' and G. Plekhanov's article 'N.G. Chernyshevsky'; the second part appeared in the August number of the journal.
626. There was considerable unrest among Moscow University students in November 1867 over the activity of inspectors in conformity with the new university regulations of 1884 (which abolished the university self-rule introduced by the 1863 regulations as well as authorised the Education Minister to appoint or dismiss at his discretion professors and other members of the teaching staff, fix scholarships, grants and other allowances for students, decide on curricula, etc.). At the beginning of December 1887 the student unrest spread to the universities and colleges of Kharkov, Odessa, Kazan and St Petersburg. Police and army units were thrown against the students. Many were expelled from college or university and exiled, and the most active were drafted into penal battalions.
627. Thanks to the active engagement of S.M. Kravchinsky-Stepniak, a 'Russian Freedom Friends' Society' was organised in Britain in 1890; its aim was to enlist support for the Russian revolutionary movement. Between 1891-1900 the Society published the newspaper *Free Russia*.
628. The district in London where the editorial board of the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* had its office.
629. Stuttgart – the seat of the Dietz Publishers in charge of the journal *Die Neue Zeit*.
630. In his letter dated 3-6 March 1890, F. Sorge communicated F. Schlüter's request to Engels to send – for publication in *Die New Yorker Volkszeitung* – the letters from the National-Liberal J. Miquel, a Reichstag deputy, which he had written to Engels during his membership in the Communist League (see note 531).
631. Engels must have made a mistake by dating C. Schmidt's letter 25 February. Actually, C. Schmidt wrote to Engels on 26 February and 1 April; in these letters he told him about his possible visit to London and about his plans for

literary work. Schmidt also offered his assistance in the work on Marx's manuscripts.

632. Engels refers to his Preface to volume II of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36). About the publication of Volume IV of *Capital* – Theories of Surplus Value – see note 353.

633. On 3 July 1866 a decisive battle in the Austro-Prussian War was fought at Königgrätz (Hradec-Kralove), near Sadova. The Austrian troops were defeated. About the battle of Sedan, see note 267.

634. The Napoleonic Code – the code of French civil law, promulgated in 1804, exerted a great influence on legislation in many European and a number of Latin American European countries.

635. The present letter is in reply to V. Zasulich's letter written around 10 April 1890.

636. Grigori Beck's article 'Erwiderung' ran a sharp critique of G. Plekhanov for his preface to the pamphlet *Pytr Alexeyev's Speech*; in it Plekhanov cautioned workers against 'the false friends' from among the liberal intelligentsia. Published by *Der Sozialdemokrat* (No.14, 5 April 1890), this article was written in reply to the report 'Aus der russischen Bewegung', carried by the same newspaper (No. 12) on 22 March and signed ZKW. On 26 April 1890, *Der* Sozialdemokrat (No. 17) published a letter to the editors from *Ossipowitch* (probably, V. Zasulich's pseudonym) with a prefatory editor's note 'Über die Propaganda unter den russischen Arbeitern'.

637. In her letter Vera Zasulich listed a number of Russian newspapers and magazines published in Switzerland in 1888-89: *Svoboda* (Freedom), *Borba* (Struggle), *Samoupravlenie* (Self-Government) and *Svobodnaya Rossia*.

638. Dismal Swamp – boggy terrain in Virginia, USA.

639. Michael Davitt – an eminent activist in the Irish national movement and a champion of a union between the working classes of Ireland and England. He supported the struggle of the new trade unions (see note 489) for a law on an eight-hour working day. However, he also suggested setting up independent unions of English and Irish workers at every enterprise; this applied, in particular, to the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union in London and Ulster (see note 565).

640. The appeal of the Social Democratic parliamentary group in the Reichstag 'An die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen Deutschland!' was adopted at its meeting in Halle on 13 April 1890 and published in the newspaper *Berliner Volksblatt* on 15 April 1890. The appeal contained the party leadership's reply to the demand by the opposition of 'Die Jungen' ('The Young', see note 646) to stage a general strike on May 1. The appeal pointed to the danger of such a demand under the conditions of the still operating Anti-Socialist law, after the Reichstag election of 20 February 1890, when all kinds of provocations were possible on the part of the ruling quarters. It appealed instead to German workers to give no support to the idea of a

general strike and to resort to work stoppages only whenever a serious conflict could be avoided; otherwise it advised the workers not to go beyond holding demonstration and rallies. The May 1 strikes held in some German towns involved about ten per cent of the labour force.

641. Part of this letter, in the language of the original, was first published in *Die New Yorker Volksezeitung* on 10 May 1890. A fragment of the letter was published in English for the first time in *Labour Monthly*, 1934, No. 5, pp309-11.

642. The Bloomsbury Socialist Society, which had the local branch of the Socialist League (see note 21) as a nucleus, took form as an independent organisation in August 1888, after breaking with the Socialist League where anarchist elements had gained the upper hand. The Society was led by E. Marx-Aveling and E. Aveling; one of its members was F. Lessner, a friend and associate of Marx and Engels. In subsequent years the Bloomsbury Socialist Society carried on active propaganda and agitation work in London's East End. It was one of the organisers of the May Day demonstration of 1890. Its representatives were among the Central Committee that organised a meeting in London's Hyde Park on 4 May 1890 (see note 643).

643. The reference is to the 'Central Committee of representatives of ' new trade unions' and of radical and socialist clubs (about the radical clubs, see note 22) set up for organising the 4 May demonstration in London. The Committee continued its activities in subsequent months in pursuit of the struggle for a law on a eight-hour working day and for implementing the decisions of the socialist International Working Men's Congress of 1889; it came out for setting up a workingmen's party. The leader of the Central Committee was E. Aveling, who maintained close contacts with Engels. In July 1890 the Committee gave rise to an organisation which came to be known as 'The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League'.

644. A. Bebel's report was published in *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 17, on 25 April 1890 in the regular feature: 'Ausland. Deutschland' and marked: 'Berlin 22 April'.

645. Replying to Engels on 9 April 1890 Bebel said he subscribed to Engels' opinion about the psychological condition of Emperor William II.

646. Late in March 1890 a group of Berlin Social Democrats, Max Schippel among them, promulgated an appeal under the heading 'Was soll am 1 Mai geschehen?' in which it urged workmen to stage a general strike on that day. This appeal epitomised the position of the 'Young' – petty bourgeois, semi-anarchist oppositional group within German Social Democracy that took shape in 1890. This group was led by college students and raw litterati (hence the name of the opposition, the 'Young') who would arrogate to themselves the role of the party's theoreticians and leaders – such men as Paul Ernst, Paul Kampfmeyer, Hans Müller, Prune Wille among others. Ignoring the changed situation for the party's activity after the repeal of the

Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the 'Young' denied the legal forms of struggle and opposed Social Democrats taking part in the Reichstag elections and making use of the Reichstag as a political tribune; they would demagogically accuse the party and its Executive of promoting the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and of opportunism, of violating democracy within the party ranks. In October 1891 the Erfurt Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany expelled some of the opposition leaders from the party.

647. A reference to the first May Day demonstration of London workers held on Sunday, 4 May 1890. Despite the attempts of reformist trade union leaders and Henry Hyndman, a Socialist with opportunist leanings, to foist class collaborationist slogans on the demonstration, it showed the readiness of the broadest masses of London workers to wage a struggle for socialist demands. The bulk of the demonstrators – about 200,000 strong – supported the slogans of the British supporters of Marx. Playing the chief role in the demonstration were Gas Workers and the London Dockers, who were the first to launch a struggle in the 1880s for 'new' mass trade unions to be set up (see note 489) and for legal eight hours. The demonstration culminated in a huge rally in London's Hyde Park. For more detail about the first May Day celebration and the demonstration of May 4 in London, see Engels' article 'May 4 in London' (present edition, Vol. 27).
648. E. Bernstein's report carried in *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 103, on 6 May 1890 and marked: London, 4 May.
649. The English text of the present letter was first published in *The Labour Monthly*, No. 8, 1955.
650. *The People's Press* of 10 May 1890, devoted nearly 8 pages to the Hyde Park rally on 4 May (see note 647).
651. The present letter was first published in English in: Engels F., Lafargue P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891-1895, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1963, pp71.
652. Engels cites from Nikolai Danielson's letter to him, 17 May 1890. The reference is to P. Lafargue's article about the evolution of property; this article was not published in the *Northern Review*.
653. This refers to the dissolution of General Boulanger's National Republican Committee after a major defeat of his supporters at the municipal election in Paris on 27 April, 4 May 1890.
654. The present letter was written on a post card; the corner of the leaf with a postage stamp is off. The reconstituted parts of the text are enclosed in the brackets.
655. A fragment of this letter in English was first published in *Labour Monthly*, London 1934, No. 6, p380.
656. A reference to an open letter of F. Sorge and F. Schlüter to A. Sartorius von Waltershausen with a protest against the characterisation of Marx in the

book *Der moderne Sozialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Berlin, 1890. This letter was published by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22.

657. A reference to 'The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League' founded in 1890 by a group of British Socialists with E. Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling at the head and with Engels' participation. The League sprang from the Central Committee that organised the first May Day demonstration in Britain in 1890.
658. In view of the publication by the newspaper *Volksstimme* on 16 September 1890 of P. Ernst's article distorting Engels' pronouncements and claiming him to have made common cause with the 'Young' (see note 646), Engels wrote an article entitled 'Reply to Mr Paul Ernst (see present edition, Vol. 27) where he inserted part of the present letter. A fragment from this letter was first published in English in Ibsen, *A Marxist Analysis*, Angel Flores (ed), Critics Group, New York 1937, pp21-24.
659. Engels replies to P. Ernst's letter of 31 May 1890, in which the latter asked for help in his polemics with G. Bahr who had the journal *Die Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, Heft 17, 28 Mai 1890, publish the article 'Zur Frauenfrage. Die Epigonen des Marxismus' which criticised Ernst's article 'Die Frauenfrage und soziale Frage' published by *Die Freie Bühne*, Heft 15, 14 Mai 1890.
660. A reference to *La Charte octroyée* promulgated in 1814 by the French King Louis XVIII and granting a constitutional monarchy. In keeping with this charter, the top of the commercial and financial bourgeoisie were allowed to share power with the nobility.
661. Engels means a Constitution endorsed by the Norwegian Representative Assembly at Eidsvoll in 1814 after the model of the French Constitution of 1791.
662. 'Vaterlandslosen Gesellen' ('Fellows without Fatherland') – a description that Emperor William II gave to the Social Democrats.
663. Danielson congratulated F. Engels on the victory of the German Social Democratic party at the election to the Reichstag on 20 February 1890 (see note 599).
664. On 22 January 1890, N. Danielson sent the *Statistical Yearbook for the Moscow Gubernia for 1889* to Engels and recommended that he read N. Chernenkov's articles in it, 'The Peasant Credit in the Moscow Gubernia in the Light of Correspondents' Reports' and 'Some Data on Peasant Public Loans in the Moscow Gubernia (According to Studies Carried out in 1876-78)'.
665. The reference is to the revolt of 1745-46 staged by supporters of the royal Stuart dynasty who demanded that the 'Young Pretender', Charles Edward Stuart, ascend to the throne. Regular government troops crushed the rebellion. This set in rapid process the disintegration of the clan system in the Highlands, with land seizure assuming ever broader proportions.

