

KARL MARX
(1867)



FREDERICK ENGELS
(1879)

KARL MARX
AND
FREDERICK ENGELS

*

SELECTED
CORRESPONDENCE

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
MOSCOW

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The present English edition of the *Selected Correspondence* of Marx and Engels follows the Russian edition (Gospolitizdat, Moscow 1953).

All translated letters have been rechecked with their originals.

Letters written originally in English are starred in the contents table.

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PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN EDITION OF 1953

The present anthology comprises only a small fraction of the exceedingly rich collection of letters written by Marx and Engels and published in works of Marx and Engels, by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The original letters of Marx and Engels and the photographic copies of other such letters preserved in the archives of the Institute composed nine volumes of the first Russian edition of their *Works*.

In publishing a selection of letters of Marx and Engels IMELS set itself the task of facititating to the general reader the study of the most important and interesting passages of this correspondence.

The idea of bringing out such a selection of letters was Lenin's. As early as 1913 he mentioned in an article, "The Marx-Engels Correspondence," that "a selection of passages most important from the standpoint of principle could and should have been published for wide distribution among workers." When in 1921 V. V. Adoratsky got down to the task of preparing such a selection Lenin manifested the liveliest interest in his work. "Pay the utmost attention to the letters," he wrote to Adoratsky on April 10, 1922. "They are a matter of *international* importance."

The anthology of letters of Marx and Engels which was edited by V. V. Adoratsky appeared over twenty years ago, before IMELS was founded and before there was a Russian edition

of the *Works* of Marx and Engels. The present collection is the first of its kind prepared, edited and published by IMELS.

The correspondence of Marx and Engels, which covers the period from the early forties to the middle nineties of last century, mirrors the principal stages of the life and activity of the great founders of scientific communism. It is a very valuable source of information in studying not only their biographies but also the theory of Marxism and the policy of the working class.

Lenin pointed out that the central feature, the focus of the entire Marx-Engels correspondence, was dialectics. "The thing *that interested Marx and Engels most of all*, the *thing to which* they contributed what was most essential and new, the thing that constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought, was the application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy, from its foundations up—to history, natural science, philosophy, and to the policy and tactics of the working class." (V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, Moscow 1953, pp. 75-76.)

A considerable number of letters included in the present volume deal with questions of theory. The letters exchanged between Marx and Engels on *Capital* are of tremendous interest. They afford a look into Marx's scientific laboratory, reveal the process by which this masterpiece was created. In these letters Marx expounds the latest results of his scientific investigations, takes counsel with Engels and discusses particular problems with him. Of no less importance are the letters which illumine problems of dialectical and historical materialism and those which relate to the theory of proletarian revolution.

The letters clearly reflect the role Marx and Engels played as leaders of the international proletariat, as the practical guides of its struggle. Throughout their revolutionary activity they scrupulously investigated questions of strategy and tactics and fought indefatigably for the creation of a revolutionary party of the working class—that sine qua non of the victory of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The letters concerning the Communist League, the foundation of the First International and the struggle within it against the Proudhonists and Bakuninists, the letters depicting the "rabid" war, as Lenin called it, against opportunism in the German Social-Democracy and those sharply criticizing the sectarianism of the socialist parties in America and England, and finally the letters containing directives to parties in various countries—all reveal a vivid picture of stubborn and consistent struggle by Marx and Engels for a proletarian party.

Both in the correspondence carried on between Marx and Engels and in their letters to leaders of various socialist parties much attention is paid to the tactics to be employed in the class struggle of the proletariat. The strikingly subtle and flexible approach Marx and Engels had to the solving of individual tactical problems Lenin considered an exemplary application of the dialectical method. To quote from his article "Karl Marx":

"Marx defined the fundamental task of proletarian tactics in strict conformity with all the postulates of his materialist-dialectical conception. Only an objective consideration of the sum total of reciprocal relations of all the classes of a given society without exception, and, consequently, a consideration of the objective stage of development of that society and of the reciprocal relations between it and other societies, can serve as a basis for correct tactics of the advanced class. At the same time all classes and all countries are regarded not statically but dynamically, i.e., not in a state of immobility, but in motion (the laws of which are determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class)." (V. I. Lenin, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 21, p. 58.)

All their lives Marx and Engels showed themselves to be uncompromising fighters against reaction of every description, for democracy and progress. The letters on the Civil War in the United States, on Ireland, and also those on Germany, which contain a withering characterization of Prussianism and its reactionary role, are proof of this struggle for democracy.

Both Marx and Engels knew Russian, read Russian books, studied Russia's history and economy and maintained connec-

tions with advanced Russian public figures (Danielson, Lavrov, Zasulich, Plekhanov and others). Some of this correspondence and also many separate utterances by Marx and Engels on Russia are contained in the present anthology.

The letters published in this book give an analysis of Russia's economic development and the perspective of a Russian revolution, a characterization of the various political trends in Russia and of certain prominent Russian leaders, first and foremost Chernyshevsky. The eyes of the founders of Marxism were riveted on the development of the Russian revolutionary movement; they considered that the approaching Russian revolution would exert a decisive influence on the further course of world history, inasmuch as the overthrow of tsarism would be the impelling force that would unleash the socialist revolution in the West.

* * *

In selecting the letters that were to go into this anthology the Institute was guided by the utterances found in the works of Lenin and Stalin on the correspondence of Marx and Engels and by Lenin's note-book containing remarks and excerpts from this correspondence, which is preserved in the IMELS archives.

The collection consists of 244 letters, 74 of which are published in full. The rest are excerpts the beginnings and ends of which are indicated by leaders.

The letters are arranged in chronological order.

The translations of the letters have been rechecked for the present edition with the originals or photographic copies of them preserved in the IMELS archives.

Brief informative footnotes have been supplied where deemed necessary.

The book contains a bibliography, a name and a subject index.

MARX-ENGELS-LENIN-STALIN INSTITUTE
OF THE C.C., C.P.S.U.

V. I. LENIN

ON THE MARX-ENGELS CORRESPONDENCE

...its scientific and political value is tremendous. Not only do Marx and Engels stand out here before the reader in bold relief, in their full stature, but the extremely rich theoretical content of Marxism is unfolded with the utmost lucidity, because in the letters Marx and Engels return again and again to the most diverse aspects of their teaching, emphasizing and explaining—at times discussing and convincing each other—what is newest (in relation to earlier views), most important, and most difficult.

There passes before the reader in strikingly vivid tones the history of the labour movement all over the world—at its most important junctures and at its most essential points. Even more valuable is the history of the politics of the working class. On the most diverse occasions, in various countries of the Old World and the New, and at diverse historical moments, Marx and Engels discuss the most important principles of the presentation of the political tasks of the working class. And the period covered by the correspondence was a period in which the working class separated off from bourgeois democracy, a period in which an independent working-class movement arose, a period in which the fundamental principles of proletarian tactics and policy were being defined. The more we have occasion in our day to observe how the labour movement in various countries suffers from opportunism in consequence of the stagnation and decay of the bourgeoisie, in consequence of the attention of the labour leaders being engrossed in the trivialities of the day, and so on—the more valuable becomes the wealth of material contained in the correspondence, displaying as it does a most profound comprehension of the *basic* transformatory aims of the proletariat, and providing an unusually flexible definition of the given tasks of tactics from the standpoint of these revolutionary aims, without making the slightest concession to opportunism or revolutionary phrase-mongering.

If one were to attempt to define by a single word the focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence, the central point to which the whole body of ideas expressed and discussed converges—that word would be *dialectics*. The thing that interested Marx and Engels most of all, the thing to which they contributed what was most essential and new, the thing that constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought, was the application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy, from its foundations up—to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class.

(From V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, Moscow 1953. pp. 74-76)

SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE

1843-1895

1843

1

MARX TO A. RUGE

On board a tugboat bound for D., March 1843

I am now travelling in Holland. So far as I can see from the local and French newspapers, Germany is deeply bogged and getting worse all the time. Let me assure you that even if one has not the slightest sense of national pride, one does have a sense of national shame, even in Holland. The most insignificant Hollander is anyhow a citizen, whereas the greatest German is not. And the judgments the foreigners pass on the Prussian Government! Frightful unanimity prevails; no one has any illusions any more about this system and its simple nature. So after all, the new school has been of some use. The magnificent mantle of liberalism has fallen and the most obnoxious despotism stands before the whole world in all its nakedness.

That is also a revelation, though of a contrary nature. It is a truth which discloses to us at least the hollowness of our patriotism, the monstrosity of our system of state, and teaches us to shroud our face in shame. You look at me with a smile and ask: What is to be gained by this? Revolutions are not made out of a sense of shame. I reply: Shame itself amounts to a revolution; it is really the victory of the French Revolution over German patriotism, by which it was defeated in 1813. Shame is a kind of wrath one vents upon oneself. And if a whole nation were really ashamed it would be a crouching lion ready to spring. I admit that even a sense of shame is not yet to be found in Germany; on the contrary, these miscreants are still patriots. However, what system is apt to drive their patriotism out of them

if not that ridiculous one of the new knight[1]? The comedy of despotism that is being played with us is as dangerous for him as tragedy once was for the Stuarts and the Bourbons. And even if this comedy were for a long time not taken for what it is it would nevertheless constitute a revolution. The state is too serious a thing to be turned into a harlequinade. A ship full of fools could perhaps be allowed to drift in the wind for quite a while, but it would float towards its destiny for the very reason that these fools do not think it will. This destiny is the revolution that is in store for us.

[1] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

1844

2

ENGELS TO MARX

Barmen, November 19, 1844

... It is impossible to convince Jung and a multitude of others that a difference in principle exists between us and Ruge; they remain of the opinion that it is merely personal squabbles. When they are told that Ruge is not a Communist they are inclined not to believe that and think it is too bad that a "literary authority" like him should be thoughtlessly cast aside! What is one supposed to say in a case like that? One must wait until Ruge once more shoots off one of his colossal stupidities which can be shown up before these people for what it is. I don't know, this Jung doesn't seem to be the right sort. The fellow is not resolute enough.

We are now holding public meetings everywhere to set up societies for the advancement of the workers. This is a fine way of getting our Germans into motion and directs the attention of the philistines to social problems. These meetings are arranged offhand, without asking the police. In Cologne half of the seats on the Committee for drawing up the Rules have been held by our people; in Elberfeld at least one was on it and with the assistance of the Rationalists we badly worsted the Pious at two meetings; by a tremendous majority vote everything Christian was banned from the Rules. I had a lot of fun watching these Rationalists making themselves absolutely ridiculous with their theoretical Christianity and practical atheism. In principle they considered that the Christian opposition was perfectly right, but in practice Christianity, which, as they themselves said, was after all to form the basis of the society, was not to be mentioned

by a single word in the Rules. The Rules were to contain everything except the vital principle of the society! Those chaps were so stiff-necked about maintaining their ridiculous position that there was no need for my saying a word and we got such Rules as we could only have wished for under the existing conditions. Next Sunday there is going to be another meeting, which however I shall be unable to attend because I am going to Westphalia tomorrow.

I am buried up to the neck in English newspapers and books from which I am compiling my book on the condition of the English proletarians.[1] I expect to be done by the middle or end of January, as I finished the most difficult job, the arrangement of the material, about one or two weeks ago. I shall present the English with a fine bill of indictment. I accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and all sorts of other crimes on a mass scale, and am writing an English preface which I shall have printed separately and shall send to the English party leaders, literary men and Members of Parliament. Those fellows will have to remember me. Anyhow it is self-understood that when I hit the bag I mean to strike the donkey, namely, the German bourgeoisie, of whom I say clearly enough that it is just as bad as the English, only not so courageous, consistent and adept in sweat-shop methods. As soon as I am through with that I shall tackle the history of the social development of the English, which will cost me much less effort, because I have the material for it all ready and arranged in order in my head, and because the whole business is perfectly clear to me. Meantime I will write a few pamphlets, particularly against *List*, as soon as I have time....

[1] F. Engels, *Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—*Ed.*

3

ENGELS TO MARX

[Barmen, January 20, 1845]

... What pleases me particularly is this acclimatization of communist literature in Germany, which now is a *fait accompli*. A year ago this literature started to become acclimatized outside of Germany, in Paris, or, rather, only to come into existence, and now it is already burdening the minds of the simple Germans. Newspapers, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies and an advancing reserve of heavy guns—everything in the best of order. It all came about so devilishly quick! Underground propaganda also bore its fruits—every time I go to Cologne, or drop into a pub here, I find further progress, new proselytes. The Cologne meeting accomplished miracles: gradually one discovers separate communist groups which developed on the quiet, without any direct co-operation on our part.

The *Gemeinnützliges Wochenblatt*, which was formerly published together with the *Rheinische Zeitung*, is now also in our hands. D'Ester has taken over and will see what can be done. But what we now need most of all is a couple of big works to provide a substantial prop for the many half-educated who would like to settle questions by themselves but are unable to do so. See that you get done soon with your book on political economy,[1] even if you should still be dissatisfied with much. It does not matter. Minds have ripened and we must strike while

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[1] The reference is to *A Critique of Politics and Political Economy*, a work which Marx sketched but did not finish. The extant fragments of this manuscript were published for the first time by IMELS in Marx-Engels/Gesamtausgabe, Abt. 1, Bd. III, S. 29-172, 1932.—*Ed.*

the iron is hot. My English things will not fail of their effect either—the facts are too striking. All the same, I wish my hands were freer to accomplish many a thing which at the present moment would be more convincing and effective against the German bourgeoisie. We German theoreticians—it is to laugh, but a sign of the times and of the vanishing of the German national bog—simply cannot get to develop our theory; we have not even been able to publish the Critique of Nonsense. But now it is high time. Therefore get the thing ready *before* April. Do what I did. Set a time limit on the expiry of which you absolutely *want to be finished* and see that the book is printed at once. If that is impossible there,[1] have it printed in Mannheim, Darmstadt or some other burg. But it must come out soon.

That you enlarged the *Critical Criticism*[2] to twenty printed sheets came of course rather as a surprise to me. But *it is all to* the good. Much can now be made available which would otherwise remain locked up in your desk who knows how long. If, however, you left my name on the title page, it will look strange, for I hardly wrote one and a half sheets. As I told you, I have not yet had any news from Löwenthal nor have I heard anything about the appearance of the book, which I am of course very eagerly awaiting.

...I am leading a life here such as the most splendiferous philistine could only wish for—a quiet, tranquil life, full of devotion and respectability. I sit in my room and work, hardly go anywhere and am as staid as a German. If that keeps up I am afraid the Almighty may forgive me my writings and admit me to heaven. You may take it for certain that here in Barmen I am beginning to gain a good reputation. But I am sick and tired of it all. I want to get away from here by Easter and will go most likely to Bonn.... Huckstering is too horrible, Barmen is too horrible, the way they spend their time is too horrible, and it is above all things too horrible to remain, not merely a bourgeois,

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[1] In Paris.—*Ed.*

[2] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Holy Family, or a Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer & Co.*—*Ed.*

but a manufacturer, a bourgeois who actively opposes the proletariat. A few days spent in my old man's factory made me see again with my own eyes the horror of it all, which had dimmed somewhat in my mind. I had of course counted on staying in the huckstering business only as long as it suited me and then writing something prohibited by the police so as to be able to skip the border with a good grace. But I can't stand it even till then. If I did not have to record daily in my book the most horrifying stories about English society I believe I would already have become rusty; but that at least kept my blood boiling with rage. And perhaps one can while being a Communist remain in one's outward status a bourgeois and a huckstering beast as long as one *does not write*, but to carry on a wide communist propaganda and at the same time engage in huckstering and industry will not work. Enough. On Easter I quit here. Add to this the drowsy life in a thoroughly radical-Christian-Prussian family—I cannot stand it any longer; I might in the end become a German philistine and introduce philistinism into communism.

Now don't keep me waiting so long for a letter from you as I kept you this time. Regards to your wife, whom I do not know yet, and everybody else worth greeting. For the time being continue writing to the present address. Should I leave your letters will be forwarded to me.

Yours,

F. E.

1846

4

MARX TO P. J. PROUDHON

Brussels, May 5, 1846

My Dear Proudhon,

I very often intended to write to you since I left Paris, but circumstances independent of my will have prevented me hitherto from doing so. Let me assure you that the only reason for my silence has been that I was overwhelmed with work and kept busy by the worriments involved in a change of residence, and the like.

And now let us jump in *medias res*![1] Together with two friends of mine, Frederick Engels and Philippe Gigot (both in Brussels), I have organized a continuous correspondence with the German Communists and Socialists,[2] which is to take up both the discussion of scientific questions and the supervision of popular publications as well as socialist propaganda, which can be carried on in Germany by this means. It will be the chief aim of our correspondence, however, to put the German Socialists in contact with the French and English Socialists; to keep the foreigners posted on the socialist movements that are going to take place in Germany, and to inform the Germans in Germany of the progress of socialism in France and England. In this way it will be possible to air differences of opinion. An exchange of ideas will

[1] Come directly to the point.—*Ed.*

[2] A reference to the establishment by Marx and Engels of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee for the exchange of letters with the communist groups in Germany and abroad. In the letter he sent in reply Proudhon declined to collaborate, declaring that he was opposed to revolutionary methods of struggle.—*Ed.*

ensue and impartial criticism secured. It is a step which the social movement should take in its *literary* expression in order to free itself of its *national* limitations. And at the time for action it is certainly of great moment to everyone to be enlightened on the state of affairs abroad as well as at home.

Besides the Communists in Germany our correspondence would also embrace the German Socialists in Paris and London. Our connections with England have already been established; as for France, we are all of the opinion that we could not find a better correspondent there than you. As you know, the English and Germans have up to the present appreciated you more than your own fellow-countrymen.

So you see, it is only a question of initiating a regular correspondence and of assuring it the facilities for following the social movement in the various countries, a question of making it interesting, meaty and varied, which the work of a single individual can never achieve.

If you accept our proposal, postage for the letters sent by us to you and by you to us will be paid for here, the money raised in Germany being intended to cover the expenses of the correspondence.

The address we would ask you to write to here is that of M. Philippe Gigot, 8, rue Bodenbroek. He is also the one to sign the letters from Brussels.

I need not add that the utmost secrecy must be maintained by you with regard to the whole of this correspondence; in Germany our friends have to act with the greatest circumspection to avoid compromising themselves.

Send us an early reply and believe in the sincere friendship of

Your wholly devoted,

Karl Marx

5

ENGELS TO MARX

Paris, September 18, 1846

... I did Proudhon a really crying injustice in my business letter. As there is no room in that letter, I must retrieve my error here. You see, I thought he was guilty of some trifling nonsense, some nonsense within the bounds of what makes sense. Yesterday the matter came up once more; this time for thorough discussion. In the course of it I learnt that this new nonsense is really *nonsense beyond all bounds*. Just imagine: Proletarians are to *save up* to buy small shares of stock. By means of these (he of course will not start with less than 10,000-20,000 workers) one or several workshops, to begin with, belonging to one or several trades will be erected. Part of the shareholders will be employed there and the products will be sold, firstly, at the price of the raw material and labour to the shareholders (who thus will have to pay no profit) and, secondly, the balance, if any, at the current price on the world market. As the capital of the association is increased by newcomers or new savings of the old shareholders it is invested in the building of new workshops and factories, and so on and so forth, until *all* proletarians are employed, *all* productive forces in the country are bought up, and thereby the capitals in the hands of the bourgeoisie lose the power to command labour and produce profit! Thus capital is abolished by "finding an authority before which capital, i.e., the interest system," (Grünification of the erstwhile *droit d'aubaine*[1] brought somewhat closer to the light of day) "disappears, as it were." In this phrase, repeated countless times by Papa Elsermann and hence drummed into his head by Grün, you can still see distinctly the original Proudhonian high-flown verbiage shimmering through. What these people have in mind is nothing more or less than *to buy up the whole of France* for the time being and later perhaps the whole world by dint of proletarian savings, provided

[1] Under this mediaeval custom, the property of heirless foreigners in France escheated to the French crown.—*Ed.*

they waive profit and interest on their capital. Has anyone ever thought up such an ingenious scheme and would it not be a much shorter road, once such a stunt is to be performed, to proceed directly to coin five-franc pieces out of the silver contained in the shine of the moon? And those blockheads here (I mean the German workers) *believe* that piffle. Blokes who cannot manage to keep six sous in their pockets for drinks on the evenings they meet in a wine saloon want to buy up *toute la belle France* out of their savings. Rothschild and his crew are small fry alongside these huge financial tycoons. It is enough to give you a fit. That Grün has so confused those fellows that the most senseless phrase sounds more sensible to them than the simplest fact used as an economic argument. It is an outrage that one must still take up the cudgels against such barbarous balderdash. But one must be patient and I won't let go of those chaps until I have driven Grün from the field and cleansed their clogged-up skulls....

6

ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE IN BRUSSELS

Committee Letter No. 3

Paris, October 23, 1846

About the business with the *Straubingers*[1] here there is not much to be said. The main thing is that the various points of difference which I have had to fight out with the lads hitherto have now been settled; Grün's chief follower and pupil, Papa Eisermann, has been turned out, the influence of the rest over the mass of them has completely collapsed and I got a resolution against them carried unanimously.

Briefly, this is what happened:

The Proudhonian plan of association was discussed for three evenings. At first I had nearly the whole clique against me, but at the end only Eisermann and the other three followers of Grün.

[1] *Straubinger*: philistine craftsman.—*Ed.*

The chief point was to prove the necessity for revolution by force and in general to demonstrate that Grün's true socialism, which derived new life from the Proudhon panacea, was anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, Straubingerian. In the end I got furious at the perpetual repetition of the same arguments by my opponents and made a direct attack on the Straubingers, which aroused great indignation among the Grünists but enabled me to lure the noble Eisermann into an *open assault* on communism. Whereupon I gave him such a merciless hiding that he never showed up again.

I now made use of the handle which Eisermann had given me —the attack on communism—all the more so as Grün was intriguing the whole time, running round the workshops, summoning people to his place on Sundays, etc., etc., and on the Sunday after the afore-mentioned session had *himself* had the unbounded stupidity to attack communism in front of eight or ten Straubingers. I therefore announced that before I took part in further discussion a vote had to be taken whether we met here as Communists or not. If so, care would have to be taken that attacks on communism like that made by Eisermann did not occur again; if not, if they were simply chance individuals discussing chance questions there, I did not give a rap for them and should not come again. This greatly horrified the Grünists—they met together, they said, "for the good of mankind," for their own enlightenment, they were progressive spirits, not one-sided system-catchers, etc., etc., and surely it was impossible to call worthies like themselves "chance individuals." Moreover *they first had to know* what communism really was (these dogs who have been calling themselves Communists for years and have only deserted from fear of Grün and Eisermann, who had sneaked in among them under the flag of communism!). Naturally I did not let myself be trapped by their kind request that I should tell them, the ignorant, in two or three words what communism is. I gave them an extremely simple definition. It covered no more than the particular points at issue and, by positing community of goods, *ruled out* peaceableness, tenderness or consideration for the bourgeoisie or the Straubingers, and, finally, the Proudhonian joint-stock company with its retention of individual *property*

and all that this involves. Moreover, it contained nothing which could give occasion for digressions and evasion of the proposed vote. I therefore defined the objects of the Communists in this way: 1) to achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; 2) to do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; 3) to recognize no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force.

This was discussed for two evenings. On the second, the best of the three Grünists, sensing the mood of the majority, came completely over to my side. The other two were contradicting each other the whole time without noticing it. Several chaps who had never spoken before suddenly got their mouths open and declared themselves quite decidedly for me. Up till then only Junge had done this. Some of these new men, although they were trembling in mortal fear of getting stuck, spoke quite nicely and in general seem to possess quite healthy intelligence. In short, when it came to the vote, the meeting declared itself communist in the sense of the above definition by thirteen votes against the two still faithful Grünists—of whom one explained later that he had the greatest longing to become a convert....

7

ENGELS TO MARX

[Paris, approx. October 23, 1846]

Dear Marx,

That business against Kriege received. Is quite good. Since you alone signed Kriege will ascribe the peremptory tone of the first document[1] to me personally and after this second one will eat

[1] The document in question is a manifesto known as "*Der Volkstribun*, edited by Hermann Kriege," written by Marx and Engels and sent out by the Brussels Correspondence Committee to all communist correspondence committees. This circular was an exposure of the views of Hermann Kriege, editor of the New York newspaper *Volkstribun* and exponent of "true socialism." Kriege substituted a sentimental preachment of love, justice and the like for the class struggle of the proletariat.—*Ed.*

humbie pie; but that is all the same to me. In his personal malice he can paint me pitch black to the American Straubingers if that gives him any pleasure.

You will see from the letter to the Committee how I got the Straubingers here on my side. The devil knows I did not spare them. I attacked their worst prejudices and told them they were not proletarians at all. But, then, it was just too nice how that Grün fellow played right into my hands....

I think I shall be able to pull it off with the Straubingers here. These fellows are indeed appallingly ignorant and utterly unprepared by their conditions of life. There is no competition whatever among them; wages always stay on about the same level. Struggles with the master do not turn on the question of wages at all but on "the journeyman's pride," etc. The ready-made clothing shops are having a revolutionizing effect on the tailors now. If only it were not such a rotten trade!

Grün has done a fearful lot of harm. He has turned everything definite in the minds of these fellows into mere daydreams, humanitarian aspirations, etc. Under the pretence of attacking Weitlingian and other doctrinaire communism he stuffed their heads full of vague literary and petty-bourgeois phrases and claimed everything else was system-mongering. Even the joiners, who were never Weitlingians—or at most only a very few of them were—have got a superstitious fear of "*Löffelkommunismus*"[1] and—at least *before* the decision was taken—would sooner associate themselves with the most visionary dreams, peaceful plans for bestowing happiness on mankind, etc., than this "*Löffelkommunismus*." Boundless confusion reigns here supreme.

The other day I sent Harney a mild attack on the peacefulness of the Fraternal Democrats.[2] Besides, I wrote him to keep up the correspondence with you people.

Yours,
E.

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[1] Crude, bread-and-butter communism—*Ed.*

[2] *Fraternal Democrats*: an organisation which existed in London from 1845 to 1853. It consisted of radical-wing Chartists and revolutionaries who had emigrated from various European countries—*Ed.*

8

MARX TO P. V. ANNENKOV

Brussels, December 28, [1846]

My Dear Monsieur Annenkov,

You would long ago have received my answer to your letter of November 1 but for the fact that my bookseller only sent me Monsieur Proudhon's book, *The Philosophy of Poverty*, last week. I have gone through it in two days in order to be able to give you my opinion about it at once. As I have read the book very hurriedly, I cannot go into details but can only tell you the general impression it has made on me. If you wish I could go into details in a second letter.

I must frankly confess that I find the book on the whole bad, and very bad. You yourself laugh in your letter at the "patch of German philosophy" which M. Proudhon parades in this formless and pretentious work, but you suppose that the economic argument has not been infected by the philosophic poison. I too am very far from imputing the faults in the economic argument to M. Proudhon's philosophy. M. Proudhon does not give us a false criticism of political economy because he is the possessor of an absurd philosophic theory, but he gives us an absurd philosophic theory because he fails to understand the social system of today in its *engrènement*,[1] to use a word which, like much else, M. Proudhon has borrowed from Fourier.

Why does M. Proudhon talk about God, about universal reason, about the impersonal reason of humanity which never errs, which has always been equal to itself throughout all the ages and of which one need only have the right consciousness in order to know the truth? Why does he resort to feeble Hegelianism to give himself the appearance of a bold thinker?

He himself provides you with the clue to this enigma. M. Proudhon sees in history a series of social developments; he finds progress realized in history; finally he finds that men, as indivi-

[1] Concatenation.—*Ed.*

duals, did not know what they were doing and were mistaken about their own movement, that is to say, their social development seems at the first glance to be distinct, separate and independent of their individual development. He cannot explain these *facts, and so the hypothesis of universal reason manifesting itself* comes in very handy. Nothing is easier than to invent mystical causes, that is to say, phrases which lack common sense.

But when M. Proudhon admits that he understands nothing about the historical development of humanity—he admits this by using such high-sounding words as: Universal Reason, God, etc.—is he not implicitly and necessarily admitting that he is incapable of understanding *economic development?*

What is society, whatever its form may be? The product of men's reciprocal action. Are men free to choose this or that form of society? By no means. Assume a particular state of development in the productive faculties of man and you will get a particular form of commerce and consumption. Assume particular stages of development in production, commerce and consumption and you will have a corresponding social constitution, a corresponding organization of the family, of orders or of classes, in a word, a corresponding civil society. Assume a particular civil society and you will get particular political conditions which are only the official expression of civil society. M. Proudhon will never understand this because he thinks he is doing something great by appealing from the state to civil society—that is to say, from the official résumé of society to official society.

It is superfluous to add that men are not free to choose their *productive forces*—which are the basis of all their history—for every productive force is an *acquired* force, the product of former activity. The productive forces are therefore the result of practical human energy; but this energy is itself conditioned by the circumstances in which men find themselves, by the productive forces already acquired, by the social form which exists before they do, which they do not create, which is the product of the preceding generation. Because of this simple fact that every succeeding generation finds itself in possession of the productive forces acquired by the previous generation, which serve it as the raw

material for new production, a coherence arises in human history, a history of humanity takes shape which is all the more a history of humanity as the productive forces of man and therefore his social relations have been more developed. Hence it necessarily follows that the social history of men is never anything but the history of their individual development, whether they are conscious of it or not. Their material relations are the basis of all their relations. These material relations are only the necessary forms in which their material and individual activity is realized.

M. Proudhon mixes up ideas and things. Men never relinquish what they have won, but this does not mean that they never relinquish the social form in which they have acquired certain productive forces. On the contrary, in order that they may not be deprived of the result attained and forfeit the fruits of civilization, they are obliged, from the moment when their mode of carrying on commerce no longer corresponds to the productive forces acquired, to change all their traditional social forms. I am using the word "commerce" here in its widest sense, as we use *Verkehr* in German. For example: the privileges, the institution of guilds and corporations, the regulatory regime of the Middle Ages, were social relations that alone corresponded to the acquired productive forces and to the social condition which had previously existed and from which these institutions had arisen. Under the protection of the regime of corporations and regulations, capital was accumulated, overseas trade was developed, colonies were founded. But the fruits of this men would have forfeited if they had tried to retain the forms under whose shelter these fruits had ripened. Hence burst two thunderclaps—the Revolutions of 1640 and 1688. All the old economic forms, the social relations corresponding to them, the political conditions which were the official expression of the old civil society, were destroyed in England. Thus the economic forms in which men produce, consume, and exchange, are *transitory and historical.* With the acquisition of new productive faculties, men change their mode of production and with the mode of production all the economic relations which are merely the necessary relations of this particular mode of production.

This is what M. Proudhon has not understood and still less demonstrated. M. Proudhon, incapable of following the real movement of history, produces a phantasmagoria which presumptuously claims to be dialectical. He does not feel it necessary to speak of the seventeenth, the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, for his history proceeds in the misty realm of imagination and rises far above space and time. In short, it is not history but old Hegelian junk, it is not profane history—a history of man—but sacred history—a history of ideas. From his point of view man is only the instrument of which the idea or the eternal reason makes use in order to unfold itself. The *evolutions* of which M. Proudhon speaks are understood to be evolutions such as are accomplished within the mystic womb of the absolute idea. If you tear the veil from this mystical language, what it comes to is that M. Proudhon is offering you the order in which economic categories arrange themselves inside his own mind. It will not require great exertion on my part to prove to you that it is the order of a very disorderly mind.

M. Proudhon begins his book with a dissertation on *value*, which is his pet subject. I will not enter on an examination of this dissertation today.

The series of economic evolutions of the eternal reason begins with *division of labour*. To M. Proudhon division of labour is a perfectly simple thing. But was not the caste regime also a particular division of labour? Was not the regime of the corporations another division of labour? And is not the division of labour under the system of manufacture, which in England begins in the middle

been fundamentally different from what it was in the seventeenth century when colonies were already developed.

And that is not all. Is the whole inner organization of nations, are all their international relations anything else than the expression of a particular division of labour? And must not these change when the division of labour changes?

M. Proudhon has so little understood the problem of the division of labour that he never even mentions the separation of town and country, which took place in Germany, for instance, from the ninth to the twelfth century. Thus, to M. Proudhon, this separation is an eternal law since he knows neither its origin nor its development. All through his book he speaks as if this creation of a particular mode of production would endure until the end of time. All that M. Proudhon says about the division of labour is only a summary, and moreover a very superficial and incomplete summary, of what Adam Smith and a thousand others have said before him.

The second evolution[1] is *machinery*. The connection between the division of labour and machinery is entirely mystical to M. Proudhon. Each kind of division of labour had its specific instruments of production. Between the middle of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century, for instance, people did not make everything by hand. They had instruments, and very complicated ones at that, such as looms, ships, levers, etc.

Thus there is nothing more absurd than to derive machinery from division of labour in general.

I may also remark, by the way, that M. Proudhon has understood very little the historical origin of machinery, but has still less understood its development. One can say that up to the year 1825—the period of the first general crisis—the demands of consumption in general increased more rapidly than production, and the development of machinery was a necessary consequence of the needs of the market. Since 1825, the invention and application of machinery has been simply the result of the war between workers and employers. But this is only true of England. As for

[1] of eternal reason.—*Ed.*

the European nations, they were driven to adopt machinery owing to English competition both in their home markets and on the world market. Finally, in North America the introduction of machinery was due both to competition with other countries and to lack of hands, that is, to the disproportion between the population of North America and its industrial needs. From these facts you can see what sagacity Monsieur Proudhon develops when he conjures up the spectre of competition as the third evolution, the antithesis to machinery!

Lastly and in general, it is altogether absurd to make *machinery* an economic category alongside with division of labour, competition, credit, etc.

Machinery is no more an economic category than the ox which draws the plough. The application of machinery in the present day is one of the relations of our present economic system, but the way in which machinery is utilized is totally distinct from the machinery itself. Powder is powder whether used to wound a man or to dress his wounds.

M. Proudhon surpasses himself when he allows competition, monopoly, taxes or police, balance of trade, credit and property to develop inside his head in the order in which I have mentioned them. Nearly all credit institutions had been developed in England by the beginning of the eighteenth century, before the invention of machinery. Public credit was only a fresh method of increasing taxation and satisfying the new demands created by the rise of the bourgeoisie to power. Finally, the last category in M. Proudhon's system is constituted by *property*. In the real world, on the other hand, the division of labour and all M. Proudhon's other categories are social relations forming in their entirety what is today known as property; outside these relations bourgeois property is nothing but a metaphysical or juristic illusion. The property of a different epoch, feudal property, develops in a series of entirely different social relations. M. Proudhon, by establishing property as an independent relation, commits more than a mistake in method: he clearly shows that he has not grasped the bond which holds together all forms of *bourgeois* production, that he has not understood the *historical and transitory* character

of the forms of production in a particular epoch. M. Proudhon, who does not regard our social institutions as historical products, who can understand neither their origin nor their development, can only produce dogmatic criticism of them.

M. Proudhon is therefore obliged to take refuge in a *fiction* in order to explain development. He imagines that division of labour, credit, machinery, etc., were all invented to serve his fixed idea, the idea of equality. His explanation is sublimely naive. These things were invented in the interests of equality but unfortunately they turned against equality. This constitutes his whole argument. In other words, he makes a gratuitous assumption and then, as the actual development contradicts his fiction at every step, he concludes that there is a contradiction. He conceals from you the fact that the contradiction exists solely between his fixed ideas and the real movement.

Thus, M. Proudhon, mainly because he lacks the historical knowledge, has not perceived that as men develop their productive faculties, that is, as they live, they develop certain relations with one another and that the nature of these relations must necessarily change with the change and growth of the productive faculties. He has not perceived that *economic categories* are only *abstract expressions* of these actual relations and only remain true while these relations exist. He therefore falls into the error of the bourgeois economists, who regard these economic categories as eternal and not as historical laws which are only laws for a particular historical development, for a definite development of the productive forces. Instead, therefore, of regarding the political-economic categories as abstract expressions of the real, transitory, historic social relations, Monsieur Proudhon, thanks to a mystic inversion, sees in the real relations only embodiments of these abstractions. These abstractions themselves are formulas which have been slumbering in the heart of God the Father since the beginning of the world.

But here our good M. Proudhon falls into severe intellectual convulsions. If all these economic categories are emanations from the heart of God, are the hidden and eternal life of man, how does it come about, first, that there is such a thing as de-

velopment, and secondly, that M. Proudhon is not a conservative? He explains these evident contradictions by a whole system of antagonisms.

To throw light on this system of antagonisms let us take an example.

Monopoly is a good thing, because it is an economic category and therefore an emanation of God. Competition is a good thing *because it is also* an economic category. But what is not good is the reality of monopoly and the reality of competition. What is still worse is the fact that competition and monopoly devour each other. What is to be done? As these two eternal ideas of God contradict each other, it seems obvious to him that there is also within the bosom of God a synthesis of them both, in which the evils of monopoly are balanced by competition and *vice versa*. As a result of the struggle between the two ideas only their good side will come into view. One must snatch this secret idea from God and then apply it and everything will be for the best; the synthetic formula which lies hidden in the darkness of the impersonal reason of man must be revealed. M. Proudhon does not hesitate for a moment to come forward as the revealer.

But look for a moment at real life. In the economic life of the present time you find not only competition and monopoly but also their synthesis, which is not a *formula* but a *movement*. Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. But this equation, far from removing the difficulties of the present situation, as the bourgeois economists imagine it does, results in a situation still more difficult and confused. If therefore you alter the basis on which present-day economic relations rest, if you destroy the present *mode* of production, then you will not only destroy competition, monopoly and their antagonism, but also their unity, their synthesis, the movement which is the real equilibrium of competition and monopoly.

Now I will give you an example of Monsieur Proudhon's dialectics.

Freedom and *slavery* constitute an antagonism. I need not speak of the good and bad sides of freedom nor, speaking of slavery, need I dwell on its bad sides. The only thing that has to be ex-

plained is its good side. We are not dealing with indirect slavery, the slavery of the proletariat, but with direct slavery, the slavery of the black races in Surinam, in Brazil, in the Southern States of North America.

Direct slavery is as much the pivot of our industrialism today as machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery no cotton; without cotton no modern industry. Slavery has given value to the colonies; the colonies have created world trade; world trade is the necessary condition of large-scale machine industry. Thus, before the traffic in Negroes began, the colonies supplied the Old World with only very few products and made no visible change in the face of the earth. Slavery is therefore an economic category of the highest importance. Without slavery North America, the most progressive country, would be transformed into a patriarchal land. You have only to wipe North America off the map of the nations and you get anarchy, the total decay of trade and of modern civilization. But to let slavery disappear is to wipe North America off the map of the nations. And therefore, because it is an economic category, we find slavery in every nation since the world began. Modern nations have merely known how to disguise slavery of their own countries while they openly imported it into the New World. After these observations on slavery, how will our worthy M. Proudhon proceed? He will look for the synthesis between freedom and slavery, the golden mean or equilibrium between slavery and freedom.

Monsieur Proudhon has very well grasped the fact that men produce cloth, linen, silks, and it is a great merit on his part to have grasped this small amount! What he has not grasped is that these men, according to their abilities, also produce the *social relations* amid which they prepare cloth and linen. Still less has he understood that men, who produce their social relations in accordance with their material productivity, also produce *ideas, categories*, that is to say the abstract ideal expressions of these same social relations. Thus the categories are no more eternal than the relations they express. They are historical and transitory products. To M. Proudhon, on the contrary, abstractions, categories are the primordial cause. According to him they, and not

men, make history. The *abstraction*, the *category taken as such*, i.e., apart from men and their material activities, is of course immortal, unchangeable, unmoved; it is only one form of the being of pure reason; which is only another way of saying that the abstraction as such is abstract. An admirable tautology!

Thus, regarded as categories, economic relations for M. Proudhon are eternal formulas without origin or progress.

Let us put it in another way: M. Proudhon does not directly state that *bourgeois life* is for him an *eternal verity*; he states it indirectly by deifying the categories which express bourgeois relations in the form of thought. He takes the products of bourgeois society for spontaneously arisen eternal beings, endowed with lives of their own, as soon as they present themselves to his mind in the form of categories, in the form of thought. So he does not rise above the bourgeois horizon. As he is operating with bourgeois ideas, the eternal truth of which he presupposes, he seeks a synthesis, an equilibrium of these ideas, and does not see that the present method by which they reach equilibrium is the only possible one.

Indeed he does what all good bourgeois do. They all tell you that in principle, that is, considered as abstract ideas, competition, monopoly, etc., are the only basis of life, but that in practice they leave much to be desired. They all want competition without the lethal effects of competition. They all want the impossible, namely, the conditions of bourgeois existence without the necessary consequences of those conditions. None of them understands that the bourgeois form of production is historical and transitory, just as the feudal form was. This mistake arises from the fact that the bourgeois man is to them the only possible basis of every society; they cannot imagine a society in which men have ceased to be bourgeois.

M. Proudhon is therefore necessarily *doctrinaire*. To him the historical movement, which is turning the present-day world upside down, reduces itself to the problem of discovering the correct equilibrium, the synthesis, of two bourgeois thoughts. And so the clever fellow by virtue of his subtlety discovers the hidden thought of God, the unity of two isolated thoughts—which are

only isolated because M. Proudhon has isolated them from practical life, from present-day production, which is the combination of the realities which they express. In place of the great historical movement arising from the conflict between the productive forces already acquired by men and their social relations, which no longer correspond to these productive forces; in place of the terrible wars which are being prepared between the different classes within each nation and between different nations; in place of the practical and violent action of the masses by which alone these conflicts can be resolved—in place of this vast, prolonged and complicated movement, Monsieur Proudhon supplies the whimsical motion of his own head. So it is the men of learning that make history, the men who know how to purloin God's secret thoughts. The common people have only to apply their revelations. You will now understand why M. Proudhon is the declared enemy of every political movement. The solution of present problems does not lie for him in public action but in the dialectical rotations of his own head. Since to him the categories are the motive force, it is not necessary to change practical life in order to change the categories. Quite the contrary One must change the categories and the consequence will be a change in the existing society.

In his desire to reconcile the contradictions Monsieur Proudhon does not even ask if the very basis of those contradictions must not be overthrown. He is exactly like the political doctrinaire who wants to have the king and the chamber of deputies and the chamber of peers as integral parts of social life, as eternal categories. All he is looking for is a new formula by which to establish an equilibrium between these powers whose equilibrium consists precisely in the actual movement in which one power is now the conqueror and now the slave of the other. Thus in the eighteenth century a number of mediocre minds were busy finding the true formula which would bring the social estates, nobility, king, parliament, etc., into equilibrium, and they woke up one morning to find that there was in fact no longer any king, parliament or nobility. The true equilibrium in this antagonism was the overthrow of all the social relations which served as a basis for these

feudal existences and for the antagonisms of these feudal existences.

Because M. Proudhon places eternal ideas, the categories of pure reason, on the one side and human beings and their practical life, which according to him is the application of these categories, on the other, one finds with him from the beginning a *dualism* between life and ideas, between sout and body, a dualism which recurs in many forms. You can see now that this antagonism is nothing but the incapacity of M. Proudhon to understand the profane origin and the profane history of the categories which he deifies.

My letter is already too long for me to speak of the absurd case which M. Proudhon puts up against communism. For the moment you will grant me that a man who has not understood the present state of society may be expected to understand still less the movement which is tending to overthrow it, and the literary expressions of this revolutionary movement.

The *sole point* on which I am in complete agreement with Monsieur Proudhon is in his dislike for sentimental socialistic daydreams. I had already, before him, drawn much enmity upon myself by ridiculing this sentimental, utopian, mutton-headed socialism. But is not M. Proudhon strangely deluding himself when he sets up his petty-bourgeois sentimentality—I am referring to his declamations about home, conjugal love and all such banalities—in opposition to socialist sentimentality, which in Fourier, for example, goes much deeper than the pretentious platitudes of our worthy Proudhon? He himself is so thoroughly conscious of the emptiness of his arguments, of his utter incapacity to speak about these things, that he bursts into violent explosions of rage, vociferation and righteous wrath, foams at the mouth, curses, denounces, cries shame and murder, beats his breast and boasts before God and man that he is not defiled by the socialist infamies! He does not seriously criticize socialist sentimentalities, or what he regards as such. Like a holy man, a pope, he excommunicates poor sinners and sings the glories of the petty bourgeoisie and of the miserable patriarchal and amorous illusions of the domestic hearth. And this is no accident.

From head to foot M. Proudhon is the philosopher and economist of the petty bourgeoisie. In an advanced society the *petty bourgeois* necessarily becomes from his very position a Socialist on the one side and an economist on the other; that is to say, he is dazed by the magnificence of the big bourgeoisie and has sympathy for the sufferings of the people. He is at once both bourgeois and man of the people. Deep down in his heart he flatters himself that he is impartial and has found the right equilibrium, which claims to be something different from the golden mean. A petty bourgeois of this type glorifies *contradiction* because contradiction is the basis of his existence. He is himself nothing but social contradiction in action. He must justify in theory what he is in practice, and M. Proudhon has the merit of being the scientific interpreter of the French petty bourgeoisie—a genuine merit, because the petty bourgeoisie will form an integral part of all the impending social revolutions.

I wish I could send you my book on political economy with this letter, but it has so far been impossible for me to get this work, and the criticism of the German philosophers and Socialists of which I spoke to you in Brussels, printed.[1] You would never believe the difficulties which a publication of this kind comes up against in Germany, from the police on the one hand and from the booksellers, who are themselves the interested representatives of all the tendencies I am attacking, on the other. And as for your own Party, it is not merely that it is poor, but a large section of the German Communist Party is also angry with me for opposing their utopias and declamations.

Devotedly yours,

Karl Marx

P.S. You may ask me why I am writing to you in bad French rather than in good German. Well, because I am dealing with a French author.

You will greatly oblige me by not delaying your answer too long, so that I may know whether you understand my thoughts wrapped in barbarous French.

[1] A reference to *A Critique of Politics and Political Economy* and *The German Ideology*.—*Ed*

1847

9

ENGELS TO MARX

[Paris, November 23-24, 1847]

Dear Marx,

Only this evening was it decided that I should come. Well then—Saturday evening in Ostend, Hôtel de la Couronne, at the pool right opposite the railway station, and Sunday morning across the water.[1] If you people take the train which leaves between four and five you will get there about the same time as I.

If, contrary to expectations, no packet boat should go to Dover, write me about it by return mail. That is, since you will get this letter Thursday morning, you will have to find out right away, and if there is anything to write the letter will have to be mailed at the main post office the same evening, I believe before five o'clock. So if you want to change anything about our meeting there still is time. If I get no letter by Friday morning I figure on finding you and Tedesco Saturday evening at the Couronne. We shall then have plenty of time left to talk about things. This Congress must be decisive, *as this time we shall have it all our own way*....

Think over the Confession of Faith a bit. I believe we had better drop the catechism form and call the thing: Communist *Manifesto*. As more or less history has got to be related in it the form it has been in hitherto is quite unsuitable. I am bringing

[1] The reference is to the trip Marx and Engels made to London to attend the Second Congress of the Communist League held in November 1847. The congress adopted the main programmatical principles which Marx had maintained and commissioned Marx and Engels to draw up a programme for the League.—*Ed.*

what I have done here with me[1]; it is in simple narrative form, but miserably worded, in fearful haste. I begin: What is Communism? And then straight to the proletariat—history of its origin, difference from former labourers, development of the antithesis between proletariat and bourgeoisie, crises, conclusions. In between this all sorts of secondary matters and in conclusion the Party policy of the Communists, in so far as it should be made public. What I have here has not yet all been submitted for endorsement, but, apart from a few quite minor details, I mean to get it through in a form in which there will at least be nothing contrary to our views. . . .

[1] F. Engels's *The Principles of Communism*, the first sketch of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.—*Ed.*

10

ENGELS TO E. BLANK

Paris, March 28, 1848

...The big bourgeois and the workers are facing each other directly. The petty bourgeois are playing an intermediary but very pitiful role. The latter, however, have a majority in the Provisional Government (Lamartine, Marrast, Dupont de l'Eure, Marie, Garnier-Pagès and at times also Crémieux). They, and with them the Provisional Government, vacillate greatly. The quieter everything gets the more the government and the party of the petty bourgeoisie incline towards the big bourgeoisie; the more troublesome things get the more they make common cause again with the workers. Thus recently, when the bourgeois again became frightfully insolent and even marched 8,000 men of the National Guard to the City Hall to protest against a decree of the Provisional Government, and particularly against energetic measures taken by Ledru-Rollin, they actually succeeded in intimidating the majority of the government, most of all that milksop Lamartine, who in consequence publicly repudiated Ledru. But the next day, March 17, 200,000 workers proceeded to the City Hall, expressed their absolute confidence in Ledru-Rollin and compelled the majority of the government and Lamartine to revoke their decision.[1] Thus for the moment the

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[1] On March 16, 1848, bourgeois companies of the National Guard (the so-called Bear-Caps) held a demonstration in protest against the decree of the Provisional Government abolishing their privileged position. This counter-revolutionary action by the bourgeoisie forced the proletariat "to take the part of the bourgeois republic which seemed to it to be in jeopardy" (Marx).—*Ed.*

Réforme[1] people (Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Louis Blanc, Albert, Arago) once more have the upper hand. They are better representatives of the workers than any other members of the entire government and are Communists without knowing it. Unfortunately little Louis Blanc makes himself very ridiculous by his conceit and his idiotic plans. One of these days he will find himself thoroughly discredited. But Ledru-Rollin is behaving very nicely.

It is the worst of luck that the government on the one hand must make promises to the workers and on the other cannot keep them, because it does not have the courage to secure the requisite monetary means by revolutionary measures against the bourgeoisie: stiff graduated taxes, inheritance taxes, confiscation of the property of all emigrants, prohibition of gold export; a state bank. One gets the *Réforme* people to make promises and then, by adopting the most preposterous conservative decisions, makes it impossible for them to keep their promises.

In the National Assembly only one new element is to be added —peasants, who constitute five-sevenths of the French nation and are for the petty-bourgeois party of the *National*.[2] It is very likely that that party will win and that the *Réforme* people will fall. Then there'll be another revolution. It's also possible that the deputies, once in Paris, will realize how matters stand here and that only the *Réforme* people can maintain power for long. But this is not likely.

The postponement of the elections for a fortnight is likewise a victory of the Paris workers over the bourgeois party....

[1] *La Réforme*: a newspaper, organ of the petty-bourgeois republican democrats published in Paris from 1843 to 1850.—*Ed.*

[2] *National*: a newspaper published in Paris in 1830-1851. It was the organ of the moderate bourgeois republicans.—*Ed.*

11

MARX TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEWSPAPER "L'ALBA," [FLORENCE]

[Cologne, May 1848]

Dear Sir,

From the first of next June there will be published here in the city of Cologne a new daily newspaper, which will be named *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and edited by Herr Karl Marx. This newspaper will follow here in the North the same democratic principles as *l'Alba* represents in Italy. There can therefore be no doubt as to the stand we shall take on the issue pending between Italy and Austria. We shall defend the cause of Italian independence, we shall engage in mortal combat with Austrian despotism in Italy as well as in Germany and Poland. We extend a fraternal hand to the Italian people and want to show it that the German nation repudiates any share in the oppression of your country by the same men who in our country too have always combated liberty. We shall do everything possible to prepare unity and cordial understanding between two great and free nations which a nefarious system of government has hitherto caused to believe that they were enemies of each other. We shall therefore demand that the brutal Austrian soldiery be withdrawn from Italy without delay and that the Italian people be enabled to declare its sovereign will with regard to the form of government it desires.

In order to keep us posted on Italian affairs and give you an opportunity to judge the sincerity of our promise we propose to you an exchange of our two papers; that is to say, we send you the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and you send us daily the *Alba*. We sincerely hope you will agree to this proposal and ask you to begin sending the *Alba* as soon as possible so that we can make use of it even in our first few issues.

If it should prove possible for you to send us other informational matter as well, we ask you to let us have it, assuring you

that we on our part shall pay maximum attention to everything that may serve the cause of democracy in any country.

Greetings and fraternity.

Dr. *Karl Marx,*
Editor

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ENGELS TO E. BLANK

Cologne, May 24, 1848

...As for the rest, Barmen is more boring than ever and ruled by general hatred agalnst the bit of freedom they have. These asses think the world exists only to let them make profits galore and as there is a hitch now they let out an awful howl. If they want liberty they have to pay for it. The French and English also had to, but there they think they should get everything gratis. Here things are somewhat better, but not much. The Prusslans are still the same as of old, Poles are branded with the vllest of epithets, and at the moment I am writing this *Mayence is being bombarded by the Prussians* because the Citizens' Guard arrested a few rowdy liquored-up soldiers. The sovereign National Assembly at Frankfort hears the shooting and does not seem to budge.[1] In Berlin, Camphausen idles away his time, the reactionaries, the officials and Messrs. the nobility are becoming more overbearing with every day, harass the people, the people revolt and Camphausen's sluggishness and cowardice leads us directly towards new revolutions. Such is Germany now!

Adieu.

Yours,
F. E.

[1] The impotent Frankfort Parliament (May 18, 1848-June 18, 1849) confined its activities to fruitless debates on the Reich constitution instead of organizing the masses for a determined struggle against absolutism and the territorial fragmentation of Germany.—*Ed.*

13

ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

Vevey, July 25, 1849

Dear Mrs. Marx,

You as well as Marx must have wondered why you did not hear from me so long. Here are the reasons: The same day that I wrote to Marx (from Kaiserslautern) the news came that Homburg had been occupied by the Prussians and communications with Paris therefore cut. So I could no longer despatch the letter and went to Willich. In Kaiserslautern I had steered clear of any concern with the *soi-disant* revolution; but when the Prussians arrived I could not resist the desire to be in the war too. Willich was the only officer who was any good, and so I went to him and became his adjutant. I was in four engagements, of which two were fairly important, especially the one at Rastatt, and discovered that the much-vaunted courage of reckless attack is the very commonest quality that one could have. The whistling of the bullets is quite a trifling matter and despite a lot of cowardice I did not see a dozen people throughout the campaign who behaved in a cowardly fashion *during the fighting*. But there was all the more "brave stupidity." To conclude, I came through all right everywhere, and consider it is a good thing that someone from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* took part in the fighting, for all the democratic rabble were in Baden and the Palatinate and are boasting of the heroic deeds they never did. We should have heard that same tale again: the gentlemen of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are too cowardly to fight. But not one of all the democratic gentry fought; Kinkel and I were the only ones who did. Kinkel enlisted in our corps as a musketeer and did quite well:

in the first engagement he took part in, a bullet grazed his head and he was taken prisoner.

After our corps had covered the retreat of the Baden Army we moved, 24 hours later than all the rest, into Switzerland and yesterday arrived here In Vevey. During the campaign and the march through Switzerland it was absolutely impossible for me to write a single line. But now I make haste to impart information and to write to you so much the sooner as I heard—somewhere in Baden—that Marx had been arrested in Paris. We never got to see newspapers, hence found out nothing. I was never able to ascertain whether it was true or not. You wilt understand the anxiety I therefore am in and urgently request you to restore my peace of mtnd by getting me definite information about Marx's fate. As I have heard no confirmation of Marx's arrest I still have hopes that the rumour is false. However I can hardly doubt that Dronke and Schapper have been locked up. But enough. If Marx is still at large please send him this letter and ask him to write to me immediately. Should he feel unsafe In Paris he is perfectly safe here in the canton of Vaud. The government conslders itself red and a partisan of permanent revolution. The same is true of Geneva. Schtly from Treves is there; he had been one of those in command in the Mayence corps.

As soon as I receive some money from home I shall most likely go to Lausanne or Geneva and decide on what to do. I am growing tired of our detachment, which fought bravely, and there is nothing for me to do here: In battle Willich Is brave, cool, skitfut and rapidly finds his bearings; out of battle he is a more or less tedious ideologist and a "true Socialist." Most of the men from the corps tbat one can talk to have been ordered elsewhere.

If I only knew for certain that Marx is free! The thought often occurred to me that I amidst the Prussian bultets was at a much less dangerous post than the others in Germany and especially Marx in Paris. So please release me soon from this state of uncertainty.

Wholly at your service,

Engels

1851

14

MARX TO ENGELS

London, January 7, 1851

Dear Engels,

I am writing to you today in order to lay a little question of theory before you, of a political-economic nature, of course.

You know, to begin from the beginning, that according to Ricardo's theory rent is nothing else but the difference between the costs of production and the price of the produce of the land; or, as he also expressed it, the difference between the price at which the products of the worst land must sell in order to cover expenses (the tenant-farmer's profit and interest being always included in the expenses) and the price at which the products of the best land can be sold.

The increase of rent proves, according to his own interpretation of his theory:

1. That ever poorer kinds of land are resorted to, or that the same amount of capital applied successively to the same land does not yield the same produce. In a word: the soil deteriorates in the same measure that the population is obliged to demand more from it. It becomes relatively less fertile. This is where Malthus found the real ground for his theory of population and where his pupils now seek their last sheet-anchor.

2. Rent can only rise when the price of corn rises (at least *according to the laws of economy*); it must fall with the fall of the latter.

3. When the *rental of a whole country* rises this can only be explained by the fact that a very large mass of relatively poorer land has been brought under cultivation.

Those three propositions are everywhere contradicted by history.

1. There is no doubt that as civilization progresses poorer and poorer kinds of land are brought under cultivation. But there is also no doubt that, as a result of the progress of science and industry, these poorer types of land are relatively good in comparison with the former good types.

2. Since 1815 the price of corn has dropped—irregularly but steadily—from 90 shillings to 50 shillings and lower; this before the repeal of the Corn Laws. Rent has steadily risen. Thus in Britain. On the Continent *mutatis mutandis*,[1] everywhere the same.

3. In every country we find, as Petty already noticed, that when the price of corn drops the total rental of the country rises.

The main point in all this is still to square the law of rent with the progress of the fertility of agriculture in general; this is after all the only way to explain the historical facts and on the other hand to scrap Malthus's theory of the deterioration not merely of the "hands" but also of the land.

I think the matter can be simply explained in the following way:

Assume that at a given stage of agriculture the price of wheat is seven shillings a quarter and an acre of land of the best quality, paying a rent of ten shillings, produces 20 bushels. The yield per acre therefore equals 20 by 7, or 140 shillings. In this case the costs of production are 130 shillings and therefore 130 shillings is the price of the product of the worst land taken into cultivation.

Assume that a general improvement in agriculture now takes place. In assuming this we are at the same time taking it for granted that science, industry and population are also growing. A general increase in the fertility of the soil, due to improvements, presupposes these conditions, as distinct from fertility simply due to the accident of a favourable season.

Say the price of wheat falls from 7 to 5 shillings a quarter and that the best land, No. 1, which formerly produced 20

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[1] with necessary changes—*Ed.*

bushels, now produces 30 bushels. It now brings in, therefore, instead of 20 by 7, or 140 shillings, 30 by 5, or 150 shillings. That is to say, a rent of 20 shillings instead of the former one of 10 shillings. The poorest land, which yields no rent, must produce 26 bushels, for, according to our assumption above, the necessary price of these is 130 shillings, and 26 by 5 equals 130. If the improvement, that is to say, the general progress of science, which goes hand in hand with the whole progress of society, the growth of population, etc., is not so general that the poorest land which has to be brought into cultivation can produce 26 bushels, then the price of corn cannot fall to 5 shillings a quarter.

As before, the 20 shillings of rent expresses the difference between the costs of production and the price of corn on the best land, or between the costs of production on the worst land and those on the best. Relatively the one piece of land remains just as infertile compared with the other as before. But the *general fertility* has increased.

All that is presupposed is that if the price of corn falls from 7 shillings to 5, consumption, demand, increases to the same extent, or that the productivity does not exceed the demand which may be expected when the price is 5 shillings. Utterly false as this assumption would be if the price had dropped from 7 to 5 shillings because of an exceptionally abundant harvest, it is a necessary one when the rise in fertility is gradual, effected by the producers *themselves*. In any case we are only dealing here with the economic possibility of this hypothesis.

It follows that:

1. Rent can rise although the price of the produce of the soil falls, and yet *Ricardo's law remains correct.*

2. The law of rent, as laid down by Ricardo in its simplest form, apart from its elaboration, does not assume the diminishing fertility of the soil but (*in spite of the fact that the general fertility of the soil increases as society develops*) only presupposes *different* degrees of fertility of different pieces of land, or different results from the successive investment of capital in the same land.

3. The more general the improvement of the soil, the more kinds of land will it embrace, and the rental of the whole country may rise although the price of corn is in general falling. If you take the above example the only question will be how great the number of plots of land producing more than 26 bushels at 5 shillings is without exactly having to produce 30; that is to say how much variety there is in the quality of the land lying between the best and the worst grades. This has nothing to do with the rate of the rent of the best land. It does not in the least directly affect the rate of rent.

You know that the pith of the matter with regard to rent is that rent is created by levelling the prices of the products resulting from different costs of production, but that this law of the market price is nothing but a law of bourgeois competition. But even if bourgeois production were done away with there would remain the hitch that the soil becomes relatively less fertile and that the same labour produces successively less, although it would no longer be the case, as under the bourgeois system, that the produce yielded by the best land was as dear as that of the worst. According to what has been said above, this objection would fall to the ground.

Please give me your opinion on the matter....

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ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, July 17, 1851

...At last the newspaper subscriptions are again in order here and I finally got to see our old document[1] in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. By the way the *Augsburger Zeitung* reports in an

[1] The reference is to the first *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League* (March 1850) drawn up by Marx and Engels. This Address, confiscated by the Prussian police, was published in the bourgeois press in connection with the arrest of the members of the Central Committee of the League and the preparation of the Communist trial at Cologne.—*Ed.*

article entitled "Dresden" by an author apparently well informed in other respects that Nothjung as a result of unfair practices at his hearings finally knuckled under and made very comprehensive confessions. I consider it at any rate quite possible that *adroit investigators* quickly cornered him and got him all tangled up in the craziest contradictions. A Prussian official is said to have gone there to squeeze still more out of him. The King of Hanover is said to have refused to institute prosecutions in his domains, at least in the crude manner practised in Prussia, Hamburg, etc. Miquel's letter seems to corroborate this. As you know Martens has been arrested in Hamburg. Nothing, by the way, could show up better the stupidity of the Prussians than the domiciliary search of the house of "Karl on the Rhine," who was also suspected of belonging to the Communist League and in whose possession only letters from Raveaux were found!

The old document can harm those under arrest only by the one passage about "excesses"; all other passages are levelled at the democrats and would aggravate the prisoners' position only if they had *to face a halfway-democratic jury*. But judging by appearances they will be brought before an exquisite special or confederate jury if they have to stand trial at all. And even these things, largely in reworked form, were already in the Bürgers document[1] that was seized at the very beginning. On the other hand it is in every other respect of enormous advantage that the thing has been published and has gone the round of the papers. The isolated stealthy groups of budding Communists, who are not known at all but who, in line with past experience, must have established themselves in all parts of Germany, will find it to be an excellent prop; and it can be seen from the *article itself* in the *Augsburger Zeitung* that that thing has had quite a different effect on them than the first discoveries. The way it set forth the contents shows that it understood that "piece of insanity" only too well—in fact there was no misunderstanding that.

[1] Circular letter of the Cologne Central Committee to the Communist League dated December 1, 1850 which Bürgers sent out together with the draft Rules of the League.—*Ed*

Besides, the feudal reaction delivers its blows so frantically and haphazardly that the whole scare campaign does not create the slightest impression on the bourgeoisie. It is just too funny for anything to watch the *Kölnische Zeitung* now preach daily that "the Red Sea must be crossed" and admit all the mistakes of the 1848 Constitutionalists. And indeed, if a Kleist-Retzow is appointed *Oberpräsident* of Coblenz and that shameless *Kreuzzeitung*[1] is becoming more and more abusive with its flat jokes and doggerel rhymes, what is the staid, educated constitutional opposition to do? Too bad we haven't got the *Kreuzzeitung* here. I get to see all kinds of excerpts from it. The utterly vulgar, gutter-snipe, stinking-stupid Prussian style in which that stumpy sheet is now belabouring the well-behaved, well-to-do, and respectable constitutional bigwigs is beyond all imagination. If fellows like Beckerath and others of that ilk could still be credited with one ounce of self-respect and capacity for resistance they would certainly prefer the ill-treatment and indignities of a Rhenish-plebeian *Père Duchesne*[2] and the whole red terror to the treatment they have daily to endure now at the hands of the Junkers and the *Kreuzzeitung*....

But it serves those dogs right, for they decried the best articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as "vulgar vituperations." Let the idea of the difference be beaten now into their craven skulls. They will yet long to have back, by contrast, the Attic scorn of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*....

[1] *Kreuzzeitung*, the name by which people generally referred to the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, a Berlin daily, organ of reactionary Prussian junkerdom.—*Ed.*

[2] *Le Père Duchesne*: a newspaper edited by Hébert which appeared during the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the eighteenth century. It was very popular among the city poor.—*Ed*

16

ENGELS TO MARX

[Manchester, about July 20, 1851]

Dear Marx,

I herewith return the documents. I like Miquel's letter. At least the fellow thinks, and he would no doubt turn out very well if he got abroad for a bit. His fears about the unfavourable effect our document now published will have on the democrats are no doubt quite justified in his district; but these primitive middle-peasant democrats of Lower Saxony, whose boots the *Kölnische Zeitung* has lately been licking, offering them an alliance, are just that kind and stand far below the philistine democrats of the big towns, by whom they are, however, dominated. And this normal petty bourgeois democracy, although obviously greatly piqued by this document, is itself far too much squeezed and oppressed not to arrive much sooner, together with the big bourgeoisie, at the necessity of crossing the Red Sea. The fellows will resign themselves more and more to the necessity of a short reign of terror by the proletariat—after all it cannot last long, for the positive contents of the document are really so senseless that there can be no question of the permanent rule of such people or of the ultimate carrying out of such principles! The big and middle peasant of Hanover, on the other hand, who has nothing but his land, whose house, farm, barns, etc., are exposed to every danger by the prospective ruin of all the insurance companies, and who, apart from this, has since Ernest Augustus's time already had a thorough taste of all the delights of lawful resistance—this German sturdy yeoman will take very good care not to go into the Red Sea before he has to.

According to Bermbach's letter Haupt is the traitor, but I cannot believe it. At any rate this business must be investigated. Of course it does seem suspicious that, as far as I know, Haupt is still at large. The idea of a trip to Hamburg starting at Göttingen or Cologne will have to be dropped. What and when information will be obtained on this score from the record of the

trial or the court transactions is impossible to tell. If there be treason it should not be forgotten and it would be a very good thing to set an example on a suitable occasion.

I hope Daniels will soon be set free; after all he is the only man *in Cologne* who has a political head on him and in spite of all police surveillance he would be able to continue running things along the right track.

To return again to the effect of our document upon the democrats. Miquel should however consider that we continuously and uninterruptedly harassed these gentlemen in writings which were after all more or less Party manifestoes. Why all this outcry then about a programme which only summarizes in a very quiet and, especially, a thoroughly impersonal way what was published long ago? Did our Continental disciples deny us, then, and got themselves involved with the democrats further than Party policy and Party honour allowed? If the democrats raised a revolutionary clamour from sheer lack of oppositional opinion, who is responsible for the lack of oppositional opinion? Surely not we, but most likely the German Communists in Germany. And indeed that seems to be the snag. Every democrat with any intelligence must have known beforehand what he had to expect from our Party—the document could not have contained much that was new to him. If they made a temporary alliance with the Communists they were perfectly well aware of the conditions and duration of the alliance, and it would never have occurred to anybody but Hanoverian middle peasants and lawyers to suppose that since 1850 the Communists had been converted from the principles and policy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Waldeck and Jacoby surely would never dream of such things. In any case, no publications of this kind can do anything in the long run against "the nature of things" or against "the conception of relation," as Stirner would say, and the shouting and wire-pulling of the democrats will soon be in full swing again and they will proceed hand in hand with the Communists. And we have known all along that those fellows will be playing us dirty anyhow on the day after the movement is over—no diplomacy can stop that.

On the other hand the fact that, as I assumed, small communist

groups are being formed everywhere on the basis of the *Manifesto* has given me great joy. This is just what we lacked, considering the weakness of our general staff up till now. Soldiers can always be found without trouble if the situation is ripe enough for that, but the prospect of having a general staff not consisting of Straubinger elements and allowing of a larger selection than the existing one of only twenty-five men with any kind of education is very pleasant indeed. It would be well to make a general recommendation that propaganda should be carried on everywhere among office workers. If one had to form an administration these chaps would be indispensable: they are used to assiduous work and intelligible bookkeeping, and commerce is the only practical school for serviceable office clerks. Our lawyers, etc., are no good at it. Clerks for bookkeeping and rendering accounts, talented, self-educated men for drawing up despatches, letters, documents—that's what we want. With six clerks I could organize an infinitely more simple, better arranged and more practical branch of administration than I could with sixty government councillors and bureaucratic financial advisers. The latter cannot even write legibly and would muck up all the books so that not a soul could make head or tail out of them. Seeing that one is more and more obliged to prepare for this eventuality the matter is not unimportant. Besides, office workers are used to continuous mechanical activity and make fewer demands; it is easier to keep them from a slothful life and to get rid of them if they are unsuitable.

The letter to Cologne has been despatched—very nicely attended to. If it does not get there I don't know what's going to be. Anyhow it is not very advisable to recommend Schulz's address—he is an ex-co-manager![1]

[1] of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

17

MARX TO J. WEYDEMEYER

London, September 11, [1851]

... Signor Mazzini has also had to learn that this is the time of the dissolution of "democratic" provisional governments. The minority has resigned from the Italian Committee after violent battles. They are supposed to be the more advanced ones.

I consider Mazzini's policy fundamentally wrong. He is working entirely in the interests of Austria by inciting Italy to a breach now. On the other hand he fails to appeal to that part of Italy that has been oppressed for centuries, the peasants, and thus prepares new resources for the counter-revolution. Signor Mazzini knows only the cities with their liberal nobility and their enlightened citizens. The material needs of the Italian rural population—sucked dry and systematically enfeebled and besotted like the Irish—are, of course, too low for the heaven-inwords of his cosmopolitan-neo-Catholic-ideological manifestoes. But it would have required courage, to be sure, to tell the bourgeoisie and the nobility that the first step toward the independence of Italy is the complete emancipation of the peasants and the transformation of their share-cropping system into free bourgeois property. Mazzini seems to think that a loan of ten million francs is more revolutionary than winning over ten million human beings. I am very much afraid that if worse comes to worst the Austrian Government will *itself* change the system of landownership in Italy and reform it in the "Galician" manner.[1]

Tell Dronke I'll write him in a few days. Best regards to you and your wife from my wife and me. Think it over once more whether you should not really try to get settled here.

Yours,

K. Marx

[1] Striving to use the Galician peasants to suppress the Polish national-liberation movement, the Austrian Government proclaimed in 1848 the abolition of feudal services in Galicia. Thereafter however laws were issued establishing high redemption payments to be made by the peasants.—*Ed.*

18

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] September 13, 1851

. . . The Italian Committee has split too. A considerable minority has withdrawn from it. Mazzini sorrowfully describes this event in the *Voix du Peuple*. The main reasons are said to be: In the first place Dio. They don't want God. Next, and this is more serious, they accuse Master Mazzini of working in the interests of Austria by preaching insurrection, that is by precipitating it. Lastly they insist on a direct appeal to the material interests of the Italian peasants, which cannot be made without attacking on the other side the material interests of the bourgeoisie and liberal nobility, who form the great Mazzinist phalanx. This last point is exceedingly important. If Mazzini or anyone else who puts himself at the head of the Italian agitation does not this time openly and immediately transform the peasants from *métayers*[1] into free landowners (the position of the Italian peasants is appalling; I have now waded right through the filthy story) the Austrian Government will, in case of a revolution, take refuge in Galician methods. It has already threatened in *Lloyd*[2] "a complete change in the forms of ownership" and "destruction of the turbulent nobility." If Mazzini's eyes have not been opened yet he is an ox. True, the interests of the agitation are here involved. Where is he to get his ten million francs from if he antagonizes the bourgeoisie? How is he to retain the services of the nobility if it is going to be informed that next in order is its expropriation? These are difficulties for such a demagogue of the old school. . . .

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[1] Share croppers under the system common in France and Italy.—*Ed.*

[2] *Lloyd*: a conservative newspaper which appeared in Vienna in 1848-1854.—*Ed.*

19

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, September 23, 1851

...The split among the Italians is just wonderful. It is a fine thing that such an astute visionary as Mazzini should at last have been crossed by material considerations and at that in his own country. One good result of the Italian revolution has been that there too the most isolated classes have been swept into the movement and that a new party, more radical than the old Mazzini emigration, is now being formed, which is gradually edging out Signor Mazzini. According to newspaper reports too, *il Mazzinismo* seems to be getting into the bad books even of people who are neither constitutional nor reactionary and who are using what remains of the freedom of the press in Piedmont to make attacks on Mazzini—the import of which the government fails to understand. Otherwise the Italian revolution far surpasses the German in its poverty of ideas and wealth of phrases. It is fortunate that a country which instead of proletarians has practically nothing but *lazzaroni*[1] does at least possess *métayers*. The other reasons given by the Italian dissidents are also cause for joy, and finally it is very good, too, that the one band of exiles which has hitherto remained, at least openly, unsplit, should now also be at loggerheads ...

[1] Name applied in Italy to the declassed, lumpenproletarian elements of the population, who were repeatedly made use of by the absolutist governments in their struggle against the bourgeoisie.—*Ed.*

20

ENGELS TO MARX

[Manchester, September 26, 1851]

Dear Marx,

As far as Techow's history of war[1] is concerned, it is also from the military point of view tremendously shallow and in spots directly false. Apart from the profound truth that force must be answered by force, and the preposterous discovery that the revolution can be victorious only if it is a general one (hence, literally, if it encounters no resistance at all and, according to sense, if it is a bourgeois revolution); apart from the benevolent intention to have the fatal "home policy," i.e., the revolution proper, crushed by a military dictator as yet undiscovered despite Cavaignac and Willich; and apart from this very significant political formulation of the view of the revolution taken by these gentry, the following must be observed, from the military point of view:

1) Iron discipline, which alone can secure victory, is the exact reverse of an "adjournment of the home policy" and of a military dictatorship. Where is this discipline to come from? The gentlemen must after all have acquired some experience in Baden and the Palatinate. It is an evident fact that disorganization of the army and complete relaxation of discipline have hitherto been both a condition and a result of every victorious revolution. France needed from 1789 to 1792 to reorganize an army of only about 60,000-80,000 men—that of Dumouriez—and even that disintegrated again, and there was so to say no organized army in France until the end of 1793. Hungary required from March 1848 to the middle of 1849 to form a decently organized army. And who introduced discipline into the army in the first French

[1] *Outlines of the Coming War*: an essay by Lt. Techow, Chief of Staff of the Revolutionary Army of Baden in 1849 Published in the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*—*Ed.*

Revolution? Not the generals, who gain influence and authority over improvised armies only after a few victories in a revolution, but the terror practised by the civil authorities in carrying out their home policy....

21

ENGELS TO MARX

[Manchester,] December 3, 1851

"*Représentants de la France, délibérez en paix!*"[1] And where could the gentlemen deliberate more peacefully than in the d'Orsay barracks, guarded by a battalion of *chasseurs de Vincennes*!

The history of France has reached the stage of supreme comedy. Could anything funnier be imagined than this travesty of the Eighteenth Brumaire carried out in time of peace by the most insignificant man in the whole world, with the aid of discontented soldiers and, so far as one can judge at present, without meeting with any resistance whatever? And how splendidly all the old asses have been caught! The slyest fox in the whole of France, old Thiers, the smartest lawyer at the bar, M. Dupin, trapped as easily as the stark republican virtue of M. Cavaignac and as the big-mouthed Changarnier, in the snare laid for them by the most notorious blockhead of the century. And to complete the picture, a rump parliament with Odilon Barrot as "Löwe von Calbe" and this same Odilon demanding to be arrested in view of such a breach of the constitution, but unsuccessful in getting himself hauled off to Vincennes! The whole thing has been specially invented for the Red Wolff; from now onwards only he can write the history of France. Was there ever a *coup d'état* made in the world with sillier proclamations than this one? And the absurd Napoleonic ostentation, the anniversary of the coronation and of Austerlitz, the speculation on the consular constitution and so on—that such a thing could

[1] "Representatives of France, deliberate in peace!"—*Ed*

succeed if even for a day really does degrade our French gentlemen to an infantile level which has never been equalled.

The capture of the great speechifiers of "order" was splendid, of little Thiers and of the bold Changarnier quite excellent. Splendid too was the session of the rump parliament in the tenth *arrondissement* with M. Berryer shouting "Long Live the Republic!" out of the window, until in the end the whole lot were taken and shut up between lines of soldiers in a barracks' square. And then that stupid Napoleon, who immediately packs up to move into the Tuileries. If one had plagued oneself for a whole year one could not have invented a finer comedy.

And in the evening, when stupid Napoleon had at last flung himself into the long-yearned-for bed in the Tuileries, the silly blockhead must really have begun to wonder what he was up to. A Consulate without a First Consul? No greater internal difficulties than there had been, generally speaking, for the last three years, no exceptional financial stringency—even in his own purse—no coalition at the frontiers, no St. Bernard to cross, no Marengo to win! Enough to drive anyone to despair, really. And now no longer even a National Assembly to bring to nought the great schemes of this unrecognized genius; no, for today at any rate the ass is as free, as unfettered, as absolute as the grand old man on the evening of the Eighteenth Brumaire, is so completely unrestrained that he can't help exposing his asinine self in all directions. Appalling prospect of no opposition!

But the people, the people! The people does not care a *rap* about all this business, is as pleased as a child at its boon of the franchise and will probably use it like a child too. What can come of the ridiculous elections on Sunday a week if we ever arrive at that stage? No press, no meetings, martial law in abundance, and on top of it all the order to provide a deputy within fourteen days.

But what is to come of the whole business? "*If we regard it* from the standpoint of world history" a splendid subject for declamation presents itself. For instance: it remains to be seen whether the Praetorian regime of the days of the Roman Empire, which presupposed a widely extended state organized throughout

on military lines, a depopulated Italy and the absence of a modern proletariat, is possible in a geographically concentrated, thickly populated country like France, with a large industrial proletariat. Or: Louis Napoleon has no party of his own; he has trodden the Orleanists and Legitimists underfoot, he must now make a turn to the left. A turn to the left implies an amnesty, an amnesty implies a collision, etc. Or again: universal franchise is the basis of Louis Napoleon's power; he cannot attack it, and universal franchise is *now* incompatible with a Louis Napoleon. And other similarly speculative themes which could be spun out splendidly. But after what we saw yesterday, the people cannot be relied on for anything and it really seems as if old Hegel in his grave were acting as World Spirit and directing history, ordaining most conscientiously that it should all be unrolled twice over, once as a great tragedy and once as a wretched farce, with Caussidière for Danton, Louis Blanc for Robespierre, Barthélemy for St. Just, Flocon for Carnot, and that mooncalf with the first dozen debt-encumbered lieutenants picked at random for the Little Corporal[1] and his Round Table of marshals. And so we have already arrived at the Eighteenth Brumaire.

The behaviour of the people of Paris was childishly stupid. It's not our business: if the President and the Assembly are murdering each other, what does it matter to us! But that the army should have the presumption to foist a government on France—and such a government into the bargain—that surely does concern them, and the mob will begin to wonder what sort of "free" universal suffrage this is which it is now to exercise "for the first time since 1804!"

How much further the World Spirit, which is obviously very much annoyed with humanity, will conduct this farce, whether we shall see Consulate, Empire, Restoration, etc., passing before our eyes in the course of a year, whether the Napoleonic dynasty too will have to be thrashed in the streets of Paris before it becomes impossible in France, the devil only knows. But it looks to me as if the thing is going to take a remarkably crazy turn and as

[1] Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

if the French philistines are going to meet with a marvellous humiliation.

Granted even that Louis Napoleon consolidates his position for the moment, such silly nonsense cannot last after all, even if the French have sunk to the lowest possible depths. But what then? There is damned little Red in the outlook, that much is pretty clear, and if M. Blanc and Ledru-Rollin packed up their baggage yesterday afternoon they may unpack it again today. The thunderous voice of the people has not recalled them as yet.

Here and in Liverpool this affair put a sudden stop to trade, but in Liverpool they are already speculating again with renewed vigour. And French funds have fallen only 2 per cent.

Under these circumstances our attempts to come out in the British press on behalf of the Cologne people[1] will naturally have to wait.

Concerning the articles for the *Tribune*,[2] which evidently already appeared in it, write in *English* to the *Tribune* editor. Dana may be absent but a business letter is sure to be answered. Tell him that he must distinctly state per next returning steamer what has become of these papers, and in case they have been made use of, he is requested to send by the same opportunity copies of the *Tribune* containing them, as no copy has been kept here and without having the articles already sent again before our eyes, we cannot, after such a lapse of time, undertake to go on with the following numbers of the series.[3]

It must have been an amusing sight to watch the effect of the news from France on the mob of European emigrants. I would have liked to see it.

Waiting to hear from you I am

Yours,
F. E.

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[1] The defendants in the Communist trial at Cologne.—*Ed.*

[2] *New York Daily Tribune*: a left-bourgeois newspaper founded in 1841. In the fifties and early sixties Marx and Engels contributed to it.—*Ed.*

[3] The reference is to F. Engels, *Germany: Revolution and Counter-revolution*.—*Ed.*

22

MARX TO ENGELS

London, December 9, 1851

Dear Frederick,

Quite bewildered by these tragicomic events in Paris, I have kept you waiting for an answer. I could not say, as Willich did: Strange, we received no advices from Paris! Nor could I, like Schapper, declare myself in permanence at Schärttner's sipping a pot of beer. To save the Fatherland Schapper and some of his retainers slept two nights at Schärttner's on the pretence of standing guard. These gentlemen, like Löwe von Calbe & Co., had their travelling-bags packed, but since prudence is the better part of valour they decided to hoof it across only after the issue has been "decided."

Have you read Louis Blanc's *Miserere*?[1] The next day Bernard le Clubiste protested against the allegation that he too had signed this lamentation....