666. Engels replies to F. Schlüter's letter of 3 June 1890 in which he said he had been appointed editor of the annual *Pionier, Illustrierter Volks-Kalender* published by the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. Schlüter asked Engels for permission to publish in it the Marx biography which Engels wrote in 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24) and to supplement this biography by describing the last years of Marx's life.
667. On 1 July 1890, an agreement was signed providing for the transfer of the administration of the Island of Heligoland in the North Sea from Britain to Germany in exchange for Zanzibar and other German colonies in Africa.
668. Die Streusandbüchse (the sandbox) of the German Reich was the name given to the Brandenburger Mark with Berlin as the capital city.
669. A reference to F. Lassalle's proposal to Marx in January 1861 to publish a joint newspaper in Berlin; the preconditions made by Lassalle ruled out Marx's and Engels' participation in the project. About the reasons for the refusal of Marx and Engels to co-operate, see present edition Vol. 41 (Marx to Engels, 29 January 1861, Marx to Engels, 14 February 1861, Marx to Engels, 7 May 1861).
670. In his letter of 13 June 1890, L. Kugelmann asked Engels to send him a *Daily Telegraph* with Kingstone's article on his meeting with Bismarck.
671. Engels wrote these lines on a post card. Indicated on the reverse side was the address: Herrn Reichstagsabg. W. Liebknecht, Fürbringerstr.17, II, Berlin, Germany.
672. Probably W. Liebknecht requested Engels to write a refutation to the newspaper *Justice* over the publication in it, 21 June 1890, No. 336, Vol. VII, of a commentary under the heading 'Make a Note of This!'. In it, with reference to one of the Possibilist leaders, Paul Brousse, as a source, Liebknecht was reported to have made the following statement on behalf of the German Social Democratic Party: 'We are not revolutionaries', and he allegedly said that the German Social Democrats were pinning all hopes on propaganda, not on revolutionary actions. On 28 June 1890, *Justice*, No. 337, Vol. VII, carried F. Gilles' letter to the editorial board 'German Social Democrats still Revolutionists'. Gilles made it clear that even though Liebknecht might have uttered the statement ascribed to him, he could in no way speak on behalf of the party which, at all its congresses, reasserted its loyalty to revolutionary principles. On 2 August 1890, *The People's Press* published explanations from Liebknecht concerning the assertions of *Justice*.
673. In mid August 1890 Engels spent 4 weeks at Folkestone, a small resort near Dover.
674. The first Congress of the German Social Democratic Party after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52) took place at Halle on 12-18 October 1890. It was attended by 413 delegates. The congress endorsed the party rules and, at Liebknecht's suggestion, passed a decision on drafting a new Programme to be submitted at the next party congress at Erfurt and on

having this Draft Programme published three months before the congress for discussion at local party organisations and in the press. The Halle Congress likewise considered the issue of the party press and the party's attitude to strikes and boycotts.

675. Engels means the annual tour of northern countries by Emperor William II; in 1890 it took place between 27 June and 28 July (see also F. Engels' letter to K. Kautsky of 18 September 1890, present edition, Vol. 49).
676. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He put down the following address on the back: F.A. Sorge Esq., Hoboken N.Y., US America which someone corrected to: Hoboken N.Y., US America in Mt. Desert, Maine.
677. The owners of the gas enterprises of Leeds demanded that workers be hired for a term of 4 months without a right to participate in strike action during this period. The volume of work done in an 8-hour day was supposed to be 25 per cent higher than what had been performed before, that is, when the working day had been longer. These entrepreneurial conditions, amounting to an actual annihilation of the Gas Workers and General Labourers' Union and of the hard-won legal working hours, caused anger and counter-action amongst the working men. Early in July 1890 it came to clashes between strikers and blacklegs, the latter being supported by the police. The stubborn resistance of the striking workers made the strike-breakers and troops retreat. The employers had to withdraw their demands. The exploit of one of the heroes or the Leeds strike, Will Thorne, received high praise from Engels who presented him with a copy of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* bearing the following dedication: 'To Will Thorne, the victor of the Leeds with fraternal greetings from Frederick Engels'.
678. K. Kautsky took part in the work on the MS of volume IV of *Capital*, 'Theories of Surplus Value' (see note 353).

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Anneke, Friedrich (1818-1872) – Prussian artillery officer, member of the Communist League; one of the founders and secretary of the Cologne Workers' Association in 1848; editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and the Civil War in the USA (1861-65): 399

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Aveling, Edward Bibbins (1851-1898) – English journalist, socialist; a translator of Volume I of *Capital* into English; member of the Social Democratic Federation from 1884, later a founder of the Socialist League (December 1884); an organiser of the mass movement of the unskilled workers and the unemployed in the late 1880s-early 1890s; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889; Eleanor Marx's husband: 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15-20, 21-2, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 37-9, 41-2, 43-4, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50-1, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 66, 70-2, 73, 74, 76, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88,91, 92, 96, 101, 112, 113, 116, 119, 123, 150, 157, 158,170, 173, 184-5, 186, 192,

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Balfour, Arthur James, 1st Earl of (1848-1930) – British statesman, MP (1874-1922), Chief Secretary for Ireland (1887-91), leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons (1891-1902, with intervals), Prime Minister (1902-05): 155, 159

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Bangya, János (1817-1868) – Hungarian journalist and officer, participant in the 1848-49 Revolution in Hungary; after its defeat, Kossuth's emissary abroad and at the same time agent-provocateur; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey, acting as a Turkish agent in the Caucasus: 142

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Baslu, Émile Joseph (1854-1928) – French socialist, active trade union member, miner, repeatedly elected to the Chamber of Deputies: 53, 381

Bateman, George – English socialist, printer, member of the Social Democratic Federation: 331, 359, 377, 448

Battenberg, Alexander Joseph (1857-1893) – son of the Prince of Hesse, Prince Alexander I of Bulgaria (1879-86), pursued a pro-Austrian and pro-German policy: 41, 58, 174

Baudin, Eugène (1853-1918) – French socialist, Blanquist, worker at a porcelain factory, member of the

First International, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune lived in England (1871-81); returned to France after amnesty; elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1889 and 1893: 381, 383, 384

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Bax, Ernest Belfort (1854-1926) – British socialist, historian, philosopher and journalist; one of the first exponents of Marxism in England; active left-wing member of the Social Democratic Federation; a founder of the Socialist League; a publisher of *The Commonweal* (from 1884): 11, 70, 78, 88, 93, 108, 262, 264, 269, 310, 328, 387, 417, 418-9, 422, 427, 449, 457, 458

Bebel, Ferdinand August (1840-1913) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; member of the First International, deputy to the North German (1867-70) and to the German Reichstag (1871-81 and from 1883); a founder and leader of German Social Democracy and the Second International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 31, 35-7, 76, 94-5, 98-9, 103, 104, 107, 109, 120, 150, 158, 159, 173-6, 233-5, 237, 239, 244, 245-7, 255, 256, 261, 265, 273, 277, 278, 280, 285, 286, 288, 292, 294, 296, 301, 305, 314, 317, 322, 325, 329, 333, 335, 341, 345, 346, 349, 356, 380, 383, 391, 402, 407, 427, 443, 450-3, 474, 490, 492-5, 509-10

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Beck, Grigori – member of People's freedom circles in Russia and abroad in mid-1880s; lived in emigration from 1886: 482, 483, 484

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; brush-maker; took part in the revolutionary democratic movement in Germany and Switzerland in the 1830s-40s and the 1848-49 revolution, active member of the First International, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and all the congresses of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 322, 458

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Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932) – German Social Democrat; journalist, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90), a leader of the German Social Democrats; produced a 'reformist' revision of Marxism in the latter half of the 1890s: 57-9. 67, 108, 109, 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 198, 200, 204, 221, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 231, 232, 237,239, 257, 258, 259, 261, 264, 265, 269, 273, 275, 276, 280, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 300, 301-2, 303, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 321, 322, 325, 328, 330, 333, 336, 364-5, 373, 375, 391, 407, 419, 426, 438, 444, 450-3, 453, 461, 472, 476, 482, 483, 484, 493, 494, 501,

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Besant, Annie (1847-1933) – British radical, theosophist; participated in

socialist movement for some time; member of the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation in the 1880s; took part in organising the trade union movement of unskilled workers: 74, 76, 108, 152, 183

Beust, Friedrich von (1817-1899) – Prussian army officer, took part in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; after its defeat, emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA; member of the Zurich local section of the International; professor of pedagogics: 85, 88, 108, 185

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Binning, Thomas – prominent figure in the English working-class movement; compositor; member of the Socialist League; an organiser of the North of England Socialist Federation (1887): 70

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Bland, Hubert (1856-1914) – British socialist, journalist, a founder of the Fabian Society, its treasurer and member of the Executive Committee up to 1911; member of the Social Democratic Federation: 152

Block – German-born American socialist, Secretary of the German bakers' trade union and editor of its newspaper: 192

Block, R. – son of the above: 192

Blos, Wilhelm (1849-1927) – German politician and historian; member of Social Demcerats from 1872; editor of *Der Volksstaat* and deputy to the Reichstag: 474, 492

Blum, Robert (1807-1848) – German democrat, journalist; leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna against counter-revolutionary forces in October 1848; shot after the fall of the city: 252

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Bonnier, Charles (b. 1863) – French socialist, journalist, active member of the Workers' Party; lived in England for a long time, contributed to the socialist press, took part in preparations for the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891: 278, 280, 287, 289, 294, 296, 297, 301, 306, 308, 309, 316, 318, 331, 407, 412, 431, 432

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Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie (1837-1891) – French general, War Minister (1886-87); strove to establish military dictatorship in France: 58, 85, 165, 166, 170-1, 175-6, 181, 190, 196-7, 212, 223, 236, 237, 246, 247, 253, 259, 261-2, 264, 274, 282, 288, 309, 314, 319, 368, 372, 382, 385, 397, 406, 412, 445, 481, 498

Boulé – French socialist and active trade union member, Blanquist; stonecutter; socialist candidate at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in January 1889, delegate to the International Socialist

Workers' Congress of 1889: 313, 316, 328, 407

Bowen, Paul T. – prominent figure in the American trade union movement, delegate of the Washington trade union organisations to the Possibilist Congress in Paris (1889): 353

Boyer, Antoine Jean Baptiste (Antide) (1850-1918) – French socialist; potter, later office worker; repeatedly elected to the Chamber of Deputies, an organiser of the parliamentary workers' party: 383, 404, 481

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891) – English journalist and politician, Radical, atheist, editor of *The National Reformer* (from 1860): 71, 78, 113, 152

Braun, Heinrich (1854-1927) – German Social Democrat, a founder of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883), editor of the *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* and several other press organs: 250, 277, 422

Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph) (1844-1931) – German economist: 230

Brismée, Désiré (1823-1888) – prominent figure in the Belgian democratic and working-class movement; printer; Proudhonist, member of the First International, delegate to its Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses, sided with the Bakunists, later abandoned anarchism; member of the Executive Committee of the Belgian Workers' Party: 177

Broadhurst, Henry (1840-1911) – British politician, a trade union leader; stonemason, later trade union official; Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1875-90), Liberal MP (from 1880), Under-Secretary of State for the Home Office: 104, 177, 333, 334, 360, 377, 437

Brocher, Gustave (1850-1931) – member of the international revolutionary movement, active exponent of atheism; teacher, French by birth; lived in Russia in the late 1860s-early 1870s, associated with the Narodniks (Populists); lived in London in 1874-93 where he met Marx and Engels; sided with anarchists for some time: 358

Brousse, Paul Louis Marie (1840-1912) – French politician; socialist, physician; member of the First International (till 1872); a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune lived in emigration in Spain and Switzerland, sided with the anarchists; after his return to France in 1880 joined the French Workers' Party, later a leader of the Possibilists: 13, 14, 65, 93, 238, 287, 291, 294, 296, 297, 298, 313, 323, 324, 333, 335, 336, 338, 350, 356