Now what shall I write you about the situation? This much is clear: the proletariat has spared its forces. For the time being Bonaparte has won the day because in the night he changed voting by open ballot to voting by secret ballot. With the million pounds sterling actually purloined from the bank, despite d'Argout's posthumous explanations, he bought the army. Will he succeed in a second coup should the election go against him? Will the majority go at all to the polls? The Orleans have left for France. It is difficult, next to impossible, to forecast the outcome of a drama of which Krapülinski is the hero. At any rate it seems to me that the situation has been improved rather than deteriorated by the *coup d'état*. It is easier to cope with Bonaparte than would have been possible with the National Assembly and its generals. And the dictatorship of the National Assembly was standing at the gate.

[1] Appeal to the French people published by a group of French emigrants in London headed by Louis Blanc in connection with the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851.—*Ed*

Simply magnificent is the disappointment of Techow & Co., who had regarded the French army as direct apostles of the democratic trinity: *liberté, égalité, fraternité*. Poor fellows! And Messrs. Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin can now also calmly go to sleep. The catastrophe was the downfall of the emigration. It now appears that it is in the revolution to no purpose. These gentry had *decided*, you see, to suspend world history until Kossuth's return. Incidentally, the penny subscription for the latter has yielded in London exactly 100d., yes, pence.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

23

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, December 11, 1851

Dear Marx,

Enclosed herein I am returning to you Reinhardt's letter as well as Pieper's, which I had held back for a while on account of the Cologne happenings.

It seems that nothing is coming of the grand expedition of the 700 vagabonds to Paris which the newspapers had so loudly trumpeted forth. Furthermore little Louis Blanc, according to his renewed groans of pain voiced in today's *Daily News*, is for the time being in safety, even if allegedly not in London. The first jeremiad was divine in comparison with today's. The French people—noble pride—indomitable courage—eternal love of liberty—honour to unfortunate courage—thereupon the little fellow executes a half-turn to the right and preaches trust and union of the people and the bourgeoisie. See Proudhon, *Appeal to the Bourgeoisie*, page 2. And the reasoning! If the insurgents were beaten it was because they were not the "true people"; the "true people" cannot be beaten; and if the "true people" did not fight it was because it did not want to fight for the National Assembly. It may indeed be objected here that the

"true people," once victorious, would itself have been dictator, but having been taken by surprise it did not think of that, and then, besides, it has been fooled so often!

This is the old base logic of the democrats, which finds wide currency every time the revolutionary party suffers defeat. The fact of the matter is, in my opinion, that the proletariat did not fight this time in a mass because it was fully aware of its own enfeeblement and impotence and it will with fatalistic resignation acquiesce in a new cycle of republic, empire, restoration, and a new revolution until it gathers new strength by spending a few years of wretchedness under a rule of maximum order. I do not say that this is how things will shape themselves, but this seems to me to have been the instinctive basic outlook that prevailed among the people of Paris on Tuesday and Wednesday and after the restoration of the secret ballot and the subsequent retreat of the bourgeoisie on Friday. It is nonsense to say that this was no opportunity for the people. If the proletariat is going to wait until the government makes an issue of it (the proletariat), until a collision occurs in which the conflict will assume sharper and more definite form than in June 1848, it will have to wait a long while. The last time the issue between proletariat and bourgeoisie was raised, and then quite distinctly, was in connection with the 1850 election law, but then the people preferred not to fight. This and the perpetual pointing to 1852 in itself was proof of lassitude, proof which, except in the case of a commercial crisis, was sufficient for us to make a pretty bad forecast also for 1852. Since the abolition of universal suffrage and since the extrusion of the proletariat from the official stage it is really a bit too much to expect the official parties to put the issue in a way that will suit the proletariat. And how did the matter stand in February? The people at that time kept just as much aloof from events as now. And it cannot be denied in the least that when the revolutionary party in a revolutionary development allows affairs to take decisive turns without any say of its own or, if it does interfere, without emerging victorious, one may be fairly certain that for some time it is to be considered as done for. Witness the insurrections after Thermidor and

after 1830, and the gentlemen who now so loudly proclaim that the "true people" is biding its time run the risk of gradually landing in the same boat as the powerless Jacobins of 1795-99 and the Republicans of 1831-39 and of being utterly disgraced.

Nor can it be denied that the effect of the re-institution of the secret ballot on the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and, finally, *also on many proletarians* (all the reports suggest that) has been to cast a peculiar light on the courage and insight of the Parisians. To many it obviously never occurred to think how silly the question posed by Louis Napoleon was and what guarantees there were that the vote would be recorded correctly; but most of them must have seen through this humbug and talked it into themselves nevertheless that everything was all right now, *if only to find a pretext for not fighting.*

According to Reinhardt's letter and the daily new revelations about the infamies perpetrated by the soldiers and particularly about their excesses on the boulevards against any and all civilians, no matter who they were: workers or bourgeois, Reds or Bonapartists; according to the advices piling up about local insurrections even in the most remote corners where no one suspected resistance; and according to the letter of the French ex-deputy and merchant in yesterday's *Daily News*, the Appeal to the People seems to be taking a turn unpleasant to Bonaparte. The mass of the bourgeoisie in Paris really does not seem to relish this new regime with the transportation laws[1] foisted on them. Military terror is developing too rapidly and is too brazen. Two-thirds of France is in a state of siege. I believe that after all this the mass of the bourgeoisie will not go to the polls, that this whole farce of a vote will end in nothing, because in all doubtful localities where Louis Napoleon's opponents will

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[1] The Decree of December 8, 1851 empowered department prefects to exile without trial "all participants in secret societies." Any republican could fall under this category. Many citizens suspected of republican leanings were transported under sentence of hard labour by decision of the so-called Mixed Committees formed in January 1852.—*Ed.*

go to the polls in masses the gendarmes will get into brawls with the voters so that the whole election there will be quashed. Then Louis Napoleon will declare France to be *non compos mentis* and proclaim the army the only saviour of society. Then this whole dirty business will become perfectly clear, with Louis Napoleon stuck in the midst of it. But it is precisely during this messy election that the matter could take a very ugly turn if at *that* time serious resistance against an established government were still to be expected.

A million votes that fellow can be sure of among the officials and soldiers. Half a million Bonapartists, if not more, are also in the land. Half a million timid burghers, if not more, will also cast their ballots for him. Add half a million stupid peasants and allow a million for mistakes in the count and you will get three and a half millions. More than that even the old Napoleon did not have in an empire that embraced the whole left bank of the Rhine and Belgium, that is, a population of thirty-two millions for certain. Why should he not be satisfied with that as a start? And if he got that many, with perhaps one million against him, he would soon capture the bourgeoisie. But perhaps he will not get the two and a half millions and perhaps he cannot wangle it to be credited with an extra million votes by way of mistakes in addition, although this would be expecting too much of the honesty of the French officials. At any rate, a great deal depends on the measures he will be compelled to take meanwhile. Anyhow, who can prevent the officials from stuffing each ballot-box with several hundred yes-votes? There is no press any more —nobody to check up.

At any rate it is bad for Krapülinski that the funds are falling again, and for Louis Blanc that he must now recognize England as a free country.

In a few months the Reds must get another opportunity to prove their mettle, perhaps already at the election. But if then too they are going to wait, I give them up; then even the nicest commercial crisis will get them nothing but a good beating that will definitely remove them from the scene for a couple of years. What good is this rabble if it has forgotten how to fight?

Is Pieper in London again? I wanted to ask him to attend to a matter about books in Frankfort and do not know whether he still is in Brighton.

The worst thing is that you will now encounter difficulties with Löwenthal. It would be the best thing if the contract were already concluded.

Liverpool Market—quiet at yesterday's prices; Manchester Market—firm. Some overtrading going on to the Levant. German buyers continue keeping out of the Market.

Yours,
F. E.

24

MARX TO J. WEYDEMEYER

London, March 5, 1852

Dear Weyvy,

I'm afraid things got mixed up a bit because, having misunderstood thy last letter, I addressed the last two packets as follows: "Office of the Revolution, 7, Chamberstreet, Box 1817."

That confounded "Box 1817" was what caused the mix-up, as you wrote to me to add this appendix to the "old address" without differentiating the first address from the second. But I hope the matter is cleared up before this letter arrives, the more so since last Friday's letter contains the very detailed No. V of my article.[1] I was prevented from finishing No. VI, the concluding instalment, this week. If your newspaper has appeared again this delay cannot cause any stoppage as you are well provided with material.

Your article against Heinzen, which Engels unfortunately sent me too late, is very good, both coarse and *fine*—a combination which should be found in any polemic worthy of the name. I showed this article to Ernest Jones, and enclosed you will find a communication to you from him intended for publication. As Jones writes very illegibly, with abbreviations, and as I assume that you are not an out-and-out Englishman as yet, I am sending you together with the original a copy made by my wife, and at the same time the German translation, as you must have them

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[1] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Printed for the first time in No. 1 of the journal *Die Revolution* published by Weydemeyer in New York, 1852.—*Ed*

both printed side by side, original and translation. To the letter from Jones you can make the following addendum: With regard to *George Julian Harney*, who is also one of Herr Heinzen's authorities, he published our *Communist Manifesto* in English in his *Red Republican* with a marginal note saying that it was "the most revolutionary document ever given to the world," and in his *Democratic Review* he translated the articles I wrote in the *Revue of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on the French Revolution,[1] that work of wisdom "killed" by Heinzen. In an article on Louis Blanc he refers his readers to these articles as the "true criticism" of the French affair. For the rest, in England there is no need to support oneself only upon the "extremists." If a Member of Parliament in England becomes a Minister he has to be re-elected, so *Disraeli*, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, writes to his constituents on March 1:

"We shall endeavour to terminate that strife of classes which of late years has exercised so pernicious an influence over the welfare of this kingdom."

On which *The Times* comments on March 2:

"... if anything would ever divide classes in this country beyond reconciliation, and leave no chance of a just and honourable peace, it would be a tax on foreign corn."

And in case an ignorant "character man" like Heinzen should imagine that the aristocracy is *for* and the bourgeoisie *against* corn laws, because the former wants "*monopoly*" and the latter "*freedom*"—a worthy of this sort can tell opposites only in this ideological form—it is to be noted that in the eighteenth century the English aristocracy was for "freedom" (of trade) and the bourgeoisie for "monopoly"—the same relative position that we find at this very moment between these two classes in "Prussia" with regard to "corn laws." The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* is the most violent freetrader.

Finally, in your place I should in general remark to the democratic gentlemen that they would do better first to acquaint

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[1] The reference is to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1845 to 1850*.—*Ed.*

themselves with bourgeois literature before they presume to yap at the opponents of it. For instance, these gentlemen should study the historical works of Thierry, Guizot, John Wade, and others in order to enlighten themselves as to the past "history of classes." Before they try to criticize the critique of political economy they should acquaint themselves with the fundamentals of political economy. One has only to open Ricardo's great opus, for example, to find these opening words of his Preface on the first page:

"The produce of the earth—all that is derived from its surface by the united application of labour, machinery, and capital—is divided among *three classes* of the community; namely, the proprietor of the land, the owner of the stock or capital necessary for its cultivation, and the labourers by whose industry it is cultivated."[1]

How far bourgeois society in the United States still is from being mature enough to make the class struggle obvious and comprehensible is most strikingly proved by *C. H. Carey* (of Philadelphia), the only American economist of importance. He attacks *Ricardo*, the most classic representative (interpreter) of the bourgeoisie and the most stoical adversary of the proletariat, as a man whose works are an arsenal for Anarchists, Socialists, and all the enemies of the bourgeois order of society. He reproaches not only him but Malthus, Mill, Say, Torrens, Wakefield, McCulloch, Senior, Whately, R. Jones, and others, the masterminds among the economists of Europe, with rending society asunder and preparing civil war because they show that the economic bases of the different classes are bound to give rise to a necessary and ever-growing antagonism among them. He tried to refute them, not indeed like the fatuous Heinzen by connecting the existence of classes with the existence of *political* privileges and *monopolies*, but by attempting to make out that *economic* conditions—rent (landed property), *profit* (capital), and wages (wage labour) instead of being conditions of struggle and

[1] David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, Preface.—*Ed.*

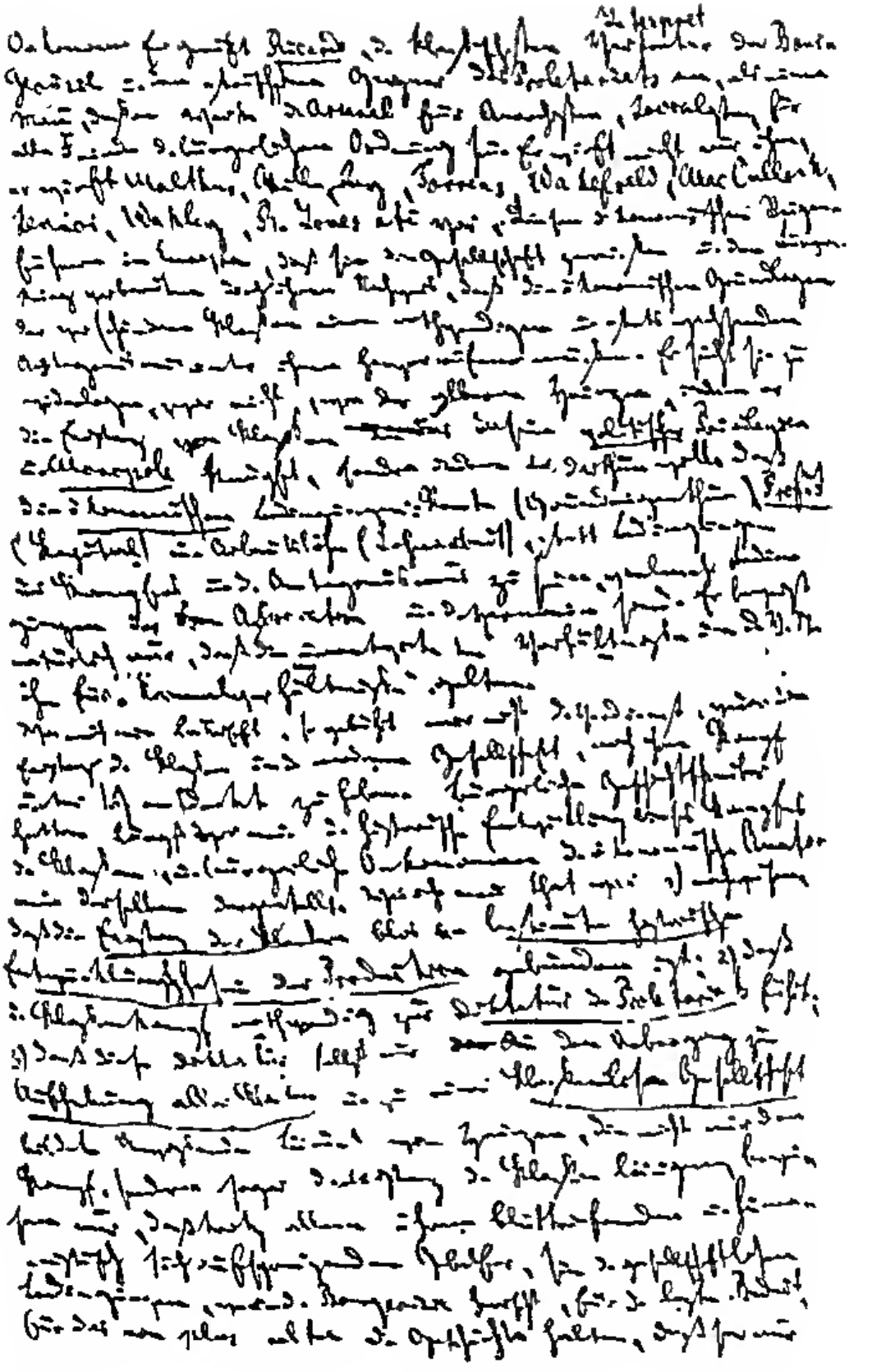
antagonism are rather conditions of association and harmony All he proves, of course, is that he is taking the "undeveloped" conditions of the United States for "normal conditions."

And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself *only* constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*. Ignorant louts like Heinzen, who deny not merely the class struggle but even the existence of classes, only prove that, despite all their blood-curdling yelps and the humanitarian airs they give themselves, they regard the social conditions under which the bourgeoisie rules as the final product, the *non plus ultra*[1] of history, and that they are only the servitors of the bourgeoisie. And the less these louts realize the greatness and transient necessity of the bourgeois regime itself the more disgusting is their servitude.

From the above notes take anything you think suitable. For the rest, Heinzen has adopted "centralization" from us in place of his "federative republic," etc. When the views which we are now spreading about the classes become platitudes and part of the equipment of the "individual with common sense," then that rogue will announce them with a lot of noise as the latest product of "his own penetration" and start barking against our developing the point further. So by "his own penetration" he yelped against the Hegelian philosophy as long as it was progressive. Now he is helping himself to the stale crumbs of it which have been spewed out undigested by Ruge.

You are getting herewith the end of the Hungarian correspondence. You must try to pick something from it—if your news-

[1] Highest point attainable —*Ed*



A page from Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of March 5, 1852, on the dictatorship of the proletariat

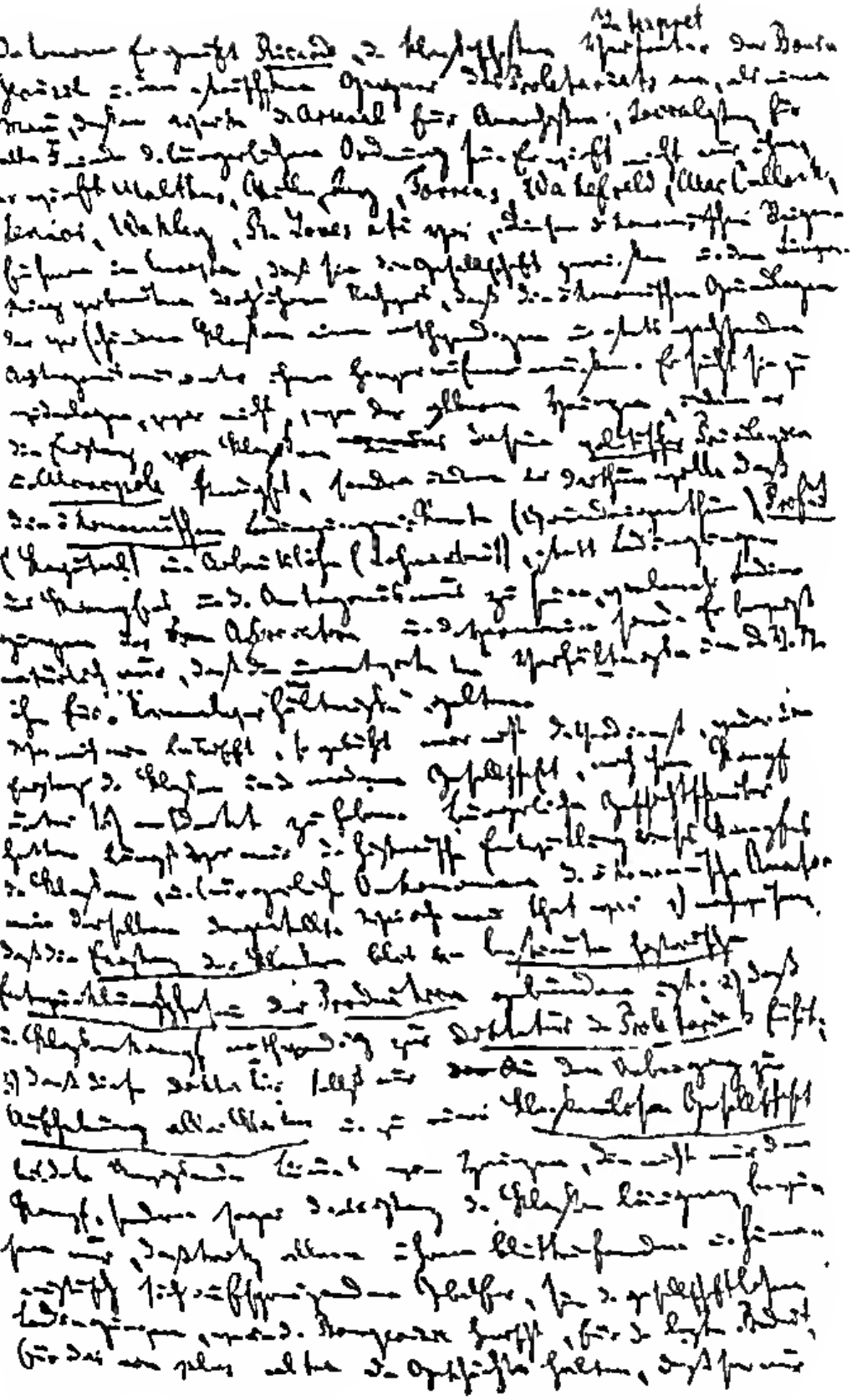
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paper exists—the more so since *Szemere*, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, promised me when he was in Paris to write a lengthy article for you *over his own signature*.

If you have managed to get out your paper send *more* copies so that they can be distributed more widely.

Yours,

K. Marx

25

ENGELS TO MARX

[Manchester,] March 18, 1852

...Incidentally, now that old O'Connor has definitely gone crazy, Jones does quite the right thing to put all his irons in the fire. Now is his chance and if, besides, citizen Hiphiphurrah[1] goes by the board, his success is a sure thing. Judging by everything I see, the Chartists are in such a state of complete dissolution and collapse and at the same time experience such a shortage of useable people that they will either fall apart entirely and break up into cliques, hence must practically become a mere tail of the financials,[2] or some competent chap must reorganize them on an entirely new basis. Jones is starting on the right tack and we can definitely state that without our doctrine he would never have hit the right tack and would never have found out how on the one hand the instinctive class hatred of the workers against the industrial bourgeoisie, the sole possible basis for the reorganization of the Chartist party, can not only be retained but even widened, developed and made to serve as the foundation of enlightening propaganda and how on the other hand one can be progressive all the same and oppose the reac-

[1] George Harney.—*Ed.*

[2] Engels alludes to the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association headed by the free-trade leaders Bright, Cobden, and others Early in the fifties of last century the right wing of the Chartists adopted a policy of rapproachement with this bourgeois league —*Ed*

tionary cravings of the workers and their prejudices. Moreover Master Harney will get a surprise if he continues thus. The band of enthusiasts which supports him will very soon give him the boot, and even the portraits of Kosciuszko and other "patriots" which he puts in the puny sheets he gets out will not save him....

26

JENNY MARX TO A. CLUSS

London, October 28, 1852

Dear Mr. Cluss,

You will, no doubt, have been following the monster trial of the Communists in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The session of October 23 gave the whole thing an imposing and interesting turn, so favourable for the accused that we are all beginning to feel a little better. You can imagine how the "Marx Party" is active day and night and has to work with head, hands, and feet.... All the allegations of the police are lies. They steal, forge, break open desks, swear false oaths, perjure themselves, claiming they are privileged to do so against Communists, who are beyond the pale of society! It is truly hair-raising to see all this, and the manner in which the police, particularly their most villainous specimen,[1] are taking over all the functions of the Ministry of Justice, pushing Sädt into the background, introducing unauthenticated slips of paper, mere rumours, reports, and hearsay as actual, judicially proven facts, as evidence. All the proofs of forgery had to be submitted from here; thus my husband had to work all day at it, far into the night. Affidavits by the landlords duly acknowledged had to be procured and the handwritings of Liebknecht and Rings, the men alleged to have written the minutes, had to be officially certified to prove the forgery by the

[1] The reference is to Wilhelm Stieber, chief of the Prussian Political Police.—*Ed.*

potice. Then all the papers had to be sent in six to eight copies to Cologne by the most devious channels, via Frankfort, Paris, etc., as alt letters addressed to my husband, as well as att letters sent from here to Cologne, are opened and confiscated. The whole thing is now a struggle between the police and my husband, who is being blamed for everything: the whole revolution, even the conduct of the trial.... The struggle against this official power supplied with money and alt the implements of combat is of course very interesting and the glory of it will be so much the greater, should we emerge victorious, since on the one side stand money and power and everything, while we often did not know where to get the paper for the letters that had to be written, etc., etc.

Freiligrath, Marx, Engels, and Wolff today issued the enclosed statement.[1] We are sending it to the *Tribune* today. You too can publish it....

We have just received whole stacks of business addresses and fake business letters from Weerth and Engels for use in sendtng the documents, letters, etc. This very minute some tssues of the *Kölnische Zeitung* have come in carrying the news of a fresh load of incredible outrages. Two despatches are going off at once to business addresses. A whole office has been established at our flat. Two or three wrtte, others run errands, and still others scrape the pennies together to make it possible for the writers to continue their existence and furnish proof against the old official wortd of this most unprecedented outrage. In between, my three gleeful children sing and whistle and often get a good scolding from their papa. What a hubbub!

Good-bye, dear Mr. Cluss. Don't forget to write to your friends again soon.

With permission of the higher authorities,

Jenny Marx

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[1] A statement in defence of the accused in the Communist trial at Cologne against the calumnious attacks of the *Times* and the *Daily News*—*Ed*

1853

27

ENGELS TO J. WEYDEMEYER

Manchester, April 12, 18

. . . I have just about boned my way through the old campaign (i.e., those since 1792); the Napoleonic campaigns are so simpl that it is hard to go astray in them. All things considered, Jomin is really the best historian of these campaigns; the natura genius Clausewitz doesn't quite appeal to me, despite the many fine pieces he has written. For the immediate future, i.e., for *us* the most important is the Russian campaign of 1812—it is th only one where there are major strategic problems still unsolved In Germany and Italy there are no lines of operations feasible other than those established by Napoleon; in Russia, on the other hand, everything is still confused and unclear. The question whether Napoleon's plan of operations in 1812 envisaged from the very start a direct advance on Moscow or in the first campaign an advance only to the Dnieper and the Dvina again rises to face us when we seek an answer to the problem of what a revolutionary army should do in the event of a successful offensive against Russia. This question can now be solved, it seems to me, solely by sea: in the Sound and the Dardanelles, and at Petersburg, Riga, and Odessa—that is, of course, if we leave chance out of our reckoning and start with only an approximate balance of forces as our premise. Also left out of account, of course, are any *internal* movements in Russia, and a noble-bourgeois revolution in Petersburg, with an ensuing civil war inside the country, is quite within the realm of possibility. M. Herzen made the problem much easier for himself (*The Development*

of Revolutionary Ideas in Russia) by propounding the construction in the Hegelian manner of a democratic-social communist-Proudhonist Russian republic headed by the triumvirate of Bakunin-Herzen-Golovin, so that he can't fail. By the way, it is very uncertain whether Bakunin is still alive. In any event, it is extremely difficult to conquer a country as vast, widespread and sparsely populated as Russia. As for the former Polish provinces this side of the Dvina and the Dnieper, I have not wanted to hear anything about them ever since I learned that all the peasants there are Ukrainians while only the nobles and some of the townsmen are Poles, and that for the peasant there the restoration of Poland would mean merely the restoration of the old rule of the nobility in full force, as was the case in Ukrainian Gallcia In 1846. In all these areas, i.e., outside the Kingdom of Poland proper, there are hardly 500,000 Poles!

However, it is a good thing that the revolution thls time encounters a sturdy opponent in the shape of Russia, and not such feeble scarecrows as in 1848.

In the meanwhile all sorts of symptoms are makIng their appearance. The cotton prosperlty over here is actually attaining such helghts as to make one dizzy, while individual branches of the cotton Industry (coarse material, domestics) are in a state of complete slump. The speculators are countIng on saving themselves from this swIndle by engaging in it wholesale (building railways with British money) only in America and France, but over here at retail, piecemeal, thus gradually infecting *all* commodities with the swindle. The quite abnormal winter and spring weather over here has most likely damaged the grain crop, and if, as is usually the case, this is followed by an abnormal summer, the crop is done for. The present prosperity, in my opinion, cannot last beyond the autumn. In the meantime, the third British Cabinet in the course of a single year is now making a fool of itself—and this is the last possible cablnet without the direct intervention of the radical bourgeoisie. The Whigs, the Tories, the coalitionists are all suffering defeat in turn, not because of a tax deficit but because of a surplus. This characterizes the whole policy as well as the extreme impotence

of the old parties. If the present ministers come tumbling down, Britain can no longer be governed without a considerable extension of the electorate; in all likelihood this will coincide with the outbreak of the crisis.

The protonged tedium of prosperity has made it almost impossible for the unlucky Bonaparte to preserve his dignity—the world is bored, and Bonaparte bores the world. Unfortunately, he cannot get married again every month. That swindler, drunkard, and cheat will break his neck, because he is compelled to put Engel's *Fürstenspiegel*[1] into practice, if only for appearances' sake. The blackguard, playing the role of "Father of his Country," is at his wits' end. He cannot even start a war; at his slightest move he comes up against serried ranks bristling with bayonets. Besides, peace gives the peasants the highly desired time to reflect on how the man who promised to crush Paris for the benefit of the peasants is now beautifying Paris with the money of the peasants, while mortgages and assessments are growing rather than diminishing, in spite of everything. In a word, this time there is method in the way events are developing, and that is very promising.

In Prussia the government, with its income tax, has gotten itself nicely into trouble with the bourgeoisie. The tax assessments are being raised by the bureaucrats with the greatest arrogance, and you can imagine the delight with which these noble inkslingers are now snooping around in the trade secrets and ledgers of all businessmen. Even my old man, that one-hundred-percent Prussian, is boiling with rage. These people must now taste the blessings of the "cheap" constitutional-paternal-Prussian government down to the very dregs. The Prussian government debt, which was about 67 million talers before 1848, must have quadrupled since then, and already they want to borrow again! It must be said the stout king would gladly sweat a little again, as he did in the days of March, if only he were assured these credits until his blissful death. But Louis

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[1] *Prince's Mirror*: a compendium of rules of conduct and advice to princes.—*Ed.*

Napoleon helped him to put the Zollverein[1] on its feet again, Austria had to climb down out of fear of war, "and now, oh Lord, allow thy servant to go to his grave in peace!"

The Austrians are doing their best to get Italy into motion again; up to the Milan putsch the country was entirely engrossed in trade and prosperity, to the extent that the latter was compatible with taxes. If all this continues for a couple of months more, Europe will be splendidly prepared and will need only the impetus of the crisis. In addition, the unprecedentedly long and universal prosperity—ever since the beginning of 1849—has restored the strength of the exhausted parties (in so far as they were not completely worn out, like the monarchists in France) much more quickly than was the case after 1830, for example, when business conditions were, on the whole, mixed and for a long time colourless. In 1848, moreover, only the Paris proletariat and, later, Hungary and Italy, were exhausted by serious struggles; the insurrections in France after June 1848 were really almost not worth mentioning. After all, they *ruined* only the old monarchist parties. Then there is the comical result of the movement in *all* countries, nothing being serious or important but the colossal historical irony and the concentration of Russian war resources. In view of all this, it seems quite impossible to me, even from the most sober point of view, for the present situation to outlast the spring of 1854.

It is very good that this time *our Party* comes forward under altogether different auspices. All the socialist stupidities that still had to be championed in 1848 as against the pure democrats and South German republicans, Louis Blanc's nonsense, etc., even things that *we* were compelled to put forward in order to obtain support for our views in the confused German situation —all that is now championed by our opponents—Ruge, Heinzen, Kinkel, *et al.* The preliminaries of the proletarian revolution, the measures that prepare the battleground and clear the way for us, such as a single and indivisible republic, etc., things that

[1] *Zollverein*: the German Customs Union, which included a number of German states headed by Prussia, existed from January 1, 1834 to November 1848 and was renewed in 1853. Austria never joined it.—*Ed.*

we had to champion then *against* the people whose natural, normal job it should have been to achieve or, at least, to demand them—all that is now taken for granted. The gentlemen have learned. This time we start right off with the *Manifesto*,[1] thanks to the Cologne trial in particular, in which German communism passed its baccalaureate examination (especially in the person of Röser).

All this, of course, concerns only theory; in practice we shall, as always, be reduced to pressing for resolute measures and absolute ruthlessness above all. And that's the trouble. I have a presentiment that, thanks to the perplexity and flabbiness of all the others, *our* Party will one fine morning be *forced* to assume power and finally to carry out the measures that are of no direct interest to us, but are in the general interests of the revolution and the specific interests of the petty-bourgeoisie; on which occasion, driven by the proletarian populace, bound by our own printed declarations and plans—more or less falsely interpreted, more or less passionately thrust to the fore in the Party struggle—we shall be constrained to undertake *communist* experiments and perform leaps the untimeliness of which we know better than anyone else. In so doing we lose our heads—only physically speaking, let us hope—a reaction sets in, and until the world is able to pass *historical* judgment on such events, we are considered not only beasts, which wouldn't matter, but also *bêtes*,[2] which is much worse. I do not quite see how it can turn out otherwise. In a backward country like Germany, which possesses an advanced party and is involved in an advanced revolution with an advanced country like France, the advanced party must get into power at the first serious conflict and as soon as *actual danger* is present, and that is, in any event, *ahead of* its normal time. All that does not matter, however, and the best thing we can do is for our Party to have established its historical rehabilitation in its *literature* ahead of time, should events take such a turn.

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[1] *Reference to the Manifesto of the Communist Party.—Ed*

[2] Stupid—*Ed*

Moreover, we shall appear on the scene much more respectable than last time. First, we are luckily rid of all the old good-for-nothing personalities—the Schappers, Willichs, and their ilk; second, we have all the same grown somewhat stronger; third, we can count on a rising young generation in Germany (if nothing else, the Cologne trial alone suffices to assure us that); and finally, we have all profited considerably from our exile. To be sure, we also have people among us who live by the principle: "Why do we have to grind away? That's what Father Marx is for, whose job it is to know everything." But, on the whole, the Marxian party plugs away pretty hard, and when one looks at those asinine émigrés, who have picked up new phrases here and there and thus made themselves more confused than ever, it is obvious that the superiority of our party has increased absolutely and relatively. But that is needed, too, for the job will be hard....

28

ENGELS TO MARX

[Manchester, approx May 24, 1853]

...Yesterday I read the book about the Arabian inscriptions of which I told you. The thing is not devoid of interest although priest and bible apologist are written disgustingly all over it. His greatest triumph consists in being able to prove that *Gibbon* committed some blunders in ancient geography, from which it may be deduced that Gibbon's theology is also unsound. The thing is called *The Historical Geography of Arabia* by the Reverend Charles Forster. The best one can get out of it is the following:

1. The genealogy given in Genesis, purporting to be that of Noah, Abraham, etc., is a fairly exact enumeration of the Bedouin tribes of that time, according to their major or minor dialectal kinship, etc. As we know, the Bedouin tribes have to the present

day always called themselves Beni Saied, Beni Jussuff, and so on, i.e., the sons of so and so. This appellation, which springs from the ancient patriarchal mode of existence, leads in the end to this kind of genealogy. The enumeration in Genesis is corroborated more or less by the ancient geographers and the more recent travellers prove that the old names, with dialectal changes, still exist in their majority However, it follows from this that the Jews themselves were nothing more than a small Bedouin tribe, just like the rest, which local conditions, agriculture, and so forth placed in opposition to the other Bedouins.

2. With regard to the great Arabian invasion of which we spoke previously: that the Bedouins made periodic invasions, just like the Mongols, that the Assyrian Empire as well as the Babylonian was founded by Bedouin tribes, on the same spot where later the caliphate of Bagdad arose. The founders of the Babylonian Empire, the Chaldeans, still exist under the same name, Beni Chaled, in the same locality. The rapid rise of big cities like Ninive and Babylon occurred in exactly the same way as only three hundred years ago similar giant cities, such as Agra, Delhi, Lahore and Multan, in the East Indies, were created by an Afghan or Tatar invasion. Thus the Mohammedan invasion loses much of its distinctive character.

3. It seems that the Arabians, where they had settled down, in the South-West, were just as civilized a people as the Egyptians, Assyrians, etc., as is proved by the buildings they erected. This too explains much in the Mohammedan invasion. As far as that fake, religion, is concerned, it seems to follow from the ancient inscriptions in the South, in which the old, national-Arabian tradition of monotheism still predominates (as it does among the American Indians) and of which tradition the Hebrew constitutes only *a small part*, that Mohammed's religious revolution, like *every* religious movement, was *formally a reaction*, an alleged return to the old, the simple.

That Jewish so-called Holy Scripture is nothing more than a record of the old-Arabian religious and tribal tradition, modified by the early separation of the Jews from their consanguineous but nomadic neighbours—that is now perfectly clear to me. The

circumstance that Palestine is surrounded on the Arabian side by nothing but deserts, Bedouin land, explains the separate exposition. But the old-Arabian inscriptions, traditions, and the Koran, and the ease with which all genealogies, etc., can now be unravelled evidence the fact that the main content was Arabic or rather Semitic in general, like with us the Edda and German heroic saga.

Yours,
F. E.

29

MARX TO ENGELS

London, June 2, 1853

...With regard to the Hebrews and Arabians your letter interested me very much. By the way: 1) a *general* relationship can be proved, since history began, among all Oriental tribes, between the settlement of one part of the tribes and the continued nomadic life of the others. 2) In Mohammed's time the trade route from Europe to Asia had been considerably modified and the cities of Arabia, which had taken a great part in the trade with India, etc., were in a state of commercial decay; this in any case also lent impetus. 3) As to religion, the question resolves itself into the general and therefore easily answered one: Why does the history of the East *appear* as a history of religions?

On the formation of Oriental cities one can read nothing more brilliant, graphic and striking than old François Bernier (nine years physician to Aurung-Zebe): *Travels Containing a Description of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, etc.* He also describes the military system, the way these great armies were fed, etc., very well. On these two points he remarks, among other things: "The cavalry forms the principal section, the infantry is not so big as is generally rumoured, unless all the servants and people from the bazaars or markets who follow the army are mixed in with the real fighting force; for in that case I could well believe

that they would be right in putting the number of men in the army accompanying the king alone at 200,000 or 300,000 and sometimes even more, when for example it is certain that he will be a long time absent from the capital. And this will not appear so very astonishing to one who knows the strange encumbrance of tents, kitchens, clothes, furniture and quite frequently even of women, and consequently also the elephants, camels, oxen, horses, porters, foragers, provisioners, merchants of all kinds and servitors whom these armies carry in their wake; or to one who understands the particular condition and government of the country, namely that the *king is the one and only proprietor of all the land* in the kingdom, from which it follows as a necessary consequence that a whole *capital city* like Delhi or Agra lives almost entirely on the army and is therefore obliged to follow the king if he takes the field for any length of time. For these towns neither are nor can be anything like a Paris, *being virtually nothing but military camps*, only a little better and more conveniently situated than in the open country."

On the occasion of the march of the Great Mogul into Kashmir with an army of 400,000 men, etc., he says: "The difficulty is to know whence and how such a great army, such a great number of men and animals, can subsist in the field. For this it is only necessary to suppose, what is perfectly true, that the Indians are very sober and very simple in their food, and that of all that great number of horsemen not the tenth nor even the twentieth part eats meat during the march. So long as they have their *kicheri*, or mixture of rice and other vegetables, over which when it is cooked they pour melted butter, they are satisfied. Further it is necessary to know that camels are possessed of extreme endurance at work, and can long resist hunger and thirst, live on little and eat anything, and that as soon as the army has arrived the camel drivers lead them to graze in the open country where they eat whatever they can find. Moreover, the same merchants who keep the bazaars in Delhi are forced to maintain them during campaigns too, and so do the small merchants, etc.... And finally with regard to forage, all these poor folks go roaming all over the countryside to buy such and thus earn

something. Their great and common resort is to rasp whole fields with a sort of small trowel, thrash or cleanse the small herb rasped, and bring it along to sell to the army...."

Bernier rightly considered the basis of all phenomena in the East—he refers to Turkey, Persia, Hindustan—to be the *absence of private property in land.* This is the real key, even to the Oriental heaven....

30

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, June 6, 1853

...The absence of property in land is indeed the key to the whole of the East. Herein lies its political and religious history. But how does it come about that the Orientals did not arrive at landed property, even in its feudal form? I think it is mainly due to the climate, taken in connection with the nature of the soil, especially with the great stretches of desert which extend from the Sahara straight across Arabia, Persia, India and Tatary up to the highest Asiatic plateau. Artificial irrigation is here the first condition of agriculture and this is a matter either for the communes, the provinces or the central government. An Oriental government never had more than three departments: finance (plunder at home), war (plunder at home and abroad), and public works (provision for reproduction). The British Government in India has administered Nos. 1 and 2 in a rather narrow-minded spirit and dropped No. 3 entirely, so that Indian agriculture is being ruined. Free competition discredits itself there completely. This artificial fertilization of the land, which immediately ceased when the irrigation system fell into decay, explains the otherwise curious fact that whole stretches which were once brilliantly cultivated are now waste and bare (Palmyra, Petra, the ruins in the Yemen, districts in Egypt, Persia and Hindustan); it explains the fact that one single devastating war could depopulate a country for centuries and strip it of its whole civilization. Here too, I think, comes in the destruction of the South-Arabian

trade before Mohammed, which you very rightly regard as one of the chief factors in the Mohammedan revolution. I do not know the commercial history of the first six centuries after Christ thoroughly enough to be able to judge how *far general material* world conditions caused the trade route through Persia to the Black Sea and through the Persian Gulf to Syria and Asia Minor to be preferred to the route over the Red Sea. But in any case the relative security of the caravans in the ordered Persian Empire of the Sassanids was not without considerable effect, while between the years 200 and 600 the Yemen was almost continuously subjugated, invaded and plundered by the Abyssinians The cities of Southern Arabia, which were still flourishing in the time of the Romans, were sheer wastes and ruins in the seventh century; within five hundred years the neighbouring Bedouins had adopted purely mythical, fabulous traditions of their origin (see the Koran and the Arabian historian Novairi), and the alphabet in which the inscriptions in those parts are written was almost totally unknown, *although there was no other*, so that even *writing* had actually fallen into oblivion. Things of this sort imply, besides a "superseding" caused by general trade conditions, some absolutely direct and violent destruction which can only be explained by the Abyssinian invasion. The expulsion of the Abyssinians took place about forty years before Mohammed and was obviously the first act of the awakening Arabian national consciousness, which was also spurred by Persian invasions from the North, pushing forward almost to Mecca. I shall take up the history of Mohammed himself only in the next few days; so far, however, *it seems to me* to bear the character of a Bedouin reaction against the settled but degenerating fellaheen of the towns, who at that time had also become very decadent in their religion, mingling a corrupt nature-cult with corrupt Judaism and Christianity.

Old Bernier's things are really very fine. It is a real delight once more to read something by a sober, clear-headed old Frenchman, who keeps hitting the nail on the head without appearing to notice it....

31

MARX TO ENGELS

London, June 14, 1853

...*Carey*, the American economist, has published a new book, *Slavery at Home and Abroad*. Included here under 'slavery' are all forms of servitude, wage slavery, etc. He has sent me his book and has quoted me repeatedly (from the *Tribune*), sometimes as "a recent English writer," sometimes as "Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*." I told you before that in his previously published works this man described the "harmony" of the economic foundations of the bourgeois system and attributed all the mischief to superfluous interference by the state. The state was his bogey. Now he is singing another tune. The root of all evil is the centralizing effect of modern industry. But this centralizing effect is more England's fault, because she turns herself into the workshop of the world and forces all other countries back to rude agriculture, divorced from manufacture. For England's sins the Ricardo-Malthus theory and especially Ricardo's theory of ground rent are in their turn responsible. The necessary consequence alike of Ricardo's theory and of industrial centralization would be communism. And in order to escape all this, to set up localization and a country-wide union of factories and agriculture in opposition to centralization, the final recommendation of our ultra-free-trader is—*protective tariffs*. In order to escape the effects of bourgeois industry, for which he makes England responsible, he resorts like a true Yankee to hastening this development in America itself by artificial means. His opposition to England, moreover, throws him into *Sismondian* praise of the petty bourgeoisie of Switzerland, Germany, China, etc. This is the same fellow who used to sneer at France for her likeness to China. The only thing of positive interest in the book is the comparison between the former English Negro slavery in Jamaica, etc., and the Negro slavery of the United States. He shows that the main body of Negroes in Jamaica, etc., always consisted of newly imported barbarians, as under English

treatment the Negroes were not only unable to maintain their population but always two-thirds of the number annually imported lost their lives; the present generation of Negroes in America, on the other hand, is becoming a native product, more or less Yankee-fied, English-speaking, etc., *and therefore fit for emancipation.*

The *Tribune* is of course trumpeting Carey's book with all its might. Both indeed have this in common, that under the guise of Sismondian-philanthropic-socialistic anti-industrialism they represent the protectionist, i.e., the industrial, bourgeoisie of America This also explains the secret why the *Tribune* In spite of all its "isms" and socialistic humbug, can be the "leading journal" In the United States.

Your article on Switzerland[1] was of course a direct smack al the leading articles in the *Tribune* (against centralization, etc.), and *its* Carey. I have continued this hidden warfare in a first article on India,[2] in which the destruction of the native industry by England is described as *revolutionary.* This will be very shocking to them. As for the rest, the whole rule of Britain In India was swinish, and is to this day.

The stationary character of this part of Asia—despite all the almless movement on the political surface—is fully explained by two circumstances which supplement each other: 1) the public works were the business of the central government; 2) besides this the whole empire, not counting the few larger towns, was divided into *villages*, each of which possessed a completely separate organization and formed a little world in itself. In a Parliamentary report these villages are described as follows:

"A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some 100 or 1000 acres of arable and waste lands; politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Every village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community, or republic. Officials: 1) the *Potail*, Goud, Mundil.

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[1] F. Engels, "Switzerland. Political Position of This Republic," *New York Daily Tribune*, May 17, 1853.—*Ed*

[2] K. Marx, "The British Rule in India," *New York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853.—*Ed*

etc. as he is termed in different languages, is the head inhabitant, who has generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenue within the village... 2) the *Curnum*, Shanboag, or Putwaree, is the register. 3) The *Taliary*, or *Sthulwar* and 4) the *Tolie*, are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops. 5) The *Neerguntee* distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields. 6) The *Joshee*, or astrologer, announces the seedtimes and harvests, and the lucky or unlucky days or hours for all the operations of farming 7) The *smith* and 8) the *carpenter* frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer. 9) The *potter* fabricates the only utensils of the village. 10) The *washerman* keeps clean the few garments.. . 11) The *barber* and 12) the *silversmith*, who often at the same time is also *poet* and *schoolmaster* of the village—all in one person. Then comes the *Brahmin* for worship. Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and although the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated, by war, famine and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged."

The Potail is usually hereditary. In some of these communities the lands of the village are cultivated in common, in most cases each occupant tills his own field. Within them there is slavery and the caste system. The waste lands are for common pasture. Domestic weaving and spinning is done by wives and daughters. These idyllic republics, which only jealously guard the *boundaries of their village* against the neighbouring village, still exist in a fairly perfect form in the North-Western parts of India, which were recent English accessions. I do not think anyone could imagine a more solid foundation for stagnant Asiatic despotism.

And however much the English may have Hibernicized the country, the breaking up of those stereotyped primitive forms was the *sine qua non* for Europeanization. Alone the tax-gatherer was not the man to achieve this. The destruction of their archaic industry was necessary to deprive the villages of their self-supporting character.

In Bali, an island off the east coast of Java, this Hindu organization, together with Hindu religion, is still intact—its traces, moreover, like those of Hindu influence, are to be found throughout Java. As to the *question of property*, this is a very *controversial* one among the English writers on India. In the broken hill-country south of Krishna, property in land does seem to have existed. In Java on the other hand Sir Stamford Raffles, former *English* Governor of Java, observes in his *History of Java* that "the sovereign was absolute landlord" of the whole surface of the land "where rent to any considerable amount was attainable." In any case it seems to have been the Mohammedans who first established the principle of "no property in land" throughout the whole of Asia.

About the villages mentioned above I must also note that they already figure in Manu[1] and that the basis of the whole organization is, according to him: ten villages under a superior collector, then a hundred and then a thousand.

Write to me soon.

Yours,
K. M.

[1] Ancient Hindu law.—*Ed.*

1854

32

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] July 27, 1854

...A book that has interested me very much is Thierry's *History of the Formation and Progress of the Third Estate*, 1853. It is remarkable how indignant this gentleman—the father of the "class struggle" in French historiography—waxes in his preface at the "new people," who now see an antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and who claim to detect traces of this antagonism even in the history of the third estate before 1789. He is at great pains to prove that the third estate includes all social ranks and estates except the nobility and clergy, and that the bourgeoisie plays its part as the representative of all these other elements. He quotes, for instance, from the reports of the Venetian Embassy: "Those who are called the estates of the realm are of three orders of persons, i.e., the clergy, the nobility, and the remaining order of those persons who by common consent may be called the *people*." If M. Thierry had read our things he would know that the definite opposition of the bourgeoisie to the people naturally begins only when the bourgeoisie as the third estate ceases to be opposed to the clergy and nobility. As to the "roots in history," "of an antagonism *born only yesterday*," his book provides the best proof that these "roots" came into existence as soon as the third estate appeared. This critic—otherwise clever in his own way—ought to have concluded from the "*Senatus populusque Romanus*"[1] that there was never any other antagonism in Rome except that between the

[1] the Senate and the Roman people.—*Ed*

Senate and the people What has interested me is to see in the documents he quotes that the word "*catalla*," "*capitalia*"—capital—appears with the rise of the communes. Moreover, he has proved without wanting to that nothing did more to retard the French bourgeoisie in its victory than the fact that it did not decide until 1789 to make common cause with the peasants. He describes well, if not as a connected whole:

1) How from the first, or at least after the rise of the towns, the French bourgeoisie gains too much influence by constituting itself the Parliament, the bureaucracy, etc., and not as in England merely through commerce and industry. This is certainly still characteristic even of present-day France.

2) From his account it can be excellently demonstrated how the class arises, while the different forms in which its centre of gravity lies at different times and the various factions which gained influence through these forms are breaking down. This series of metamorphoses, leading up to the domination of the class, has never in my opinion—at any rate so far as the material is concerned—been thus presented before. Unfortunately, in dealing with the *maîtrises, jurandes*,[1] etc.—with the forms, in short, in which the industrial bourgeoisie developed—he has confined himself almost entirely to general and generally-known phrases, although here too he alone knows the material. What he develops and emphasizes well is the conspiratorial and revolutionary character of the municipal movement in the twelfth century. The German emperors—Frederick I and Frederick II for instance—issued edicts against these "*communiones*," "*conspirationes*," and "*conjurationes*,"[2] quite in the spirit of the German Federal Diet. For instance, in 1226 Frederick II takes it on himself to declare all "consulates"[3] and other free municipal bodies in the cities of Provence null and void: "It has recently been brought to our notice that the guilds of certain cities, market-towns and other

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[1] Privileged upper crust of the guilds' foremen, elective officials.—*Ed*

[2] Communes, secret associations, sworn confederacies.—*Ed*

[3] In the Middle Ages municipal councillors in Provence bore the title of consul.—*Ed*

places, have, of their own motion, constituted tribunals, authorities, consulates, administrations and certain other institutions of this kind ... and because among certain of them ... such things have already developed into abuse and malpractices ... we hereby in virtue of our imperial power revoke these tribunals, etc, and also the concessions in regard to them obtained by our sure knowledge through the Counts of Provence and of Forcalquier, and declare them null and void."

Further: "We prohibit, also, every manner of convention and sworn confederacy within and without the cities: between city and city, between person and person or between city and person." (Peace Charter of Frederick I.)

"That no city and no market-town may organize communes, constitutions, unions, leagues or sworn confederacies of any kind, no matter what they may call themselves, and that without the agreement of their lord we neither can nor ought to allow the cities and markets formed in our empire the right to establish communes, constitutions or sworn confederacies of any kind, no matter by what name they may call themselves." (Decree of King Henry Against City Communes.)

Is not this exactly the same stiff German professorial style which used to fulminate in later days from the "Central Commission of the Confederation"? The *commune jurée*[1] penetrated no further into Germany than Treves, and there Emperor Frederick I made an end of it in 1161: "Every commune of the citizens of Treves which is also called sworn confederacy and which we have abolished in the city .. but which as we have heard was nevertheless later established anew, shall be dissolved and declared null and void...."

This policy of the German emperors was utilized by the French kings to give secret support to the "sworn confederacies" and "communes" in Lorraine, Alsace, Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, Lyonnais, etc. and detach them from the German Empire: "According to the information which has reached our Highness, the King of France ... is seeking to corrupt the sincerity of your

[1] Sworn commune.—*Ed*

loyalty" (Rudolph I, letter to the citizens of Besançon). Just the same policy which those fellows adopted to make the Italian cities Guelph.[1]

It is often funny how the word "*communio*" used to be heaped with abuse just as communism is today. The parson Guilbert of Noyon writes, for instance: "*Communio* is a new and extremely bad name."

There is frequently something quite pathetic about the way in which the burghers in the twelfth century invite the peasants to flee to the cities, to the sworn communes. Thus for instance the Charter of St. Quentin says:

"They" (the citizens of St. Quentin) "have sworn jointly each to give common aid to his confederate, to have common counsel, common responsibility and common defence. Jointly we have determined that whoever shall enter our commune and give us his aid whether by reason of flight or for fear of his enemies or for other offence... shall be allowed to enter the commune, *for the gate is open to all*, and if his lord has unjustly detained his goods and will not hold them rightfully we shall execute justice on that account."

Yours,
K. Marx

[1] The *Guelphs* were the opponents of the German emperors in the Italian city republics from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.—*Ed*

1856

33

MARX TO ENGELS

London, March 5, 1856

...The second object of Levy's mission was to give me information about the condition of the workers in the Rhine province. The Düsseldorf workers are still in contact with the workers of Cologne, and there are no longer any "gentlemen." But the chief propaganda is now carried on among *the factory workers in Solingen, Iserlohn and its environs, Elberfeld*, and the Berg-Westphalia area. In the iron districts the chaps want to take to force and are only to be restrained by the prospect of a French revolution and because "the Londoners do not think the time has come yet." If the thing drags on much longer Levy thinks it will be difficult to prevent a rising. But in any case an insurrection in Paris would be the signal. These people seem to be firmly convinced that *we and our friends will hasten to them from the very first moment.* Naturally they feel the need of political and military leaders. Nobody can blame them for that. But I am afraid that with their highly naturalistic plans they will be smashed up four times over before we are even able to leave England. In any case they are entitled to an explanation from the military point of view of exactly what can and what can not be done. I promised, of course, that *if circumstances permitted* we would come to see the Rhenish workers; that any rising on their own, without initiative in Paris, Vienna or Berlin, would be senseless; that if Paris does give the signal, it would be well to risk everything in any event, for then even a momentary defeat could have bad consequences only for the moment; that I would seriously consult my friends on the question of what could be

done directly by the working-class population of the Rhine province itself, and that after a while they should send someone to London again, but should do *nothing* without previous arrangement.

The Elberfeld (or Barmen?) tanners, who in 1848 and 1849 were very reactionary, are now particularly revolutionary minded Levy assured me that you personally are considered "their" man by the workers in Wuppertal. Along the Rhine, anyhow, the belief in a revolution in France seems fairly widespread and even the philistines say: This time things won't go the way they did in 1848. This time people like Robespierre, etc., will appear on the scene instead of the chatterboxes of 1848. The prestige of the democrats has fallen very low, at least on the Rhine.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

34

MARX TO ENGELS

London, April 16, 1856

...The day before yesterday there was a little banquet to celebrate the anniversary of the *People's Paper*.[1] On this occasion I accepted the invitation, as the times seemed to demand it, and all the more so since I *alone* (as announced in the paper) of all the refugees had been invited and the first toast also fell to me, in which I was to hail the sovereignty of the proletariat in all countries. So I made a little English speech which I, however, shall not have printed.[2] The aim which I had in mind was achieved. M. Talandier, who had to buy his ticket for 2s. 6d., and the rest of the gang of French and other refugees have convinced

[1] *People's Paper*: organ of the Chartists published in London 1852-1858. Its editor was Ernest Jones. Marx wrote articles for it and sometimes assisted in the work of editing.—*Ed.*

[2] Marx's speech was published in the report on the banquet which appeared in the *People's Paper* of April 19, 1856.—*Ed.*

themselves that we are the only "intimate" allies of the Chartists and that though we refrain from public demonstrations and leave open flirtation with Chartism to the Frenchmen, we have it in our power to reoccupy at any time the position already historically due us. This has become all the more necessary because at the meeting of February 25 under Pyat's chairmanship, that German ignoramus *Scherzer* (old boy) came forward and in truly awful Straubinger style denounced the German "men of learning," the "intellectual workers" who had left them (the ignoramuses) in the lurch and thus forced them to discredit themselves in front of the other nations. You know this Scherzer from Paris days. I have had some more meetings with friend *Schapper* and have found him a very repentant sinner. The retirement in which he has lived for the last two years seems rather to have sharpened his mental powers. You will understand that in any eventuallty it may always be good to have the man at hand, and still more out of Willich's hands. Schapper is now furious with the Ignoramuses at Windmill Street.[1]

I'll attend to your letter to Steffen. You should have kept Levy's letter there in your possession. Do that in general with all letters I don't ask you to send back to me. The less they are mailed the better. I fully agree with you about the Rhine province. The fatal thing for us is that I see something looming in the future which will smack of "treason to the fatherland." It will depend very much on the turn of things in Berlin whether we are not forced into a position similar to that of the Mayence Clubbists[2] in the old revolution That would be hard. We who are so enlightened about our worthy brothers on the other side of the Rhine! The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War. Then the affair will be splendid....

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[1] In Windmill Street, London, was the house in which meetings of the German Workers' Educational Society took place —*Ed.*

[2] Marx refers to the members of the democratic club in Mayence who supported the French revolutionary troops that occupied Mayence in 1792 —*Ed.*

35

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, May 23, 1856

Dear Marx,

During our tour in Ireland we came from Dublin to Galway on the west coast, then twenty miles north inland, then to Limerick, down the Shannon to Tarbert, Tralee, Killarney and back to Dublin—a total of about 450 to 500 English miles inside the country itself, so that we have seen about two-thirds of the whole of it. With the exception of Dublin, which bears the same relation to London as Düsseldorf does to Berlin and has quite the character of a small one-time capital, all English-built, too, the look of the entire country, and especially of the towns, is as if one were in France or Northern Italy. Gendarmes, priests, lawyers, bureaucrats, country squires in pleasing profusion and a total absence of any industry at all, so that it would be difficult to understand what all these parasitic growths live on if the distress of the peasants did not supply the other half of the picture. "Strong measures" are visible in every corner of the country, the government meddles with everything, of so-called self-government there is not a trace. Ireland may be regarded as the first English colony and as one which because of its proximity is still governed exactly in the old way, and one can already notice here that the so-called liberty of English citizens is based on the oppression of the colonies. I have never seen so many gendarmes in any country, and the sodden look of the bibulous Prussian gendarme is developed to its highest perfection here among the constabulary, who are armed with carbines, bayonets and handcuffs.

Characteristic of this country are its ruins, the oldest dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, the latest from the nineteenth—with every intervening period. The most ancient are all churches; after 1100, churches and castles; after 1800, houses of peasants. The whole of the west, especially in the neighbourhood of Galway,

is covered with ruined peasant houses, most of which have only been deserted since 1846. I never thought that famine could have such tangible reality. Whole villages are devastated, and there among them lie the splendid parks of the lesser landlords, who are almost the only people still living there, mostly lawyers.

Famine, emigration and clearances together have accomplished this. There are not even cattle to be seen in the fields. The land is an utter desert which nobody wants. In County Clare, south of Galway, it is somewhat better. Here there are at least cattle, and the hills towards Limerick are excellently cultivated, mostly by Scottish farmers, the ruins have been cleared away and the country has a bourgeois appearance In the South-West there are a lot of mountains and bogs but there is also wonderfully luxuriant forest land; beyond that again fine pastures, especially in Tipperary, and towards Dublin there is land which, one can see, is gradually coming into the hands of big farmers.

The country was completely ruined by the English wars of conquest from 1100 to 1850 (for in reality both the wars and the state of siege lasted as long as that). It has been established as a fact that most of the ruins were produced by destruction during the wars. The people itself has got its peculiar character from this, and for all their national Irish fanaticism the fellows feel that they are no longer at home in their own country. Ireland for the Saxon! That is now being realized. The Irishman knows that he cannot compete with the Englishman, who comes equipped with means superior in every respect; emigration will go on until the predominantly, indeed almost exclusively, Celtic character of the population is gone to the dogs. How often have the Irish started out to achieve something, and every time they have been crushed, politically and industrially. By consistent oppression they have been artificially converted into an utterly impoverished nation and now, as everyone knows, fulfil the function of supplying England, America, Australia, etc., with prostitutes, casual labourers, pimps, pickpockets, swindlers, beggars and other rabble. Impoverishment characterizes the aristocracy too. The landowners, who everywhere else have become bourgeoisified, are here reduced to complete poverty. Their country-seats are surrounded

by enormous, amazingly beautiful parks, but all around is waste land, and where the money is to come from it is impossible to see. These fellows are droll enough to make your sides burst with laughing. Of mixed blood, mostly tall, strong, handsome chaps, they all wear enormous moustaches under colossal Roman noses, give themselves the false military airs of retired colonels, travel around the country after all sorts of pleasures, and if one makes an inquiry, they haven't a penny, are laden with debts, and live in dread of the Encumbered Estates Court.

Concerning the ways and means by which England rules this country—repression and corruption—long before Bonaparte attempted this, I shall write shortly if you won't come over soon. How about it?

Yours,
F. E.

36

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] October 30, 1856

... In Mieroslawski[1] you will notice yourself: 1) that the same person who considers "a diplomatic kingdom" in Poland impossible wanted to make there "*a diplomatic revolution*," i.e., under the auspices of Louis Bonaparte and Palmerston; 2) that the fate of the "democratic" Polish *gmina*[2] was inevitable. The dominium[3] proper is usurped by the crown, the aristocracy, etc.; the patriarchal relations between the dominium and the peasant communities bring about serfdom; optional parcellation gives rise to a sort of *peasant middle class*, the *Equestrian Order*, to which the peasant can rise only so long as war of conquest and colonization continue, both of which, however, are also conditions

[1] Ludwig Mieroslawski, *Polish Nationality within the European Balance of Power.—Ed.*

[2] County.—*Ed.*

[3] Sovereignty of the feudal lord.—*Ed.*

which accelerate his downlall. As soon as the limit has been reached this Equestrian Order, incapable of playing the role of a real middle class, is transformed into the lumpenproletariat ol the aristocracy. A similar late is in store for the dominium and the peasant among the Latin population ol Moldavia, Walachia, etc. This kind of development is interesting because here serldom can be shown to havc arisen in a purely economic way, without the intermediate link of conquest and racial dualism....

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] December 2, 1856

...Incidentaliy, what has decided me definitely for Poland, on the basis of my latest studies ol Polish history, is the historical fact that the intensity and vitality of all revolutions since 1789 can be gauged pretty accurately by their attitude to Poland. Poland is their "external" thermometer. This can be demonstrated in detail by French history. It is obvious in our short German revolutionary epoch, and equally so in the Hungarian. Ol all the revolutionary governments, including that of Napoleon I, the Committee of Public Safety forms an exception only because it refused intervention not lrom weakness but from "mistrust." In 1794 they summoned the agent of the Polish insurgents before them and put the following questions to this "citizen": "How is it that your Kosciuszko is a popular dictator and yet suffers a king alongside of him, who, moreover, as Kosciuszko must be aware, has been put on the throne by Russia? How is it that your dictator does not dare to carry out the levy in mass of the peasants, for fear of the aristocrats who do not want 'hands' to be taken away from them? How is it that his proclamations lose their revolutionary tone in proportion to the distance which his line of march removes him from Cracow? How is it that he *immediately* punished the people's insurrection in Warsaw with the

gallows, while the aristocratic 'traitors to their country' wand freely about or are sheltered behind the lengthy formalities of trial? Answer!" To which the Polish "citizen" could only remai silent.

What do you say to Neufchâtel and Valangin[1]? This case h ted me to supplement my highly defective knowledge of Prussia history. Indeed and indeed the history of the world has neve produced anything more sordid. The long history of how th nominal kings of France became real kings is also full of petl struggles, treachery and intrigues. But it is the history of th origin of a nation. Austrian history, which shows how a vassa of the German Empire establishes the power of his own house becomes interesting from the circumstance that, thanks t entanglements with the East, Bohemia, Italy, Hungary, etc., th vassal by deceptive means plays the role of Kaiser; and ultimate ly because the power of this House assumes such dimensions tha Europe fears it will become a universal monarchy. Nothing o this sort in Prussia. She never subjugated a single powerful Slav nation and in five hundred years was never able to succeed even in getting hold of Pomerania until she finally got it by "ex- change." In fact, the Margravlate of Brandenburg—since it got into the hands of the Hohenzollerns—never made any real *con- quests except Silesia*. As *this is its only* conquest, Frederick II is doubtless the "Unique"! Petty thieving, bribery, direct purchase, underhand dealings to capture inheritances, etc.—all this shabby business is what the history of Prussia amounts to. And whatever else is interesting in feudal history—the struggle between overlord and vassals, trickery with the towns, etc.—is here all caricatured *on a dwarfish scale* because the towns are petty and boring, the feudal lords insignificant louts, and the sovereign *him- self* a nonentity. In the Reformation as in the French Revolution— vacillating perfidy, neutrality, separate peace treaties. The snap-

[1] Marx refers to the monarchist putsch of the Neufchâtel and Valangin nobility in 1856 to recover their feudal privileges and restore the suzerain rights of the Prussian King. The revolt was quickly suppressed by the Swiss Government.—*Ed.*

ping up of a few morsels thrown to her by Russia in the course of the various partitions which the latter arranged—so it was with Sweden, Poland, Saxony. Added to this, in her list of rulers never any but three types of character following one another as night follows day, with irregularities which only changed the sequence but never introduced a new type—pietist, sergeant-major, and clown. What has kept the state on its legs through all this has been *mediocrity*—the golden mean—accurate book-keeping, avoidance of extremes, precision in drill, a certain home-bred meanness and "church regulations." Disgusting! . . .

1857

38

MARX TO ENGELS

London, September 25, 1857

... Your "Army"[1] is very well done; only its size made me feel as if I had been hit over the head, for it must do you a lot of harm to work so much. If I had known that you were going to work far into the night, I would rather have let the whole matter go hang.

The history of the *army* brings out more clearly than anything else the correctness of our conception of the connection between the productive forces and social relations. In general, the army is important for economic development. For instance, it was in the army that the ancients first fully developed a wage system. Similarly among the Romans the *peculium castrense*[2] was the first legal form in which the right of others than fathers of families to moveable property was recognized. So also the guild system among the corporation of *fabri*.[3] Here too the first use of machinery on a large scale. Even the special value of metals and their use as money appears to have been originally based—as soon as Grimm's stone age was passed—on their military significance. The division of labour *within* one branch was also first carried out in the armies. The whole history of the forms of bourgeois society is very strikingly epitomized here. If some day you can find time you must work the thing out from this point of view.

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[1] Reference to Engels's article "Army," printed in the *New American Cyclopedia*.—*Ed.*

[2] Camp property.—*Ed.*

[3] Artisans attached to the army.—*Ed.*

In my opinion, the only points which have been overlooked in your account are: 1) The first appearance of mercenary troops, ready for use on a large scale and at once, among the Carthaginians (for our private use I will look up a book on the Carthaginian armies written by a Berlin man, which I came to know only later). 2) The development of the army system in Italy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Tactical tricks, at any rate, were developed here. Extremely humorous is Machiavelli's description (which I will copy out for you) in his history of Florence of the way the Condottieri fought one another. (No, when I come to see you in Brighton—when?—I would rather bring the volume of Machiavelli with me. His history of Florence is a masterpiece.) And, finally, 3) the Asiatic military system as it first appeared among the Persians and then, though modified in a great variety of ways, among the Mongols, Turks, etc....

39

MARX TO ENGELS

London, November 24, 1857

...Jones is behaving very stupidly. You know that long before the crisis—with no definite aim except to find some pretext for agitation during this lukewarm time—he had arranged for a Chartist conference, to which bourgeois radicals (not only Bright, but even fellows like Cunningham) were also to be invited. In general, a compromise was to be arrived at with the bourgeois by which they were to get the secret ballot if they would concede manhood suffrage to the workers. This proposal gave rise to divisions in the Chartist party which in their turn drove Jones to adhere more firmly to his scheme. Now instead of using the crisis to replace a badly selected pretext for agitation by real agitation, he clings to his nonsense and shocks the workers by preaching collaboration with the bourgeoisie, while he is far from inspiring the latter with the slightest confidence. Some of the radical papers are cajoling him in order to ruin him completely.

in his own paper that old ass Frost, whom he himself had boosted as a hero and whom he had designated president of his conference, has come out against him with a swinish letter in which he says among other things: If Jones considers the co-operation of the middle class necessary—and that *nothing* can be done *without* it—he should come out for it *bona fide*. Who gave him the right to draw up the programme of the conference *without* the allies? Who authorized him to designate Frost President and to play the dictator himself, etc.? So now he is in a hole, and for the first time is playing not merely a *stupid* but an *ambiguous* part. I have not seen him for a long time, but will now visit him. I consider him honest, and as in England it is impossible for a *public character* to become impossible because of the stupid things, etc., he does, it is only a question of his extricating himself as quickly as possible from his own snare. The ass should first *form* a party, for which he must go to the factory districts. Then the radical bourgeoisie will come and ask him for compromises.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

1858

40

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] January 14, 1858

... By the way, things are developing nicely. For instance, I have thrown overboard the whole doctrine of profit as it has existed up to now. In the *method* of treatment the fact that by mere accident I again glanced through Hegel's *Logic* has been of great service to me—Freiligrath found some volumes of Hegel which originally belonged to Bakunin and sent them to me as a present. If there should ever be time for such work again, I would greatly like to make accessible to the ordinary human intelligence, in two or three printer's sheets, what is *rational* in the method which Hegel discovered but at the same time enveloped in mysticism....

41

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] February 1, 1858

... *Heraclitus the Obscure* by Lassalle the Bright[1] is at bottom a very inane compilation. With each of the many images by which Heraclitus works out for himself the unity of affirmation and negation, in steps Lassalle and takes the opportunity of treating us—always at full length—to some extract from Hegel's *Logic*

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[1] Ferdinand Lassalle, *The Philosophy of Heraclitus the Obscure of Ephesus*.—*Ed*

which hardly gains by this process. He does it like a schoolboy who has to prove in his exercise that he's got his "essence," "appearance" and "dialectical process" down pat. And even if that is what the schoolboy's speculations have gained him, one can be sure that he will after all be able to conduct this process of thought only according to the prescribed recipe and in the sacred forms. That is exactly the case with our Lassalle. The chap seems to have tried to make Hegel's *Logic* clear to himself through Heraclitus and never to have got tired of perpetually starting this process afresh. So far as erudition is concerned there is an enormous exhibition of it. But every expert knows how easy it is, when one has time and money, and, like Herr Lassalle, can have the Bonn University library sent direct to his home whenever he likes, to put together this sort of display of quotations. One can see what a wonderful swell the fellow seems to himself in this philological tinsel, moving with all the grace of a fellow who for the first time in his life is wearing fashionable dress. As most philologists have not the speculative mind which predominates in Heraclitus, every Hegelian has the indisputable advantage of understanding what the philologist does not understand. (It would at any rate be strange if just because a fellow had learnt Greek he became a philosopher in *Greek* when he was not one in *German*.) But instead of simply taking all this for granted Herr Lassalle treats us in a quasi-Lessing manner. In long-winded legal phraseology the Hegelian interpretation is justified against the false constructions of the philologists, false owing to their lack of special knowledge. So that we have the double pleasure, first, of seeing dialectical things we had almost forgotten reconstructed for us in full amplitude, and secondly, of having this "speculative heritage" vindicated against the unspeculative philologists as the particular philological and juridical smartness and learnedness of Herr Lassalle. However, despite the fellow's boast that Heraclitus has up to now been a book with seven seals, he has *added absolutely nothing new*, where the main point is concerned, to what Hegel has said in his *History of Philosophy*. He only *brings* it out in detail, which could of course have been done amply enough in a couple of printer's sheets. Still less does it occur to that

bloke to betray any critical reflections on dialectics itself. If all the fragments of Heraclitus were printed together they would hardly fill half a printer's sheet. Only a fellow who prints books at the expense of that awful "person"[1] can afford to give two volumes of sixty sheets to the world on such a pretext.

There is a saying of "Heraclitus the Obscure" where, in order to explain the change of all things into their opposites, he concludes: "So gold changes into all things and all things change into gold." Gold, says Lassalle, is here money (which is correct) and money is value. Therefore the Ideal is the Universal, the One (value), and things, the Real, is the Particular, the Many. He utilizes this startling piece of penetration in order to give us, in a long note, an earnest of his discoveries in the science of political economy. Every word is a blunder, but declaimed with remarkable pretentiousness. I can see from this one note that the fellow is proposing to present political economy in the Hegelian manner in his second great opus. He will learn to his cost that to bring a science by criticism to the point where it can be dialectically presented is an altogether different thing from applying an abstract ready-made system of logic to mere inklings of such a system.

But as I wrote to you immediately after his first self-intoxicated letter, the old Hegelians and philologists must really have been pleased to find such an old-fashioned mind in a young man who passes for a great revolutionary. Besides, he flatters and he bows and scrapes to the right and left to ensure a favourable reception. As soon as I have run through that stuff I'll send it to you.

Greetings.

Yours,

K. M.

[1] Allusion to the Countess von Hatzfeldt —*Ed*

42

MARX TO F. LASSALLE

London, February 22, 1858

Dear Lassalle,

Nutt has now sent me *Herakleitos*. As soon as I finish reading it I shall tell you what I think of it. But you must have patience a while since just now I have mighty little spare time. I myself did not investigate in the works of the Stoics their attitude to Heraclitus from the angle of natural philosophy because it seemed to me that in this discipline they behaved like serious-minded schoolboys. In Epicurus, on the contrary, it can be proved in detail that although he takes Democritus's natural philosophy as his starting point, he invariably twists the point of the question around. One can hardly blame Cicero and Plutarch for not understanding that, inasmuch as even great minds like Bayle and Hegel *ipsissimus* did not scent this out. Anyhow, one cannot demand of the latter, who was the first to comprehend the history of philosophy in its entirety, that he should make no blunders in matters of detail....

I want to tell you how I am getting along with my work on economics. The fact is that during the last several months I have been putting on the finishing touches. But the job is making very slow progress because things which one has for many years made the chief object of one's investigations constantly exhibit new aspects and call forth new doubts whenever they are to be put in final shape. Besides, I am not master of my time but rather its servant. I have only the night left for myself and very often a liver complaint with its frequent attacks and relapses interferes with this night-work. Under all these circumstances it would be most convenient for me if I could have the whole thing come out in separate booklets appearing from time to time. This might also have the advantage of making it easier to find a publisher, as less working capital would have to be invested. I would be greatly obliged to you, of course, if you could dig up some businessman in Berlin to undertake the printing. By booklets I

mean such as those in which Vischer's *Aesthetics* appeared serially.

The first work in question is *critique of the economic categories*, or, if you like, the system of bourgeois economy critically presented. It is a presentation of the system and simultaneously, through this presentation, a criticism of it. I am by no means sure how many printer's sheets the whole thing will add up to. If I had the time, leisure and means to give the whole thing the necessary finish before I hand it over to the public I would greatly condense it, as I have always liked the method of condensation. This way, however, printed in successive booklets, it may perhaps be easier for the public to understand, but it will surely work to the detriment of its form and the thing will necessarily be somewhat drawn out. Remember, as soon as you find out whether you can get this job done in Berlin *or not* please write to me, because if it will not work out there I shall try Hamburg. Another point is that I must get *paid* by the publisher who undertakes the job, a necessity which may shipwreck the whole business in Berlin.

The presentation, that is, the manner of treatment, is wholly scientific, hence not in violation of any police regulations in the ordinary sense. The whole thing is divided into six books. 1) Capital (contains some introductory chapters). 2) Landed Property. 3) Wage Labour. 4) The State. 5) International Trade. 6) World Market. Naturally, I cannot refrain from criticizing other economists now and then, and particularly not from polemizing against Ricardo, in so far as he himself, as a bourgeois, cannot help making blunders *even from the strictly economic point of view*. However, the critique and history of political economy and of socialism as a whole was to form the subject of another work. Finally, the brief *historical sketch* of the development of the economic categories, or relationships, was to be a third work. After all, I have a presentiment that now, when after fifteen years of study I have got so far as to be able to get down to the thing, turbulent movements without will most likely interfere. But never mind. If I finish too late to find the world still interested in that sort of thing, the fault will obviously be my own....

43

MARX TO ENGELS

London, April 2, 1858

. . .Following is a short outline of the first part. The whole business is to be divided into six books: 1) Capital. 2) Landed Property. 3) Wage Labour. 4) State. 5) International Trade. 6) World Market.

1. Capital contains four sections: a) *Capital* in general (this is *the subject-matter of the first part*). b) *Competition*, or the action of the many capitals upon one another. c) *Credit*, where capital appears as the general element as opposed to individual capitals. d) Share capital as the most perfect form (leading to communism) together with all its contradictions. The transition of capital to landed property is at the same time historical, as the modern form of property in land is a product of the effect of capital upon feudal and other landed property. Similarly the transition of landed property to wage labour is not only dialectical but historical, since the final product of modern landownership is the general institution of wage labour, which in turn appears as the basis of the whole thing. Well (it is difficult for me to write today), let us now come to the *corpus delicti*.

I. Capital. First section: Capital in general. (In the whole of this section it is assumed that wages are throughout at their lowest level. The movement of wages and the rise or fall of the minimum will be considered under wage labour. Further, landed property is taken as=0; that is, landed property as a particular economic relation does not yet concern us. This is the only possible way to avoid dealing with all relations when discussing each particular relation.)

1) *Value*. Absolutely reduced to quantity of labour. Time as the measure of labour. Use-value—whether considered subjectively as usefulness of labour, or objectively as utility of the product—appears here simply as the material presupposition of value, which for the time being drops completely out of the economi-

ic determination of the form. Value as such has no other "stuff" than labour itself. This determination of value, first suggested by Petty and clearly worked out by Ricardo, is merely the most abstract form of bourgeois wealth. In itself it already presupposes: the dissolution of 1) primitive communism (India, etc.), 2) all undeveloped, pre-bourgeois modes of production not completely dominated by exchange. Although an abstraction, this is an historical abstraction which could only be adopted on the basis of a particular economic development of society. All objections to this definition of value are either derived from less developed relations of production, or are based on the confused idea of allowing the more concrete economic determinations (from which value is abstracted and which, on the other hand, can therefore also be regarded as a further development of it) to be set up in opposition to value in this abstract undeveloped form. Considering the lack of clarity among the economist gentry themselves as to how this abstraction is related to the later and more concrete forms of bourgeois wealth, these objections were more or less justified.

From the contradiction between the general character of value and its material existence in a particular commodity, etc.—these general characteristics are the same as later appear in money—arises the category of money.

2) *Money.*

Something about the precious metals as carriers of money relations.

a) *Money as measure.* Some notes on the *ideal* measure in Stewart, Attwood, Urquhart; put forward in a more comprehensible form by the advocates of labour-money (Gray, Bray, etc. Some whacks on occasion at the Proudhonists). The value of a commodity translated into money is its *price*, which for the time being still appears only in this *purely formal* differentiation from value. According to the general law of value, a particular quantity of money merely expresses a particular quantity of materialized labour. So long as money is the measure used, the variability of its own value is immaterial.

b) *Money as a means of exchange, or simple circulation.*

Here only the simple form of this circulation is to be considered. All the circumstances which further determine it lie outside of it and are therefore considered only later. (They presuppose more developed relations.) If we call the commodity C and Money M, simple circulation does, it is true, exhibit the two rotations or cycles: C—M—M—C and M—C—C—M (the latter constitutes the transition to Section c), but the point of departure and the point of return in no way coincide, or, if so, only accidentally. Most of the so-called laws laid down by the economists treat money circulation not within its own limits but as included under and determined by higher movements. All this to be discarded. (Belongs partly to the theory of credit; but part must also be dealt with at points where money comes up again, but more fully defined.) Here then money as a means of circulation (*coin*). But at the same time as the *realization* (and not merely momentary realization) of price. From the simple determination that the commodity, on the fixing of its *price*, is already ideally exchanged for money before it is actually exchanged, arises of itself the important economic law that *the amount of the circulating medium is determined by the prices and not vice versa.* (Here something historical on the controversy relating to this point.) It follows further that velocity can replace mass, but that a *definite mass* is necessary for the simultaneous acts of exchange, in so far as these are not related to one another as plus and minus; this equalization and the consideration of it are however only to be touched on at this point in anticipation. I will not now go into the further development of this section but will only remark that the division into C—M and M—C is the most abstract and superficial form in which the possibility of crises is expressed. From the development of the law that price determines the mass in circulation it follows that presuppositions are here involved which by no means apply to all stages of society; it is absurd, therefore, to take, for instance, the influx of money from Asia to Rome and its influence on Roman prices, and simply to put it beside modern commercial conditions. The most abstract determinations, when more

carefully examined, always point to a further definite concrete historical basis. (Of course—since they have been abstracted from it in these determinations.)

c) *Money as money.* This is the development of the form M—C—C—M. Money as the existence of value independent of circulation; the material existence of abstract wealth. Shows this already in circulation, in so far as money does not merely appear as a means of circulation but as the realization of price. In its capacity as (c), where (a) and (b) appear only as functions, money is the general commodity of contracts (here the variability of its value, due to the determination of value by labour time, is important), an object of hoarding. (This function is still important in Asia and was generally important in the ancient world and the Middle Ages. Exists now only as a subordinate function in banking. In time of crisis money in this form is again important. A consideration of money in this form and of the delusions it has produced in the course of world history. Destructive properties, etc.) As the realization of all the higher forms in which value will appear; definitive forms in which all value relations culminate externally. Money fixed in this form however ceases to be an economic relation—the form is lost in its material carrier, gold and silver. On the other hand, in so far as money comes into circulation and is again exchanged for C, the final process, the consumption of the commodity, in its turn falls outside the economic relation. Simple money circulation does not contain the principle of self-reproduction within itself and therefore points somewhere beyond itself. Money, as the exposition of its definitions shows, contains within itself the demand for value which will enter into circulation, maintain itself in circulation and at the same time add value to itself—that is, for *capital.* This transition is also historical. The antediluvian form of capital is trading capital, which always develops money. At the same time real capital arises from money, or merchants' capital, which gains control of production.

d) This simple circulation, considered by itself—and it is the surface of bourgeois society, obliterating the deeper operations from which it arises—reveals no difference between the objects

of exchange, except formal and temporary ones. This is the *realm of freedom, equality, and of property based on "labour."* Accumulation, which here appears in the form of hoarding, is therefore only greater thriftiness, etc. Next, on the one hand, the absurdity of the preachers of economic harmony, the modern free traders (Bastiat, Carey, and others) to insist upon applying this most superficial and abstract relation to the more developed productive relations and their antagonisms as *their* truth. On the other hand the absurdity of the Proudhonists and similar Socialists to oppose ideas of equality, etc., corresponding to this exchange of equivalents (or to what is assumed as such) to the inequalities, etc., from which the exchange arises and to which it returns. As the law of appropriation in this sphere there appears appropriation by labour, an exchange of equivalents, so that the exchange merely returns the same value in a different material form. In short, everything is "lovely" but will very soon come to a horrible end, and that owing to the law of equivalence. For we now come to.

3) *Capital.*

This is really the most important part of the first book, about which I need your opinion most. But I cannot go on writing today. This filthy jaundice makes it difficult for me to hold my pen and bending my head over the paper makes me giddy. So—for next time.

Greetings.

Yours.
K. M.

44

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, July 14, 1858

... By the way, do send me Hegel's *Philosophy of Nature* as you promised. I am now doing some physiology and shall go on to it comparative anatomy. There are some highly speculative things here, all of which have only recently been discovered, however; I am very eager to see if the old man did not scent something

of them. This much is certain: if he had a philosophy of nature to write *today* the facts would come flying to him from every side. Moreover, people have absolutely no conception of the progress made by the natural sciences in the last thirty years. For physiology the decisive factors have been, firstly, the tremendous development of organic chemistry, and secondly, the microscope, which has been properly used only for the last twenty years. The microscope has led to even more important results than chemistry. The main thing which has revolutionized the whole of physiology and for the first time made comparative physiology possible is the discovery of the cell—in plants by Schleiden and in animals by Schwann (about 1836). Everything is a cell. The cell is Hegel's "Being-in-itself" and its development undergoes exactly the Hegelian process, resulting finally in the "idea," i.e., the particular completed organism.

Another result which would have pleased old Hegel is the correlation of forces[1] in physics, or the law that under given conditions mechanical motion, that is, mechanical force (e.g., by friction), changes into heat, into light, light into chemical affinity, chemical affinity (e.g., in the Voltaic pile) into electricity, electricity into magnetism. These transitions can also take place differently, backwards or forwards. It has now been proved by an Englishman, whose name I cannot at the moment remember,[2] that the transition of these forces into one another takes place under quite definite quantitative relations, so that, for instance, a certain quantity of one, say electricity, corresponds to a certain quantity of any of the others—e.g., magnetism, light, heat, chemical affinity (positive or negative, of combination or dissociation), and motion. The idiotic theory of latent heat is thus superseded. But is this not a splendid material proof of the way in which the determinations of reflexion are resolved into one another?

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[1] Engels speaks here about the law of the transformation of energy. He uses the word "force" because in his time the concepts "force" and "energy" were not yet clearly differentiated "Force" meant force in its proper, Newtonian sense and also energy.—*Ed.*

[2] The reference is to James Joule.—*Ed.*

So much is certain: comparative physiology gives one a withering contempt for the idealistic exaltation of man over the other animals. At every step one bumps up against the most complete uniformity of structure with the rest of the mammals, and in its main features this uniformity extends to all vertebrates and even —more hazily—to insects, crustaceans, tapeworms, etc. The Hegelian business of the qualitative leap in the quantitative series is also very fine here. Finally, among the lowest infusoria one reaches the primitive form, the simple, independently existing cell, which in turn is not to be distinguished by anything perceptible from the lowest plants (fungi consisting of single cells—the fungi of the potato and the vine diseases, etc.) or from the germs of the higher stages of development up to the human ovum and spermatozoon inclusive, and which also looks just like the independent cells of the living body (blood corpuscles, the cells of the epidermis and mucous membranes, the secretion cells of the glands, kidneys, etc.)....

45

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, October 7, 1858

...The business with Jones is very disgusting. He has held a meeting here and spoken entirely along the lines of the new alliance. After this affair one is really almost driven to believe that the English proletarian movement in its old traditional Chartist form must perish completely before it can develop in a new, viable form. And yet one cannot foresee what this new form will look like. For the rest, it seems to me that Jones's new move, taken in conjunction with the former more or less successful attempts at such an alliance, is really bound up with the fact that the English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy

and a bourgeois proletariat *alongside* the bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable. The only thing that would help here would be a few thoroughly bad years, but since the gold discoveries these no longer seem so easy to come by.[1]...

46

MARX TO ENGELS

London, [October 8,] 1858

...With the favourable turn of world trade at this moment (although the enormous accumulation of money in the banks of London, Paris and New York show that things must still be very far from all right) it is at least consoling that in Russia *the revolution has begun*, for I regard the convocation of the "Notables" to Petersburg[2] as such a beginning. In Prussia likewise things are worse than in 1847 and the absurd delusions as to the middle-class propensities of the Prince of Prussia will be dissolved in fury. It will do the French no harm if they see that the world can

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[1] Jones's switch to a policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie led subsequently to a break between him and Marx. On February 1, 1859 Marx wrote to Weydemeyer:

"I have broken off with Ernest Jones. In spite of my repeated warnings and although I had exactly predicted to him what now has happened—namely, that he would ruin himself and disorganize the Chartist party—he has taken the course of trying to effect a compromise with the bourgeois radicals. He is now a ruined man and the damage he has done to the English proletariat is extraordinary. The mistake will naturally be rectified but a very opportune moment for action has been missed. Imagine an army whose general on the day of battle goes over to the enemy."—*Ed.*

[2] Marx calls the Chief Committee on Peasant Affairs (1858) an Assembly of "Notables" in St. Petersburg, by analogy with the Assembly of Notables held in France in 1787, as the Committee, like the Assembly, was convoked because of the growing revolutionary ferment in the country for the purpose of saving the monarchy.—*Ed.*

move without them. At the same time there are exceptionally big movements among the Slavs, especially in Bohemia, movements which are indeed counter-revolutionary but still add to the ferment of our movement. The Russian war of 1854-55, wretched though it was and little as its results harmed the Russians (Turkey, rather, was the only one harmed), has nevertheless obviously hastened the present turn of things in Russia. The one circumstance which made the Germans in their revolutionary movement such complete satellites of France was the *attitude* of Russia. With an internal movement in Muscovy this bad joke is coming to an end. As soon as the business there develops somewhat more perceptibly we shall obtain proof of how far the worthy State Councillor Haxthausen allowed himself to be taken in by the "authorities" and by the peasants trained by the authorities.

We cannot deny that bourgeois society has experienced its sixteenth century a second time—a sixteenth century which will, I hope, sound the death-knell of bourgeois society just as the first one thrust it into existence. The specific task of bourgeois society is the establishment of a world market, at least in outline, and of production based upon this world market. As the world is round, this seems to have been completed by the colonization of California and Australia and the opening up of China and Japan. The difficult question for us is this: on the Continent the revolution is imminent and will immediately assume a socialist character. Is it not bound to be crushed in this little corner, considering that in a far greater territory the movement of bourgeois society is still in the ascendant?

As to what specially concerns China, I have assured myself by an exact analysis of the movement of trade since 1836, *first*, that the increase of English and American exports (1844-46) proved in 1847 to be a pure fraud and that also in the following ten years the average remained nearly *stationary*, while the imports into England and America from China grew enormously; *second*, that the opening up of the five ports and the seizure of Hong-Kong only resulted in the trade passing from Canton to Shanghai. The other "emporiums" do not count. The chief reason for the failure

of this market appears to be the opium trade, to which in fact any increase in the export trade to China is continually confined; but added to this is the internal economic organization of the country, its minute agriculture, etc., which it will take an enormous time to break down. England's present treaty with China, which in my opinion was worked out by Palmerston in conjunction with the Petersburg Cabinet and given to Lord Elgin on his journey, is a mockery from beginning to end....

47

MARX TO F. LASSALLE

London, February 4, 1859

Dear Lassalle,

No notice of receipt has arrived as yet from Herr Duncker and I am therefore still not sure whether the manuscript[1] is out of the hands of the *authorities*. You can tell from the enclosed scrap of paper that it left London on January 26.

With regard to war: *everybody* here thinks that war in Italy is inevitable. This much is certain: Mr. Emmanuel is serious about it and Mr. Bonaparte was serious about it. The latter is swayed by 1) *fear of Italian daggers*. Since Orsini's death he had constantly been in secret confab with the Carbonari, and *Plon-Plon*, the husband of "Clotilde," acted as go-between. 2) *Extremely straightened circumstances*. In fact it is impossible to feed the French army any longer "in peace-time"; and Lombardy is a fat morsel. Besides, in case of war "war loans" would again become possible. Every other loan is "impossible." 3) In the last two years Bonaparte daily lost prestige with all parties in France and his diplomatic transactions were also a string of failures. Something therefore simply *must* be done to restore his prestige Even in the rural districts there is much grumbling on account of the ruinously low grain prices and M. Bonaparte has sought in vain to screw up the price of wheat artificially by his decrees about granaries. 4) Russia eggs the parvenue in the Tuileries on With

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[1] *The reference is to Marx's work A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, which was originally published in 1859 by the F. Duncker Publishing House, Berlin.—Ed*

a Pan-Slavic movement in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, South-North-, and East-Hungary, Illyria, etc., and a war in Italy, Russia would be almost certain of breaking the resistance Austria was still offering her. (Russia is horrified by the prospect of an internal agrarian revolution and war abroad would perhaps be welcomed by the government as a diversion, not to mention all kinds of diplomatic purposes.) 5) M. Plon-Plon, son of the ex-King of Westphalia, and his clique (headed by Girardin and a very mixed mob of Hungarian, Polish and Italian pseudo-revolutionaries) do all in their power to force the issue. 6) War in Italy against Austria is the only war in which England, unable to come out directly *for* the pope, etc., and *against* so-called freedom, will remain neutral, at least in the beginning. Russia, however, would keep Prussia in check in case the latter should evince a desire—which I believe she will not—to intervene already at the beginning of the fight.

On the other hand it is quite certain that M. Louis Bonaparte is devilishly afraid of a really serious war: 1) That man is always full of doubts and, like all gamblers, by no means resolute. He always crawled up to the Rubicon, but people who were back of him always had to throw him in. At Boulogne and Strassburg and in December 1851 he was *forced* to take his plans seriously at last. 2) The extraordinary coolness with which his project was received in France is naturally not encouraging. The masses are indifferent. On the other hand, direct and serious remonstrances against it were made by: high finance, industry, and trade, the party of the priests; lastly, the top generals (Pélissier, for instance, and Canrobert). The fact of the matter is that the military prospects are none too bright, even if the braggadocio in the *Constitutionnel* is taken at its face value. If France can scrape together, all in all, 700,000 men, 580,000 of them, at the highest estimate, will be fit for military service. Deduct 50,000 for Algiers; 49,000 gendarmes, etc.; 100,000 (minimum) for guarding the cities (Paris, etc.) and fortresses in France; 181,000 at the least for an army of observation on the Swiss, German and Belgian frontiers. That leaves 200,000, which is by no means an overwhelming force, even if you add in the bit of a Piedmontese army,

against the Austrians in their entrenched positions on the Mincio and Adige.

However that may be, if M. Bonaparte retreats now, he is done for, as far as the mass of the French army is concerned; and this may get him to decide on an advance after all.

You seem to believe that in such a war Hungary will rise. I doubt it very much. Austria will of course set up an observation corps against Russia on the Galician-Hungarian border and this will at the same time keep Hungary in check. The Hungarian regiments (in so far as they are not, as has already happened to a large extent, divided up among their enemies, such as Czechs, Serbs, Slovenes, etc.), will be stationed in German provinces.

The war would naturally have serious consequences, and in the long run revolutionary ones for sure. But at the start it will bolster up Bonapartism in France, drive back the internal movement in England and Russia, arouse anew the pettiest passions in regard to the nationality issue in Germany, and will therefore, in my opinion, have first and foremost a counter-revolutionary effect in every respect....

48

MARX TO F. LASSALLE

London, April 19, 1859

...Here in England the class struggle is making most gratifying progress. Unfortunately, at the present moment no Chartist newspaper exists any longer, so that about two years ago I had to discontinue my literary participation in this movement.

I am now coming to *Franz von Sickingen*.[1] In the first instance, I must praise the composition and action, and that is more than can be said of any other modern German drama. In the second instance, leaving aside the purely critical attitude to this work, it greatly excited me on first reading and it will therefore produce

[1] A drama by Lassalle.—*Ed*

this effect in a still higher degree on readers who are governed more completely by their feelings. And this is a second and very important aspect.

Now the other side of the medal: *First*—this is a purely formal matter—now that you have written in verse, you might have polished up your iambs with a bit more artistry. But however much *professional poets* may be shocked by such carelessness I consider it on the whole as an advantage, since our brood of epigonous poets have nothing left but formal gloss. *Second:* The intended collision is not simply tragic but is really the tragic collision that spelled the doom, and properly so, of the revolutionary party of 1848-49. I can therefore only most heartily welcome the idea of making it the pivotal point of a modern tragedy. But then I ask myself whether the theme you took is suitable for a presentation of this collision. Balthasar may really imagine that if Sickingen had set up the banner of opposition to imperial power and open war against the princes instead of concealing his revolt behind a knightly feud, he would have been victorious. But can we subscribe to this illusion? Sickingen (and with him Hutten, more or less) did not go under because of his cunning. He went under because as a *knight* and a *representative of a moribund class* he revolted against that which existed or rather against the new form of what existed. Strip Sickingen of his idiosyncrasies and his particular training, natural bents, etc., and what is left is—Götz von Berlichingen. Embodied in adequate form in that last-named *pitiable* fellow is the tragic contrast between knighthood on the one side and Kaiser and princes on the other; and that is why Goethe rightly made a hero of him. In so far as Sickingen—and even Hutten himself to a certain extent, although with him, as with all ideologists of a class, such utterances should have been considerably modified—fights against the princes (after all, he takes the field against the Kaiser only because he transformed himself from a kaiser of the knights into a kaiser of the princes), he is in actual fact only a Don Quixote, although one historically justified. Beginning the revolt under colour of a knightly feud means nothing else but beginning it in *knightly* fashion. Had he begun it otherwise he would have had to appeal directly and from

the very beginning to the cities and peasants, i.e., precisely to the classes whose development was tantamount to the negation of the knighthood.

Therefore, if you did not want to reduce the collision to that presented in Götz von Berlichingen—and that was not your plan—then Sickingen and Hutten had to succumb because they imagined they were revolutionaries (the latter cannot be *said of* Götz) and, just like the *educated* Polish nobility of 1830, on the one hand, made themselves exponents of modern ideas, while on the other they actually represented the *interests of a reactionary class*. The *noble* representatives of the revolution—behind whose watchwords of unity and liberty there still lurked the dream of the old empire and of club-law—ought not, in that case, to have absorbed all interest, as they do in your play, but the representatives of the peasants (particularly these) and of the revolutionary elements in the cities should have formed a quite important active background. You could then have had the most modern ideas voiced in their most naive form and to a much greater extent, whereas now, besides *religious* freedom, civil *unity* actually remains the main idea. You would then have had to *Shakespearize* more of your own accord, while I chalk up against you as your gravest shortcoming your *Schillering*, your transforming of individuals into mere speaking tubes of the spirit of the time. Did you not yourself to a certain extent fall into the diplomatic error, like your Franz von Sickingen, of placing the Lutheran-knightly opposition above the plebeian Munzerian opposition?...

49

ENGELS TO F. LASSALLE

Manchester, May 18, 1859

...Now as far as the historical content[1] is concerned, you have depicted with great clarity and justified reference to subsequent developments the two sides of the movement of that time which

[1] In this letter Engels criticizes Lassalle's drama, *Franz von Sickingen*.—*Ed.*

were of greatest interest to you: the national movement of the nobility, represented by Sickingen, and the humanistic-theoretical movement with its further development in the theological and ecclesiastical sphere, the Reformation. What I like most here is the scene between Sickingen and the Kaiser and that between the legate and the archbishop of Treves. (Here you succeeded in producing a fine specimen of character drawing—a contrast between the aesthetically and classically educated and politically and theoretically forseeing legate, a man of the world, and the narrow-minded German priest-prince,—a portrayal which all the same follows directly from the *representative* nature of the two characters). The pen picture in the Sickingen-Karl scene is also very striking. In Hutten's autobiography, whose *content* you rightly described as essential, you certainly picked a desperate means of working these facts into the drama. Of great importance is also the talk between Balthasar and Franz in Act V, in which the former expounds to his master the *really revolutionary* policy he should have followed. It is here that the really tragic manifests itself; and it seems to me that just because of the significance that attaches to this fact it should have been emphasized somewhat more strongly already in Act III, where there are several convenient places. But I am again lapsing into minor matters.

The position of the cities and the princes of that time is also set forth on several occasions with great clarity and thus the *official* elements, so to speak, of the contemporary movement are fairly well accounted for. But it seems to me that you have not laid due stress upon the non-official, the plebeian and peasant, elements and their concomitant representatives in the field of theory. The peasant movement was in its way just as national and just as much opposed to the princes as was that of the nobility, and the colossal dimensions of the struggle in which it succumbed contrast very strongly with the frivolous way in which the nobility, leaving Sickingen in the lurch, resigned itself to its historical calling, that of tickspittles. It seems to me, therefore, that also in your conception of the drama which, as you will have seen, is somewhat too abstract, not realistic enough for me, the peasant movement deserved closer attention. While the

This "material" amounts to the following:

I gave Juch a copy of the *Revelations about the Cologne Communist Trial*, which, please note, was a pamphlet of mine first published in Switzerland and then in Boston, referred to by Vogt as a well-known book, in no wise "something secret."

I told Juch that it contained all I knew.

Finally, I called his attention to the fact that Lehwaldt (Eichhoff's lawyer) should call Hirsch, who was serving time in Hamburg, as a witness. That was done. Hirsch now admitted under oath that the "Minutes Book" was a *Prussian fabrication* and that everything else was *legally* punishable.

Thus the "revelations" which this trial will bring through the medium of my "material" will *free* the former members of the League of even the semblance of legal *guilt* and will *"reveal"* the *Prussian police system* which, once installed thanks to the "Cologne trial" and the infamous cowardice of the Cologne jury, has grown in Prussia into a power which has at last become intolerable to the bourgeoisie itself and even to the Auerswald ministry. That's all.

As for the rest, I am *astonished* at the very idea that you should think I might hand the police something on a platter. Let me remind you of some letters you know about from Cologne (1849-50) in which I was *directly* reproached for having allowed the League's agitational work to go to sleep much too much (which I had very good reason for doing at that time but certainly not out of consideration for myself).

2) *My suit against the "Nationalzeitung."*[1]

Let me state, to begin with, that after the League had been dissolved, at *my instance*, in November 1852, I *never* again belonged, and do not now belong, to any *secret* or *public* society; that therefore the *Party* in this wholly ephemeral sense ceased to exist for me eight years ago. The lectures on *political economy* which I delivered after the appearance of my work[2] (autumn,

[1] Marx filed suit against the *Nationalzeitung* for libellous articles against him, but the Prussian courts refused to entertain the charge.—*Ed.*

[2] The reference is to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*—*Ed.*

1859) to a few selected workers, including some *former* League members, had nothing in common with a closed society, even less than say Herr Gerstenberg's lectures in the Schiller Committee.

You will recall that I received a letter from the Executive of the rather ramified New York Communist Society (the Executive including Albrecht Komp, Manager of the General Bank, 44 Exchange Place, New York) which passed through your hands and in which I was solicited to reorganize the old League. A whole year elapsed before I answered; then I wrote that since 1852 I was no longer connected with *any* association and was firmly convinced that my theoretical works were of greater benefit to the working class than participation in associations whose days on the Continent were over. Subsequently, I was several times bitterly attacked, if not by name then by clear allusion, for this "inactivity" in Herr Scherzer's London *Neue Zeit*.

When Levy came (the first time) from Düsseldorf—he frequently went to see you too at that time—he even offered me right on a salver a revolt of factory workers in Iserlohn, Solingen, and so forth. I came out bluntly against such useless and dangerous *tomfoolery*. I further explained to him that I no longer belonged to any "League" and that I could have absolutely *nothing* to do with them because of the danger threatening our people in Germany. Levy returned to Düsseldorf, had much to say in praise of you, as I was soon afterwards informed, but decried my "doctrinaire" indifference.

Hence I know *nothing* since 1852 about the "*Party*" in the sense in which you use the word in your letter. If you are a *poet* I am a *critic* and was really fed up with the things I experienced in 1849-52. The "League," like the *Société des Saisons*[1] in Paris and like a hundred other societies, was only an episode in the history of the Party, which is growing everywhere spontaneously from the soil of modern society.

[1] *Society of the Seasons*. a conspiratory secret society (1837-1839) led by Blanqui.—*Ed.*

What I have to show in Berlin (I am referring to the old and already antiquated business about the League) is two things:

First: that I have not been a member of *any society since 1852;*

and *then:* that Herr Vogt is a *mean, infamous slanderer,* as he slings mud at the society of Communists that existed until November 1852 worse than Tettering.

To the last point *you* can certainly testify yourself, and *your letter to Ruge* (summer 1851) proves that during the period *that alone is in question here* you considered such attacks as directed also against yourself.

The statement in the *Morning Advertiser, Spectator, Examiner, Leader* and *People's Paper* was signed also by you. *One* copy of the same is contained in the *Cologne court records.*

Nor did you make the slightest objection because this matter had been mentioned again in my *Revelations* (*Boston* edition, p. 47).

Your name also figured, as *treasurer,* in *our printed appeal* for contributions of money for those sentenced.

It should hardly be necessary to call this to mind.

But it is *indispensable* that my Berlin lawyer should have in his possession the following letter *from me to Engels,* which is a *legal* document because of the circumstance that it was sent without an envelope and bears the *two postmarks* London and Manchester:

"28, Dean Street, Soho,
"London, November 19, 1852

"Dear Engels,

"Last Wednesday the League *dissolved* on my motion and the continuance of the League on the Continent was *declared to be no longer timely.* At any rate on the Continent it had virtually ceased to exist after the arrest of Bürgers and Röser. Enclosed you will find a statement for the English newspapers, etc. Besides I am getting up a lithographed correspondence" (instead of *this I wrote the pamphlet published at Schabelitz's*[1] "describing

[1] K. Marx, *Revelations about the Cologne Communist Trial.*—*Ed.*

in detail the *police outroges*, etc., and for America an appeal for money for those Imprisoned and their families. Treasurer: Freiligrath. Slgned by all our people." (The few remaining lines are irrelevant.)

"Yours,
"*K. M.*"

From such a document I cannot of course delete *ony names.* That is the only one in which I use your name *to establish a fact*, namely, the *dissolution of the League*, inasmuch as it accidentally occurs In *my* letter of 1852. I don't see anything here that might compromise you.

I would like to use *one* of your 1851 letters for the pamphlet that will come out *ofter* the trial.[1] Absolutely *n o t h t n g* incriminating In it. But as this will go on for many weeks yet I shall talk to you about it personally.

It follows from the above that:

The "meetings, decisions and transactions of the Party" since 1852 belong to the *reolm of dreams* which, to be sure, you might have known even without my assurances and which, judging by very numerous letters to me, you apparently did know.

The o*nly* activity I continued after 1852, as long as It was necessary, namely, to the end of 1853, together with a few *like-minded comrades* across the ocean, was lhe "system of mockery and contempt," as Mr. Ludwig Simon styled it in 1851 in the *Tribune,* against the *democratic emigration swindle* and *playing at revolution.* Your poem against Kinkel as well as your correspondence with me during that period prove that you were entirely in agreement with me. That, incidentally, has nothing to do with the trials.

Tellering, *B a n g y a*, Fleury and the like *never* belonged to the "League." That storms will rake up a lot of muck; that revolutionary times do not smell of oil of roses; that here and there one may be spattered with all kinds of dirt—all this is certain. Either —or. Moreover, when one contemplates the immense efforts the

[1] Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt.—Ed.*

whole official world is making against us, which, in order to ruin us, is not content with slightly stretching the penal code but goes the whole hog distorting it; when one thinks of the calumniations of the "democracy of stupidity," which could never forgive our Party for having more brains and strength of character than it itself; when one knows the *contemporary* history of all other parties; when one finally asks oneself what *facts* (and not *infamous assertions* of a Vogt or Tellering *disprovable in court*) can be adduced against the whole party, one reaches the conclusion that in this nineteenth century it has been distinguished for its *purity*.

Can one escape dirt in ordinary bourgeois intercourse or trade? Precisely there it has its natural abode. Take for example Sir R. Carden, see the Parliamentary Blue Book on election bribery. Take for another example Mr. *Klapka*, exact data about whose personality are now in my possession. Klapka is not a whit better, perhaps even worse, than *Bangya*, whom he and Kossuth incidentally treat as their protégé in Constantinople *until this day* in spite of his Circassian heroic deeds and in spite of *my* public denunciation, and all this only because he had seen *through* their game....

The honest villainy or villainous honesty of solvent (and this too only, as every commercial crisis shows, with very ambiguous reservations) morality I do not set one iota higher than the irrespectable villainy by which neither the first Christian communities nor the Jacobin Club nor our erstwhile "League" was entirely unbesmirched. The only thing is that in bourgeois intercourse one becomes accustomed to being dead to all sense of respectable villainy or villainous respectability....

1861

52

MARX TO F. LASSALLE

London, January 16, 1861

..Darwin's book[1] is very important and serves me as a natural-scientific basis for the class struggle in history. One has to put up with the crude English method of development, of course. Despite all deficiencies, not only is the death-blow dealt here for the first time to "teleology" in the natural sciences but its rational meaning is empirically explained....

53

MARX TO ENGELS

London, February 27, 1861

...As a relaxation in the evenings I have been reading Appian on the Roman Civil Wars in the original Greek. A very valuable book. The chap is an Egyptian by birth. Schlosser says he has "no soul," probably because he goes to the roots of the material basis for these civil wars. Spartacus is revealed as the most splendid fellow in the whole of ancient history. Great general (no Garibaldi), noble character, real representative of the ancient proletariat. Pompey, an utter rotter; got his undeserved fame by snatching the credit, first for the successes of Lucullus

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[1] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection.—Ed.*

(against Mithridates), then for the successes of Sertorius (Spain), etc., and as the "young man" of Sulla and others. As a general he was the Roman Odilon Barrot. As soon as he had to show his mettle against Caesar—a lousy good-for-nothing. Caesar made the greatest possible military mistakes—deliberately idiotic—in order to bewilder the philistine who was opposing him. An ordinary Roman general—say Crassus—would have wiped him out six times over during the struggle in Epirus. But with Pompey everything was possible. Shakespeare, in his *Love's Labour's Lost*, seems to have had an inkling of what Pompey really was.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

1862

54

MARX TO J. P. BECKER

London, February 26, 1862

...As for subscriptions to your essay,[1] I shall do *all I possibly can*, but expect little success. The ragtag and bobtail that make up the various societies—with the exception of the Workers' Educational Society, which has no *funds* whatever—are all *constitutionally* disposed; yes, even smack of the Prussian National Union.[2] Those fellows would rather give money to suppress an essay like yours. I must tell you, these Germans, young and old, are all very clever, substantial and practical-minded; they consider people like you and me immature fools who all this time have not been cured of their revolutionary fantasies. And that riff-raff is as bad at home as it is here abroad. During my stay in Berlin and elsewhere I convinced myself that any attempt to influence that mob *by means of literature* was absolutely futile. The self-complacent stupidity of those scamps, for which their press, that woebegone press, serves as an admirable elixir of life, is simply incredible. And then that lassitude of soul. *Caning* is the only means of resurrection of the German Michel who, ever since he lost his philosophical illusions and took to money-making, to the idea of "Little Germany" and to "practical constitutionalism," has become a dull-witted repulsive clown....

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[1] A reference to J. P. Becker's essay, *How and When?* treating of questions of education and upbringing.—*Ed.*

[2] "German National Union": a political association of the German big bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1859. Its aim was the creation of a "Little Germany," i.e., a unification of all German states with the exception of Austria, under the hegemony of Prussia. Subsequently the "National Union" supported Bismarck's policy.—*Ed.*

contains less embodied labour than the worker gives in return for it. E.g., if the daily wage = 10 hours and if the worker works 12, he replaces the variable capital plus 1/5 of the same (2 hours). This latter surplus I call *Mehrwert* (*surplus value*).

Assume that the *rate of surplus value* (namely the length of the working day and the surplus labour above the necessary labour performed by the worker for the reproduction of *his* pay) *is given and that* it equals 50 per cent. In this case, with a working day of 12 hours, the worker would work say 8 hours for himself and 4 hours (8/2) for the employer. And assume this for all trades, so that any differences in the average working time are simply compensation for the greater or less difficulty of the work, etc.

In these circumstances, with *equal* exploitation of the worker in *different* trades, different capitals of the *same size* will yield very *different* amounts of surplus value in different spheres of production and therefore *very different rates of profit*, since profit is nothing but the proportion of the surplus value to the total capital advanced. This will depend on the *organic composition* of the capital, i.e., on how it is divided into constant and variable capital.

Assume, as above, that the surplus labour = 50 per cent. Then if, e.g., £1 = 1 working day (it is immaterial whether you take it as equal to a week, etc.), the working day = 12 hours and the necessary labour (for reproduction of the pay) = 8 hours, the wages of 30 workers (or working days) would be = £20 and the value of their work = £30; the variable capital for one worker (daily or weekly) = £2/3 and the value he produced = £1. The amount of surplus value produced in different trades by a capital of £100 will be very different, depending on the proportions of constant and variable capital into which this capital is divided. Call the constant capital *c*, the variable *v*. If in the cotton industry, for instance, the composition were c 80, *v* 20, the value of the product would = 110 (given 50 per cent surplus value or surplus labour). The amount of surplus value = 10 and the rate of profit = 10 per cent, since the profit equals the relation

of 10 (the surplus value) to 100 (the total value of the capital expended). Assume that in wholesale tailoring the composition is *c* 50, *v* 50, then the product = 125, surplus value (at a rate of 50 per cent as above) = 25 and the rate of profit = 25 per cent. Take another industry, where the proportion is *c* 70, *v* 30, then the product = 115, and the rate of profit = 15 per cent. And finally an industry where the composition = *c* 90, *v* 10, then the product = 105 and the rate of profit = 5 per cent.

We have here, with *equal exploitation* of labour, very different amounts of surplus value for equal sums of capital invested in different trades, and hence very different rates of profit.

But if we take the above four capitals together we get:

	Value of product			
1. *c* 80, *v* 20	110	Rate of profit	= 10 p. c.	
2. *c* 50, *v* 50	125	„ „ „	= 25 p. c.	Rate of surplus value in all cases = 50 per cent
3. *c* 70, *v* 30	115	„ „ „	= 15 p. c.	
4. *c* 90, *v* 10	105	„ „ „	= 5 p. c.	
Capital = 400			*Profit* = 55	

On 100 this gives a rate of profit of 13¾ per cent.

Regarded as the *total capital* (400) of the *class* the rate of profit would equal 13¾ per cent. And capitalists are brothers. Competition (transfer of capital or withdrawal of capital from one trade to another) brings it about that *equal sums* of capital in *different* trades, despite their different organic compositions, yield the *same average* rate of profit. In other words: the *average* profit which a capital of £100, for instance, yields in a certain trade it yields not as the capital employed in this particular way, nor in the proportion, therefore, in which it itself produces surplus value, but as an *aliquot part* of the aggregate capital of the capitalist class. It is a share on which, in proportion to its size, dividends are paid from the total sum of surplus value (or unpaid labour) which the total variable capital (laid out in wages) of the class produces.

Now in order that 1, 2, 3, and 4 in the above illustration may make the same *average profit*, each one of them must sell his commodities at £113¾. 1 and 4 sell them *above* their values, 2 and 3 *below* their values.

Price regulated in this way = the expenses of capital + the average profit, for instance, 10 per cent is what Smith calls the *natural price, cost price*, etc. It is to this *average price* that competition between the different trades reduces the prices in different trades (by transfer of capital or withdrawal of capital). Competition therefore does *not* reduce commodities to their *values*, but to their *cost prices*, which are *above, below* or = to their *values*, according to the organic composition of the respective capitals.

Ricardo confuses *values* with *cost prices*. He believes that if *absolute rent* existed (i.e., a rent *independent* of the different productivity of different kinds of land) agricultural produce, etc., would always be sold *above its value*, because it would be sold *above* its cost price (the advanced capital + the average profit). This would overthrow the fundamental law. So he denies the existence of absolute rent and recognizes only differential rent.

But his identification of values of commodities with the cost prices of commodities is fundamentally false and traditionally accepted from Adam Smith.

The fact is this:

Assume that the *average* composition of all *non*-agricultural capital is *c* 80, *v* 20, so that the product (at a 50 per cent rate of surplus value) = 110 and the rate of profit = 10 per cent.

Assume further that the average composition of *agricultural capital* = c 60, *v* 40. (This figure is statistically fairly correct for England; the pasture rents, etc., make no difference in this question because they are determined by the corn rent and not by themselves.) Then the product, with the same exploitation of labour as above, = 120 and the rate of profit = 20 per cent. If therefore the farmer sells his produce *at its value, he sells it at* 120, and not at 110, its *cost price*. But *landed property* prevents the farmer from equating the *value* of the product with its *cost*

price, as his brother capitalists do. Competition between the capitals cannot enforce this. The landowner intervenes and snatches away the *difference between value and cost price*. In general a low proportion of constant to variable capital is the expression of a low (or relatively low) development of the productive forces of labour in a particular sphere of production. Therefore if the average composition of agricultural capital, for instance, is *c* 60, *v* 40, while that of non-agricultural capital is *c* 80, *v* 20, this proves that agriculture has not yet reached the same stage of development as industry. (This is very easy to explain, for, apart from everything else, the presupposition of industry is the older science of mechanics while the presupposition of agriculture is the entirely new sciences of chemistry, geology and physiology). If the proportion in agriculture becomes *c* 80, *v* 20 (with the above assumption) *absolute rent disappears*. There only remains *differential rent*, which, however, I develop in such a way that Ricardo's assumption of the continual deterioration of agriculture is revealed as most ridiculous and arbitrary.

In the above determination of *cost price* as distinct from *value* it must also be noted that in addition to the distinction between constant and variable capital, which arises from the *immediate process of production* in which the capital is involved, there is also a distinction between *fixed* and *circulating* capital, which arises from the *process of the circulation* of capital. But the formula would become too complicated if I inserted this in the above.

Here you have—roughly, for the thing is rather complicated—the criticism of Ricardo's theory. This much you will admit, that attention to the *organic composition of capital* does away with a mass of what have seemed hitherto to be contradictions and problems.

By the way. For certain purposes, which I shall tell you in my next letter, I would *very much like* you to send me a detailed military criticism (I'll see to the political end of it) of that Lassalle-Rüstow liberation twaddle.

Yours,

K. M.

Regards to the ladies.

Imandt has informed me of his coming. Itzig[1] is leaving Monday.

You will see that according to my version of "absolute rent" *landed property* (under certain historical circumstances) does indeed *raise* the prices of raw products. This can be made good use of from the communist point of view.

Granted the correctness of the above view it is *not at all essential* that *absolute rent* should be paid in any event or for *every kind of land* (even if the composition of agricultural capital is as assumed above). It is not paid where the *landed property* does *not* actually or legally exist. In this case agriculture offers no peculiar resistance to the application of capital. It then moves in this element with the same lack of restraint as in the other. The agricultural produce is then sold, as a mass of industrial products always is, *below* its value, at the *cost price*. Actually *landed property* may cease to exist also where the capitalist and the owner of the land are one and the same person.

But it is superfluous to go into these details here.

Mere differential rent, which does not arise from the fact that capital has been invested in land instead of any other field of employment, presents no difficulty theoretically. It is nothing but surplus profit, which exists also in every sphere of industrial production for any capital which is put to work under conditions better than the average. The *only thing* is that in agriculture it gets firmly established because it is based on so solid and (relatively) firm a foundation as the different degrees of natural fertility of different types of soil.

[1] Ferdinand Lassalle — *Ed.*

58

MARX TO ENGELS

London, August 7, 1862

...I do not altogether share your views on the American Civil War. I do not think that all is up. The Northerners have been dominated from the first by the representatives of the border slave states, who pushed McClellan, that old partisan of Breckinridge, to the top. The South, on the other hand, acted as one man from the beginning. The North itself has turned slavery into a military force of the South, instead of turning it against the South. The South leaves productive labour to the slaves and thus has been able to put its whole fighting strength in the field without disturbance. The South had unified military leadership, the North had not. That no strategic plan existed was already obvious from all the manoeuvres of the Kentucky army after the conquest of Tennessee. In my opinion all this will take another turn. The North will finally make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods and throw over the domination of the border slave statesmen. A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves.

The difficulty of getting the 300,000 men seems to me purely political. The North-West and New England wish to and will force the government to give up the diplomatic method of conducting war which it has used hitherto, and they are now fixing the terms on which the 300,000 men shall come forth. If Lincoln does not give way (which however he will) there will be a revolution.

As to the lack of military talent, the method which has prevailed up till now of selecting generals purely from considerations of diplomacy and party intrigue is scarcely designed to bring talent to the front. General Pope seems to me to be a man of energy, however.

With regard to the financial measures, they are clumsy, as they are bound to be in a country where up to now no taxes (for the state as a whole) have in fact existed; but they are not nearly

so idiotic as the measures taken by Pitt and Co. The present depreciation of money is to be ascribed, I believe, not to economic but to purely political reasons—distrust. It will therefore change with a different policy.

The long and the short of the story seems to me to be that a war of this kind must be conducted on revolutionary lines, while the Yankees have so far been trying to conduct it on constitutional lines.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

59

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] August 9, 1862

With regard to the *theory of rent*, I must first, of course, wait for your letter. But to simplify the "debate," as Heinrich Bürgers would say, I am writing the following:

I. The only thing I have got to prove *theoretically* is the *possibility* of absolute rent, without violating the law of value. This is the point around which the *theoretical* controversy has turned from the days of the physiocrats up till now. Ricardo denies this possibility, I affirm it. I maintain at the same time that his denial is based upon a theoretically false dogma taken over from Adam Smith—the assumed identity of *cost prices* and *values of commodities*. Further, that where Ricardo illustrates the point *by examples* he always presupposes conditions in which there is either no capitalist production or *no landed property* (actually or legally). But the whole point is to investigate the law when these things do exist.

II. As to the *existence* of absolute ground rent, that is a question which would have to be solved *statistically* in each country. But the importance of the purely theoretical solution is due to the fact that the statisticians and practical men in general have

been maintaining the existence of absolute ground rent for the last 35 years, while the (Ricardian) theoreticians have been trying to demonstrate it out of existence by very arbitrary and theoretically feeble abstractions. Up to now in all such quarrels I have always found these theoreticians in the wrong.

III. I show that, even assuming the existence of absolute ground rent, it by no means follows that the worst cultivated land or the worst mine pays a rent under all circumstances; on the contrary they very possibly have to sell their products at the market value, though *below* their *individual* value. In order to prove the opposite Ricardo always assumes—what is theoretically false—that under all conditions of the market the commodity produced under the *most unfavourable* conditions determines the market value. You already gave the right reply to this in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.*[1]

That is what I wanted to add concerning rent....

60

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, November 15, 1862

...I am impatiently waiting for the steamer that will bring the news of the New York elections.[2] If the Democrats win in the State of New York I do not know any more what I am to think of the Yankees. How a people put in a great historical dilemma, with its very existence at stake, can, after eighteen months of fighting, become reactionary in its mass and vote for meekly climbing down is a bit beyond my understanding. Good

[1] The reference is to F. Engels's *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*, printed in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, a journal devoted to revolutionary and communist propaganda published by Marx in Paris, in 1844.—*Ed.*

[2] The election of governor of the State of New York, won by Seymour, the candidate of the Democratic Party.—*Ed.*

as it is, from one angle, that the bourgeois republic thoroughly discredits itself also in America, so that in future it can never again be preached on its own merits but only as a means and form of transition to social revolution, still it is exasperating that a lousy oligarchy with only half the number of inhabitants should prove just as strong as the unwieldy, great, helpless democracy. At any rate, if the Democrats win, the worthy McClellan and the West Pointers[1] will very nicely gain the upper hand and the whole show will soon come to an end. Those fellows are capable of making peace if the South should return to the Union on condition that the President shall always be a Southerner and Congress shall always consist of an equal number of Southerners and Northerners. They are even capable of proclaiming Jefferson Davis forthwith President of the United States and of sacrificing all the border states, if there is no other way to peace. Then good-bye America.

Of Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation[2] one sees no effect up to the present except that the North-West voted Democratic for fear of an inundation of Negroes.

To descend from the greatest to the smallest, what have you to say about our worthy William?[3] That fellow is at last He himself again; did penance for his liberal sins and said, "Mother, I have sinned," to the lame Elizabeth. For that the Lord has accoutred him to slay mightily the scrofulous liberal riff-raff, and for that, says William, "for that I need soldiers." That fellow is so full of rage that even Bismarck is no longer reactionary enough. That you are stupid, Schapper, we know and that you know yourself, but that you are *so stupid*, etc., etc. Things are going fine. Nothing nicer could have happened than that the liberal bourgeoisie, fourteen years after 1848, should be confronted with

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[1] Engels alludes to the elements sympathizing with the slaveowners. West Point, the sole military school in the United States before the Civil War, was attended almost exclusively by young men from slave-owning families of the border and Southern states.—*Ed.*

[2] This Proclamation abolished slavery on the territory of the rebellious states as of January 1, 1863.—*Ed.*

[3] King William I of Prussia.—*Ed.*

the most extreme revolutionary dilemma on account of a paltry six million thalers, about 850,000 pounds sterling.[1] If only that old ass does not get flabby again. True enough, he is now spoiling for a fight, but you cannot depend on these Prussians for anything, cannot even depend on their stupidity. If that keeps up a rumpus is inevitable, and if matters go to extremes William will marvel at the way "the military" have their say, namely, the common soldiers, who will hardly thank him for having to fight for three years' instead of two years' service.

Best regards to your wife and the girls.

Yours,

F. E.

[1] A reference to the so-called "constitutional conflict" between the king and the Prussian Diet over an increase in expenditure for the army owing to its contemplated reorganization.—*Ed.*

1863

61

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] January 28, 1863

... I asked you in the preceding letter about the selfactor. The question is as follows: How did the so-called spinner act *before* the invention of the latter? The selfactor is clear to me but the pre-existing state of things is not.

I am adding something to the section on machinery. There are some curious questions here which I *ignored* in *my* first treatment. In order to get clear about it I have read through all *my* note-books (extracts) on technology again and am also attending a practical course (*experimental only*) for workers by Professor Willis (at the Geological Institute in Jermynstreet, where Huxley also used to give his lectures). I get along in mechanics the same as in languages. I *understand* the *mathematical* laws, but the simplest technical reality demanding visualization comes harder to me than to the biggest blockheads.

You may or may not know, for in itself the question does not matter, that there is a great dispute as to what distinguishes a *machine* from a *tool*. The English (mathematical) mechanists, in their crude way, call a tool a simple machine and a *machine* a complex tool. The English technologists, however, who pay rather more attention to economics, base the distinction between the two on the *fact* (and in this they are followed by many, by most, of the English economists) that in one case the motive power is derived from human beings, in the other from a natural force. The German asses, who are great at these small things, have therefore concluded that, for instance, a *plough* is a machine.

while the most complex jenny,[1] etc., in so far as it is worked by hand, is not. But now if we look at the machine in its *elementary* form there is no question at all that the industrial revolution starts not from the *motive power* but from that section of the machinery which the English calf the *working machine;* hence not, for instance, from the substitution of water or steam for the foot which turns the spinning-wheel, but from the transformation of the immediate process of spinning itself and from the displacement of that portion of human labour which is not merely "exertion of power" (as in treading a wheel) but which concerns the processing, the direct action on the material to be worked up. On the other hand it is likewise not open to question that as soon as the point at issue is no fonger the *historical* development of machinery but machinery on the basis of the present mode of production, the *working machine* (for instance, in the case of the sewing-machine) Is the onfy determining factor; for once this process has been mechanized everyone nowadays knows that the thing can be moved by hand, water-power or a steam-engine, depending on its size.

To pure mathematicians these questions are immaterial, but they become very Important when it Is a question of proving the connection between the social relations of men and the development of these material modes of production.

The re-reading of my excerpts bearing on the history of technology has led me to the opinion that, apart from the discovery of gunpowder, the compass and printing—those necessary prerequisites of bourgeois development—the two material bases on which the preparations for machine-operated industry proceeded within manufacture during the period from the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century (the period in which manufacture was developing from handicraft into large-scale industry proper) were the *clock* and the *mill* (at first the corn mill, specifically, the water-mill). Both were inherited from the ancients. (The water-mill was introduced into Rome from Asia Minor at the time of Julius

[1] Jenny: a spinning machine invented in 1765 by the Englishman James Hargreaves and named thus in honour of his daughter.—*Ed.*

Caesar.) The clock was the first automatic machine applied to practical purposes; the whole theory of the *production of regular motion* was developed through it. Its nature is such that it is based on a combination of half-artistic handicraft and direct theory. Cardanus, for instance, wrote about (and gave practical formulas for) the construction of clocks. German authors of the sixteenth century called clockmaking "learned (non-guild) handicraft" and it would be possible to show from the development of the clock how entirely different the relation between erudition and practice was on the basis of handicraft from what it is, for instance, in modern large-scale industry. There is also no doubt that in the eighteenth century the idea of applying automatic devices (moved by springs) to production was first suggested by the clock. It can be proved historically that *Vaucanson's* experiments on these lines had a tremendous influence on the imagination of the English inventors.

The *mill*, on the other hand, from the very beginning, as soon as the water-mill came into existence, possessed the essential elements of the organism of a machine. The mechanical motive power. Firstly, the motor, which depends on it; the transmitting mechanism; and, finally, the working machine, which deals with the material—each with an existence independent of the others. The theory of *friction*, and also the investigations into the mathematical forms of gear-wheels, cogs, etc., were all developed in connection with the mill; ditto as to the theory of measurement of the degree of motive power, of the best way of employing it, etc. Almost all the great mathematicians after the middle of the seventeenth century, so far as they occupied themselves with practical mechanics and its theoretical side, started from the simple corn-grinding water-mill. And indeed this was why the name *Mühle* and *mill*, which arose during the manufacturing period, came to be applied to all mechanical forms of motive power adapted to practical purposes.

But with the mill, as with the press, the forge, the plough, etc., the work proper, that of beating, crushing, grinding, pulverising, etc., has been performed from the very first *without* human labour, even though the moving force was human or animal. This

kind of machinery is therefore very ancient, at least in its origins, and mechanical propulsion proper was first applied to it. Hence it is practically the only machinery found in the manufacturing period. The *industrial revolution* begins as soon as mechanisms are employed where from ancient times the final result has required human labour; hence not where, as with the tools mentioned above, the material actually to be worked up has *never* been dealt with by the human hand, but where, in the nature of things, man has not from the very first acted merely as *power*. If one is to follow the German asses in calling the use of animal power (which is just as much *voluntary movement* as human power) machinery, then remember, the use of this kind of locomotive is at any rate much older than the simplest handicraft tool....

62

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] April 9, 1863

...He[1] sent me day before yesterday his open *Letter in Reply* to the Central Workers' Committee for the Leipzig Workers' (read *Knoten's*) Congress. He demeans himself—importantly bandying about phrases he borrowed from us—altogether like a future labour dictator. Settling the problem of wage labour and capital is (literally) "child's play" to him. The workers simply have to agitate in favour of *universal suffrage* and then send people like him equipped "with the unsheathed weapon of science" to the Chamber of Deputies. Then they will form workers' factories the capital for which will be advanced by the *state* and these establishments will by and by embrace the entire land. This at any rate is surprisingly new!...

[1] Lassalle.—*Ed.*

I attended the meeting[1] held by Bright at the head of the Trade Unions. He looked quite like an Independent and every time he said, "In the United States no kings, no bishops," there was a burst of applause. The workers themselves spoke *excellently*, with a complete absence of bourgeois rhetoric and without in the least concealing their opposition to the capitalists (whom Father Bright, by the way, also attacked).

How soon the English workers will free themselves from their *apparent* bourgeois *infection* one must wait and see. For *the rest*, as far as the main points in your book[2] are concerned, they have been confirmed down to the smallest detail by developments since 1844. You see, I have myself compared the book again with my notes on the later period. Only the small German petty-bourgeois, who measure world history by the yard and the latest "interesting news in the papers," would imagine that in developments of such magnitude twenty years are more than a day—though later on days may come again in which twenty years are embodied.

Re-reading *your book* has made me regretfully aware of our increasing age. How freshly and passionately, with what bold anticipations and no learned and scientific doubts, the thing is still dealt with here! And the very illusion that the result will leap into the daylight of history tomorrow or the day after gives the whole thing a warmth and vivacious humour—compared *with* which the later "gray in gray" makes a damned unpleasant contrast.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

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[1] The reference is to the meeting called by the London Trade Unions on March 25, 1863, to express sympathy with those who were struggling against slavery in the United States and to prevent intervention by England on behalf of the slave states.—*Ed.*

[2] *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.*—*Ed.*

63

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, June 11, 1863

...The business in Poland no longer seems to be going so well of late. The movement in Lithuania and Little Russia is obviously weak, and the insurgents in Poland do not seem to be advancing either. All the leaders fall in the fighting or else are taken prisoner and shot, which seems to indicate that they have to expose themselves greatly in order to get their people to advance. The quality of the insurgents is no longer what it was in March and April; the best fellows have been used up. These Polacks are quite incalculable, however, and the business may still turn out well all the same, although the chances are less. If they hold out they may yet get involved in a general European movement which will save them; on the other hand if things go badly Poland will be finished for ten years—an insurrection of this kind exhausts the fighting strength of the population for many years.

A European movement seems to me very probable, because the bourgeois has now once more lost all his fear of the Communists and if necessary will again join in the fray. The French elections prove this, and so do the events in Prussia since the last elections. I hardly think however that a movement of this kind will start in France. The election results in Paris were really *too* bourgeois. Wherever the workers put up separate candidates they were defeated and they had not even the strength to force the bourgeoisie at least to elect radicals. Besides all this Bonaparte knows the way to keep big cities in check.

In Prussia they would still be chattering if the worthy Bismarck had not stopped their mouths. However the business there may turn out, peaceful constitutional development is at an end and the philistine must prepare himself for a row. This means a lot already. Much as I despise the valour of our old friends the Democrats, it seems to me nevertheless that the largest amount of inflammable material is concentrated here, and as it is

scarcely possible that the Hohenzollerns will not commit the greatest stupidities in their foreign policy, it might well happen that the troops, divided half on the Polish frontier and half on the Rhine, would leave Berlin free, and that a coup would follow. Bad enough for Germany and Europe if Berlin lands at the head of the movement.

What surprises me most is that no peasant movement is breaking out in Great Russia. The Polish rising seems actually to have an unfavourable effect there....

64

MARX TO ENGELS

London, July 6, 1863

... if you find it possible in this heat, look with some care at the enclosed *Economic Table* which I substitute for Quesnay's Table,[1] and tell me of any objections you may have. It embraces the whole process of reproduction.

You know that according to *Adam Smith* the *"natural"* or *"necessary price"* is composed of wages, profit (interest), rent—and is thus entirely resolved into *revenue*. This nonsense was taken over by Ricardo, although he excludes rent, as merely accidental, from the catalogue. Nearly *all* economists have accepted this from Smith and those who combat it commit some other imbecility.

Smith himself is conscious of the absurdity of resolving the *total product* for society *merely into revenue* (which can be annually consumed), while in *every separate* branch of production he resolves price into *capital* (raw materials, machinery, ,etc.) and *revenue* (wages, profit, rent). According to this, society would have to start afresh, *without capital*, every year.

[1] The table contained in François Quesnay's *Analysis of the Economic Table*—*Ed.*

Now with regard to my table, which will figure as a *summary* in one of the last chapters of my book, the following information is necessary to understand it.

1) The figures are immaterial, represent millions.

2) Under *means of subsistence* is to be included *everything* which goes annually into the *consumption fund* (or which could go into the consumption fund *without accumulation*, this being *excluded* from the table).

In Class I (means of subsistence) the *whole product* (700) consists of *means of subsistence* which by their nature do *not* enter into *constant capital* (raw material and machinery, buildings, etc.). Similarly in Class II the *whole product* consists of commodities which constitute *constant capital*, i.e., which enter into the process of reproduction again as raw material and machinery.

3) *Ascending* lines are *dotted, descending* lines are *plain.*

4) *Constant capital* is that part of capital which consists of raw material and machinery. *Variable capital* that part which is exchanged for labour.

5) In agriculture, for instance, one part of the same product (e.g., wheat) constitutes means of subsistence, another part (e.g., wheat) enters in its natural form (e.g., as *seed*) into reproduction again as raw material. But this makes no difference. For such branches of production figure in the one capacity in Class II and in the other in Class I.

6) The point of the whole business is therefore this:

Category I. Means of Subsistence.

Working materials and machinery (i.e., that portion of the *machinery* which is included in the yearly product as *depreciation*; the part of the machinery, etc., which is not used up does *not* appear in the table at all) equal, say, to £400. The variable capital exchanged for labour = 100 and is reproduced as 300, of which 100 replaces the wages in the product and 200 represents the surplus value (*unpaid surplus labour*). The product = 700, of which 400 represents the value of the constant capital, the whole of which has, however, entered into the product and must therefore be replaced.

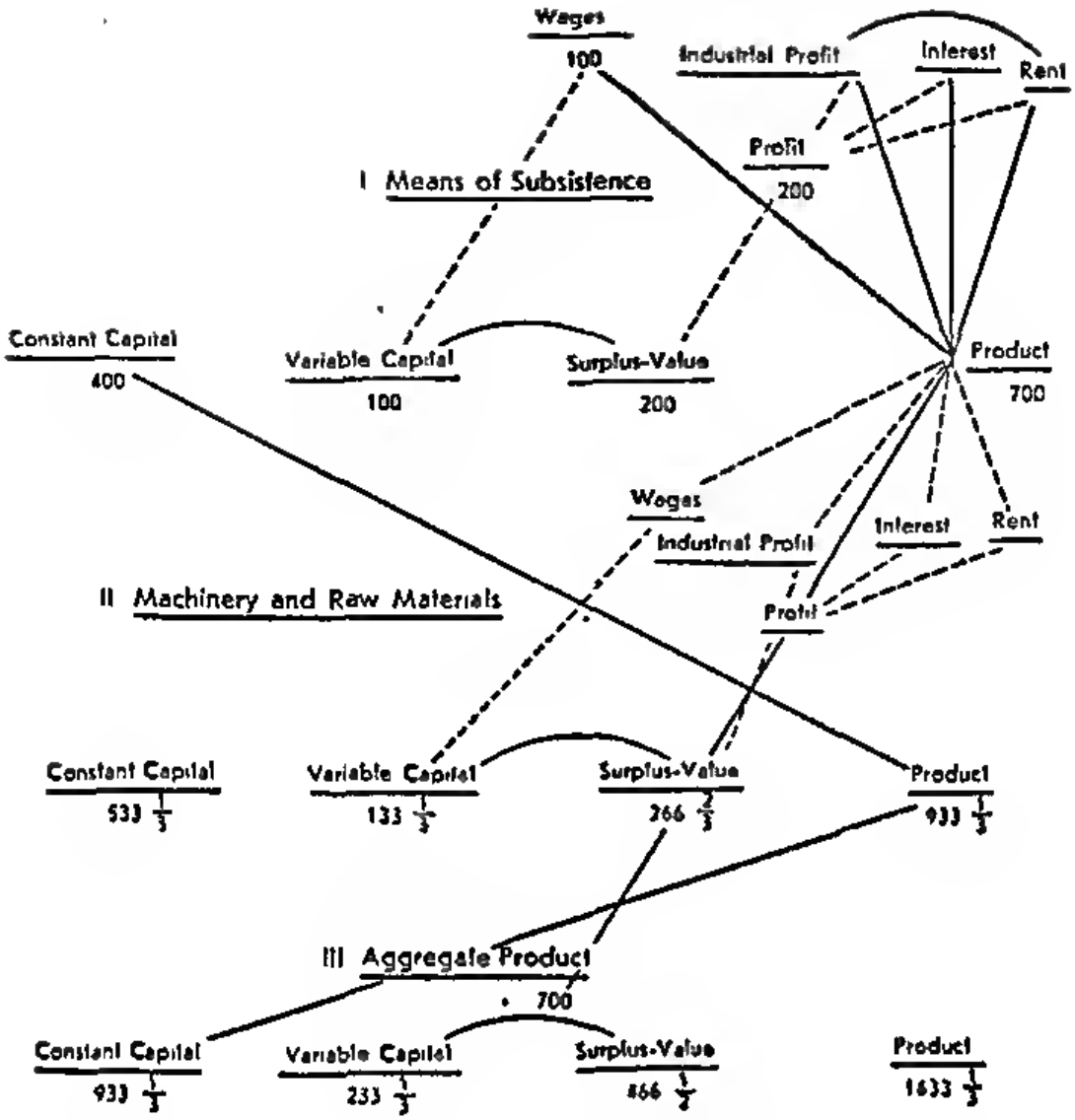
In this relation between variable capital and surplus value it is assumed that the worker works one-third of the working day for himself and two-thirds for his natural superiors.

100 (variable capital) is therefore paid out in money as wages, as indicated by the dotted line; with this 100 (indicated by the descending line) the worker buys the *product* of this class, i.e., means of subsistence for 100. Thus the money flows back again to capitalist Class I.

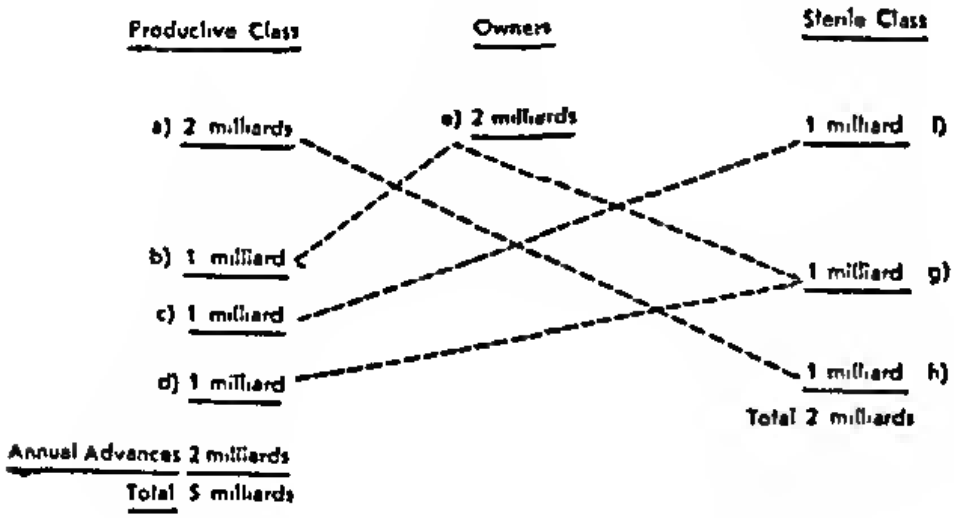
The surplus value of 200 in its general form = profit, which is split up, however, into *industrial* (including commercial) *profit*, into *interest*, which the capitalist pays in money, and into rent, which he also pays in money. The money thus paid out as industrial profit, interest and rent flows back again (indicated by the descending lines) because it is spent on the product of Class I. Thus the whole of the money laid out by the industrial capitalist within Class I flows back to him again, while 300 of the product 700 is consumed by the workers, entrepreneurs, monied men and landlords. There remains in Class I a *surplus*, 400, of the product (in means of subsistence) and a deficit of 400 in the constant capital.

Category II. Machinery and Raw Materials.

As the *total product of this category* (not only that part of the product which replaces the constant capital but also that which represents the equivalent of the wages and surplus value) consists of *raw materials* and *machinery*, the revenue of this category cannot be realized in its own product, but only in the product of Category I. But leaving aside accumulation, as we do here, Category I can buy from Category II only the amount required to replace its constant capital, while Category II can expend on the product of Category I only that part of its product which represents wages and surplus value (*revenue*). The workers of Category II therefore spend their money = 133⅓ on the product of Category I. The same takes place with the surplus value of Category II, which, like that of I, is split up into industrial profit, interest and rent. Thus 400 in money flows from Category II to the industrial capitalists of Category I, who in



Dr Quesnay's Tableau économique



Tables attached by Marx to his letter of July 6, 1863

return dispose of the remainder of their product = 400 to the former.

With this 400 in money Class I buys the necessary replacement of its constant capital = 400 from Category II, to which the money spent in wages and consumption (by the industrial capitalists themselves, the *monied men and the landlords) thus* flows back again. There remains therefore to Category II, 533⅓ of its total product, with which it replaces its own used-up constant capital.

The movement, partly within Category I, partly between Categories I and II, shows at the same time how the money with which they pay new wages, interest and ground rent flows back to the respective industrial capitalists of both categories.

Category III represents the whole process of reproduction.

The total product of Category II here appears as the constant capital of the whole of society, and the total product of Category I as that part of the product which replaces the variable capital (the wage fund) and the revenues of the classes who share in the surplus value.

I have appended Quesnay's Table, which I shall explain in a few words in my next letter.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

1864

65

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] November 4, 1864

... *Workingmen's International Association.*

Some time ago the London workers had sent an address about Poland to the Paris workers and summoned them to joint action in this matter.

The Parisians on their part sent over a deputation headed by a worker called *Tolain, the real workers' candidate at the last election in Paris*, a very nice fellow. (His companions too were quite nice lads.) A public meeting was called in St. Martin's Hall for September 28, 1864, by Odger (shoemaker, President of the Council here of all London Trade's Unions and especially also of the Trade's Unions Suffrage Agitation Society, which is connected with Bright) and Cremer, mason and secretary of the Masons' Union. (These two had organized the big meeting of the Trade Unions in St. James's Hall for North America, under Bright, ditto the Garibaldi manifestations.) A certain *Le Lubez* was sent to ask me if I would take part on behalf of the German workers, and especially if I would supply a German worker to speak at the meeting, etc. I provided them with Eccarius, who made a creditable showing, and was also present myself as a mute figure on the platform. I knew that this time real "powers" were involved both on the London and Paris sides and therefore decided to waive my usual standing rule to decline any such invitations....

At the meeting, which was packed to *suffocation* (for a revival of the working classes is now evidently taking place), Major Wolff (Thurn-Taxis, Garibaldi's adjutant) represented the Lon-

don *Italian* Workingmen's Society. It was decided to found a "Workingmen's International Association," the General Council of which should have its seat in London and should act as an "intermediary" between the workers' societies in Germany, Italy, France and England. Ditto that a General Workingmen's Congress should be convened in Belgium in 1865.[1] A Provisional Committee was appointed at the meeting: Odger, Cremer and many others, some of them old Chartists, old Owenites, etc., for England; Major Wolff, Fontana and other Italians for Italy; Le Lubez, etc., for France; Eccarius and I for Germany. The Committee was empowered to co-opt as many members as it chose.

So far so good. I attended the first meeting of the Committee. A *Subcommittee* (including myself) was appointed to draft a declaration of principles and provisional rules. Being unwell I was prevented from attending the meeting of the Subcommittee and the meeting of the whole Committee which followed.

At these two meetings which I had missed—that of the Subcommittee and the subsequent one of the whole Committee—the following had taken place:

Major *Wolff* had handed in the *réglement* (rules) of the *Italian workers' societies* (which possess a central organization but, as later transpired, are essentially associated benefit societies) to be used for the new Association. I saw the stuff later. It was evidently a crude compilation of *Mazzini's*, so you already know the spirit and phraseology in which the real question, the labour question, was dealt with. Also how nationalities were shoved in.

In addition an old Owenite, Weston—now a manufacturer himself, a very amiable and worthy man—had drawn up a programme of indescribable breadth and extreme confusion.

The subsequent general Committee meeting instructed the Subcommittee to remodel Weston's programme, ditto Wolff's regulations. Wolff himself left in order to attend the Congress of Italian Workingmen's Associations in Naples and get them to affiliate to the London Association.

[1] Instead of a Congress in Belgium a *Conference of the International* was held in London in 1865 at which a number of decisions on organizational problems were taken.—*Ed.*

Another meeting of the Subcommittee—which I again failed to attend because I was informed of the *rendezvous* too late. At this a "declaration of principles" and a new version of Wolff's rules were put forward by Le Lubez and accepted by the Subcommittee for submission to the whole Committee. The whole Committee met on October 18. As Eccarius had written me that delay would be dangerous I appeared and was really frightened when I heard the worthy Le Lubez read out an appallingly wordy, badly written and absolutely naw preamble, pretending to bc a declaration of principles, in which Mazzini could be detected everywhere, the whole being crusted over with the vaguest tags of French socialism. Added to this the Italian rules were adopted in the main. These, apart from all thcir other faults, aimed at something which was in fact utterly impossible, a sort of central government of the *European* working classes (wlth Mazzlnl in the background, of course). I put up a mild opposition and after a lot of talking pro and con Eccarius proposed that the Subcommittee should submit the thing to further "editing." On the other hand the "sentiments" contained In Lubez's declaration were voted for.

Two days later, on October 20, Cremer (for the English), Fontana (Italy), and Le Lubez assembled in *my* house. (Weston was prevented.) I had never yet had the documents (those of Wolff and Le Lubez) in my hand, so could not prepare anything. but was fully determined that if possible not one single line of the stuff should be allowed to stand. In order to gain time I proposed that before we "edited" the preamble we should "discuss" the rules. Thls was done. It was an hour after midnight by the time the first of forty rules was agreed to Cremer said (*and this was what I had aimed at*): We have nothing to put before the Committee. which is to meet on October 25. We must postpone the meeting till November 1. But the Subcommittee can get together on October 27 and attempt to reach a definite conclusion. This was agreed to and the "papers" "left bchind" for my opinion.

I saw that it was Impossible to make anything out of the stuff. To justify the extremely strange way In which I intended to edit the "sentiments" already "voted for" I wrote *An Address to the*

Working Classes (which was not in the original plan: a sort of review of the adventures of the Working Classes since 1845); on the pretext that all factual material was included in this *Address* and that we ought not to repeat the same things three times over I altered the whole preamble, threw out the declaration of principles and finally replaced the forty rules by ten. Inasmuch as international politics occurred in the Address, I spoke of countries, not of nationalities, and denounced Russia, not the *minores gentium*.[1] My proposals were all accepted by the Subcommittee. Only I was obliged to insert two phrases about "duty" and "right" into the Preamble to the Rules, ditto about "truth, morality and justice," but these are placed in such a way that they can do no harm.

At the meeting of the General Committee my Address, etc., was agreed to with great enthusiasm (unanimously). The discussion on the method of printing, etc., takes place next Tuesday. Le Lubez has a copy of the Address for translation into French and Fontana one for translation into Italian. (For a start there is a weekly paper called the *Beehive*[2] edited by Potter, the Trade Unionist, a sort of *Moniteur*). I myself am to translate the stuff into German.

It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement. In a few weeks the same people will be holding meetings for the franchise with Bright and Cobden. It will take time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech. It will be necessary to be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*.[3] As soon as the stuff is printed, you will get it. . . .

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[1] The lesser nations.—*Ed.*

[2] *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*: publication issued by the London Trades Union Council, from 1861 to May 1870 was the organ of the General Council of the First International.—*Ed.*

[3] Firm in the act, gentle in the manner.—*Ed.*

66

ENGELS TO J. WEYDEMEYER

Manchester, November 24, 1864

... These are boring times here in Europe. The crushing of the Polish insurrection was the last decisive event; for his assistance in this affair Bismarck received permission from the tsar to seize Schleswig-Holstein from the Danes. It will be a long time before Poland can rise again—even with outside help—yet Poland is absolutely indispensable to us. The meanness of the German liberal philistines is to blame for the whole thing. If those dogs had displayed more understanding and courage in the Prussian Diet, everything might have turned out all right. Austria was ready to come to Poland's defence at any time. The only factors that prevented it were Prussia's position and the treason of Monsieur Bonaparte, who, of course, intended to keep his promises to the Poles only if he could play *safe*, i.e., if he had been backed up by Prussia and Austria.

Your war over there is one of the most imposing experiences one can ever live through. Despite the numerous blunders committed by the Northern armies (and the South has committed its share), the conquering tide is slowly but surely rolling on, and the time must come in 1865 when the organized resistance of the South will fold up with a snap like a pocket knife, and the war will degenerate into banditry, as was the case in the Carlist War in Spain and, more recently, in Naples. There has never been a people's war of this sort, on both sides, since the establishment of powerful states; its outcome will doubtless determine the future course of all America for hundreds of years to come. As soon as slavery—that greatest of obstacles to the political and social development of the United States—has been smashed, the country will experience a boom that will very soon assure it an altogether different place in the history of the world, and the army and navy created during the war will then soon find employment.

Moreover, it was easy to see why the North found it hard to create an army and generals. From the start the Southern oligarchy brought the country's small armed forces under its own control—it supplied the officers and looted the arsenals into the bargain. The North had no ready military forces except the militia, while the South had been preparing over the course of several years. From the outset the South had available a population accustomed to the saddle for use as light cavalry, while the North lagged behind in this respect. The North adopted the method, brought in from the South, of allotting posts to adherents of a certain party; the South, engulfed in a revolution and under the rule of a military dictatorship, was able to disregard this. Hence all the blunders. I do not deny that Lee is a better general than any that the North has and that his latest campaigns around the fortified Richmond encampment are masterpieces, from which the glorious Prince Friedrich Karl of Prussia could learn a great deal. But the determined attacks of Grant and Sherman finally rendered all strategy useless. It is obvious that Grant is sacrificing an enormous number of men—but could he have acted otherwise? I haven't the slightest idea of the state of discipline of your army, its steadfastness under fire, its capacity and readiness to endure hardships, and, in particular, its morale, i.e., what can be demanded of it without demoralizing it. One must know all that before venturing a judgment on this side of the ocean, without adequate information and without any decent maps. But it seems to me certain that the army now commanded by Sherman is the best of your armies, as superior to Hood's army as Lee's army is to Grant's.

Your Articles of War and your elementary tactics are, I have heard, borrowed entirely from the French. Thus the basic formation is the column, with intervals between the platoons. What is your field artillery like now? If you could give me some information on these points I should be very grateful. ...

1865

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MARX TO J. B. SCHWEITZER

London, January 24, 1865

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I received a letter in which you demand from me a detailed judgment of *Proudhon*. Lack of time prevents me from fulfilling your desire. Added to which I have none of his works to hand. However, in order to assure you of my good will I am hastily jotting down a brief sketch. You can complete it, add to it or cut it—in short do anything you like with it.

Proudhon's earliest efforts I no longer remember. His school work about the *Universal Language* shows with what little ceremony he attacked problems for the solution of which he lacked the first elements of knowledge.

His first work, *What Is Property?*, is undoubtedly his best. It is epoch-making, if not from the novelty of its content, at least by the new and audacious way of coming out with everything. Of course "property" had been not only criticized in various ways but also "*done away with*" in the utopian manner by the French Socialists and Communists whose works he knew. In this book Proudhon's relation to Saint-Simon and Fourier is about the same as that of Feuerbach to Hegel. Compared with Hegel, Feuerbach is extremely poor. All the same he was epoch-making *after* Hegel because he laid *stress* on certain points which were disagreeable to the Christian consciousness but important for the progress of criticism, and which Hegel had left in mystic semi-obscurity.

Proudhon's still strong *muscular style*, *if I may* be allowed the expression, prevails in this book. And its style is in my opinion its chief merit.

Even where he is only reproducing old stuff, one can see that Proudhon has found it out for himself, that what he is saying is new to him and ranks as new. The provocative defiance, laying hands on the economic "holy of holies," the brilliant paradox which made a mock of the ordinary bourgeois mind, the withering criticism, the bitter irony, and, revealed here and there behind these, a deep and genuine feeling of indignation at the infamy of the existing order, a revolutionary earnestness—all these electrified the readers of *What Is Property?* and produced a great sensation on its first appearance. In a strictly scientific history of political economy the book would hardly be worth mentioning. But sensational works of this kind play their part in the sciences just as much as in the history of the novel. Take, for instance, Malthus's book on *Population*. In its first edition it was nothing but a *"sensational pamphlet"* and *plagiarism* from beginning to end into the bargain. And yet what a stimulus was produced by this *libel on the human race*!

If I had Proudhon's book before me I could easily give a few examples to illustrate his *early style*. In the passages which he himself regarded as the most important he imitates Kant's treatment of the *antinomies*—Kant, whose works he had read in translations, was at that time the only German philosopher he knew—and he leaves one with a strong impression that to him, as to Kant, the resolution of the antinomies is something *"beyond"* the human understanding, i.e., something about which his own understanding is in the dark.

But in spite of all his apparent iconoclasm one already finds in *What Is Property?* the contradiction that Proudhon is criticizing society, on the one *hand*, from the *standpoint* and with the eyes of a French small peasant (later petty bourgeois) and, on the other, with the standards derived from his inheritance from the Socialists.

The deficiency of the book is indicated by its very title. The question was so falsely formulated that it could not be *answered* correctly. *Ancient "property relations"* were swallowed up by *feudal* property relations and these by *"bourgeois"* property relations. Thus history itself had practised its criticism upon past

property relations. What Proudhon was actually dealing with was *modern bourgeois property* as it exists today. The question of what this is could only have been answered by a critical analysis of "*political economy*," embracing these *property relations* as a whole, not in their *legal* expression as *relations of volition* but in their real form, that is, as *relations of production*. But as he entangled the whole of these economic relations in the general juristic conception of "*property*," Proudhon could not get beyond the answer which *Brissot*, in a similar work, had already, before 1789, given in the same words: "Property is theft."

The most that can be got out of this is that the bourgeois juristic conceptions of "*theft*" apply equally well to the "*honest*" gains of the bourgeois himself. On the other hand, since "*theft*" as a forcible violation of property *presupposes the existence of property*, Proudhon entangled himself in all sorts of fantasies, obscure even to himself, about *true bourgeois property*.

During my stay in Paris in 1844 I came into personal contact with Proudhon. I mention this here because to a certain extent I am also to blame for his "*sophistication*," as the English call the adulteration of commercial goods. In the course of lengthy debates often lasting all night, I infected him to his great injury with Hegelianism, which, owing to his lack of German, he could not study properly. After my expulsion from Paris Herr *Karl Grün* continued what I had begun. As a teacher of German philosophy he also had the advantage over me that he understood nothing about it himself.

Shortly before the appearance of Proudhon's second important work, *The Philosophy of Poverty, etc.* he announced this to me himself in a very detailed letter in which he said, among other things: "I await the lash of your criticism." This soon fell upon him in my *Poverty of Philosophy, etc.*, Paris 1847, in a fashion which ended our friendship for ever.

From what I have already said you can see that Proudhon's *Philosophy of Poverty or System of Economic Contradictions* first actually contained his answer to the question *What is Property?* In fact it was only after the publication of this latter work that he had begun his economic studies: he had discovered that the

question he had raised could not be answered by *invective*, but only by an *analysis* of modern "*political economy*." At the same time he attempted to present the *system* of economic categories dialectically. In place of *Kant's* insoluble "*antinomies*," *the Hegelian "contradiction"* was to be introduced as the means of development.

For an estimate of his book, which is in two fat volumes, I must refer you to the work I wrote as a reply. There I showed, among other things, how little he has penetrated into the secret of scientific dialectics and how, on the contrary, he shares the illusions of speculative philosophy in his treatment of the *economic categories;* how *instead of conceiving* them as *the theoretical expression of historical relations of production, corresponding to a particular stage of development in material production*, he transforms them by his twaddle into pre-existing *eternal ideas*, and in this roundabout way arrives once more at the standpoint of bourgeois economy.*

I also show further how very deficient and sometimes even schoolboyish his knowledge is of the "political economy" which he undertook to criticize, and how he and the utopians are hunting for a so-called "*science*" by which a formula for the "solution of the social question" is to be excogitated *a priori*, instead of deriving their science from a critical knowledge of the historical movement, a movement which itself produces the *material conditions of emancipation.* But especially I show how confused, wrong and superficial *Proudhon remains with regard to exchange value*, the basis of the whole thing, and how he even mistakenly views the utopian interpretation of *Ricardo's* theory of value as the basis of a new science. With regard to his general point of view I made the following comprehensive judgment:

* "When the economists say that present-day relations—the relations of bourgeois production—are *natural*, they imply that these are the relations in which wealth is created and productive forces developed in conformity with the laws of nature. These relations therefore are themselves *natural laws* independent of the influence of time. They are *eternal laws* which must always govern society. Thus there has been history, but there is no longer any" (p. 113 of my work). [*Note by Marx*] The work referred to is *The Poverty of Philosophy*.—*Ed.*

"Every economic relation has a good and a bad side; it is the one point on which M. Proudhon does not give himself the lie. He sees the good side expounded by the economists; the bad side he sees denounced by the Socialists. He borrows from the economists the necessity of eternal relations; he borrows from the Socialists the illusion of seeing in poverty nothing but poverty (instead of seeing in it the revolutionary, subversive aspect which will overthrow the old society). He is in agreement with both in wanting to fall back upon the authority of science. Science for him reduces itself to the slender proportions of a scientific formula; he is the man in search of formulas. Thus it is that M. Proudhon flatters himself on having given a criticism of both political economy and communism: he is beneath them both. Beneath the economists, since, as a philosopher who has at his elbow a magic formula, he thought he could dispense with going into purely economic details; beneath the Socialists, because he has neither courage enough nor insight enough to rise, be it even speculatively, above the bourgeois horizon.... He wants to soar as a man of science above the bourgeois and the proletarians; *he is merely the petty bourgeois*, continually tossed back and forth between capital and labour, political economy and communism."*

Severe though the above judgment sounds I must still endorse every word of it today. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that at the time when I declared his book to be the petty-bourgeois code of socialism and proved this theoretically, Proudhon was still being branded as an extreme arch-revolutionary alike by the political economists and by the Socialists. That is why later on I never joined in the outcry about his "*treachery*" to the revolution. It was not his fault that, originally misunderstood by others as well as by himself, he failed to fulfil unjustified hopes.

In the *Philosophy of Poverty* all the defects of Proudhon's method of presentation stand out very unfavourably in comparison with *What is Property?* The style is often what the French call ampoulé.[1] High-sounding speculative jargon, supposed to be

* *Ibid*, pp. 119, 120. [*Note by Marx*]

[1] Bombastic.—*Ed.*

German-philosophical, appears regularly on the scene when his Gallic acuteness of understanding falls him. A self-advertising, self-glorifying, boastful tone and especially the twaddle about "*science*" and sham display of it, which are always so unedifying, are continually screaming in one's ears. Instead of the genuine warmth which glowed in his first piece of writing, here certain passages are systematically worked up into a momentary heat by rhetoric. Add to this the clumsy distasteful erudition of the self-taught, whose natural pride in his own original thought has already been broken and who now, as a *parvenu* of science, feels it necessary to bolster himself up with what he is not and has not. Then the mentality of the petty bourgeois who in an indecently brutal way—and neither acutely nor profoundly nor even correctly—attacks a man like *Cabet*, to be respected for his practical attitude towards the proletariat, while he flatters a man like *Dunoyer* (a "State Councillor," it is true). Yet the whole significance of this Dunoyer lay in the comic zeal with which, throughout three fat, unbearably boring volumes, he preached the rigourism characterized by Helvétius as follows: *"It is demanded that the unfortunate should be perfect."*

The February Revolution certainly came at a very inconvenient moment for Proudhon, who had irrefutably proved only a few weeks before that "the *era of revolutions*" was past for ever. His coming forward in the National Assembly, however little insight it showed into existing conditions, was worthy of every praise. *After* the June insurrection it was an act of great courage. In addition it had the fortunate consequence that M. *Thiers*, by his speech opposing Proudhon's proposals, which was then issued as a special publication, proved to the whole of Europe on what a pedestal of children's catechism the intellectual pillar of the French bourgeoisie was based. Indeed, compared with M. *Thiers*, *Proudhon* expanded to the size of an antediluvian colossus.

Proudhon's discovery of *"Crédit gratuit"*[1] and the *"banque du peuple,"*[2] based upon it, were his last economic "deeds." In my book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part I,

[1] Free credit.—*Ed*

[2] People's bank.—*Ed*

Berlin 1859 (pp. 59-64), will be found the proof that the theoretical basis of his idea arises from a misunderstanding of the first elements of bourgeois "political economy," namely of the relation between *commodities* and *money;* while the practical superstructure is simply a reproduction of much older and far better developed schemes.

That under certain economic and political conditions the credit system can serve to hasten the emancipation of the working class, just as, for instance, at the beginning of the eighteenth and again at the beginning of the nineteenth century in England, it served towards transferring the wealth of one class to another, is quite unquestionable, self-evident. But to regard *interest-bearing capital* as the *main form of capital* while trying to use a special form of credit, the alleged abolition of interest, as the basis for a transformation of society is a thoroughly *petty-bourgeois* fantasy. Hence indeed this fantasia, eked out further, is already to be found among the *economic spokesmen of the English petty bourgeoisie in the seventeenth century.* Proudhon's polemic with Bastiat (1850) about interest-bearing capital is on a far lower level than the *Philosophy of Poverty.* He succeeds in getting himself beaten even by Bastiat and breaks into burlesque bluster when his opponent drives his blows home.