Bruhn, Karl von (b. 1803) – German journalist, member of the Communist League, expelled in 1850; supporter of the Willich-Schapper group; editor of the Lassallean *Nordstern* in Hamburg (1861-66): 142

Buhl, Ludwig Heinrich Franz (1814-c. 1882) – German journalist, a Young Hegelian, author of pamphlets in the *Patriot* series: 393

Bunting, Sir Percy William (1836-1911) – British journalist, publisher of *The Contemporary Review* (1882-1911), Liberal: 461

Buonarroti, Filippo Michele (1761-1837) – Italian revolutionary, utopian communist, prominent figure in the revolutionary movement in France at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries; François Babeuf's associate: 58

Burns, John (1858-1943) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the New

Trade Unions in the 1880s, leader of the London dockers' strike (1889); adopted a liberal trade union stand in the 1890s: 66, 141, 156, 330, 331, 334, 359, 360, 369, 370, 376, 377, 389, 390, 418, 420, 431, 436, 437, 442, 448, 485

Burns, William (Willie) – nephew of Lydia Burns (Engels' second wife): 206, 207

Burt, Thomas (1837-1922) – English miner, secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association, MP (1874-1918), supporter of the Liberal Party: 81

Caffarel, Louis Charles (1829-1907) – French general, deputy chief of the General Staff in 1887, was compelled to resign because of involvement in speculation with orders (1887): 107

Campbell, Ellen – American, friend of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky: 153

Caraccioli, Louis Antoine, Marquis (1721-1803) – French writer and journalist: 269

Carnot, Marie François Sadi (1837-1894) – French statesman, republican, repeatedly held ministerial posts; President of the Republic (1887-94): 123, 197

Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio (1832-1899) – Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of the right-wing Republicans; President of the Republic (September 1873 –January 1874); deputy to the Cortes after the restoration of monarchy in 1874: 458

Cervantes de Saavedra, Migel (1547-1616): 180

Champion, Henry Hyde (1859-1928) – English socialist, publisher and journalist; member of the Social Democratic Federation till 1887, later a leader of the trade unionist Labour Electoral Association in London; edited and published the *Labour Elector*; emigrated in the 1890s to Australia where he took an active part in the working-class movement: 11, 66, 108, 252, 331, 359, 377, 389, 390, 418, 436, 448, 449, 485

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889) – Russian revolutionary democrat, philosopher, writer and literary critic, predecessor of Russian Social Democrats: 484, 506

Christensen, P. – Danish Social Democrat: 307

Clemenceau, Georges (Eugène Benjamin) (1841-1929) – French politician and journalist, Radical leader from the 1880s, editor and publisher of *La Justice*: 65-6, 109-10, 124, 190, 368

Cloots, Jean Baptiste Baron de (Anacharsis) (1755-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution, Dutchman by birth; close to the left-wing Jacobins, member of the Convention: 413, 414, 415

Cluseret, Gustave Paul (1823-1900) – French politician, member of the First International, sided with the Bakuninists; took part in the revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1879); a Communard; after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and later to the USA; returned to France after amnesty; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1888, sided with socialists; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 383, 385

Cohn, Gustav (1840-1919) – German economist, professor in Zurich from 1875, and at Göttingen university from 1884: 221

Colletta, Pietro (1775-1831) – Italian politician and historian: 179

Conrad, Johannes Ernst (1839-1915) – German economist, professor,

publisher of the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* and other reference publications containing economic and statistical information: 250, 477

Cornelius, Wilhelm – German journalist; one of Marx's friends; refugee in London in the 1850s; businessman: 393

Crawford, Emily (1831-1915) – Irish journalist, Paris correspondent of the *Daily News, Truth* and *New York Tribune*: 58,m161, 385, 408

Cremer, Sir William Randall (1838-1903) – active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement, member of the General Council of the First International and its General Secretary (1864-66); Liberal MP (from 1885): 65, 81, 158, 418

Creuzer, Georg Freidrich (1771-1858) – German philologist, author of several works on mythology, art and literature of antiquity: 29

Croll, Cornelius (1857-1895) – Dutch Social Democrat, journalist: 460

Cunninghame Graham, Robert Bontine (1852-1936) – Scottish writer and politician; came from an aristocratic family; took part in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s-90s; MP (1886-92), delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889; later prominent in the Scottish national movement: 156, 157, 159, 245, 330, 359, 448

Cuno, Theodor Friedrich (1846-1934) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; engineer; Socialist; fought against anarchists in Italy; organiser of the Milan section of the First International, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); emigrated to the USA where he took part in the International's activity; a leader of the American labour organisation, The Knights of Labor: 202, 203, 210

Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich (pen-name *Nikolai-on*) (1844-1918) – Russian economist, journalist; a theoretician of Narodism (Populism) in the 1880s-90s; corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years; translated into Russian (together with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lybavin) volumes I II and III of Marx's *Capital*: 26-7, 52, 100, 135-7, 228-30, 319, 331, 346-7, 351-2, 415-6, 497, 506-7, 520

Dante, Alighieri (1265-321): 364

Danton, Georges Jacques (1759-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution of the late 18th century, leader of the right-wing Jacobins: 268, 414

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882) – English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection and evolution: 230

Daumas, Augustin Honoré (b. 1826) – French politician; mechanic; elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the 1870s-80s, the Senate in the late 1880s; member of the Paris City Council in 1889, sided with the socialist group; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 328

Davies, Sir John (1569-1626) – British statesman, lawyer and poet; attorney-general for Ireland (from 1606); author of several works on the history of Ireland:

Davitt, Michael (1846-1906) – Irish revolutionary democrat, an organiser (1879) and leader of the Land League, champion of the Home Rule in Ireland; MP (1895-99); took part in the English working-class movement: 49, 486

Delahaye, Pierre Louis (b. 1820) – French mechanic, Proudhonist;

member of the First International from 1865; a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International and of the British Federal Council (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871); returned to France in 1879: 192

Dell, Robert Edward (1865-1940) – British journalist, Fabian, editor of *The People's Press*: 485, 513, 518

Demuth, Helen (Lenchen, Nim) (1820-1890) – housekeeper and devoted friend of the Marx family: 11, 13, 35, 41, 54, 66, 77, 84, 94, 160, 166, 175, 184, 186, 189, 191, 194, 196, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 224, 225, 226, 227, 237, 240, 243, 259, 264, 300, 306, 343, 379, 387, 390, 408, 409, 410, 426, 435, 438, 458, 481, 509, 519

De Paepe, César (1841-1890) – Belgian socialist; compositor, subsequently physician; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the First International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council, delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) Congresses and London Conference (1871) of the First International and the Ghent International Socialist Congress (1877); a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885): 56, 57, 407

Deville, Gabriel Pierre (1854-1940) – French socialist, exponent of Marxism, member of the French Workers' Party, journalist, author of a popular exposition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 41, 79, 107, 180-1, 243, 263, 273, 313, 404, 432

Derossi, Karl (1844-1910) – German Social Democrat, Lassallean; emigrated to Switzerland in 1879 and later to the USA: 500

Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm (1843-1922) – German publisher, Social Democrat, founded the Social Democratic publishing house (1881), deputy to the Reichstag (from 1881): 277, 461, 465, 466, 471, 472,

Dietzgen, Joseph (1828-1888) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tanner; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism, champion of Marxism; member of the First International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; emigrated to the USA in 1884: 43

Diez, Friedrich Christian (1794-1876) – German linguist, a founder of comparative historical linguistics, author of *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*: 132

Dilke, Margaret Mary (b. 1857) – widow of the British politician and journalist Ashton Wentworth Dilke, owner of the *Weekly Dispatch*: 161

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield from 1876 (1804-1881) – British politician and author, leader of the Conservative Party, Prime Minister (1868) and 1874-80): 118, 120, 153

Douai, Karl Daniel Adolph (1819-1888) – French-born German journalist; democrat, later socialist; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; participated in the American socialist movement; editor of several socialist newspapers, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* among them (1878-88): 21

Dufourny de Villiers, Louis Pierre (1739-1796) – politician of the French Revolution, pamphleteer: 269

Dühring, Eugen Karl (1833-1921) – German philosopher, economist, lawyer; socialist; lecturer at Berlin university (1863-77): 249

Dumay, Jean Baptiste (1841-1926) – French mechanic; leader of the Greusot Commune in 1871; sentenced to exile, fled to Switzerland; returned to Franch after amnesty, member of the Paris City Council from 1887, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-93), Possibilist: 381, 383

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889) – German tailor and journalist, prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, member of the Communist League, member of the General Council of the First International (1864-72), the Council's General Secretary (1867-71); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; supported Marx and Engels up to the Hague Congress of 1872; member of the English trade union movement in the 1870s-80s: 14, 178, 335

Echegaray y Eizaguirre, José (1833-1916) – Spanish playwright, mathematician, engineer and politician, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences from 1866, elected to the Cortes in 1868; Minister of Trade, Finances and Education (1868-74): 321

Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm (1833-1895) – German socialist and journalist, refugee in London in 1861-66; member of the First International from 1868, one of its first historians; member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany from 1869, editor of several legal workers' papers in the 1880s: 166-7

Ellen – servant of Engels: 368

Ellis, George Billow – representative of an American industrial firm in London: 405

Ellissen, O. Adolph – gymnasium teacher at Einbeck: 395

Ely, Richard Theodore (1854-1943) – American economist, professor of politicial economy at university of Wisconsin, author: 501, 517

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905) Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen; a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen: 204, 218, 366-7, 434-5, 514-5

Engels, Hermann Friedrich Theodor (1858-1926) – Hermann Engels' son, manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm:

Estrup, Jacob Brönnum Scavenius (1825-1913) – Danish statesman, Minister of the Interior (1865-69), Finance Minister and Prime Minister (1875-94), Conservative: 423, 424

Eudes, Emile François Désiré (1843-1888) – French revolutionary, Blanquist, general of the National Guard, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; on his return to France after amnesty of 1880 an organiser of the Central Revolutionary Committee of Blanquists: 246

Evreinoff, 497

Farjat, Gabriel (1857-1930) – French socialist, weaver; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); General Secretary of the National Trade Union Federation of France (1886), delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891: 328-9, 332

Faucher, Julius (Jules) (1820-1878) – German journalist, economist, a young Hegelian; a founder of the German party for free trade, emigrant in England in 1850-61, contributed to the *Morning Star* from 1856; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Party of Progress, National Liberal from 1866: 393

Ferroul, Joseph Antoine Jean Frédéric Ernest (1853-1921) – French politician, journalist, physician, socialist, member of the French Workers' Party; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1888-93 and 1899-1902); delegate to the international Socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891: 383, 385

Ferry, Jules François Camille (1832-1893) – French lawyer, journalist and politician; a leader of moderate republicans; member of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85): 107, 110, 113, 124, 150, 246, 259, 314, 368, 385, 412

Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804-1872) – German philosopher: 463

Field, Arthur (b. 1869) – English socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation, journalist: 342

Fischer, Paul – German Social Democrat, contributed to the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*: 364

Fischer, Richard (1855-1926) – German Social Democrat, journalist; compositor; Secretary of the Party's Executive Committee (1890-93), member of the Reichstag (1893-1926), a publisher of *Vorwärts*: 373, 426, 438, 450

Floquet, Charles Thomas (1828-1896) – French statesman, Radical; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1871-93), repeatedly elected its chairman, Prime Minister (1888-89); was compelled to withdraw from active political work after the exposure in 1892 of his implication in the Panama Canal swindle: 196-7, 261

Fortin, Edouard – French socialist, journalist, member of the French Workers' Party: 14, 24, 40

Foster, Rachel – American public figure; Secretary of the National Society of Struggle for Women's Franchise: 55

Fox, Charles James (1749-1806) – English statesman, orator, a Whig leader, Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806): 424

Frankel, Leo (1844-1896) – prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweller; a Communard; member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels: 88

Frederick II (1712-1786) – King of Prussia (1740-86): 273, 456

Frederick III (1831-1888) – King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany (March-June 1888): 111, 114, 138, 140-1, 146, 151, 163, 164-5, 174-5, 177-8, 181, 190, 222, 451, 473

Frederick William IV (1795-1861) – King of Prussia (1840-61): 250

Fréjac (Fréjac de Commentary), Raoul (b. 1849) – French socialist, member of the French Workers' Party, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 329

Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saulces de (1828-1932) – French statesman and diplomat, moderate republican, repeatedly held ministerial posts, Prime Minister (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92): 124

Frohme, Karl Franz Egon (1850-1933) – German journalist, Social Democrat, Lassallean in the 1870s, later a leader of reformist wing in the German Social Democratic Party, deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-1918), delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 in Paris: 30

Fullerton, John (1780-1849) – British economist, author of works on money circulation and credit, oppo-

nent of the quantitative theory of money: 347

Geffcken, Friedrich Heinrich (1830-1896) – German diplomat and lawyer, author of several works on the history of international law: 253

Geiser, Bruno (1846-1896) – German Social Democrat, journalist, editor of *Die Neue Welt*; deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87) where he belonged to the right wing of the Social Democratic group, expelled from the Social Democratic Party in the late 1880s; Wilhelm Liebknecht's son-in-law: 30, 107, 363, 400

Gély, André – French socialist, Possibilist: 292

George, Henry (1839-1897) – American journalist, economist: 51, 79, 84, 91, 101, 102, 103, 486

Georgei, Max – American delegate of the German Workers' Club in Washington to the Possibilists' Congress in Paris (1889): 353

Gilles, Ferdinand (born c. 1856) – German journalist, Social Democrat; moved to London in 1886, contributed to the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*; took part in the work of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; exposed as a police agent in 1891: 141, 512-3

Girardin, Émile de (1806-1881) – French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse* and *La Liberté*; moderate republican during the 1848-49 Revolution, later Bonapartist: 107, 110-1

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898) – British statesman, Tory, later a leader of the Liberal Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94): 108, 113, 253, 360-1, 418, 444, 445, 461, 468

Goegg, Amand (1820-1897) – German journalist, democrat, member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the revolution; member of the First International; joined the German Social Democrats in the 1870s: 189

Gottschalk, Andreas (1815-1849) – German physician, member of the Communist League's community in Cologne; President of the Cologne Workers' Association in April-June 1848; exponent of 'Left' tendencies in the German working-class movement: 398-9

Goullé, Albert Frédéric (1844-1918) – French socialist, member of the First International, journalist, Blanquist, contributed to *Le Cri du Peuple* from 22 February to 23 May 1871 and to the renewed *Cri du Peuple* from October 1883, also to *La Voie du Peuple* in February-March 1887; emigrant in London: 41

Granger, Ernest Henri (b. 1844) – French socialist, Blanquist, journalist; a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to England; returned to France after amnesty, joined the Boulangist movement, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889: 397

Grévy, François Paul Jules (1807-1891) – French statesman, moderate republican, President of the Republic (1879-87): 107, 110, 113

Grillenberger, Karl (1848-1897) – German Social Democrat, worker, later journalist, publisher of several Social Democratic newspapers; deputy to the German Reichstag from 1881; belonged to the right wing of the Social Democratic Party of Germany: 461

Gronlund, Laurence (1846-1899) – Danish-born American socialist, journalist; member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor

Party of North America from 1887: 152, 465

Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand (pen-name *Ernst von der Heide*) (1817-1887) – German journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, democrat during the 1848-49 Revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (left wing); emigrant in Brussels (1850-61); professor in Frankfurt am Main (1862-65) and Vienna (from 1870): 234, 235

Grunzig, Julius (b. 1855) – German Social Democrat, banished from Berlin during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law; emigrated to the USA in the 1880s; contributed to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*: 90

Guebhard – French physician, owner of *Le Cri du Peuple*, Caroline Rémy Séverine's husband: 13

Guesde, Jules (real name *Mathieu Jules Basile*) (1845-1922) – prominent figure in the French and international working-class and socialist movement; initially republican, sided with the anarchists in the first half of the 1870s; founder (1877) and editor of *L'Egalité*; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); leader of the revolutionary wing in the French socialist movement for a number of years: 13, 75, 93, 243, 263, 273, 313, 330, 377, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384, 385, 388, 397, 403, 411-2, 419, 431, 432, 481, 490, 496

Guillaume-Schack, Gertrud (née *Countess Schack*) (1845-1905) – German socialist, prominent figure in the women's working-class movement in Germany: 58, 70-2, 73, 76, 77, 78, 83, 84, 120, 156, 409, 461

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874) – French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), in 1847 also Prime Minister: 110, 386

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893) – German physician resident in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels: 128, 409

Hales, John (b. 1839) – British trade unionist, weaver; member of the General Council of the First International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872; expelled from the International in May 1873: 252

Hardie, James Keir (1856-1915) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement; miner, later journalist; founder and leader of the Scottish Labour Party (from 1888): 318

Harkness, Margaret Elise (pseudonym *John Law*) – British author, socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation, contributed to the *Justice*, wrote stories about workers' life: 166-8, 344, 345, 409

Harney, George Julian (1817-1897) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a Chartist leader (left wing); editor of several Chartist papers; lived in the USA from 1863 to 1888 (with intervals); members of the First International; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels: 208-9, 379, 431

Harney, Mary: 208, 265, 271

Hartmann, Lev Nikolayevich (1850-1913) – Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (Populist), took part in acts of terrorism with the Narodnaya Volya organisation against Alexander II in 1879, after which emigrated to France, later to England and to the USA in 1881: 355, 361, 378

Hasenclever, Wilhelm (1837-1889) – German Social Democrat, journalist, Lassallean; President of the General

Association of German Workers (1871-75); one of the two chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1875-76); together with Wilhelm Liebknecht edited *Vorwärts* (1876-78); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1869-71, 1874-78 and 1879-88): 154

Haupt, Christian – foundryman; German police agent in Geneva from 1880, exposed in 1887: 130

Hawthorne, Nathaniel (1804-1864) – American author: 184

Hébert, Jacques René (1757-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Left-wing Jacobins: 414

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831) – German philosopher: 117-8, 130, 239, 410

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856) – German revolutionary poet: 117-8, 130, 239, 410

Hepner, Adolf (1846-1923) – German Social Democrat, an editor of *Der Volksstaat*, delegate to the Hague Congress of the First International (1872); member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, later emigrated to the USA: 418

Herkner, Heinrich (1863-1932) – German economist: 118

Hess, Moses (1812-1875) – German radical writer, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, member of the Communist League; after its split joined the Willich-Schapper group; member of the General Association of German workers; member of the First International, delegate to its Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses: 234, 235, 398

Hildebrand, Max – schoolteacher in Berlin, adherent of Max Stirner, collected biographical material about the latter: 393-5

Hoch, Gustav (1862-1942) – German Social Democrat, writer and journalist: 250

Hovelacque, Alexandre Abel (1843-1896) – French linguist, anthropologist and politician, socialist radical, Chairman of the Paris City Council (1889-94), member of the Chamber of Deputies: 261

Howell, George (1833-1910) – British mason, a reformist leader of the British trade unions; former Chartist; member of the General Council of the First International (October 1864 to 1869); Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress, Liberal MP (1885-95): 65, 81, 158

Hunter, William Alexander (1844-1898) – British politician, lawyer, MP (1885-96), liberal, editor of the *Weekly Dispatch*: 161

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-1895) – English natural scientist, associate of Charles Darwin: 458

Hyndman, Henry Mayers (pseudonym *John Broadhouse*) (1842-1921) – British socialist; founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation, transformed into the Social Democratic Federation in 1884, later a leader of the British Socialist Party: 11, 14, 40, 51, 59, 65, 66, 83, 108, 159, 177, 252, 264, 269, 273, 275, 281, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296, 306, 308, 310, 311, 316, 323, 324, 328, 330, 332, 333, 335, 336, 338, 341, 359, 365, 369, 376, 380, 387, 407, 417, 449, 489, 490, 496

Ibsen, Henrik (1828-1906) – Norwegian playwright: 321, 503, 505

Iglesias, Posse Pablo (1850-1925) – prominent figure in the Spanish working-class movement; printer, journalist; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the First International (1871-72), fought against anarchists; a founder of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain

(1879), later a leader of its reformist wing; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 458

Ihring, Ferdinand – employee of the German political police; as an agent provocateur in one of the Berlin workers' societies, assumed the name of Malov in 1885; was exposed in February 1886: 175

Isaacs, Henry Aaron – Lord Mayor of London (1889-90): 418

Jaclard, Charles Victor (1843-1903) – French socialist, Blanquist, journalist, member of the First International, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated; returned to France after the 1880 amnesty, continued to take part in the socialist movement: 349, 381

Jacques, Edouard Louis Auguste (b. 1828) – French politician, businessman, moderate republican; member of the Paris City Council from 1871; Chairman of the General Council of the Seine Department from 1887; candidate of the united republicans at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in January 1889: 252, 273

Jevons, William Louis Alexandre (1846-1890) – French socialist, mechanic, a Communard; after suppression of the Commune emigrated to England (1871-81); member of the French Workers' Party, a leader of its Possibilist wing; member of the Paris City Council from 1882, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889: 136, 229

Joffrin, Jules Louis Alexandre – 381, 383

Johnson, James – representative of an American industrial firm in London: 405, 449

Johnson, John Henry – representative of the American industrial firm J.H. Johnson & Son & Ellis in London: 405

Jollymeier – see *Schorlemmer, Carl*

Jonas, Alexander (d. 1912) – German-born American socialist, journalist, editor-in-chief of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* from 1878: 37, 39, 45, 50, 62, 67, 209, 223, 500, 501, 502, 512

Jones, Atherley – Ernest Charles Jones' son: 265, 271-2

Joos, Joseph – German Social Democrat, emigrant in Zurich and later in London, contributed to *Der Sozialdemokrat*: 262

Joule, James Prescott (1818-1889) – English physicist, studied electromagnetism and heat, established mechanical equivalent of heat: 230

Jourdan, Jean Baptiste (1762-1833) – French general, Marshal of France from 1804; fought in the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition: 268

Jourde, Antoine (1848-1923) – French tradesman, close to socialists, later joined the Boulangist movement; delegate to several congresses of the French Workers' Party; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-1910): 397, 399

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901) – prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, refugee in London; member of the General Council of the First International; sided with the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872; withdrew from the working-class movement after 1877: 252, 335, 349, 449

Jungnitz, Ernst (d. 1848) – German journalist, Left Hegelian, contributed to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*: 393

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804) – German philosopher: 340

Kareyev, Nikolai Ivanovich (1850-1931) – Russian historian and journalist, liberal, professor at Warsaw and St Petersburg universities (1879-84): 266, 267-8, 269-71

Katkov, Mikhail Nikiforovich (1818-1887) – Russian journalist, editor of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (1850-55, 1863-87), noted as a leader of the Pan-Slavists: 92, 93

Kauf(f)mann, R. – German soldier: 107

Kautsky, Johann (Hans) (b. 1864) – scene painter, Karl Kautsky's brother: 225, 226,235