A few years ago Proudhon—induced I think by the government of Lausanne—wrote a prize essay on *Taxation.* Here the last flicker of genius is extinguished. Nothing remains but the petty bourgeois pure and simple.

So far as his political and philosophical writings are concerned they all show the same contradictory, dual character as his economic works. Moreover their value is local, confined to France. Nevertheless his attacks on religion, the church, etc., were of great merit locally at a time when the French Socialists thought it desirable to show by their religiosity how superior they were to the bourgeois Voltairianism of the eighteenth century and the German godlessness of the nineteenth. If Peter the Great defeated Russian barbarism by barbarity, Proudhon did his best to defeat French phrase-mongering by phrases. His work on the *coup d'état,* in which he flirts with Louis Bonaparte and, in fact,

strives to make him palatable to the French workers, and his last work, written against *Poland*, in which for the greater glory of the tsar he expresses the cynicism of a cretin, must be characterized as not merely bad but base productions; of a baseness which corresponds, however, to the petty-bourgeois point of view.

Proudhon has often been compared to *Rousseau*. Nothing could be more erroneous. He is more like *Nicolas Linguet*, whose *Theory of Civil Law*, by the way, is a very brilliant book.

Proudhon had a natural inclination for dialectics. But as he never grasped really scientific dialectics he never got further than sophistry. In fact this hung together with his petty-bourgeois point of view. Like the historian *Raumer*, the petty bourgeois is composed of On The One Hand and On The Other Hand. This is so in his economic interests and *therefore* in his politics, in his scientific, religious and artistic views. It is so in his morals, in everything. He is a living contradiction. If, like Proudhon, he is in addition a gifted man, he will soon learn to play with his own contradictions and develop them according to circumstances into striking, ostentatious, now scandalous or now brilliant paradoxes. Charlatanism in science and accommodation in politics are inseparable from such a point of view. There only remains one governing motive, the *vanity* of the subject, and the only question for him, as for all vain people, is the success of the moment, the attention of the day. Thus the simple moral sense, which always kept a Rousseau, for instance, far from even the semblance of compromise with the powers that be, is necessarily extinguished.

Perhaps future generations will sum up the latest phase of French development by saying that Louis Bonaparte was its Napoleon and Proudhon its Rousseau-Voltaire.

And now you must take upon yourself the responsibility of having imposed upon me the role of this man's judge so soon after his death.

Yours very respectfully,

Karl Marx

68

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] January 30, 1865

...What kind of people our Progressives are is shown once more by their conduct in the combination question. (*By the way*, the Prussian Anti-Combination Law, like all continental laws of this description, takes its origin from the decree of the *Constituent Assembly of June 14, 1791*, in which the French bourgeois strictly punish anything of the sort, even all kinds of workers' associations, condemning violators to, for instance, a year's loss of civil rights, on the pretext that this is a *restoration of the guilds* and a contravention of constitutional liberty and the "rights of man." It is very characteristic of Robespierre that at a time when it was a crime punishable by guillotining to be "constitutional" in the sense of the Assembly of 1789 all its laws *against* the workers remained in force.)...

69

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] February 3, 1865

Dear Frederick,

I enclose:

1) letter from Siebel giving a report of his meeting with Klings, which I had "ordered" him to have. On this I will merely remark that I shall mix *no further* in the affair. If Klings succeeds—without *our* help—in removing B. Becker and his testamentary importance together with the old bitch[1] I am agreed. Nothing

[1] Reference to Countess Hatzfeldt.—*Ed*

can be done with the Workers' Association,[1] as bequeathed by Baron Itzig. The quicker it is dissolved the better.

2) the *Rheinische Zeitung* with a leading article, probably by Red Becker. It is an appeal for mercy on the part of the "Progressives."

My opinion is now that *we both* must make a statement, and that this crisis gives us just the opportunity for resuming our "legitimate" position. I had written about ten days ago to Schweitzer telling him that he must take up the cudgels against Bismarck, that even the appearance of a flirtation with Bismarck on the part of the workers' party must be dropped, etc. He has thanked me by "all ready" philandering with Pissmarck more than ever.

"Yet once again," in No. 16 of the *Social-Demokrat*,[2] where, bristling with misprints, my letter on Proudhon appears, Moses Hess, for the second time "all ready," *denounces* the "International Association." I wrote a furious letter about this to Liebknecht yesterday and told him that he had now had the *very last* warning; that I did not give a farthing for "good intentions" which did the work of bad intentions; that I cannot get the members of the "International Committee" here to understand that things of this kind are done in good faith out of sheer stupidity; that their filthy rag, while it continues to glorify Lassalle, although they know now what treachery he was secretly harbouring, and while it cravenly flirts with Bismarck, has the shamelessness to accuse us here, through the Plonplonist Hess, of Plonplonism, etc.

Now, my opinion is as follows: We start from Moses's denunciation or insinuation in order first to get out in a few words a

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[1] The General Association of German Workers: a political organization of German workers founded in 1863 by Lassalle. In 1875, at the Gotha Congress, the Lassalleans united with the Eisenachers, the party headed by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, to form the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.—*Ed.*

[2] *Der Social-Demokrat* (Berlin 1864-1871)· organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers published by Schweitzer with the secret financial support of Bismarck.—*Ed.*

declaration of war against Bonaparte Plon-Plon, taking the opportunity to give honourable mention also to Moses' friend, the Rabbi Ein-Horn. We then use this to declare ditto against Bismarck and against the knaves or fools who dream or drivel about an alliance with him for the working class. In conclusion the Progressive swine should of course be told on the one hand that they have got the thing stuck by their political cowardice and helplessness, on the other that if they demand an alliance with the working class against the government—and this is in fact the only right thing to do at the moment—then they must at least make those concessions to the workers that correspond to their own principle of "free trade" and "democratism," namely, repeal of all exceptional laws against the workers, including, in addition to the combination laws, quite specifically the present Prussian press laws. They would also have to favour, or at least tend to favour, the restoration of universal suffrage, which was set aside in Prussia by the *coup d'état*. This is the least that can be expected of them. On the military question there may perhaps also be something to stick in. In any case the thing must be finished quickly. And you must jot down on paper your "ideas" about the whole statement. I will then add mine, knead it together, send you the whole thing again and so forth. The moment seems to me favourable for this "*coup d'état*." Neither out of consideration for Liebknecht nor for anybody else can we let this opportunity for our "reinstatement in all our rights" slip by.[1]

At the same time you must not fail to let the *Social-Demokrat* have your article on the military question as soon as possible.

With regard to the statement I should of course write them that if they themselves did *not* accept it at once it would appear "all ready" in other papers.

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[1] In the letter written in reply under date of February 5, 1865, Engels fully approved Marx's idea of sending a joint statement to the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat* and proposed to point out in the statement that "in a predominantly agricultural country like Prussia it is an outrage to attack exclusively the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat without saying a single word about the patriarchal exploitation of the rural proletariat by the upper feudal nobility with the aid of the stick."—*Ed.*

If they take it, well and good; and it will not do any harm even if on that account they are exploded out of existence. (Although Bismarck will be careful to avoid forcible measures at the moment.) If they do not accept it we have a decent excuse for getting rid of them. In any case the air must be purified and the Party swept clean of this stench left behind by Lassalle.

Yours,
K. M.

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MARX AND ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE "SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT"

[London, February 6, 1865]

Statement

In No. 16 of your paper Herr M. Hess in the following words sent from Paris casts suspicion on the *French members*, entirely unknown to him, *of the Central Council in London* of the International Workingmen's Association: "Indeed, it cannot be told beforehand what difference it makes *if also a few friends of the Palais Royal belong to the London society*, as it is a public one," etc. In an earlier issue, in a chat about the paper *L'Association*, this same Herr M. Hess made a similar insinuation against the *Parisian friends* of the London Council. We declare that his insinuations are absurd and slanderous.

Anyhow, we are glad that through this incident we have been confirmed in our conviction that the Paris proletariat stands irreconcilably opposed to Bonapartism, as heretofore, in both its forms, the form of the *Tuileries* and the form of the *Palais Royal*[1] and never for a moment contemplated selling its *historical honour* (or shall we say "its historical birthright as the vehicle of the revolution" instead of "*its historical honour*"?) for a mess of pottage. We recommend to the German workers that they follow this example.

[1] That is, in the persons of Napoleon III and his cousin, Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte ("Plon-Plon") —*Ed.*

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] February 11, 1865

Dear Fred,

As today is Saturday I imagine you will not be sending off your thing[1] on the same day, in which case there will still be time for these "supplementary" proposals for alteration:

1) In the place *where you ask what the workers want* I should not answer as you do that the workers in Germany, France and England demand so and so. For the answer sounds as if we accepted *Itzig's* slogans (at least it will be so *interpreted*). I should say rather somewhat the following:

It would seem that the demands put forward at the present moment by the most advanced workers in *Germany* amount to the following, etc. This does not commit you at all, which is all the better considering that later on you yourself criticize universal suffrage without the requisite conditions. (The word "direct" moreover would indeed have no sense in England, etc., for example, and is only the opposite of the "indirect" franchise invented by the Prussians.) The form in which the *Knoten* in Germany conceive state intervention *à la* Lassalle is of such a kind that one must avoid identifying oneself anyhow with "the same." It is preferable by far (and safer) if you take the *Knoten* at their word and *let them say for themselves* what *they* want. (I say the *Knoten*, because they are the really argumentative, the Lassalleanized section.[2])

2) I should not say that the movement of 1848-49 failed because the bourgeois resisted *direct universal suffrage*. On the contrary, the latter was declared a true-German[3] right by the Frankforters and proclaimed such with due formality by the vice-regent of the *Reich*. (In my opinion, too, as soon as the

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[1] Marx refers to Engels's pamphlet, *The Military Question in Prussia and the German Workers' Party.—Ed.*

[2] of the workers.—*Ed.*

[3] Teutsch.—*Ed.*

matter comes to be discussed seriously, this franchise must be treated in true-Germany[1] as part of the rightfully *existing* law.) As that is not the place for a longer exposition, I would get out of it by using the phrase that the bourgeoisie at that time preferred peace with slavery to the mere *prospect* of a struggle with freedom, or something of the sort.

As a whole the thing is very good and I am especially tickled by the part where it is shown that the present *Knoten* movement exists in fact only by the grace of the police.

I'm in a great hurry.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

72

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] February 18, 1865

Dear Fred,

Enclosed are two letters from Liebknecht—one to you and one to me. Also an *earlier* one from Schweitzer.

My opinion is:

Once Liebknecht has given notice[2] we must finish with the thing. If he had postponed the matter we could also have delayed it as your pamphlet is still in the process of production.

I consider Schweitzer as incorrigible (probably in secret understanding with Bismarck).

I am confirmed in this by:

1) The passage which I have underlined in the enclosed letter of the 15th;

2) The *time* at which his *Bismarck III*[3] appeared.

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[1] Teutschland.—*Ed.*

[2] that he is quitting his collaboration on the Editorial Board of the *Social-Demokrat*.—*Ed.*

[3] The third article by Schweitzer on the Bismarck ministry, which appeared in the *Social-Demokrat* after Marx in his letter to Schweitzer had demanded that he put a stop to his flirting with Bismarck.—*Ed.*

In order to justify both points I herewith give you a literal transcript of a passage from my letter of February 13 to him:

"... as the correspondence of Moses Hess in No. 21, received today, renders our statement partly out of date, the matter may now be allowed to rest. True, our statement also included another point, praise of the anti-Bonapartist attitude of the Parisian proletariat and a hint to the German workers to follow this example. This was more important to us than the attack on Hess. However, we shall express our views as to the attitude of the workers to the Government of Prussia in detail elsewhere.

"In your letter of February 4 you say that I myself warned Liebknecht not to overstep the mark in order not to be sent to hell. Quite true. But at the same time I wrote to him that *anything* could be said if it is put in the right form. A form of polemic *against* the government "possible" even for the meridian of Berlin is undoubtedly very different from flirtation or even a semblance of compromise with the government! I wrote to you yourself that the *Social-Demokrat* must avoid even such a semblance.

"I see from your paper that the Ministry is expressing itself ambiguously and playing for time with regard to the repeal of the combination laws A *Times* telegram reports, on the other hand, that the Ministry has given indication of a protectoral attitude towards a proposal for state support of the co-operative societies. It would not surprise me at all if for once, by way of exception, the *Times* had telegraphed correctly!

"Combinations and the trade unions growing out of them are of the utmost importance not only as a means of organizing the working class for struggle against the bourgeoisie. This importance appears, for instance, in the fact that even workers of the United States, despite their franchise and their republic, cannot do without them The right of combination in Prussia and in Germany at large means furthermore a breach in the rule of the police and bureaucracy; it tears to bits the Rules Governing Hinds[1]

[1] *Rules Governing Hinds (Gesindeordnung) of 1854*: one of the numerous laws which deprived agricultural labourers of elementary civil rights. This particular law made it an offence punishable by imprisonment even to attempt to go on strike.—*Ed.*

and the control of the nobility in the rural districts. In short it is a measure for the conversion of "subjects" into fullfledged citizens, which the Progressive Party, i.e., any bourgeois opposition party in Prussia which is not crazy, could allow a hundred times sooner than the Prussian Government, and above all the government of a Bismarck! On the other hand support for co-operative societies from the Royal Prussian Government—and anyone who knows Prussian conditions knows beforehand its necessarily minute dimensions—is of no value whatever as an economic measure, while at the same time it extends the system of tutelage, corrupts a section of the workers and castrates the movement. The bourgeois party in Prussia discredited itself and brought on its present misery chiefly because it seriously believed that with the "new era" power, by the grace of the Prince Regent, had fallen into its lap. But the workers' party will discredit itself far more if it imagines that in the Bismarck era or any other Prussian era the golden apples will drop into its mouth by the grace of the king. That disappointment will follow Lassalle's hapless illusion that a Prussian Government would carry out a socialist intervention is beyond all doubt. The logic of things will tell. But the *honour* of the workers' party demands that it should reject such hallucinations even before their hollowness is exposed by experience. The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing."

Well! To this letter of mine dated the 13th he replies with his of the 15th in which he demands that I should subordinate myself in all "practical" questions to *his* tactics—he replies with *Bismarck III* as a fresh specimen of these tactics!! And indeed it seems to me now that the *impudent* way in which he put the question of resigning on the occasion of the statement against Hess, was not due to tenderness for Moses but to a *firm determination* that no space should be given *under any circumstances* in the *Social-Demokrat* to our hint to the German workers.

Therefore, since we have got to break with that fellow anyhow, it had better be done at once. As to the German *Knoten*, let them scream as much as they like. The useful elements among them

are bound to join us sooner or later. If you agree with the statement below, copy it out, sign it and send it to me. It has been scribbled down hurriedly, so alter what seems unsuitable to you or rewrite it entirely if you prefer.

Yours,
K. M.

73

MARX AND ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE "SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT"

London, February 23, 1865

Statement

The undersigned promised to collaborate with the *Social-Demokrat* and allowed their names to be published as collaborators on the express condition that the paper should be edited in the spirit of the short programme communicated to them. Not for a moment did they fail to appreciate the difficult position of the *Social-Demokrat* and therefore made no demands unsuitable to the Berlin meridian. But they repeatedly demanded that at least equally bold language should be used towards the Ministry and the feudal-absolutist party as with regard to the Progressives. The tactics followed by the *Social-Demokrat* precludes their further participation in its work. The opinion of the undersigned on Royal Prussian Government socialism and the right attitude of the workers' party to such delusion was already treated at length in No. 73 of the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*, dated September 12, 1847,[1] in reply to No. 206 of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*, then appearing in Cologne, in which an alliance of the "proletariat" with the "Government" against the "liberal bourgeoisie" had been proposed. We still subscribe today to every word of *our* statement made at that time.

Frederick Engels, Karl Marx

[1] Reference to Marx's article, "The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*."—*Ed*

74

MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, February 23, 1865

Dear Friend,

I received your, to me very interesting, letter yesterday and shall now reply to the separate points you raise.

First of all I shall briefly describe my attitude to *Lassalle*. While he was engaged in agitation relations between us were suspended: 1) because of his self-praise-exuding braggadocio, to which he added the most shameless plagiarism from my writings and those of others; 2) because I *condemned* his *political* tactics; 3) because, even *before* he began his agitation, I fully explained and "proved" to him here in London that direct *socialist* interference by a "*State of Prussia*" was nonsense. *In his letters to* me (from 1848 to 1863), as in our personal meetings, he always declared himself an adherent of the party which I represented. As soon as he had convinced himself, in London (end of 1862), that he could not play his games *with* me he decided to come out as the "workers' dictator" *against* me and the old party. In spite of all that I recognized his services as an agitator, although towards the end of his brief career even that agitation appeared to me to assume a more and more ambiguous character. His sudden death, old friendship, waiting letters from Countess Hatzfeldt, indignation over the *cowardly impertinence* of the bourgeois press towards one whom in his lifetime they had so greatly feared—all that induced me to publish a short statement against the wretched Blind, which did not, however, deal with the *substance* of Lassalle's doings. (Hatzfeldt sent the statement to the *Nordstern*.[1]) For the same reasons, and in the hope of being able to remove elements which appeared dangerous to me, Engels and I promised to contribute to the *Social-Demokrat* (It has published

[1] *Nordstern (Northern Star)*—a weekly of the Lassallean trend which appeared in Hamburg in 1860-1866.—*Ed.*

a translation of the *Address*[1] and at its request I wrote an article about Proudhon on the death of the latter) and, after Schweitzer had sent us a *satisfactory programme of its editorial board*, we allowed our names to be given out as contributors. We had a further guarantee in the presence of *W. Liebknecht* as an unofficial member of the editorial board. However, it soon became clear—the proofs fell into our hands—that Lassalle had in fact *betrayed* the Party. He had entered into a regular contract with Bismarck (of course, *without* having *any* sort of guarantees in *his* hands). At the end of September 1864 he was to go to Hamburg and there (together with that crazy Schramm and the Prussian police spy Marr) "*force*" Bismarck to incorporate Schleswig-Holstein, that is, to proclaim its incorporation in the name of the "workers," etc., in return for which Bismarck promised universal suffrage and a few socialist charlatanries. It is a pity that Lassalle could not play the comedy through to the end. It would have made him look damned ridiculous and foolish! And it would have put a stop for ever to all attempts of that sort.

Lassalle went astray in this fashion because he was a "Realpolitiker"[2] of the type of Herr Miquel, but cut on a larger pattern and with bigger aims (By the bye, I had long ago seen through Miquel sufficiently to explain his public utterances by the fact that the National Union offered an excellent way for a petty *Hanoverian* lawyer to make his voice heard in Germany outside his own four walls, and thus cause the enhanced "*reality*" of himself to assert itself retroactively in his Hanoverian homeland, playing the "*Hanoverian*" Mirabeau under "*Prussian*" auspices.) Just as Miquel and his present friends snatched at the "new era" inaugurated by the Prussian Prince Regent, in order to join the National Union and to fasten on to the "Prussian top," just as they developed their "civic pride" generally under *Prussian auspices*, so Lassalle wanted to play the Marquis Posa of the proletariat with Philip II of the Uckermark, Bismarck acting as proc-

[1] Reference to the Inaugural Address of the Workingmen's International Association.—*Ed*

[2] Practical politician.—*Ed.*

urer between him and the Prussian kingdom. He only aped the gentlemen of the National Union. But while these invoked the Prussian "reaction" in the interests of the middle class, Lassalle shook hands with Bismarck in the interests of the proletariat. These gentlemen had greater justification than Lassalle, in so far as the bourgeois is accustomed to regard the interest immediately in front of his nose as "*reality*," and as in fact this class has concluded a compromise everywhere, even with feudalism, whereas in the very nature of things the working class must be sincerely "revolutionary."

For a theatrically vain character like Lassalle (who was not, however, to be bribed by paltry trash like office, a mayoralty, etc.), it was a most tempting thought: an act directly on behalf of the proletariat, executed by Ferdinand Lassalle! He was in fact too ignorant of the real economic conditions required for such an act to be critical of himself. The German workers, on the other hand, were too "*demoralized*" by the despicable "*practical politics*" which had induced the German bourgeoisie to tolerate the reaction of 1849-59 and witness the stupefying of the people, not to hail such a quack saviour, who promised to get them at one bound into the promised land.

Well, to pick up again the thread broken off above. Hardly was the *Social-Demokrat* founded when it became clear that old Hatzfeldt at last wanted to execute Lassalle's "last will and testament." Through Wagener (of the *Kreuzzeitung*) she was in touch with Bismarck. She placed the "Workers' Association" (the *General Association of German Workers*), the *Social-Demokrat*, etc., at his disposal. The annexation of Schleswig-Holstein was to be proclaimed in the *Social-Demokrat*, Bismarck to be recognized in general as patron, etc. The whole pretty plan was *frustrated* because we had Liebknecht in Berlin and on the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat*. Although Engels and I were not pleased with the editorial board of the paper, with its lickspittle cult of Lassalle, its occasional flirting with Bismarck, etc., it was, of course, more important to stand publicly by the paper for the time being in order to thwart old Hatzfeldt's intrigues and prevent the complete compromising of the workers' party. We there-

fore made *bonne mine à mauvais jeu,*[1] although privately we were always writing to the *Social-Demokrat* that they must oppose Bismarck just as much as they oppose the Progressives. We even put up with the intrigues of that affected coxcomb, Bernhard Becker—who takes the importance bequeathed him by Lassalle's testament quite seriously—*against the International Workingmen's Association.*

Meanwhile Herr Schweitzer's articles in the *Social-Demokrat* became more and more Bismarckian. I had written to him earlier that the Progressives could be *intimidated* on the "question of combinations," but that the *Prussian Government would never under any circumstances* concede the complete abolition of the Combination Laws, because that would involve making a breach in the bureaucracy, would make the workers legally of age, would shatter the rules governing hinds, abolish the aristocracy's flogging of posteriors in the countryside, etc., etc., which Bismarck could never allow and which was altogether incompatible with the Prussian *bureaucratic* state. I added that if the Chamber repudiated the Combination Laws, the government would have recourse to *phrases* (such phrases, for example, as that the social question demanded "more thoroughgoing" measures, etc.) in order to retain them. All this proved to be correct. And what did Herr von Schweitzer do? He goes and writes an article *for* Bismarck and saves all his heroics against such infinitely small people as Schulze, Faucher, etc.

I think that Schweitzer and the others have *honest* intentions, but they are "*practical politicians.*" They want to take *existing* circumstances into consideration and refuse to surrender this *privilege* of "practical politics" to the exclusive use of Messrs. Miquel et Comp. (The latter seem to want to reserve to themselves the right of intermixture with the Prussian Government.) They know that the workers' press and the workers' movement in Prussia (and therefore in the rest of Germany) exist solely by the grace of the police. So they want to take things as they are, and not irritate the government, etc., just like our "*republican*" practical

[1] The best of a bad bargain.—*Ed.*

politicians, who are willing to "take along with them" a Hohenzollern *emperor*. But since I am not a "practical politician" I together with Engels have found it necessary to give notice to the *Social-Demokrat* in a public statement (which you will probably soon see in one paper or another) of our intention to quit.

You will understand at the same time why at the present moment I can do nothing in Prussia. The government there has refused point-blank to repatriate me as a Prussian citizen. I should be allowed to *agitate* there only in a form acceptable to Herr v. Bismarck.

I prefer a hundred times over my agitation here through the *International Association*. Its influence on the *English* proletariat is direct and of the greatest importance. We are making a stir here now on the general suffrage question, which of course has a *significance here quite different* from what it has in Prussia.

On the whole the progress of this "Association" is *beyond all expectation*, here, in Paris, in Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. Only in Germany, of course, I am opposed by Lassalle's successors, who: 1) are stupidly afraid of losing their importance; 2) are aware of my avowed opposition to what the Germans call "practical politics." (It is this sort of "*practicalness*" that places Germany so far behind all civilized countries.)

Since anybody who pays one shilling for a card can become a member of the Association; since the French chose this form of individual membership (ditto the Belgians), because the law prevents them from affiliating to us as an "association" and since the situation is similar in Germany, I have now decided to ask my friends here and in Germany to form small societies—the number of members in each locality being immaterial—and that each member is to take out an English membership card. Since the English society is *public*, nothing stands in the way of following such a procedure, even in France. I would be glad if you as well as the people closest to you were to get into *touch with London* in this way.

Thank you for your prescription. Curiously enough, the disgusting illness had started again three days before the prescription arrived. It therefore came quite opportunely.

In a few days I shall send you 24 additional *Addresses*. I have just been interrupted in my writing by a friend and since I should like to get this letter off I shall answer other points in your letter the next time.

Yours,
K. M

75

ENGELS TO F. A. LANGE

Manchester, March 29, 1865

Dear Sir,

I beg you very much to excuse me for having failed to reply so long to your friendly letter of the 2nd, 4th inst. But please do not condemn me unheard. You see, during the first few days I was very much occupied, partly with current business that had accumulated and partly by the voluminous urgent correspondence that always crops up when, after a long *otium cum (vel sine) dignitate*,[1] one suddenly appears before the public once more and has such jolly adventures as we did with that sweet little *Social-Demokrat*. On top of that came a change of residence which disarranged my files somewhat for a little while, so that your letter was mislaid. I found it again only day before yesterday and hasten now to make reply.

I am very grateful to you for your friendly offer to send Marx and me your *Sphinx* and other publications. My book dealer here is Mr. Franz Thimm, Manchester, through whom you can send me everything. The book dealer's route has so far taken 3-4 weeks as a rule. If you could mail me at least the first few issues unsealed, as printed matter (it won't cost much), I should be greatly obliged to you and gladly repay your outlay. Anything intended for Marx please send just to this address. He will get it within twelve hours after receipt. As you yourself rightly understand it is impossible for me to make any promises to you now

[1] Period of rest spent in a worthy (or unworthy) manner.—*Ed.*

with regard to any possible collaboration later on. Let this remain an open question for the time being, although with you we would at any rate not incur the risk of being suspected of wanting to rule from England any part of the proletariat in Germany.

Meanwhile my involuntary delay in answering you has given me the opportunity of getting your book on the labour question; I have read it with much interest.[1] I too was struck, the very first time I read Darwin, with the remarkable likeness between his account of plant and animal life and the Malthusian theory. Only I came to a different conclusion from yours: namely, that nothing discredits modern bourgeois development so much as the fact that it has not yet got beyond the economic forms of the animal world. To us so-called "economic laws" are not eternal laws of nature but historical laws which arise and disappear; and the code of modern political economy, in so far as it has been drawn up with proper objectivity by the economists, is to us simply a summary of the laws and conditions under which alone *modern* bourgeois society can exist—in short, the conditions of its production and exchange expressed in an abstract way and summarized. To us therefore none of these laws, in so far as it expresses *purely bourgeois relations*, is older than modern bourgeois society; those which have hitherto been more or less valid throughout all history really express only those relations which are common to the conditions of all society based on class *rule* and class exploitation. To the former belongs the so-called law of Ricardo, which is valid neither for feudal serfdom nor *ancient* slavery; to the latter belongs what is tenable in the so-called Malthusian theory.

Like all his other ideas, Parson Malthus had stolen this theory direct from his predecessors; all that belongs to him is the purely

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[1] A reference to F. A. Lange's book *The Labour Question and Its Importance for the Present and the Future*. In his letter to Marx of March 11, 1865, Engels characterized the book as follows: "Siebel has sent me Lange's pamphlet. Confused; Malthusianism mixed with Darwinism; flirts with all sides—but there are a few nice things against Lassalle and those bourgeois consumer co-operative fellows. I shall send it to you *in a couple of days*"—*Ed*

arbitrary application of the two progressions. In England the theory itself has long ago been reduced to a rational scale by the economists; the pressure of population is not upon the means of subsistence but upon the means of *employment*; mankind could multiply more rapidly than modern bourgeois society can demand. To us a further reason for declaring this bourgeois society a barrier to development which must fall.

You yourself ask how increase of population and increase in the means of subsistence are to be brought into harmony; but except for one sentence in the preface I find no attempt to solve the question. We start from the premise that the same forces which have created modern bourgeois society—the steam-engine, modern machinery, mass colonization, railways, steamships, world trade—and which now, through the permanent trade crises, are already working towards its ruin and ultimate destruction—that these means of production and exchange will suffice to reverse the relation in a short time, and to raise the productive power of each individual so much that he can produce enough for the consumption of two, three, four, five or six individuals; that town industry will be able to spare people enough to give agriculture quite other forces than it has had up to now; that science too will then at last be applied in agriculture on a large scale and with the same consistency as in industry; that the exploitation of the inexhaustible regions fertilized by nature herself in South-Eastern Europe and Western America will be carried out on a magnificent scale hitherto quite unknown. The time to sound the alarm will come only when all these regions have been ploughed up and a shortage sets in nevertheless.

Too little is produced—that is the whole trouble. But *why* is too little produced? Not because the limits of production—even today and with present-day means—are exhausted. No, but because the limits of production are determined not by the number of hungry bellies but by the number of *purses* able to buy and to pay. Bourgeois society does not and cannot wish to produce any more. The moneyless bellies, the labour which cannot be employed *with profit* and therefore cannot buy, go to increase the death-rate. Let a sudden industrial boom, such as occurs every now and then,

make it possible for this labour to be employed with profit, it will get money to spend, and the means of subsistence have never hitherto been lacking. This is the endless vicious circle in which the whole economic system revolves. One presupposes bourgeois conditions as a whole, and then proves that every part of them is a necessary part—and therefore an eternal law.

I was much amused at your description of the Schulze co-operatives.[1] All that sort of thing existed here in its own way but is now more or less past history. Proletarian pride has yet to be acquired by the people in Germany.

I cannot leave unnoticed a remark you make about old Hegel, who you say lacked the more profound kind of mathematical and natural-scientific training. Hegel knew so much mathematics that not one of his pupils was equal to the task of editing the numerous mathematical manuscripts he left behind. The only man I know who understands enough mathematics and philosophy to do this is Marx. The absurdities of detail in Hegel's philosophy of nature I grant you of course readily enough, but his *real* philosophy of nature is to be found in the second part of his *Logic*, in the doctrine of Essence, the true kernel of the whole theory. But the modern scientific doctrine of the correlation of natural forces (Grove, *Correlation of Forces*, which I think first appeared in 1838) is after all only another expression, or rather is the positive proof, of the Hegelian development of cause, effect, correlation, force, etc. I am of course no longer a Hegelian, but I still have a great feeling of piety and devotion towards the colossal old chap.

Very truly yours,

Frederick Engels

[1] A reference to the co-operative societies established in the sixties of the nineteenth century by Schulze-Delitzsch, who sought, by means of propagandizing co-operatives and credit and loan societies, to divert the German workers from the political struggle and to subject the labour movement to bourgeois influence.—*Ed.*

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] May 1, 1865

... The great success of the International Association is this: The Reform League is our work.[1] The workingmen on the inner Committee of Twelve (6 middle-class men and 6 workingmen) are all members of our Council (including Eccarius). We have baffled all attempts of the middle-class to mislead the working class. The movement in the provinces is this time wholly dependent on that of London. Ernest Jones, for example, had despaired till we set the ball a-going. If we succeed in re-electrifying the political movement of the English working class, our Association, without making any fuss, will have done more for the working class of Europe than has been possible in any other way. And there is every prospect of success....

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] May 20, 1865

...This evening a special session of the International. A good old fellow, an old Owenist, *Weston* (carpenter) has put forward the following two propositions, which he is continually defending in the *Beehive*:

1) that a general rise in the rate of wages would be of no use to the workers;

[1] The *Reform League*, the centre which led the workers' political movement for the second reform of the franchise, was set up by the General Council of the First International in February 1865. Unlike the bourgeois demand that the franchise be extended only to householders who paid local poor-rates, the Reform League, on Marx's insistence, upheld the Chartist principle of universal manhood suffrage.—*Ed.*

2) that therefore, etc., the trades unions have a *harmful* effect

If these two propositions, in which *he* alone in our society believes, were accepted, we should be turned into a joke both on account of the trade unions here and of the infection of strikes which now prevails on the Continent.

On this occasion—as non-members may be admitted to this meeting—he will be supported by a born Englishman, who has written a pamphlet to the same effect. I am of course expected to supply the refutation. I therefore ought really to have worked out my reply for this evening, but thought it more important to write on at my book[1] and so shall have to depend upon improvisation.[2]

Of course I know beforehand what the two main points are:

1) that *wages* determine the value of commodities;

2) that if the capitalists pay 5 instead of 4 shillings today, they will sell their commodities for 5 instead of 4 shillings tomorrow (being enabled to do so by the increased demand).

Inane though this is, attaching itself only to the most superficial external appearance, it is nevertheless not easy to explain to ignorant people all the economic questions which compete with one another here. You can't compress a course of political economy into one hour. But we shall do our best.

Edgar[3] considers it a good omen that you were the first one he met in England. Lizzy impressed him very favourably.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

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[1] Marx has in view *Capital*, Vol I.—*Ed.*

[2] In refutation of the propositions advanced by Weston, Marx delivered an address at two sittings of the General Council, June 20 and 27, 1865, which is now known as *Wages, Price, and Profit*.—*Ed*

[3] Jenny Marx's brother.—*Ed*

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, January 15, 1866

Dear Friend,

Best wishes for the new year and best thanks for your kind letter.

You must excuse the brevity of these lines because at the moment I am overburdened with work. Next time I shall write more fully.

I am enclosing two membership cards and in my next letter I shall tell you the questions which are to be dealt with at the public Congress in Geneva at the end of May.

Our Association has made great progress. It already has three official organs: one in London, *The Workman's Advocate*, one in Brussels, *La Tribune du Peuple*, and one issued by the French Section in Switzerland, *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Section de la Suisse Romande* (Geneva), while a paper issued by the German-Swiss Section, *Der Vorbote*, will appear in a few days under the editorship of *J. P. Becker.* (Address: 6, Rue du Mole, Geneva, J. P. Becker, in case you should like to send him contributions occasionally, political or social.)

We have succeeded in drawing into the movement the one really big workers' organization, the English "*Trades-Unions*," which formerly concerned themselves *exclusively* with wage questions. With their help the English society which we founded for achieving *universal suffrage* (half of its Central Committee consists of workers—members of our Central Committee) held a monster

meeting a few weeks ago, at which only workers spoke. You can judge of the effect by the fact that the *Times* dealt with the meeting in leading articles in two consecutive issues.

As for my book, I am working twelve hours a day at writing out the fair copy. I think I shall bring the manuscript of the first volume myself to Hamburg in March, and take the opportunity of seeing you....

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ENGELS TO MARX

[Manchester,] April 13, 1866

...So Bismarck has dealt his universal suffrage blow! even though without his Lassalle. It looks as if the German bourgeois will agree to it after some resistance, for Bonapartism is after all the real religion of the modern bourgeoisie. It is becoming ever clearer to me that the bourgeoisie has not the stuff in it for ruling directly itself, and that therefore where there is no oligarchy, as there is here in England, to take over, for good pay, the management of state and society in the interests of the bourgeoisie, a Bonapartist semi-dictatorship is the normal form. It upholds the big material interests of the bourgeoisie even against the will of the bourgeoisie, but allows the bourgeoisie no share in the power of government. The dictatorship in its turn is forced against its will to adopt these material interests of the bourgeoisie as its own. So we now get Monsieur Bismarck adopting the programme of the National Union. To carry it out is something quite different, of course, but Bismarck is hardly likely to come to grief through the German bourgeoisie. A German who has just returned relates that he has already found many who swallowed

[1] Engels alludes to the plan laid by Bismarck before the Federal Diet to convoke a parliament based on universal suffrage which was to agree on a reform of the federal constitution. Bismarck's proposal pursued the aim of securing the support of the popular masses in the impending war against Austria.—*Ed*

this bait; according to Reuter the Karlsruhe people have approved the business and the deep perplexity of the *Kölnische Zeitung* on account of this business clearly indicates the forthcoming turn of events....

80

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] June 7, 1866

...So war is coming after all unless some miracle happens. The Prussians will yet do penance for their bragging and at any rate the idyl in Germany is a thing of the past. The Proudhonist clique among the students in Paris (*Courrier Français*) preaches peace, declares war to be obsolete and nationalities to be an absurdity, attacks Bismarck and Garibaldi, etc. As polemics against chauvinism their doings are useful and explicable. But as believers in Proudhon (Lafargue and Longuet, two very good friends of mine here, also belong to them), who think all Europe must and will sit quietly on their hindquarters until the gentlemen in France abolish "poverty and ignorance," under the latter of which they themselves labour in direct proportion to their vociferations about "social science," they are grotesque....

81

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] June 20, 1866

Dear Fred,

The abominable weather is particularly baneful for my constitution; and that is the reason why I have not yet notified you about the receipt of the wine nor written to you about anything else. Nothing doing about my coming to Manchester because I

cannot leave the house in my present state. Besides, I must be here on account of the International, since my French friends took advantage once of my absence to do some silly things under these trying circumstances in the name of the Association.

With regard to the newspapers here it is my opinion that if nothing comes of that Manchester business the best thing for you to do would be to send the *Times* a snappy military article, introducing yourself as the English correspondent of the *Darmstädter Militärzeitung*. Do not let any political considerations stop you, as one London paper is as bad as another and the idea is to get the widest publicity.

You must now keep me "critically" posted on affairs in Italy and Germany.

Yesterday there was a discussion in the International Council on the present war. The question had been announced beforehand and our room was very crowded. The Italian gentry too had sent delegates. The discussion wound up, as was to be foreseen, with the "question of nationality" in general and the attitude we take towards it. This subject was adjourned till next Tuesday.

The French, who were numerously represented, gave vent to their cordial dislike of the Italians.

Moreover, the representatives of "*Young France*" (*non-workers*) came out with the announcement that all nationalities and even nations were "antiquated prejudices." Proudhonized Stirnerism. Everything is to be dissolved into small "groups" or "communes," which in turn are to form an "association," but no state. And this "individualization" of humanity and the corresponding "mutualism" are to go on while history comes to a stop in all other countries and the whole world waits until the French are ripe for a social revolution. Then they will demonstrate the experiment to us, and the rest of the world, overwhelmed by the force of their example, will follow suit. Exactly what Fourier expected of his model phalansiery. Anyhow, whoever encumbers the "social" question with the "superstitions" of the old world is a "reactionary."

The English laughed very much when I began my speech by saying that our friend Lafargue and others, who had done away

with nationalities, had spoken "*French*" to us, i.e., a language which nine-tenths of the audience did not understand. I also suggested that by the negation of nationalities he appeared, quite unconsciously, to understand their absorption by the model French nation.

As for the rest the situation is difficult now, because on the one hand silly English Italianism and on the other the erroneous French polemics against it must be equally combated. In particular every demonstration that would involve our Association in a one-sided course must be prevented.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

82

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] July 7, 1866

... The workers' demonstrations in London, which are marvellous compared with anything we have seen in England since 1849, are purely the work of the *International*. Mr. Lucraft, for instance, the leader in Trafalgar Square,[1] is one of our Council. This shows the difference between *working* behind the scenes and not appearing in public and the Democrats' way of making oneself important in public and *doing nothing*.

The *Commonwealth* will soon give up the ghost. Fox is leaving it next week. By the way, Stumpf writes to me from Mayence that the demand for your book *The Condition*, etc., among the workers is growing daily and that you will simply have to get out a second edition, if only for Party reasons. At the same time his personal experience leads him to believe that immediately after the war

[1] This refers to the public meetings organized by the General Council of the First International on this square on June 27 and July 2, 1866 in support of the demand for universal suffrage.—*Ed.*

the "labour question" will come prominently to the fore in Germany....

Bonaparte of course does not want war until he has introduced the needle gun or some equivalent. A Yankee has offered the War Ministry here a rifle which, as I am assured by a refugee Prussian officer (Wilke), excels the needle gun by as much as the latter does "Old Bess" because of the absolute simplicity of its construction, the small amount of heat produced, the less cleaning required and because of its cheapness. Is our theory that the *organization of labour* is determined *by the means of production* confirmed anywhere more splendidly than in the man-slaughtering industry? It would really be worth the trouble for you to write something about this (I lack the knowledge required) which I could introduce over your name into my book as an appendix. Think it over. If yes it has to be done for the first volume, in which I am dealing with this theme in detail. You cannot imagine what great joy it would give me to have you appear also in my main work (hitherto I did only small things) as a direct collaborator and not merely by way of citation!

I am studying Comte on the side because the British and French make so much fuss over that fellow. What captivates them is the encyclopædic about him, the synthesis. But compared with Hegel it is wretched (in spite of the fact that Comte as a professional mathematician and physicist is superior to him, i.e., superior in details; but even here Hegel is infinitely greater on the whole). And this trashy positivism appeared in 1832!

83

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, July 25, 1866

Dear Moor,

I suppose you have duly received the notes by now. In my absent-mindedness I must have enclosed the slip of paper on which I had jotted down the numbers. The notes themselves I had

shoved under the cover of my desk blotter, where I found them, sure enough, on regaining my composure after the excitement caused by your telegram. I hope they were still in time.

The business in Germany seems to me fairly simple now. From the moment Bismarck by using the Prussian army carried out the Little-Germany scheme of the bourgeoisie with such colossal success, the development in Germany has taken this direction so resolutely that we, like others, must acknowledge the accomplished fact, we may like it or not. As to the *national* side of the affair, Bismarck will in any case establish the Little-German Empire in the dimensions intended by the bourgeoisie, i.e., including South-West Germany—for the phrases about the line of the Main and the optional separate South German Confederacy are no doubt meant for the French, and in the meantime the Prussians are marching on Stuttgart. Moreover, before very long the German provinces of Austria will also fall to this empire, since Austria is bound now to become Hungarian, and the Germans will be the third nationality in the empire—even after the Slavs.

Politically Bismarck will be forced to depend on the bourgeoisie, whom he needs against the imperial princes. Not at the moment, perhaps, because his prestige and the army are still sufficient. But he will have to give something to the bourgeoisie even if only to secure from Parliament the necessary conditions for the central power, and the natural course of the affair will always force him or his successors to appeal to the bourgeoisie again; so that if, as is possible, Bismarck does not concede more to the bourgeoisie than he is actually *obliged* to now, he will still be driven more and more into their camp.

The thing has this good side to it that it simplifies the situation; it makes a revolution easier by doing away with the brawls between the petty capitals and will in any case hasten developments. After all a German Parliament is something quite different from a Prussian Chamber. The petty states in their totality will be swept into the movement, the worst localizing influences will cease and parties will at last become really national instead of merely local.

The chief disadvantage—a very great one—is the unavoidable flooding of Germany with Prussianism. Then—the temporary separation of German Austria, which will result in an immediate advance of the Slav elements in Bohemia, Moravia and Carinthia. Unfortunately neither of these things can be helped.

In my opinion, therefore, all we can do is simply to accept the fact, without approving it, and to use, as far as we can, the greater facilities now bound at any rate to become available for the *national* organization and unification of the German proletariat.

There was no need for Stumpf to write to me that brother Liebknecht would get into a nice mess with his fanatical devotion to Austria. It could not possibly be otherwise. Moreover the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* carried articles full of wrath written unmistakably by him from Leipzig. This Blindist prince-devouring *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* went so far as to reproach the Prussians for their disgraceful treatment of the *"honourable Elector of Hesse"* and waxed enthusiastic over the poor blind Guelph!

I have not written any more for the *Guardian*.

Yours,
F. E.

84

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] July 27, 1866

... I am quite of your opinion that this trash has to be taken the way it is. But it is a pleasure to be at a distance during the early period of this first love. The arrogance of the Prussians and the foolishness of handsome William, who believes that nothing has changed since that dream-like victory except that he has become a powerful potentate, etc., will yet have their effect. The Austrians are now where the Prague Slav lunatics wanted them to be in 1848. However, for the time being, their loss of Venice and the enforced concentration of their strength are by no means

favourable to the Russians. Being themselves a Pan-Slavic empire they will become still more antagonistic to the Muscovites. The extraordinary debasement of the Habsburgs would lead one to fear however that by and by they will let the Russians cajole them into making a common attack on Turkey.

Everything that centralizes the bourgeoisie is of course advantageous to the workers. Anyhow the peace, even if concluded tomorrow, will be still more provisional than that of Villafranca and Zurich. As soon as the "arms reform" has been carried out by the various sides the "whacking" will start all over again, as Schapper would say. At any rate Bonaparte too has had a setback although the formation of military kingdoms right and left fits into the Plon-Plon plan of "universal democracy."

Here the government has nearly produced a revolt.[1] The Englishman first needs a revolutionary education, of course, and two weeks would be enough for that if Sir Richard Mayne had absolute control. In fact the thing only depended on one point. If the railings—and it was touch and go—had been used offensively and defensively against the police and about twenty of the latter had been knocked out, the military would have had to "intervene" instead of only parading. And then there would have been some fun. One thing is certain, these thick-headed John Bulls, whose brainpans seem to have been specially manufactured for the constables' bludgeons, will never get anywhere without a really bloody encounter with the ruling powers....

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[1] The events referred to occurred in London, during July 1866 They were called forth by the prohibition to hold meetings in Hyde Park at the time when the mass campaign for universal suffrage was at its height. On the 23rd of that month London workers who had assembled for a demonstration engaged in a scuffle with the police. On the 24th and 25th the workers again appeared in Hyde Park. However the bourgeois Radicals and the reformist leaders of the Trade Unions affiliated to the Council of the Reform League, contrary to the line laid down by Marx and the General Council, came to an understanding with Walpole, the Home Minister, and thus frustrated the action of the workers.—*Ed.*

85

MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, October 9, 1866

Dear Friend,

I hope I have not to conclude from your prolonged silence that my last letter offended you in any way. The very opposite should be the case. In desperate situations every human being feels the need of unburdening himself to somebody. But he does that only to persons in whom he places particular and exceptional confidence. I assure you that the unpleasantnesses with which I am beset in my everyday life vex me much more because they hinder the completion of my work than for any personal or family reasons. I could put an end to this state of affairs tomorrow if I were to follow some practical occupation instead of working for the cause. I hope you are as little embarrassed by the fact that *you* cannot help to do away with these troubles. That would be a quite unreasonable reason.

And now for something general.

I had great fears for the first Congress at Geneva. On the whole however it turned out better than I expected.[1] The effect in France, England and America was unhoped for. I could not, and did not want to go there, but wrote the programme for the London delegates. I deliberately restricted it to those points which allow of immediate agreement and concerted action by the workers, and give direct nourishment and impetus to the requirements of the class struggle and the organization of the workers into a class. The Parisian gentlemen had their heads full of the emptiest Proudhonist phrases. They babble about science and know nothing. They scorn all *revolutionary* action, that is, action arising out of

[1] The Geneva Congress of the First International (September 3-8, 1866) ended in a decisive defeat of the Proudhonists. The Congress approved the Rules of the International written by Marx and the programme of the London delegates drawn up by Marx (Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council The different questions) formed the basis on which its remaining resolutions were adopted.—*Ed*

the class struggle itself, all concentrated, social movements, and therefore also those which can be carried through by *political* means (for instance the *legal* shortening of the working day). Under the *pretext of freedom*, and of anti-governmentalism or anti-authoritarian individualism, these gentlemen—who for sixteen years have so quietly endured the most miserable despotism, and still endure it!—actually preach ordinary bourgeois economy, only Proudhonistically idealized! Proudhon did enormous mischief. His sham criticism and sham opposition to the utopians (he himself is only a petty-bourgeois utopian, whereas in the utopias of a Fourier, an Owen, etc., there is the anticipation and imaginative expression of a new world) attracted and corrupted first the "*jeunesse brilliante*,"[1] the students, and then the workmen, particularly those of Paris, who as workers in luxury trades are strongly attached, without knowing it, to the old rubbish. Ignorant, vain, presumptuous, talkative, blusteringly arrogant, they were on the point of spoiling everything, for they rushed to the Congress in numbers which bore no relation whatever to the number of their members. In the report I shall, incidentally, rap them on the knuckles.

The American Workers' Congress at Baltimore, which took place at the same time, caused me great joy. The slogan there was organization for the struggle against capital, and remarkably enough, most of the demands which I drew up for Geneva were also put forward there by the right instinct of the workers.

The Reform movement here, which our Central Council called into existence (*quorum magna pars fui*[2]) has now reached immense dimensions and become irresistible. I have kept behind the scenes all the time and do not trouble myself further about the affair, now it has been set going.

Yours,

K. Marx

[1] Brilliant youth.—*Ed.*

[2] In which I played a great part.—*Ed.*

1867

86

MARX TO S. MEYER

Hanover, April 30, 1867

Dear Friend,

You must have a very bad opinion of me, the more so when I tell you that your letters were not only a source of *great joy* but a *real solace* to me during the harrowing period in which I received them. The knowledge that an able man of high principles has been secured for our Party compensates me for the worst. Moreover your letters were full of the kindest friendship for me personally, and you will understand that I, who am engaged in the bitterest conflict with the whole world (the official one), am least capable of underestimating this.

Well, why didn't I answer you? Because I was constantly hovering at the edge of the grave. Hence I had to make use of *every* moment when I was able to work to complete my book, to which I have sacrificed health, happiness, and family. I trust that this explanation needs no supplementation. I laugh at the so-called "practical" men with their wisdom. If one chose to be an ox, one could of course turn one's back on the sufferings of mankind and look after one's own skin. But I should have really regarded myself as *impractical* if I had pegged out without completely finishing my book, at least in manuscript.

The first volume of the work will be published in a few weeks by *Otto Meissner* in Hamburg. The title is: *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy.* I have come to Germany in order to bring the manuscript across and am staying for a few days with a friend in Hanover on my way back to London.

Volume I comprises the "*Process of Capitalist Production.*"

Besides the general scientific exposition, I describe in great detail, from hitherto unused *official* sources, the condition of the English agricultural and industrial proletariat *during the last 20 years*, ditto *Irish* conditions. You will, of course, understand that all this serves me only as an "*argumentum ad hominem*."[1]

I hope the whole work will have been published a year from now. *Volume II* gives the continuation and conclusion of the theories,[2] *Volume III the history of political economy from the middle of the seventeenth century.*

As for the International Workingmen's Association, it has become a power in England, France, Switzerland, and Belgium. Establish as many branches as possible in America. Contribution per member one penny (about one silbergroschen) per annum, but every commune contributes what it can. Congress this year in Lausanne, September 3. Each commune may send one representative. Write me about these things, about how you yourself are getting on in America, and about general conditions. If you keep silent, I shall consider it proof that you still have not absolved me.

Cordially yours,

Karl Marx

87

ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, June 16, 1867

Dear Moor,

I have been so upset the last eight days by all kinds of squabbles with Monsieur Gottfried and other such affairs and disturbances that I seldom had the leisure for studying the form of

[1] Appeal to the individual.—*Ed.*

[2] Originally Marx intended to combine in Volume II of *Capital* everything that was subsequently included in Volumes II and III.—*Ed.*

value. Otherwise I would have returned the sheets[1] to you long ago. The second sheet especially bears rather strong marks of your carbuncles, but that cannot be altered now and I *do not* think you should do anything more about it in an addendum, for, after all, the philistine is not accustomed to this sort of abstract thought and certainly will not cudgel his brains for the sake of the form of value. At most the points here established dialectically might be set forth historically at somewhat greater length, the test to be made from history, so to speak, although what is most necessary in this respect has already been said. But you have so much material that you can certainly still make quite a good digression upon it, which will demonstrate to the philistine from history the necessity for the development of money and the process which takes place in connection with it.

In these more abstract developments you have committed the great mistake of not making the sequence of thought clear by a larger number of small sections and separate headings. You ought to have dealt with this part in the manner of Hegel's Encyclopædia, with *short paragraphs*, every *dialectical* transition marked by a special heading and so far as possible all excursuses and mere illustrations printed in special type. The thing would have looked rather like a schoolbook, but it would have been made much more comprehensible to a very large class of readers. For the people, even the learned section, are no longer at all accustomed to this kind of thinking and one must facilitate it for them in every possible way.

Compared with the earlier account (Duncker)[2] the progress in the sharpness of the dialectical development is very marked, but in the account itself I like many things better in *the first* wording. It is a great pity that it should be just the important second sheet which suffers from the carbuncle imprint. But there is nothing to be done about this now, and anyone capable of thinking dialectically will understand it all the same. The other sheets are very good and have given me great delight....

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[1] The reference is to the page proofs of Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

[2] See Note on p. 135.—*Ed.*

Have read Hofmann.[1] The more recent chemical theory, with all its faults, is a great advance on the former atomic one. The molecule as the smallest part of matter *capable of independent existence* is a perfectly rational category, a "node," as Hegel put it, in the infinite series of divisions, which does not conclude them but establishes a qualitative difference. The atom—formerly represented as the limit of divisibility—is now nothing more than a *relation*, although Monsieur Hofmann himself relapses every other minute into the old idea of actually indivisible atoms. For the rest the progress of chemistry which the book records is really enormous, and Schorlemmer says that this revolution is still going on all the time, so that one may expect new upheavals any day.

Best regards to your wife, the girls, and the electrician.[2]

Yours,
F. E

Sending 5 sheets back today

88

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] June 22, 1867

...I hope you are satisfied with the four sheets.[3] Your satisfaction up to now is more important to me than anything the rest of the world may say of it. At any rate I hope the bourgeoisie will remember my carbuncles all the rest of their lives. Here is yet another proof what swine they are. You know that the Children Employment Commission has been functioning for five years. As a result of their first report, which appeared in 1863, "measures" were at once taken against the branches of industry denounced. At the beginning of this session the Tory ministry

[1] August Wilhelm Hofmann, *Introduction to Modern Chemistry.—Ed.*
[2] Leo Hartmann.—*Ed.*
[3] The reference is to page proofs of *Capital*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

had introduced a bill, through Walpole, the weeping willow, accepting all the proposals of the Commission, though on a very reduced scale. The fellows against whom measures were to be taken, among them the big metal manufacturers, and especially the vampires of "home work," were silent and humiliated. Now they are presenting a petition to Parliament and demanding *a fresh investigation*! They say the former one *was prejudiced*!

They are calculating on the Reform Bill absorbing all public attention so that the thing can be smuggled through quite comfortably and privately while at the same time the Trade Unions have stormy weather to face. The worst thing in the "*reports*" is the *statements of the fellows themselves*. They know that a fresh investigation can mean only one thing, but it is just "what we bourgeois want"—a new five years' term of exploitation. Fortunately my position in the International enables me to upset the tricky calculations of these curs. The thing is of the utmost importance. It is a question of *abolishing the torture of one and* a half million human beings, not including the adult male workingmen!

As to the development of the *form of value* I have and have *not* followed your advice, in order to behave dialectically in this respect as well. That is to say I have 1) written an *appendix* in which I describe *the same thing* as simply and as pedagogically as possible, and 2) followed your advice and divided each step in the development into §§, etc., *with separate headings*. In the *preface* I then tell the "*non-dialectical*" reader that he should skip pages x-y and read the appendix instead. Here not merely philistines are concerned but youth eager for knowledge, etc. Besides, the matter is too decisive for the whole book. These gentry, the economists, have hitherto overlooked the extremely simple point that the form: *20 yards of linen = 1 coat* is only the undeveloped basis of *20 yards of linen = £2*, and that therefore the *simplest form of a commodity*, in which its value is not yet expressed as a relation to all other commodities but only as something *differentiated* from the commodity in its natural form, contains the *whole secret of the money form* and with it, in embryo, of *all the bourgeois forms of the product of labour*. In my

first account (Duncker) I avoided the difficulty of the development by giving an actual analysis of the *expression of value* only when it appears already developed and expressed in money.

You are quite right about Hofmann. You will also see from the conclusion of my Chapter III,[1] where the transformation of the handicraft-master into a capitalist—as a result of merely *quantitative* changes—is touched upon, that *in that text* I refer to Hegel's discovery—the *law of merely quantitative changes turning into qualitative changes*—as holding good alike in history and natural science. In a *note* to the text (at that time I was just attending Hofmann's lectures) I mention the *molecular theory* but not Hofmann, who discovered *nothing* in this field but only gave the matter a final *polish;* instead I mention Laurent, Gerhardt, and Wurtz, of whom the last-named is *the real man.* Your letter brought a dim recollection of the thing to my mind and I therefore looked up my manuscript....

89

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] June 27, 1867

...The last sheet I received was the twentieth. The whole thing will surely come to 40-42 sheets. No more *fair proofs* received up to date after those sent to you. Send me back those you have when you leave.

In regard to what you say about the inevitable doubts of the philistine and vulgar economist[2] (who naturally forget that if

[1] The reference is to *Capital,* Volume I, Chapter III of the first German edition and Chapter IX of the following German editions (English edition, Chapter XI) —*Ed.*

[2] Marx replies here to the following passage in Engels's letter of June 26, 1867:

"On the genesis of surplus value let me add the following. The manufacturer and together with him the vulgar economist will at once raise this objection against you: If the capitalist pays the worker only the price of

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"On the genesis of surplus value let me add the following: The manufacturer and together with him the vulgar economist will at once raise this objection against you: If the capitalist pays the worker only the price of

they figure *paid labour* as *wages* they figure *unpaid* labour as *profit*, etc.), the whole thing boils down, scientifically expressed, to the following question:

How is the *value* of a commodity *transformed* into its *price of production*, in which

1) *the whole labour seems to be paid* in the form of *wages*;

2) the surplus labour, or surplus value, however, assumes the form of an *increase in price* named interest, profit, etc., *over and above* the *cost price* (=price of the constant part of capital+ wages).

Answering this question presupposes:

I. That the *transformation* of, for example, the *value of a day's labour power* into *wages*, *or the price of a day's labour* has been demonstrated. This is done in *Chapter V* of this volume.

II. That the *transformation of surplus value* into *profit*, of *profit* into *average profit*, etc. has been demonstrated. This takes for granted a priori demonstration of the *circulation process of capital*, since the turnover of capital, etc., plays a role here. This matter therefore cannot be presented before the third book (*Volume* II contains books two and three). There it will be seen what the philistine's and vulgar economist's *way of looking at things* stems from, namely, from the fact that it is only the direct *form of manifestation* of relations that is reflected in their brains and not their *inner connection*. Incidentally, if the latter were the case what need would there be of *science*?

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6 hours for his 12 hours' working time, no surplus value can arise from this, for then each hour's labour of the factory worker counts only as ½ hour's labour—as equal to whatever is paid for it—and enters into the value of the product of labour only to the extent of that value. Then follows, as an example, the ordinary calculation formula: so much for raw materials, so much for depreciation, so much for wages (*really expended* per real hour's product), etc. No matter how frightfully shallow this argument is and how much it identifies exchange value with price and value of labour with wages, no matter how absurd its premise that one working hour enters into value as worth only half an hour if it is paid only as half an hour, I am nevertheless surprised that you have not yet paid attention to this, for it is *quite certain* that objection will immediately be raised against you on this account and it is better to settle the point in advance."—*Ed*

If I were to *cut short* all such doubts *in advance* I would spoil the whole method of dialectical exposition. On the contrary. This method has the advantage of constantly *setting traps* for those fellows which provoke them to an untimely manifestation of their asininity.

Moreover, immediately after § 3: *"The Rate of Surplus Value,"* the last you had in hand, follows *The Working-Day* (struggle over the length of the working time), the treatment of which plainly shows how very well Mister Bourgeois is enlightened *practically* on the source and essence of his profit. This is also apparent in the *Senior case*, in which the bourgeois asserts that all his profit and interest are derived from the *last unpaid working hour.*

Best regards to Mrs. Lizzy.

Yours,
K. M.

90

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] August 16, 1867
2 o'clock at night

Dear Fred,

Have just finished correcting the *last sheet* (49th) of the book. The appendix—*form of value*—takes up 1¼ sheets *in small print.*

Preface ditto sent back yesterday corrected. So *this volume is finished.* It was thanks to *you* alone that this became possible. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks!

Enclosed two sheets of corrected proofs.

The £15 received with best thanks.

Greetings, my dear, beloved friend!

Your
K. Marx

I shall not want the corrected proofs back *until the whole book has appeared.*

91

MARX TO ENGELS

London, August 24, 1867

... The best points in my book are: 1) the *two-fold character of labour*, according to whether it is expressed in use value or exchange value. (*All* understanding of the facts depends upon this.) It is emphasized immediately, in the *first* chapter; 2) the treatment of *surplus value independently of its particular* forms as profit, interest, ground rent, etc. This will come out especially in the second volume. The treatment of the particular forms by classical economy, which always mixes them up with the general form, is a regular hash.

Please *insert* your desiderata, objections, queries, etc., into the corrected proofs. This is very important to me, since I count on a second edition sooner or later. As for Chapter IV, I sweated plenty ascertaining *the things themselves*, i.e., their *interconnection*. Then, when that had been done, Blue Books came flying in between one after the other as I was whipping the chapter into *final shape* and *I was delighted to find my theoretical results* fully confirmed by the facts. Written, at last, amidst carbuncles and the daily calls of creditors!

The concluding part of the second book (*Process of Circulation*), the part I am *now* writing, contains a point concerning which I must once more apply to you for help, as I did many years ago.

Fixed capital has to be replaced in its natural form only after, say, 10 years. In the meantime its value returns partially and gradually as the commodities produced by it are sold. This progressive return is not needed for the replacement of the fixed capital (leaving repairs and the like out of consideration) until it has ceased to exist in its material form, for instance that of a machine. *In the interval* the capitalist has these successive returns on hand.

Many years ago I wrote you that thus apparently such an *accumulation fund* was forming, for the capitalist was naturally

Dear Fred,

Marx's letter to Engels of August 16, 1867, announcing that the first volume of *Capital* is finished

employing the returned money *in the interval* elapsing before he *replaced* the fixed capital with it. In one letter you argued somewhat superficially against this. *Later* I found that McCulloch represented this *sinking fund* as an *accumulation fund.* Convinced that no idea of McCulloch's could ever be right I dropped the matter. The *apologetic* purposes he pursued in this connection have already been crossed by the Malthusians, but *they too admit the fact.*

You as a manufacturer must know what you do with the returns intended for the fixed capital *before* it has to be replaced *in its natural form.* And you must give me an answer on this point (without theory, *purely* as a matter of *practice*).

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

(Greetings to Mrs. Lizzy!)

92

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] September 11, 1867

...At the next Congress in Brussels[1] I shall personally deliver a knock-out blow to these Proudhonist jackasses. I have managed the whole thing diplomatically and did not want to come out *personally* until my book was published and our Association had struck root. I will give them a hiding too in the Official Report of the General Council (despite all their efforts, the Parisian babblers could not prevent our re-election).

Meanwhile our Association has made great progress. The wretched *Star*, which wanted to ignore us entirely, announced yesterday in a leading article that we were more important than

[1] The Brussels Congress of the First International took place in 1868. Marx did not attend but directed the work of preparing it.—*Ed.*

the Peace Congress.[1] Schulze-Delitzsch was not able to prevent his "*Workers' Association*" in Berlin from joining us. The swine among the English trade unionists, who thought we went too "far," now come running to us. Besides the *Courrier Français*, reports on our Congress have been printed in Girardin's *Liberté*, the *Siècle*, *Mode*, *Gazette de France*, etc. Things are moving. And in the next revolution, which is perhaps nearer than it appears, we (i.e., you and I) will have this powerful engine *in our hands*. Compare this with the results of the operations conducted by Mazzini, etc., during the last thirty years! And without any financial means, mind you! With the intrigues of the Proudhonists in Paris, the Mazzinis in Italy, of the jealous Odgers, Cremers, and Potters in London, with the Schulze-Delitzschists and Lassalleans in Germany! We can be very well satisfied....

93

MARX TO ENGELS

London, November 30, 1867

...If you read the papers you will have seen that 1) the Memorial of the International Council for the Fenians[2] was sent to Hardy, and that 2) the debate on Fenianism was public (last Tuesday a week) and reported in the *Times*. Reporters of the Dublin *Irishman* and *Nation* were among those present. I came very late (I ran a temperature for about a fortnight and the fever passed only two days ago) and really did not intend to

[1] The first congress of the bourgeois League of Peace and Freedom (September 1867 at Geneva), founded to counterbalance the First International.—*Ed.*

[2] *Fenians*: members of a secret revolutionary Irish organization which rose in rebellion in 1867 for the purpose of overthrowing British rule in Ireland. The General Council of the International demanded a pardon for the four Fenians which a Manchester court had sentenced to death for arranging the escape from gaol of two active participants in the rebellion.—*Ed.*

speak, firstly because of my troublesome physical condition, and secondly because of the ticklish situation. However Weston, who was in the chair, tried to force me to, so I moved to adjourn, which obligated me to speak last Tuesday. As a matter of fact what I had prepared for Tuesday last was not a speech but the points of a speech. But the Irish reporters failed to come.... After the opening of the sitting I therefore stated I would yield the floor to Fox on account of the belated hour. Actually—because of the Manchester executions[1] that had taken place in the meantime—our subject, Fenianism, was liable to inflame the passions to such heat that *I* (but not the abstract *Fox*) would have been forced to hurl revolutionary thunderbolts instead of soberly analyzing the state of affairs and the movement as I had intended. The Irish reporters therefore, by staying away and delaying the opening of the meeting, did signal service for me. I don't like to mix with a crowd like Roberts, Stephens, and the rest.

Fox's speech was good, for one thing because it was delivered by an *Englishman* and for another because it concerned only the political and international aspects. For that very reason he just skimmed along the surface of things. The resolution he handed up was absurd and inane. I objected to it and had it referred to the Standing Committee.

What the English do not yet know is that since 1846 the economic content and therefore also the political aim of English domination in Ireland have entered into an entirely new phase, and that, precisely because of this, Fenianism is characterized by a socialistic tendency (in a negative sense, directed against the *appropriation of the soil*) and *by* be*ing* a lower orders movement. What can be more ridiculous than to confuse the barbarities of Elizabeth or Cromwell, who wanted to supplant the Irish by English colonists (in the Roman sense), with the present system, which wants to supplant them by sheep, pigs and

[1] Four Fenians were sentenced to death, of whom three were executed on November 23, 1867, while the sentence of the fourth was commuted to hard labour for life.—*Ed.*

oxen! The system of 1801-46, with its rackrents and middlemen, collapsed in 1846. (During that period evictions were exceptional, occurring mainly in Leinster where the land is especially good for cattle raising.) The repeal of the Corn Laws, partly the result of or at any rate hastened by the Irish famine, deprived Ireland of its *monopoly* of England's corn supply in normal times. Wool and meat became the slogan, hence conversion of tillage into pasture. Hence from then onwards systematic consolidation of farms. The Encumbered Estates Act, which turned a mass of previously enriched middlemen into landlords, hastened the process. *Clearing of the Estate of Ireland!* is now the one purpose of English rule in Ireland. The *stupid* English Government in London knows nothing of course itself of this immense change since 1846. But the Irish know it. From *Meagher's Proclamation* (1848) down to the election manifesto of *Hennessy* (Tory and Urquhartite) (1866), the Irish have expressed their consciousness of it in the clearest and most forcible manner.

The question now is, what *shall we* advise the *English* workers? In my opinion they must make the *repeal of the Union* (in short, the affair of 1783, only democratized and adapted to the conditions of the time) an article of their *pronunziamento*. This is the only *legal* and therefore only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be admitted in the programme of an *English* party. Experience must show later whether a mere personal union can continue to subsist between the two countries I half think it can if it takes place in time.

What the Irish need is:

1) Self-government and independence from England.

2) An agrarian revolution. *With* the best intentions in the world the English cannot accomplish this for them, but they can give them the legal means of accomplishing it for themselves.

3) *Protective tariffs against England.* Between 1783 and 1801 every branch of Irish industry flourished. The Union, which overthrew the protective tariffs established by the Irish Parliament, destroyed all industrial life in Ireland. The bit of linen

industry is no compensation whatever. The Union of 1801 had just the same effect on Irish industry as the measures for the suppression of the Irish woollen industry, etc., taken by the English Parliament under Anne, George II, and others. Once the Irish are independent, necessity will turn them into protectionists, as it did Canada, Australia, etc. Before I present my views in the Central Council (next Tuesday, this time fortunately *without* reporters), I would like you to give me your opinion in a few lines.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

94

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] January 8, 1868

Dear Fred,

With regard to Dühring.[1] It is a great deal from this man that he almost positively accepts the section on *Primitive Accumulation*. He is still young. As a follower of Carey, in direct opposition to the freetraders. Added to this he is a *university lecturer* and therefore not grieved that *Professor* Roscher, who blocks the way for all of them, should get some kicks. One thing in his appraisal has struck me very much. Namely, so long as the determination of value by working time is left "undetermined," as it is with Ricardo, it does not make people shaky. But as soon as it is brought into exact connection with the working-day and its variations, a very unpleasant new light dawns upon them. I believe Dühring's reason for reviewing my book at all was malice against Roscher. At any rate his fear of being treated like Roscher is very easily perceptible. It is strange that the fellow does not sense the three fundamentally new elements of the book:

1) That in contrast to *all* former political economy, which *from the very outset* treats the particular fragments of surplus value with their fixed forms of rent, profit, and interest as already given, I first deal with the general form of surplus value, in which all these fragments are still undifferentiated—in solution, as it were.

2) That the economists, without exception, have missed the simple point that if the commodity has a double character—use-value and exchange value—then the labour represented by the

[1] A reference to Eugene Dühring's review of *Capital*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

commodity must also have a two-fold character, while the bare analysis of labour without more, as in Smith, Ricardo, etc., is bound to come up everywhere against the inexplicable. This is, in fact, the whole secret of the critical conception.

3) That for the first time wages are shown to be the irrational form in which a relation hidden behind them appears, and that this is exactly represented in the two forms of wages—time wages and piece wages. (It was a help to me that similar formulae are often found in higher mathematics.)

And as for Dühring's modest objections to the determination of value, he will be astonished to see in Volume II how little the determination of value "directly" counts in bourgeois society. Indeed, *no form* of society can prevent the working time at the disposal of society from regulating production one way or another. So long, however, as this regulation is accomplished not by the direct and conscious control of society over its working time—which is possible only with common ownership—but by the movement of commodity prices, things remain as you have already quite aptly described them in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.[1]

95

MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, March 6, 1868

Dear Friend,

As soon as Koppel had gone, my health got worse again, although scarcely, I think, as a result of his departure. *Post*, not *propter*.[2] (In any case he is quite a pleasant fellow in his own way. But in my present state that particular way is too healthy to fit in very harmoniously with me.) That is the reason for my silence and for my not even acknowledging the receipt of Thü-

[1] Engels's article: "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy."—*Ed*
[2] After, not because.—*Ed*

nen's book.[1] There is something touching about Thünen. A Mecklenburg Junker (true, with a *German's* capacity for thinking) who treats his estate Tellow as a model of farm management and Mecklenburg-*Schwerin* as a *model town*, and who, proceeding from these premises, with the help of observation, the differential calculus, practical accounting, etc., constructs for himself the Ricardian theory of ground rent. It is worthy of respect and at the same time ridiculous.

I can now understand the curiously embarrassed tone of Herr Dühring's criticism. He is ordinarily a most bumptious, cheeky boy, who sets up as a revolutionary in political economy. He has done two things. He has published, firstly (proceeding from Carey) a *Critical Foundation of Political Economy* (about 500 pages) and, secondly, new *Natural Dialectics* (against the Hegelian). My book has buried him in both respects. He gave it notice because of his hatred for the Roschers, etc. For the rest, half intentionally and half from lack of insight, he practices deception. He knows very well that my method of development is *not* Hegelian, since I am a materialist and Hegel is an idealist. Hegel's dialectics is the basic form of all dialectics, but only *after* it has been stripped of its mystical form, and it is precisely this which distinguishes my method. As for Ricardo, it really hurt Herr Dühring that in my treatment his weak points, which Carey and a hundred others before him pointed out, do *not* exist. Consequently he attempts, in bad faith, to burden me with all of Ricardo's limitations. But never mind. I must be grateful to the man, since he is the first professional who has said anything at all.[2]

In the second volume (which most likely will never appear if my health does not improve) property in land will be one of the subjects dealt with, competition only in so far as it is required for the treatment of the other themes.

During my illness (which I hope will soon cease altogether) I was unable to write, but managed to force down my gullet an

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[1] A reference to Thünen's *The Isolated State*, etc.—*Ed.*

[2] about *Capital*.—*Ed*

enormous amount of "stuff," statistical and otherwise, which would have been enough to make anybody sick who was not used to that sort of fodder and did not possess a stomach accustomed to digesting it rapidly.

My circumstances are very straitened, as I have been unable to do any additional work which would bring in money, and yet must always maintain certain appearances for the children's sake. If I did not still have these two damned volumes to produce (and in addition to look for an *English* publisher) which can be done only in London, I would go to Geneva, where I could live very well with the means at my disposal. My daughter No. 2[1] is getting married at the end of this month.

Greetings to Fränzchen.

Yours,
K. M.

96

MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] March 25, 1868

Dear Fred,

I wanted to write to you yesterday from the Museum but I suddenly felt so very bad that I had to close the very interesting book I was reading. Everything turned black in front of my eyes. To this must be added a fierce headache and oppressive pain in the chest. So I dragged myself home. The air and the light did me good and I slept for some time at the house. My state of health is such that I really ought to quit working and thinking temporarily. But that *would be hard on me, even if I had the means for loafing.*

With regard to Maurer. His books are exceptionally important. Not only primitive times but the whole later development of the free imperial cities, of the immunity of the landed proprietors, of

[1] Laura Marx.—*Ed.*

public authority, and of the struggle between free peasantry and serfdom is given an entirely new form.

Human history fares like palaeontology. Even the best minds absolutely fail to see—on principle, owing to a certain judicial blindness—things which lie in front of their noses. Later, when the moment has arrived, one is surprised to find traces everywhere of what one has failed to see. The first reaction against the French Revolution and the Enlightenment bound up with it was naturally to see everything as mediaeval, romantic; even people like Grimm are not free from this. The second reaction is to look beyond the Middle Ages into the primitive age of every nation, and that corresponds to the socialist tendency, although those learned men have no idea that they have any connection with it. Then they are surprised to find what is newest in what is oldest —even equalitarians, to a degree which would have made Proudhon shudder.

To show how much we all labour under this judicial blindness: Right in *my own* neighbourhood, on the *Hunsrücken*, the old Germanic system survived up till the *last few* years. I now remember my father talking to me about it from a *lawyer's* point of view! Another proof: Just as the geologists, even the best, like Cuvier, have expounded certain facts in a completely distorted way, so philologists of the calibre of a Grimm *mistranslated* the simplest Latin sentences because they were under the influence of Möser (who, I remember, was enchanted that "liberty" never existed among the Germans but that "the air makes the serf") and others. E.g., the well-known passage in Tacitus' "*Arva per annos* mutant et *superest ager*," which means: they exchange the fields, *arva*, (by lot, hence sories[1] in all the later Leges Barbarum[2]) and common land (ager as ager publicus[3] contrasted with arva) remains over—is translated by Grimm, etc.: they cultivate fresh fields every year and still there is always (uncultivated) land left over!

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[1] Lot.—*Ed.*
[2] Law codes of the barbarians.—*Ed.*
[3] Public land.—*Ed.*

So too the passage: "Colunt *discreti ac diversi*"[1] is supposed to prove that from time immemorial the Germans carried on cultivation on individual farms like Westphalian junkers. But the *same* passage continues: "*Vicos locant* non in nostrum morem *connexis* et *cohaerentibus aedificiis*: *suum* quisque locum *spatio circumdat*"[2]; and such primitive Germanic villages still exist here and there in Denmark in the form described. Obviously Scandinavia was bound to become as important for German jurisprudence and economics as for German mythology. And only by starting from there were we able to decipher our past again. Besides, even Grimm, etc., find in Caesar that the Germans always settled as *Geschlechtsgenossenschaften*[3] and not as individuals: "gentibus cognationibusque, qui uno coiereant."[4]

But what would old Hegel say if he heard in the next world that das *Allgemeine*[5] in German and Norse means nothing but the common land, and das *Sundre, Besondre*[6]—nothing but the separate property divided off from the common land? So the logical categories are coming damn well out of "our intercourse" after all.

Climate and the Vegetable World Throughout the Ages, a History of Both, by Frass (1847), is very interesting, especially as proving that climate and flora have changed in *historic* times. He is a Darwinist before Darwin and makes even the *species* arise in historic times. But he is also an agronomist. He maintains that as a result of cultivation and in proportion to its degree, the "moisture" so much beloved by the peasant is lost (hence plants migrate from south to north) and eventually the formation of steppes begins. The first effects of culvation are useful,

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[1] "Their tillage is *separate* and apart."—*Ed.*

[2] "They do not *lay their villages with buildings connected and joined together*, as is our custom: each *surrounds* his dwelling *with a clear strip of land*."—*Ed.*

[3] Kinships.—*Ed.*

[4] "In gentes and kinships, which settled together."—*Ed.*

[5] *The general.*—*Ed.*

[6] *The particular.*—*Ed.*

but in the end it turns the land into wastes owing to deforestation, etc. This man is both a thoroughly learned philologist (he has written books *in Greek*) and a chemist, agronomist, etc. The conclusion is that cultivation when it progresses spontaneously and is not *consciously controlled* (as a bourgeois he of course does not arrive at this), leaves deserts behind it—Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., Greece. Hence again an unconscious socialist tendency! . . .

97

MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, April 6, 1868

. . . The Irish question predominates here just now. It has been exploited by Gladstone and company, of course, only in order to get into office again, and, above all, to have an *electoral cry* at the next elections, which will be based on household suffrage. *For the moment* this turn of affairs is bad for the workers' party; the intriguers among the workers, such as Odger and Potter, who want to get into the next Parliament, have now a new *excuse* for attaching themselves to the bourgeois Liberals.

However, this is only a *penalty* which England—and consequently also the English working class—is paying for the great crime it has been committing for many centuries against Ireland. And in the long run it will benefit the English working class itself. You see, the *English* Established *Church in Ireland*—or what they call here the *Irish Church*—is the religious bulwark of *English landlordism* in Ireland, and at the same time the outpost of the Established Church in England itself. (I am speaking here of the Established Church as a *landowner*.) The overthrow of the Established Church in Ireland will mean its downfall in England and the two will be followed by the doom of landlordism—first in Ireland and then in England. I have, however, been convinced from the first that the social revolution

must begin *seriously* from the bottom, that is, from landownership.[1]

Apart from that, the whole thing will have the very useful result that, once the Irish Church is dead, the *Protestant* Irish tenants in the province of Ulster will make common cause with the Catholic tenants in the three other provinces of Ireland, whereas up to the present landlordism has been able to exploit this *religious* antagonism....

98

MARX TO ENGELS

London, April 30, 1868

...But it is proper that you should know the method by which the rate of profit is developed. I will therefore give you the *most general features* of the process. In *Book II*, as you know, the *process of circulation* of capital is described on the basis of the premises developed in Book I. Hence the new determinations of form which spring from the process of circulation, such as fixed and circulating capital, turnover of capital, etc. In Book I, lastly, we content ourselves with the assumption that if in the production of surplus value £100 becomes £110, the latter will *find already in existence* in the market the elements into which it will change once more. But now we investigate the conditions under which these elements are found at hand, namely the social intertwining of the different capitals, of the component parts of capital and of revenue (=s).

In Book III we come to the transformation of surplus value into its different forms and separate component parts.

I. *Profit* is for us first of all only *another name* or another category of *surplus value*. As, owing to the form of wages, the

[1] In the German a play on words: von *Grund* aus—from the bottom, *Grund*- und Bodeneigentum—landownership. *Grund* means both bottom and land.—*Ed.*

whole of labour appears to be paid for, the unpaid part seems necessarily to come *not* from labour but from capital, and not from the variable part of capital but from capital as a whole. In this way *surplus value* gets the form of *profit, without any quantitative* difference between the one and the other. This is only the illusory form in which surplus value appears.

Further, the part of capital consumed in the production of a commodity (the capital, *constant and variable*, advanced for its production *minus* the utilized but not actually consumed portion of the *fixed* capital) appears now as the *cost price* of the commodity; for to the capitalist that part of the value of the commodity which *he* has to pay for is *its* cost price, while the unpaid labour it contains is not included in *its* cost price, from his point of view. The surplus value = profit now appears as the *excess of the selling price over the cost price.* Let us call the value of the commodity V and its cost price C; then V = C+s, therefore V — s = C, therefore V *is greater than C. This new category,* cost price, is very necessary for the details of the later development. It is evident from the outset that the capitalist can sell a commodity *below its value* at a profit (so long as he sells it *above* cost price) and this is the *fundamental law* explaining the equalizations effected by competition.

If profit, then, is at first *only formally* distinguished from surplus value, the *rate of profit*, on the other hand, is at once really distinguished from the *rate of surplus value*, for in one case the formula is $\frac{s}{v}$ and in the other $\frac{s}{c+v}$, from which it follows from the outset, since $\frac{s}{v}$ is greater than $\frac{s}{c+v}$, that the rate of profit is less than the rate of surplus value, unless c = 0.

Taking into consideration the points developed in *Book II*, it follows however that we cannot compute the rate of profit on any output of commodities we choose—e.g., a weekly output—but that $\frac{s}{c+v}$ here denotes the surplus value produced *during the year* in relation to the capital *advanced* during the year (i.e., as

distinct from the capital *turned over*). The formula $\frac{s}{c+v}$ stands here, therefore, for the *annual rate of profit.*

We next examine how variations in the *turnover* of capital (partly depending on the relation between the circulating and fixed portions of capital, partly on the number of turnovers of circulating capital in a year, etc.) modify the *rate of profit* while *the rate of surplus value remains the same.*

Taking the turnover as given, and $\frac{s}{c+v}$ as the yearly rate of profit, we examine how the latter can change, independently of the changes in the rate of surplus value and even in its total sum.

Since s, the total sum of surplus value = *the rate of surplus value multiplied by the variable capital,* then, if we call the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit p', $p' = \frac{r \times v}{v}$. Here we have the four quantities p', r, v, c, with any three of which we can work, while always seeking the fourth as an unknown quantity. This covers all possible cases of movements in the rate of profit, In so far as they are distinct from the movements in the rate, and to a certain extent even from those In the total sum, of surplus value. This has, of course, been *inexplicable* to everybody hitherto.

The laws thus discovered, very Important for understanding for instance how the price of raw material influences the rate of profit, hold good *no matter how* the surplus value may later be divided between the producer,[1] etc. This can only change the *form of appearance.* These laws, moreover, remain *directly* applicable if $\frac{s}{c+v}$ is treated as the relation of the socially produced surplus value to the social capital.

II. What were treated in I as *movements,* whether of capital In a given branch of production or of social capital—movements changing the composition, etc. of capital—are now conceived as

[1] Marx has the industrial capitalist in mind here.—*Ed.*

differences between the *sums of capital invested in the various branches of production.*

It next follows that, *the rate of surplus value*, i.e., the exploitation of labour, being assumed as *equal*, the production of value and therefore the production of surplus value and therefore *the rate of profit*, are *different* in different branches of production. But out of these different rates of profit a mean or general rate of profit is formed by competition. This rate of profit, expressed absolutely, can be nothing else than the *surplus value* produced (annually) by the *capitalist class* in relation to the total *social* capital advanced. For instance, if the social capital = 400c + 100v and the surplus value annually produced from it = 100s, then the composition of the social capital = 80c + 20v and that of the product (in percentages) = 80c + 20v || + 20s = 20 per cent rate of profit. This is the *general rate of profit.*

What competition between the various masses of capital—differently composed and invested in different spheres of production—is striving to produce is *capitalist communism*, namely that the *mass of capital belonging to each sphere of production* should snatch an aliquot part of the total surplus value proportionate to the part of the total social capital which it forms.

This can only be achieved if in each sphere of production (assuming as before that the total capital = 80c + 20v and the social rate of profit = $\frac{20s}{80c+20v}$) the yearly output of commodities is sold at *cost price* plus 20 per cent *profit* on the *capital value advanced* (it makes no difference how much of the advanced fixed capital enters into the annual cost price or not). But this means that the *price determination* of the commodities must *deviate* from their *values.* Only in those branches of production where the percentual composition of the capital equals 80c + 20v will the price C (*cost price*) + 20 per cent *on the capital advanced* coincide with the values of the commodities. Where the composition is higher (e.g., 90c + 10v), the price is *above* their value; where the composition is lower (e.g., 70c + 30v) the price is *below* their value.

The price thus equalized, which divides up the social surplus value equally among the individual capitals in proportion to their sizes, is the *price of production* of commodities, the centre around which the oscillation of the market prices move.

Those branches of production which constitute natural *monopolies* are exempted from this equalization process even if their rate of profit is higher than the social rate. This is important later for the development of *ground rent.*

In this chapter must be further developed the various *couses equolizing* various capital investments, which appear to the vulgar conccption as so many causes *originoting* profit.

Further: the *chonged form of oppearonce* now assumed by the previously developed and still valid laws of value and of surplus value *ofter the tronsformation of volue into price of production.*

III. *The tendency of the rote of profit to foll os society progresses.* This follows from what was developed in Book I on the *chonge in the composition of copitol with the development of the sociol productive forces.* This is one of the greatest triumphs over the great stumbling block of all previous economics.

IV. Until now we have only dealt with *productive copitol.* Now there arises modification through *merchont copital.*

According to our previous assumption the *productive capitol* of society = 500 (whether millions or milliards makes no difference). And the formula was 400c + 100v || + 100s. The general rate of profit, p′ = 20 per cent. Now let the merchant capital = 100. The 100s has now to be calculated on 600 instead of 500. The general rate of profit is therefore reduced from 20 per cent to 16⅔ per cent. The *price of production* (for the sake of simplicity, we will here assume that all 400c, hence the whole fixed capital, enters into the *cost price* of the yearly output of commodities) now = 583⅓. The merchant sells at 600 and realizes therefore, if we ignore the fixed portion of his capital, 16⅔ per cent on his 100, that is, as much as the producing capitalists; in other words, he appropriates to himself ⅙ of the social surplus value. The commodities—taken *en masse* and on a social scale—are sold *ot their volues.* His £100 (apart from the fixed

portion) only serves him as circulating money capital. Whatever more the merchant swallows up he gets either simply by trickery, or by speculation on the oscillations of commodity prices, or, in the case of the actual retailers, as wages for labour—wretched unproductive labour though it is—all these coming under the form of profit.

V. We have now reduced profit to the form in which it appears in practice, i.e., according to our assumption, 16⅔ per cent. *Next comes the splitting up of this profit into entrepreneur's profit and interest. Interest-bearing capital. The credit system.*

VI. *Transformation of surplus profit into ground rent.*

VII. At last we have arrived at the *forms of appearance* which serve as the *starting point* in the vulgar conception: ground rent coming from the earth, profit (interest) from capital, wages from labour. But from our point of view the thing is now seen differently. The apparent movement is explained. Moreover, Adam Smith's nonsense, which has become the *main pillar* of all economics hitherto existing, that the price of a commodity consists of those three revenues, i.e., only of variable capital (wages) and surplus value (ground rent, profit (interest)), is overthrown. Then—the whole movement takes place in this form of appearance. Finally since these three (wages, ground rent, profit (interest)) constitute the respective sources of income of the three classes of landowners, capitalists and wage labourers, we have, in conclusion, the *class struggle*, into which the movement and the smash-up of the whole business resolves itself....

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, July 11, 1868

Dear Friend,

The children are getting on well, although still weak.

Thank you very much for the things you sent. Do *not* write to Faucher, otherwise that *Mannequin piss* will think himself too

important. All that he has achieved is to induce me, when a second edition[1] comes out, to make a few deserved thrusts at Bastiat in the part about the *magnitude of value*. This was not done because the third volume will contain a separate and detailed chapter about the "vulgar economy" gentlemen. At any rate you will find it quite natural for Faucher & Co. to deduce the "exchange value" of their scribbling not from the *mass of labour power expended* but from the *absence of such expenditure*, that is, from "*saved labour.*" And the worthy Bastiat did not even himself make this "discovery," so welcome to those gentlemen but, as was his custom, just "copied" from much earlier authors. His sources are of course unknown to Faucher & Co.

As for the *Centralblatt*, the man[2] is making the greatest possible concession in admitting that, if one means anything at all by value, the conclusions I draw must be accepted. The unfortunate fellow does not see that, even if there were no chapter on "value" in my book, the analysis of the real relations which I give would contain the proof and demonstration of the real value relation. All that palaver about the necessity of proving the concept of value comes from complete ignorance both of the subject dealt with and of scientific method. Every child knows that a nation which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but even for a few weeks, would perish. Every child knows, too, that the masses of products corresponding to the different needs require different and quantitatively determined masses of the total labour of society. That this *necessity* of the *distribution* of social labour in definite proportions cannot possibly be done away with by a *particular form* of social production but can only change the *mode* of its *appearance*, is self-evident. No natural laws can be done away with. What can change in historically different circumstances is only the *form* in which these laws assert themselves. And the form in which this propor-

[1] of *Capital*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

[2] The reference is to the author of a review on *Capital* in No. 28 of the Leipzig *Literarisches Centralblatt* for 1868.—*Ed.*

tional distribution of labour asserts itself, in a state of society where the interconnection of social labour is manifested in the *private exchange* of the individual products of labour, is precisely the *exchange value* of these products.

Science consists precisely in demonstrating *how* the law of value asserts itself. So that if one wanted at the very beginning to "explain" all the phenomena which seemingly contradict that law, one would have to present the science *before* science. It is precisely Ricardo's mistake that in his first chapter on value he takes *as given* all possible and still to be developed categories in order to prove their conformity with the law of value.

On the other hand, as you correctly assumed, the *history of the theory* certainly shows that the concept of the value relation has *always been the same*—more or less clear, hedged more or less with illusions or scientifically more or less definite. Since the thought process itself grows out of conditions, is itself a *natural process*, thinking that really comprehends must always be the same, and can vary only *gradually*, according to *maturity of* development, including the development of the organ by which the thinking is done. Everything else is drivel.

The vulgar economist has not the faintest idea that the actual everyday exchange relations can *not be directly identical* with the magnitudes of value. The essence of bourgeois society consists precisely in this, that *a priori* there is no conscious social regulation of production. The rational and naturally necessary asserts itself only as a blindly working average. And then the vulgar economist thinks he has made a great discovery when, as against the revelation of the inner interconnection, he proudly claims that in appearance things look different. In fact, he boasts that he holds fast to appearance, and takes it for the ultimate. Why, then, have any science at all?

But the matter has also another background. Once the interconnection is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions collapses before their collapse in practice. Here, therefore, it is absolutely in the interest of the ruling classes to perpetuate this senseless confusion. And for what other purpose are the sycophantic babblers paid, who have no

other scientific trump to play save that in political economy one should not think at all?

But *satis superque.*[1] In any case it shows what these priests of the bourgeoisie have come down to, when workers and even manufacturers and merchants understand my book and find their way about in it, while these "*learned* scribes" (t) complain that I make excessive demands on their understanding.

I would *not* advise the reprint of Schweitzer's articte, although Schweitzer has made a good job of it for his paper.

You witl oblige me by sending a few copies of the *Staatsanzeiger.*

Schnake's address you will get on inquiry at the *Elberfelder Zeitung.*

Best regards to your wife and Fränzchen.

Yours,
K. M.

A propos. I have received a review from Dietzgen about my book; I am sendtng it to Liebknecht.

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MARX TO ENGELS

London, August 26, 1868

... The invitation which I received to the Congress of the General Association of German Workers (Hamburg, August 22 to 25) was signed by Schweitzer as President and by more than twenty workers from various parts of Germany (members of the *Executive*). I had to take the latter into consideration in my reply. The reason I gave for not coming was the work of the Central Council of the International Workingmen's Association, and I said I was glad to see that the starting points of any "serious" working-class movement—agitation for full politicat freedom, regulation

[1] Enough and to spare.—*Ed.*

of the working day and international co-operation of the working class—were emphasized in their *programme* for the Congress. That is, in other words, I congratulated them on having given up *Lassalle's programme*. Whether they get the point remains to be seen. Schweitzer, the only one with a head on his shoulders in the whole Lassalle gang, will certainly smell it out. But whether he will think it more advisable to show this or to pretend to be dense, we shall see.

Yours,
K. M.

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MARX TO J. G. ECCARIUS AND F. LESSNER

London, September 10, 1868

Dear Eccarius and Lessner,

First my thanks to Lessner for his long and interesting letter.

You must not allow the Congress[1] to last longer than this week. So far nothing discrediting has happened as far as England is concerned.

Should the Belgians and French again put a lot of new stuff on the agenda, give them to understand that this will not do because:

1) the Germans are very poorly represented, as their congresses[2] are taking place about the same time in Germany;

2) England is hardly represented at all on account of the suffrage movement;

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[1] The reference is to the Brussels Congress of the First International (September 6-13, 1868).—*Ed.*

[2] The Berlin Congress of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers and the Nuremberg Congress of the Saxon workers' societies. The latter congress laid down a programme for these societies based on the principles of the First International.—*Ed.*

3) the German Swiss are not represented at all as yet since they have just become affiliated and their long-existing branches have exhausted their funds in the Geneva strike;

4) discussions are now carried on one-sidedly, in the French language only;

5) *decisions on general theoretical problems* must therefore be avoided as this can later only call forth protests on the part of non-Belgians and non-French.

The public is of course mostly interested in the question of war. Lengthy declamations and high-flown phrases will not hurt here. The decision to be adopted on this question seems to be simply this: that the working class is not yet sufficiently organized to throw any substantial weight into the scales; that the Congress, however, protests in the name of the working class and denounces the instigators of the war; that a war between France and Germany is a civil war, ruinous for both countries and ruinous for Europe in general. A statement that war can only benefit the Russian Government will scarcely win the endorsement of the French and Belgian gentlemen.

Regards to friend Becker.

K. Marx

If the question of mutual credit comes up Eccarius will simply have to explain that the workers of England, Germany and the United States have nothing to do with the Proudhonist dogmas and that they consider the credit question of secondary importance.

The Congress resolutions must be sent by wire to the London newspapers. Well then, don't do anything to discredit you!

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

London, October 10, 1868

...When you were here last you saw the Blue Book on the land situation in Ireland 1844-45. By accident I found in a small second-hand shop the Report and Evidence on Irish Tenant Right, 1867 (House of Lords). This was a real find. While the economist fraternity treat the question whether ground rent is payment for natural differences in land, or merely interest on the capital invested in land as a pure conflict of dogmas, we have here an actual life-and-death struggle between farmer and landlord on the question of *how far* the rent *should also* include, *in addition to* payment for difference in land, interest on the capital invested in it—not by the landlord but by the tenant. It is only by substituting for conflicting dogmas the conflicting facts and real antagonisms which form their hidden background that political economy can be transformed into a positive science.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

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MARX TO J. B. SCHWEITZER

London, October 13, 1868

Dear Sir,

A misunderstanding on my part accounts for the fact that you received no reply to your letter of September 15. I understood your letter to mean that you would send me your "proposals" for examination and I waited for them. Then came your Congress and after that (being much overworked) I no longer considered a reply urgent. Before your letter of October 8 arrived I had re-

peatedly called for *peace* in my capacity as Secretary of the International for Germany. The answer I got (in which excerpts from the *Sozialdemokrat* were enclosed in proof of the assertion) stated that you yourself were provoking *war*. I declared that my role must necessarily be confined to that of the "impartial judge" at a duel....

To begin with, as far as the Lassallean Association is concerned, it was founded in a period of reaction. Lassalle—and this remains his immortal service—re-awakened the workers' movement in Germany after its fifteen years of slumber. But he committed great mistakes. He allowed himself to be governed too much by the immediate circumstances of the time. He made a minor starting point—his opposition to a dwarf like Schulze-Delitzsch—into the central point of his agitation—state aid versus self-help. In so doing he merely took up again the watchword which *Buchez*, the leader of French *Catholic socialism*, had given out in 1843 seqq. against the genuine workers' movement in France. Much too intelligent to regard this watchword as anything but a temporary makeshift, Lassalle could only justify it on the ground of its immediate (as he alleged) practicability. For this purpose he had to maintain that it could be carried out in the *near* future. Hence the "State" transformed itself into the Prussian State. Thus he was driven into making concessions to the Prussian monarchy, the Prussian reaction (feudal party) and even the clericals. With Buchez's state aid for associations he combined the Chartist cry of universal suffrage. He overlooked the fact that conditions in Germany and England were different. He overlooked the lessons of the Second Empire with regard to universal suffrage in France. Moreover, like everyone who maintains that he has a panacea for the sufferings of the masses in his pocket, he gave his agitation from the outset a religious and sectarian character. Every sect is in fact religious. Furthermore, just because he was the founder of a sect, he denied all natural connection with the earlier working-class movement *both inside and outside of Germany*. He fell into the same mistake as Proudhon: instead of looking among the genuine elements of the class movement for the real basis of his agitation, he wanted to pre-

scribe the course to be followed by this movement according to a certain doctrinaire recipe.

Most of what I am now saying, post factum, I had already told Lassalle in 1862, when he came to London and urged me to place myself with him at the head of the new movement.

You yourself have experienced in your own person the opposition between the movement of a sect and the movement of a class. The sect sees the justification for its existence and its point of honour not in what it has in *common* with the class movement but in the *particular shibboleth* which *distinguishes* it from the movement. Therefore when at Hamburg you proposed the congress for the formation of trade unions you were able to smash the opposition of the sect only by threatening to resign from the office of president. In addition you were obliged to assume a dual personality and to announce that in one case you were acting as the head of the sect and in the other as the organ of the class movement.

The dissolution of the General Association of German Workers gave you the opportunity to take a great step forward and to declare, to prove if necessary, that a new stage of development had now been reached, and that the moment was ripe for the sectarian movement to merge in the class movement and make an end of all sectarianism. As for the true content of the sect it would, as was the case with all previous working-class sects, be carried on into the general movement as an element enriching it.

Instead of this you actually demanded of the class movement that it should subordinate itself to the movement of a particular sect. Those who are not your friends have concluded from this that whatever happens you want to preserve your "own workers' movement."

With regard to the Berlin Congress there was in the first place no rush as the Combination Law had not yet been passed. You therefore should have come to an understanding with the leaders *outside* the Lassallean circle, worked out the plan conjointly with them and convoked the Congress. Instead of that you only left them the alternative of either *joining* you or *opposing* you. The

Congress itself had the appearanee of merely an enlarged edition of the Hamburg Congress.

As for lhe draft Rules, I consider them erroneous in principle, and I believe I have had as mueh experience in the trade-union field as any of my contemporaries. Without going further into details I only want to remark that *centralist* organization, although very useful for secret soeieties and sectarian movements, goes against the nature of trade unions. Even if it weie possible—I state outright that it is impossible—it would not be desirable, and least of all in Germany. Here where lhe worker's life is regulated from childhood on by bureaucracy and he himself believes in the authorities, in the bodies appointed over him, he must be taught before all else to walk by himself.

Your plan is also otherwise unpractical. An "Association" with three independent powers, each of different origin: 1) the *Committee* elected by *trade unions*; 2) the *President* (a wholly superfluous person here), elected by *universal suffrage*; 3) the *Congress*, elected by the *locals*. Hence everywhere collision, and that is supposed to promote "prompt action"! (In the Rules of the International Workingmen's Association there was also a President of the Association. But in actual fact he never had any other function than that of presiding at the meetings of the General Council. On my motion this office, which I had declined in 1866, was totally abolished In 1867 and replaced by a chairman elected at every weekly meeting of the General Council. The *London Trades Council* also has only a chairman. Its Secretary is its only permanent official because he performs a business function requiring continuity.) Lassalle committed a gross blunder when he borrowed the phrase "elected by universal suffrage" from the French Constitution of 1852. And to have this now in a trade-union movement! The latter revolves largely around money questions and you will soon discover that here all dictatorship comes to an end.

However no matter what the mistakes of the organization, it may perhaps be possible to eradicate them more or less by a rational practice. I am ready, as Secretary of the International, to act as mediator between you and the Nuremberg majority, which

has directly affiliated to the International, of course on a rational basis. I have written to the same effect to Leipzig.[1] I fully appreciate the difficulties of your position and am ever mindful of the fact that every one of us is dependent more on circumstances than his own will.

I promise you that in any event I shall be impartial, as is my duty. But on the other hand I cannot promise you that some day—as soon as I think that the interests of the working-class movement absolutely dictate it—I shall not openly criticize the Lassallean superstition as a *private individual*, just as I once criticized the Proudhonian superstition.

Assuring you personally of my best intentions toward you I remain

Yours devotedly,
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, November 6, 1868

Dear Moor,

I am returning to you herewith Elchhoff and the Dietzgen manuscript. On account of the charwoman I had put the latter away in a *safe* place and there it was completely forgotten.

It is difficult to pass absolutely definite judgment upon the thing. The man is no born philosopher, and besides is only half self-taught. Some of his sources (e.g., Feuerbach, your book, and various rubbishy popular works on natural science) can be immediately recognized from his terminology, but one cannot tell what else he has read. His terminology is of course still very confused—hence there is a lack of sharpness and frequent repetition in new terms. There is also dialectics in it, but appearing more

[1] To Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

in flashes than connectedly. The presentation of the thing-in-itself as a *Gedankending*[1] would be very nice and even brilliant if one could be *sure* that he had discovered it *for himself*. There is a lot of wit and, despite the poor grammar, a marked talent for style. On the whole, however, a remarkable instinct: to think out so much that is correct with such deficient preliminary training.[2]...

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MARX TO ENGELS

London, November 7, 1868

...He[3] is translating the chief passages from the Russian book on the disintegration of agriculture for me, and has also given me a French book about it by the Russian Schedo-Ferroti. The latter is greatly mistaken—he is altogether quite a superficial fellow—when he says the Russian communal system originated as a consequence of prohibiting the peasant from leaving the land. The whole thing, *down to the smallest detail*, is absolutely identical with the primitive Germanic communal system. What must be added in the case of the Russians (and this is also found in a section *of the Indian communal system*, not in the Punjab but in the South) is 1) the *non-democratic* but *patriarchal* character of the commune management, and 2) the *collective responsibility* for taxes to the state, etc. It follows from the second point

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[1] Thought-thing.—*Ed.*

[2] Engels's observation refers to Joseph Dietzgen's manuscript of *Denkvermögen* (*The Faculty of Thought*) which Marx had sent to Engels for an appraisal. On this work Marx wrote to Kugelmann on December 5, 1868: "A fairly long time ago he (Dietzgen) sent me a fragment of a manuscript on *The Faculty of Thought* which, in spite of a certain confusion and of too frequent repetition, contains much that is excellent and—as the independent product of a working man—even admirable."—*Ed.*

[3] Borkheim.—*Ed.*

that the more industrious a Russian peasant is, the more he is exploited by the state, not only for taxes but for the supply of produce, horses, etc., during the continual passage of bodies of troops, for government couriers, etc. The whole foul mess is in process of collapse.

I regard Dietzgen's development, in so far as Feuerbach, etc.—in short, his sources—do not peep through, as entirely his own independent achievement. For the rest, I agree with everything you say. I shall have a talk with him about the repetitions. It is his hard luck that precisely Hegel he did *not* study....

1869

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, March 3, 1869

...A very interesting movement is going on in France. The Parisians are making a regular study of their recent revolutionary past, in order to prepare themselves for the business of the impending new revolution. First the *origin of the Empire*—then the *coup d'état* of *December*. This had been completely forgotten, just as the reaction in Germany succeeded in stamping out completely the memory of 1848-49.

That is why Ténot's books on the *coup d'état*[1] attracted such enormous attention in Paris and the provinces that in a short time they went through ten printings. They were followed by dozens of other books on the same period. It was all the rage and therefore soon became a speculative business for the book dealers.

These books came from the *opposition*—Ténot, for example, is one of the *Siècle*[2] men (I mean the liberal bourgeois paper, not our century). All the liberal and illiberal scoundrels who belong to the official opposition patronize this movement. Also the republican democrats, people like, for example, *Delescluze*, formerly Ledru-Rollin's adjutant, and now, as a republican patriarch, editor of the Paris *Réveil*.

Up to the present everybody has been revelling in these posthumous disclosures or rather reminiscences—everybody who is not Bonapartist.

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[1] E. Ténot's books on the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon: 1) *Paris in December 1851*; 2) *The Province in December 1851*.—*Ed.*

[2] *The Century*.—*Ed.*

But then came the other side of the medal.

First of all the French Government itself got the renegade Hippolyte Castille to publish *The Massacres in June 1848*. This was a fist blow to Thiers, Falloux, Marie, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Pelletan, etc., in short, to the leaders of what is called in France *The Liberal Union*, who want to tamper with the next elections, the infamous old dogs!

Then, however, came the socialist party, which "exposed" the opposition and the republican democrats of the old cast.

Among others, *Vermorel. The Men of 1848* and *The Opposition*

Vermorel is a Proudhonist

Last came the Blanquists, for example, G. Tridon: *The Gironde and the Girondists*.

And so the whole historical witches' cauldron is bubbling.

When will *our country* be so far

To show you how well the French police are served:

I intended to go to Paris early next week to see my daughter.

Last Saturday a police agent enquired at Lafargue's whether Monsieur Marx had already arrived. He said he had a commission for him. Forewarned!

My most cordial greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen.

How is Madame Tenge?

Yours,

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] March 5, 1869

Dear Fred,

The enclosed little document[1] arrived *yesterday* (although dated February 27). You must send it back as soon as you have read it, as I have to lay it before the Council on Tuesday next. The gentlemen of the Alliance have taken a long time to achieve this opus.

As a matter of fact we would rather they had kept their "innumerable legions" in France, Spain and Italy for themselves.

Bakunin thinks: if we approve his "radical programme" he can make a big noise about this and compromise us, even if only just a little. If we declare ourselves against it we shall be denigrated as counter-revolutionaries. Moreover: if we admit them he will see to it that he is supported by some of the riff-raff at the Congress in Basle. I think the answer should be on the following lines:

According to § 1 of the Rules every workingmen's society "aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and *complete emancipation of the working classes*," shall be admitted.

As the stage of development reached by different sections of workers in the same country and by the working class in different countries necessarily varies very much, the actual movement necessarily expresses itself in very diverse theoretical forms.

The community of action which the International Workingmen's Association called into being, the exchange of ideas by means of the different organs of the sections in all countries, and finally the direct discussions at the General Congresses will by degrees create for the general workers' movement its common theoretical programme also.

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[1] A letter from the Central Committee of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Desirous of affiliating to the International the Alliance declared its readiness to renounce its independent organization provided the General Council recognizes the principles set forth in the programme of the Alliance.—*Ed*

With regard to the programme of the Alliance, therefore, it is not necessary for the General Council to submit it to a critical examination. The Council has not to examine whether it is an adequate scientific expression of the working-class movement. It has only to ask whether the *general tendency* of the programme is not in opposition to the general tendency of the International Workingmen's Association—the complete emancipation of the working classes!

This reproach could apply to only one phrase in the programme, § 2: "above all things it[1] desires the political, economic, and social equalization of *the classes*." The "equalization of the classes," literally interpreted, is nothing but another way of saying the "harmony of capital and labour" preached by the bourgeois Socialists. Not the logically impossible "equalization of classes" but the historically necessary "abolition of classes" constitutes the final aim of the International Workingmen's Association. But from the context in which this phrase occurs in the programme it would appear that it is only a slip of the pen. The less, therefore, does the General Council doubt that this phrase, which might lead to serious misunderstanding, will be deleted from the programme.

This being assumed, it is in accordance with the principle of the International Workingmen's Association to leave to each section the responsibility for its own programme. There is therefore nothing to prevent the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International Workingmen's Association.

As soon as this has taken place, a list of the newly joined sections stating country, residence, and number of members must be sent to the General Council in accordance with the regulations.

This last point—the census of their legions—will of course tickle the gentlemen especially. Tell me everything you want altered in this draft of the reply when you return the letter..

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[1] The Alliance.—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO L. KUGELMANN

Manchester, July 10, 1869

...The dissolution of the Lassallean sect and on the other hand the severance of the Saxon and South-German workers from the apron-strings of the People's Party are the two fundamental conditions for the formation of a new, genuine German workers' party. The Lassalleans will now attend to their business themselves and will chew each other's heads off, but the narrow-minded South-German, republican, petty-bourgeois notions systematically drummed into the heads of the workers by Liebknecht are much harder to get rid of. Take alone the stupidity of inscribing on his paper[1]: "Organ of the People's Party," i.e., of the South-German petty bourgeois! If Bebel had only a smattering of theoretical education such a thing could not happen. He seems to be a quite efficient chap who has however this one handicap. And along comes Liebknecht and demands that we directly take his part and that of the People's Party against Schweitzer! Yet it goes without saying that, for one thing, we have much less in common with the People's Party, a bourgeois party, than with the Schweitzer Lassalleans, who after all are a sect of workers, and that, for another, Marx, in his capacity as Secretary of the International Workingmen's Association for Germany, is *obliged* to treat decently *every* leader whom a sufficient number of workers have placed at their head and sent to Parliament...

[1] The reference is to the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, a newspaper edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht in Leipzig in 1868-1869.—*Ed*

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] August 10, 1869

...The part of Wilhelm's[1] speech (held in *Berlin*) that was printed in the supplement shows beneath its stupidity an undeniable cunning in arranging the affair to suit himself. This, by the way, is very fine! *Because* the Reichstag must be used *only* as a *means of agitation*, one must *never agitate* there for anything reasonable directly affecting the interests of the workers! The worthy Wilhelm's illusion that because Bismarck "is fond of" using expressions friendly to the workers he would therefore not oppose *real measures on behalf of the workers* is really charming! "As if"—to follow Bruno Bauer's manner of talking—Herr Wagener had not declared in the Reichstag that he was *for* the factory laws in theory but against them *in practice*, "because they are useless under Prussian conditions!" "As if" Herr Bismarck, if he really wished to do anything for the workers and were *able* to do so, would not have had the existing laws *carried out* in *Prussia herself*! The mere fact of this happening in Prussia would be enough to *force* liberal "Saxony," etc., to follow suit. What Wilhelm does not grasp is that while the present governments flirt with the workers they are very well aware that their only support lies with the bourgeoisie; that they therefore scare the latter by phrases friendly to the workers but *cannot* ever really go against it.

That dumb ox believes in the future "*democratic state*"! At one moment he has in mind constitutional England, at another the bourgeois United States, and at the next wretched Switzerland. "*He*" has not the faintest idea of revolutionary politics. This is what he cites as proof—following the example of the Swabian Mayer[2]—of democratic energy: the railway to California. But that

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[1] Wilhelm Liebknecht's.—*Ed.*

[2] The *Demokratische Korrespondenz* edited by Mayer carried articles glorifying the American bourgeois republic in connection with the construction of the first trans-continental railway.—*Ed.*

was built by the bourgeoisie *presenting* to itself through Congress an enormous mass of the "public domain," that is to say by *expropriating* the workers from it; by importing Chinese coolies to force down wages and finally forming a new branch, the "financial aristocracy."...

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MARX TO ENGELS

London, October 30, 1869

...In order to understand Gögg's and Bornhorst's letters entirely you must know that the Lassalleanized section of the workers (or rather their representatives) in Switzerland, Austria and Germany are shrieking murder because of the decision of the Basle Congress on *landed property*.[1]

The silliness and weakness (exploited by Schweitzer, the wiser man) with which Wilhelm & Co. answer the howling of the Swabian Mayer and the rest of the ill-wishers of the People's Party supporting him are horrifying. To none of these asses has it ever occurred so far to ask the liberal howlers whether it is not a fact that in Germany along with small peasant property there exists large landed property, which forms the basis of the surviving feudal economy, whether it is not necessary during a revolution to do away with it, if only to put an end to the present system of state, and whether that can be done in the antiquated manner of 1789. By no means. Those asses believe the Swabian Mayer that the land question is of direct practical interest only to England!

[1] The resolution of the Basle Congress of the First International (September 6-11, 1869) declared that "society has a right to abolish private property in land, and to convert it into common property," and that "it is necessary" to make this conversion.—*Ed.*

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The organization of the *Land- and Labour League*[1] (directly promoted, incidentally, by the General Council) is to be considered an outcome of the Basle Congress. Thus the workers' party completely breaks with the bourgeoisie, nationalization of land being the starting point. Eccarius has been appointed executive secretary (with Boon as honorary one), and is paid for it.

I have been instructed by the General Council to write a few words to the English working class on the Irish prisoners' demonstration last Sunday. Busy as I am at present I have no inclination whatever to do so, but it must be done. The description of the demonstration in the London papers was entirely wrong. It was grand.

Best regards to Mrs. Lizzy and the Sunday guests.

Yours,
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

[Manchester,] November 1, 1869

Dear Moor,

The resolution on landed property has worked real miracles. For the first time since Lassalle began his agitation it is compelling those lads in Germany to think, something hitherto considered wholly superfluous. That appears distinctly from Bonhorst's letter. Even apart from this I rather like that letter. In spite of the ostentation and meagre education it exhibits there is a certain healthy folk humour in it and with regard to mortgages he immediately hit the right spot. Moreover people forget,

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[1] The *Land- and Labour League* set up the following demands in England: nationalization of the land, graduated direct income tax, shortening of the working day, universal suffrage, etc. The League Committee included ten members of the General Council of the International.—*Ed*

besides the main point, big landed property, that there are various kinds of peasants: 1) the tenant-farmer, to whom it is a matter of indifference whether the land belongs to the state or to a large proprietor; 2) the owner; in the first place the big peasant, against whose reactionary nature the day labourer and farm-hand must be incited; in the second place, the middle peasant, who will also be reactionary and is not very numerous; and in the third place, the debt-laden small peasant, who can be interested by tackling the mortgage problem. Besides, it may of course be added that meanwhile the proletariat has no interest in raising the question of *small* landownership....

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] November 26, 1869

Dear Fred,

I was not quite in tiptop shape this week and this business under the arm still bothers me. That's why I did not thank you sooner for your notes on Carey, whose book[1] I received yesterday.

In my book against Proudhon,[2] where I still fully accepted Ricardo's theory of rent, I already explained what was wrong in it, even from his (Ricardo's) own point of view.

"Ricardo, after postulating bourgeois production as necessary for determining rent, applies it[3] nevertheless to the landed property of all ages and all countries. This is an error common to all the economists, who represent the bourgeois relations of production as eternal categories." Mr. Proudhon had of course immediately transformed Ricardo's theory into an expression of equalitarian morality and therefore discovered in Ricardo's

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[1] Henry Charles Carey, *Principles of Social Science.—Ed.*

[2] *The Poverty of Philosophy.—Ed.*

[3] i.e., the conception of rent.—*Ed*

determination of rent, "an immense *land valuation*, which is carried out contradictorily by landlords and farmers ... in a higher interest, and whose ultimate result must be to equalize the possession of land, etc."

Upon this I remark, among other things:

"For any land valuation based upon rent to be of practical value, the conditions of present society must not be departed from. Now we have shown that the farm *rent* paid by the farmer to the landlord expresses the *rent* with any exactitude only in the countries most advanced in industry and commerce. And even this rent often includes *interest* paid to the landlord on capital invested in the land. The location of the land, the vicinity of towns and many other circumstances influence the farm rent and modify rent in general.... On the other hand, rent cannot be *the invariable* index *of the degree of fertility of a piece of land*, since every moment the modern application of chemistry is changing the nature of the soil, and geological knowledge is just now, in our days, beginning to *revolutionize all the old estimates of relative fertility* ... fertility is not so natural a quality as might be thought; it is closely bound up with the *social relations* of the time."

With regard to the progress of cultivation in the United States itself, Mr. Carey ignores even the most familiar facts. The English agricultural chemist Johnstone for instance shows in his *Notes* on the United States that the settlers who emigrated from New England to the State of New York left worse for better land (better not in Carey's sense, that the land has first to be made, but in the chemical and at the same time economic sense). The farmer emigrants from the State of New York who at first settled beyond the Great Lakes, say in Michigan, left better for worse land, etc. The settlers in Virginia so abominably exploited the land best suited both as to *location* and *fertility* to their chief product, tobacco, that they had to move on to Ohio, where the soil was worse for this product (though not for wheat, etc.). The nationality of the immigrants made itself felt also in their settlements. The people from Norway and

from our Hochwald[1] sought out the raw northern forest land of Wisconsin; the Yankees in the same regions kept to the prairies, etc.

Prairies, both in the United States and Australia, are in fact a thorn in Carey's flesh. According to him land not absolutely overgrown with forests is unfertile by nature—including, therefore, all natural pasture land.

The joke of it is that Carey's two great final conclusions (relating to the United States) stand in direct contradiction to his dogma. *First,* owing to the diabolical influence of England, the inhabitants, instead of socially cultivating the good model lands of New England, are disseminated over the poorer (!) lands of the West. Transition therefore from better land to worse. (By the by, Carey's "dissemination," in opposition to "association," is all copied out of Wakefield.) *Second,* in the south of the United States the bad thing is that the slaveowners (whom Mr. Carey, as an advocate of harmony, has defended in all his previous works) take the better land into cultivation too soon and skip the worse. Hence just what ought not to be: starting with the better land! By this instance Carey proved to his own satisfaction that the real cultivators, in this case the slaves, are governed in their action neither by economic nor any other reason of their own, but by *external force.* He could therefore have convinced himself without any difficulty that this condition also exists in other countries.

According to his theory cultivation in Europe should have started from the mountains of Norway and continued to the Mediterranean countries instead of proceeding in the reverse direction.

Carey tries, by a highly absurd and fantastic theory of money, to conjure away the awkward economic fact that, unlike all other improved machinery, the earth-machine, which according to him *is always getting better, increases*—(periodically at least)—*the cost* of its products instead of *cheapening* them. (This was one of the circumstances which influenced Ricardo; but he

[1] Wooded plateau in the Rhineland.—*Ed.*

delved no further than the history of corn prices in England from about 1780 to 1815.)

As a harmonist Carey first pointed out that there was no antagonism between capitalist and wage-labourer. The second step was to show the harmony between landowner and capitalist, and this was done by taking landownership *as a normal thing* where it was *still* in an undeveloped state. The great and decisive difference between the colonies and the old civilized countries—that in the latter the mass of the population is excluded from the land, whether fertile or unfertile, cultivated or uncultivated, by *private property in land*, while in the colonies land can, relatively speaking, still be appropriated by the cultivator himself—this fact must not be mentioned under any circumstances. It must have absolutely nothing to do with the rapid development of the colonies. The disagreeable "*question of property*" in its most disagreeable form would indeed knock harmony off its feet.

As for the deliberate distortion that, because in a country with developed production the natural fertility of the soil is an important factor in the production of surplus value (or, as Ricardo says, affects the rate of profit), therefore it follows conversely that the richest and most developed production will be found in the naturally most fertile lands, so that it must stand higher, e.g., in Mexico than in New England—I have already answered this in *Capital*, p. 502 et seqq.[1]

Carey's only merit is that he is just as one-sided in asserting the transition from worse to better lands as Ricardo is in asserting the opposite. In reality however different kinds of land, unequal in degree of fertility, are always cultivated simultaneously, and therefore the Germans, the Slavs and the Celts in this respect made a very careful division of strips of land of different kinds among the members of the community; it was this which later made the breaking up of the common lands so difficult. However as to the progress of cultivation throughout the course of history, this, depending on the circumstances, takes place

[1] Vol. I, Moscow 1954, p. 513 et seqq.—*Ed.*

sometimes in both directions simultaneously, at other times first one tendency prevails for a period and then the other.

Interest on the capital invested in the land becomes a part of the *differential rent* just because of the fact that the landowner gets this interest from capital which not *he* but the *tenant-farmer* has put into the land. This fact, known throughout Europe, is supposed to have no economic existence because tenancy as a system is *not yet* developed in the *United States*. But there the thing takes place in another form. The land jobber and not the tenant-farmer gets paid in the end, in the *price* he charges for the land, for the capital expended by the latter. Indeed, the history of the pioneers and land jobbers in the United States often reminds one of the worst horrors taking place, e.g., in Ireland.

But now damn Carey! Three cheers for O'Donovan Rossal

Last Tuesday's sitting was full of fiery, heated, vehement speech. Mr. Muddlehead or the devil knows what that fellow's name was,[1]—a Chartist and an old friend of Harney's—had providently brought Odger and Applegarth along. On the other hand Weston and Lucraft were absent because they were attending an Irish ball. Reynolds had published my resolutions in his Saturday issue and also an abstract of my speech (as well as Eccarius could do that; he's no stenographer), and Reynolds had printed it right on the front page of the paper, after his leading article. This seems to have scared those flirting with Gladstone. Hence the appearance of Odger and a long rambling speech by Muddershead,[1] who got it in the neck badly from Milner (himself an Irishman). Applegarth sat next to me and therefore did not dare to speak *against* them; on the contrary, he spoke *for* them, evidently with an uneasy conscience. *Odger* said that if the resolutions were rushed to a vote he would have to say aye. But unanimity was surely better and could be attained by means of a few minor amendments, etc. I thereupon declared—as it was precisely *he* that I wanted to get into a mess—that *he* should submit his amendments at the next session. At the last session,

[1] His name was Mottershead.—*Ed.*

although many of our most reliable members were absent, we would thus have carried the resolution against *one single* opposing vote. Tuesday we shall be there in full force.[1]

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

[London,] November 29, 1869

... You must seek for an explanation of my long and to a certain extent criminal silence in the vast amount of work which I had to make up, not only in my scientific studies but also in regard to the *International*; in my having to study *Russian* because of a book sent to me from Petersburg about the condition of the working class (of course peasants included) in Russia; and, finally, in the anything but satisfactory state of my health.

You will probably have seen in the *Volksstaat*[2] the resolutions against Gladstone proposed by me on the question of the Irish amnesty. I have now attacked Gladstone—and it has attracted attention here—just as I had formerly attacked Palmerston. The demagogic refugees here love to fall upon the Continental despots from a safe distance. That sort of thing attracts me only when it is done *vultu instantis tyranni*.[3]

Nevertheless, both my utterance on this Irish amnesty question and my further proposal to the General Council to discuss the attitude of the English working class to Ireland and to pass

[1] The resolution on the Irish question proposed by Marx was unanimously adopted by the General Council on November 30, 1869.—*Ed.*

[2] *Der Volksstaat:* central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (Eisenachers). It appeared in Leipzig 1869-1876, edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

[3] Right to the face of the tyrant.—*Ed.*

resolutions on it have of course other objects besides that of speaking out loudly and decidedly for the oppressed Irish against their oppressors.

I have become more and more convinced—and the only question is to drive this conviction home to the English working class—that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801 and replacing it by a free federal relationship. And this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because it will have to join with them in a common front against Ireland. Every one of its movements in England itself is crippled by the strife with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class in England. *The prime condition* of emancipation here—the overthrow of the English landed oligarchy—remains impossible because its position here cannot be stormed so long as it maintains its strongly entrenched outposts in Ireland. But there, once affairs are in the hands of the Irish people itself, once it is made its own legislator and ruler, once it becomes autonomous, the abolition of the landed aristocracy (to a large extent the *same persons* as the English landlords) will be infinitely easier than here, because in Ireland it is not merely a simple economic question but at the same time a *national* question, since the landlords there are not, like those in England, the traditional dignitaries and representatives of the nation, but its mortally hated oppressors. And not only does England's internal social development remain crippled by her present relations with Ireland; her foreign policy, and particularly her policy with regard to Russia and the United States of America, suffers the same fate.

But since the English working class undoubtedly throws the decisive weight into the scale of social emancipation generally, the lever has to be applied here. As a matter of fact, the English

republic under Cromwell met shipwreck in—Ireland.[1] Non bis in idem![2] But the Irish have played a capital joke on the English government by electing the "convict felon" O'Donovan Rossa to Parliament. The government papers are already threatening a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, a renewed system of terror. In fact, England never has and never *can*—so long as the present relations last—rule Ireland otherwise than by the most abominable reign of terror and the most reprehensible corruption....

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ENGELS TO MARX

[Manchester,] December 9, 1869

...I half expected that about the *Irishman*.[3] Ireland still remains the *sacra insula*,[4] whose aspirations must on no account be mixed up with the profane class struggles of the rest of the

[1] During the English bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth century a rebellion broke out in Ireland which led to an almost complete severance of a large part of the island from England. The rebellion was crushed with unusual brutality and ended in a mass expropriation of the land in favour of new English landlords. This strengthened the landlord-bourgeois elements in England and prepared the ground for the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.—*Ed.*

[2] Not twice the same thing!—*Ed.*

[3] The Dublin bourgeois-nationalist newspaper *Irishman* made no mention of the debate and the resolutions of the General Council on Ireland. On this score Marx had written to Engels on December 4, 1869, that the International had to fight against the prejudices and the narrow-mindedness of the Dublin leaders. The editor of the *Irishman*, Marx wrote, believes that the Irish question "must be dealt with as something quite separate and apart, to the exclusion of the rest of the world. It is especially important to *hush up* the fact that *English* workers sympathize *with* the Irish! What an ass! And that *vis-à vis* the *International*, which has its organs all over Europe and the United States!"—*Ed.*

[4] Holy Isle.—*Ed.*

sinful world. Partially, this is certainly honest madness on the part of these people, but it is equally certain that it is partially also a calculated policy of the leaders in order to maintain their domination over the peasant. Added to this, a nation of peasants always has to take its literary representatives from the bourgeoisie of the towns and their ideologists, and in this respect Dublin (I mean *Catholic* Dublin) is to Ireland much what Copenhagen is to Denmark. But to these gentry the whole labour movement is pure heresy and the Irish peasant must not on any account be allowed to know that the socialist workers are his sole allies in Europe....

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] December 10, 1869

...As to the *Irish question*.... I did not attend the Central Council last Tuesday. Although I had undertaken to open the debate my "family" did not permit me to go in this *fog* in my present state of health.

As for the report in the *National Reformer*, not only was a lot of nonsense attributed to me but even what it reported *correctly* is really *wrong*. But I did not want to make any claim. First of all, I would thereby offend the reporter (Harris). Secondly, so long as I do not mix in, all these reports bear no official character whatever. If I correct something I admit that the rest is right. And everything is wrong the way it has been reproduced. Besides *I have reasons* for not converting these reports into *legal evidence against me*, and that is what happens the moment I *correct details*.

...The way I shall put forward the matter next Tuesday is this: that quite apart from all phrases about "international" and "humane" *justice for Ireland*—which are taken for granted in the *International Council—it is in the direct and absolute inter-*

est of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland. And this is my fullest conviction, and for reasons which in part I can *not* tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working-class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the *New York Tribune*. Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* until it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general.

I have read a lot of *Davies* in extracts. The book itself[1] I had only glanced through superficially in the Museum. So you would do me a great favour if you would copy out for me the passages relating to *common property*. You *must* get "*Curran's Speeches*" *edited by Davis* (*London: James Duffy, 22, Paternoster Row*). I meant to give it to you when you were in London. It is now circulating among the English members of the Central Council and God knows when I shall see it again. For the period 1779-1800 (Union) it is of decisive importance, not only because of *Curran's speeches* (especially those held in courts; I consider Curran the *only great lawyer* (people's advocate) of the eighteenth century and the *noblest personality*, while *Grattan* was a parliamentary rogue), but because you will find quoted there *all the sources* for the *United Irishmen*.[2] This period is of the highest interest, scientifically and dramatically. Firstly, the deeds of the English in 1588-89 repeated (and perhaps even intensified) in 1788-89. Secondly, a class movement can easily be traced in the Irish movement itself. Thirdly, the infamous policy of Pitt. Fourthly, and that will be very irksome to the English gentlemen, the proof that Ireland came to grief because, in fact,

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[1] Sir John Davies, *Historical Tracts*.—*Ed.*

[2] *United Irishmen*: a secret revolutionary organization that came into existence under the influence of the French Revolution and made it its aim to form an independent Irish republic. The *United Irishmen* were the organizers of the Irish uprising in 1798.—*Ed.*

from a revolutionary standpoint, *the Irish were too far advanced for the English King and Church mob*, while on the other hand the English reaction in England had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland. *This period* must be described in at least one chapter. Put John Bull in the pillory! ...

As to the present *Irish movement*, there are three important factors: 1) opposition to lawyers and trading politicians and blarney; 2) opposition to the dictates of the priests, who (the *superior ones*) are traitors, as in O'Connell's time as well as in 1798-1800; 3) the coming out of the *agricultural labouring class* against the farming class at the last meetings. (Similar happenings in 1795-1800.)

The rise of the *Irishman* was due only to the suppression of the *Fenian* press. For a long time it had been in opposition to Fenianism. Luby, etc., of the *Irish People*, etc., were educated men who treated religion as a bagatelle. The government put them in prison and then came the Pigotts & Co. The *Irishman* will amount to anything only until those people come out of prison. It is aware of this although it is now making *political capital* by declaiming in behalf of the "felon convicts."

1870

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MARX TO ENGELS

February 10, 1870

... I have read the first 150 pages of *Flerovsky's* book.[1] (They are taken up by Siberia, North Russia and Astrakhan.) This is the first work to tell the truth about Russian economic conditions. The man is a determined enemy of what he calls "Russian optimism." I never held very rosy views of this communistic Eldorado, but Flerovsky really surpasses all expectations. In fact it is amazing and undoubtedly a sign of decided change that such a thing can be printed in Petersburg.

"We have few proletarians, but the mass of our working class consists of labouring people whose lot is worse than that of any proletarian."

The method of presentation is quite original; at times it reminds one most of Monteil. One can see that the man has travelled around everywhere and seen everything for himself. A glowing hatred of landlords, capitalists and officials. No socialist doctrine, no mysticism about the land (although in favour of the communal form of ownership), no nihilistic extravagance. Here and there a certain amount of well-meaning twaddle, which, however, is suited to the stage of development reached by the people for whom the book is intended. In any case this is the most important book which has appeared since your *Condition of the Working-Class*....

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[1] *Condition of the Working Class in Russia.—Ed.*

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

[London,] February 17, 1870

...The pamphlet which you sent me is one of the pleas with which the privileged orders of the German-Russian-Baltic provinces are at the present time appealing to the Germans for sympathy. These *canaille*, who have always distinguished themselves by their zeal in the service of Russian diplomacy, army, and police and who since the transfer of the provinces from Poland to Russia have eagerly bartered away their nationality for the legal authorization to exploit the peasantry, are now crying out because they see their privileged position endangered. The old system of social estates, orthodox Lutheranism and the grinding down of the peasants, is what they call *German culture*, for the protection of which Europe is now to bestir itself. Hence, too, the last word of this pamphlet is—*landed property as the basis of civilization*, and landed property, moreover, as the wretched pamphleteer himself admits, consisting mainly of outright manorial estates and of peasant holdings *subject to tribute*.

In his quotations—insofar as they deal with Russian communal property—the fellow shows his ignorance as well as the cloven hoof. Schedo-Ferroti is one of the blokes who attribute (in the interests of landlordism, of course) the pitiful state of the Russian peasant to the existence of communal property, just as, formerly, the *abolition of serfdom* in Western Europe—instead of the serf's loss of his land—was decried as the cause of pauperism. The Russian book *Land and Freedom* is of the same calibre. Its author is a Baltic cabbage-junker called *von Lilienfeld*.[1] What impoverishes the Russian peasantry is the same as what impoverished the French under Louis XIV, etc.—*state taxes and quit rent to the big landowners*. Instead of causing misery, *communal property* has been the only factor mitigating it.

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[1] Marx erroneously had *Lilienthal*.—*Ed.*

It is, moreover, historically false to say that *communal property is Mongolian.* As I have repeatedly indicated in various writings, it is of *Indian* origin and therefore to be found among all civilized European peoples in the early stages of their development. The specifically *Slavic* (not Mongolian) form in Russia (which is also found among *non-Russian South Slavs*) bears in fact greatest similarity, *mutatis mutandis,* to the *old German modification* of Indian communal property....

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MARX TO S. MEYER AND A. VOGT

London, April 9, 1870

...Day after tomorrow (April 11) I shall send you whatever documents of the International I happen to have on hand. (It is too late to mail them today.) I shall likewise send some more Basle[1] stuff.

Among the material sent you will also find some of the resolutions of the General Council of *November 30* on the *Irish amnesty,* resolutions that you know about and that were written by me; likewise an Irish pamphlet on the treatment of the Fenian convicts

I had intended to introduce additional resolutions on the necessary transformation of the present Union (i.e., enslavement of Ireland) into a free and equal federation with Great Britain. For the time being, further progress in this matter, as far as public resolutions go, has been suspended because of my enforced absence from the General Council. No other member of it has sufficient knowledge of Irish affairs and adequate prestige with its *English* members to be able to replace me here.

Meanwhile time has not been spent idly and I ask you to pay particular attention to the following:

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[1] Marx refers to the reports of the Basle Congress of the First International published by the General Council.—*Ed.*

After occupying myself with the Irish question for many years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the Engtish ruling ctasses (and it will be decisive for the workers' movement alt over the world) *cannot* be delivered *in England* but o*nly in Ireland.*

On January 1, 1870, the General Council issued a confidential circular drawn up by me in French (for the reaction upon England only the French, not the German, papers are important) on the relation of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation ot the working class, and therefore on the attitude whtch the International Association should take in regard to the Irish question.

I shall give you here only quite briefly the decisive potnts.

Ireland is the bulwark of the *English landed aristocracy.* The explottation of that country is not onty one of the main sources of this aristocracy's material welfare; it is its greatest *moral* strength. It, In fact, represents the *domination of England over Ireland.* Ireland is therefore the great means by which the English aristocracy malntains *its domination in England itself.*

If, on the other hand, the Engtish army and police were to wlthdraw from Ireland tomorrow, you woutd at once have an agrarian revolution there. But the overthrow of the English aristocracy in Ireland Involves as a necessary consequence its overthrow in Engtand. And this would fulfit the preliminary condition for the proletarian revolution in England. The destruction of the Engtish landed aristocracy in Ireland is an infinitely easier operation than in England itself, because in Ireland *the lcnd question* has hitherto been the *exclusive form* of the social question, because it is a question of existence, of *life and death,* for the immense majority of the Irish people, and because it ts at the same time inseparable from the *national* question. This quite apart from the Irish being more passionate and revolutionary in character than the English.

As for the English *bourgeoisie,* it has in the first ptace a common interest with the English aristocracy in turning Ireland into mere pasture land which provides the English market with meat and wool at the cheapest possible prices. It is equatty in-

terested in reducing, by eviction and forcible emigration, the Irish population to such a small number that *English capital* (capital invested in land leased for farming) can function there with "security." It has the same interest in *clearing the estate of Ireland* as it had in the clearing of the agricultural districts of England and Scotland. The £6,000-10,000 absentee-landlord and other Irish revenues which at present flow annually to London have also to be taken into account.

But the English bourgeoisie has, besides, much more important interests in Ireland's present-day economy.

Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of tenant-farming, Ireland steadily supplies its own surplus to the English labour market, and thus forces down wages and lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class.

And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial centre in England now possesses a working class *divided* into two *hostile* camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the *ruling* nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country *against Ireland*, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the *English rule in Ireland*.

This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This *antagonism* is the *secret of the impotence of the English working class*, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it.

But the evil does not stop here. It continues across the ocean. The antagonism between English and Irish is the hidden basis

of the conflict between the United States and England. It makes any honest and serious co-operation between the working classes of the two countries impossible. It enables the governments of both countries, whenever they think fit, to break the edge off the social conflict by their mutual bullying, and, in case of need, by war with one another.

England, being the metropolis of capital, the power which has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the workers' revolution, and moreover the *only* country in which the material conditions for this revolution have developed up to a certain degree of maturity. Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Workingmen's Association. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent.

Hence it is the task of the International everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. And it is the special task of the Central Council in London to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that *for them* the *national emancipation of Ireland* is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment but *the first condition of their own social emancipation.*

These roughly are the main points of the circular letter, which thereby at the same time gave the *raisons d'être* of the resolutions of the Central Council on the Irish amnesty. Shortly afterwards I sent a strong anonymous article on the treatment of the Fenians by the English, etc., against Gladstone, etc., to the *Internationale* (organ of our Belgian Central Committee in Brussels). In this article I at the same time made the charge against the French Republicans (the *Marseillaise* had printed some nonsense on Ireland written here by the wretched Talandier) that in their national egoism they were saving all their wrath for the Empire.

That worked. My daughter Jenny wrote a series of articles to the *Marseillaise*, signing them J. Williams (she had called herself Jenny Williams in her private letter to the editorial board) and published, among other things, O'Donovan Rossa's letter. Hence immense noise.

After many years of cynical refusal *Gladstone* was thus finally compelled to agree to a *parliamentary enquiry* into the treatment of the Fenian prisoners. Jenny is now the regular correspondent on Irish affairs for the *Marseillaise*. (*This is naturally to be a secret between us.*) The British Government and press are fiercely annoyed by the fact that the Irish question has thus now come *to the forefront* in France and that these rogues are now being watched and exposed via Paris on the whole Continent.

We hit another bird with the same stone, having forced the Irish leaders, journalists, etc., in Dublin to get into contact with us, which the *General Council* so far had been unable to achieve!

You have now a great field in America for working along the same lines. *Coalition of the German workers with the Irish workers* (and of course also with the English and American workers who will agree to join) is the greatest job you could start on nowadays. This must be done in the name of the International. The social significance of the Irish question must be made clear.

Next time something special on the position of the English workers.

Greetings and brotherhood!

Karl Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] May 18, 1870

... Our members in France are giving the French Government ocular proof of the difference between a secret political society and a genuine workers' association. No sooner had the government jailed all the members of the Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, etc., Committees (some of them fled to Belgium and Switzerland) than Committees *twice as numerous* announced themselves as their successors with the most daring and chal-

lenging declarations in the newspapers (and as an additional precaution added their *private addresses* as well). At last the French Government has done what we have so long wanted it to do: transform the political question, Empire or Republic, into a question of life and death for the working class!

In general the plebiscite[1] dealt the final blow to the empire. Because so many voted aye for the empire wreathed in constitutional phrases Boustrapa believes he can now restore unceremoniously the empire *sans phrase*, that is to say, the December regime. According to all the information received privately the Society of December 10[2] has been fully restored in Paris and is teeming with activity.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, June 27, 1870

Dear Emperor Wenceslaus,

I returned here this week after a month's stay in Manchester and found your last letter awailing me.

I really cannot tell you what day I shall be leaving, nor can I even answer the question—which you did not ask—*whether I shall go at all.*

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[1] The plebiscite was held by Napoleon III in May 1870 to strengthen the empire and sap the republican agitation in the country. The government resorted to every possible demagogic manoeuvre to win out, using tremendous pressure on the voters.—*Ed.*

[2] *Society of December 10*: This society was organized from the scum of the various classes of the population by Louis Bonaparte in 1849 and used by him on preparing his *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851. It was given this name to commemorate the day he was elected President of the French Republic (December 10, 1848).—*Ed*

Last year I counted upon a second edition of my book after Easter-fair, and consequently upon receiving the money due me for the first edition. But you can tell by the enclosed letter from Meissner, which came today, that all this is still far off. (Please send me the letter back.)

The German professorial worthies have recently found themselves obliged to take notice of me here and there, even if in a stupid fashion; e.g., A. Wagner in a booklet on landed property and Held (Bonn) in one on the agricultural credit system in the Rhine province.

Herr Lange (*On the Labour Question*, etc., 2nd edition) sings my praises loudly, but with the object of making himself important. Herr Lange, you see, has made a great discovery. The whole of history can be brought under a single great natural law. This natural law is the *phrase* (in this application Darwin's expression becomes nothing but a phrase) "struggle for life," and the content of this phrase is the Malthusian law of population or, rather, overpopulation. So, instead of analyzing the "struggle for life" as represented historically in various definite forms of society, all that has to be done is to translate every concrete struggle into the phrase "struggle for life," and this phrase itself into the Malthusian "population fantasy." One must admit that this is a very impressive method—for swaggering, sham-scientific, bombastic ignorance and intellectual laziness.

What the same Lange says about the Hegelian method and my application of it is really childish. First of all, he understands nothing about Hegel's method and secondly, as a consequence, even less about my critical manner of applying it. In one respect he reminds me of Moses Mendelssohn. For that prototype of a windbag wrote to Lessing, asking how he could possibly take that "dead dog Spinoza" *seriously*. Similarly Herr Lange wonders that Engels, I, and others take the dead dog Hegel *seriously*, after Büchner, Lange, Dr. Dühring, Fechner, etc., have long ago agreed that he—poor dear—had long been buried by them. Lange is naive enough to say that I "move with rare freedom" in empirical matter. He hasn't the least idea that this "free movement in matter" is nothing but a *paraphrase for*

the *method* of dealing with matter—that is, the *dialectical method*....

As to Meissner's pressure for the second volume, I have not only been interrupted by illness throughout the winter; I also found it necessary to plug away at learning Russian, because in dealing with the land question it became essential to go to the original sources in studying the relations of Russian landed property. Moreover, in connection with the Irish land question, the English government published a series of Blue Books (soon concluded) on agrarian relations in all countries. Finally—*entre nous*—I would like to see the second edition of the first volume appear first. If that were to come while I was getting the second volume into final shape it would only disturb my work.

Best compliments on Jenny's part and my own to all the members of the Kugelmann family.

Yours,
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

[London,] July 28, 1870

...Last Tuesday the General Council ordered a thousand copies of the Address[1] to be struck off. Today I expect the page proofs.

The singing of the *Marseillaise* in France is a parody just like all the Second Empire. But that dog[2] at least feels that "Going off to Syria" would not do. In Prussia, on the other hand, such buffoonery is not necessary. "Lord, in Thee is all my trust!," sung by William I, with Bismarck on the right and Stieber on the left, is the German Marseillaise. Like in 1812 seqq. The Ger-

[1] The First Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the Franco-Prussian War.—*Ed.*

[2] Napoleon III is meant.—*Ed.*

man philistine seems fairly enraptured, now that he can give free vent to his innate servility. Who would have thought it possible that twenty-two years after 1848 a national war in Germany would be given *such* theoretical expression![1]

Fortunately, this whole demonstration stems from the middle class. The working class, with the exception of the direct adherents of Schweitzer, takes no part in it. And fortunately the war of classes in both countries, France and Germany, is so broadly developed that no war abroad can seriously turn back the wheel of history .

122

MARX TO J. P. BECKER

London, August 2, 1870

...I have received the letter of the Russian friends in Geneva. Please tell them that I thank them for it.

The best thing would really be for them to write a pamphlet on Bakunin, but it must be done *soon*. In that case they need not send me any further documents on Bakunin's machinations.

They ask me what Bakunin was doing in 1848. During his stay in Paris in 1843-48 he acted the determined Socialist. After the revolution he went to Breslau and leagued up with the *bourgeois democrats* there, agitated among them for the election of *Arnold Ruge* (to the Frankfort Parliament), at that time a decided enemy of Socialists and Communists. Later—1848—he arranged the Pan-Slavic Congress in Prague. He was charged by the Pan-Slavists themselves with having played false there.

[1] In a letter Engels wrote to Marx in reply he said with regard to this passage "The more the German philistine cringes before his God-trusting and before-God cringing William, the more insolent he gets toward France. The old clamour for Alsace-Lorraine is once again raised without restraint, and in the van the *Augsburger Zeitung*. But the Lorraine peasants will let the Prussians know that this is not quite such a simple *matter*."—*Ed.*

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tiate on Wilhelm's[1] policy. But since you must get this rubbish back, here she goes:

How far Bracke, certainly a very weak fellow, has allowed his national enthusiasm to run away with him I cannot tell and as I receive at most one issue of the *Volksstaat* every fortnight I am also unable to judge the position of the Committee[2] in this regard except from Bonhorst's letter to Wilhelm, which on the whole is cool but betrays theoretical uncertainty. In contrast with this Liebknecht's narrow-minded self-confidence born of his dogmatism shows off, true enough, very favourably as usual.

The case seems to me to be as follows: Germany has been driven by Badinguet[3] into a war for her national existence. If Badinguet defeats her, Bonapartism will be strengthened for years and Germany broken for years, perhaps for generations. In that event there can be no more question of an independent German working-class movement either, the struggle to restore Germany's national existence will absorb everything, and at best the German workers will be dragged in the wake of the French. If Germany wins, French Bonapartism will at any rate be smashed, the endless row about the establishment of German unity will at last be got rid of, the German workers will be able to organize on a national scale quite different from that prevailing hitherto, and the French workers, whatever sort of government may succeed this one, are certain to have a freer field than under Bonapartism. The whole mass of the German people of every class have realized that this is first and foremost a question of national existence and have therefore at once flung themselves into the fray. That in these circumstances a German political party should preach total obstruction *à la* Wilhelm and place all sorts of secondary considerations before the main consideration, seems to me impossible.

To this must be added that Badinguet would never have been able to prosecute this war without the chauvinism of the mass

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[1] Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

[2] Reference to the Executive of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, whose office was in Brunswick.—*Ed.*

[3] Nickname of Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

of the French population: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the imperialistic, Haussmannist[1] building-trade proletariat stemming from the peasants, which Bonaparte created in the big towns. Until this chauvinism is knocked on the head, and knocked good and proper, peace between Germany and France is impossible. One might have expected that a proletarian revolution would take this work over, but since the war is already on nothing remains for the Germans to do but attend to the job themselves and quickly.

Now come the secondary considerations. That Lehmann,[2] Bismarck & Co. are in command in this war and that it must minister to their temporary glorification if they conduct it successfully, we have to thank the miserable state of the German bourgeoisie. It is certainly very unpleasant but cannot be altered. But on that account to magnify anti-Bismarckism into the sole gulding principle would be absurd. In the first place, Bismarck, as in 1866 so at present, is doing a bit of our work, in *his own* way and without meaning to, but all the same he is doing it. He is clearing the deck for us better than before. Moreover it is no longer the year 1815. The South Germans are now bound to enter the Reichstag and this will develop a counterpoise to Prussianism. Then there are the national duties which devolve on him and which, as you wrote, forbid the Russian alliance from the outset. In general it is senseless to try like Liebknecht to set back the clock of history on all that has happened since 1866 just because it is not to his liking. But we know our model South Germans. There is nothing to be done with these fools.

I think our people can:

1) join the national movement—you can see from Kugelmann's letter how strong it is—in so far and for so long as it is limited to the defence of Germany (which does not exclude an offensive, in certain circumstances, until peace is arrived at);

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[1] Haussmann: Prefect of the Seine Department under Napoleon III. He directed the reconstruction of Paris.—*Ed.*

[2] Nickname of William I.—*Ed.*

2) at the same time emphasize the difference between German national and dynastic-Prussian interests;

3) work against any annexation of Alsace and Lorraine—Bismarck is now intimating an intention of annexing them to Bavaria and Baden;

4) as soon as a non-chauvinistic republican government is at the helm in Paris, work for an honourable peace with it;

5) constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other;

6) *Russia*, as in the Address of the International.

Amusing is Wilhelm's assertion that because Bismarck is a former accomplice of Badinguet's the correct position is to remain neutral. If that were the general opinion in Germany, we should soon have the Confederation of the Rhine again and the noble Wilhelm should just see what sort of role he would play in that, and what would become of the workers' movement. A people that gets nothing but kicks and blows is indeed the right one to make a social revolution, and at that in Wilhelm's innumerable beloved petty states!

How nice that the poor little fellow seeks to call me to account for something that was "supposed" to have been in the *Elberfelder Zeitung*! Poor animal!

The debacle in France seems to be frightful. Everything squandered, sold, swindled away. The *chassepots* are badly made and miss fire in action; there are no more of them and the old flintlocks have got to be hunted out again. Nevertheless a revolutionary government, if it comes *soon*, need not despair. But it must abandon Paris to its fate and carry on the war from the South. There would then still be a possibility of its holding out until arms have been bought and new armies organized which would gradually force the enemy back to the frontier. This would really be the true end of the war, both countries reciprocally furnishing proof that they are unconquerable. But if this does not happen quickly the game is up. Moltke's operations are a model—old William seems to give him a perfectly free hand—

and the fourth-call battalions are already joining the army, while the French ones are not yet in existence.

If Badinguet is not out of Metz yet it may go badly with him.

Sea-bathing is no good for rheumatism. But Gumpert, who is spending four weeks in Wales, maintains that *sea-air* is particularly wholesome. I hope you will soon be relieved of your pain. It's something terrible. At any rate it's not dangerous. The restoration of your general health is much more important.

Best regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

Ramsgate, August 17, 1870

Dear Fred!

My best thanks (ditto from Mrs. Marx for the letter to her) for the pains you took under such aggravating circumstances. Your letter tallies completely with the plan of the answer which I have already thought out in my head. Nevertheless, in such an important matter—it is not a question of Wilhelm[1] but of *instructions as to the line of conduct to the German workers*—I did not want to act without first consulting with you.

Wilhelm infers his agreement with me:

1) from the Address of the *International*, which he of course first translated into his own, Wilhelminian language;

2) from the circumstance that I approved his and Bebel's declaration in the Reichstag.[2] That was a "moment" when stickling for principle was an act of courage, but it by no means follows that the moment is still continuing, and much less that the attitude of the German proletariat toward a war which has

[1] Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

[2] When the credits needed to carry on the war against France were put to a vote in the Reichstag Bebel and Liebknecht abstained and expressed their protest in principle against any dynastic war.—*Ed*

become national is comprehended in Wilhelm's antipathy to Prussia. It would be just as if we, because at a suitable moment we had raised our voices against the "Bonapartist" liberation of Italy, should want to object to the relative independence which Italy received as a result of that war.

The lust for Alsace and Lorraine seems to predominate in two circles: the Prussian camarilla and the South-German beer-patriots. It would be the greatest misfortune that could befall Europe and above all Germany. You will have seen that most of the Russian newspapers are already talking of the necessity of European diplomatic intervention in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

Kugelmann confuses a defensive war with defensive military operations. So if a fellow falls upon me in the street I may only parry his blows but not knock him down, because then I should turn into an *aggressor*! The want of dialectics peeps out of every word these people utter.

I have not slept a wink the fourth night running because of the rheumatism, and all that time fantastic ideas about Paris, etc., occur to me. I shall have Gumpert's sleeping potion prepared for me this evening.

With the death knell of the Second Empire, that will end as it began, by a parody,[1] I hit off my Bonaparte after all! Can one imagine a finer parody of Napoleon's 1814 campaign? I believe we two are the only people who grasped the *whole mediocrity* of Boustrapa from the beginning, regarded him as a mere show-man, and never allowed ourselves to be misled by his momentary successes.

By the way, the bourgeois Peace Society has sent the General Council of the International £20 for printing the Manifesto in the French and German languages.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

[1] Here Marx quotes a passage from the First Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the Franco-Prussian War. See Marx-Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow 1955, p. 488.—*Ed.*

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MARX TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY OF GERMANY, BRUNSWICK[1]

London, approx. September 1, 1870

The military camarilla, the professorial fraternity, the burghers and pot-house politicians claim that this[2] is the means whereby Germany can be forever protected against war with France. Just the opposite. It is the most approved means of turning this war into a *European institution.* It is indeed the surest way of perpetuating military despotism in the rejuvenated Germany as essential to retaining possession of a *western Poland*—of Alsace and Lorraine. It is an unfailing means of converting the coming peace into a mere armistice until France has recovered sufficiently to demand back her lost territories. It is the most infallible method of ruining both Germany and France by internecine strife.

The knaves and the fools who discovered these guarantees of eternal peace ought to know from Prussian history, from the big-stick policy applied by Napoleon in framing the Treaty of Tilsit that such violent measures of pacifying a viable people produce an effect exactly opposite to that intended. Behold France, even after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, compared with Germany after the Tilsit Peace!

If French chauvinism, so long as the *old order of state* obtained, had a certain material justification in the fact that since 1815 the capital, Paris, and with it France, lay defenseless after a few battles were lost, what new nourishment will it not imbibe when the boundary line will run along the Vosges in the East and at Metz in the North?

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[1] Of the present letter there have been preserved only the excerpts from it that were included in the Manifesto on the war published in the form of a leaflet by the Executive of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.—*Ed*

[2] Prussia's seizure of Alsace and Lorraine.—*Ed.*

That the Lorrainers and Alsatians desire the blessings of *German* government even the ... Teuton does not dare to maintain. It is the principle of Pan-Germanism and of "secure" frontiers that is being proclaimed, which, if it were practised by the Eastern side, would lead to fine results for Germany and Europe.

Anyone who has not been entirely deafened by the din and noise of the moment or has no *interest* in the deafening of the German people must realize that the War of 1870 is as necessarily pregnant with a *war between Germany and Russia* as the War of 1866 was with the War of 1870.

I say *necessarily, inevitably*, except in the improbable event of a prior outbreak of a *revolution in Russia.*

If this improbable case does not eventuate the war between Germany and Russia must already now be treated as an accomplished fact.

It depends entirely upon the present conduct of the German victors whether this war is going to be useful or harmful.

If they take Alsace and Lorraine France will be *joined* by Russia in the war against Germany. Needless to point to the baneful consequences.

If they conclude an honourable peace with France that war will liberate Europe from the Muscovite dictatorship, will dissolve Prussia in Germany, allow the western part of the Continent to develop in peace and finally will help the Russian social revolution—the elements of which need only such an impetus from without for their development—to erupt, from which the Russian people too will benefit.

But I am afraid the knaves and the fools will continue their mad game unhindered unless the German working class raises its voice in a mass chorus....

The present war ushers in a new era in world history by the proof which Germany has given that even with the exclusion of German Austria she is capable of going her own way *independently of the other countries.* That she finds her *unity* at first in the *Prussian barracks* is a punishment she has amply merited. But one result has been even thus directly achieved. Such

trifling matters as the conflict between the National-Liberal North Germans and the People's Party South Germans will no longer uselessly obstruct the way. Relations will develop on a grand scale and become simpler. If the German working class does not then play the historical role it is entitled to it will be its own fault. *This war has shifted the centre of gravity of the working-class movement on the Continent from France to Germany.* This places greater responsibility upon the German working class.

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ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, September 4, 1870

Was schert mich Weib, was schert mich Kind,
Ich trage höhres Verlangen;
Lass sie betteln gehn, wenn sie hungrig sind—
Mein Kaiser, mein Kaiser gefangen![1]

World history is surely the greatest of poets, it has even succeeded in parodying Heine. My Emperor, my Emperor a captive! And, what is more, of the "stinking Prussians." And poor William[2] stands by and assures everybody for the hundredth time that he is really quite innocent of the whole business and that it is purely the will of God. William appears just like the schoolboy: "Who created the world?" "Please, teacher, I did—but I won't ever do it again!"

And then the miserable Jules Favre comes along and proposes that Palikao, Trochu and a few Arcadians shall form the government. There never was such a lousy crew. But all the same it is to be expected that when this becomes known in Paris

[1] What care I for wife, what care I for child—I have higher yearnings; if hungry they are let them go and beg—my Emperor, my Emperor a captive! (From Heinrich Heine's "The Grenadiers".)—*Ed.*

[2] Kaiser William.—*Ed*

something or other will happen. I cannot believe that this flood of news, which is bound to become known today or tomorrow, will fail to produce its effect. Perhaps a government of the Left, which after some show of resistance will conclude peace.

The war is at an end. There is no more army in France. As soon as Bazaine capitulates, which will no doubt happen this week, half the German army will march to Paris and the other half across the Loire to sweep the country clean of all armed assemblages....

The Alsace swindle—apart from its pristine Teutonic features—is mainly of a strategical nature and aims at getting the line of the Vosges and German Lorraine as border territory. (Language frontier: if you draw a straight line from Donon or Schirmeck in the Vosges to one hour's travelling east of Longwy, where the Belgian-Luxemburg and French frontiers meet, that is almost the exact place; and from Donon along the Vosges to the Swiss frontier.) Northward from Donon the Vosges are not so high and steep as in the South. Only the asses of the *Staatsanzeiger* and Brass & Co. could get the notion that France will be "throttled" by the snipping off of this narrow strip with its one and a quarter million or so inhabitants. The screams of the philistines for "guarantees" are altogether absurd, but they tell because they suit the book of the Court people....

In Saarbrücken the French did as much damage as they could. Of course the bombardment lasted only a few hours and not as in Strassburg day and night for weeks.

Herewith returning Cacadou's[1] letter with thanks. Very interesting. The defence of Paris, if nothing out of the way happens inside, will be an entertaining episode. These perpetual little panics of the French—which all arise from fear of the moment when they will at last have to learn the truth—give one a much better idea of the Reign of Terror. We take this to mean the rule of people who inspire terror. On the contrary, it is the rule of people who themselves are terror-stricken. Terror implies mostly useless cruelties perpetrated by frightened people in order to

[1] Laura Lafargue, Marx's daughter.—*Ed.*

reassure themselves. I am convinced that the blame for the Reign of Terror in 1793 lies almost exclusively with the bourgeois frightened out of their wits and demeaning themselves like patriots, with the small philistines quaking with fear and the mob of the underworld who know how to coin profit from terror. These are just the classes in the present minor terror too.

Best regards to all of you from all of us, including Jollymeyer and Moore.

Yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

Manchester, September 12, 1870

... If anything at all could be done in Paris, the workers should be prevented from letting fly before peace is concluded. Bismarck will soon be in a position to make peace, either by taking Paris or because the European situation will oblige him to put an end to the war. However the peace may turn out, it must be concluded before the workers can do anything at all. If they should be victorious now—while in the service of the national defence—they would have to enter upon the legacy left by Bonaparte and the present lousy republic, and would be needlessly crushed by the German armies and thrown back another twenty years. They themselves can lose nothing by waiting. The possible boundary changes are in any case only provisional and will be abrogated again. To fight for the bourgeoisie against the Prussians would be madness. Whatever government concludes peace will on that account alone become before long impossible, and in internal conflicts there will not be much to fear from the army, returned home after imprisonment. The chances will be more favourable to the workers after the peace than they ever were before. But will they not let themselves be carried away under the pressure of an attack from without, and

proclaim the Social Republic on the eve of the storming of Paris? It would be appalling if as their last act of war the German armies had to fight a battle with the Parisian workers at the barricades. It would set us back fifty years and delay everything so much that everybody and everything would get into a false position—and, besides, the national hatred and the domination by phrases which would *then* arise among the French workers!...

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MARX TO E. S. BEESLY

London, October 19, 1870

My Dear Sir,

Deak is against the workmen. He is, in fact, a Hungarian edition of an English Whig.

As to Lyons, I have received letters not fit for publication. At first everything went well. Under the pressure of the "International" section, the Republic was proclaimed before Paris had taken that step. A revolutionary Government was at once established—*La Commune*—composed partly of workmen belonging to the "International," partly of Radical middle-class Republicans. The octrois were at once abolished, and rightly so. The Bonapartist and Clerical intriguers were intimidated. Energetic measures were taken to arm the whole people. The middle class began if not really to sympathise with, at least to quietly undergo, the new order of things. The action of Lyons was at once felt at Marseilles and Toulouse, where the "International" sections are strong.

But the asses, Bakunin and Cluseret, arrived at Lyons and spoiled everything. Belonging both to the "International," they had, unfortunately, influence enough to mislead our friends. The Hotel de Ville was seized—for a short time—and most foolish decrees on the *abolition de l'état*[1] and similar nonsense were is-

[1] Abolition of the state.—*Ed.*

sued. You understand that the very fact of a Russian—represented by the middle class papers as an agent of Bismarck—pretending to impose himself as the leader of a *Comité du Salut de la France*[1] was quite sufficient to turn the balance of public opinion. As to *Cluseret*, he behaved both as a fool and a coward. These two men left Lyons after their failure.

At Rouen, as in most other industrial towns of France, the sections of the International, following the example of Lyons, have enforced the official admission into the "committees of defence" of the working class element.

Still, I must tell you that according to all information I receive from France, the middle class on the whole prefers Prussian conquest to the victory of a Republic with socialist tendencies.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, December 13, 1870

Dear Kugelmann,

You must find an explanation for my long silence in the fact that during this war, which has taken most of the foreign correspondents of the General Council to France, I have had to conduct *practically the entire international correspondence*, which is no trifle. Apart from that, with the "*postal freedom*" now prevailing in Germany and particutarly in the North German Confederation, and most "particularty" in Hanover, it is dangcrous—not for me, it is true, but for my German correspondents—if I write them my opinion on the war, and what clse can one write about at the present moment?

For example, you ask me for our first Address on the war. I

[1] Committee of the Salvation of France.—*Ed.*

had sent it to you. It has obviously been confiscated. I am enclosing in this letter the two Addresses issued as a pamphlet as well as Professor Beesly's article in the *Fortnightly Review* and today's *Daily News*. Since this paper has a Prussian tinge, the things will probably get through. Professor Beesly is a Comtist and as such obliged to think up all sorts of crotchets, but otherwise he is a very capable and brave man. He is professor of history at London University.

It seems that Germany was not satisfied with capturing Bonaparte, his generals and his army. The whole of imperialism, with all its infirmities, has been acclimatized in the land of the oak and the linden tree.

As to the German bourgeois, I am not at all surprised by his intoxication with conquest. First of all, to grab things is the vital principle of every bourgeoisie and to take foreign provinces is after all "taking." And then the German bourgeois has most dutifully accepted so many kicks from his sovereigns, particularly the Hohenzollerns, that it must be a real pleasure to him when those kicks are administered for a change to a foreigner.

In any case this war has freed us from the "bourgeois republicans." It has put a horrible end to that crew. And that is an important result. It has given our professors the best opportunity of discrediting themselves in the eyes of the whole world for being servile pedants. The conditions which result from it will be the best propaganda of our principles.

Here in England public opinion on the outbreak of war was ultra-Prussian; it has now turned into the opposite. In the *cafés chantants*, for example, German singers with their Wi-Wa-Wacht on the Rhine have been hissed off the floor while French singers with the *Marseillaise* have been accompanied in chorus. Apart from the decided sympathy of the popular masses for the Republic, from the vexation of the respectability at the alliance between Prussia and Russia, now clear as daylight, and from the shameless tone of Prussian diplomacy since Prussia's military successes, the manner in which the war has been conducted—the requisitioning system, the burning down of villages, the shooting of francs-tireurs, the taking of hostages and similar acts reminiscent of

the Thirty Years' War—has aroused universal indignation in this country. Of course, the English have done the same in India, Jamaica, etc., but the French are neither Hindus, nor Chinese, nor Negroes, and the Prussians are not heaven-born Englishmen! It is a truly Hohenzollern idea that a people commits a crime in continuing to defend itself once its regular army has given out. In fact, the war of the Prussian people against Napoleon I was a real thorn in the side of good old Frederick William III, as you can see from Professor Pertz's historical account of Gneisenau, who made the war of *francs-tireurs* into a system through his *Landsturm*. The fact that the people fought on their own initiative and independently of orders from the highest quarters gave Frederick William III no peace.

However, the last word has not yet been spoken. The war in France can still take a very "unpleasant" turn. The resistance put up by the Loire Army was "beyond" calculation, and the present scattering of the Prussian forces right and left is merely intended to instil fear, but in fact its only result is to awaken the power of defence at every point and weaken the power of offense. The threatened bombardment of Paris is nothing but a trick. On the city of Paris itself it can, by all the rules of the calculus of probability, have no serious effect. If a few outworks are shot to pieces and a breach is made, what good is that when the besieged outnumber the besiegers? And if the besieged fought exceptionally well in the sorties when the enemy defended himself behind entrenchments, how much better will they fight when the roles are reversed?

To starve Paris out is the only real way. But if that is dragged out long enough to allow armies to be formed and the people's war to develop in the provinces, nothing will be gained thereby except a shifting of the centre of gravity. Moreover, even after the surrender of Paris, which cannot be occupied and kept tranquil by a mere handful, a large part of the invaders would lie idle.

But however the war may end, it has given the French proletariat practice in arms, and that is the best guarantee of the future.

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MARX TO THE EDITOR OF THE "DAILY NEWS"

London, January 16, 1871

Sir,

In accusing the French Government of "having rendered impossible the free expression of opinion in France through the medium of the press and of national representatives," Bismarck did evidently but intend to crack a Berlin Witz.[1] If you want to become acquainted with "true" French opinion please apply to Herr Stieber, the editor of the Versailles *Moniteur*, and the notorious Prussian police spy!