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1930) – German Social Democrat, journalist, economist and historian, editor of *Die Neue Zeit* 1883-1917), author of several theoretical works on Marxism, a leader of the German Social Democrats and the Second International: 19, 22, 24, 38, 43, 57, 67, 68, 76, 77, 86-7, 88-9, 90, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 104, 122, 127, 129, 132, 133, 137, 157, 166, 188, 193, 202-3, 226-7, 230, 231-3, 235, 257-9, 263, 266-271, 273, 277, 299-300, 323-6, 346, 374-8, 383, 391, 392, 398, 409, 418, 419, 444, 450-3, 458, 466, 471-2, 476520-1

Kautsky, Louise (née *Strasser*) (1860-1950) – Austrian socialist, Karl Kautsky's first wife, Frederick Engels' secretary from 1890: 59, 76, 78, 119, 166, 188, 193, 223-5, 226-7, 231-2, 235, 258, 259, 301, 326, 375, 460

Kautsky, Minna (née *Jaich*) (1837-1912) – German author, Karl Kautsky's mother: 226, 227

Kautsky, Minna (b. 1856) – Karl Kautsky's sister: 226

Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence (1859-1932) – American socialist, translated into English Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*; married to socialist Lazar Wischnewetzky, emigrant from Russia: 8-9, 15-20, 23, 32, 39, 46, 55, 56, 60-1, 62, 68, 69, 71, 72, 82, 83, 86, 90, 100-2, 121-3, 150, 151-4, 172-3, 182-3, 195, 215-6, 223, 253, 254, 272, 332, 355

Kennan, George (1845-1924) – American journalist, explorer and lecturer: 468

Keussler, Ivan Avgustovich (1843-1896) – Russian economist: 135, 132

Kiselev, Pavel Dmitriyevich (1788-1872) – Russian statesman and diplomat, general, chief of the Russian administration in Moldavia and Wallachia (1829-34), permanent member of all secret committees on peasant problems (from 1835), Minister of the Imperial Domains (from 1837); supported moderate reforms: 134

Klein, Julius Leopold (1804-1876) – German playwright and theatre critic, Young Hegelian: 393

Knapp, George Friedrich (1842-1926) – German economist and statistician: 132

Knowles, James Thomas (1831-1908) – British man of letters, publisher and architect, founder and editor (1877-1908) of the magazine *Nineteenth Century*: 461

Koch, Hugo – German Social Democrat, refugee in London, secretary to the editorial board of the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*: 105

Köppen, Karl Friedrich (1808-1863) – German radical journalist and historian, Young Hegelian; later specialised in the history of Buddhism; Marx's friend: 393, 415

Kossuth, Lajos (Louis) (1802-1894) – Hungarian politician, leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; headed the bourgeois-democratic elements in the 1848-49 Revolution and later the Hungarian revolutionary government; after the defeat of the revolution, left Hungary; sought

support among the Bonapartists in the 1850s; opposed formation of the dual monarchy in 1867: 142, 430

Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich (pseudonym *Stepniak*) (1851-1895) – Russian writer and journalist, revolutionary Narodnik in the 1870s, emigrated after committing a terrorist act against the chief of gendarmes in St Petersburg in 1878; lived in England from 1884: 341, 467, 468, 493

Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince (1842-1921) – Russian revolutionary, an ideologist of anarchism, sociologist, geographer and geologist; lived in emigration in 1876-1917: 49, 93

Krüger, Adolf Hermann (born c. 1836) – German police official (1866-90); a chief of the German political police in the 1880s: 130

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902) – German physician, took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, member of the First International, delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; regular correspondent of Marx and Engels (1862-74): 247-8, 428, 512

Kuhlmann, Georg (b. 1812) – *agent provocateur* of the Austrian government; preached 'true socialism' among the German Weitlingian artisans in Switzerland in the 1840s, using religious terminology: 234

Kunert, Fritz (1850-1932) – German Social Democrat, journalist; edited several Social Democratic newspapers in the 1880s-90s; repeatedly elected deputy to the Reichstag (from 1890): 461

Labouchère, Henry du Pré (1831-1912) – French-born British politician, diplomat and journalist, Liberal; MP (from 1865); one of the owners of *The Daily News*: 113

Labriola, Antonio (1843-1904) – Italian philosopher and journalist, one of the first exponents of Marxism in Italy: 413, 463, 464, 499

Labruyère, Georges de – French journalist, contributor to *Le Cri du Peuple*; Boulangist in the late 1880s: 13, 41

Labusquière, John Delille (1852-1939) – French journalist, member of the First International, took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s-90s: 13, 314

Lachize, Jean Benoît (Félix) (b. 1859) – French socialist, member of the French Workers' Party, Blanquist; weaver; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1889): 384

Lafargue, Laura (née *Marx*) (1845-1911) – prominent figure in the French working-class movement, Karl Marx's second daughter, married Paul Lafargue in 1868: 4, 11, 23, 25, 27-9, 34-5, 40-2, 52-4, 65-6, 73-4, 76-7, 84, 85, 92-4, 106-8, 110-2, 116, 127-8, 130, 145, 147, 150, 159-60, 161, 169-71, 184-6, 189-91, 192, 194-5, 196-7, 198-9, 200-1, 202-4, 210-2. 226-7, 236-7, 243-5, 260-3, 264-5, 281, 302, 307-10, 314, 315-7, 329, 336-9, 343-6, 367-70, 370-4, 374, 384-7, 389-90, 396-8, 408-9, 410, 430-33, 454-5, 458, 460, 461-2, 479-81, 495-7, 498, 506, 509, 513-4, 519-20

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911) – prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; journalist, author of several works on the theory of Marxism; member of the General Council of the First International (from 1866), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880): 4, 7, 10-12, 13, 21, 23-5, 29, 40, 47-9, 52, 65, 74, 79, 85, 93, 104, 107, 109-10, 115-7, 124-5, 128, 129-131, 145-7, 150, 160, 164-6, 169-

70, 184, 185, 210-2, 226-7, 236-7, 243-5, 260-3, 264-5, 281, 302, 307, 308, 309, 312-4, 317-323, 327-332, 337, 338, 341-3, 344, 345, 346, 348-50, 351-2, 368, 371, 375, 377, 379-82, 384, 385, 387, 397, 399, 403, 404, 406-7, 408, 409, 410, 411, 413, 415, 431, 432, 456-7, 460, 462, 479, 493, 495, 496, 506, 509, 513-4, 519-20

Lahr, Johanna – German-born British socialist, member of the Socialist League: 327

Lamansky, Vladimir Ivanovich (1833-1914) – Russian Slavonic scholar, professor at St Petersburg University: 114

Lange, Friedrich Albert (1828-1875) – German sociologist, philosopher, democrat; member of the Standing Committee of the Union of German Workers' Associations (1864-66); member of the First International; professor at Marburg University from 1872: 395

Lankester, Sir Edwin Ray (1847-1929) – English biologist, professor of zoology and comparative anatomy 1874): 189

Lasalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864) – German journalist, lawyer; participated in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder and first President of the General Association of German workers (1863-64); initiator of the Lassallean trend within the German working-class movement: 88, 117-8, 339, 511

Lavigne, Paul – French socialist: 24

Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich (1823-1900) – Russian sociologist, philosopher, revolutionary journalist, an ideologist of Narodism; lived in emigration from 1870; member of the First International, a Communard; editor of the journal *Vperyod!* (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod* (1875-76); friend of Marx and Engels: 23, 100, 331

Lavy, Jean Baptiste Aimé (1850-1921) – French socialist, journalist, member of the Paris City Council (from 1887) and of the Chamber of Deputies (1890-98): 345

Lee – American publisher of Marx's *'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'*: 254

Leitner – member of the Young Hegelian circle 'The Free' in Berlin in the 1840s: 393

Leo, Heinrich (1799-1878) – German historian and journalist, champion of conservative political and religious views: 415

Leroux, Pierre (1797-1871) – French writer, utopian socialist, representative of Christian socialism: 9

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in London from 1856, member of the Educational Society of the German Workers in London, of the General Council of the First International (1864-72) and of the British Federal Council; delegate to all the International's congresses; took part in the socialist movement in England in the 1880s-90s; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 58, 76, 156, 240, 241, 384, 489

Lexis, Wilhelm (1837-1914) – German economist and statistician, professor at Göttingen University (from 1887): 220

Liebknecht, Gertrud (b. 1864) – Wilhelm Liebknecht's daughter: 38, 373, 375

Liebknecht, Natalie (née *Reh*) (1835-1909) – Wilhelm Liebknecht's second wife (from 1868): 119-20, 426-7, 510-11

Liebknecht, Theodor Karl (1870-1948) – Wilhelm Liebknecht's son; lawyer;

member of the German Social Democratic Party: 373, 375

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution; member of the Communist League and of the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and to the German Reichstag (from 1874); a founder and leader of the German Social Democratic Party; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76) and *Vorwärts* (176-78 and 1890-1900); delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 16-17, 28, 31, 37-8, 43-4, 56, 62, 65, 76, 77, 78, 83, 95, 119, 120, 140-1, 154-6, 161-2, 176-8, 181-2, 209, 239, 244, 245, 255, 256, 265, 273, 275, 276, 277, 288, 289-92, 294, 296, 297-8, 299, 303, 304, 305, 306, 308, 311, 313, 314, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325-6, 329, 333, 334, 341, 345, 349, 350, 353, 356, 362-3, 373, 374, 375, 376, 383-4, 397, 398-400, 407, 427, 445, 459-61, 473, 487, 490, 511, 512-3, 515-7

Limouzin, Adelaide Elise (née *Scharnet*) (b. 1846) – French adventurer; was imprisoned for speculation with orders (1888): 111

Lingenau, Johann Karl Ferdinand (c. 1814-1877) – German-born American socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA, bequeathed his money to the German Social Democratic Party: 356

Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier (1838-1901) – French journalist and historian; left republican; took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and later to England; author of the *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (1876): 12

Lockroy, Edouard Étienne Antoine Simon (1838-1913) – French statesman and journalist, radical; held several ministerial posts in the 1880s-90s: 28

Lollini, Vittorio – Italian socialist; lawyer: 463, 499

Longuet, Charles Félix César (1839-1903) – journalist, socialist; member of the General Council of the First International (1866-67 and 1871-72); member of the Paris Commune; later emigrated to England; joined the Possibilists in the 1880s; member of the Paris City Council in the 1880s-90s; husband of Marx's daughter Jenny: 11, 12, 40, 160, 164, 196, 198, 227, 264, 281, 313, 328, 349, 387, 388, 390, 396, 404, 479

Longuet, Edgar (1879-1950) – prominent figure in the French working-class movement; physician; member of the Socialist Party; son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson: 196, 370, 375, 388

Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny) (1876-1938) – prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; lawyer; later a leader of the French Socialist Party; son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson: 196, 370, 375, 388

Longuet, Marcel (1881-1949) – son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson: 374, 396

Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich (1845-1918) – Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the First International (1870); one of the translators into Russian of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*; friend of Marx and Engels: 100, 137, 229, 346

Loria, Achille, 477

Louis Philippe (1773-1850) – Duke of

Orleans, King of the French (1830-48): 110, 386
Lovell, John W. – American publisher, printed Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1887): 68, 101, 122, 152
Lowrey – partner in William Swan Sonnenschein & Co: 49
Lüning, Otto (1818-1868) – German physician and journalist; 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*; later National Liberal: 234