At Bismarck's express command Messrs. Bebel and Liebknecht have been arrested, on the charge of high treason, simply because they dared to fulfil their duties as German national representatives, viz., to protest in the Reichstag against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, vote against new war subsidies, express their sympathy with the French Republic, and denounce the attempt at the conversion of Germany into one Prussian barrack. For the utterance of the same opinions the members of the Brunswick Socialist Democratic Committee have, since the beginning of last September, been treated like galley-slaves, and are *still undergoing a mock prosecution for high treason*. The same lot has befallen numerous workmen who propagated the Brunswick manifesto. On similar pretexts, Mr. Hepner, the sub-editor of the Leipzig *Volksstaat*, is prosecuted for high treason. The few independent German journals existing outside Prussia are forbidden admission into the Hohenzollern estates. German workmen's meetings in favour of a peace honourable for France are

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[1] Joke.—*Ed.*

daily dispersed by the police. According to the official Prussian doctrine, as naively laid down by General Vogel von Falckenstein, every German "trying to counteract the prospective aims of the Prussian warfare in France," is guilty of high treason. If M. Gambetta and Co. were, like the Hohenzollern, forced to violently put down popular opinion, they would only have to apply the Prussian method, and, on the plea of war, proclaim throughout France the state of siege. The only French soldiers on German soil moulder in Prussian gaols. Still the Prussian Government feels itself bound to rigorously maintain the state of siege, that is to say the crudest and most revolting form of military despotism, the suspension of all law. The French soil is infested by about a million of German invaders. Yet the French Government can safely dispense with that Prussian method of "rendering possible the free expression of opinion." Look at this picture and at that! Germany, however, has proved too petty a field for Bismarck's all-absorbing love of independent opinion. When the Luxemburgers gave vent to their sympathies with France, Bismarck made this expression of sentiment one of his pretexts for renouncing the London neutrality treaty. When the Belgian press committed a similar sin, the Prussian ambassador at Brussels, Herr von Balan, invited the Belgian ministry to put down not only all anti-Prussian newspaper articles, but even the printing of mere news calculated to cheer on the French in their war of independence. A very modest request this, indeed, to suspend the Belgian Constitution, "pour le roi de Prusse"! No sooner had some Stockholm papers indulged in some mild jokes at the notorious "piety" of Wilhelm Annexander, than Bismarck came down on the Swedish cabinet with grim missives. Even under the meridian of St. Petersburg he contrived to spy too licentious a press. At his humble supplication, the editors of the principal Petersburg papers were summoned before the Censor-in-Chief, who bid them beware of all strictures upon the feal Borussian vassal of the Czar. One of those editors, M. Sagulja-jew, was imprudent enough to emit the secret of this *avertissement*[1]

[1] Warning.—*Ed.*

through the columns of the *Golos*. He was at once pounced upon by the Russian police, and bundled off to some remote province.

It would be a mistake to believe that those gendarme proceedings are only due to the paroxysm of war fever. They are, on the contrary, the true methodical application of Prussian law principles. There exists in point of fact an odd proviso in the Prussian criminal code, by dint of which every foreigner, on account of his doings or writings in his own or any other foreign country, may be prosecuted for "insult against the Prussian King" and "high treason against Prussia"! France—and her cause is fortunately far from desperate—fights at this moment not only for her own national independence, but for the liberty of Germany and Europe.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO S. MEYER

[London,] January 21, 1871

...The semi-official *Archives of Forensic Medicine* is published in Petersburg (in Russian). One of the physicians writing for this journal published an article, "On the Hygienic Conditions of the West-European Proletariat," in the issue for the last quarter, chiefly quoting my book,[1] but mentioning the sources. This resulted in the following calamity: the censor got a severe call-down from the Minister of the Interior, the editor-in-chief was taken off the job, and that issue—all the copies they could still get hold of—was consigned to the flames!

I don't know whether I told you that at the beginning of 1870 I began to study Russian by myself, which I now read fairly fluently. This came about because I had been sent from Peters-

[1] *Capital*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

burg Flerovsky's very important work on *The Condition of the Working Class* (especially the peasants) *in Russia*, and because I also wanted to familiarize myself with the economic works (they're excellent) of Chernyshevsky (who as a reward was sentenced to the Siberian mines where he has been serving time for the past seven years). The result was worth the effort that a man of my age must make to master a language differing so greatly from the classical, Germanic, and Romance language groups. The intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that deep below the surface fermentation is going on. Minds are always connected by invisible threads with the body of the people....

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, February 4, 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

I am sorry to learn from your last letter that your state of health has again got worse. In the autumn and winter months mine was tolerable, although the cough which I contracted during my last stay in Hanover is still troubling me.

I sent you the *Daily News* containing my letter.[1] Obviously it has been confiscated, like the other things I sent you. Today I am enclosing the cutting, as well as the first Address of the General Council. The letter actually contains nothing but facts, but was effective precisely because of that.

You know my opinion of the middle-class heroes. Monsieur Jules Favre (notorious from the days of the Provisional Government and Cavaignac) & Co. have however surpassed my expectations. First of all they allowed the "*sabre orthodox*," the "*crétin militaire*," as Blanqui rightly dubs Trochu, to carry out his

[1] See Letter 130 in this volume.—*Ed.*

"plan." This plan consisted simply in prolonging the *passive resistance* of Paris to the utmost limit, that is, to the starvation point, while confining the offensive to sham manœuvres and *des sorties platoniques*. What I am saying is not just "supposition." I know the contents of a letter which Jules Favre himself wrote to Gambetta and in which he complains that he and other members of that part of the government cowering in Paris sought in vain to spur Trochu on to serious offensive measures. Trochu always answered that that would give the upper hand to *Parisian demogogy*. Gambetta replied: "*You have pronounced your own condemnation.*" Trochu considered it much more important to keep down the Reds in Paris with the help of his Breton bodyguard—which rendered him the same services that the Corsicans rendered Louis Bonaparte—than to defeat the Prussians. This is the real secret of the defeats not only at Paris but throughout France, where the bourgeoisie, in agreement with the majority of the local authorities, has acted on the same principle.

After Trochu's plan had been carried out to its climax—to the point where Paris had to surrender or starve—Jules Favre & Co had simply to follow the example of the commander of the fortress of Toul. He did not surrender. He merely explained to the Prussians that he was compelled through lack of food to abandon the defence and open the gates of the fortress. They could now do as they chose.

But Jules Favre is not content with signing a formal capitulation. Having declared himself, his associates in the government, and Paris the King of Prussia's *prisoners of war*, he has the audacity *to act in the name of the whole of France*. What did he know of the situation in France outside Paris? Absolutely nothing except what Bismarck was gracious enough to tell him.

More. These *Messieurs les prisonniers du roi de Prusse* go further and declare that the part of the French Government still free in Bordeaux has forfeited its authority *and can act only in agreement* with them—*the prisoners of war of the Prussian king*. Since they, as prisoners of war, *can* themselves act only at the dictate of their war-lord, they thereby proclaimed the King of Prussia *de facto* the *highest authority* in France.

Even Louis Bonaparte, after he surrendered and was taken prisoner at Sedan, was not so shameless. To Bismarck's proposals he replied that he could not enter upon negotiations because as a Prussian prisoner he had ceased to exercise any authority in France.

At the most J. Favre could have accepted a *conditional* armistice for the whole of France, namely, with the proviso that the agreement should be sanctioned by the Bordeaux government, which alone had the right and was competent to agree with the Prussians upon the clauses of such an armistice. That government, at any rate, would not have allowed the latter to exclude the *eastern* theatre of war from the armistice. They would not have allowed them to round off their line of occupation so advantageously for themselves.

Rendered insolent by the usurpatory pretensions of his prisoners of war, who in that capacity continue to play at being the French Government, Bismarck is now interfering in internal French affairs without any embarrassment. He *protests*, noble soul, against Gambetta's decree concerning the general elections to the *Assemblée*, because the decree, according to him, is prejudicial to the freedom of elections. Indeed! Gambetta should answer with a protest against the state of siege and other conditions prevailing in Germany, which annihilate the freedom of elections to the Reichstag.

I hope that Bismarck sticks to his conditions of peace. Four hundred million pounds sterling as war indemnity—half the English national debt! Even the French bourgeoisie will understand that. It will perhaps at last realize that by continuing the war they *could* at the worst *only gain*.

The mob, high class and low, judges by appearances, the façade, the immediate result. During the last twenty years it has, all over the world, apotheosized Louis Bonaparte. I have always exposed him, even at his apogee, as a *mediocre scoundrel*. That is also my opinion of the Junker Bismarck....

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ENGELS TO THE SPANISH FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION

London, February 13, 1871

Citizens,

It is with great pleasure that the General Council has received your letter of December 14. Your preceding letter dated July 30 has likewise reached us. It was passed on to Citizen Serraillier, Secretary for Spain, with instructions to forward our reply to you. But Citizen Serraillier shortly afterwards left for France to fight for the republic and was subsequently locked up in Paris. Hence, if you have not yet received a reply to yours of July 30, which is still in his hands, it is due to the above circumstances. The General Council at its sitting of the 7th instant has placed the undersigned F. E. in charge *ad interim* of correspondence with Spain and has passed your last letter on to him.

We have regularly received the following Spanish working-class newspapers: the Barcelona *La Federacion*, the Madrid *La Solidaridad* (until December 1870), the Palma *El Obrero* (until its suspension), and recently the Palma *La Revolucion Social* (the first issue only). These newspapers have kept us posted on what is going on in the labour movement in Spain. We have seen with great satisfaction that the ideas of the social revolution are becoming more and more the common property of the working class of your country.

Doubtlessly the vain declamations of the old political parties have, as you say, attracted too much the attention of the people and have thus been a great obstacle in the way of our propaganda. That happened everywhere during the first few years of the proletarian movement. In France, in England and in Germany, the Socialists were compelled, and are still compelled, to combat the influence and activity of the old political parties, whether they be aristocratic or bourgeois, monarchist or even republican. Experience has shown everywhere that the best way to emancipate the workers from this domination of the old parties is to form

in each country a proletarian party with a policy of its own, a policy quite distinct from that of the other parties, because it should express the conditions necessary for the emancipation of the working class. This policy may vary in details according to the specific circumstances of each country; but as the fundamental relations between labour and capital are the same everywhere and everywhere the political domination of the possessing classes over the exploited classes is an existing fact, the principles and aims of proletarian policy will be identical, at least in all western countries. The possessing classes—the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie—keep the working people in servitude not only by the might of their wealth, by the simple exploitation of labour by capital, but also by the power of the state—by the army, the bureaucracy, the courts. To give up fighting our adversaries in the political field would mean to abandon one of the most powerful means of struggle, particularly in the sphere of organization and propaganda. Universal suffrage provides us with an excellent means of struggle. In Germany the workers, firmly organized in a political party, have succeeded in sending six deputies to the so-called national representation; and the opposition which our friends Bebel and Liebknecht have been able to offer there against a war of conquest has worked more powerfully in the interest of our international propaganda than meetings and years of propaganda in the press would have. At present in France too workers' representatives have been elected and will loudly proclaim our principles. At the next elections the same thing will happen in England.

We learn with pleasure that it is your kind intention to remit to us the dues collected by the branches in your country. We shall receive them gratefully. Please make the remittance by draft on any London banker to the order of John Weston, our treasurer, enclosed in a registered letter addressed to the undersigned, either 256, High Holborn, London, the seat of our Council, or 122, R.P.R., his home address.

We are awaiting with great interest the statistics concerning your federation which you promised to send us.

As for the Congress of the International, it is useless to think of it while the present war lasts. But if peace, as it seems, is soon restored the Council will immediately take up this important question and consider your friendly invitation to convoke it in Barcelona.

We have no sections yet in Portugal; it might perhaps be easier for you than for us to initiate relations with the workers of that country. If that is so be good enough to write to us once more on the subject. We likewise believe that it would be better, at least in the beginning, if you started relations with the Buenos Aires printers, provided you inform us later of the results obtained. Meanwhile you would do us a kind service and one useful to the cause if you should mail us an issue of the *Anales de la Sociedad de tipógrafos de Buenos Aires* to get acquainted with it.

As for the rest the international movement continues to march on in spite of all obstacles. In England the Central Trades Councils of Birmingham and Manchester, and through them the workers of the two most important manufacturing cities in the country, have just directly affiliated to our Association. In Germany we are suffering for the time being the same persecution by the government which Louis Napoleon a year ago inflicted on us in France. Our German friends, more than fifty of whom are in prison, suffer literally for the international cause. They have been arrested and prosecuted because they opposed the policy of conquest with might and main and urged that the German people should fraternize with the French people. In Austria too many of our friends have been gaoled, but the movement marches on nevertheless. *In France* our *sections* have everywhere been the soul of the resistance movement and constituted its strength against the invasion. They have seized power locally in the big cities of the South; and if Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Toulouse have developed an energy unknown elsewhere, it was thanks to the efforts of the members of the International. In Belgium we have a strong organization; our Belgian sections held their Sixth Regional Congress. In

which arose some time ago among

our sections are apparently about to be ironed out. From America we have received the news of the affiliation of new French, German and Czech (Bohemian) sections and, besides, are continuing our fraternal relations with the Labor League, the big organization of American workers.

Hoping to receive news from you soon we are sending you our fraternal greetings.

For the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association,

F. E.

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MARX TO W. LIEBKNECHT

[London,] April 6, 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

The news that you and Bebel as well as the Brunswick people were released was received here in the Central Council with great rejoicing.

It seems the Parisians are succumbing. It is their own fault, but a fault which really was due to their too great decency. The Central Committee and later the Commune gave that mischievous abortion Thiers time to centralize hostile forces, in the first place by their folly of not wanting to start a *civil war*—as if Thiers had not already started it by his attempt at the forcible disarming of Paris, as if the National Assembly, summoned to decide the question of war or peace with the Prussians, had not immediately declared war on the *Republic*! Secondly, in order that the appearance of having usurped power should not attach to them they lost precious moments (they should immediately have advanced on Versailles after the defeat (*Place Vendôme*) of the reaction in Paris)[1] by the election of the Commune, the organization of which, etc., cost yet more time.

[1] On March 22, 1871, a counter-revolutionary putsch was attempted on Place Vendôme in Paris aiming at the overthrow of the Commune government. The attempt was crushed by the National Guard.—*Ed*

You must not believe a word of all the stuff you get to see in the papers about the internal events in Paris. It is all lies and deception. Never has the viteness of the reptile bourgeois newspaper hacks displayed itself more splendidly.

It is highly characteristic that the German Unity-Emperor, Unity-Empire, and Unity-Parliament in Berlin appear *not to exist at all* for the outside world. Every breath of wind that stirs in Paris excites more interest....

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

London, April 12, 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

Your "doctor's orders" were effective in so far as I consulted my Dr. Matheson and have for the present put myself under his care. He says however that my lungs are in excellent condition and the cough is due to bronchitis, etc. The same may affect the liver.

Yesterday we received the by no means tranquillizing news that Lafargue (not Laura) was at present in Paris.

If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*, you will find that I declare that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but *to smash* it, and this is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting. What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused by internal treachery more even than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not still at the gates of Paris! History has no like example of like greatness! If they are defeated only their "good nature" will be to blame. They should have

marched at once on Versailles after first Vinoy and then the reactionary section of the Paris National Guard had themselves retreated. They missed their opportunity because of conscientious scruples. They did not want *to start a civil war*, as if that mischievous abortion Thiers had not already started the civil war with his attempt to disarm Paris! Second mistake: The Central Committee surrendered its power too soon, to make way for the Commune. Again from a too "honourable" scrupulosity! However that may be, the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine, and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris. Compare these Parisians, storming heaven, with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the Church, cabbage-junkerdom and above all, of the philistine.

A propos. In the o*fficial publication* of the list of those receiving direct subsidies from L. Bonaparte's treasury there is a note that *Vogt* received 40,000 francs in August 1859! I have informed Liebknecht of this fact for further use.

You can send me the Haxthausen as *lately* I have been receiving undamaged various pamphlets, etc., not only from Germany but even from Petersburg.

Thanks for the various newspapers you sent me. (Please let me have more of them, for I want to write something about Germany, the Reichstag, etc.).

Best regards to the Countess and Käuzchen.

Yours,
K. M.

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MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

[London,] April 17, 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

Your letter duly received. Just at present I have my hands full. Hence only a few words. How you can compare petty-bourgeois

demonstrations *à la* June 13, 1849,[1] etc., with the present struggle in Paris is quite incomprehensible to me.

World history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances. It would on the other hand be of a very mystical nature, if "accidents" played no part. These accidents naturally form part of the general course of development and are compensated by other accidents. But acceleration and delay are very much dependent upon such "accidents," including the "accident" of the character of the people who first head the movement.

The decisively unfavourable "accident" this time is by no means to be sought in the general conditions of French society, but in the presence of the Prussians in France and their position right before Paris. Of this the Parisians were well aware. But of this, the bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles were also well aware. Precisely for that reason they presented the Parisians with the alternative of either taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. The demoralization of the working class in the latter case would have been a far greater misfortune than the succumbing of any number of "leaders." With the struggle in Paris the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase. Whatever the immediate outcome may be, a new point of departure of world-wide importance has been gained.

Adieu!

K. M.

[1] On June 13, 1849, a demonstration was organized in Paris by the Party of the Mountain in protest against the forcible overthrow of the Republic of Rome by French troops. The demonstration was dispersed almost without an effort and merely confirmed the bankruptcy of the petty-bourgeois revolutionary democrats in France.—*Ed.*

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MARX TO L. FRÄNCKEL AND L. E. VARLIN

[London,] May 13, 1871

Dear Citizens Fräncket and Varlin,

I have had meetings with the bearer.

Would it not be useful to put the documents which compromise the Versailles blackguards in a safe place? A precaution of this kind could not do any harm.

Somebody wrote to me from Bordeaux that four members of the International were elected at the last municipal elections. The provinces are beginning to ferment. Unfortunately the action there is only local and "pacific."

I have written several hundred letters in support of your case to every corner of the world in which we have branches. The working class has been, for the rest, on the side of the Commune from its very beginning.

Even the bourgeois papers in England have given up their original ferocity. I have succeeded in slipping some favourable paragraphs into them from time to time.

The Commune seems to me to be wasting too much time in trivialities and personal quarrels. One can see that there are other influences besides that of the workers. None of this would matter if you were able to make up for lost time.

It is absolutely necessary that whatever you want to do outside Paris, in England or elsewhere, you should do quickly. The Prussians will not hand over the forts to the Versailles government, but after the final conclusion of peace (May 26) will allow it to invest Paris with its *gendarmes*. Since Thiers & Co. had, as you know, stipulated for a large commission[1] for themselves in the treaty concluded by Pouyer-Quertier, they refused to accept the help from the German bankers which Bismarck offered them. Had they accepted it they would have lost their commission. As the

[1] The reference is to the two-milliard internal loan, on the negotiation of which Thiers, J. Favre and other members of the government exacted a commission amounting to several million francs.—*Ed*

preliminary condition for the realization of *their* treaty was the conquest of Paris, they asked Bismarck to postpone the payment of the first instalment until after the occupation of Paris. Bismarck has accepted this condition. Prussia, being herself in very urgent need of this money, will therefore give the Versailles government every possible facility for hastening the occupation of Paris. So be on your guard!

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MARX TO E. S. BEESLY[1]

[London,] June 12, 1871

My Dear Sir,

Lafargue, his family and my daughters are in the Pyrenees, but on the French side of the Spanish border. As Lafargue was born in Cuba he was able to get a Spanish passport. I wish however he would definitely settle on the Spanish side, as he played a leading rôle in Bordeaux.

Despite my admiration for your articles in the *Beehive*, I am almost sorry to see your name in that paper. Permit me to observe by the way that as a Party man I entertain a thoroughly hostile attitude towards Comtism, while as a scientific man I have a very poor opinion of it, but I regard you as the only Comtist, in England as well as France, who deals with historical turning points (crises) not as a sectarian but as an historian in the best sense of the word. The *Beehive* calls itself a workers' paper but it is really the organ of the renegades, sold to Sam. Morley & Co. During the last war, the Franco-Prussian, the General Council of the International was obliged to sever all connection with this paper and publicly to declare that it was a sham workers' paper. The big London papers, however, with the exception of the local London *Eastern Post*, refused to print this declaration. In such

[1] This letter was written in English, but the loss of the original made necessary the present retranslation from the German.—*Ed.*

circumstances your co-operation with the *Beehive* is a further sacrifice you are making to the good cause.

A woman friend of mine will be going to Paris in three or four days. I am giving her regular passes for some members of the Commune who are still hiding in Paris. If you or one of your friends have any commissions there please write to me.

What comforts me is the nonsense which the yellow press publishes every day about my writings and my relations to the Commune; this is sent to me each day from Paris. It shows that the Versailles police is very hard put to it to get hold of genuine documents. My relations with the Commune were maintained through a German merchant who travels between Paris and London all the year round. Everything was settled verbally with the exception of two matters:

First, through the same intermediary I sent the members of the Commune a letter in answer to a question from them as to how they could sell certain securities on the London Exchange.

Second, on May 11, ten days before the catastrophe, I sent them via the same channel all the details of the secret agreement between Bismarck and Favre in Frankfort.[1]

I had this information from Bismarck's right hand[2]—a man who had formerly (from 1848-53) belonged to a secret society of which I was the leader. This man knows that I have still got all the reports which he sent me from and about Germany. He is dependent on my discretion. Hence his continual efforts to prove to me his good intentions. It is the same man who, as I told you, had me warned that Bismarck decided to have me arrested if I visited Dr. Kugelmann in Hanover again this year.

If only the Commune had listened to my warnings! I advised its members to fortify the northern side of the heights of Montmartre, the Prussian side, and they still had time to do this; I told them beforehand that they would otherwise be caught in a

[1] When the final peace treaty between France and Germany was signed in Frankfort-on-Main on May 10, 1871, J. Favre and Bismarck entered into a secret arrangement by which the Prussians were to render active assistance in the breaking up of the Commune.—*Ed.*

[2] *Johannes Miquel*- formerly a member of the Communist League.—*Ed.*

trap; I denounced Pyat, Grousset and Vesinier to them; I demanded that they should at once send to London all the documents compromising the members of the National Defence, so that by this means the savagery of the enemies of the Commune could to some extent be held in check—thus the plan of the Versailles people would at least partially have been frustrated.

If these documents had been discovered by the Versailles people they would not have published forged ones.

The *Address* of the International[1] will not be published before Wednesday. I shall then send you a copy immediately. Material for four to five sheets has been compressed into two. Hence the numerous corrections, revisions and misprints. Hence also the delay.

Faithfully yours,
Karl Marx

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MARX TO A. HUBERT

[London,] August 10, 1871

...The public prosecutor of Versailles has drawn up a grotesque indictment against the *International*. Perhaps it would be useful to communicate the following facts to M. Bigot in the interest of the defence:

1) Enclosed herein (marked No. 1) are the two Addresses of the *General Council* on the Franco-Prussian War. In its first Address, dated July 23, 1870, the *General Council* declared that the war was not the handiwork of the people of France but of the Empire and that at bottom Bismarck was as culpable as Bonaparte. At the same time the Council appealed to the German workers not to let the Prussian Government change the war of defence into a war of conquest.

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[1] The reference is to *The Civil War in France* by Karl Marx, published in 1871 in the form of an Address of the International Workingmen's Association.—*Ed.*

2) The second Address, of September 9, 1870 (five days after the proclamation of the republic), is a very emphatic denunciation of the Prussian Government's plans of conquest. It is an appeal to the German and English workers *to take the part of the French Republic.*

As a matter of fact the workers in Germany belonging to the *International Association* opposed Bismarck's policy so vigorously that he had the principal German representatives of the *International* illegally arrested and cast into Prussian fortresses on the trumped-up charge of "conspiring" with the enemy.

In London, on the appeal of the Council, the English workers held large meetings to force their government to recognize the French Republic and to oppose the dismemberment of France with all its strength.

3) And now, is the French Government ignorant of the support which the *International* gave France during the war? Quite the opposite. M. Jules Favre's consul in Vienna, M. Lefalvre, even committed the indiscretion of publishing, in the name of the French Government, a letter of thanks to Messrs. Liebknecht and Bebel, the two representatives of the *International* in the German Reichstag. In that letter he said among other things (I shall retranslate it from a German renditlon of Lefalvre's letter): "You, gentlemen, and *your party* (that is to say, the *International*) are the only ones to maintaln the ancient German tradition, i.e., the humanltarian splrit, etc."

Well, this letter figures in the criminal proceedings for *high treason* which the Saxon government was forced by Bismarck to institute against Liebknecht and Bebel and which are still going on at this moment. It served Bismarck as a pretext for having Bebel arrested after the adjournment of the German Reichstag.

At the very time when the reptile press denounced me to Thiers as an agent of Bismarck, Bismarck imprisoned my friends for being guilty of high treason against Germany and gave orders to arrest me should I visit Germany.

4) Some time before the armistice the worthy *Jules Favre*—as the *General Council* declared in a letter to the *"Times" of June 12,* a reprint of which is hereby enclosed (No. 11)—asked us through

his private secretary, Dr. Reitlinger, to arrange public demonstrations in London in favour of the "Government of Defence." Reitlinger added, as the General Council said in its letter to the *Times*, that one should not speak of the "Republic" but only of "France." The General Council refused to give any assistance to the demonstrations *of this sort*. But all this goes to show that the French Government itself considered the *International* an ally of the French Republic against the Prussian conqueror—and in fact it was the only ally France had during the war.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

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MARX TO F. BOLTE

[London,] November 23, 1871

. . The *International* was founded in order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a real organization of the working class for struggle. The original Rules and the Inaugural Address show this at a glance. On the other hand the International could not have maintained itself if the course of history had not already smashed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real working-class movement always stand in inverse ratio to each other. Sects are justified (historically) so long as the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all sects are essentially reactionary. Nevertheless, what history exhibits everywhere was repeated in the history of the International. What is antiquated tries to re-establish itself and maintain its position within the newly acquired form.

And the history of the International was a *continual struggle of the General Council* against the sects and amateur experiments, which sought to assert themselves within the International against the real movement of the working class. This struggle was conducted at the *congresses*, but far more in the private negotiations between the General Council and the individual sections.

In Paris, as the Proudhonists (Mutualists)[1] were cofounders of the Association, they naturally held the reins there for the first few years. Later, of eourse, collectivist, positivist, etc., groups were formed there in opposition to them.

In Germany—the Lassalle clique. I myself eorresponded with the notorious Sehweitzer for two years and proved to him irrefutably that Lassalle's organization was a mere seetarian organization and, as sueh, hostile to the organization of the *real* workers' movement striven for by the International. He had his "reasons" for not understanding.

At the end of 1868 the Russian Bakunin joined the *International* with the aim of forming inside it *a second International* under the name ol "*Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*" *and with himself as leader.* He—a man devoid of all theoretical knowledge—laid claim to representing in that separate body the *scientific* propaganda of the International, and wanted to make such propaganda the special function of that second *International within the International.*

Hls programme was a hash superficially scraped together from the Rlght and from the Left—*equality* o*f classes* (l), *abolition of the right of inheritance* as the *starting point* of the social movement (St. Simonist nonsense), *atheism* as a *dogma* dictated to the members, ete., and as the main dogma (*Proudhonist*): *abstention from the political movement.*

This children's primer found favour (and still has a certain hold) In Italy and Spain, where the real conditions for the workers' movement are as yet little developed, and among a few vain, ambitious, and empty doctrinaires in Latin Switzerland and in Belgium.

To Mr. Bakunin doctrine (the mess he has brewed from bits of Proudhon, St. Simon, and others) was and is a secondary matter—merely a means to his personal self-assertion. Though a nonentity as a theoretician he is in his element as an intriguer.

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[1] The Proudhonists were called such because they had advanced the slogan of mutual aid.—*Ed.*

For years the General Council had to fight against this conspiracy (supported up to a certain point by the French Proudhonists, especially in the *South of France*). At last, by means of Conference Resolutions I, 2 and 3, IX, XVI, and XVII,[1] it delivered its long-prepared blow.

It goes without saying that the General Council does not support in America what it combats in Europe. Resolutions I, 2, 3 and IX now give the New York Committee the legal weapons with which to put an end to all sectarianism and amateur groups, and, if necessary, to expel them

...The political movement of the working class has as its ultimate object, of course, the conquest of political power for this class, and this naturally requires a previous organization of the working class developed up to a certain point and arising precisely from its economic struggles.

On the other hand, however, every movement in which the working class comes out as a *class* against the ruling classes and tries to coerce them by pressure from without is a political movement. For instance, the attempt in a particular factory or even in a particular trade to force a shorter working day out of individual capitalists by strikes, etc., is a purely economic movement. On the other hand the movement to force through an eight-hour, etc., *law*, is a *political* movement. And in this way, out of the separate economic movements of the workers *there* grows up everywhere a *political* movement, that is to say, a movement of the *class*, with the object of enforcing its interests in a general form, in a form possessing general, socially coercive force. While these movements presuppose a certain degree of previous organization, they are in turn equally a means of developing this organization.

Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in

[1] The resolutions of the London Conference of the First International (September 1871) mentioned by Marx dealt with the following questions: strengthening of the International, enhancing the centralism and leading role of the General Council, the need of an independent political party of the proletariat and the inseverable connection between the political and economic struggle, abolition of the Bakuninist factional grouping (Alliance).—*Ed.*

its organization to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e., the political power of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against this power and by a hostile attitude toward the policies of the ruling classes. Otherwise it remains a plaything in their hands, as the September revolution in France showed, and as is also proved to a certain extent by the game that Messrs. Gladstone & Co. have been successfully engaged in in England up to the present time.

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ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE TURIN NEWSPAPER "IL PROLETARIO ITALIANO"[1]

[London,] November 29, 1871

Citizens,

Your issue No. 39 contains a declaration of the Turin workers which states:

We publicly declare that the decision of the London General Council to put socialism after politics was communicated to us by the Editorial Board of the *Proletario* as soon as it was issued and that such decision does not bear an official character because it was withdrawn by the General Council, since many European associations would have rejected it in its entirety, just as we would have done.

This assertion compels the General Council to declare:

1) That it has never passed a decision to put socialism after politics;

2) That therefore it cannot have withdrawn such a decision;

3) That no European or American association could have rejected such decision nor did reject any other decision of the General Council.

[1] *Il Proletario Italiano*: organ of the "Emancipation of the Proletariat" society, which was affiliated to the International. Edited by the Bakuninist Terzaghi it appeared in Turin in 1871-1872.—*Ed.*

The position of the General Council in regard to political action by the proletariat is sufficiently definite.

It has been defined:

1) By the General Rules, which state, in point 4 of the Preamble, that the economic emancipation of the working classes is the great end *to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.*

2) By the text of the Inaugural Address of the Association (1864), the official and obligatory commentary of the Rules, which says: "Yet, the lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour. ...To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes."

3) By the resolution of the Lausanne Congress (1867) to the following effect: "The social emancipation of the workers is inseparable from their political emancipation."

4) By resolution IX of the London Conference (September 1871), which, in accordance with the aforesaid, reminds the members of the International that in the struggle of the working class its economic movement and its political action are indissolubly united.

The line thus prescribed to the Council has always been and will be followed by it in the future.

It therefore declares the above-mentioned communication sent by some unknown person to the editorial board of the *Proletario* to be false and calumnious.

By order and in the name of the General Council,

F. E.

Secretary for Italy

P. S. I have just received the Geneva *La Révolution Sociale* which says that a small Jura group has rejected the London Conference decisions. No official communication was made to the General Council. As soon as it receives one it will take the necessary measures....

1872

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ENGELS TO C. TERZAGHI

[London,] January 14, 1872

My Dear Terzaghi,

If I did not reply sooner to yours of December 4, it was because I wanted to give you exact information on the question you are interested in most, namely, the money for the *Proletario*.

You know that the millions of the International exist only in the terror-stricken imagination of the bourgeoisie and the governments, which cannot understand how an association like ours could have conquered such an eminent position without disposing of millions. If they had seen the accounts submitted at the last conference! . . .

We would have voted you 150 francs despite our poverty had not the *Gazzettino Rosa* arrived with the news, etc.[1] That changed everything. If you had simply decided to send a delegate to the future Congress, well and good. But you sent the Congress a circular full of lies and false accusations against the General Council. If you had only awaited the answer of the General Council to that circular![2] The Council could not fail to see in

[1] The *Gazzettino Rosa* reported that the Turin section had openly taken the part of the Bakuninists and come out in favour of an extraordinary congress of the International.—*Ed.*

[2] The Congress of the Jura Federation (the Jurassians), which took place in Sonvillier in November 1871, addressed a circular letter to all the sections of the International full of slanderous attacks on the General Council and the decisions of the London Conference of the International (1871). The circular set up the demand that a world congress be called immediately. The General Council answered by issuing a confidential circular drawn up by Marx, "Pretended Splits in the International," in which the splitting activities of the Bakuninists were completely exposed.—*Ed.*

your resolution proof that you had taken the part of the accusers without waiting to hear the defence of the Council—and the authorization I had been given to send you the money in question was cancelled. Meanwhile you received the *Égalité*[1] with the reply of the Latin Committee, which represents ten times as many Swiss workers as the Jurassians do. But the Jura Circular discloses the evil intent of the authors.

At first they picked a quarrel with us on the pretext of the Conference; now they attack us because we are carrying out the resolutions of the Basle Congress, resolutions which we are *obliged* to carry out. They do not want any authority exercised through the General Council even if *it were freely assented to by all*. I would very much like to know how without that authority (as they call it) it would have been possible to bring the Tolains, Durands and Nechayevs to account and how the intrusion of Mardocheans[2] and traitors is going to be prevented by your fine phrase, autonomy of the sections, as is explained in the circular. No one, to be sure, disputes the autonomy of the sections, but federation is not possible without ceding certain powers to the federal committees and, in the last instance, to the General Council.

But do you know who the authors and protagonists of these *authoritarian* resolutions were? The delegates of the General Council? By no means. Those authoritarian measures were proposed by the Belgian delegates, and the Schwitzguébels, the Guillaumes and the Bakunins were their *most ardent defenders. That's how things are.*

I believe the terms "Authority" and centralization are being greatly abused. I know nothing more authoritarian than a revolution, and when one's will is imposed on others with bombs and bullets, as in every revolution, it seems to me an act of authority is being committed. It was the lack of centralization and authority that cost the Paris Commune its life. Do what you like with authority, etc., after the victory, but for the struggle we

[1] *L'Égalité*: a newspaper published in Geneva from 1868 to 1872. It was the organ of the sections of the International in Latin Switzerland.—*Ed.*

[2] Secret police agents.—*Ed.*

must unite all our forces in one *fascio*[1] and concentrate them at one point of attack. And when I am told that authority and centralization are two things that should be condemned under all possible circumstances it seems to me that those who say so either do not know what a revolution is or are revolutionaries in name only.

If you want to know what the authors of the circular have done in practice for the International, read their own official report to the Congress on The State of the Jura Confederation (Geneva *Révolution Sociale* of November 23, 1871) and you will see to what a state of dissolution and impotence they have reduced a federation that was well stabilized but a year ago. And those are people who want to reform the International!

Fraternal greetings.

Yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO T. CUNO

London, January 24, 1872

Dear Cuno,

I have just received your letter through Becker[2] and gather from its contents that those blasted Mardocheans intercepted my detailed letter to you dated December 16. This is the more annoying since it contained all the necessary data on the Bakuninist intrigues and you would have been informed of everything a month earlier; and also since I asked you in that letter to be somewhat more restrained in your public agitation in view of the fact that you are a foreigner and liable to deportation. The idea was to enable you to stay there and keep your job, which meanwhile unfortunately went to blazes.

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[1] Lictor's bundle of rods, signifying: in union there is strength.—*Ed.*

[2] J. P. Becker.—*Ed.*

Cards have been abolished by the Conference resolution on stamps and replaced by the latter. The cards have long been greatly misused, very many blank cards having got into the hands of the police, who made use of them. I'll send you 100 *stamps* in a few days in return for the 10 francs. I don't have any in the house.

Nothing is known here of the old captain with a wooden leg; he is not connected with the General Council.

I would gladly send you Rules if I had any. The French and English are printed, the German ones will be out in a few days and the Italian translation lies in my desk ready for press, but for one thing we have no money to print it for our account and for another thing it is highly questionable whether in view of the general rebellion of the Italians incited by Bakunin against the Conference and the General Council the edition revised and put out by the General Council in accordance with the resolutions of the Conference will be recognized at all there. In my opinion it is useless to print it before this has been settled. In the meantime various editions of the Rules have appeared there in Italian; e.g., in Girgenti (*Eguaglionza* Shipping Office); also in Ravenna (the shipping office of the *Romagnolo*, now out of business— Lodovico Nabruzzi in Ravenna might be able to give you the necessary information). Likewise the *La Plebe* of Lodi, Corso Palestro, has announced that it has some for sale at 10 centimes a copy. They are all, true enough, badly and in part wrongly translated and contain only the original organizational regulations, but they will have to do for the time being.

Becker writes he will let you know about Bakunin's intrigues. However I shall not rely on that and am telling you briefly the most necessary things. Bakunin, who up to 1868 had intrigued against the International, joined it after he had suffered a fiasco at the Berne Peace Congress[1] and at once began to conspire *within* it against the General Council. Bakunin has a peculiar theory of his own, a medley of Proudhonism and communism. The chief point concerning the former is that he does not regard

[1] The reference is to the Berne Congress of the bourgeois League of Peace and Freedom, in which Bakunin took a leading part until October 1868.—*Ed.*

capital, i.e., the class antagonism between capitalists and wage workers which has arisen through social development, but the *state* as the main evil to be abolished. While the great mass of the Social-Democratic workers hold our view that state power is nothing more than the organization which the ruling classes—landowners and capitalists—have provided for themselves in order to protect their social privileges, Bakunin maintains that it is the *state* which has created capital, that the capitalist has his capital *only by the grace of the state*. As, therefore, the state is the chief evil, it is above all the state which must be done away with and then capitalism will go to blazes of itself. We, on the contrary, say: Do away with capital, the concentration of all means of production in the hands of the few, and the state will fall of itself. The difference is an essential one: Without a previous social revolution the abolition of the state is nonsense; the abolition of capital *is* precisely the social revolution and involves a change in the whole mode of production. Now then, inasmuch as to Bakunin the state is the main evil, nothing must be done which can keep the state—that is, any state, whether it be a republic, a monarchy or anything else—alive. Hence *complete abstention from all politics*. To commit a political act, especially to take part in an election, would be a betrayal of principle. The thing to do is to carry on propaganda, heap abuse upon the state, organize, and when *all* the workers, hence the majority, are won over, depose all the authorities, abolish the state and replace it with the organization of the International. This great act, with which the millennium begins, is called *social liquidation*.

All this sounds extremely radical and is so simple that it can be learnt by heart in five minutes; that is why the Bakuninist theory has speedily found favour also in Italy and Spain among young lawyers, doctors, and other doctrinaires. But the mass of the workers will never allow itself to be persuaded that the public affairs of their countries are not also their own affairs; they are naturally *politically-minded* and whoever tries to make them believe that they should leave politics alone will in the end be left in the lurch. To preach to the workers that they should

in all circumstances abstain from politics is to drive them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans.

Now, as the International, according to Bakunin, was not formed for political struggle but to replace the old state organization as soon as social liquidation takes place, it follows that it must come as near as possible to the Bakuninist ideal of future society. In this society there will above all be *no authority*, for authority = state = absolute evil. (How these people propose to run a factory, operate a railway or steer a ship without a will that decides in the last resort, without single management, they of course do not tell us.) The authority of the majority over the minority also ceases. Every individual and every community is autonomous; but as to how a society of even only two people is possible unless each gives up some of his autonomy, Bakunin again maintains silence.

And so the International too must be arranged according to this pattern. Every section, and in every section every individual, is to be autonomous. To hell with the *Basle resolutions*, which confer upon the General Council a pernicious authority demoralizing even to itself! Even if this authority is conferred *voluntarily* it must cease just because it *is authority*!

Here you have in brief the main points of this swindle. But who are the originators of the Basle resolutions? Well, *Mr. Bakunin himself* and *Company*!

When these gentlemen saw at the Basle Congress that they would be unable to get through their plan to remove the General Council to Geneva, that is, to get it into their hands, they followed a different tack. They founded the *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*, an International Society *within* the big International, on a pretext which you will encounter again today in the Bakuninist Italian press, for instance, in the *Proletario* and *Gazzettino Rosa*: for the hotblooded Latin races, it is claimed, a *more ardent programme* is necessary than for the cool, slow-moving Northerners. This neat little scheme came to naught because of the resistance of the General Council, which of course could not tolerate any separate *international* organization *within* the International. It has since reappeared in every shape and

form in connection with the efforts of Bakunin and his crew surreptitiously to substitute the Bakunin programme for that of the International. On the other hand the reactionaries, from Jules Favre and Bismarck to Mazzini, always came down hard precisely upon the inane braggadocio of the Bakuninists when it was a question of attacking the International. Hence the necessity of my statement of December 5 against Mazzini and Bakunin, which was also published in the *Gazzettino Rosa*.

The nucleus of the Bakunin crowd consists of a few dozen people in the Jura whose whole following amounts to scarcely 200 workers. Their vanguard is made up of young lawyers, doctors and journalists in Italy who everywhere now act as spokesmen of the Italian workers; a few of their brand are in Barcelona and Madrid and every now and then you will find one—hardly ever a worker—in Lyons or Brussels; here there is a single specimen, Robin.

The conference,[1] convoked under the pressure of circumstances in lieu of the congress that had become impossible, served them as a pretext; and since most of the French refugees in Switzerland went over to their side because they (being Proudhonists) found many a kindred soul among them and for personal reasons, they sallied forth on their campaign. Malcontent minorities and unrecognized geniuses may naturally be found everywhere in the International and these were counted upon, not without reason.

At present their fighting strength is as follows:

1) Bakunin himself—the Napoleon of this campaign.

2) The 200 Jurassians and the 40-50 members of the French Section (refugees in Geneva).

3) In Brussels Hins, editor of the *Liberté*, who however does *not* come out *openly* for them.

4) Here, the remnants of the French Section of 1871, which we have never recognized and which has already split into three mutually hostile parts. Then there are about 20 Lassalleans of

[1] The reference is to the London Conference of the First International held in 1871.—*Ed.*

the type of Herr von Schweitzer, who had all been expelled from the German Section (because of their proposal *to withdraw from the International en masse*) and who, being advocates of extreme centralization *and rigid* organization, fit to a T into the league of Anarchists and autonomists.

5) In Spain, a few personal friends and adherents of Bakunin, who have strongly influenced the workers, particularly in Barcelona, at least theoretically. The Spaniards, however, are very keen on organization and quick to notice any lack of it in others. How far Bakunin can count on success here will not be seen until the Spanish Congress in April, and as workers will predominate there I have no grounds for anxiety.

6) Lastly, in Italy, the Turin, Bologna, and Girgenti Sections have, as far as I know, declared in favour of convening the congress *ahead of time*. The Bakuninist press claims that 20 Italian sections had joined; I don't know them. At any rate, almost everywhere the leadership is in the hands of friends and adherents of Bakunin, and they are raising a terrific hubbub. But a closer examination will most likely disclose that their following is not numerous, for in the long run the bulk of the Italian workers are still Mazzinists and will remain so as long as the International is identified there with abstention from politics.

At any rate, in Italy, for the time being, it is the Bakuninist crowd that has the main say in the International. The General Council has no intention of complaining on that score; the Italians have the right to commit all the absurdities they choose and the General Council will counteract them only by way of peaceful debate. These people also have the right to declare for a congress in the Jurassian sense, although in any case it is exceedingly strange that sections which have only just affiliated and cannot be posted on anything should in such a matter at once take sides, especially *before they have heard both parties to the dispute!* I have told the Turinese the unvarnished truth about this matter and shall do the same with the other sections *which have made* similar declarations. For every such declaration of affiliation is indirectly an approval of the false accusations and lies made against the General Council in the Circular. Incidentally, the

General Council will shortly issue a circular of its own in the matter. If you can prevent the Milanese from making a similar declaration *until the circular appears* you will be fulfilling all our desires.

The funniest thing is that these same Turinese who declare in favour of the Jurassians and therefore reproach us here with authoritarianism, now suddenly demand that the General Council should take such authoritarian measures against the rival *Federazione Operaia*[1] of Turin as it had never taken before, should excommunicate Beghelli of the *Ficcanaso*, who does not even belong to the International, etc And all that before we have even heard what the *Federazione Operaia* has to say for itself!

Last Monday I sent you the *Révolution Sociale* with the Jura Circular, one issue of the Geneva *Égalité* (unfortunately I have no copies left of the issue containing the answer of the Geneva *Comité Fédéral*, which represents twenty times as many workers as the Jura people) and one *Volksstaat* which will show you what the people in Germany think about the case. The Saxon Regional Meeting—120 delegates from 60 localities—declared *unanimously* for the General Council.

The Belgian Congress (December 25-26) demands a revision of the Rules, but at the *regular* congress (in September). From France we are receiving daily statements expressing consent. Here in England, of course, none of these intrigues find any support. And the General Council will certainly not call an extraordinary congress just to please a few bumptious intriguers. So long as these gentlemen keep within legal bounds the General Council will gladly let them have their way. This coalition of the most diverse elements will soon fall apart; but as soon as they start anything against the Rules or the Congress resolutions the General Council will do its duty.

If you reflect upon the fact that these people have launched their conspiracy precisely at the moment when a general hue and cry is being raised against the International, you cannot

[1] Workers' Federation —*Ed.*

help thinking that the International sleuths must have a hand in the game. And so it is. In Béziers the Geneva Bakuninists have picked the central police commissioner as their correspondent! Two prominent Bakuninists, Albert Richard from Lyons and Leblanc, were here and told a worker named Scholl, also from Lyons, to whom they had addressed themselves, that the only way to overthrow Thiers was to restore Bonaparte to the throne; and they were travelling about on *Bonaparte money* to conduct *propaganda* among the refugees *in favour of a Bonapartist restoration*! That is what these gentlemen call abstaining from politics! In Berlin the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, subsidized by Bismarck, pipes the same tune. How far the Russian police is involved in this I shall leave as a moot question for the present, but Bakunin was deeply embroiled in the Nechayev affair (he denies it, of course, but we have the original Russian reports here and since Marx and I understand Russian he cannot put anything over on us). Nechayev is either a Russian *agent provocateur* or anyhow acted as if he were. Moreover Bakunin has all kinds of suspicious characters among his Russian friends.

I am very sorry you lost your position. I had expressly written to you to prevent your doing anything that might lead to that, stating that your presence in Milan was much more important for the International than the small effect one could produce by *public utterances*, and that much could be accomplished clandestinely, too, etc. If I can be of assistance to you by getting you translations, etc., I shall do so with the greatest of pleasure. Just tell me *from* which languages and *into* which languages you can translate and how I can be useful to you.

So those police swine have also intercepted my photograph. I am enclosing another one for you and would ask you to send me two of yours, one of which is to serve the purpose of inducing Miss Marx to let you have a photograph of her father (she is the only one who still has a couple of good ones left).

I would also ask you to be rather discreet with *all* people connected with Bakunin. It is in all sects to stick together and intrigue. You may rest assured that *any information you give them* will immediately be passed on to Bakunin. It is one of his

fundamental principles that keeping promises and the like are merely bourgeois prejudices, which a true revolutionary must treat with disdain to help along the cause. In Russia he says this openly, in Western Europe it is secret lore.

Write to me *real soon*. If we should succeed in preventing the Milan Section from joining in the chorus of the other Italian sections it would be a very good thing.

Fraternal greetings.

Yours,
F. Engels

1873

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ENGELS TO MARX

[London,] May 30, 1873

Dear Moor,

In bed this morning the following dialectical ideas on the natural sciences came into my head:

The subject-matter of natural science—matter in motion, bodies. Bodies cannot be separated from motion, their forms and kinds can only be known through motion: of bodies out of motion, out of relation to other bodies, nothing can be asserted. Only in motion does a body reveal what it is. Natural science therefore knows bodies by considering them in their relation to one another, in motion. The knowledge of the different forms of motion is the knowledge of bodies. The investigation of these different forms of motion is therefore the chief subject of natural science.

1) The simplest form of motion is change of *place* (in time—to please old Hegel)—*mechanical* motion.

a) There is no such thing as motion of a *single* body, but relatively speaking, *falling* can be treated as such. Motion towards a centre common to many bodies. But as soon as a single body moves in a direction *other* than towards the centre, the laws of *falling*, to which it is still subject, undergo modification

b) into laws of trajectories and lead directly to the reciprocal motion of several bodies—planetary, etc., motion, astronomy, equilibrium—temporary or apparent in the motion itself. But the *real* result of this kind of motion is always ultimately—the *contact* of the moving bodies, they fall into one another.

c) Mechanics of contact—bodies in contact: ordinary mechanics: levers, inclined planes, etc. But the *effects of contact are not*

exhausted by these. Contact is manifested directly in two forms: friction and impact. Both have the property that at certain degrees of intensity and under certain conditions they produce *new*, no longer merely mechanical effects: *heat, light, electricity, magnetism.*

2) *Physics proper*, the science of these forms of motion, establishes the fact, after investigation of each individual form, that under certain conditions they *pass into one another* and ultimately discovers that all of them—at a certain degree of intensity which varies according to the different bodies set in motion—produce effects which transcend physics, changes in the internal structure of the bodies—*chemical* effects.

3) *Chemistry.* For the investigation of the previous forms of motion it was more or less immaterial whether it dealt with animate or inanimate bodies. The inanimate bodies even exhibited the phenomena in their greatest *purity.* Chemistry on the other hand can distinguish the chemical nature of the most important bodies only in substances which have arisen out of the process of life; its chief task becomes more and more to prepare these substances artificially. It forms the transition to the organic sciences, but the dialectical transition can be produced only when chemistry has either made the real transition or is on the point of doing so.

4) *Organism* Here I will not embark on any dialectics for the time being.

Seated as you are there at the centre of the natural sciences you will be in the best position to judge if there is anything in it.

Yours,

F. E.

If you people believe that there is something in this thing, then don't talk about it, so that no lousy Britisher may steal it on me; getting it into shape will take a long time yet.

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, June 20, 1873

Dear Bebel,

I am answering your letter first because Liebknecht's is still with Marx, who cannot locate it just now.

It was not Hepner but York's letter to him, signed by the Committee, which caused us here to be afraid that your imprisonment would be used by the Party authorities, which unfortunately are entirely Lassallean, to transform the *Volksstaat* into an "honest" *Neuer Social-Demokrat*. York plainly confessed to such an intention, and as the Committee claimed to have the right to appoint and remove the editors the danger was surely big enough. Hepner's impending deportation further strengthened these plans. Under these circumstances it was absolutely necessary for us to know what the situation was; hence this correspondence....

With regard to the attitude of the Party towards Lassalleanism, you of course can judge better than we what tactics should be adopted, especially in particular cases. But there is also this to be considered. When, as in your case, one is to a certain extent in the position of a competitor to the General Association of German Workers, one is easily too considerate of one's rival and gets into the habit of always thinking of him first. But both the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party together still form only a very small minority of the German working class. Our view, which we have found confirmed by long practice, is that the correct tactics in propaganda are not to entice away a few individuals and memberships here and there from one's opponent, but to work on the great mass, which is not yet taking part in the movement. The raw force of a single individual whom one has oneself reared from the raw is worth more than ten Lassallean turncoats, who always bring the germs of their false tendencies into the Party with them. And if one could only get the masses without their *local*

leaders it would still be all right. But one always has to take along a whole crowd of these leaders into the bargain, who are bound by their previous public utterances, if not by their previous views, and now must prove above all things that they have not deserted their principles but that on the contrary the Social-Democratic Workers' Party preaches *true* Lassalleanism. This was the unfortunate thing at Eisenach,[1] which could not be avoided at that time, perhaps, but there is no doubt at all that these elements have done harm to the Party and I am not sure that the Party would not have been at least as strong today without that accession. In any case, however, I should regard it as a misfortune if these elements were to receive reinforcements.

One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for "unity." Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most dissension, just as at present the Jura Bakuninists in Switzerland, who have provoked all the splits, clamour for nothing so much as for unity. These unity fanatics are either people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast because they will then be all in one pot (in Germany you have a fine example of this in the people who preach reconciliation of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie)—or else they are people who unconsciously (like Mühlberger, for instance) or consciously want to adulterate the movement. For this reason the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues at times shout loudest for unity. Nobody in our lifetime his given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the shouters for unity.

Naturally every party leadership wants to see successes, and this is quite a good thing. But there are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more important things. Especially for a party like ours, whose

[1] Engels refers to the Eisenach Congress of 1869, at which the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany was officially organized.—*Ed*

ultimate success is so absolutely certain, and which has developed so enormously in our own lifetime and before our own eyes, momentary success is by no means always and absolutely necessary. Take the International, for instance. After the Commune it had a colossal success. The bourgeois, struck all of a heap, ascribed omnipotence to it. The great mass of the membership believed things would stay like that for all eternity. We knew very well that the bubble *must* burst. All the riff-raff attached themselves to it. The sectarians within it became arrogant and misused the International in the hope that the meanest and most stupid actions would be permitted them. We did not allow that. Knowing well that the bubble must burst some time our concern was not to delay the catastrophe but to take care that the International emerged from it pure and unadulterated. The bubble burst at the Hague and you know that the majority of the Congress members went home sick with disappointment. And yet nearly all these disappointed people, who imagined they would find the ideal of universal brotherhood and reconciliation in the International, had far more bitter quarrels at home than those which broke out at the Hague. Now the sectarian quarrel-mongers are preaching reconciliation and decrying us as being cantankerous and dictators. And if we had come out in a conciliatory way at the Hague, if we had hushed up the breaking out of the split—what would have been the result? The sectarians, especially the Bakuninists, would have got another year in which to perpetrate, in the name of the International, even much greater stupidities and infamies, the workers of the most developed countries would have turned away in disgust; the bubble would not have burst but, pierced by pinpricks, would have slowly collapsed, and the next Congress, which would have been bound to bring the crisis anyhow, would have turned into the lowest kind of personal row, because *principles* would already have been sacrificed at the Hague. Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces—gone to pieces through "unity"! Instead of this we have now got rid of the rotten elements with honour to ourselves—the members of the Commune who were present at the last and

decisive session say that no session of the Commune left such a terrible impression upon them as this session of the tribunal which passed judgment on the traitors to the European proletariat. For ten months we let them expend all their energies on lies, slander and intrigue—and where are they? They, the alleged representatives of the great majority of the International, now themselves announce that they do not dare to come to the next Congress. (More details in an article which is being sent off to the *Volksstaat* with this letter.) And if we had to do it again we should not, taking it all together, act any differently—tactical mistakes are always made, of course.

In any case, I think the efficient elements among the Lassalleans will fall to you of themselves in the course of time and it would, therefore, be unwise to break off the fruit before it is ripe, as the unity crowd wants to.

Moreover, old man Hegel said long ago: A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split. The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and this alone explains why it is that actually the "solidarity of the proletariat" is everywhere being realized in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions.

You must also not forget that if the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* for example has more subscribers than the *Volksstaat*, this is due to the fact that each *sect* is necessarily fanatic and through this fanaticism obtains, particularly in regions where it is new (as for instance the General Association of German Workers in Schleswig-Holstein), much greater momentary successes than the Party, which simply represents the real movement, without any sectarian vagaries. On the other hand, fanaticism does not last long.

I have to close my letter as the mail is about to close. Let me only add hurriedly: Marx cannot tackle Lassalle until the French

translation[1] is finished (approx. end of July), after which he will absolutely need a rest as he has greatly overworked himself....

That you have been serving your jail sentence stoically and are studying is very nice. We shall all be glad to see you here next year.

Cordial greetings to Liebknecht.

Sincerely yours,

F. Engels

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MARX TO F. A. SORGE

[London,] September 27, 1873

...As I view European conditions it is quite useful to let the formal organization of the International recede into the background for the time being, but, if possible, not to relinquish control of the central point in New York so that no idiots like Perret or adventurers like Cluseret may seize the leadership and discredit the whole business. Events and the inevitable development and complication of things will of themselves see to it that the International shall rise again improved in form. For the present it suffices not to let the connection with the most capable in the various countries slip altogether out of our hands and as for the rest not to give a hang for the Geneva local decisions, in fact simply to ignore them. The only good decision adopted there, to postpone the Congress for two years, facilitates this mode of action. Furthermore it upsets the calculations of the Continental governments that the spectre of the International will fall to be of service to them during the *impending reactionary crusade*; besides, everywhere the bourgeoisie considers the spectre laid for good....

[1] The reference is to the translation of Volume I of *Capital* into French.—*Ed.*



KARL MARX
(1872)

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ENGELS TO MARX

London, December 10, 1873

Dear Moor,

Enclosed you will find three halves of five-pound notes; please acknowledge receipt at once so that the rest can follow.

Heavy fog since yesterday morning from which I just escaped for a short hour by taking a walk to the heath. Up there blue sky and warm sunshine, an island of brightness in a sea of fog.

That scamp Roderich Benedix has left a bad odour behind in the shape of a thick tome against 'Shakespearomania." He proved in it to a nicety that Shakespeare can't hold a candle to our great poets, not even to those of modern times. Shakespeare is apparently to be hurled down from his pedestal and fatty Benedix hoisted into his place. However, in the first act of the *Merry Wives* there is more life and reality than in all German literature, and Launce[1] with his dog Crab is alone worth more than all the German comedies put together. By way of contrast, the ponderous R. Benedix will indulge in argumentations as serious as they are cheap over the unceremonious manner in which Shakespeare often makes short work of his dénouements and thereby cuts short the tedious twaddle that in reality is nevertheless indispensable. Serves him right.

Yesterday received a geological map of the Rhine province. The superficial conjectures I made on the spot mostly confirmed.

Best regards to Tussy.

Yours,

F. E.

[1] Character in Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.—Ed.*

1874

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

London, September 12-17, 1874

...With your resignation the *old* International is anyhow entirely wound up and at an end. And that is well. It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, during which the oppression reigning throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal polemics to the workers' movement, then just reawakening. It was the moment when the common cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore. Germany, Spain, Italy and Denmark had only just come into the movement or were just coming into it. Actually in 1864 the theoretical character of the movement was still very unclear everywhere in Europe, that is, among the masses. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, Proudhonism was too weak to be able to trot out its particular hobbyhorses, Bakunin's new balderdash had not so much as come into being in his own head, and even the leaders of the English Trade-Unions thought the programme laid down in the preamble to the Rules gave them a basis for entering the movement. The first great success was bound to explode this naive conjunction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was without any doubt the child of the International intellectually, although the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International to a certain extent was quite properly held responsible. When, thanks to the Commune, the International had become a moral force in Europe, the row at once began. Every trend wanted to exploit the success for itself. Disintegration, which was inevitable, set in. Jealousy of the growing power of the only people who

were really ready to continue working along the lines of the old comprehensive programme—the German Communists—drove the Belgian Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakuninist adventurers. The Hague Congress was actually the end—and for both parties. The only country where something could still be accomplished in the name of the International was America, and by a happy instinct the executive was transferred there. Now its prestige is exhausted there, too, and any further effort to galvanize it into new life would be folly and a waste of energy. For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies—and can look back upon its work with pride. But in its old form it has outlived its usefulness. In order to produce a new International after the fashion of the old, an alliance of all proletarian parties of all countries, a general suppression of the labour movement, like that which prevailed from 1849-64, would be necessary. For this the proletarian world has now become too big, too extensive. I believe the next International—after Marx's writings have produced their effect for some years—will be directly Communist and will proclaim precisely our principles....

1875

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, March 18-28, 1875

Dear Bebel,

I received your letter of February 23 and am glad you are in such good health.

You ask me what we think of the unification business. Unfortunately we have fared the same as you. Neither Liebknecht nor anyone else has sent us any information and we too, therefore, know only what is in the papers, and there was nothing in them until the draft programme[1] appeared about a week ago! This draft has certainly astonished us not a little.

Our Party has so frequently made offers of reconciliation or at least of co-operation to the Lassalleans and has been so frequently and contemptuously repulsed by the Hasenclevers, Hasselmanns, and Tölckes that any child must have drawn the conclusion: if these gentlemen are now coming and offering reconciliation themselves they must be in a damned tight fix. But considering the well-known character of these people it is our duty to utilize their fix in order to stipulate for every possible guarantee, so that they shall not re-establish their shaken position in the opinion of the workers at the expense of our Party. They should have been received with extreme coolness and mistrust, and union made dependent on the extent to which they were willing to drop their sectarian slogans and their state aid and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach programme of 1869

[1] A reference to the draft of the programme adopted at the Unity Congress of German Social-Democracy (Eisenachers and Lassalleans) at Gotha on May 22-27, 1875.—*Ed.*

or a revised edition of it adapted to the present day. Our Party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere and therefore in what is decisive for the programme, but the Lassalleans certainly have something to learn from our Party; the first condition of union should be that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans, and above all that the universal panacea of state aid should be, if not entirely relinquished, at any rate recognized by them as a subordinate transitional measure, one among and alongside of many other possible ones. The draft programme shows that our people are a hundred times superior theoretically to the Lassallean leaders—but to the same extent inferior to them in political cunning; the "honest" have been once more cruelly gypped by the dishonest.

In the first place Lassalle's high-sounding but historically false phrase is accepted: in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass. This proposition is true only in a few exceptional cases: for instance, in a revolution of the proletariat, like the Commune, or in a country where not only the bourgeoisie has moulded state and society in its own image but where in its wake the democratic petty bourgeoisie, too, has already carried out this remoulding down to its final consequences. If in Germany, for instance, the democratic petty bourgeoisie belonged to this reactionary mass, how could the Social-Democratic Workers' Party have gone hand in hand with it—with the People's Party—for years? How can the *Volksstaat* take almost the whole of its political contents from the petty-bourgeois-democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how comes it that no less than seven demands are included in this programme which directly and literally coincide with the programme of the People's Party and the petty-bourgeois democracy? I mean the seven political demands, I to 5 and 1 to 2, of which there is not a single one that is not *bourgeois*-democratic.[1]

[1] These political demands of the draft of the Gotha Programme read as follows:

"The German workers' party demands as the free basis of the state:

"1. Universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage for all males twenty-one years of age and above, for all elections—national and municipal.

Secondly, the principle that the workers' movement is an international movement is, to all intents and purposes, completely disavowed for the present day, and at that by people who have upheld this principle most gloriously for five whole years under the most difficult conditions. The German workers' position at the head of the European movement reposes *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war; no other proletariat would have behaved so well. And now this principle is to be disavowed by them at the very moment when the workers everywhere abroad are emphasizing it in the same degree as the governments are striving to suppress every attempted manifestation of it in any organization! And what is left of the internationalism of the workers' movement then? The faint prospect—not even of a future co-operation of the European workers for their emancipation—no, but of a future "international brotherhood of peoples," of the "United States of Europe" of the bourgeois of the Peace League!

It was of course quite unnecessary to speak of the International as such. But surely the very least would have been to make no retreat from the programme of 1869 and to say about the following: *although* the German workers' party is operating *first of all* within the state boundaries laid down for it (it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat and especially no right to say something false), it is conscious of its solidarity with the workers of all countries and will always be ready hereafter, as it has been hitherto, to fulfil the obligations

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"2. Direct legislation by the people with right of initiative and referendum

"3. Universal military training. People's militia instead of the standing army. War and peace to be decided by the representative assembly of the people.

"4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, especially the laws on the press, association and assembly.

"5. People's courts. Free administration of justice.

"The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and ethical basis of the state:

"1. Universal and equal elementary education by the state. Universal compulsory school attendance. Free instruction.

"2. Freedom of science. Freedom of conscience."—*Ed.*

imposed upon it by this solidarity. Obligations of that kind exist even without directly proclaiming or regarding oneself as a part of the International; for instance, help and abstention from blacklegging in strikes; care taken that the Party organs keep the German workers informed about the movement abroad; agitation against the threat or the outbreak of dynastic wars, behaviour during such wars similar to that carried out in model fashion in 1870 and 1871, etc.

Thirdly, our people have allowed the Lassallean "iron law of wages" to be foisted upon them, a law based on a quite antiquated economic view, namely, that the worker receives on the average only the *minimum* of the wage, because, according to Malthus's theory of population, there are always too many workers (this was Lassalle's argument). Now Marx has proved in detail in *Capital* that the laws regulating wages are very complicated, that sometimes one predominates and sometimes another, according to circumstances, that therefore they are in no sense iron but on the contrary very elastic, and that the matter can by no means be dismissed in a few words, as Lassalle imagined. The Malthusian argument in support of the law, which Lassalle copied from Malthus and Ricardo (with a distortion of the latter), as it is to be found, for instance, in the *Arbeiterlesebuch*, page 5, quoted from another pamphlet of Lassalle's, has been refuted in detail by Marx in the section on the "Accumulation of Capital." Thus by adopting Lassalle's "iron law" we commit ourselves to a false thesis with a false substantiation.

Fourthly, the programme puts forward as its *sole social* demand—Lassalle's state aid in its most naked form, as Lassalle stole it from Buchez. And this after Bracke has very well exposed the utter futility of this demand[1] and after almost all, if not all, our Party speakers have been obliged to come out against this "state aid" in fighting the Lassalleans! Lower than this our Party could not humiliate itself. Internationalism brought down to Amand Gögg and socialism to the bourgeois republican

[1] Engels refers to Wilhelm Bracke's pamphlet, *Lassalle's Proposal*.—*Ed.*

Buchez, who put forward this demand *in opposition to the Socialists*, in order to get the better of them!

At the most, however, "state aid" in the Lassallean sense is only a *single* measure among many others designed to attain the end here lamely described as "paving the way to the solution of the social question"—as if a theoretically *unsolved* social *question* still existed for us! So if one says: the German workers' party strives for the abolition of wage labour, and with it of class distinctions, by the establishment of co-operative production in industry and agriculture and on a national scale; it supports every measure appropriate for the attainment of this end!—then no Lassallean can have anything against it.

Fifthly, there is not a word about the organization of the working class as a class by means of the trade unions. And that is a very essential point, for this is the real class organization of the proletariat, in which it carries on its daily struggles with capital, in which it trains itself, and which nowadays even amid the worst reaction (as in Paris at present) can simply no longer be smashed. Considering the importance which this organization has attained also in Germany, it would be absolutely necessary in our opinion to mention it in the programme and if possible to leave open a place for it in the Party organization.

All this has been done by our people to please the Lassalleans. And what has the other side conceded? That a heap of rather confused *purely democratic demands* should figure in the programme, of which several are a mere matter of fashion, as for instance, the "legislation by the people" which exists in Switzerland and does more harm than good if it does anything at all. *Administration* by the people, that would be something. Equally lacking is the first condition of all freedom: that all officials should be responsible for all their official acts to every citizen before the ordinary courts and according to common law. Of the fact that such demands as freedom of science and freedom of conscience figure in every liberal bourgeois programme and appear somewhat strange here, I shall say nothing more.

The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Taken in its grammatical sense, a free state is one where the state is

free in relation to its citizens, hence a state with a despotic government. The whole talk about the state should be dropped, especially since the Commune, which was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word. The "people's state" has been thrown in our faces by the Anarchists to the point of disgust, although already Marx's book against Proudhon[1] and later the *Communist Manifesto* directly declare that with the introduction of the socialist order of society the state will dissolve of itself[2] and disappear. As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore propose to replace *state* everywhere by *Gemeinwesen*, a good old German word which can very well convey the meaning of the French word "*commune*."

"The elimination of all social and political inequality" is also a very questionable phrase in place of "the abolition of all class distinctions." Between one country and another, one province and another and even one locality and another there will always exist a *certain* inequality in the conditions of life, which it will be possible to reduce to a minimum but never entirely remove. Alpine dwellers will always have different conditions of life from those of people living on plains. The idea of socialist society as the realm of *equality* is a one-sided French idea resting upon the old "liberty, equality, fraternity"—an idea which was justified as a *stage of development* in its own time and place but which, like all the one-sided ideas of the earlier socialist schools, should now be overcome, for it only produces confusion in people's heads and more precise modes of presentation of the matter have been found.

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[1] *The Poverty of Philosophy.—Ed*

[2] Sich von selbst auflöst.—*Ed.*

I shall stop, although almost every word in this programme, which has, moreover, been composed in a flat and flaccid style, could be criticized. It is of such a character that if adopted Marx and I shall *never* be able to give our adherence to the *new* party established on this basis, and shall have very seriously to consider what our attitude towards it—in public as well—should be. You must remember that abroad *we* are made responsible for any and every utterance and action of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. Thus Bakunin in his work *Statehood and Anarchy*, where we have to answer for every thoughtless word spoken or written by Liebknecht since the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* was started. People like to imagine that we run the whole show from here, while you know as well as I that we have hardly ever interfered in any way in internal Party affairs, and when we did then only in order to make good, as far as possible, blunders, and *only theoretical* blunders, which have in our opinion been committed. But you will realize for yourself that this programme marks a turning point which may very easily compel us to refuse any and every responsibility for the party which accepts it.

In general, the official programme of a party is of less importance than what the party does. But *a new* programme is after all a banner publicly raised, and the outside world judges the party by it. It should, therefore, on no account take a step backwards, as this one does in comparison with the Eisenach programme. One should also take into consideration what the workers of other countries will say to this programme, what impression will be produced by this bending of the knee to Lassalleanism on the part of the whole German socialist proletariat.

At the same time I am convinced that a union on *this* basis will not last a year. Are the best minds in our Party to lend themselves to grinding out repetitions, learnt by rote, of the Lassallean precepts on the iron law of wages and state aid? I should like to see you doing it, for instance! And if they did do this they would be hissed down by their audiences. And I am sure the Lassalleans will insist on just *these* points of the programme like the Jew Shylock on his pound of flesh. The separation will come: but

we shall have made Hasselmann, Hasenclever, Tölcke and Co. "honest" again; we shall come out of the separation weaker and the Lassalleans stronger; our Party will have lost its political virginity and will never again be able to come out wholeheartedly against the Lassallean phrases which it will have inscribed for a time on its own banner; and if the Lassalleans then once more say that they are the most genuine, the only workers' party, while our people are bourgeois, the programme will be there to prove it. All the socialist measures in it are *theirs*, and all *our* Party has put into it are the demands of the petty-bourgeois democracy, which is nevertheless described *also by it* in the same programme as a part of the "reactionary mass."

I had let this letter lie here as you are to be freed only on April 1, in honour of Bismarck's birthday, and I did not want to expose it to the chance of being intercepted in any attempt to smuggle it in. And now a letter has just come from Bracke, who has also his grave doubts about the programme and wants to know our opinion. I am therefore sending this letter to him to be forwarded, so that he can read it and I need not write all this stuff over again. Moreover, I have also told the unvarnished truth to Ramm; to Liebknecht I wrote only briefly. I will not forgive him for never telling us a *single word* about the whole thing (while Ramm and others thought he had given us exact information) until it was too late, so to speak. But this is what he has always done—hence the large amount of disagreeable correspondence which we, both Marx and I, have had with him; but this time it is really too bad and *we are certainly not going along with him.*

See that you manage to come here in the summer. You will, of course, stay with me, and if the weather is good we can go sea-bathing for a couple of days, from which you will derive a lot of benefit after your long spell in jail.

Friendly greetings!

Yours,

F. E.

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MARX TO W. BRACKE

London, May 5, 1875

Dear Bracke,

When you have read the following critical marginal notes on the Unity Programme,[1] would you be so good as to send them on to Geib and Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht for examination. I am exceedingly busy and have to overstep by far the limit of work allowed me by the doctors. Hence it was anything but a "pleasure" to write such a lengthy screed. It was however necessary so that the steps to be taken by me later on would not be misinterpreted by our friends in the Party for whom this communication is intended.

After the Unity Congress has been held, Engels and I will publish a short statement to the effect that our position is altogether remote from the said programme of principles and that we have nothing to do with it.

This is indispensable because the opinion—the entirely erroneous opinion—is held abroad and assiduously nurtured by enemies of the Party that we secretly guide from here the movement of the so-called Eisenach Party. In a Russian book that has recently appeared, Bakunin still makes me responsible, for example, not only for all the programmes, etc., of that party but even for every step taken by Liebknecht from the day of his co-operation with the People's Party.

Apart from this, it is my duty not to give recognition, even by diplomatic silence, to what in my opinion is a thoroughly objectionable programme that demoralizes the Party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. If, therefore, it was not possible—and the conditions of the time did not permit it—to go *beyond* the Eisenach programme, one should simply have concluded an agreement for

[1] The reference is to the "Notes on the Programme of the German workers' party" written by Marx and known as *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.—*Ed.*

action against the common enemy. But by drawing up a programme of principles (instead of postponing this until it has been prepared for by a considerable period of common activity) one sets up before the whole world landmarks by which it measures the level of the Party movement. The Lassallean leaders came because circumstances forced them to. If they had been told in advance that there would be no haggling about principles, they would *have had* to be content with a programme of action or a plan of organization for common action. Instead of this, one permits them to arrive armed with mandates, recognizes these mandates on one's part as binding, and thus surrenders unconditionally to those who are themselves in need of help. To crown the whole business, they are holding a congress *before* the *Congress of Compromise*, while one's own party is holding its congress *post festum*.[1] One had obviously had a desire to stifle all criticism and to give one's own party no opportunity for reflection. One knows that the mere fact of unification is satisfying to the workers, but it is a mistake to believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly.

For the rest, the programme is no good, even apart from its sanctification of the Lassallean articles of faith.

I shall be sending you in the near future the last parts of the French edition of *Capital*.[2] The printing was held up for a considerable time by a ban of the French Government. The thing will be ready this week or the beginning of next week. Have you received the previous six parts? Please let me have the address of Bernhard Becker, to whom I must also send the final parts.

The bookshop of the *Volksstaat* has peculiar ways of doing things. Up to this moment, for example, I have not been sent a single copy of the *Cologne Communist Trial*.

With best regards,

Yours,

Karl Marx

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[1] After the feast, that is, belatedly.—*Ed.*

[2] The French translation of the first volume of *Capital*, edited by Marx himself, appeared in parts in 1872-1875 in Paris.—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, October 12, 1875

Dear Bebel,

Your letter fully confirms our view that the unification was precipitate on our part and bears within itself the germ of future disunion. It would be well if this disunion could be postponed until after the next Reichstag elections....

The programme, such as it is now, consists of three parts:

1) of the Lassallean precepts and slogans, the adoption of which remains a disgrace to our Party. When two factions want to agree on a programme they include what they agree with and do not touch upon what they disagree with. True, Lassallean state assistance was in the Eisenach programme, but as *one* of many *transitional measures* and, according to all I have heard, it would almost certainly have been thrown overboard, on Bracke's motion, at this year's Congress, *had it not been* for the unification. Now it figures as the sole and infallible panacea for all social ailments. It was an immense moral defeat for our Party to allow the "iron law of wages" and other Lassallean phrases to be foisted upon it. It became converted to the Lassallean creed. That simply cannot be argued away. This part of the programme is the Caudine yoke under which our Party crawled to the greater glory of the holy Lassalle;

2) of the democratic demands which have been drawn up wholly in the spirit and style of the People's Party;

3) of the demands on the "*present-day* state" (no one knows to whom the other "demands" are put), which are very confused and illogical;

4) of general principles, mostly borrowed from the *Communist Manifesto* and the Rules of the International, but which have been so re-edited that they contain what is either *utterly false* or *pure bosh and nonsense*, as Marx has shown in detail in the essay known to you.[1]

[1] A reference to the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.—*Ed.*

The whole thing is disorderly, confused, disconnected, illogical and discreditable. If the bourgeois press possessed a single person of critical mind, he would have taken this programme apart phrase by phrase, investigated the real content of each phrase, demonstrated its nonsense with the utmost clarity, revealed its contradictions and economic howlers (for instance, that the instruments of labour are today "the monopoly of the capitalist class," as if there were no owners of land; the talk about "the freeing of *labour*" instead of the freeing of the working class, as labour itself is *much too free* nowadays as is!) and made our whole Party look frightfully ridiculous. Instead of that the asinine bourgeois papers took this programme quite seriously, read into it what it does not contain and interpreted it communistically. The workers seem to be doing the same. It is *this circumstance alone* that made it possible for Marx and me not to dissociate ourselves publicly from such a programme. So long as our opponents and likewise the workers view this programme as embodying our intentions we may allow ourselves to keep quiet about it.

If you are satisfied with the result achieved in the question of personal composition we must have climbed down quite a bit in our demands. Two of ours and three Lassalleans! So here too ours are not allies enjoying equal rights but vanquished elements outvoted from the very start. The activities of the Committee, as far as we know them, are also not edifying: 1) Decision *not* to include in the list of Party literature Bracke's work and B. Becker's two works on Lassalleanism[1]; if this decision is recalled it will not be the fault of the Committee nor Liebknecht's; 2) Instructions to Vahlteich forbidding him to accept the post of correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* offered him by Sonnemann. Sonnemann himself had told this to Marx, who met him on a trip. What surprises me even more than the arrogance of

[1] This refers to the proposal of the Committee to strike the following anti-Lassallean works from the list of Party literature: Bernhard Becker's *Revelations about the Tragic Death of Ferdinand Lassalle* and *History of Lassalle's Agitational Work Among the Workers*, as well as Wilhelm Bracke's *Lassalle's Proposal*.—*Ed.*

the Committee and the readiness with which Vahlteich submitted instead of letting them go whistle is the enormous stupidity of this decision. The Committee should rather have seen to it that a paper like the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is served everywhere *only* by our people....

That the whole thing is an educational experiment which even under those circumstances promises to be very successful is something you are quite right about. The unification as such will be a great success if it lasts two years. But it undoubtedly was to be had much more cheaply....

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

[London,] October 15, 1875

...Marx seriously complained about the incomprehensible note in No. 104 to the passage in his *Anti-Proudhon* ("the Socialists as well as the economists condemned combinations"), saying that those were "Socialists of the Proudhon breed."[1] In the first place there was not a single Socialist of the Proudhon breed in existence at that time except Proudhon himself. In the second place Marx's assertion is true of *all* Socialists who made their appearance up to that time (with the exception of us two,[2] who were unknown in France) in so far as they had occasion to deal with combinations—with *Robert Owen* leading the procession. The same applies to the Owenists and among the French to

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[1] The reference is to a note to an article, "Karl Marx on Strikes and Workers' Combinations" published in the *Volksstaat*. It contained excerpts from Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* translated into German.—*Ed.*

[2] In a letter to J. Ludlow of April 10, 1869 Marx wrote in connection with his appraisal of trade unions in *The Poverty of Philosophy*: "Since you quote my reply to Proudhon: *Misère de la Philosophie*, you cannot but be aware from its last chapter that in 1847, when all the political economists and all the Socialists concurred on the one single point—the condemnation of *Trade-Unions*, I demonstrated their historical necessity."—*Ed.*

Cabet. As there was no right of combination in France this question was little touched upon there. But since before Marx there existed only feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and utopian socialism, and socialism blended from various of these elements, it was clear that all these Socialists, each of whom claimed to possess a definite panacea and stood outside the real working-class movement, portrayed *every* form of the real movement, hence also combinations and strikes, as a false path which diverted the masses from the only way that leads to salvation, the way of the true faith. You see that the note was not only wrong but wholly absurd. But it seems to be impossible for our people, at least a number of them, to confine themselves in their articles to what they have really comprehended. In proof take the endless columns theoretically-socialist in content which have been penned by Ky, Synmachos[1] and all the rest of that crowd, whose economic blunders, erroneous views and ignorance of socialist literature furnish the best means of thoroughly destroying the theoretical superiority of the German movement up to now. Marx was on the point of issuing an explanation on account of this note.

But enough of complaints. I hope the aspirations and expectations cherished in connection with the imprudently precipitated unification will be materialized, that it will be possible to bring the mass of the Lassalleans from their cult of Lassalle to a sensible conception of their real class position, and that the split, which will come as surely as $2\times2=4$, will take place under circumstances favourable to us. That I should also believe all this would be asking too much.

The country besides Germany and Austria we have to watch most remains Russia. There just as with us the government is the chief ally of the movement. But a much better one than our Bismarck and the Stieber-Tessendorfs. The Russian court party, which is now fairly firmly in the saddle, tries to take back all the concessions made during the years of the "new era" that was ushered in in 1861, and at that with genuinely Russian methods.

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[1] Kautsky's pen names —*Ed.*

So now again only "sons of the upper classes" are to be allowed to study, and in order to carry out this policy all others are made to fail in the graduation examinations. In 1873 alone this was the fate that awaited 24,000 young people whose entire careers were blocked, as they were expressly forbidden to become even elementary-school teachers. And yet people are surprised at the spread of "nihilism" in Russia. If Walster, who knows Russian, were to fix up some of the pamphlets published by the *liberal* opposition and to be had in Berlin at Behr's or if someone could be found with an adequate knowledge of Polish to read the Lemberg newspapers (e.g., *Dziennik Polski* or the *Gazeta Narodowa*) and make excerpts of these things, the *Volksstaat* could become the best paper in Europe on Russian affairs. It almost looks as if the next dance is going to start in Russia. And if this happens while the *inevitable* war between the Prussian *Reich* and Russia is in progress—which is very likely—reverberations in Germany are also inevitable.

Marx sends his best regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

F. Engels

Best regards to Liebknecht.

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ENGELS TO P. L. LAVROV

London, November 12-17, 1875

Dear Mr. Lavrov,

At last, after returning from a trip to Germany, I have taken up your article[1] which I just read with great interest. The following are my observations on it, couched in German, which will permit me to be more concise.

[1] In this letter Engels, at Lavrov's request, assesses the latter's article "Socialism and the Struggle for Existence" published in the journal *Vperyod* of September 15(3), 1875.—*Ed.*

1) Of the Darwinian doctrine I accept the *theory of evolution*, but Darwin's method of proof (struggle for life, natural selection) I consider only a first, provisional, imperfect expression of a newly discovered fact. Until Darwin's time the very people who now see everywhere only *struggle* for existence (Vogt, Büchner, Moleschott, etc.) emphasized precisely *co-operation* in organic nature, the fact that the vegetable kingdom supplies oxygen and nutriment to the animal kingdom and conversely the animal kingdom supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure, which was particularly stressed by Liebig. Both conceptions are justified within certain limits, but the one is as one-sided and narrow-minded as the other. The interaction of bodies in nature—inanimate as well as animate—includes both harmony and collision, struggle and co-operation. When therefore a self-styled natural scientist takes the liberty of reducing the whole of historical development with all its wealth and variety to the one-sided and meagre phrase "struggle for existence," a phrase which even in the sphere of nature can be accepted only *cum grano salis*,[1] such a procedure really contains its own condemnation.