Macdonald, Alexander (1821-1881) – an English trade union leader, President of the National Miners' Union (from 1863), MP (from 1874), supporter of a Liberal policy: 81, 192
MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta (1808-1893) – French marshal, senator, Bonapartist; fought in the wars of the Second Empire; a butcher of the Paris Commune; President of the third Republic (1873-79): 314, 480
McGlynn, Edward (1837-1900) – American Catholic priest, supporter of Henry George in 1886-87 and a leader of the United Labor Party, excommunicated for this; later broke off with Henry George and was the only leader of that party in 1888-89: 84, 91
Mahon, John Lincoln (1865-1933) – active member of the English working-class movement; mechanic; member of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Federation (1884), member of the Socialist League from December 1884 and its secretary in 1885, an organiser of the North of England Socialist Federation (1887): 70, 80-1, 82-3, 87-8, 186, 265, 271-2
Malon, Benoît (1841-1893) – French socialist, member of the First International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Central Commitee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland, sided with the Bakunists; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; a leader of the reformist trend in the French Workers' Party and of the Possibilists' Party (from 1882): 263, 307
Mandl, Heinrich – Austrian merchant, Social Democrat in the 1880s, contributed to *Die Neue Zeit*: 88
Mann, Tom (1856-1941) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement; mechanical engineer; belonged to the left wing of the Social Democratic Federation (from 1885) and to the Independent Labour Party (from 1893); took an active part in the organisation of a mass movement of unskilled workers and in the formation of their trade unions in the late 1880s; leader of several strikes: 328, 330, 331, 359, 370, 377, 418, 437, 485
Manning, Henry Edward (1808-1892) – British clergyman, archbishop of Westminster from 1868, cardinal from 1875: 418
Marouck, Victor – French journalist, socialist, contributed to *L'Égalité*; joined the Possibilists in the early 1880s: 13
Martignetti, Pasquale (1844-1920) – Italian socialist, translator of Marx's and Engels' works into Italian: 5-7, 11, 63-4, 65, 80, 126, 133, 142, 143-4, 178-0, 400-1, 413, 439-41, 463, 464, 498, 499
Marx, Jenny (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881) – Karl Marx's wife: 462
Marx, Karl (1818-1883): 7, 32, 79, 97, 103, 104, 108, 118, 137, 159, 180, 184, 220, 228-9, 237, 254, 258, 259, 283, 298, 335, 339, 347, 350-1, 357,

363, 393, 394, 414, 419, 423, 436, 449, 462, 463, 476, 477-8, 484, 494, 506, 508, 511, 520-1

Marx-Aveling, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898) – prominent figure in the English and international working-class movement, journalist, Karl Marx's youngest daughter, married Edward Aveling in 1884: 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15-20, 21-2, 23, 24, 28, 30, 37-9, 41-2, 43-4, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 66, 73, 74, 76, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 90, 96, 112-3, 116, 118, 119, 120, 157, 158, 170, 173, 182, 185, 186, 194, 195, 196, 198, 200, 202, 203, 205, 208, 212, 213, 220, 223, 224, 227, 231, 243, 250, 253, 257, 259, 264, 272, 291, 295, 300, 310, 312, 313, 315, 318, 322, 326, 328, 341, 345, 346, 354, 370, 371, 373, 379, 387, 388, 389, 390,392, 402, 409, 411, 412, 417, 419, 420, 422, 426, 427, 431, 436, 441, 448, 457, 460, 462, 486, 488-9, 491, 493, 494, 495, 496, 501, 502, 506,

Massingham, Henry William (1860-1924) – English journalist, editor of *The Star* (1890): 310, 313, 316, 318, 321

Matthews, Henry, 1st Viscount Llandaff (1826-1913) – British lawyer and politician, Conservative, MP; Home Secretary (1886-92): 112, 113

Maupassant, Henri René Albert Guy de (1850-1893) – French writer: 12

Mayer, Julius Robert (1814-1878) – German naturalist, one of the first discoverers of the law of conservation and transformation of energy: 230

Meissner, Otto Karl (1819-1902) – publisher in Hamburg, printed *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels: 126, 228, 276, 373

Menger, Anton (1841-1906) – Austrian politician, lawyer, professor at Vienna University: 25

Mesa y Leompart, José (1840-1904) – prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement; printer; an organiser of the First International's sections in Spain; active opponent of anarchists; one of the first exponents of Marxism in Spain and a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translator into Spanish of several works by Marx and Engels: 53

Meyen, Eduard (1812-1870) – German journalist, democrat, Young Hegelian, emigrant in London, later National Liberal 393

Meyendorf, Baroness von – involved in the Hatzfeldts' divorce case in the 1840s, friend of Count Edmund von Hatzfeldt: 118

Millerand, Étienne Alexandre (1859-1943) – French politician and statesman, lawyer and journalist, petty-bourgeois radical in the 1880s, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1885; headed opportunist trend in the French socialist movement in the 1890s: 368, 372

Mills, Roger Quarles (1832-1911) – American statesman, lawyer, Democrat; member of the House of Representatives (1873-92), Senator (1892-99) from Texas: 172

Miquel, Johannes von (1828-1901) – German lawyer, politician and banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, chief burgomaster of Osnabrück (1865-70, 1876-80); a leader of the right-wing National Liberals from 1867; deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag: 473

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von (1800-1891) – Prussian military leader and writer; general, field marshal (from 1871); Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff: 454

Moore, Samuel (c. 1838-1911) – English

lawyer, member of the First International; translated into English the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels: 32, 74, 96, 144, 150, 153, 227, 243, 250, 315, 336, 337, 343, 345, 348, 387, 388, 390, 419, 422, 475, 479

Moreau de Jounès, Alexandre (1778-1870) – French economist and statistician; author of several works of statistical research: 266

Morgan, Lewis Henry (1818-1881) – American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society: 254, 501, 517

Morier, Robert Burnett David (1826-1893) – English diplomat; ambassador to St Petersburg (1884-93): 253

Morris, William (1834-1896 – English poet, writer and artist; participant in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s, a leader of the Socialist League (1884-89): 51, 53, 66, 70, 73, 123, 153, 156, 159, 308, 321, 328, 360, 424, 485, 518

Most, Johann Joseph (1846-1906) – participant in the German working-class movement, anarchist; bookbinder; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); emigrated to London (1878) where he published *Die Freiheit*; expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany as anarchist (1880); emigrated to the USA in 1882: 241

Motteler, Emilie: 193, 198, 200, 426

Motteler, Julius (1838-1907) – German Social Democrat; member of the Reichstag (1874-78); émigré in Zurich and then in London during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law; supervised the delivery of *Der Sozialdemokrat* and illegal Social Democratic literature to Germany: 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 198, 200, 221, 272, 365, 419, 426, 450, 500-1

Mügge, Theodor (1806-1861) – German writer and journalist, Young Hegelian: 393

Müller, K.H. – German Social Democrat, emigrant in the USA, contributed to the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*: 38

Murray, Alma – English actress: 196

Mussak – teacher in Berlin in the 1840s, Young Hegelian: 393

Nadejde, Ioan (1854-1928) – Romanian journalist, Social Democrat, translator of Engels' works into Romanian later National Liberal: 132-5, 185

Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873) – Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70): 283, 396, 479

Naporra, Rudolph – employee of the German political police, *agent provocateur* among the Polish émigrés in Berlin; exposed in 1888: 175

Nasr-ed-Din (1831-1896) – Shah of Persia (1848-96): 340

Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela (1846-1919) – prominent figure in the Dutch working-class movement; a founder of the Dutch Social Democratic Party (1881): 157-8, 301, 306, 345, 349, 370, 373, 460, 470-1,

Nonne, Heinrich – German *agent provocateur*, personally acquainted with Engels, member of the Educational Society of German Workers in London, lived in Paris from the spring of 1883, exposed in 1884: 130

Oberwinder, Heinrich (1846-1914) – participant in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist, Lassallean in the early 1860s, then sided with the Eisenachers, delegate

to the Basle Congress of the First International (1869); editor of the *Volksstimme* and *Volkswille*; left working-class movement in the late 1870s; exposed as a German police spy in the late 1880s: 129-30

O'Brien, William (1852-1928) – Irish politician and journalist, nationalist; publisher of the *United Ireland* from 1881; MP from 1883: 155, 159

O'Connor, Feargus Edward (1794-1855) – Irish politician and lawyer, a leader of the left-wing Chartists, MP (1832), founder and editor of *The Northern Star*: 425

Okecki, Alexandre – French politician, close to socialists, editor and publisher of the socialist weekly *L'Autonomie*: 328, 481

Osteroth, Friedrich (d. 1889) – Frederick Engels' distant relative: 435

Owen, Robert (1771-1858) – British utopian socialist: 167

Parke, Ernst (b. 1860) – British journalist, editor-in-chief of *The Star* (from 1888): 448

Parnell, William – British trade union figure, joiner, leader of the Cabinetmakers' Union; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891: 328, 330, 331, 334, 341-2, 346, 444

Paul, Johannes – German cotton merchant in Hamburg, representative of the Paul und Steinberg firm: 63, 64, 80

Pauli, Ida: 196

Pelletan, Charles Camille (1846-1915) – French politician, journalist, editor-in-chief of *La Justice* from 1880, sided with the left-wing Radicals; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1881-1912): 116

Petersen, Niels Lorenz (1814-1894) – prominent figure in the international working-class movement, Weitlingean, then member of the Communist League, contributed to *Das Volk* from 1859; member of the German section of the First International in Paris; a leader of the left wing of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark; delegate to the International Socialist Workers Congress of 1889: 307, 342, 373, 377

Pfänder, Karl (c. 1819-1876) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; artist; refugee in London from 1845; member of the Communist League and of the General Council of the First International (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 161

Pfänder, Mrs – 156, 161

Pinoff – Prussian public prosecutor at the Elberfeld trial of the German Social Democrats (1889): 443

Pitt, William (the Younger) (1759-1806) – British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06): 414

Platter, Julius (1844-1923) – Swiss economist and journalist: 221

Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich (1856-1918) – prominent figure in the Russian and international working-class movement; philosopher and exponent of Marxism in Russia, founder of the first Russian Marxist organisation – the Emancipation of Labour group (1883); delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 and to several other congresses of the Second International; fought against Narodism (Populism) in the 1880s-90s: 331, 467, 468, 483, 484

Popoff – Bulgarian army officer, garrison commander in Sofia in 1887: 58

Portalis, Albert Edouard (1845-1918) – French journalist, owner of *Le XIXe Siècle* from 1886; supported Boulangists in 1886-88: 110

Potter, George (1832-1893) – British worker, carpenter; leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers and of the trade union movement, member of the London Trades Council; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*: 158, 418

Powderly, Terence Vincent (1849-1924) – American labour leader in the 1870s-80s; mechanic; leader of the Knights of Labor (1879-93); sided with the Republican Party in 1896: 57, 91, 102

Price – employee in the firm William Swan Sonnenschein & Co: 49

Protot, Louis Charles Eugène (1839-1921) – French lawyer, physician and journalist; Blanquist, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; opposed the International and Marxists: 403

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865) – French journalist, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism: 102, 394

Puttkamer, Robert Victor von (1828-1900) – Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1881-88), was a prosecutor of Social Democrats during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law: 118, 138, 155, 156, 159, 160, 170, 175, 451, 459, 462, 477

Pyat, Aimé Félix (1810-1889) – French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat, participant in the 1848 revolution, led a slander campaign against Marx and The First International for several years, deputy to the National Assembly (1871), a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; published the newspaper *Commune* in September-November 1880: 13, 403

Ranke, Johannes (1836-1916) – German physiologist and anthropologist, professor at Munich University, Conservative from 1889: 268

Ranke, Leopold von (1795-1886) – German historian, professor at Berlin University, ideologist of Prussian Junkers: 229

Rappaport, Philipp – American socialist, contributed to *Die Neue Zeit* in the late 1880s and 1890s: 273, 418

Reeves, William Dobson (c. 1827-1907) – British publisher and bookseller: 121, 122, 123, 150, 152, 188, 216, 254

Reichel, Alexander (1853-1921) – Swiss Social Democrat, lawyer: 306

Reid, George W.: 436, 442

Rempel, Rudolf (1815-1868) – German businessman, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s: 234

Reuss, Carl Theodor – German journalist, agent of the German political police in London in the 1880s, exposed in December 1887: 156, 159-60, 355

Reuter, Heinrich Ludwig Christian Fritz (1810-1874) – German humourist writer and novelist, made Plattdeutsch (Low German) a literary language; for taking part in the students' movement was sentenced to capital punishment in 1833 which was commuted to a thirty years' imprisonment, amnestied in 1840: 393

Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de (1758-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94): 268, 414

Robinson, A.F. – British socialist, member of the Socialist League: 327

Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay (1830-1913) –

French journalist, writer and politician; left-wing Republican; member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia, fled to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880, published *L'Intransigeant*; monarchist from the late 1880s: 93, 165, 171, 238, 282, 322

Röllinghoff, Ewald – one of the accused at the Elberfeld trial of the German Social Democrats (1889), was exposed as a police agent and sentenced to five months' imprisonment: 443

Roques, Jules – editor and publisher of *L'Égalité* (1889-91): 275

Rose, Edward (Baby) (1849-1904) – English playwright: 321

Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig (pseudonm *von der Mark*) (born c. 1860) – German-born American socialist, journalist; Secretary of the National Executive Commitee of the Socialist Labor Party of North America in the 1880s, leader of the Lassallean wing of the party; expelled from the party together with other Lassalleans in 1889: 15, 19, 22, 33, 208, 387, 417, 425, 437, 446

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Rosher, Percy White – English merchant, married Mary Ellen Burns in 1881: 76, 92, 94, 112, 119, 196, 200, 225, 243, 361, 398, 400, 409, 426, 431, 438, 449

Rouanet, Armand Gustave (1855-1927) – French socialist, Possibilist, journalist, editor and publisher of *La Revue Socialiste* (from 1885), member of the Paris City Council (1890-93) and of the Chamber of Deputies from 1893: 307

Rousseau, Jean Jacques (1712-1778) – French philosopher of the Enlightenment: 458

Rouvier, Pierre Maurice (1842-1911) – French statesman, moderate republican; repeatedly held posts of Minister and Premier; when his involvement in the Panama swindle was exposed in 1892, he had to retire and abandon political activity for a time: 107

Rudolf, Franz Karl Joseph (1858-1889) – Austro-Hungarian archduke and crown prince, committed suicide because of a love intrigue with Vetsera, a twenty-year Romanian baroness: 268-9

Rutenberg, Adofl (1808-1869) – German journalist, Young Hegelian; editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842 and of the *National-Zeitung* in 1848; National Liberal after 1866: 393

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825) – French utopian socialist: 167

Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquis of (1830-1903) – British statesman, leader of the Conservatives (from 1881), Secretary of State for India (1866-67 and 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92 and 1895-1902): 108, 155, 253

Scherrer, Heinrich (1847-1919) – Swiss lawyer, Social Democrat: 306, 333

Scheu, Andreas (1844-1927) – a prominent figure in the Austrian and English socialist movement, editor

of *Die Gleichheit* (1870-74); member of the First International; emigrated to England in 1874; a founder of the Social Democratic Federation: 11, 76
Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805) – German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher: 458
Schippel, Max (1859-1928) – German economist and journalist, initially supporter of Rodbertus, Social Democrat from 1886, was close to the Jungen opposition group, deputy to the German Reichstag (1890-1905): 301, 311, 334, 490, 493
Schlesinger, Maximilian (1855-1902) – German journalist, Social Democrat, Lassallean; contributed to a number of newspapers and journals: 298, 299, 325, 363, 383
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Schlüter, Friedrich Hermann (1851-1919) – German Social Democrat, manager of a Social Democratic publishing house in Zurich in the 1880s, a founder of the archives of German Social Democracy, emigrated to the USA in 1889, took part in the socialist movement there; author of several works on the history of English and American working-class movement: 39-49, 125-6, 142, 144-5, 147-9, 163, 179, 185, 187, 190, 191, 194, 198, 199, 200, 221, 233, 234, 243, 249-501, 250, 252, 260, 273, 354, 419, 427, 436-8, 442, 446, 449, 469, 473, 474, 487, 500-1, 508
Schmidt, Conrad (1863-1932) – German economist and philosopher, Social Democrat, was close to Marxism in the 1880s-90s, later became a Neo-Kantian: 85, 117-9, 220-1, 249-51, 276-7, 299-300, 339-41, 391-2, 402, 404, 420-2, 476-8
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Schoenlank, Bruno (1859-1901) – German Social Democrat, journalist; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1893); contributed to the *Vorwärts* in the 1890s: 978
Schorlemmer, Carl (1834-1892) (Jollymeier) – German organic chemist, professor at Manchester; member of the First International and of the Social Democratic Party; friend of Marx and Engels: 48, 74, 85, 88, 128, 139, 160, 184, 194, 196, 198, 200, 201, 205, 206, 208, 212, 213, 220, 223, 224, 227, 243, 250, 298, 300, 345, 361, 371, 426, 460, 469, 472, 475, 488, 509, 515, 517
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Schramm, Carl August (1830-1905) – German Social Democrat, economist; criticised Marxism; withdrew from the Party in the 1880s: 67, 76-7
Schweichel, Robert (pen-name *Rosus*) (1821-1907) – German writer, literary critic and journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; took an active part in the working-class movement in the late 1860s; contributed to the socialist press, *Die Neue Zeit* in particular: 248
Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1875) – German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of the German Workers (1867-71); supported Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany 'from above' under Prussia's supremacy; hindered German workers' affiliation to the First International; fought against the Social Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872): 425

Senegas, Martial – French socialist; printer and lithographer, member of the Chamber of Deputies from the French Workers' Party (from 1889): 408
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Séverine, Caroline Rémy (by marriage *Guebhard*) (1855-1929) – French journalist; took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s; chief of *Le Cri du Peuple* in 1886-88; Boulangist in the late 1880s: 13, 14
Shakir-Pasha – Turkish statesman, general, ambassador to Russia (1879-81), governor of Crete (1889): 360
Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792-1822) – English poet: 193
Shepard – American publisher of Marx's *Speech on the Question of Free Trade*: 254
Shevich, Sergei Yegorovich (1843-19110 – Russian-born American socialist; an editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* in the 1870s-80s; editor of the newspaper *Leader* from 1886: 38, 39, 417
Shipton, George Ball (1839-1911) – trade union leader, founder and secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Housepainters and Decorators; editor of *The Labour Standard* (1881-85); Secretary of the London Trades Council (1872-96): 333, 360, 489, 490
Singer, Paul (1844-1911) – prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the German Social Democrats; member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (from 1878); deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911); member (from 1887) and Chairman (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany: 28, 32, 35, 67, 72, 76, 107, 150, 159, 277, 290, 373, 511
Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich (pseudonym *Doctor Noel*) (1848-1900) – Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (Populist); physician; in the early 1870s emigrated to Zurich and later to London, Paris and Bern; member of the First International; an editor of the newspaper and journal *Vperyod!*: 358
Smith (Smith Headingley), Adolphe (Adolphus) (1846-1924) – British socialist, journalist; member of the Social Democratic Federation from the 1880s, close to the French Possibilists, opposed Marx and his associates: 239, 252, 264, 308, 310, 313, 316, 407
Soetbeer, George Adolf (1814-1892) – German economist and statistician: 247, 376
Sonnenschein, William Swan (1855-1931) – English publisher who printed the first English edition of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* (1887): 12, 48, 49, 83, 108, 115-6, 227, 272, 408
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Sorge, Friedrich Adolph (1828-1906) – prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement; German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1852; founder of the American sections of the First International; Secretary of the Federal Council; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary (1872-74) of the General Council in New York; a founder of the Socialist Labor Party of North American (1876); active exponent of Marxism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 3, 16, 21-3, 29-31, 37-9, 43-7, 50-1, 55-7, 60, 61-3, 69-72, 78-9, 81-4, 90-2, 103-4,109, 121, 138-40, 149-152, 152, 173, 183, 195, 201-2, 206, 207-8, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215,

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Sorge, Katharina: 216, 254

Speyer, Karl (b. 1845) – German joiner; secretary of the Educational Society of German workers in London in the 1860s, member of the General Council of the First International in London from 1870 and later in New York: 240

Stanton, Theodore (1851-1925) – American journalist, represented several American newspaper publishing houses in Europe in the early 1880s; published *European Correspondent* in Paris (1886-87): 53

Stead, William Thomas (1849-1912) – English journalist, Liberal; editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* (1883-89): 128, 185

Stehely – owner of the confectionery in Berlin where members of The Free group used to meet in the 1840s: 393

Stein, Lorenz von (1815-1890) – German economist and sociologist, lawyer, professor in Vienna (1855-85): 235

Stepniak – see *Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich*

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882) – Prussian police official; chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and the Franco-Prussian (1870-71) war was chief of the military police and of the German intelligence and counter-intelligence in France: 142, 193

Stirner-Schmidt, Marie Wilhelmine (née *Dähnhardt* (1818-1902) – Max Stirner's wife (1843-47): 394

Stirner, Max (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856) – German philosopher, Young Hegelian, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism: 393-4

Sybel, Heinrich von (1817-1895) – German historian and politician; National Liberal (from 1867); member of the Erfurt Parliament (1850) and of the North German Reichstag (1867); representative of the 'Prussian school' of German historians; an ideologist of unifying Germany 'from above' under Prussia's supremacy; director of the Prussian state archives (1875-95): 268

Szeliga – see *Zychlinsky, Frankz Zychlin von*

Szeps, Moriz (1834-1902) – Austrian journalist, Liberal, editor and publisher of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* from 1867: 129

Taine, Hippolyte Adolphe (1828-1893) – French historian, philosopher, art critic and literary specialist, representative of the 'cultural and historical school': 248, 266

Tauscher, Leonhard (1840-1914) – German Social Democrat, compositor; during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law took part in bringing out *Der Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich and then in London; later an editor of Social Democratic periodicals in Stuttgart: 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 198,200, 221, 243, 250

Teste, Jean Baptiste (1780-1852) – French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade, Justice and Public Works during the July monarchy; tried for bribery and malpractices: 110

Thibaudin, Jean (1822-1905) – French politician, general, War Minister in 1883; charged with speculation with orders (1887), and was forced to retire (1888): 111

Thiers, Adolph (1797-1877) – French

historian and statesman: 386
Thivier, Christophe (1841-1895) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement, member of the Social Democratic Fedration; an organiser of the mass movement of the unskilled workers in the late 1880s and early 1890s; General Secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland: 381, 384, 408
Thorne, Weilliam James – 519
Tillet, Benjamin (Ben) (1860-1943) – British politician, socialist, an organiser and leader of the new trade unions, later one of the founders of the Labour Party; General Secretary of the Dock, Whaft, Riverside and General Labourers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland: 377, 486
Tocqueville, Alexis Charles Henri Maurice Clérel de (1805-1859) – French liberal historian and statesman, legitimist and supporter of constitutional monarchy: 266
Tooke, Thomas (1774-1858) – English classical political economist: 347, 352, 416
Trier, Gerson Georg (1851-1918) – Danish Social Democrat, a leader of the left wing in the Social Democratic Party of Denmark; teacher; fought against the reformist policy of the Party's opportunist wing; translator of Engels' works into Danish: 42-3, 307, 342, 373, 377, 423-5
Trübner – booktrade agent: 68, 101
Tucker, Benjamin Ricketson (1854-1939) – American journalist, anarchist, founder and editor of a number of anarchist publications: 102