2) Of the three "convinced Darwinists" you cite, only Hellwald apparently deserves mention. Seldlitz is at best only a very minor luminary and Robert Byr a novelist one of whose novels, *Dreimal*, is at present appearing in *Über Land und Meer*. That's a fitting place for his entire rodomontade.

3) I do not deny the advantages of your method of attack, which I would like to call psychological; but I would have chosen another method. Every one of us is influenced more or less by the intellectual environment in which he mostly moves. For Russia, where you know your public better than I, and for a propaganda journal that appeals to the moral sense, your method is probably the better one. For Germany, where false sentimentality has done and still does so much damage, it would not fit; it would be misunderstood, sentimentally perverted. In our country it is hatred rather than love that is needed—at least in the immediate future

[1] With a grain of salt.—*Ed*

—and more than anything else a shedding of the last remnants of German idealism, an establishment of the material facts in their historical rights. I should therefore attack—and perhaps will when the time comes—these bourgeois Darwinists in about the following manner:

The whole Darwinist teaching of the struggle for existence is simply a transference from society to living nature of Hobbes's doctrine of *bellum omnium contra omnes*[1] and of the bourgeois-economic doctrine of competition together with Malthus's theory of population. When this conjurer's trick has been performed (and I question its absolute permissibility, as I have indicated in point 1, particularly as far as the Malthusian theory is concerned), the same theories are transferred back again from organic nature into history and it is now claimed that their validity as eternal laws of human society has been proved. The puerility of this procedure is so obvious that not a word need be said about it. But if I wanted to go into the matter more thoroughly I should do so by depicting them in the first place as bad *economists* and only in the second place as bad naturalists and philosophers.

4) The essential difference between human and animal society consists in the fact that animals at most *collect* while men *produce*. This sole but cardinal difference alone makes it impossible simply to transfer laws of animal societies to human societies. It makes it possible, as you properly remark, "for man to struggle not only for existence but also for pleasures and *for the increase of his pleasures*, ... to be ready to renounce his lower pleasures for the highest pleasure." Without disputing your further conclusions from this I would, proceeding from my premises, make the following inferences: At a certain stage the production of man thus attains such a high level that not only necessaries but also luxuries, at first, true enough, only for a minority, are produced. The struggle for existence—if we permit this category for the moment to be valid—is thus transformed into a struggle for pleasures, no longer for mere means of *subsistence* but for means of *development, socially produced* means of development, and to

[1] A war of all against all—*Ed*

lhis stage the categories derived from the animal kingdom are no longer applicable. But if, as has now happened, production in ils capitalist form produces a far greater quantity of means of subsistence and development than capitalist society can consume because it keeps the great mass of real producers artificially away from these means of subsistence and development; if this society is forced by its own law of life consfantly to increase this output which is already too big for it and therefore periodically, every ten years, reaches the point where it destroys not only a mass of products but even produclive forces—what sense is there left in all this talk of "struggle for existence"? The struggle for exisl·ence can then consist only in this. that the producing class takes over the management of production and distribution from the class that was hitherto entrusled with it but has now become in·competent to handle it, and there you have the socialisl revolution.

A propos. Even the mere contemplation of previous hislory as a series of class struggles suffices to make clear the uller shallowness of the conception of this history as a feeble variety of the "slruggle for existence." I would therefore never do lhis favour to these false naturalists.

5) For the same reason I would have changed accordingly lhe formulalion of the following proposition of yours, whlch is essen·tially quite correct: that to facilitate the struggle the idea of soli·darity could finally . . . grow to a point where it will embrace all mankind and oppose it, as a society of brothers living in solidar·ity, lo the rest of the world—the world of minerals, plants, and animals.

6) On the other hand I cannot agree with you that the *bellum omnium contra omnes* was the first phase of human development. In my opinion, the social instinct was one of the most essential levers of the evolution of man from the ape. The first men must have lived in bands and as far as we can peer into the past we find that this was the case.

November 17. I have again been interrupled and am now re·suming these lines with the idea of sending them off today. You

see that my remarks concern the form, the method of your attack rather than its substance. I hope you will find them sufficiently lucid. I wrote them in haste and on re-reading them had a good mind to change a lot of words, but I am afraid that would make the manuscript too illegible.

With cordial greetings,

F. Engels

1876

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ENGELS TO MARX

Ramsgate, May 28, 1876

Dear Moor,

It's all very well for you to talk. You can lie warm in bed and study ground rent in general and Russian agrarian conditions in particular with nothing to disturb you—but I am to sit on the hard bench, swill cold wine, suddenly interrupt everything again and get after the scalp of the boring Dühring. However, there is doubtless nothing else for it, even if I get involved in a controversy the end of which is not in sight; after all, I shall have no peace otherwise, and then friend Most's panegyric on Dühring's *Course of Philosophy* has shown me exactly where and how to direct the attack. This book will have to be taken up along with the other because in many decisive points it better exposes the weak sides and foundations of the arguments put forward in the *Economy*.[1] I am ordering it at once. Of actual philosophy—formal logic, dialectics, metaphysics, etc.—it contains nothing whatever; it is supposed rather to represent a general theory of science in which nature, history, society, state, law, etc., are treated in what is claimed to be an inner interconnection. There is also a whole section in which the society of the future, or the so-called "free" society, is described in its less economic aspects, and among other things the curricula for the primary and secondary schools are already laid down. Here, therefore, banalities are dished up in an even simpler form than in the economy book and taking both

[1] Eugen Dühring. *Critical History of Political Economy and Socialism*—*Ed.*

works together one can expose the fellow from this side too at the same time. For the noble gentleman's conception of history—that there was nothing but rubbish until Dühring arrived—this book has the additional advantage that here one can quote his own crassly stupid words. Anyhow, I have him on the hip now. My plan is ready. First of all I shall deal with this trash in a purely objective and apparently serious way, and then the treatment will become more trenchant as the proofs of the nonsense on the one hand and of the platitudes on the other begin to pile up, until at last a regular hailstorm comes pouring down on him. In this fashion Most & Co. are deprived of any basis for charging "unkindness" and Dühring gets his deserts all the same. These gentlemen must be shown that there is more than one way of settling accounts with people of this kind.

I hope Wilhelm[1] will publish Most's article in the *Neue Welt*, for which it was obviously written. As usual Most cannot even copy right and so makes Dühring responsible for the most comic imbecilities in the field of natural science, e.g., the detachment of *rings* (according to Kant's theory) from *fixed stars*!

With Wilhelm it is not merely a lack of manuscripts—that could be got over by other articles on topics of the day, etc., as was done in Hepner's and Blos's time. It is his passion for supplementing the deficiencies of our theory, for having an answer to every philistine's objection and for giving a picture of the society of the future because after all the philistine too asks questions about it; and, in addition, for being as independent of us theoretically as possible. In this, owing to his total lack of all theory, he has always succeeded far better than he himself knows. But by all this he puts me into a position in which I cannot but say to myself that Dühring is at any rate an educated man compared with the theoretical bunglers of the *Volksstaat*, and his works are at any rate better than those of these subjectively and objectively obscure gentlemen....

My re-reading of ancient history and my studies in natural science have been of great service to me for the Dühring thing

[1] Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

and make it much easier for me in many ways. Especially in natural science I find that the ground has become considerably more familiar to me and that I can move on it with a certain amount of freedom and safety, though I have to exercise great caution. I am beginning to see the end of this job too. The thing is starting to take shape in my head, and loafing here at the seaside where I could let the details run loose in my mind has helped this on a good deal. In this enormous field it is absolutely necessary to interrupt one's regular grind from time to time and to digest what one has gulped down.

Herr Helmholtz has never stopped chasing round the thing-in-itself since 1853 and has still not got clear about it. The man is not ashamed of calmly allowing the nonsense he had printed *before Darwin* to be still reprinted over again.

Lizzie and I send our best regards to all of you. Friday we shall come again to London. I am very glad Pumps has developed her style so well. I of course notice it too, but not so much.

Yours,
F. E.

1877

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MARX TO F. A. SORGE

London, September 27, 1877

This crisis[1] is *a new turning point* in European history. Russia—and I have studied conditions there from the original *Russian* sources, unofficial and official (the latter accessible to but few persons, but obtained for me through friends in Petersburg)—has long been standing on the threshold of an upheaval; all the elements of it are prepared. The gallant Turks have hastened the explosion by years with the thrashing they have inflicted not merely to the Russian army and Russian finances, but to the very persons of the *dynasty commanding* the army (the Tsar, the heir to the throne, and six other Romanovs). The upheaval will begin *secundum artem*,[2] with some playing at constitutionalism, *et puis il y aura un beau tapage*.[3] If Mother Nature is not particularly unfavourable towards us, we shall yet live to see the fun!

The stupid nonsense the Russian students are perpetrating is merely a symptom, worthless in itself. But it is a symptom. All sections of Russian society are in full decomposition economically, morally, and intellectually.

This time the revolution begins in the East, hitherto the unbroken bulwark and reserve army of counter-revolution.

Herr Bismarck was pleased to see the thrashing, but it was not to go that far. Russia, too much weakened, could not hold Austria in check again as it did in the Franco-Prussian War! And if it were to go as far as revolution there, what would become of the ultimate guarantee of the Hohenzollern dynasty?

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[1] *The reference is to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878.—Ed.*

[2] According to the rules of the game.—*Ed.*

[3] And then there will be a fine row.—*Ed.*

For the present the most important thing is for the Poles (in the Kingdom of Poland) to lie low. Only no risings there at this moment! Bismarck would march in at once, and Russian chauvinism would again side with the Tsar. If on the other hand the Poles wait quietly until things are ablaze in Petersburg and Moscow, and Bismarck then intervenes as a saviour, Prussia will meet—its Mexico![1]

I have rammed this home again and again to any Poles I am in contact with who can influence their fellow-countrymen.

Compared with the crisis in the East, the *French crisis*[2] is quite a secondary event. Still it is to be hoped that the bourgeois republic wins out or else the old game will begin all over again, and no nation can repeat the same stupidities too often.

With the most cordial regards from my wife and myself.

Yours,
Karl Marx

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MARX TO F. A. SORGE

[London,] October 19, 1877

...A rotten spirit is making itself felt in our Party in Germany, not so much among the masses as among the leaders (upper class and "workers"). The compromise with the Lassalleans has led to a compromise with other halfway elements too: in Berlin (like *Most*) with Dühring and his "admirers," but also with a whole gang of half-mature students and super-wise diplomaed doctors who want to give socialism a "higher, idealistic"

[1] Allusion to the Mexican expedition of Napoleon III (1862-1867): his intervention in the civil war going on in Mexico between the republican government and the monarchist insurgents. Napoleon's adventure, which aimed at subjecting Mexico to French influence, suffered complete shipwreck.—*Ed.*

[2] This refers to the sharpening of the political struggle in France in 1877 due to an attempt by Marshal MacMahon, President of the Republic, to restore the monarchy.—*Ed.*

orientation, that is to say, to replace its materialistic basis (which demands serious objective study from anyone who tries to use it) by modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Dr. Höchberg, who publishes the *Zukunft*, is a representative of this tendency and has "bought his way" into the party—with the "noblest" intentions, I assume, but I do not give a damn for "intentions." Anything more miserable than his programme of the *Zukunft* has seldom seen the light of day with more "modest presumption."

The workers themselves, when, like Herr Most & Co., they give up work and become *professional literary men*, always breed "theoretical" mischief and are always ready to join muddleheads from the allegedly "learned" caste. *Utopian* socialism especially which for decades we have been clearing out of the German workers' heads with so much effort and labour—their freedom from it having made them theoretically (and therefore also practically) superior to the French and English—*utopian* socialism, playing with fantastic pictures of the future structure of society, *is again spreading like wildfire, and in a much more futile form*, not only compared with the great French and English utopians, but even with—Weitling. It is natural that utopianism, which *before* the era of materialistically critical socialism concealed the latter within itself in embryo, can now, coming belatedly, only be silly, stale, and reactionary from the roots up....

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MARX TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE "OTECHESTVENNIYE ZAPISKI"[1]

[London,] November 1877

To the Editor,

The author[2] of the article *Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky* is evidently a clever man and if, in my account of primitive accumulation, he had found a single passage to sup-

[1] *Fatherland Notes*—*Ed.*

[2] N. K. Mikhailovsky—*Ed.*

port his conclusions he would have quoted it. In the absence of any such passage he finds himself obliged to seize upon an *hors-d'œuvre*, a sort of polemic against a Russian "literary man,"[1] published in the appendix to the first German edition of *Capital*. What is my complaint against this writer there? That he discovered the Russian community not in Russia but in the book written by Haxthausen, Prussian Counsellor of State, and that in his hands the Russian community only serves as an argument to prove that rotten old Europe should be regenerated by the victory of Pan-Slavism. My estimate of this writer may be right or it may be wrong, but it cannot in any case furnish a clue to my views regarding the efforts "of Russians to find a path of development for their country which will be different from that which Western Europe pursued and still pursues," etc.

In the Afterword to the second German edition of *Capital*—which the author of the article on Mr. Zhukovsky knows, because he quotes it—I speak of a "great Russian scholar and critic"[2] with the high consideration he deserves. In his remarkable articles this writer has dealt with the question whether, as her liberal economists maintain, Russia must begin by destroying the village community in order to pass to the capitalist regime, or whether, on the contrary, she can without experiencing the tortures of this regime appropriate all its fruits by developing the historical conditions specifically her own. He pronounces in favour of this latter solution. And my honourable critic would have had at least as much reason for inferring from my consideration for this "great Russian scholar and critic" that I shared his views on the question, as for concluding from my polemic against the "literary man" and Pan-Slavist that I rejected them.

To conclude, as I am not fond of leaving "anything to guesswork" I shall come straight to the point. In order that I might be specially qualified to estimate the economic development in Russia, I learnt Russian and then for many years studied the official publications and others bearing on this subject. I have arrived

[1] A Herzen.—*Ed*

[2] N Chernyshevsky.—*Ed*

at this conclusion: If Russia continues to pursue the path she has followed since 1861, she will lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a people and undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime.

II

The chapter on primitive accumulation does not pretend to do more than trace the path by which, in Western Europe, the capitalist order of economy emerged from the womb of the feudal order of economy. It therefore describes the historical movement which by divorcing the producers from their means of production converts them into wage workers (proletarians in the modern sense of the word) while it converts those who possess the means of production into capitalists. In that history "all revolutions are epoch-making that act as levers for the advancement of the capitalist class in course of formation; above all those which, by stripping great masses of men of their traditional means of production and subsistence, suddenly hurl them on the labour market. But the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of the agricultural producer. This has been accomplished in radical fashion only in England ... but all the countries of Western Europe are going through the same movement," etc. (*Capital*, French edition, p. 315.) At the end of the chapter the historical tendency of production is summed up thus: That it "itself begets its own negation with the inexorability which governs the metamorphoses of nature"; that it has itself created the elements of a new economic order, by giving the greatest impulse at once to the productive forces of social labour and to the integral development of every individual producer; that capitalist property, resting already, as it actually does, on a collective mode of production, cannot but transform itself into social property. At this point I have not furnished any proof, for the good reason that this statement is itself nothing else but a general summary of long expositions previously given in the chapters on capitalist production.

Now what application to Russia could my critic make of this historical sketch? Only this: If Russia is tending to become a capitalist nation after the example of the West-European coun-

tries—and during the last few years she has been taking a lot of trouble in this direction—she will not succeed without having first transformed a good part of her peasants into proletarians; and after that, once taken to the bosom of the capitalist regime, she will experience its pitiless laws like other profane peoples. That is all. But that is too little for my critic. He feels he absolutely must metamorphose my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophic theory of the general path every people is fated to tread, whatever the historical circumstances in which it finds itself, in order that it may ultimately arrive at the form of economy which ensures, together with the greatest expansion of the productive powers of social labour, the most complete development of man. But I beg his pardon. (He is both honouring and shaming me too much.) Let us take an example.

In several parts of *Capital* I allude to the fate which overtook the plebeians of ancient Rome. They were originally free peasants, each cultivating his own piece of land on his own account. In the course of Roman history they were expropriated. The same movement which divorced them from their means of production and subsistence involved the formation not only of big landed property but also of big money capital. And so one fine morning there were to be found on the one hand free men, stripped of everything except their labour power, and on the other, in order to exploit this labour, those who held all the acquired wealth in their possession. What happened? The Roman proletarians became not wage labourers but a *mob* of do-nothings more abject than the former "poor whites" in the South of the United States, and alongside of them there developed a mode of production which was not capitalist but based on slavery. Thus events strikingly analogous but taking place in different historical surroundings led to totally different results. By studying each of these forms of evolution separately and then comparing them one can easily find the clue to this phenomenon, but one will never arrive there by using as one's master key a general historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being super-historical.

1879

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MARX TO N. F. DANIELSON

London, April 10, 1879

...And now, primo, I am obliged to tell you (cela est tout-à-fait confidentiel[1]) that I have been informed from Germany, my second volume *could not be published* so long as the present regime was maintained in its present severity. This news, considering the status quo, did not surprise me, and, I must confess, was far from annoying me—for these reasons:

Firstly: I should under no circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax. The phenomena are this time singular, in many respects different from what they were in the past and this—quite apart from other modifying circumstances—is easily accounted for by the fact that never before was *the English crisis preceded* by tremendous crises now lasting already five years in *the United States, South America, Germany, Austria* etc.

It is therefore necessary to watch the present course of things until their maturity before you can "consume" them "productively," I mean "*theoretically.*"

One of the singular aspects of the present state is this: There have, as you know, been crashes of banks in Scotland and in some of the English counties, principally the Western ones (Cornwallis and Wales). Still the real *centre of the money market*—not only of the United Kingdom, but of the world—*London* has till now been little affected. On the contrary, save a few

[1] That is quite confidential.—*Ed.*

exceptions, the immense joint-stock bank companies, like the Bank of England, have as yet only *profited* of the general prostration. And what this prostration is, you may judge from the utter despair of the English commercial and industrial philistine of ever seeing better times again! I have not seen the like, I have never witnessed a similar moral dislocation although I was in London in 1857 and 1866!

There is no doubt, one of the circumstances favourable to the London money market is the state of the *Bank of France*, which, since the recent development of the intercourse between the two countries, has become a succoursale[1] to the Bank of England. The Bank of France keeps an immense amount of bullion, the convertibility of its bank-notes being not yet re-established, and at the signal of any perturbation of the London stock exchange French money flows in to buy securities momentarity depreciated. If, during last autumn, the French money had been suddenly withdrawn, the Bank of England would certainly have had refuge to its last remedy *in extremis*,[2] the *suspension of the Bank-act*, and in that case we would have had the monetary crash.

On the other hand the quiet way in which the restoration of cash payments was effected in the United States, has removed all strain from that corner upon the resources of the Bank of England. But what till now mainly contributed to prevent an explosion within the London money market, is the apparently quiet state of the banks of *Lancashire* and the other industrial districts (saving the mining districts of the West), though it is sure and ascertained that these banks have not only invested great part of their resources in discounting of bills of, and advances upon, unprofitable transactions of the manufacturers, but have, as for instance at Oldham, sunk a great part of their capital in the foundation of new factories. At the same time stocks, mainly of cotton produce, are daily accumulating not only in Asia (India principalty) whither they are sent on consignment,

[1] Branch.—*Ed.*

[2] In extreme emergencies.—*Ed.*

some of which he was so kind as to make presents of canals etc.

But in Austria, and Italy above all, the railways were a new source of unbearable state indebtedness and grinding of the masses.

Generally, the railways gave of course an immense impulse to the development of Foreign Commerce, but the commerce in countries which export principally *raw produce* increased the misery of the masses. Not only that the new indebtedness, contracted by the governments on account of the railways, increased the *bulk of imposts* weighing upon them, but from the moment every local production could be converted into cosmopolitan gold, many articles *formerly cheap*, because invendible to a great degree, such as fruit, wine, fish, deer etc., became *dear* and were withdrawn from the consumption of the people, while, on the other hand, the *production itself*, I mean the special *sort of produce*, was changed according to its *greater or minor suitableness for exportation*, while formerly it was principally adapted to its consumption *in loco*.[1] Thus in Schleswig-Holstein agricultural land was converted into pasture, because the export of cattle was more profitable, but, at the same time, the agricultural population was driven away. All the changes were very useful indeed for the great landed proprietor, the usurer, the merchant, the railways, the bankers and so forth, but very dismal for the real producer!

It is, to conclude with this my letter (since the time for putting it to post draws nearer and nearer), impossible to find real analogies between the United States and Russia. In the former the expenses of the Government diminish daily and its public debt is quickly and yearly reduced; in the latter public bankruptcy is a goal more and more appearing to become unavoidable. The former has freed itself (although in a most infamous way for the advantage of the creditors and at the expense of the *menu peuple*[2]) of its paper money, the latter has no more flourishing fabric than that of paper money. In the former the concentration

[1] On the spot.—*Ed.*

[2] Common people.—*Ed.*

of capital and the gradual expropriation of the masses is not only the vehicle, but also the natural offspring (though artificially accelerated by the civil war) of an unprecedentedly rapid industrial development, agricultural progress etc.; the latter reminds you rather of the times of Louis XIV and Louis XV, where the financial, commercial, industrial superstructure, or rather the *façades* of the social édifice, looked (although they had a much more solid foundation than in Russia) like a satyre upon the stagnant state of the bulk of production (the agricultural one) and the famine of the producers. The United States have at present much overtaken England in the rapidity of economical progress, though they still lag behind in the extent of acquired wealth, but at the same time the masses are quicker, and have greater political means in their hands, to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense. I need not prolong the antitheses.

A propos. Which do you consider the best Russian work on credit and banking?

Mr. Kaufmann was so kind as to send me his book on "theory and practice of banking," but I was rather astonished that my former intelligent critic in the Petersburger "Messager de l'Europe," had converted himself into a sort of Pindar of modern stock exchange swindling. Besides, considered merely—and I expect generally nothing else of books of this kind—from Fachstandpunkt,[1] it is far from original in its details. The best part in it is the polemics against paper money.

It is said that certain foreign bankers with whom a certain government desired to contract new loans, have asked as a guarantee—a constitution. I am far from believing this, because their modern method of doing business was, till now at least, and would be, very indifferent as to forms of government.

Yours truly,

A. Williams

[1] From the point of view of an expert.—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

[London,] June 17, 1879

Replying respectfully to your lines of the 13th, which arrived only yesterday, I regret that I am not in a position to name anybody who would be capable of supplying you with the articles[1] desired in a really competent manner.

For a number of years past the English working-class movement has been hopelessly describing a narrow circle of strikes for higher wages and shorter hours, not, however, as an expedient or means of propaganda and organization but as the ultimate aim. The Trades-Unions even bar all political action on principle and in their charters, and thereby also ban participation in any general activity of the working-class as a class. The workers are divided politically into Conservatives and Liberal Radicals, into supporters of the Disraeli (Beaconsfield) ministry and supporters of the Gladstone ministry. One can speak here of a labour movement only in so far as strikes take place here which, whether they are won or not, do not get the movement one step further. To inflate such strikes—which often enough have been brought about purposely during the last few years of bad business by the capitalists to have a pretext for closing down their factories and mills, strikes in which the working-class movement does not make the slightest headway—into struggles of world importance, as is done, for instance, in the *Freiheit*, published here, can, in my opinion, only do harm. No attempt should be made to conceal the fact that at present no real labour movement in the Continental sense exists here, and I therefore believe you will not lose much if for the time being you do not receive any reports on the doings of the Trades-Unions here.

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[1] Articles on the working-class movement in England for the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, a social-reformist journal published in Zurich.—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO J. P. BECKER

London, July 1, 1879

... It is quite understandable that Liebknecht's untimely meekness in the Reichstag[1] should have created a very unfavourable impression in Latin Europe as well as among Germans everywhere. And we expressed this immediately in our letter. The old comfortable way of leisurely agitation with an occasional six weeks' to six months' term in jail has come to an end in Germany once and for all. No matter how the present state of affairs may end, the new movement begins on a more or less revolutionary basis and must therefore be much more resolute in character than the first period of the movement, now past. The phrase about the peaceable attainment of the goal will either no longer be necessary or anyhow will not be taken seriously any longer. By making this phrase impossible and thrusting the movement in the revolutionary direction Bismarck has rendered us a great service, outweighing the bit of damage occasioned by his interference with agitation.

On the other hand, as a result of the tame speech in the Reichstag the knights of the revolutionary phrase are again on their high horses and seek to disorganize the Party by their squabbles and intrigues. The local workers' society is the hub of all these machinations.[2]...

[1] In his speech on the occasion of the proclamation of a "minor state of siege" in Berlin, Wilhelm Liebknecht declared (March 17, 1879) that German Social-Democracy was a party of reforms, that it was opposed to forcible revolution-mongery and would obey the Anti-Socialist Law.—*Ed.*

[2] In 1879 the communist Workers' Educational Society in London fell into the hands of the adherents of the "left"-opportunist tactics of Johann Most. He and his following subsequently sank to the level of avowed anarchism and in 1880 were expelled from the German Social-Democracy.—*Ed.*

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MARX AND ENGELS TO A. BEBEL, W. LIEBKNECHT, W.-BRACKE AND OTHERS ("CIRCULAR LETTER")

[London, September 17-18, 1879]

... The Manifesto of the Three Zurichers

In the meantime Höchberg's *Jahrbuch* has reached us, containing an article, "The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect,"[1] which, as Höchberg himself told me, has been written by precisely the three members of the Zurich Commission. Here we have their authentic criticism of the movement up till now and with it their authentic programme for the line of the new organ in so far as this line depends on them.

Right at the beginning we read:

"The movement, which Lassalle regarded as an eminently political one, to which he summoned not only the workers but all honest democrats, *at the head of which* were to march the independent representatives of science and *all men imbued with true love of humanity*, was lowered under the presidency of Johann Baptist von Schweitzer to a *one-sided struggle of the industrial workers in their own interests*."

I shall not examine whether or how far this is historically accurate. The special reproach here levelled against Schweitzer is that he *lowered* Lassalleanism, which is here taken as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, to a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers in their interests, whereas he *deepened* its character as a class struggle of the industrial workers against the bourgeois. He is further reproached with having "rejected bourgeois democracy." What business has bourgeois democracy within the Social-Democratic Party anyway? If it consists of "honest men" it cannot wish for admission, and if it does nevertheless wish to be admitted this can only be in order to start a row.

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[1] This article, written by Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm, was printed in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*.—*Ed*

The Lassallean party "chose to conduct itself *in the most one-sided* way as a *workers' party.*" The gentlemen who write that are themselves members of a party which conducts itself in the most one-sided way as a workers' party, they are at present invested with offices and dignities in this party. Here there is an absolute incompatibility. If they mean what they write they must leave the Party, or at least resign their offices and dignities. If they do not do so, they admit that they are proposing to utilize their official position in order to combat the proletarian character of the Party. Thus, if the Party leaves them their offices and dignities it will be betraying itself.

In the opinion of these gentlemen, then, the Social-Democratic Party should *not* be a one-sided workers' party but an all-sided party of "all men imbued with true love of humanity." It must prove this above all by laying aside coarse proletarian passions and placing itself under the guidance of educated, philanthropic bourgeois "In order to cultivate good taste" and "learn good form" (p. 85). Then the "disreputable behaviour" of some of the leaders will give way to a thoroughly respectable "bourgeois behaviour." (As if the externally disreputable appearance of those here referred to were not the least they can be reproached with!) Then, too, "*numerous adherents* from the circles of the *educated* and *propertied* classes will make their appearance. But *these* must first be won if the ... agitation conducted is to attain *tangible successes.*" German socialism has "attached too much importance to the winning of the *masses* and in so doing has neglected energetic (!) propaganda among the so-called upper strata of society." For "the Party still lacks men fit to represent it in the Reichstag." It is, however, "desirable and necessary to entrust the mandates to men who have had the time and opportunity to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the relevant material. The simple worker and small master craftsman... have the necessary leisure for this only in rare and exceptional cases." So elect bourgeois!

In short: the working class of itself is incapable of its own emancipation. For this purpose it must place itself under the leadership of "educated and propertied" bourgeois who alone

possess the "time and opportunity" to acquaint themselves with what is good for the workers. And secondly, the bourgeoisie is on no account to be fought against but—to be *won over* by energetic propaganda.

But if one wants to win over the upper strata of society or only its well-disposed elements one must not frighten them on *any* account. And *here* the three *Zurichers* think they have made a reassuring discovery.

"Precisely at the present time, under the pressure of the Anti-Socialist Law, the Party is showing that it *is not its will* to pursue the path of violent, bloody revolution but is determined ... to follow the path of legality, that is, of *reform*." So if the 500,000 to 600,000 Social-Democratic voters—between a tenth and an eighth of the whole electorate and, besides, dispersed over the length and breadth of the land—have the sense not to run their heads against a wall and to attempt a "bloody revolution" of one against ten, this proves that they forever *renounce* taking advantage of some tremendous external event, a sudden revolutionary upsurge arising from it or even a *victory* of the people gained in a conflict resulting from it. If Berlin should ever again be so uneducated as to have another March 18,[1] the Social-Democrats, instead of taking part in the fight as "riff-raff with a mania for barricades" (p. 88), must rather "follow the path of legality," put on the brakes, clear away the barricades and if necessary march with the glorious army against the one-sided, coarse, uneducated masses. Or if the gentlemen assert that this is not what they meant, what then did they mean?

But still better follows.

"Hence, the more quiet, objective and deliberate it (the Party) is in its criticism of existing conditions and in its proposals to change them, the less possible will it be to repeat the present successful move (when the Anti-Socialist Law was introduced) with which the conscious reactionaries intimidated the bourgeoisie by conjuring up the red bogey" (p. 88).

[1] This refers to the revolutionary barricade fighting in Berlin on March 18-19, 1848.—*Ed.*

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety it must be clearly and convincingly proved to it that the red bogey is really only a bogey, and does not exist. But what is the secret of the red bogey if not the bourgeoisie's dread of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between it and the proletariat? Dread of the inevitable outcome of the modern class struggle? Do away with the class struggle and the bourgeoisie and "all independent people" will "not be afraid to go hand in hand with the proletarians"! And the cheated ones would be precisely the proletarians.

Let the Party therefore prove by its humble and lowly manner that it has once and for all laid aside the "improprieties and excesses" which occasioned the Anti-Socialist Law. If it voluntarily promises that it intends to act only within the limits of this law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will surely have the kindness to repeal it, as it will then be superfluous!

"Let no one misunderstand us"; we do not want "to give up our Party and our programme, but think that for years to come we shall have enough to do if we concentrate our whole strength and energy upon the attainment of certain immediate aims which must in any case be achieved before the realization of the more far-reaching aspirations can be thought of." Then those bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and workers who are "at present frightened away ... by our far-reaching demands" will join us in masses.

The programme is not to be *given up* but only *postponed*—for an indefinite period. One accepts it, though not really for oneself and one's own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom to be handed down to one's children and grandchildren. In the meantime one devotes one's "whole strength and energy" to all sorts of petty rubbish and the patching up of the capitalist order of society so as to produce at least the appearance of something happening without at the same time scaring the bourgeoisie. There I must really praise the "Communist" Miquel, who proves his unshakeable belief in the inevitable overthrow of capitalist society in the course of the next few hundred years by swindling for all he's worth, contributing his honest best to the

crash of 1873[1] and so *really* doing something to help along the collapse of the existing order.

Another offence against good form was the "exaggerated attacks on the company promoters," who were after all "only children of their time"; it would therefore "have been better to abstain ... from abusing Strousberg and similar people." Unfortunately everyone is only a "child of his time" and if this is a sufficient excuse nobody ought ever to be attacked any more, all controversy, all struggle on our part ceases; we quietly accept all the kicks our adversaries give us because we, who are so wise, know that these adversaries are "only children of their time" and cannot act otherwise. Instead of repaying their kicks with interest we ought rather to pity these unfortunates.

Then again the support of the Commune had the disadvantage that "people who were otherwise well disposed to us were alienated and in general the *hatred of the bourgeoisie* against us was increased." Furthermore, the Party "is not wholly without blame for the passage of the October Law,[2] for it had increased the *hatred of the bourgeoisie* unnecessarily."

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zurich In clarity it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all by us, who are very familiar with the whole of this phraseology from the days of 1848. It is the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who are here making themselves heard, full of anxiety that the proletariat, under the pressure of its revolutionary position, may "go too far." Instead of determined political opposition, general mediation; instead of struggle against government and bourgeoisie, an attempt to win over and persuade them; instead of defiant resistance to ill-treatment from above, humble submission and confession that the punishment was deserved. Historically necessary conflicts are all interpreted as misunderstandings, and all discussion ends with the assurance that after all

[1] The crash of 1873 ended the period of frenzied company promotion, mad business speculation and stock exchange gambling which followed the termination of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871.—*Ed*

[2] The reference is to the Exceptional Law against the Socialists, introduced by Bismarck in October 1878.—*Ed*

we are all agreed on the main point. The people who came out as bourgeois democrats in 1848 coutd just as well call themselves Social-Democrats now. To the former the democratic republic was as unattainably remote as the overthrow of the capitalist system is to the latter, and therefore is of absolutely no importance in present-day practicat politics; one can mediate, compromise and philanthropize to one's heart's content. It is just the same with the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. It is recognized on paper because its existence can no longer be denied, but in practice it is hushed up, diluted, attenuated. The Social-Democratic Party *is not* to be a workers' party, is not to incur the odium of the bourgeoisie or of anyone else; it should above all conduct energetic propaganda among the bourgeoisie; instead of laying stress on far-reaching aims which frighten away the bourgeoisie and after all are not attainable in our generation, it should rather devote its whole strength and energy to those petty-bourgeois patchwork reforms which, by providing the old order of society with new props, may perhaps transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piecemeal and as far as possible peaceful process of dissolution. These are the same people who, ostensibly engaged in indefatigable activity, not only do nothing themselves but try to prevent anything happening at atl except—chatter; the same people whose fear of every form of action in 1848 and 1849 obstructed the movement at every step and finally brought about its downfall, the same people who never see reaction and are then quite astonished to find themselves in the end in a blind alley where neither resistance nor flight is possible, the same people who want to confine history within their narrow philistine horizon and over whose heads history invariably proceeds to the order of the day.

As to their socialist worth, this has been adequately criticized already in the *Manifesto*, the chapter on "German, or 'True,' Socialism." Where the class struggle is pushed aside as a disagreeable "coarse" phenomenon, nothing remains as a basis for socialism but "true love of humanity" and empty phraseology about "justice."

It is an inevitable phenomenon, rooted in the course of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling classes should also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements. We clearly stated this in the *Manifesto*. But here two points are to be noted:

First, in order to be of use to the proletarian movement these people must bring real educative elements into it. But with the great majority of the German bourgeois converts that is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft* nor the *Neue Gesellschaft* have contributed anything which could advance the movement one step further. Here there is an absolute lack of real educational material, whether factual or theoretical. In its place there are attempts to bring superficially mastered socialist ideas into harmony with the exceedingly varied theoretical standpoints which these gentlemen have brought with them from the universities or elsewhere and of which, owing to the process of decomposition which the remnants of German philosophy are at present undergoing, one was more confused than the other. Instead of thoroughly studying the new science themselves to begin with, each of them preferred to trim it to fit the point of view he had brought along, made himself forthwith a private science of his own and at once came forward with the pretension of wanting to teach it. Hence, there are about as many points of view among these gentry as there are heads; instead of producing clarity in a single case they have only produced desperate confusion—fortunately almost exclusively among themselves. Educative elements whose first principle is to teach what they have not learnt can very well be dispensed with by the Party.

Secondly. If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them but should wholeheartedly adopt the proletarian outlook. But these gentlemen, as has been proved, are chock-full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. In such a petty-bourgeois country as Germany these ideas certainly have their justification. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. If these gentlemen constitute themselves into a

Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party they have a perfect right to do so; one could then negotiate with them, form a *bloc* according to circumstances, etc. But in a workers' party they are an adulterating element. If reasons exist for tolerating them there for the moment it is our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, seems to have come. How the Party can tolerate the authors of this article in its midst any longer is incomprehensible to us. But if even the leadership of the Party should fall more or less into the hands of such people, the Party would simply be castrated and there would be an end of proletarian snap.

As for ourselves, in view of our whole past there is only one road open to us. For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. When the International was formed we expressly formulated the battle-cry: The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves. We cannot therefore co-operate with people who openly state that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must be freed from above by philanthropic big bourgeois and petty bourgeois. If the new Party organ adopts a line that corresponds to the views of these gentlemen, that is bourgeois and not proletarian, then nothing remains for us, much though we should regret it, but publicly to declare our opposition to it, and to dissolve the bonds of the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But it is to be hoped that things will not come to *such* a pass....

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MARX TO F. A. SORGE

London, September 19, 1879

...Matters may indeed reach the point where Engels and I would be compelled to come out with a bang in a "public statement" against the Leipzigers and their Zurich allies.

This is the state of affairs: Bebel wrote us that they wanted to found a Party organ in Zurich[1] and he requested our names as collaborators. Hirsch's name was given us as the prospective editor. *Thereupon we accepted*, and I wrote direct to Hirsch (then in Paris, from where he has since been banished, for the second time) to accept the editorial post, stating that he alone afforded us the certainty that a mixture of doctors, students, and professorial socialist rogues, such as strut about in the *Zukunft*, etc., and have already begun to penetrate the *Vorwärts*, would be kept out, and the Party line would be adhered to strictly.... These people, nonentities *in* theory and useless *in* practice, want to draw the teeth of socialism (which they have fixed up in accordance with the university recipes) and particularly of the Social-Democratic Party, to enlighten the workers or, as they put it, to imbue them with "elements of education" from their confused half-knowledge, and above all to make the Party respectable in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie. They are just wretched *counter-revolutionary windbags*....

Now if the *Wochenblatt*—the Party organ—should actually *proceed* along the lines initiated by Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, we should be compelled to take a public stand against such a vulgarization of Party and theory! Engels has drawn up a circular (letter) to Bebel, etc. (only for *private circulation* among the German Party leaders, of course), in which our standpoint is set forth without reserve. Thus the gentlemen have been warned in advance, and they know us well enough to know that *this means*: if you don't like it you can lump it! If they want to compromise

[1] *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the central organ of the German Social-Democracy, began to appear in Zurich in September 1879.—*Ed.*

themselves, so much the worse for them! In no event will they be allowed to compromise *us*. You can see how stupid parliamenlarism has already made them from the fact, among other things, that they are charging Hirsch with a great crime—because of what? Because he has handled the scoundrel Kayser somewhat roughly in the *Laterne* for the latter's disgraceful speech on Bismarck's tariff legislation. But now they say the Party, i.e., the handful of parliamentary representatives of the Party, had authorized Kayser to speak like that! All the more shame for this handfull But even that is a miserable excuse. In fact they were silly enough to let Kayser speak for himself and on behalf of his constituents; but he spoke in the name of the Party. However that may be, they are already so far affected by parliamentary idiotism that they think they are *above criticism*, that they denounce criticism as *lèse-majesté*. . . .

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, November 14, 1879

. . . And this brings me to the Report.[1] No matter how good the beginning and how skilled the trealment of the prolective tariff debate, the concessions to the German philistines containcd in the third part are unwelcome. Why that wholly superfluous passage about the "civil war," why that kowtowing to "public opinion" which in Germany will always be that of the beerhouse philistine? Why here the total obliteration of the class character of the movement? Why give the Anarchists this ground for rejoicing? And mind you, all these concessions are wholly useless. The German philistine is cowardice incarnate. He respects only those who inspire him with fear. But anyone who wants to get

[1] In this letter Engels criticizes the report of the Social-Democratic Reichstag group published in the *Sozialdemokrat* in October, 1879.—*Ed.*

into his good graces he considers one of his own kind and respects him no more than his own kind, namely not at all. And now that the "storm" of indignation of the beerhouse philistines, called public opinion, has concededly subsided again and heavy taxation has knocked the spirit out of these people as is, why these honeyed speeches? If you only knew how they sound abroad! It is quite a good thing that Party organs must be edited by people who are in the thick of the Party and the struggle. But if you had been only six months abroad you would think quite differently of this entirely unnecessary self-debasement of the Party deputies before the philistines. The storm that broke over the heads of the French Socialists after the Commune was of course something quite different from the outcry raised in Germany on account of the Nobiling affair.[1] And how much more proud and dignified was the bearing of the French! You will not find among them such weakness, such compliments to their opponents. They kept silent when they could not speak freely; they let the petty bourgeois shoot off their mouths knowing that their time would surely come again; and now it has come...

As for the rest I only want to remark about Auer's insinuations that we here underestimate neither the difficulties with which the Party has to contend in Germany nor the significance of the successes achieved nevertheless and the quite exemplary conduct up to now of the Party *masses*. It naturally goes without saying that every victory gained in Germany gladdens our hearts as much as one gained elsewhere, and even more so because from the very beginning the German Party has leaned upon our theoretical theses for support in its development. For that very reason we must be particularly careful to see that the practical demeanour of the German Party and especially the public utterances of the Party leadership should be in harmony with the general theory. Our criticism is certain to displease quite a number of people. But of greater value to the Party and its leadership than all uncritical compliments must be the circumstance

[1] In June 1878 a certain Nobiling made an attempt on the life of William I, which served as the pretext for introducing the Anti-Socialist Law.—*Ed*

that it has abroad a few people who, uninfluenced by confusing local conditions and details of the struggle, measure happenings and utterances from time to time by the theoretical principles valid for all modern proletarian movements, and who reflect the impression its actions create outside Germany.

Yours in friendship,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, December 16, 1879

...There is no room for us in a paper in which it is possible virtually to bewail the Revolution of 1848 that for the first time opened wide the portals to Social-Democracy. It plainly appears from this article and Höchberg's letter that the stellar trio claims, on the principle of equal status, the right to set forth in the *Sozialdemokrat*, alongside the proletarian views, its own petty-bourgeois socialist views first clearly enunciated in the *Jahrbuch*. And I fail to see how you in Leipzig can prevent this without a formal breach, once things have come to such a pass. You still consider these people Party comrades, the same as before. We cannot do so. The article in the *Jahrbuch* draws a sharp and absolutely distinct line between us. We cannot even deal with these people so long as they maintain that they belong to the same party as we. The points in question here are points that cannot even be discussed any more within a *proletarian* party. To make them a subject of discussion within any party would be to put in question the whole of proletarian socialism.

As a matter of fact it is better under these circumstances that we do not co-operate.[1] We would be protesting all along and after a few weeks would have to announce publicly our withdrawal, which would not have helped matters.

[1] with the *Sozialdemokrat*.—*Ed*

We greatly regret that just at this time of suppression we are unable to stand by you without reserve. As long as the Party in Germany remained true to its proletarian character we set aside all other considerations. But now, when the petty-bourgeois elements that have been admitted openly show their true colours, the situation has changed. Once they are permitted to smuggle their petty-bourgeois ideas piecemeal into the organ of the German Party, this fact simply closes that organ to us....

As for the rest, world history is taking its course, regardless of these wise and moderate philistines. In Russia matters must come to a head in a few months from now. Either absolutism is overthrown and then, after the downfall of the great reserve of reaction, a different atmosphere will at once pervade Europe. Or a European war will break out which will bury the *present* German Party beneath the inevitable struggle of each people for its national existence. Such a war would be the greatest misfortune for us; it might set the movement back twenty years. But the new party that would ultimately have to emerge anyhow would in all European countries be free from a mass of dubiety and paltriness that now everywhere hamper the movement.

Yours in friendship,

F. E.

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ENGELS TO M. K. KABLUKOVA

London, August 5, 1880

Dear Mrs. Kablukova,

Following up the few lines I wrote to Biarritz I can only tell you that I am actually unable to recommend to you any documents or reports besides those enumerated by yourself in your last letter. However, after the school vacations, when various people I know are expected back, I shall make further inquiries and if I find anything new I shall send it to your Moscow address or let you know further. In order that this correspondence may appear entirely harmless I shall write in English and sign the letters E. Burns. Please address any communication for me from there to Miss E. Burns, 122, Regent's Park Road, N. W. London. No inside envelope is necessary; it is my niece.

I have read with great interest what you state about your activities in Moscow and the prospect of your establishing a trade school with the assistance of the Zemstvo chairman. We have the statistical reports of all the Russian Zemstvos here and in general quite excellent material on economic conditions in Russia. Unfortunately I cannot look them up at the moment since Marx has them at his house and he is at a seaside resort now with his whole family. But this would not help me much to answer your question because that requires such a knowledge of the branches of domestic industry in question, of their operation, their products, and their ability to compete as can be acquired only locally. In general it seems to me that the industries you mention may, to a great extent at least, still be capable for some time of competing with modern large-scale industry. Such indus-

trial transformations are extremely slow to proceed. In Germany even the hand loom has not yet been entirely ousted in some branches of industry from which it was driven in England 20-30 years ago. In Russia things may move more slowly still. The long winter there allows the peasant so much free time; and if he earns something, be it even so *little*, during the day it is so much to the good. Naturally these primitive methods of production cannot escape their ultimate doom and in a highly developed industrial country such as we have here for example it might be maintained that it would be more humane to hasten this process of dissolution rather than prolong it. But in Russia circumstances may very possibly be different, the more so as tremendous changes in the entire political situation are looming on the horizon. The petty palliatives, which in Germany and elsewhere have done so infinitely little good, as you have had occasion to convince yourself, might perhaps help the people here and there in Russia to get over the political crisis and keep their industry going until they themselves are in a position to have their say. And the schools might enable them to know by then to some extent *what* they are to say. All real educative elements that are being disseminated among the people are contributing more or less to this end. Technical instruction would perhaps achieve its goal most easily if it were to try on the one hand to render the plying of at least the more viable of the usual trades more rational and on the other to give the children enough general preliminary technical training to make a change to other trades easier for them. Except for such generalities it is hard to say anything from afar. But this much seems fairly certain: that Moscow Gubernia will not become a site of modern industry so soon, as it is far removed from the coal regions and there is already a shortage of fire-wood. Some kind of domestic industry, although subject to frequent change, may still maintain itself for a while even if protective tariffs should make possible the existence of certain large-scale manufactures, such as the cotton industry in Shuya and Ivanovo, Vladimir Gubernia. And in the long run the peasants can be helped only by their getting more land and tilling it collectively.

Your information concerning the incipient decay of the *obshchina*[1] and the artel[2] is confirmed by news received from other quarters. Nevertheless this process of decomposition may last very long. And as the general trend in Western Europe is in the exactly opposite direction and is bound to gain tremendously in strength in the next upheaval, it is to be expected that in Russia too, which has produced so many critical minds during the last thirty years, this trend will become sufficiently strong in time to be able to appeal to the people's thousand-year-old natural urge to associate before this urge is wholly extinguished. For this reason productive associations and other forms of promoting the system of association among the people should be viewed in Russia from another angle than in the West. But they will always remain paltry palliatives all the same.

Respectfully yours,
F. Engels

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MARX TO F. A. SORGE

London, November 5, 1880

...Things are going along splendidly on the whole (I mean by this the general situation in Europe), as well as within the really revolutionary party on the Continent.

You have probably noticed that the *Égalité*[3] (thanks principally to *Guesde's* coming over to us and to the works of my son-in-law Lafargue) has provided us with the first "French" *workers' paper* in the true sense of the expression. *Malon*, too, in the *Revue Socialiste*, has had to espouse *socialisme moderne scien-*

[1] A village community.—*Ed.*

[2] For a description of the artel see F. Engels's article "On Social Relations in Russia," Marx-Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow 1955, pp 49-61.—*Ed.*

[3] *Égalité*: a socialist daily which appeared in Paris with Guesde and Lafargue as editors.—*Ed.*

tifique, i.e., *German* socialism, even though with the inconsistencies inseparable from his eclectic nature (we were enemies, as he was originally one of the cofounders of the *Alliance*). I wrote the "*Questionnaire*"[1] for him, which was first printed in the *Revue Socialiste*. Reprints were then distributed throughout France in very large editions. Shortly afterwards Guesde came to London to draw up a workers' election programme together with us (Engels, Lafargue, and myself), for the coming general elections. With the exception of some nonsense, which Guesde found it necessary to dish up to the French workers despite our protest, such as fixing the *minimum wage* by law, and the like (*I told him*: "If the French proletariat is still so childish as to require such bait, it is not worth while drawing up any programme whatever"), this very brief document in its economic section consists solely of demands that actually have spontaneously arisen out of the labour movement itself. In its introductory passages the communist goal is defined in a few words. It was an energetic step towards pulling the French workers down to earth from their fog of phraseology, and hence it was a violent shock to all the French giddyheads, who live by "fog-making." After the most violent opposition by the Anarchists, the programme was first adopted in the *Région centrale*—i.e., Paris and all that goes with it—and later in many other workers' centres. The simultaneous formation of oppositional groups of workers, which accepted, however, most of the "practical" demands of the programme, (except the Anarchists, who do not consist of actual workers but of *déclassés* with a few duped workers as their rank-and-file soldiers) and the fact that very divergent standpoints were expressed regarding other questions prove, to my mind, that this is *the first real labour movement* in France. Up to the present time only sects existed there, which naturally received their slogans from the founder of the sect, whereas the mass of the proletariat followed the radical or pseudo-radical bourgeois and fought

[1] Marx refers to the questionnaire he wrote concerning the condition of the working class in France. It was published under the name of "Workers' Questionnaire."—*Ed.*

for them on the decisive day, only to be slaughtered, deported, etc., the very next day by the fellows they had hoisted into the saddle.

The *Emancipation* that was put out in Lyons a few days ago will be the organ of the workers' party that has sprung up on the basis of German socialism....

In Russia, where *Capital* is more read and appreciated than anywhere else, our success is even greater. On the one hand we have the *critics* (mostly young university professors, some of them personal friends of mine, as well as some writers for reviews), and on the other the *terrorist central committee*,[1] whose *programme*, secretly printed and issued in Petersburg recently, has provoked great fury among the anarchist Russians in *Switzerland*, who publish *The Black Redistribution* (this is the literal translation from the Russian[2]) in Geneva. These persons—most (not all) of them people who left Russia *voluntarily*—constitute the so-called party of propaganda as opposed to the terrorists who risk their lives. (In order to carry on propaganda *in Russia*—they move *to Geneva*! What a *quid pro quo*!) These gentlemen are against all political-revolutionary action. Russia is to make a somersault into the anarchist-communist-atheist millennium! Meanwhile, they are preparing for this leap with the most tedious doctrinairism, whose so-called principles are being hawked about the street ever since the late Bakunin.

And now enough for this time. Let me hear from you soon. Best regards from my wife.

Totus tuus,

Karl Marx

[1] Marx refers to the Executive Committee, established in 1879, of the secret Narodnik society known as the "Narodnaya Volya" ("People's Will").—*Ed.*

[2] *Cherny Peredel.*—*Ed.*

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MARX TO N. F. DANIELSON

London, February 19, 1881

...I have read with the greatest interest your article[1] which is in the best sense of the word "original." Hence the boycotting. If you break through the webs of routine thought, you are always sure to be "boycotted" in the first instance; it is the only arm of defence which in their first perplexity the *routiniers* know how to wield. I have been "boycotted" in Germany for many many years, and am still so in England, with that little variation that from time to time something so absurd and asinine is launched against me that I would blush to take any public notice of it. But try on! The next thing to do—in my opinion—is to take up the wonderfully increasing *indebtedness of the landlords*, the upper class representatives of agriculture, and show them how they are "crystallised" in the relort under the control of the "new pillars of society."

I am very anxious to see your polemics with the „*Cacoo*". As soon as I shall sail in more quiet waters I shall enter more fully upon your *Esquisse*.[2] For the present I cannot omit one observation. The soil being exhausted and getting not the elements—by artificial and vegetable and animal manure etc.—to supply its wants, will with the changing favour of the seasons, of circumstances independent of human influence—still continue to yield harvests of very different amounts, though, summing up

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[1] The article in question, "Sketches of Our Post-Reform Social Economy," was written by Danielson under his pseudonym *Nikolai-on* and published in the journal *Slovo* in October 1880.—*Ed.*

[2] Sketch.—*Ed.*

a period of years, as f.i. from 1870-80, the stagnant character of the production presents itself in the most striking character. Under such circumstances the favourable climatic conditions pave the way to a *famine year* by quickly consuming and setting free the mineral fertilizers still latent in the soil, while *vice versa*, a *famine year*, and still more a series of bad years following it, allow the soil-inherent minerals to accumulate anew, and to work efficiently with returning favour of the climatic conditions. Such a process goes on of course everywhere but *elsewhere* it is checked by the modifying intervention of the agriculturist himself. It becomes the *only regulating factor* where man has ceased to be a "power"—for want of means.

So we have *1870* an excellent harvest in your country, but that year is a *climax year*, and as such immediately followed by a very bad one; the year *1871*, the very bad harvest, must be considered as the starting point for a new little cycle, till we come to the new climax year 1874, which is immediately followed by the famine year 1875; then the upwards movement begins again, ending in the still worse famine year 1880. The summing up of the years during the whole period proves that the average annual production remained the same and that the mere natural factors have alone produced the changes comparing the single years and the smaller cycles of years.

I wrote you some time ago that if the great industrial and commercial crisis England has passed through went over without the culminating financial crash at London, this *exceptional* phenomenon was only due to—French money. This is now seen and acknowledged even by English routiniers. Thus the "*Statist*" (January 29, 1881) says: "The money market has only been so easy as it has been during the past year *through an accident*. The *Bank of France* in the early autumn permitted its stock of gold bullion to fall from £30 millions to £22 millions.... *Last autumn undoubtedly there was a very narrow escape.*"(1)

The *English railway system* rolls on the same inclined plane as the European *public debt system*. The ruling magnates amongst the different railway-net directors contract not only—progressively—new loans *in order to enlarge their networks*, i.e.,

the "territory" where they rule as absolute monarchs, but they enlarge their respective networks *in order to have new pretexts for engaging in new loans* which enable them to pay the interest due to the holders of obligations, preferential shares etc., and also from time to time to throw a sop to the much ill-used common shareholders in the shape of somewhat increased dividends. This pleasant method must one day or another terminate in an ugly catastrophe.

In the *United States* the railway kings have become the butt of attacks, not only, as before this, on the part of the farmers and other industrial "*entrepreneurs*" of the *West*, but also on the part of the grand representative of commerce—the *New York Chamber of Commerce*. The Octopus railway king and financial swindler *Gould* has, on his side, told the New York commercial magnates: You now attack the railways, because you think them most vulnerable considering their present unpopularity; but take heed: after the railways *every sort of corporation* (means in the Yankee dialect *joint stock company*) will have its turn; then, later on, *all forms of associated capital*; finally *all forms of capital*; you are thus paving the way to—*Communism* whose tendencies are already more and more spreading among the people. M. Gould "*a le flair bon.*"[1]

In *India* serious complications, if not a general outbreak, is in store for the British government. What the English take from them annually in the form of rent, dividends for railways useless to the Hindus; pensions for military and civil servicemen, for Afghanistan and other wars etc. etc.—what they take from them *without any equivalent* and *quite apart* from what they appropriate to themselves annually *within* India,—speaking only of the *value of the commodities* the Indians have gratuitously and annually to *send over* to England—it amounts to *more than the total sum of income of the 60 millions of agricultural and industrial labourers of India*! This is a bleeding process with a vengeance! The famine years are pressing each other and *in dimensions* till now not yet suspected in Europe! There is an actual

[1] Monsieur Gould has a keen scent.—*Ed.*

conspiracy going on wherein Hindus and Mussulmans co-operate; the British government is aware that something is "brewing," but this shallow people (I mean the governmental men), stultified by their own parliamentary ways of talking and thinking, do not even desire to see clear, to realize the whole extent of the imminent danger! To delude others and by deluding them to delude yourself—this is: *parliamentary wisdom* in a nutshell! Tant mieux![1]

Can you tell me whether Prof Lankester's "*Chapter on deterioration*" (I have seen it quoted in your article) is translated into Russian? He is a friend of mine.

Last month we had here Russian visitors, amongst others Prof. Sieber (now settled in Zürich) and Mr. Kablukoff (Moscow). They were all day long studying at the British Museum.

No news of our "mutual" friend?[2]

A propos. *Janson's* last statistical work—comparing Russia with Europe—has made much sensation. I should be glad to see it.

With best compliments.

Yours very truly,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO F. DOMELA-NIEUWENHUIS

London, February 22, 1881

...The "question" about which you inform me, that of the forthcoming Zurich Congress, seems to me a blunder.[3] The thing to be done at any definite, given moment of the future, the thing

[1] So much the better.—*Ed.*

[2] H. Lopatin.—*Ed.*

[3] In a letter dated January 6, 1881 F. Domela-Nieuwenhuis had informed Marx that at the impending Zurich Congress the Dutch Party would put up for discussion the question of what legislative measures the Socialists, if they should seize power, were to take first to ensure the victory of socialism.—*Ed.*

immediately to be done, depends of course entirely on the given historical conditions in which one has to act. But this question is posed in the *clouds* and therefore is really a phantom problem to which the only answer can be—a *criticism of the question* itself. No equation can be solved unless the elements of its solution are involved in its terms. Moreover the perplexities of a government which has suddenly come into being through a victory of the people have nothing specifically "socialist" about them. On the contrary. Victorious bourgeois politicians at once feel themselves placed in an awkward position by that "victory" of theirs, while Socialists can at least take action without any embarrassment. One thing you can at any rate be sure of: a socialist government does not come into power in a country unless conditions are so developed that it can immediately take the necessary measures for intimidating the mass of the bourgeoisie sufficiently to gain time—the first *desideratum*—for permanent action.

Perhaps you will refer me to the Paris Commune; but apart from the fact that this was merely the rising of a city under exceptional conditions, the majority of the Commune was in no wise socialist, nor could it be. With a modicum of common sense, however, it could have reached a compromise with Versailles useful to the whole mass of the people—the only thing that could be reached at the time. The appropriation of the Bank of France alone would have been enough to put an end with terror to the vaunt of the Versailles people, etc. etc.

The general demands of the French bourgeoisie before 1789 were defined in about the same terms as *mutatis mutandis* the primary immediate demands of the proletariat are today, being pretty uniform in all countries with capitalist production. But had any eighteenth-century Frenchman the faintest idea beforehand, *a priori*, of the manner in which the demands of the French bourgeoisie would be forced through? The doctrinaire and necessarily fantastic anticipation of the programme of action for a revolution of the future only diverts one from the struggle of the present. The dream that the end of the world was near inspired the early Christians in their struggle with the Roman Empire and

gave them confidence in victory. Scientific insight into the inevitable disintegration of the dominant order of society continually proceeding before our eyes and the ever-growing fury into which the masses are lashed by the old ghostly governments, while at the same time the positive development of the means of production advances with gigantic strides—all this is a sufficient guarantee that the moment a real proletarian revolution breaks out the conditions (though these are certain not to be idyllic) of its immediately next *modus operandi* will be in existence.

It is my conviction that the critical juncture for a new international workingmen's association has not yet arrived and for this reason I regard all workers' congresses or socialist congresses, in so far as they are not directly related to the conditions existing in this or that particular nation, as not merely useless but actually harmful. They will always fade away in innumerable stale, general banalities.

With friendly devotion,

Yours,
Karl Marx

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MARX TO V. I. ZASULICH

London, March 8, 1881

Dear Citizeness,

A nervous disease that I have been suffering from periodically for the last ten years has prevented me from replying earlier to your letter of February 16th. To my regret I am unable to give you a succinct answer, prepared for publication, to the question which you have graciously submitted to me. Months have passed since I promised to write something on the same subject to the St. Petersburg Committee. However I hope a few lines will suffice to remove all doubt in your mind about the misunderstanding concerning my so-called theory.

In analyzing the genesis of capitalist production I say:

"The foundation of the capitalist system is therefore the utmost separation of the producer from the means of production.... The basis of this whole development is the *expropriation of the agricultural producer.* This has been accomplished in radical fashion only in England.... But *all the countries of Western Europe* are going through the same movement. (*Capital*, French ed., p. 315.)

Hence the "historical inevitability" of this movement is *expressly* limited to the *countries of Western Europe.* The reason for this limitation is indicated in the following passage of Chapter XXXII:

"*Self-earned private property*... will be supplanted by *capitalistic private property*, which rests on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wages-labour." (*Ibid.*, p. 341.)

In this western movement the point in question therefore is the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of private property.* With the Russian peasants one would on the contrary have to *transform their common property into private property.*

Thus the analysis given in *Capital* assigns no reasons for or against the vitality of the rural community, but the special research into this subject which I conducted, the materials for which I obtained from original sources, has convinced me that this community is the mainspring of Russia's social regeneration, but in order that it might function as such one would first have to eliminate the deleterious influences which assail it from every quarter and then to ensure the conditions normal for spontaneous development.

I have the honour, dear citizeness, to be wholly devoted.

Yours,
Karl Marx

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, March 12, 1881

To describe every interference of the state in free competition —protective tariffs, guilds, tobacco monopoly, nationalization of branches of industry, the *Seehandlung*,[1] the royal porcelain factory—as "socialism" is a sheer falsification by the Manchester bourgeoisie in their own interests. We should *criticize* this but not *believe* it. If we do the latter and develop a theory on the basis of this belief our theory will collapse together with its premises upon simple proof that this alleged socialism is nothing but, on the one hand, feudal reaction and, on the other, a pretext for squeezing out money, with the subordinate intention of converting as many proletarians as possible into officials and pensioners dependent upon the state, of organizing alongside of the disciplined army of soldiers and civil officials a similar army of workers. Pressure on voters exercised by superiors in the state apparatus instead of by factory overseers—a fine sort of socialism! but that's where you get if you believe the bourgeoisie what they don't believe themselves but only pretend to believe: that the state means socialism....

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MARX AND ENGELS TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SLAVONIC MEETING, MARCH 21 st, 1881, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

Citizen!

With great regret we have to inform you that we are not able to attend your meeting.

When the Commune of Paris succumbed to the atrocious massacre organized by the defenders of "Order," the victors little

[1] In full, *Seehandlungsgesellschaft*: a commercial and credit bank founded in Prussia in 1772; later reorganized into the Prussian State Bank.—*Ed.*

thought that ten years would not elapse before an event would happen in distant Petersburg which, maybe after long and violent struggles, must ultimately and certainly lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune;

That the King of Prussia who had prepared the Commune by besieging Paris and thus compelling the ruling bourgeoisie to arm the people—that that same King of Prussia, ten years after, besieged in his own capital by socialists, would only be able to maintain his throne by declaring the state of siege in his capital Berlin

On the other hand, the Continental governments who after the fall of the Commune by their persecutions compelled the International Working Men's Association to give up its formal, external organization—these governments who believed they could crush the great International Labour Movement by decrees and special laws—little did they think that ten years later that same International Labour Movement, more powerful than ever, would embrace the working classes not only of Europe but of America also; that the common struggle for common interests against a common enemy, would bind them together into a new and greater spontaneous International, outgrowing more and more all external forms of association.

Thus the Commune which the powers of the old world believed to be exterminated, lives stronger than ever, and thus we may join you in the cry: Vive la Commune!

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MARX TO F. A. SORGE

[London,] June 20, 1881

... Before I received your copy of Henry George I had gotten two others, one from Swinton and one from Willard Brown; I therefore gave one to Engels and one to Lafargue. Today I must confine myself to a very brief formulation of my opinion of the book.

Theoretically the man is *utterly backward*. He understands nothing about the nature of *surplus value*, and so wanders about in speculations, which follow the English example but are even on a lower plane than the English, about the portions of surplus value that have attained independent existence, i.e., the relation of profit, rent, interest, etc. His fundamental dogma is that *everything* would be *all right* if ground rent were paid to the state. (You will find payment of this kind also among the *transition measures* included in the *Communist Manifesto*.) This idea originated with the bourgeois economists; it was first put forward (apart from a similar demand at the end of the eighteenth century) by the earllest *radical* disciples of Ricardo, just after his death. I said of it in 1847, in my book against Proudhon: "We understand such economists as Mill (the elder, not his son John Stuart, who also repeats this in a somewhat modified form), Cherbuliez, Hilditch, and others demanding that rent should be handed over to the state in lieu of taxes. That is a frank expression of the hatred the *industrial capitalist* bears towards the *landed proprietor*, who seems to him a useless thing, an excrescence upon the general body of bourgeois production."[1]

We ourselves, as already mentioned, adopted this appropriation of land rent by the state among numerous other *transitional measures*, which, as is likewise stated in the *Manifesto*, are and must be self-contradictory.

But the first person to turn this desideratum of the *radical* English bourgeois economists into *the socialist panacea*, to declare this procedure to be the resolution of the antagonisms involved in the present mode of production, was *Colins*, an old ex-officer of Napoleon's Hussars, born in Belgium, who in the latter days of Guizot and the early days of Napoleon the Little[2] gladdened the world by bestowing upon it bulky volumes from his seat in Paris about this "discovery" of his. He likewise made another discovery: that though there is no God there is an "*immortal*" human soul, and that animals have "no feelings." For if they had feelings, that

[1] Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow 1955, p. 182.—*Ed.*
[2] Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

is souls, we should be cannibals and a kingdom of righteousness could never be established on earth. His "anti-landownership theory" together with his theory of the soul, etc., has been preached every month for years in the Paris *Philosophie de l'Avenir* by his few remaining followers, mostly Belgians. They call themselves "rational collectivists," and have praised Henry George. After them and beside them the Prussian banker and former lottery collector Samter of East Prussia, a shallow-brained fellow, has among other things spread out this "socialism" into a thick tome.

All these "Socialists" since Colins have this much in common, that they leave *wage labour* and hence *capitalist production* in existence and try to bamboozle themselves or the world into believing that by transforming land rent into a state tax *all the evils* of capitalist production would vanish of themselves. The whole thing is thus simply a socialistically decked-out attempt *to save capitalist rule* and actually *re-establish* it on *an even wider basis* than its present one.

This cloven hoof—at the same time asinine hoof—peeps out unmistakably from the declamations of Henry George. It is the more unpardonable in him because he ought to have posed the opposite question: How did it happen that in the United States, where, relatively, that is compared with civilized Europe, the land was accessible to the great masses of the people and still is, to a certain degree (again relatively), capitalist economy and the corresponding enslavement of the working class have developed *more rapidly* and more *shamelessly* than in any other country?

On the other hand, George's book, like the sensation it has created among you, is significant because it is a first though abortive effort at emancipation from orthodox political economy.

Henry George does not seem, moreover, to know anything about the history of the early *American anti-renters*, who were practicians rather than theoreticians. Otherwise he is a writer with talent (with a talent for Yankee advertizing too), as his article on California in the *Atlantic* proves, for example. He also has the repulsive presumption and arrogance that invariably distinguish all such panacea-mongers.

Unfortunately my wife's illness is, speaking confidentially, incurable. I am taking her in a few days to Eastbourne on the seaside.

Fraternal greetings!

Yours,
K. Marx

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, October 25, 1881

... But true enough Guesde came over when it was a question of framing the *draft* programme of the French Workers' Party. Its preamble was dictated to him word for word by Marx in the presence of Lafargue and myself right here in my room: The worker is free only when he is the owner of his instruments of labour—this can be the case either in individual or in collective form; the individual form of ownership is being eliminated by the economic development, and more so with every day; hence there remains only that of collective ownership, etc.,—a masterpiece of cogent argumentation rarely encountered and couched in a few clear words for the masses; I myself was astonished by this concise formulation. The rest of the programme's contents was then discussed; here and there we put something in or took something out. But how little Guesde was the mouthpiece of Marx appears from Guesde's insistence on putting in his foolish minimum wage demand, and since not we but the French must take the responsibility for this we finally let him have his way although he admitted that theoretically it was nonsense.

Brousse was in London at that time and would gladly have participated. But Guesde had only little time and expected Brousse, not without justification, to start long-winded discussions about ununderstood anarchist phrases. Guesde therefore insisted that Brousse should not be present at this sitting. That was his business. But Brousse never forgave him that and his intrigues against Guesde date from that time.

The French afterwards discussed this programme and adopted it with a few amendments, of which those introduced by Malon were by no means improvements.

Besides I wrote two articles for "*Égalité* No. 11" on "Herr Bismarck's Socialism," and there you have the sum total, as far as I know, of our active participation in the French movement.

But what is most vexing to the petty grumblers who are nobodies but would like to be somebodies is this: By theoretical and practical achievements Marx has gained for himself such a position that the best people in all the working-class movements throughout the world have full confidence in him. At *critical junctures* they turn to him for advice and then usually find that his counsel is the best. This position he holds in Germany, in France, in Russia, not to mention the smaller countries. It is therefore not a case of Marx forcing his opinion, and still less his will, on people but of the people coming to him of themselves. And it is upon this that Marx's peculiar influence, so extremely important for the movement, reposes.

Malon also wanted to come here, expecting to get a special invitation from Marx through Lafargue, but of course he did not get it. One would gladly have negotiated with him as with anyone else, but invite him—why? Had anybody ever been so invited? Marx and in the second place I have adopted the same attitude toward the French as toward the other national movements. We maintain constant contact with them in so far as it is worth our while and there is the opportunity to do so. It would only harm us to try to influence people against their will; it would destroy the old confidence dating back to the time of the International. We really have had too much experience of revolutionary matters for that....

1882

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, January 25, 1882

...We were greatly interested in the reports about the happenings among the "leaders" in Germany. I never concealed the fact that in my opinion the masses in Germany are much better than the gentlemen in the leadership, especially since the Party, thanks to the press and agitation, has become a milch cow for them, providing butter for their bread, and now Bismarck and the bourgeoisie all of a sudden butchered that cow. The thousand people who thereby immediately lost their livelihoods had the personal misfortune of not being placed directly into the position of revolutionaries, i.e., sent into exile. Otherwise very many of those who are now bemoaning their lot would have gone over to Most's camp or at any rate would find the *Sozial-Demokrat* much too tame. Most of those people remained in Germany and had to, went to rather reactionary places, remained socially ostracized, dependent for their living on philistines and a great number of them were themselves contaminated by philistinism. Soon they pinned all their hopes on a repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. No wonder that under pressure of philistinism the insane idea took hold of them that this could be attained by meekness. Germany is an execrable country for people with scant will-power. The narrowness and pettiness of civil as well as political relations, the small-town character of even the big cities, the small but constantly increasing vexations encountered in the struggle with police and bureaucracy—all this enervates instead of spurring on to resistance, and thus in this great children's nursery many become children themselves. Petty relations beget petty

views, so that it takes great intelligence and energy for anyone living in Germany to be able to see beyond his immediate environment, to keep one's eye upon the great interconnection of world events and not to lapse into that self-complacent "objectivity" which sees no further than its nose and precisely for that reason amounts to the most narrow-minded subjectivity even when it is shared by thousands of such subjects.

But no matter how natural may be the rise of this trend, which covers up its lack of insight and power of resistance with "objective" supersapience, it must be resolutely fought. And here the worker masses furnish the best pillar of support. They alone live in Germany under more or less modern conditions; all their minor and major afflictions centre in the oppression emanating from *capital*, and whereas all other struggles in Germany, social as well as political, are petty and paltry and concern mere trifles which elsewhere have been settled long ago, their struggle is the only one being fought magnificently, the only one that is up to the mark of the times, the only one that does not fatigue the fighters but provides them with ever new energy....

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ENGELS TO J. P. BECKER

London, February 10, 1882

... We have pondered over your proposal and are of the opinion that the time for its implementation has not yet arrived but is approaching.[1] In the first place a new, formally reorganized International would only call forth new persecution in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and Spain and would in the end only leave the choice of either abandoning the whole thing or carrying it on *secretly*. The latter would be a *misfortune because of* the inevitable hankering after conspiracies and putsches and the likewise

[1] In a letter to Engels dated February 1, 1882 J. P. Becker suggested restoring the International.—*Ed*

inevitabte penetration of police spies. Even in France a new enforcement of the by no means repealed law against the International is not at all impossible.

In the second place, while the present quarrel between the *Égalité* and the *Prolétaire*[1] is going on the French cannot be counted on at alt. For that one would have to take sides and that also has its bad aspects. As far as we personally are concerned we are on the side of the *Égalité* but shall take good care not to take the part of these people publicly *now* because although expressly warned by us they made one tactical blunder after another.

In the thtrd place the English are less amenable to reason now than ever. For five months I tried to link up with the otd Chartist movement and spread our ideas through the *Labour Standard*,[2] for which I used to write leading articles. I wanted to see if there would be any response. But there was absolutely none, and as the editor, a welt-meaning but feeble milksop, became afraid tn the end of the Continental heresies I wrote in the paper, I gave up.

So there woutd remaln only an Internalional confined, save for Belgium, to *emigrants*, because with the possibte exception of Geneva and environs even the Swiss could not be counted on—vide *Arbeiterstimme* and Bürkli. But it would hardly be worth the trouble to form a soctety consisting of refugees alone, for you cannot get far with the Dutch, Portuguese and Danes and the less you have to do with Serbs and Rumanians the better.

On the other hand the International actually continues to *exist*. There *is* connection between the revolutionary workers in all countries, as far as that is feasible. Every socialist journal is an international centre; from Geneva, Zurich, London, Paris, Brussels and Milano threads run in all directions and cross and recross one another so that I really do not know what new strength the groupIng of these small centres around one great principal centre could contribute at present to the movement. It would very likely

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[1] *Prolétaire*. organ of the Possibilists. (See p. 424, footnote 1.)—*Ed.*

[2] *Labour Standard*: trade-union daily which appeared in London 1881-1884.—*Ed.*

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175

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[2] *Labour Standard*: trade-union daily which appeared in London 1881-1884.—*Ed.*

only increase the friction. That is the very reason why when the time for the rallying of forces arrives, that will be a matter of but a moment and require no lengthy preparation. The names of the champions of the people in any country are known in all the others and a manifesto signed and endorsed by all of them would create an immense impression, quite different from the effect the names of the old General Council, now mostly unknown, would have. For that very reason such a demonstration must be kept for the moment when it can have a decisive effect, i.e., when it is called for by events in Europe. Otherwise the effect in the future will be spoiled and the whole thing will only be a shot in the air. Such events however are maturing in Russia where the vanguard of the revolution will engage in battle. This and its inevitable impact on Germany is what one must in our opinion wait for, and then will come the time of a grand demonstration and of the establishment of an *official*, formal International which simply can no longer be a mere propaganda society but only a society for action. We are therefore decidedly of the opinion that such an excellent means of combat should not be weakened by wearing it away and using it up at a time when things are still comparatively quiet, when we are only on the eve of the revolution.

I believe that on reconsidering the matter you will concur with our view. In the meantime both of us wish you a full and rapid recovery and hope to hear from you real soon that you are fully alive again and kicking.

Yours as of old,

F. E.

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, September 12, 1882

... You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general: the same as the bourgeois think. There is no workers'

party here, you see, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies. In my opinion the colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population—Canada, the Cape, Australia—will all become independent; on the other hand, the countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated—India, Algeria, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions—must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence. How this process will develop is difficult to say. India will perhaps, indeed very probably, make a revolution, and as a proletariat in process of self-emancipation cannot conduct any colonial wars, it would have to be allowed to run its course; it would not pass off without all sorts of destruction, of course, but that sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions. The same might also take place elsewhere, e.g., in Algeria and Egypt, and would certainly be the best thing *for us*. We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is reorganized, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilized countries will of themselves follow in their wake; economic needs, if anything, will see to that. But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, I think we today can advance only rather idle hypotheses. One thing alone is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing. Which of course by no means excludes defensive wars of various kinds....

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, October 20, 1882

Dear Herr Bernstein,

I have long been wanting to write to you about French affairs but have only now got down to do this. The good part about it is that now I can kill two birds with one stone.

1. *St. Etienne.* In spite of the well-meant advice of the Belgians the inevitable has happened, the irreconcilable elements have separated.[1] And it is a good thing they did. In the beginning, when the *parti ouvrier*[2] was founded, all elements who accepted the programme had to be admitted. If they did so with secret reservations that was bound to show later on. We here never were mistaken about Malon and Brousse. Both of them had been trained in the school of Bakuninist intrigues. Malon was even one of the culprits who established Bakunin's secret "Alliance" (was one of the 17 charter members). But after all they had to be given a chance to show whether they had shed the Bakuninist practice together with the Bakuninist theory. The course of events has shown that they adopted the programme (and adulterated it—Malon introduced several changes that made it worse) with the secret intention of killing it. What had been begun at Rheims and Paris was finished at St. Etienne. The programme has been shorn of its proletarian class character. The communist preamble of 1880 has been replaced by the Rules of the International of 1866, which had to be framed so broadly just because the French Proudhonists were so backward, and still it would not have been right to exclude them. The positive de-

[1] At the St. Etienne Congress of the French Workers' Party it came to a split on September 25, 1882. The minority headed by Guesde and Lafargue withdrew and opened its own congress in Roanne. The opportunist majority of the congress led by Malon and Brousse formed a separate party, that of the so-called Possibilists. Possibilism represented the extreme opportunist trend in the French working-class movement at the end of the nineteenth century.—*Ed.*

[2] Workers' party.—*Ed.*

mands of the programme have been annulled, as every locality is given the right to draw up a special programme as often as it chooses, for every special purpose. The sham St. Etienne party is not only no workers' party but no party whatever because in actual fact it has no programme. At most it is a Malon-Brousse party. The strongest objection which the two could have against the old programme was that it repelled more people than it attracted. This has now been remedied: Neither Proudhonists nor Radicals have any longer any ground to remain outside, and if Malon & Co. had their way the "revolutionary hash" which Vollmar laments would be the official pronouncement of the French proletariat.

In all Latin countries (and perhaps also elsewhere) great laxity has always prevailed with regard to credentials for Congressional seats. Many of them could hardly stand the light of day. So long as this was not overdone and as long as only matters of secondary importance were involved little damage resulted. But the Bakuninists made this practice the rule (first in the Jura), made a regular business out of the fraudulent procurement of seats and sought in that way to get to the top. The same thing has happened now in St. Etienne. In general all the old Bakuninist tactics, which justify any means—lies, calumniation, secret intrigues—dominated the preparations for the Congress. That is the only trade in which Brousse is proficient. People forget that cheating and trickery, which may be successful in small sections and on a small area such as the Jura, will when applied to a real workers' party of a big country necessarily be the finish of anyone practising such methods. The sham victory at St. Etienne will not last long. A definite end will soon be put to Malon and Brousse.

It seems that *every* workers' party of a big country can develop only through internal struggle, which accords with the laws of dialectical development in general. The German Party became what it is in the struggle between the Eisenachers and Lassalleans where even scuffles played a major role. Unity became possible only when the bunch of scoundrels that had been specially trained by Lassalle to be his tools had outlived their day, and even then

it came with too great precipitancy on our part. In France the people who while sacrificing the Bakuninist theory continue to employ Bakuninist means of struggle, and who at the same time want to sacrifice the class character of the movement to further their special ends, must also first outlive their usefulness before unity is possible again. To preach unity under such circumstances would be sheer folly. Moral sermons avail nothing against infantile disorders, which are simply unavoidable under present-day circumstances.

As for the rest even the Roanne people stand in need of constant and severe criticism. They are too often obsessed by revolutionary phrases and an impotent urge for deeds....

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, October 28, 1882

...I read the second article[1] rather hurriedly, with two or three people interrupting me with their talk all the time. Otherwise the way he conceives the French Revolution would have led me to detect the French influence and with it our Vollmar too, no doubt. You have grasped this side quite correctly. This at last is the dreamed-of realization of the phrase "one reactionary mass." All the official parties united in one lump *here*, just like all the Socialists in one column *there*—great decisive battle; victory all along the line at one blow. In real life things do not happen so simply. In real life, as you also remark, the revolution begins the other way round, by the great majority of the people and also of the official parties rallying *against* the government, which is thereby isolated, and overthrowing it; and it is only after those of the official parties whose existence is still possible have mutually, jointly, and successively accomplished one another's destruction that Vollmar's great

[1] The reference is to Vollmar's second article in the *Sozialdemokrat* on the question of the repeal of the Exceptional Law against the Socialists.—*Ed.*

division takes place, bringing with it the chance of our rule. If, like Vollmar, we wanted to start straight off with the *final act* of the revolution we should be in a terribly bad way....

In France the long expected split has taken place. The original conjunction of Guesde and Lafargue with Malon and Brousse was no doubt unavoidable when the Party was founded, but Marx and I never had any illusions that it could last. The issue is purely one of principle: is the struggle to be conducted *as a class struggle* of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, or is it to be permitted that in good opportunist (or as it is called in the socialist translation: Possibilist) style the class character of the movement, together with the programme, is everywhere to be dropped where more votes, more adherents, can be won by this means? By declaring themselves in favour of the latter alternative Malon and Brousse have sacrificed the proletarian class character of the movement and made separation inevitable. All the better. The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles and France, which is now forming a workers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have got beyond the first phase of the internal struggle; other phases still lie before us. Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand above unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life against self-styled Socialists than against anyone else (for we regarded the bourgeoisie only as a *class* and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot be greatly grieved that the inevitable struggle has broken out.

I hope this will reach you before they put you behind the bars. Hearty greetings from Marx and Tussy. Marx is completely recovering and if his pleurisy does not come back he will be stronger next autumn than he has been for years. If you see Liebknecht in the *Käfigturm*,[1] (as they say in Berne) give him the best regards from all of us.

Yours,

F. E.

[1] Cage tower; here jail.—*Ed*

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ENGELS TO MARX

London, December 15, 1882

Dear Moor,

Enclosed please find the appendix on the mark.[1] Be so kind as to send it back on *Sunday*, so that I can revise it on Monday—I was not able to conclude the final revision today.