Vaillant, Marie Édouard (1840-1915) – French engineer, naturalist and physician; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune, of the National Guard's Central Commitee, of the General Council of the First International (1871-72) and of the Paris City Council (from 1884): 139-40, 150, 244, 246, 262, 264, 273, 281, 313, 315, 328, 350, 369, 397, 404, 411
Van Beveren, Edmond – Belgian socialist: 239, 253
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Vico, Giambattista (1668-1744) – Italian sociologist, philosopher, lawyer, professor of rhetoric at Naples University; court historiographer: 463
Victoria (full name *Alexandrina Victoria*) (1819-1901) – Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901): 175
Victoria Adelaide Marie Louise (1840-1901) – eldest daughter of Queen Victoria of Great Britain, wife (from 1858) of Frederick III, Prussian King and German Emperor; Empress (1888); after her husband's death (1888) bore the name Frederic: 165, 174, 175
Viereck, Louis (1851-1921) – German Social Democrat; publisher and journalist; a leader of the reformist wing in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in the latter half of the 1870s; member of the German Reichstag (1884-87); dismissed from all responsible Party posts by decision of the St Gallen Congress (1887); withdrew from the socialist movement after 1888; emigrated to America in 1890: 30, 93, 107, 162
Virchow, Rudolf (1821-1902) – German naturalist, archaeologist and politician; founder of modern pathological anatomy and cellular pathology; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress (1861-84): 175
Vizetelly, Henry (1820-1894) – British writer, translator and book publisher: 166
Volders, Jean (1855-1896) – Belgian socialist, journalist, a founder of the

Parti ouvrier Belge, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893: 293

Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von (1850-1922) – German Social Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of the German Social Democrats; editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1879-80); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87 and 1890-1918) and to the Bavarian Landtag: 461

Wachenhusen, Hans (1823-1898) – German journalist and writer: 393

Waldeck, Julius – German physician, belonged to 'The Free', a Young Hegelian circle in Berlin in the 1840s: 393

Waldeyer, Wilhelm (1836-1921) – German anatomist: 173

Walter, F. – German bookseller in London: 241-2

Walther, Hermann – German Social Democrat, emigrant in the USA from the early 1880s, member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of North America:

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Warren, Sir Charles (1840-1927) – British military engineer and colonial official, chief of the London police (1886-88), one of those who organised the massacre of the workers' demonstration in London on 13 November 1887: 141

Webb, Sidney James, 1st Baron Passfield (1859-1947) – British politician and public figure; lawyer, sociologist and economist; worked in various ministries concerned with economy and law (1878-91); a founder of the Fabian Society (1884); together with his wife Beatrice Webb wrote several works on the history and theory of the working-class movement in Britain: 298

Wedde, Friedrich Christoph Johannes (1843-1890) – German journalist and writer, democrat, editor of the *Bürger-Zeitung* (1881-87): 63, 80, 98-9, 143

Weerth, Georg (1822-1856) – German poet and journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; friend of Marx and Engels: 436

Weill, Alexandre (Abraham) (1811-1899) – German writer and journalist, democrat; emigrated to Paris in the 1840s; contributed to German and French newspapers: 462

Weiss, Johannes – German medical student, a friend of Conrad Schmidt, later emigrated to South America: 106-7, 118

Weitling, Wilhelm Christian (1808-1871) – German tailor, one of the first leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849: 233, 234, 235

Werder, Karl Friedrich (1806-1893) – German philosopher, Hegelian, poet: 394

William I (1797-1888) – Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88): 25, 41, 92, 104, 111, 138, 141, 146, 163, 164, 171, 174, 175, 273-4, 454

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Wilson, Daniel (1840-1919) – French politician, deputy to the National Assembly (from 1871), moderate republican; son-in-law of the President of the Republic Jules Grévy; involved in several financial swindles; was prosecuted on the

charge of sale of orders (1887-88): 107, 110, 113, 160

Wischnewetzky – see *Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence*

Wischnewetzky, Lazar – physician, Pole by birth, emigrated to the USA in 1886, member of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, husband of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky: 8, 9, 39, 46, 82, 83, 90, 150, 195, 216, 254, 312, 332-3, 355

Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864) – German proletarian revolutionary, teacher; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League (from March 1848), an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 392

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Zetkin, Clara (née *Eissner*) (1857-1933) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (from 1881); contributed to *Der Sozialdemokrat*: 318

Zetkin, Ossip (1852-1889) – Russian revolutionary, banished from Russia for revolutionary activity in 1874; later prominent figure in the German and French working-class movement; journalist; Clara Zetkin's husband: 25

Zola, Émile (1840-1902) – French writer: 85, 168

Zychlinsky, Franz Zychlin von (1816-1900) – Prussian army officer, Young Hegelian, contributed to Bruno Bauer's periodicals under the name of Szeliga: 393

Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna (1849-1919) – participant in the Narodniks (from 1868) and later in the Social Democratic movement in Russia; a founder (1883) and active member of the Emancipation of Labour group: 331, 467-8, 482-5

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The International Review – a socialist monthly published in London from July to September 1889, a sequel of *To-Day*; its editor was Henry Hyndman: 387

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Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik – a German economic journal founded by B. Hildebrand and published in Jena from 1863, as a rule twice a year; it was edited by J. Conrad from 1872 to 1890 and W. Lexis from 1891 to 1897: 250, 477

Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires – a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1994, under this title from 1814 to 1920; expressed conservative views in the 1880s: 10

The Judge – a humorous weekly published in New York from 1881 to September 1938; expressed republican views: 180

Die junge Generation – a German monthly expounding utopian egalitarian communism, published by Wilhelm Weitling in Switzerland from January 1842 to May 1843; appeared as *Der Hülferuf der deutschen Jugend* up to 1842: 233

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Kölnische Zeitung – a German daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; it voiced the interests of the National Liberal Party in last three decades of the 19th century: 118

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The National Reformer – a radical weekly published in London from 1860 to 1893: 152

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Neue Wiener Tagblatt. Demokratisches Organ – an Austrian newspaper published in Vienna from 1867 to 1945: 129

Die Neue Zeit – a theoretical journal of the German Social Democrats, published in Stuttgart monthly from 1883 to October 1890 and then weekly till autumn 1923. It was edited by Karl Kautsky from 1883 to October 1917 and by Heinrich Cunow from October 1917 to autumn 1923. It carried a few of Engels' articles in 1885-94: 25, 132, 133, 185, 233, 266, 392, 422, 457, 465, 469, 473, 475, 487, 490, 498, 500, 502

New York Daily Tribune – a newspaper founded by Horace Greely and published from 1841 to 1924, a press organ of the American Left-wing Whigs till the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; it fought against slavery in the 1840s-50s; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862: 419

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Our Corner – a Fabian monthly edited by Annie Besant and published in London in 1883-88: 152, 183

The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review – a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920; it expressed conservative views in the 1860s-70s: 112, 123, 128, 152, 159, 161, 410

Le Parti Ouvrier – a newspaper of the Possibilists, founded in Paris in March 1888: 24, 243, 322, 449

Le Parti Socialiste. Organe du Comité Révolutionnaire Central – a Blanquist weekly published in Paris from 1890 to 1898: 481

The People's Paper – a weekly of the revolutionary Chartists, published by Ernest Jones in London in 1852-58; Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856: 272

The People's Press – a British workers' weekly, press organ of the new trade unions, published in London from March 1890 to February 1891: 485, 495, 502, 513, 518

Philadelphia Tageblatt – an American German language socialist daily, a trade union newspaper published from November 1877 to 1943: 249

Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalendar – an American German language yearly published by the editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* in New York from 1883 to 1904: 379

Le Prolétariat – a French weekly, an official press organ of the Possibilist Socialist Workers' Federation of France; published under this title in Paris from 5 April 1884 to 25 October 1890: 146, 307, 322

Puck – an American humorist weekly published in New York from 1877 to 1918: 130

Le Radical – a radical daily published in Paris from 1881 to 1928: 41

Recht voor Allen – a Dutch socialist newspaper founded by Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis in Amsterdam in 1879 and published till 1900: 262, 306

Revista Sociala – Romanian journal published in Jassy from 1884 to 1887 under the editorship of Ioan Nadejde: 21, 24, 132

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Reynold's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence – a radical weekly published in London since 1850; it supported Chartists in the early 1850s: 123, 152, 322, 354

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe – a German daily published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843; Marx contributed to it from April 1842 and became one of its editors in October of the same year: 393, 415

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Socialdemokraten – central organ of the Danish Social Democratic Party; published daily under this title in Copenhagen from 1872 to 1959: 306, 307

El Socialista – a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain published in Madrid from 1885: 53, 380

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Le Socialiste. Organe Central du Party Ouvrier – a weekly founded by Jules Guesde in Paris in 1885, till September 1890 appeared with intervals; up to 1902 press organ of the Workers' Party, from 1902 to 1905 of the Socialist Party of France, from 1905 to 1915 of the French Socialist Party; Engels contributed to it in the 1880s-90s: 13, 21, 24, 44, 74, 79, 93, 107, 114, 131, 146, 150, 245, 284, 300

Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge – a weekly central organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, published in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to 27 September 1890. It was edited by George von Vollmar (1879-80) and Eduard Bernstein (1881-90); Marx and Engels were among its contributors: 14, 30, 46, 67, 68, 69, 100, 148, 174, 183, 198, 222, 239, 250, 252, 258, 262, 281, 289, 292, 302, 305, 306, 314, 320, 353, 380, 385, 401, 407, 487-4, 499-500, 508

Der Sozialist – a German language weekly of the Socialist Labor Party of North America published in New York from 1885 to 1892: 38, 102, 208, 249, 293, 306

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St Louis Tageblatt. Den Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidmet – an American German language socialist paper published under this title from April 1888 to 1897.

The Sun – a radical weekly published in London from 1888 to 1890: 322

Time – a monthly close to socialists published in London from 1879 to 1891: 56, 83, 418-0, 422, 449, 457, 469, 475, 490

To-Day – a socialist monthly published in London from April 1883 to 1886; its editor was Henry Mayers Hyndman: 1, 29, 56, 72, 91, 121, 140, 152, 183, 222

Tribune – see *New York Tribune*

La Voie du Peuple – a socialist daily published in Paris from 2 to 8 February and 18 February to 17 March 1887; its editors were Gabriel Pierre Deville, Jules Guesde and others: 13, 23, 27, 29, 41, 372

La Voix – a radical republican daily published in Paris in August-November 1889: 381

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Volks Tribüne – see *Berliner Volks Tribüne*

Volkswille – an Austrian workers' weekly published in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874; its editors-in-chief were Andreas Scheu and Heinrich Oberwinder: 129

Volkszeitung – see *New Yorker Volkszeitung*

Vooruit. Organ der Belgische wekliedenpartij – a Belgian socialist daily of the Ghent workers' co-operative, published in Fleming in Ghent from 1884 to 1928; its editor was Eduard Anseele: 307

Vorwärts – an Argentinean German language newspaper published in Buenos Aires from 1886; it expounded socialism: 307

Weekly Dispatch – a newspaper published under this title in London from 1801 to 1928; expressed radical views in the 1880s: 41, 58, 123, 152, 161, 164, 264

Workmen's Advocate – a weekly of the Socialist Labor Party of North America published in New York from 1885 to March 1891; its editor was Daniel De Leon: 387, 502