I consider the view expounded here regarding the condition of the peasantry in the Middle Ages and the rise of a *second* serfdom in the middle of the fifteenth century on the whole incontrovertible. I have been right through Maurer for all the relevant passages and find nearly all my propositions there, *supported, moreover, by evidence*, while alongside them there is exactly the opposite, but either unsupported by evidence or taken from a period which is *not* that in question. This particularly applies to *Fronhöfe*, Volume 4, Conclusion.[2] These contradictions arise in Maurer: 1) from his habit of adducing evidence and examples *from all periods side by side and jumbled together*, 2) from the remnants of his legalistic bias, which always gets in his way whenever it is a question of understanding a *development*, 3) from the insufficient importance which he attaches to *force* and the part it plays, 4) from his enlightened prejudice that since the dark Middle Ages a steady progress to a better state of things *must* surely have taken place; this prevents him from seeing not only the antagonistic character of real progress, but also the individual retrogressions.

You will find that my thing is by no means all of one piece but a regular patchwork. The first draft was all of one piece but unfortunately wrong. I mustered the material only by degrees and that is why there is so much patching.

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[1] Engels's work *The Mark* was originally published in 1882 as an appendix to the German edition of the pamphlet *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*.—*Ed*

[2] Engels refers to G. L. Maurer's *History of Manorial Estates and Peasant Farms and the Regulations Governing Them in Germany*.—*Ed*

Incidentally the general reintroduction of serfdom was one of the reasons why no industry could develop in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first place there was the *reversed* division of labour among the guilds—the opposite of that in manufacture: the work was *divided among the guilds* instead of inside the workshop. In England at this stage migration to the guild-free countryside took place, but in Germany this was prevented by the transformation of the country people and the inhabitants of the agricutturat market towns into serfs. But this also caused the ultimate collapse of the guilds as soon as the competition of foreign manufacture arose. The other reasons which combined with this in holding back German manufacture I will here omit.

Today again the whole day fog and gas light. Hartmann's battery probably a failure for lighting; can be used at best for telegraphy, etc. More about this as soon as something definite has been established.

Stay well. I hope you'll soon get weather you're allowed to go out in.

Yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

London, December 16, 1882.

... The point about the almost totat disappearance—legal or actual—of serfdom in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the most important to me, because formerly you expressed a divergent opinion on this. In the East Elbe region the colonization has established that the *German* peasants were free; Maurer admits that in Schleswig-Hotstein at that time "all" the peasants had regatned their freedom (perhaps somewhat later than the fourteenth century). He also admits that in South Germany it was just at this period that the bondsmen were

treated best. In Lower Saxony more or less the same (e.g., the new *meiers* who were in fact hereditary tenants). He is only opposed to Kindlinger's view that serfdom first *arose* in the sixteenth century. But that it was newly refurbished after that and appeared in a second edition seems to me indubitable. Meitzen gives the dates at which serfs begin to be mentioned again in East Prussia, Brandenburg, Silesia: the middle of the sixteenth century; Hanssen gives the same data for Schleswig-Holstein. If Maurer calls this a *milder* form of serfdom he is right in comparison with the ninth to eleventh centuries, when the old Germanic slavery still continued, and right too with regard to the legal powers which the lord still had then and later—according to the law books of the thirteenth century—over his serfs. But compared with the *actual* position of the peasants in the thirteenth, the fourteenth and, in North Germany, also the fifteenth centuries, the new serfdom was anything but an alleviation. And especially after the Thirty Years' War! It is also significant that while in the Middle Ages the degrees of servitude and serfdom were innumerable, so that the *Sachsenspiegel*[1] gave up any attempt to speak of *egen lüde recht*,[2] this became remarkably simple after the Thirty Years' War. *In brief*, I am very anxious to know your opinion....

[1] *Mirror of Saxony*: a medieval German law book which expounded local (Saxon) rights by custom.—*Ed.*

[2] Rights of the owned people, i.e., bondsmen.—*Ed.*

1883

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, January 18, 1883

... We were very glad about the answers Grillenberger and the *Sozialdemokrat* gave in reply to Puttkamer's hypocrisy.[1] That's the way to do it. Not to twist and turn under the blows of the opponent, not to whine and moan and stammer excuses that you did not mean any harm—as so many still do. Hit back, that's what you have to do, two or three blows for every one the enemy strikes. That has always been our tactic and so far I believe we have got the best of almost every one of our opponents. "Moreover the genius of our soldiers lies in their attack and that is a very good thing," old Fritz said in one of his instructions to his generals, and that's the way our workers act in Germany. But if Kayser for instance withdraws during the discussion on the Exceptional Laws—assuming the excerpt[2] to be correct—and wails that we are revolutionaries only in the Pickwickian sense, what then? Here is what should have been said: that the whole Reichstag and the Bundesrat are sitting there only by virtue of a revolution; that when old William swallowed three crowns and one free city he was also a revolutionary; that all legality, the whole so-called basis of right, is nothing more than the product of countless revolutions made

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[1] Engels refers to the speech delivered by the Social-Democratic Reichstag deputy Grillenberger and the articles published in the *Sozialdemokrat* in connection with the debate in the Reichstag on the prolongation of the Exceptional Law against the Socialists.—*Ed*

[2] by Viereck.—*Ed.*

against the will of the people and directed against the people. If we only were rid again of that accursed German flabbiness of thought and will which was brought into the Party with so much effort together with the "eddicated"!...

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, February 27-March 1, 1883

. . We belong to the German Party scarcely more than to the French, American or Russian Party and can consider ourselves as little bound by the German programme as by the minimum-programme. We attach importance to this our special status as representatives of *international* socialism. But it also forbids us to belong to any particular national party until we return to Germany and take a direct part in the struggle there. Now there would be no sense....

... From the outset we have fought to the utmost against the petty-bourgeois and philistine sentiment within the Party, because this sentiment, developed since the time of the Thirty Years' War, has infected *all* classes in Germany and become an hereditary German evil, sister to servility, to the subservience of the humble subject and to all the hereditary German vices. This is what has made us ridiculous and despicable abroad. It is the main cause of the slackness and the weakness of character which predominate among us; it reigns on the throne as often as in the cobbler's lodging. Only since a *modern* proletariat has been formed in Germany has a class developed there with hardly anything at all of this hereditary German plague about it, a class which has given evidence of a free outlook, energy, humour, tenacity in struggle. And ought we not to fight against every attempt artificially to inoculate this healthy class—the only healthy class in Germany—with the old hereditary poison of philistine slackness and philistine narrow-mindedness? But in their fright right after the criminal attempts and the Anti-Socialist

Law, the leaders exhibited such fear that it only proved they had lived much too long among philistines and were under pressure of philistine opinion. At that time the Party had to *appear* philistine if not actually *become* such. All this has now fortunately been overcome, but the philistine elements, which were drawn into the Party shortly before the Anti-Socialist Law and prevail particularly among college graduates and undergraduates who did not get as far as the examinations, are still there and will bear close watching....

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, March 14, 1883

Dear Bernstein,

You must have received my telegram. It alt happened so terribly quick. After the best prospects there was a sudden collapse of strength this morning, then he simply fell asleep. In two minutes this genius had ceased to think, and exactly at the time when the physicians encouraged us to hope for the best. The value of thts man in the theoretical field, and at decisive moments also in the practical, can be gauged only by one who constantly was with him. His wide horizons will disappear with him from the scene for many years. These are things stitt beyond the ken of the rest of us. The movement will proceed along its course but it witt miss his calm, timely and considered intervention, which hitherto saved it from many a long and wearisome erroneous path.

More information soon. It is now 12 o'clock at night and I have had to write letters and attend to atl kinds of things the whote afternoon and evening.

Yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

London, March 15, 1883, 11.45 p.m.

Dear Sorge,

Your telegram arrived tonight. Heartfelt thanks!

It was not possible to keep you regularly informed about Marx's state of health because it was constantly changing. Here, briefly, are the main facts:

Shortly before his wife's death he had an attack of pleurisy, in October 1881. After he recovered, he was sent to Algiers in February 1882, he encountered cold, wet weather on the journey and arrived with another attack of pleurisy. The atrocious weather continued, and when he got better he was sent to Monte Carlo (Monaco) to avoid the heat of the approaching summer. Again he arrived with an attack of pleurisy, milder this time. Again abominable weather. Cured at last, he went to Argenteuil near Paris to stay with his daughter, Mme. Longuet. He took the sulphur springs at near-by Enghien for the bronchitis he had had for so long. Here again the weather was frightful, but the treatment did some good. Then he went to Vevey for six weeks and came back in September, apparently almost fully recovered. He was allowed to spend the winter on the south coast of England. And he himself was so tired of wandering about doing nothing that another period of exile to the south of Europe would probably have harmed him morally as much as it would have benefited him physically. When the foggy season commenced in London, he was sent to the Isle of Wight. There it did nothing but rain; he caught another cold. Schorlemmer and I were planning to pay him a visit around New Year's when news came that made it necessary for Tussy to join him at once. Immediately thereafter came the death of Jenny,[1] and he returned with another attack of bronchitis. After all that had gone before, and at his age, this was dangerous. A number of complications set in,

[1] Marx's eldest daughter.—*Ed*

particularly an abscess of the lung and a terribly rapid loss of strength. Despite this the general course of the illness was progressing favourably, and last Friday the chief physician in attendance, one of the most prominent young doctors in London and specially recommended to him by Edwin Ray Lankester, gave us the most brilliant hope for his recovery. Yet anyone who has ever examined lung tissue under the microscope knows how great is the danger of the wall of a blood vessel being broken through in a suppurating lung. And that is why I had a deathly fear, every morning for the past six weeks, of finding the curtains down when I turned the corner of the street. Yesterday afternoon at 2.30, the best time for visiting him during the day, I arrived to find the house in tears. It seemed that the end was near. I asked what had happened, tried to get at the bottom of the matter, to offer comfort. There had been a slight hemorrhage, but suddenly he had begun to sink rapidly. Our good old Lenchen, who had been looking after him better than any mother cares for her child, went upstairs and came down again. He was half-asleep, she said, I might go in with her. When we entered the room he was lying there asleep, but never to wake again. His pulse and breathing had stopped. In those two minutes he had passed away, peacefully and without pain.

All events occurring of natural necessity bring their own consolation with them, however dreadful they may be. So in this case. Medical skill might have been able to assure him a few more years of vegetative existence, the life of a helpless being, dying—to the triumph of the physicians' art—not suddenly, but inch by inch. Our Marx however would never have borne that. To live, with all the unfinished works before him, tantalized by the desire to complete them and unable to do so, would have been a thousand times more bitter to him than the gentle death that overtook him. "Death is not a misfortune to him who dies but to him who survives," he used to say, quoting Epicurus. And to see this mighty genius lingering on as a physical wreck for the greater glory of medicine and the mockery of the philistines whom he had so often reduced to dust in the prime of his strength—no, it is a thousand times better as it is, a thou-

sand times better that we bear him, the day after tomorrow, to the grave where his wife lies at rest.

And after what had gone before, and what even the doctors do not know as well as I do, there was in my opinion no other alternative.

Be that as it may. Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time. The movement of the proletariat goes on, but gone is the central point to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans, and Germans spontaneously turned at decisive moments to receive always that clear indisputable counsel which only genius and consummate knowledge of the situation could give. Local lights and small talents, if not the humbugs, obtain a free hand. The final victory remains certain, but the detours, the temporary and local deviations—unavoidable as is—will now grow more than ever. Well, we must see it through; what else are we here for? And we are far from losing courage because of it.

Yours,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO P. VAN PATTEN

London, April 18, 1883

Esteemed Comrades,

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

Marx and I, ever since 1845, have held the view that *one* of the final results of the future proletarian revolution will be the gradual dissolution and ultimate disappearance of that political organization called *the State*; an organization the main object of which has ever been to secure, by armed force, the economical subjection of the working majority to the wealthy minority. With the disappearance of a wealthy minority the necessity for an

armed repressive State-force disappears also. At the same time we have always held, that in order to arrive at this and the other, far more important ends of the social revolution of the future, the proletarian class will first have to possess itself of the organized political force of the State and with this aid stamp out the resistance of the Capitalist class and re-organize society. This is stated already in the Communist Manifesto of 1847, end of Chapter II.

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

Does it require my express assertion that Marx opposed these anarchist absurdities from the very first day that they were started in their present form by Bakunin? The whole internal history of the International Working Men's Association is there to prove it. The Anarchists tried to obtain the lead of the International, by the foulest means, ever since 1867 and the chief obstacle in their way was Marx. The result of the five years' struggle was the expulsion, at the Hague Congress, Sept. 1872, of the Anarchists from the International, and the man who did most to procure that expulsion was Marx. Our old friend F. A. Sorge of Hoboken, who was present as a delegate, can give you further particulars if you desire.

Now as to Johann Most. If any man asserts that Most, since he turned anarchist, has had any relations with, or support from Marx, he is either a dupe or a deliberate liar. After the first No. of the London Freiheit had been published, Most did not call upon Marx and myself more than once, at most twice. Nor did

we call on him or even meet him accidentally anywhere or at any time since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper. Indeed, we at last ceased to take it in as there was absolutely "nothing in it". We had for his anarchism and anarchist tactics the same contempt as for those people from whom he had learnt it.

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

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

Yours fraternally,

F. E.

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

Eastbourne, August 27, 1883

... In the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie the Bonapartist monarchy (the characteristics of which were elaborated by Marx in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* and by me in *The Housing Question*, II, and elsewhere) played a part similar to that of the old absolute monarchy in the struggle between feudalism and bourgeoisie. But just as this struggle could not be fought out under the otd absolute monarchy but only in a constitutional one (England, France *1789-1792 and 1815-1830*), so that between bourgeoisie and proletariat can only be fought out in a republic. If therefore favourable conditions and a revolutionary past helped the French to overthrow Bonapartism and set up a bourgeois republic, the French possess the advantage

over us, who are still floundering in the mishmash of semi-feudalism and Bonapartism, in that they already possess the form in which the struggle must be fought out while we still have to *conquer* it. Politically they are a whole stage ahead of us. The result of a monarchist restoration in France would therefore have to be that the struggle for the restoration of the *bourgeois* republic would again be put on the order of the day. But the continuing of the republic on the other hand signifies increased intensification of the *direct* unconcealed class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie until a crisis is reached.

In our country too the first and direct result of the revolution can and *must* in *form* be nothing but the *bourgeois* republic. But here this is only a brief transitional period as we fortunately do not have a purely republican bourgeois party. The bourgeois republic, headed perhaps by the Progressive Party, will serve us in the beginning to *win over the great masses of the workers to revolutionary socialism.* This will be done in one or two years and will bring about the utter exhaustion and self-destruction, with the exception of ourselves, of all intermediate parties that may still exist. Only then can we successfully take over.

The big mistake the Germans make is to think that the revolution is something that can be made overnight. As a matter of fact it is a process of development of the masses that takes several years even under conditions that favour its acceleration. Any revolution brought about overnight only removed a reaction that was hopeless at the very start (1830) or led directly to the opposite of what had been aspired to (1848, France).

Yours,

F. E.

1884

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, January 1, 1884

... As to your former inquiry concerning the passage in the preface of the *Manifesto*[1] taken from *The Civil War in France* you will most likely agree with the reply given in the original (*The Civil War, p. 19* seqq.). I am sending you a copy in case you do not have one there. It is simply a question of showing that the victorious proletariat must first refashion the old bureaucratic, administratively centralized state power before it can use it for its own purposes; whereas *all* bourgeois republicans since 1848 inveighed against this *machinery so long as they* were *in* the opposition, but once they were in the government they took it over and made use of it without alteration partly against the reaction but still more against the proletariat. That in *The Civil War* the *unconscious* tendencies of the Commune were put down to its credit as more or less conscious plans was justified and even necessary under the circumstances. The Russians have very properly appended this passage from *The Civil War* to their translation of the *Manifesto*. If at that time the publication did not have to be finished in such a hurry we could also have done this and other things too....

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[1] In the preface to the German edition (1872) of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels, speaking of the lessons of the Paris Commune, quoted the following passage from *The Civil War in France*: "... the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes".—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, February 16, 1884

...It would be a good thing for somebody to take the pains of elucidating the state socialism now rampant by using the example of it in *Java* where its practice is in full bloom. All the material for that will be found in *Java, Or How to Manage a Colony*, by I. W. B. Money, Barrister at Law, London 1861, 2 vols. Here it will be seen how on the basis of the old community communism[1] the Dutch organized production under state control and secured for the people what they considered a quite comfortable existence. The result: the people are kept at the stage of primitive stupidity and 70 million marks (now surely more) are annually collected by the Dutch national treasury. This case is highly interesting and can easily be turned to practical use. Incidentally it is proof of how today primitive communism furnishes there as well as in India and Russia the finest and broadest basis of exploitation and despotism (so long as it is not aroused by some element of modern communism) and how in the conditions of modern society it turns out to be a crying anachronism (to be removed or further developed) as much as were the independent mark associations of the original cantons.

There exists an *authoritative* book on the conditions of primitive society, as authoritative as Darwin is in biology and of course it is again Marx who discovered it: Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 1877. Marx spoke about it but my head was full of other things at that time and he never returned to it. This must have suited him as he wanted to introduce the book among the Germans *himself*, as I see from the quite extensive extracts he made. Morgan discovered the Marxian materialist conception of history independently within the limits prescribed by his subject and concludes in relation to present-day society with directly communist demands. The Roman and Greek gens is for the first time fully explained by that of savages, particularly American Indians, and

[1] Gemeindekommunismus —*Ed.*

thus a firm basis for the history of primitive times has been established. If I had the time I would work up the material, with Marx's notes, for a special article in the *Sozial-Demokrat* or the *Neue Zeit*, but I cannot even think of it. All that humbug by Tylor, Lubbock & Co. about endogamy, exogamy and whatever else that rubbish is called has now been definitely squashed. These gentlemen suppress the book here as much as they can. It was printed in America. I ordered it five weeks ago but can't get it, although a London firm appears on the title page as co-publisher.

Best regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO V. I. ZASULICH

London, March 6, 1884

Dear Citizeness,

It will be a holiday for Marx's daughters and me when the Russian version of *The Poverty of Philosophy* comes out. It goes without saying that it will be a pleasure to me to place at your disposal all the material that may be useful to you for that purpose. I propose to do the following:

Besides the German translation a new French edition is at present being printed in Paris. I am preparing some explanatory notes for these two editions and shall send you the text.

For the preface an article by Marx on Proudhon which appeared in the Berlin *Social-Democrat* (1865) and contains almost all that is needed will do. It will head the two new editions, French and German. There is only one copy extant and that belongs to the archives of our Party in Zurich. If no other copy is found among Marx's papers or mine (I shall know this in a few weeks) you could easily get one through Bernstein.

I shall have to make a special preface for the German edition in order to refute the absurd assertion of the reactionary Socialists

that Marx plagiarized Rodbertus in *Capital* and to prove that on the contrary Marx had criticized Rodbertus in *The Poverty* before Rodbertus wrote his social letters. This seems to me to be of no interest to the Russian public as our pseudo-Socialists have not yet penetrated there. But judge of that for yourself. The preface is at your disposal if you think you want it.

I derive great pleasure from what you tell me about the increasing study in Russia of books on socialist theory. Theoretical and critical thought, which has almost vanished from our German schools, seems to have taken refuge in Russia. You ask me to suggest books to you for translation. But you have already translated or promised to translate almost all the works of Marx. You have taken the cream of mine. The rest of our German books are either poor in theory or deal with questions confined more or less to Germany. Lately the French have produced a number of rather good things, but they are still only beginnings. Deville's summary of *Capital* is good so far as the theoretical part is concerned but the descriptive part was done too hastily and is almost unintelligible for anyone who does not know the original; moreover it is too bulky for a summary. Still I believe that if worked over a good thing could be made of it; and a summary of *Capital* is always useful in a country where the book itself can be obtained only with difficulty.

In speaking of the situation in Russia I also certainly had in mind, among other things, her finances—especially, but not exclusively. For a government in as bad straits as that of Petersburg and for a tsar kept a prisoner as the hermit of Gatchina is, the situation cannot continue without becoming more and more tense. With nobles and peasants equally ruined, with the chauvinist sentiments of the army offended and it itself scandalized by the daily spectacle of a sovereign in hiding; with the necessity of a war abroad to find an outlet for "evil passions" and the general discontent; with the simultaneous impossibility of launching one for lack of money and a favourable political juncture—and then a powerful national intelligentsia burning with desire to break the fetters that hold it enchained—and added to all this the direst need of money and the knife of public-spir-

ited men at the throat of the government—it seems to me that each month must increase the impossibility of the situation and that if a constitutionally minded and hardy grand duke turned up Russian "society" itself ought to see the best way out of this impasse in a palace revolution. Now, will Bismarck and Bleichröder save their new friends? I doubt it. I feel more like asking myself which of the two contracting parties will be robbed by the other.

Enclosed herewith is a manuscript (copy) by Marx of which please make such use as you deem best. I do not recall whether it was the *Slovo* or the *Otechestvennlye Zapiski* where he found the article: "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhuknvsky." He drew up this reply which bears the imprint of something written for publication in Russia, but he never sent it off to Petersburg for fear that his name alone would be sufficient to jeopardize the existence of the journal that would publish his reply.[1]

Yours wholly devoted,
F. Engels

I find your translation of my pamphlet excellent.[2] How beautiful the Russian language is! It has all the good points of the German without its horrible coarseness.

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, March 24, 1884

... Nevertheless the March article was very good and the *essential points properly emphasized. The same applies* to the article in the next issue on the sermon to the peasants delivered by the member of the People's Party; the only rotten thing there

[1] The letter written by Marx in 1877 to the Editorial Board of the *Otechestvennlye Zapiski* (see p. 376 of this anthology) was published for the first time in 1886 in No. 5 of the *Vestnik Narodnoi Voli* [*Herald of the People's Will*], Geneva.—*Ed.*

[2] Engels refers to his pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, the Russian translation of which by Zasulich appeared in Geneva in 1884.—*Ed.*

is that he invokes the "concept" of democracy. That concept changes every time the Demos[1] changes and so does not get us one step further. In my opinion what should have been said is the following: The proletariat too needs democratic *forms* for the seizure of political power but to it they are, like all political forms, mere means. But if today democracy is wanted as an *end* one must seek support in the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, i.e., in classes that are in process of dissolution and *reactionary* in relation to the proletariat as soon as they try to maintain themselves artificially. Furthermore it must not be forgotten that precisely the democratic republic is the *logical* form of bourgeois rule; true, it has become too dangerous because of the development the proletariat has already achieved but, as France and America show, it is still possible as purely bourgeois rule. The "principle" of liberalism considered as something "definite, historically evolved," is thus really only an inconsistency. The liberal constitutional monarchy is an adequate form of bourgeois domination: 1) at the beginning, when the bourgeoisie has not yet quite finished with the absolute monarchy, and 2) at the end, when the proletariat has already made the democratic republic too dangerous. And yet the democratic republic always remains the *last* form of bourgeois rule, that in which it goes to pieces. And this will close my lecture.

Nim sends her regards. I did not see Tussy yesterday.

Yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, April 26, 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I made up my mind, as I told everybody here, to play a trick on Bismarck and write something (Morgan) that he simply could not forbid. But it won't work, inspite of all my efforts. I

[1] People.—*Ed.*

simply *cannot* word the chapter on monogamy and the concluding chapter on private property as a source of class antagonisms and also as a lever for the disintegration of the ancient community system in a way to get them through under the Anti-Socialist Law.[1] Let the devil take me; I can do no other, as Luther put it.

There would be no sense to the whole thing if I merely wanted to give an "objective" report on Morgan without treating him critically, without utilizing the results newly achieved, without presenting them in connection with our views and the results already achieved. Our workers would gain nothing by this. Well then, either good and necessary but—forbidden; or allowed but—written like a skunk. And that I cannot do.

I am sure to be finished by next week (Schorlemmer is here again till Monday). There will be fully four printer's sheets or more. If you people *want* to take the chance after reading it of getting the thing printed in the *Neue Zeit*, you must assume responsibility for all the blood that will be shed and don't blame me afterwards. But *if you exercise prudence and will not risk* the whole journal because of one article, then have the thing printed as a pamphlet, either in Zurich or like the *Woman*.[2] That will be your business.

I believe that thing will be of special importance for our general world outlook. Morgan makes it possible for us to look at things from entirely new points of view by supplying us in his prehistory with a factual foundation that was missing hitherto. Whatever doubts you may still have about details in the history of primitive times and "savages," the gens settles the case in the main and explains the history of ancient society. And that is why the thing wants to be worked out seriously, carefully considered, demonstrated in all its interconnections but also treated *without paying any heed to the Anti-Socialist Law.*

There is still another important point: I must show how

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[1] Engels refers to his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.—Ed.*

[2] August Bebel, *The Woman and Socialism.—Ed*

Fourier's genius anticipated Morgan in very many things. It took Morgan to bring out the brilliance of Fourier's critique of civilization. And that takes a lot of work ...

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ENGELS TO E. BERNSTEIN

London, May 23, 1884

...At bottom I am glad that the Anti-Socialist Law was left in force and *not* repealed. The liberal philistine would have won a great victory for the conservatives at the elections. He will go not only through fire and water but even through the deepest muck-pit to keep the Anti-Socialist Law in operation. And the result would have been a new and stricter law. As it looks now it has been extended most likely for the last time, and if old Wilm should kick the bucket from his renal colic it will soon cease to exist practically. The thorough beating which the German free-thinkers and the Centre got when the vote was taken is also worth something, but still more so Bismarck's right to work. Ever since that muddlehead took hold of this there are prospects of our getting rid of calamity howlers like Geiser. Anyhow it takes a Bismarck to do such a stupid thing in face of a labour movement that cannot be held in check even with exceptional laws. In the meantime our people are acting right in getting him involved more and more in this matter by pressing him for fulfilment. As soon as that fellow has committed himself a little more (which he is sure not to do so soon) the whole flimflam will resolve itself into Prussian police rule. The empty phrase will help him damned little as an election programme.

The right to work was first advanced by Fourier, but with him it is realized only in the phalanstery and therefore presupposes the adoption of the latter. The Fourierists—peace-loving philistines of the *Démocratie pacifique*, as their paper was called, disseminated that phrase precisely because it sounded innocuous. The Paris workers of 1848—with their absolutely hazy notions of theory—had this phrase tacked on to them because it

looked so practical, so little utopian, so realizable without any trouble. The government realized it—in the only way capitalist society could realize it—by building nonsensical national workshops. In the same way the right to work was realized here in Lancashire during the cotton crisis of 1861-64 by building municipal workshops. And in Germany it is also being realized by establishing starvation and flogging colonies for the workers which are now arousing the enthusiasm of the philistines. Put up as a *separate* demand the right to work *cannot* be realized in any other way. One demands of capitalist society that it should make that right effective but this society can do so only within the framework of *its* own conditions of existence and if the right to work is demanded of *it* it is demanded subject to these definite conditions, hence what is demanded is national workshops, workhouses and colonies. But if the demand of the right to work is supposed to include *indirectly* the demand for the metamorphosis of the capitalist mode of production, it is a cowardly regression in comparison with the present state of the movement, a concession to the Anti-Socialist Law, a phrase that can serve no other purpose than to confuse and muddle up the workers with regard to the aims they are to pursue and the sole conditions under which they can achieve their aims....

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, June 6, 1884

...We shall never be able to pry the masses loose from the liberal parties so long as the latter are not given an opportunity of discrediting themselves in practice, of getting at the helm of state and showing that they cannot do a thing. As in 1848 so now we are still the opposition of the future and must therefore have the most extreme of the present parties at the helm before we can become a present opposition in relation to it. Political stagnation, i.e., aim- and purposeless struggle among the official parties, as now,

cannot be of service to us long. But a progressive struggle of these parties with a gradual shifting of the centre of gravity to the left can be so. That is what is now happening in France where the political struggle is being waged as always in classical form. The governments succeeding each other are moving more and more to the left and a Clemenceau ministry is already in sight. It will not be the most extreme bourgeois one. At each shift leftward concessions come the way of the workers (cf. the last strike in Denain where for the first time the military did *not* intervene) and, what is more important, the field is being swept clean with increasing energy for the decisive battle and the position of the parties is becoming clearer and more exact. I consider this slow but irrepressible development of the French Republic to its necessary final result—antithesis between radical, sham-socialist bourgeois and really revolutionary workers—one of the most important events and hope it will not be interrupted; and I am glad that our people are not yet strong enough in Paris (but all the stronger in the provinces) to be misled into making putsches with the aid of revolutionary phrases.

Developments in confused Germany are naturally far from following the classically pure lines exhibited in France. We are much too backward for that and experience everything only after it has become obsolete elsewhere. But despite the despicable nature of our official parties political life of any sort is much more favourable to us than the present lethal political lifelessness with nothing afoot except intrigues in the field of foreign politics ...

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ENGELS TO EUGENIE PAPRITZ

[London,] June 26, 1884

Dear Madam,

The lithographed journal you write to me about is already known to me by reputation although I have never had a chance of seeing a copy of it.[1]

Are you not being somewhat unjust to your fellow-countrymen? The two of us, Marx and I, had no grounds for complaint against them. If certain schools were more notable for their revolutionary ardour than for their scientific study, if there was and still is a certain groping here and there, a critical spirit has on the other hand evinced itself there and a devotion to research in even pure theory worthy of the nation that produced a Dobrolyubov and a Chernyshevsky. I am not speaking only of active revolutionary Socialists but also of the historical and critical school in Russian literature, which is infinitely superior to anything produced in this line in Germany or France by official historical science. And even among active revolutionaries our ideas and the science of political economy recast by Marx have always met with sympathetic understanding. You no doubt know that quite recently several of our works were translated into and published in Russian and that others are going to follow, particularly Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*. His smaller work, *Wage Labour and Capital*, written before 1848, also belongs to that series and has been published under that title.

I feel extremely flattered by your belief that it would be useful to translate my *Outlines etc.*[2] Although I am still a bit proud of this my first work in social science I know only too well that it is now quite superannuated and full not only of mistakes but

[1] Engels refers to the lithographed symposia *Socialist Knowledge* published in 1884 by the illegal Moscow Translators' and Publishers' Society. The first Symposium contained Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and separate chapters from his *Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—*Ed.*

[2] *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy.*—*Ed.*

actual howlers. I am afraid it will cause more misunderstanding than do good.

I am sending you by mail a copy of *Dühring's Revolution in Science* etc.

As for our old newspaper articles, it would be difficult to find them after so long a time. The majority of them are of no interest today. When after the publication of the manuscripts left by Marx I have enough leisure I intend to get them out in the form of a collection with explanatory notes, etc. But that is a matter of the future.

I do not quite understand what manifesto to the *English* workers you speak of. Could it be *The Civil War in France*, the manifesto of the International on the Paris Commune? That I could send you.

If my health permitted I would ask you for permission to visit you. Though I feel tolerably well when *at home* I am unfortunately forbidden to walk in the city. If you should want to do me the honour of paying me a visit you will always find me at your disposal about seven or eight o'clock in the evening.

Accept, Madam, the assurance of my highest esteem,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, June 26, 1884

Dear Kautsky,

The Anti-Rodbertus manuscript[1] goes back tomorrow by registered mail. I found few remarks to make; jotted down some pencil comments. In addition the following:

1) Roman law was the consummate law of *simple*, i.e., precapitalist, *commodity production*, which however included most of the legal relations of the capitalist period. Hence precisely what

[1] The reference is to an article Kautsky wrote against Rodbertus's book *Capital* (*Die Neue Zeit*, 1884).—*Ed*

our city burghers *needed* at the time of their rise and did *not* find in the local law of custom.

I have a number of objections to page 10.

1) Surplus value is only the exception in slave and serf production. It should say surplus *product*, most of which is consumed directly and does not *create surplus value*.

2) The explanation of the means of production is not quite as given. In all societies based on a naturally-grown division of labour the product, and hence to a certain extent also the means of production, at least in certain cases, dominates the producers: in the Middle Ages the land dominated the peasant who was only an appendage to the land, the manual tool dominated the guild handicraftsman. Division of labour is directly domination of the labourer by the instrument of labour, even if not in the capitalist sense.

Something similar is the matter with the end of your explanation of the means of production.

1) You must not separate *agriculture* and also *technology* from political economy as is done on pages 21 and 22. Crop rotation, artificial fertilizer, steam-engine, and power loom are inseparable from capitalist production just as the tools of the savage or barbarian are inseparable from *his* production. The tools of the savage condition *his* society as much as the newer ones condition capitalist society. Your view amounts to this: that, true enough, production *now* does determine social institutions but did not do so before capitalist production because the tools had not yet committed the original sin.

As soon as you speak of means of production you speak of society, specifically the society *determined* by these means of production. Means of production-*in-themselves*, outside of society, without influence upon it, are just as non-existent as is capital-*in-itself*.

But how the means of production, which in former periods including simple commodity production exercised only a very mild domination compared with now, came to exercise the present despotic domination is a thing that has to be proved, and your proof seems to me insufficient because it does not mention the one

pole: the genesis of a class which no longer had any means of production, hence also no means of subsistence, and hence had to sell itself piecemeal.

In connection with Rodbertus's positive proposals one must emphasize his Proudhonism—as you know, he has proclaimed himself Proudhon I since, as he claims, he anticipated the French Proudhon. Constituted value, which Rodbertus discovered as early as 1842, is to be demonstrated. These proposats are a tamentable step back in comparison with Bray and Proudhon's Exchange Bank. The worker is to get onty ¼ of the product, but that for certain! That we can talk about later.

Rest (physical) is doing me a lot of good. I feet better every day and this time witl get completely cured. The dictation of *Capital*, volume two, is making excellent progress. We have already reached Part II, but there are a lot of big gaps there. The editing is of course only provisional, but its turn will also come. I can see my way ahead and that's att that's necessary.

I received Ede's[1] letter. Thanks. But you peopte must have patience and put up with my way of corresponding. I must not lose my health again and there's an awfut pite of material accumulating—both work and correspondence.

Greetings.

Yours,
F. E.

Wage Labour and Capital witl foltow as soon as compared; perhaps tomorrow.

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, September 20, 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Returning the manuscripts regislered.

As far as economics is concerned your article on Rodbertus was very good. What I object to again is apodictic assertions in fields where you do not feel yourself sure and where you exposed

[1] E. Bernstein —*Ed.*

your weak spots to Schramm who was skilled enough to nail them.

This refers particularly to the "abstraction" which you of course lambasted much too much in general. In this case the difference is as follows:

Marx summarizes the common content lying in things and relations and reduces it to its general logical expression. His abstraction therefore only reflects, in the form of thought, the content already reposing in the things.

Rodbertus on the contrary establishes for himself such a more or less imperfect logical expression and measures things by this conception which they are to take as their guiding line. He is seeking a true, *eternal* content of things and of social relations whose content however is essentially transient. Hence *true* capital. This is not *present-day* capital, which is only an imperfect realization of the conception. Instead of deducing the concept capital from the present, the only really existing capital, he has recourse to isolated man in order to arrive from present-day capital at true capital and asks what could function as capital in the productive process of such a man. Naturally, simple means of production. Thereby *true* capital is lumped together unceremoniously with the means of production, which depending on circumstances may or may not be capital. Thereby all *bad*, i.e., all *real* properties of capital are eliminated from capital. Now he can demand that real capital should take this concept as its guide, i.e., should function only as simple social means of production, should discard everything that makes it capital and still remain capital and even just on that account become true capital....

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, December 11, 1884

...Our great advantage is that with us the industrial revolution is only in full swing, while in France and England it is in the main consummated. There the division into town and

country, industrial district and agricultural district, is so far concluded that it changes only slowly. The great mass of the people grow up in the conditions in which they later have to live; they are accustomed to them; even the fluctuations and crises have become something they practically take for granted. Added to this is the remembrance of the unsuccessful attempts of former movements. With us, on the other hand, everything is still in full flow. Remnants of the old peasant industrial production for the satisfaction of the producer's personal needs are being supplanted by capitalist domestic industry, while in other places capitalist domestic industry is already succumbing in its turn to machinery. And the very nature of our industry, limping behind at the very end, makes the social upheaval all the more fundamental. As the articles of mass production, both those for mass consumption and those of luxury, have already been monopolized by the English and French, what remains for our export industry is chiefly small stuff, which, however, also runs into huge quantities, and is at first produced by domestic industry and only later, when this line of production is also operated on a mass scale, by machines. Domestic industry (capitalistic) is introduced by this means into much wider regions and clears the way all the more thoroughly. If I except East-Elbe Prussia, that is to say East Prussia, Pomerania, Posen and the greater part of Brandenburg, and further Old Bavaria, there are few districts where the peasant has not been swept more and more into domestic industry. The area thus industrially revolutionized therefore becomes larger with us than anywhere else.

Furthermore. Since for the most part the worker in domestic industry carries on his little bit of agriculture, it becomes possible to depress wages in a fashion unequalled elsewhere. What formerly constituted the happiness of the small man, the combination of agriculture and industry, now becomes the most powerful means of capitalist exploitation. The potato patch, the cow, the little bit of farming make it possible for labour power to be sold below its price; they *necessitate* this by tying the worker to his piece of land, which yet supports him only partially. Hence what makes it possible to put our industry on an export basis is the

fact that the buyer is generally presented with the whole of the surplus value, while the capitalist's profit consists in a deduction from the normal wage. This is more or less the case with all rural domestic industry, but nowhere so much as with us.

Added to this is the fact that our industrial revolution, which was set in motion by the Revolution of 1848 with its bourgeois progress (feeble though this was), was enormously speeded up 1) by getting rid of internal hindrances in 1866 to 1870, and 2) by the French milliards,[1] which after all were to be invested capitalistically. So we achieved an industrial revolution which is more deep and thorough and spatially more extended and comprehensive than that of the other countries, and this with a perfectly fresh and intact proletariat, demoralized by defeats, and finally—thanks to Marx—with an insight into the causes of economic and political development and into the conditions of the impending revolution such as none of our predecessors possessed. But for that very reason it is our *duty* to be victorious.

As to pure democracy and its role in the future I do not share your opinion. Obviously it plays a far more subordinate part in Germany than in countries with an older industrial development. But that does not preclude the possibility, when the moment of revolution comes, of its acquiring a temporary importance as the extreme *bourgeois* party, as which it already played itself off in Frankfort, and as the final sheet-anchor of the whole bourgeois and even feudal economy. At such a moment the whole reactionary mass falls in behind it and strengthens it; everything which used to be reactionary behaves as if it were democratic. Thus between March and September 1848 the whole feudal-bureaucratic mass strengthened the liberals in order to hold down the revolutionary masses, and, once this was accomplished, naturally to kick out the liberals as well. Thus in France, from May 1848 until Bonaparte's election in December, the purely republican party of the *National*, the weakest of all the parties, was in power.

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[1] The reference is to the 5-milliard-franc indemnity exacted by Germany from France under the terms of the Peace of Frankfort concluded May 10, 1871.—*Ed.*

simply owing to the whole collective reaction being organized behind it. This has happened in every revolution: the tamest party still remaining in any way capable of government joins the others in power just because the defeated see in it their last possibility of salvation. Now it cannot be expected that at the moment of crisis we shall already have the majority of the electorate and therefore of the nation behind us. The whole bourgeois and the remnants of the feudal possessing class, a large section of the petty bourgeoisie and also of the rural population will then rally around the extreme bourgeois party, which will then make the most extreme revolutionary gestures, and I consider it very possible that it will be represented in the provisional government and even temporarily form its majority. How, as a minority, one should *not* act in that case, was demonstrated by the Social-Democratic minority in the Paris government of February 1848. However, this is still an academic question at the moment.

Now of course the thing may take a different turn in Germany, and that for military reasons. As things are at present, an impulse from outside can scarcely come from anywhere but Russia. If it does not do so, if the impulse is given inside Germany, then the revolution can only start from the army. Militarily an unarmed nation against an up-to-date army is a purely vanishing quantity. In this case—if our twenty- to twenty-five-year-old reserves which have no vote but are drilled, came into action—pure democracy might be skipped. But this question is likewise still academic at present, although I, as a representative, so to speak, of the general staff of the Party, am obliged to take it into consideration. In any case our sole adversary on the day of the crisis and on the day after the crisis will be *the whole of the reaction which will group around pure democracy*, and this, I think, should not be lost sight of....

1885

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ENGELS TO V. I. ZASULICH

[London,] April 23, 1885

Dear Citizeness,

I still owe you a reply to your letter of February 14th. The delay, certainly not to be ascribed to laziness on my part, was due to the following circumstances:

You asked me my opinion of Plekhanov's book, *Our Differences.* To do that one must have read it, and I can read Russian fairly easily when I have occupied myself with it for a week. But there are full semesters in which this is impossible for me; then I lose practice and am obliged to learn it over again, so to speak. This is what happened to me in the case of the *Differences.*

Marx's manuscripts, which I am dictating to a secretary, keep me busy the whole day; in the evening come visitors whom one cannot after all turn out; there are proofs to be read and much correspondence to be dealt with, and finally there are the translations of my *Origin etc.*[1] (Italian, Danish, etc.), which I am asked to revise and the revision of which is at times neither superfluous nor easy. Well, all these interruptions have prevented me from getting further than page 60 of the *Differences.* If I had three days to myself the thing would be finished and I should have refreshed my knowledge of Russian as well.

Meanwhile the small piece of the book which I have read is enough, I think, to acquaint me more or less with the differences in question.

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[1] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.—Ed.*

First of all I repeat to you that I am proud to know that there is a party among the youth of Russia which frankly and without equivocation accepts the great economic and historical theories of Marx and has decisively broken with all the anarchist and more or less Slavophil traditions of its predecessors. And Marx himself would have been equally proud of this had he lived a little longer. It is an advance which will be of great importance for the revolutionary development of Russia. To me the historical theory of Marx is the fundamental condition of all *reasoned* and *consistent* revolutionary tactics; to discover these tactics one has only to apply the theory to the economic and political conditions of the country in question.

But to do this one must know these conditions; and so far as I am concerned I know too little about the actual situation in Russia to presume myself competent to judge in detail of the tactics demanded there at a given moment. Moreover, the internal and inside history of the Russian revolutionary party, especially that of the last few years, is almost entirely unknown to me. My friends among the *Narodovoltsy* have never spoken to me about it. Yet this is an indispensable element for forming one's opinion.

What I know or believe I know about the situation in Russia makes me think that the Russians are approaching their 1789. The revolution *must* break out there in a limited period of time; it *may* break out any day. In these circumstances the country is like a charged mine which only needs a match to be applied to it. Especially since March 13.[1] This is one of the exceptional cases where it is possible for a handful of people to *make* a revolution, i.e., with one little push to cause a whole system, which (to use a metaphor of Plekhanov's) is in more than labile equilibrium, to come crashing down, and thus by an action in itself insignificant to release explosive forces that afterwards become uncontrollable. Well now, if ever Blanquism—the fantastic idea of overturning an entire society by the action of a small conspiracy—had a

[1] Engels alludes to the assassination of Alexander II, which occurred on March 1 (13), 1881.—*Ed.*

certain raison d'être, that is certainly so now in Petersburg. Once the spark has been put to the powder, once the forces have been released and national energy has been transformed from potential into kinetic (another favourite image of Plekhanov's and a very good one)—the people who laid the spark to the mine will be swept away by the explosion, which will be a thousand times as strong as they themselves and which will seek its vent where it can, as the economic forces and resistances determine.

Suppose these people imagine they can seize power, what does it matter? Provided they make the hole which will shatter the dyke, the flood itself will soon rob them of their illusions. But if by chance these illusions resulted in giving them a superior force of will, why complain of that? People who boast that they *made* a revolution always see the day after that they had no idea what they were doing, that the revolution *made* does not in the least resemble the one they would have liked to make. That is what Hegel calls the irony of history, an irony which few historical personalities escape. Look at Bismarck, the revolutionary against his will, and Gladstone, who has ended by becoming embroiled with his adored Tsar.

To me the important thing is that the impulse in Russia should be given, that the revolution *should* break out. Whether this faction or that faction gives the signal, whether it happens under this flag or that matters little to me. If it were a palace conspiracy it would be swept away tomorrow. There where the situation is so strained, where the revolutionary elements have accumulated to such a degree, where the economic conditions of the enormous mass of the people become daily more impossible, where every stage of social development is represented, from the primitive commune to modern large-scale industry and high finance, and where all these contradictions are violently held in check by an unexampled despotism, a despotism which is becoming more and more unbearable to a youth in whom the dignity and intelligence of the nation are united—there, when 1789 has once been launched, 1793 will not be long in following.

I shall now bid you farewell, dear Citizeness. It is half past two at night and tomorrow I shall have no time to add anything

before the mail closes. If you prefer, write to me in Russian, but please do not forget that Russian *script* is something I do not get to read every day.

Yours wholly devoted,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO GERTRUDE GUILLAUME-SCHAK

[London, about July 5, 1885]

Esteemed Madam,

In reply to your inquiry I can only tell you that I have no right to give out information ultimately intended for publication on Marx's and my *confidential* collaboration in certain political works. Nor can I assume any responsibility, either in Marx's or my own name, for a French general programme on which in the nature of things we could at most have been asked our advice. However, I can tell you *in confidence* that the *Preamble* of the Programme of the *Parti ouvrier* of the *Roanne* trend[1] originated with Marx.

The French are less insistent than the Germans on limiting female labour for the reason that in France, and particularly in Paris, the work women do in factories plays only a comparatively minor role. Equal wages for equal work to either sex are, until abolished in general, demanded, as far as I know, by all Socialists. That the working woman needs special protection against capitalist exploitation because of her special physiological functions seems obvious to me. The English women who championed the formal right of members of their sex to permit themselves to be as thoroughly exploited by the capitalists as the men are mostly, directly or indirectly, interested in the capitalist exploitation of

[1] Engels writes Workers' Party of the Roanne trend to designate that part of the French Workers' Party which, under the leadership of Guesde and Lafargue, broke away from the Possibilists in 1882 and convoked its own congress in Roanne.—*Ed.*

both sexes. I admit I am more interested in the health of the future generations than in the absolute formal equality of the sexes during the last years of the capitalist mode of production. It is my conviction that real equality of women and men can come true only when the exploitation of either by capital has been abolished and private housework has been transformed into a public industry....

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, October 28, 1885

...The chronic depression in all the decisive branches of industry also still continues unbroken here, in France and in America. Especially in iron and cotton. It is an unheard-of situation, though entirely the inevitable result of the capitalist system: such colossal over-production that it cannot even bring things to a crisis! The over-production of disposable capital seeking investment is so great that the rate of discount here actually fluctuates between 1 and 1½ per cent per annum, and for money invested in short-term credits, which can be paid off or called in any day (money on call) one can hardly get ½ per cent per annum. But by choosing to invest his money in this way rather than in new industrial undertakings the money capitalist is admitting how rotten the whole business looks to him. And this fear of new investments and old-time speculation, which already manifested itself in the crisis of 1867, is the main reason why things are not brought to an acute crisis. But it will have to come in the end all the same, and then it will make an end of the old trade unions here, let us hope. These unions have nonchalantly retained the craft character which stuck to them from the first and which is becoming more unbearable every day. No doubt you suppose that the engineers, joiners, bricklayers, etc., will admit any worker into their trade without more ado? Not at all. Whoever wants admission must first have been attached as an apprentice

for a period of years (usually seven) to some worker belonging to the union. This was intended to keep the number of workers limited, but had no point at all except that it brought in money to the apprentice's master, for which he actually did nothing in return. This was tolerable up to 1848. But since then the colossal growth of industry has produced a class of workers of whom there are as many or more as there are "skilled" workers in the trade unions and whose performance is as good as that of the "skilled" workers or better, but who can never become members. These people have been *virtually brought up* on the craft rules of the trade unions. But do you suppose the unions ever dreamt of doing away with this silly bunk? Not in the least. I cannot recall having read of a single proposal of the kind at a Trade Union Congress. The fools want to reform society to suit themselves but not to reform themselves to suit the development of society. They cling to their traditional superstition, which does them nothing but harm, instead of getting quit of the rubbish and thus doubling their numbers and their power and really becoming again what at present they daily become less—associations of all the workers in a trade against the capitalists. This I think will explain many things to you in the behaviour of these privileged workers....

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ENGELS TO N. F. DANIELSON

London, November 13, 1885

Dear Sir,

I received your two letters 6/18 and 9/21 August while I was in Jersey and immediately sent you the letter you desired for the „Северный Вестник".[1] Since then I have been prevented by press of work from replying more fully to these letters as well as that of the 25 August/5 September.

[1] *Northern Herald.—Ed.*

I had no doubt that the 2nd volume would afford you the same pleasure as it has done to me. The developments it contains are indeed of such a superior order that the vulgar reader will not take the trouble to fathom them and to follow them out. This is actually the case in Germany where all historical science, including political economy, has fallen so low that it can scarcely fall any lower. Our Katheder-Sozialisten[1] have never been much more, theoretically, than slightly philanthropic Vulgärökonomen, and now they have sunk to the level of simple apologists of Bismarck's Staatssozialismus. To them, the 2nd volume will always remain a sealed book. It is a fine piece of what Hegel calls die Ironie der Weltgeschichte,[2] that German historical science, by the fact of the elevation of Germany to the position of the first European power, should be again reduced to the same vile state to which it was reduced by the deepest political degradation of Germany, after the Thirty Years' War. But such is the fact. And thus, German "science" stares at this new volume without being able to understand it; only, a wholesome fear of the consequences prevents them from criticising it in public, and so official economic literature observes a cautious silence with regard to it. The 3rd volume will however compel them to speak out.

Of that 3rd volume, I have completed the first transcript from the original into a legible manuscript. Three-fourths of it are almost fit for publication as they are; but the last fourth, or perhaps third, will require a great deal of work: the first section (relation of Mehrwertsrate to Profitrate)[3] and then the subsequent sections on Kredit and partly also on Grundrente[4]; besides certain portions of almost all the other sections. For the last two months I have been compelled to attend to a good deal of other work which had been neglected by my exclusive attention to the 2nd and 3rd volumes. This will continue for some time yet, and then, maybe, the revision of the English translation of volume 1, which

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[1] Professorial Socialists.—*Ed.*
[2] Irony of world history.—*Ed.*
[3] Rate of surplus value to rate of profit.—*Ed.*
[4] Ground rent.—*Ed.*

is nearly completed, will occupy me for a month longer, but then I shall start with the 3rd volume and carry it out to the end. Maybe it will be published in 2 sections, as it will contain about 1000 pages.

I thank you very much for your extracts from the author's letters[1] from 1879 to 1881. I could not read them without a sorrowful smile. Alas, we are so used to these excuses for the non-completion of the work! Whenever the state of his health made it impossible for him to go on with it, this impossibility preyed heavily upon his mind, and he was only too glad if he could only find out some theoretical excuse why the work should not then be completed. All these arguments he had at the time made use of vis-à-vis de moi; they seemed to ease *his* conscience.

After completing the 3rd volume and selecting from the other Ms. the portions fit for publication, I shall very likely try to collect such of the author's correspondence as is scientifically important, and there his letters to you rank amongst the first. When that time comes, I shall therefore avail myself of your kind offer of placing at my disposal copies of these letters.

I am often in the case of forwarding to you pamphlets etc.—republications of the author's and my own writings etc. but do not know whether it would be safe to send them direct to you. I should be much obliged if you would tell me what to do.

I hope our mutual friend's[2] health is improving, notwithstanding the bad prognosis of his doctors. Any news with regard to him will always be welcome.

That crisis of which the author speaks in his letter was indeed an exceptional one.[3] The fact is it continues still, all Europe and America suffer under it to this day. The absence of the financial crash is one cause of it. But the principal cause is undoubtedly the totally changed state of the Weltmarkt.[4] Since 1870, Germany and especially America have become England's rivals in

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[1] The letters in question are those from Marx to Danielson.—*Ed.*

[2] H. Lopatin.—*Ed.*

[3] See letter 158 of this selection.—*Ed.*

[4] World market.—*Ed.*

modern industry, while most other European countries have so far developed their own manufactures as to cease to be dependent on England. The consequence has been the spreading of the process of over-production over a far larger area than when it was mainly confined to England, and has taken—up to now—a chronic instead of an acute character. By thus delaying the thunderstorm which formerly cleared the atmosphere every ten years, this continued chronic depression must prepare a crash of a violence and extent such as we have never known before. And the more so as the agricultural crisis of which the author speaks has also continued up to now, has been extended to almost all European countries, and must continue while the virgin черноzем of the Western American prairies remains unexhausted.

Very faithfully yours,

P. W. Rosher

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ENGELS TO MINNA KAUTSKY

London, November 26, 1885

... I have now also read the *Old Ones and the New*,[1] for which I sincerely thank you. The life of the salt-mine workers is described with as masterly a pen as were the portraits of the peasants in *Stefan*.[2] The scenes depicting Vienna society are for the most part very beautiful. Vienna is indeed the only German city which has a society; Berlin can boast only of "certain circles," and of uncertain ones, of which there are more. For this reason the only novel that will take root there is one whose hero is a man of letters, an officiat or an actor. Whether the plot in this part of your work does not develop too hastily in spots may be left to your better judgment. Many things that to our kind of

[1] Novel by Minna Kautsky.—*Ed.*

[2] *Stefan vom Grillenhof*, another novel by the same authoress.—*Ed.*

people appear to be rushed may look quite natural in Vienna considering the city's peculiar international character and its intermixture with Southern and East-European elements. In both spheres the characters exhibit the sharp individualization so customary in your work. Each of them is a type but at the same time also a definite individual, a "Dieser,"[1] as old Hegel would express himself, and that is how it should be. And now, to be impartial, I have to find fault with something, which brings me to Arnold. He is really much too worthy a man and his being killed in a landslide can be reconciled with poetic justice only on some such assumption as that he was too good for this world. But it will never do for an author to put his own hero on too high a pedestal and this is the error which to some extent you seem to me to have fallen into here. In Elsa there is still a certain individualization, though verging on idealization, but in Arnold the personality merges still more in the principle.

The novel itself reveals the origins of this shortcoming. You obviously felt a desire to take a public stand in your book, to testify to your convictions before the entire world. This has now been done; that you are through with and need not repeat in this form. I am by no means opposed to tendentious poetry as such. Both Aeschylus, the father of tragedy, and Aristophanes, the father of comedy, were highly tendentious poets, Dante and Cervantes were so no less, and the best thing that can be said about Schiller's *Intrigue and Love* is that it represents the first German political problem drama. The modern Russians and Norwegians, who produce excellent novels, all write with a purpose. I think however that the solution of the problem must become manifest from the situation and the action themselves without being expressly pointed out and that the author is not obliged to serve the reader on a platter the future historical resolution of the social conflicts which he describes. To this must be added that under our conditions novels are mostly addressed to readers from bourgeois circles, i.e., circles which are not directly ours. Thus the socialist problem novel in my opinion fully carries out

[1] "This one."—*Ed*

its mission if by a faithful portrayal of the real relations it dispels the dominant conventional illusions concerning these relations, shakes the optimism of the bourgeois world, and inevitably instils doubt as to the eternal validity of that which exists, without itself offering a direct solution of the problem involved, even without at times ostensibly taking sides. Here your exact knowledge and admirably fresh and lifelike presentation of both the Austrian country folks and Vienna "society" are offered ample material, and in *Stefan* you have demonstrated that you are capable of treating your characters with the fine irony which attests to the author's dominion over the beings he has created. . . .

1886

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

London, November 29, 1886

Dear Sorge,

This morning I carried the last clean sheets of the Preface[1] to the publisher and now I am at last rid of this incubus. I expect to be able to send you a copy of the translation in a fortnight. Day after tomorrow Mrs. Liebknecht is coming here to wait for her husband who only left New York day before yesterday.

The Henry George boom[2] has of course brought to light a colossal mass of fraud, and I am glad I was not there. But in spite of it all it was an epoch-making day. The Germans have not understood how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion; they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has got to be learned by heart and which will then supply all needs without more ado. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action. What is more, they learn no English on principle. Hence the American masses had to seek out their own path and seem to have found it for the time being in the Knights of Labor,[3] whose confused principles and

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[1] to the English edition of *Capital*, Vol. I (1886).—*Ed.*

[2] Engels alludes to the 1886 New York Municipal Elections in which Henry George, owing to labour support, achieved a major success: 67,000 votes cast in his favour.—*Ed.*

[3] The *Order of the Knights of Labor*, which existed in the U.S.A. from the end of the sixties to the beginning of the nineties of last century, comprised mostly unskilled workers. It reached the peak of its prosperity in 1886 when its membership exceeded 700,000.—*Ed.*

Here the lack of any competition, on the one hand, and the government's stupidity, on the other, have enabled the gentlemen of the Social-Democratic Federation[1] to occupy a position which they did not dare to dream of three months ago. The hubbub about the plan—never intended to be taken seriously—of a parade behind the Lord Mayor's procession on November 9, and later the same hubbub about the Trafalgar Square meeting on November 21, when the mounting of artillery was talked of and the government finally backed down—all this forced the gentlemen of the S.D.F. to hold a very ordinary meeting at last on the 21st, without empty rodomontades and pseudo-revolutionary demonstrations with *obbligato* mob accompaniment—and the philistines suddenly gained respect for the people who had stirred up such a fuss and yet behaved so respectably. And since, except for the S.D.F., nobody concerns himself with the unemployed, who constitute a rather great mass each winter during the chronic stagnation of business and suffer very acute hardships, the S.D.F. is winning the game hands down. The labour movement is starting here and no mistake, and if the S.D.F. is the first to reap the harvest that is the result of the cowardice of the radicals and the stupidity of the Socialist League,[2] which is at fisticuffs with the Anarchists and cannot get rid of them, and hence has no time to concern itself with the living movement that is taking place outside right before its nose. Moreover, how long Hyndman & Co. will persist in their present comparatively rational mode of action is problematical. Anyhow I expect that they will soon commit colossal blunders again; they're in too much of a hurry. And then they will see that this can't be done in a serious movement.

Things are getting prettier all the time in Germany. In Leipzig

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[1] *The Social-Democratic Federation* (S.D.F.), founded in England in 1881 and led by Hyndman, was sectarian in character and pursued an opportunist policy, which Engels sharply criticized—*Ed.*

[2] *Socialist League*, formed early in 1885 from the left wing of the Social-Democratic Federation as the result of a split in the latter. Anarchist trends later gained the upper hand in the League; in 1890 it broke up—*Ed.*

sentences of as much as four years *at hard labour* for "sedition"! They want to provoke a riot at all costs.

I now stitt have in my desk seven small things I am to do—Italian and French translations, prefaces, new editions, etc.—and then straight without stop to Volume III.

Your old,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

London, 28th December, 1886

...My preface[1] will of course turn entirely on the Immense strtde made by the American working men in the last ten months, and naturally also touch Henry George and his land scheme.[2] But it cannot pretend to deal extensively with It. Nor do I thtnk the ttme for that has come. It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat than that it should start and proceed, from the beginning, on theoreticalty perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes, "*durch Schaden klug werden.*"[3] And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especiatty for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working class to move *as a class*; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and alt who resist, Henry George or Powderly, witt be left out

[1] Engels speaks of the preface to the American edition (1887) of his *Condition of the Working-Class in England.—Ed.*

[2] Henry George demanded that the land be nationalized by imposing a tax on it big enough to be tantamount to a confiscation of all rent for the benefit of the state.—*Ed.*

[3] lo learn by bitter experience.—*Ed*

in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of alleinseligmachendes Dogma,[1] and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the American will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory—if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848—, to go in for any real general working class movement, accept its faktische[2] starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme. they ought, in the words of the "Kommunistischen Manifest": *in der Gegenwart der Bewegung die Zukunft der Bewegung zu repräsentieren.*[3] But above all give the movement time to consolidate; do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by foreing down people's throats things which, at present, they cannot properly understand, but which they will soon learn. A million or two of working men's votes next November for a bona fide working men's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a *doctrinally* perfect platform. The very first attempt—soon to be made if the movement progresses—to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis will bring them all face to face, Georgites, Knights of Labor, Trades Unionists

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[1] Only-saving dogma —*Ed.*

[2] actual —*Ed*

[3] To represent in the movement of the present the future of that movement.—*Ed.*

and all; and if our German friends by that time have learnt enough of the language of the country to go in for a discussion, then will be the time for them to criticise the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage labour. But any thing that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the workingmen's party—on no matter what platform—I should consider a great mistake, and therefore I do not think the time has arrived to speak out fully and exhaustively either with regard to Henry George or the Knights of Labor....

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

[London,] January 27, 1887

...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 über.*[1] When we returned to Germany in Spring 1848, we joined the Democratic Party as the only possible 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 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

[1] The less it is drilled into the heads of the Americans from without and the more they test it—with the assistance of the Germans—by their own experience the more it will become part of their flesh and blood.—*Ed*

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 organisation, and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake....

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ENGELS TO MARGARET HARKNESS

[London, beginning of April 1888]

Dear Miss Harkness,

I thank you very much for sending me your "City Girl" through Messrs. Vizetelly. I have read it with the greatest pleasure and avidity. It is indeed, as my friend Eichhoff your translator calls it, *ein kleines Kunstwerk*[1]; 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, 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, common place 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 truth in reproduction of typical

[1] A small work of art.—*Ed.*

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 showing (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 "Tendenzroman,"[1] as we Germans call it, to glorify the social and political views of the authors. 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 far greater master of realism than all the Zolas *passés, présents et à venir*,[2] in "La Comédie humaine" gives us a most wonderfully realistic history of French "Society," describing, chronicle-fashion, almost year by year from 1816 to 1848 the progressive inroads of the rising bourgeoisie upon the society of nobles, that reconstituted itself after 1815 and that set up again, as far as it could, the standard of *la vieille politesse française*.[3] 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,

[1] Problem novel.—*Ed.*
[2] Past, present, and yet to come—*Ed*
[3] Old French refinement.—*Ed.*

1888

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[1] Problem novel.—*Ed.*
[2] Past, present, and yet to come.—*Ed.*
[3] Old French refinement.—*Ed.*

gave way to the bourgeoise, who corned her husband for cash or cashmere; and around this central picture he groups a complete history of French Society from which, even in economic 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; 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 Saint Merry,[1] 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 civilized world are the working people less actively resistant, more passively submitting to fate, more *hébétés*[2] 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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[1] Refers to the uprising of the left wing of the republican party, the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, which took place in Paris on June 5 and 6, 1832.—*Ed.*

[2] Stupefied.—*Ed.*

1889

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, February 20, 1889

Dear Kautsky,

I am returning herewith the *Neue Zeit* article[1] with cursory marginal comments. Main shortcoming: lack of good material—Taine and Tocqueville, idolized by the philistines, are inadequate here. If you had done the job *here* you would have found quite different material—a better kind *second*-hand and loads of it *first*-hand. Besides, the best work on the peasants is by Kareyev,[2] in Russian.

However if you can get there *Moreau de Jonnès, "The Economic and Social System of France from Henry IV to Louis XIV,"* Paris 1868, you will find it useful reading.

Section II, p. 3. Here there is missing a lucid exposition of *how* the absolute monarchy came into existence as a naturally evolved compromise between nobility and bourgeoisie and how it therefore had to protect certain interests of both sides and distribute favours to them. In this process the nobility—retired politically—got as its share the plundering of the peasantry and of the state treasury and indirect political influence through the court, the army, the church and the higher administrative authorities, while the bourgeoisie received protection through tariffs, monopolies and a *relatively* orderly administration of public affairs and justice. If you start with these things much will become clearer and easier.

[1] The reference is to Kautsky's article "Class Antagonisms in the Year 1789. A Contribution to the Centenary of the Great Revolution."—*Ed.*

[2] N. Kareyev, *The Peasants and the Peasant Question in France during the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century*—*Ed.*

Another thing missing in this section is mention of the judicial nobility (*noblesse de robe*) and the jurists—*la robe*—in general, who actually also formed a privileged estate and possessed great power in the parliaments—vis-à-vis the Crown. In their *political* capacity they acted as the defenders of the institutions that limited the authority of the Crown, hence sided with the people, but in their judicial capacity they were corruption incarnate (cf. the *Mémoirs* of Beaumarchais). What you say later on about this gang is not enough.

III. p. 49. Cf. Note I from Kareyev enclosed.

On p. 50 "*this kind* of bourgeois" suddenly transforms himself into "the" bourgeois *par excellence*, which sharply contravenes the stratification of the bourgeois class, the subject under discussion. You generalize altogether too much, on account of which you often become absolute where the greatest relativity is imperative.

IV. p. 54. Here it would all the same be proper to make some mention of *how* these outlawed plebeians, who are excluded from any society based on class estates and therefore relatively shorn of rights, gradually arrived only during the revolution at what you call sansculottism (one more ism!) and what part they played. Then you will be able to surmount the difficulties you are bombarding on p. 53 with vague expressions and mysterious hints about new modes of production. Then it will be plain that the bourgeoisie was too cowardly in this case as always to uphold its own interests; that starting with the Bastille events the plebs had to do all the work for it; that without the intervention of the plebs on July 14, October 5-6, August 10, September 2, etc., the bourgeoisie would have succumbed to the *ancien régime* each time; that the Coalition leagued with the Court would have suffocated the revolution and that it was therefore these plebeians alone who carried out the revolution; but that this could not have been done without these plebeians attributing to the revolutionary demands of the bourgeoisie a meaning which they did not have, without their pushing equality and fraternity to such extremes that the bourgeois meaning of these slogans was turned completely upside down, because this

meaning, driven to its extreme, changed into its opposite, that this *plebeian* equality and fraternity was necessarily a sheer dream at a time when it was a question of doing the *exact opposite*, and that as always—the irony of history—this *plebeian* conception of the revolutionary watchwords became the most powerful lever for carrying into reality this opposite: *bourgeois* equality—before the law, and fraternity—in exploitation.

I would say much less about the new mode of production. An enormous gulf always separates it from the *facts* you speak of, and presented in *this* direct form it appears as a *pure abstraction* which does not make the thing clearer but rather more obscure.

As for the terror it was essentially a *war measure* so long as there was any sense to it. The class or the factional group of the class which alone could safeguard the victory of the revolution not only maintained itself in power by this means (that was the least after victory over the revolts) but ensured itself freedom of motion, elbow-room, the possibility of concentrating forces at the decisive spot, the border. At the end of 1793 that was already fairly secure; 1794 started well. French armies scored progress almost everywhere. The Commune with its extreme course became superfluous. Its propagation of revolution became a hindrance to Robespierre as well as to Danton both of whom, but each in his own way, wanted peace. From this conflict of three elements Robespierre emerged victorious, but *now terror became in his hands a means of self-preservation* and thus absurd. On June 26 Jourdan at Fleurus laid the whole of Belgium at the feet of the republic. Thereby terror became untenable. On July 27 Robespierre fell and the bourgeois orgy began.

"Well-being for all on the basis of labour" still expresses much too definitely the aspirations of the plebeian *fraternité* of that time. No one could tell what they wanted until long after the fall of the Commune Babeuf gave the thing definite shape. Whereas the Commune with its aspirations for fraternity came too early, Babeuf in his turn came too late.

P. 100. Beggars. See Note II from Kareyev.

The section on the peasantry suffers most because of the lack of all but the most ordinary sources.

The blunders made by Ranke you showed up well.[1] Unfortunately you did not make use of the Austrian publications with their objections, which are given by Sybel. Much relating to the second partition of Poland, etc. could still be dug up out of them and as they are based on *archive* material they are absolutely fit to use....

Note I. *Fourth estate.*

The conception of a fourth estate alongside the first, second, and third arose very early in the revolution. At the very beginning appeared Dufourny de Villiers, "Mandate of the 4th estate, that of poor day labourers, invalids, indigents, etc., the estate of the disinherited," April 25, 1789. But the fourth estate is mostly taken to mean the *peasants*. For example Noilliac, "The strongest of the pamphlets. The estate of the peasants in the States General, February 26, 1789," p. 9: "Let us take the four estates from the Swedish constitution."

Vertout, "Letter of a peasant to his priest on a new way of summoning the States General." Sartrouville, 1789, p. 7: "I heard it said that in a certain northern country ... the estate of the peasantry is admitted to the States-Assembled."

One also comes across other interpretations of the fourth estate. One pamphlet argues for a fourth estate of the *merchants*, another pleads for one of the *judiciary*, etc.

Kareyev, *The Peasants and the Peasant Question in France in the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century*, Moscow 1879, p. 327.

Note II. *Beggars.*

It is significant that the number of impoverished persons (nisčich, nisčyi means poorest of the poor) was greatest in the provinces which were considered the most fertile, because in these localities there were very few peasants who owned land.

But let the figures speak for themselves. In Argentré (Brittany) more than half of the population of 2,300 not earning a living in industry or trade can hardly keep the wolf from the door and over 500 people have been reduced to mendicancy. In Dainville (Artois) 60 out of 130 familles are impoverished.

[1] In the above article Kautsky criticized Ranke's work *Epochs of Modern History*.—*Ed.*

Normandy: In Saint Patrice 400 out of 1,500 members of the population and in Saint Laurent three-fourths of the 500 inhabitants live on alms (Taine). From the mandates of the Douai bailiwick we learn for instance that half of the 332 families in a village belonging to the Bouvignies parish live on charity alone and that in another village, of the Aix parish, 65 of the t43 families have been beggared, while in a third (Landus parish) about 100 out of 413 are indigent in the extreme, and so on tn the seneschalship of Puy en Vélay, according to the text of the mandate of the local clergy, 58,897 out of a total population of 120,000 are totatly unable to pay any taxes of any kind whatsoever (Parliamentary Archive of 1787 to 1860. Vol. V, p. 467). In the villages of Carhalx District the picture was as follows: Frerogan—10 well-to-do (dostatočny), 10 impoverished, and 10 pauperized families. Motref—47 families of means, 74 less substantial, 64 poor and day labourers.

Paule—200 farms, most of which should by rights be called refuges for beggars (National Archives, Vol. tV, p. 17). The mandate of Marboeuf parlsh bewails the fact that of the 500 Inhabitants about 100 are beggars (Boivin-Champeaux, *Historical Notes on the Revolution in the Eure Department*, t872, p. 83). The peasants of the vitlage of Harville relate that on account of unemployment a full third of them are utterly destitute (Petition of the inhabitants of the Harville commune, National Archives).

Nor were things any better in the towns. tn 1787 Lyons had 30,000 pauperized workers. In Paris thc population of 650,000 included t18,784 indigents (Taine, Vol. f, p. 507). In Rennes onc out of three begged alms for a tiving and another third was constantly threatened with pauperization (Du Chatellier, *Agriculture in Brittany*, Paris 1863, p. 178). The titttc Jura town of Lons-de-Saunier was so pauperized that when the Constituent Assembly introduced quatifications for voters only 728 of its 6,518 inhabitants could be listed as active citizens (Sommier, *History of the Revolution in the Jura*, Paris 1846, p. 33). No wonder then that at the time of revotution charity cases werc counted by the million. Thus a clerical pamphlet of t791 statcd that there were 6 million paupers in France ("Counsel to the

Poor on the Present Revolution and on the Property of the Clergy," p. 15), which however is somewhat exaggerated; but the figure of 1,200,000 paupers given for 1774 is perhaps not underrated (Duval, *Mandates of the Marche*, Paris 1873, p. 116).

(I thought you might like to have a few *real* illustrations.)

Kareyev, pp. 211-214.

If my remarks sound curt please consider that as being due solely to lack of time and marginal space on the paper. I had no time to compare sources, had to rely in everything on my memory—hence many things are not so definite as I would have liked them to be.

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

London, June 8, 1889

... With the exception of the Social-Democratic Federation, the Possibilists[1] have not *a single socialist organization on their side in the whole of Europe.* They are consequently falling back on the non-socialist trade unions and would give the world if they could have even the old trade unions here, Broadhurst & Co., but the latter were fed up with things here in London in November. From America they will get one Knight of Labor.

The main thing is—and this was the reason why I put my shoulders to the wheel—that it is again the old split in the International that comes to light here, the old battle of the Hague. The adversaries are the same, only with this difference, that the banner of the Anarchists has been replaced by the banner of the Possibilists: the selling of principles to the bourgeoisie for small-scale concessions, especially in return for well-paid jobs for the leaders (on the city councils, labour exchanges, etc.). And the tactics are exactly the same. The manifesto of the S.D.F., obviously written by Brousse, is a new edition of the Sonvillier circular. And Brousse knows it too; he continues to attack authori-

[1] See footnote on p. 424 of this volume.—*Ed.*

tarian Marxism with the same lies and slanders, and Hyndman is imitating him—his principal sources of information about the International and the political activity of Marx are the local malcontents of the General Council: Eccarius, Jung & Co.

The alliance of the Possibilists and the Social-Democratic Federation was to constitute the nucleus of a new International to be founded in Paris: with the Germans, if they made themselves fit to be the third member of the league; otherwise against them. Hence the many little congresses one after another, constantly growing in number; hence the intransigence with which the allies treated all the other French and English tendencies as non-existent; and hence the intrigues, particularly with those small little nations, which also were Bakunin's support. But this activity became sinister when the Germans, with their St. Gall resolution,[1] also entered the congress movement, quite naively—in absolute ignorance of what was going on elsewhere. And since these small people preferred to go against the Germans rather than with them—for the latter were considered far too Marxified—the struggle became inevitable. You can have no idea of the naiveté of the Germans. It has cost me tremendous effort to explain even to Bebel what it all really meant, although the Possibilists know it very well and proclaim it every day. And with all these mistakes I had little hope that things would fare well, that immanent reason, which is gradually evolving to consciousness of itself in this affair, would win out as early as this. I am all the more pleased by the proof that occurrences like those of 1873 and 1874 cannot happen any more today. The intriguers are beaten already, and the significance of the congress—whether it entails another one or not—lies in the fact that the unanimity of the socialist parties of Europe is demonstrated to all the world, with the few plotters left out in the cold unless they submit....

[1] In 1887 at the St. Gall Congress of the German Social-Democracy, the Party Executive was instructed to convoke jointly with the labour organizations of other countries an International Congress in the autumn of 1888.—*Ed*

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ENGELS TO V. ADLER

London, December 4, 1889

Dear Adler,

I recommended you to *revise* Avenel's *Cloots*[1] for the following reasons:

In my opinion (and that of Marx) the book contains the first specific and correct account, based on a study of the archives, of the *critical period of the French Revolution*, namely from 10 August to 9 Thermidor.

The Commune of Paris and Cloots were for the propagandist war as the only means of salvation, whereas the Committee of Public Safety *played the statesman*, was afraid of the European coalition and tried to get peace by *dividing* the allied powers. Danton wanted peace with England, that is with Fox and the English opposition, which hoped to come into power at the elections; Robespierre intrigued with Austria and Prussia at Basle and tried to come to an understanding with *them*. Both united against the Commune in order above all to overthrow the people who wanted the propagandist war and the republicanization of Europe. They succeeded, the Commune (Hébert, Cloots, etc.) was beheaded. But from that time onwards agreement became impossible between those who wanted to conclude peace only with England and those who wanted to conclude it only with the German powers. The English elections turned out in favour of Pitt, Fox was kept out of the government for years; this ruined Danton's position, Robespierre was victorious and beheaded him. But—and Avenel has *not sufficiently* stressed this—while the reign of terror was now intensified to a pitch of insanity because that was necessary to keep Robespierre in power under the existing internal conditions, it was rendered entirely superfluous by the victory of Fleurus on June 24, 1794, which not only freed the frontiers but delivered Belgium and indirectly the left bank

[1] The reference is to Georges Avenel: *Anacharsis Cloots, the Orator of the Human Race*, Paris 1865.—*Ed.*

of the Rhine into the hands of France. Thereupon Robespierre too became superfluous and fell on July 24.

The whole French Revolution is dominated by the War of the Coalition, all its pulsations depend upon it. If the allied army penetrates into France—predominant activity of the vagus nerve, violent heart-beat, revolutionary crisis. If it is driven back—predominance of the sympathetic nerve, the heart-beat becomes slower, the reactionary elements again push themselves into the foreground; the plebeians, the origins of the later proletariat, whose energy alone has saved the revolution, are brought to reason and order.

The tragedy is that the party supporting war *à outrance*, war for the emancipation of the nations, is proved in the right and that the Republic gets the better of all Europe, but only after that party itself has long been beheaded, while in place of the propagandist war comes the Peace of Basle and the bourgeois orgy of the Directory.

The book must be completely recast and shortened—the rhetoric cut out, the facts taken from the ordinary histories supplemented and put in bold relief. Cloots can be put quite into the background, the most important things from the *Lundis révolutionaires*[1] can be inserted and we may get a work on the revolution such as has never existed up till now.

An explanation of how the battle of Fleurus put an end to the reign of terror was contributed in 1842 to the (first) *Rheinische Zeitung* by K. F. Köppen in an excellent criticism of H. Leo's *History of the French Revolution.*

Best regards to your wife and Luise Kautsky.

Yours,
F. Engels

[1] Georges Avenel, *Lundis révolutionaires* (*Revolutionary Mondays*), a collection of essays on the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the eighteenth century.—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

London, December 7, 1889

Dear Sorge,

Letters of October 8 and 29 received. Thanks.

Things won't turn out that well: to have the Socialist Labour Party liquidated. Rosenberg has a lot of heirs besides Schewitsch, and the conceited doctrinaire Germans over there certainly have no desire to give up their usurped position of teachers to the "immature" Americans. Otherwise they would be nobodies.

Over here it is being proved that a great nation simply cannot be tutored in a doctrinaire and dogmatic fashion, even if one has the best of theories, evolved out of their own conditions of life, and even if the tutors are relatively better than the S.L.P. The movement *is* under way now at last and, I believe, for good. But not directly socialist, and those among the English who have understood our theory best remain outside it: Hyndman because he is incurably jealous and intriguing, Bax because he is a bookworm. Formally, the movement is first of all a trade-union movement, but utterly different from that of the *old* trade unions: the skilled labourers, the labour aristocracy.

The people are now putting their shoulders to the wheel in quite a different way, they are drawing far greater masses into the struggle, shaking up society far more profoundly, and putting forward much more far-reaching demands: the eight-hour day, a general federation of all organizations, and complete solidarity. Through Tussy, the Gas-Workers' and General Labourers' Union has got women's branches *for the first time*. Moreover, the people look on their immediate demands themselves as only provisional, although they themselves do not yet know toward what final goal they are working. But this vague idea is strongly enough rooted in them to make them elect as leaders *only* openly declared Socialists. Like everyone else, they must learn by their own experiences, from their own mistakes. But since, unlike the old trade unions, they greet every suggestion of the

identity of interest between capital and labour with scornful laughter, this will not take very long....

The most repulsive thing here is the bourgeois "respectability," which has grown deep into the bones of the workers. The division of society into innumerable strata, each recognized without question, each with its own pride but also its inborn respect for its "betters" and "superiors," is so old and firmly established that the bourgeois still find it fairly easy to get their bait accepted. I am not at all sure, for instance, that John Burns is not secretly prouder of his popularity with Cardinal Manning, the Lord Mayor, and the bourgeoisie in general than of his popularity with his own class. And Champion—an ex-lieutenant—intrigued years ago with bourgeois and especially with conservative elements, preached socialism at the parsons' Church Congress, etc. And even Tom Mann, whom I regard as the best of the lot, is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. If one compares this with the French, one realizes what a revolution is good for after all....

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ENGELS TO G. TRIER

London, December 18, 1889

Dear Herr Trier,

I thank you very much for your interesting communication of the 8th.

If I am to tell you my view of the latest grand performance of state at Copenhagen[1] to which you felt victim I shall start with a point on which I do *not* agree with you.

You reject on principle any and every collaboration, even the

[1] A reference to the fact that the opportunist leadership of the Danish Socialist Party had expelled from the Executive and the Party two Lefts (including Trier himself) for coming out against any bloc with the Danish left-bourgeois party *Venstre*.—*Ed.*

most transient, with other parties. I am enough of a revolutionary not to allow even this means to be absolutely forbidden to me when under the circumstances it is the more advantageous or at least the less harmful way.

We are agreed on this: that the proletariat cannot conquer its political domination, the only door to the new society, without violent revolution. For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day it must—and this Marx and I have been arguing ever since 1847—form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party.

But that does not mean that this party cannot at certain moments use other parties for its purposes. Nor does this mean that it cannot support other parties for short periods in securing measures which either are directly advantageous to the proletariat or represent progress by way of economic development or political freedom. Whoever wages a real struggle in Germany for the abolition of primogeniture and other feudal survivals, of the bureaucracy, protective tariffs, the Anti-Socialist Law, and of restrictions on the right of assembly and of organization will be getting my support. If our German progressive party or your Danish *Venstre* were real radical-bourgeois parties and did not simply consist of wretched windbags who take to the bushes at the first threat of a Bismarck or Estrup, I would by no means be *absolutely* opposed to any and every momentary collaboration with them for definite purposes. When our deputies cast their votes for a proposal which was submitted by the other side—and that they have to do often enough—this is accounted collaboration. But I am for this only if the advantage to us is direct or if the historical development of the country in the direction of the economic and political revolution is indisputable and worth while; and provided that the proletarian class character of the Party is not jeopardized thereby. For me this is the absolute limit. You will find this policy set forth as early as 1847 in the *Communist Manifesto*; we pursued it in 1848, in the International, everywhere....

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ENGELS TO P. ERNST

London, June 5, 1890

... As far as your attempt to treat the matter materialistically is concerned I must say in the first place that the materialist method turns into its opposite if it is not taken as one's guiding principle in historical investigation but as a ready pattern according to which one shapes the facts of history to suit oneself. And if Herr Bahr thinks he caught you making such a mistake he seems to me to be not altogether wrong.

You put all Norway and everything that happens there into one category: philistinism,[1] and then you unhesitatingly attribute to this Norwegian philistinism the qualities which in your opinion distinguish *German* philistinism. But here two facts stand in the way.

First: at time when in all Europe the victory over Napoleon took the shape of victory of reaction over revolution and only in its cradle, France, did the revolution still inspire so much fear as to wrest a liberal bourgeois constitution from the returning legitimist regime, Norway found an opportunity to win her fight for a constitution that is far more democratic than any other of contemporary Europe.

Second: Norway has experienced in the last twenty years a literary upsurge unparalleled during this period in any other country except Russia. Be they philistines or not, these people get much more done than the others and leave their imprint also on other literatures, not last among them German literature.

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[1] Spiessbürgertum.—*Ed.*

These facts make it necessary, in my opinion, to investigate to some extent the specific features of Norwegian philistinism.

And here you will probably find that there is quite a substantial difference. In Germany philistinism is the outcome of a shipwrecked revolution, of an interrupted, repressed development. The abnormally prominent traits characteristic of it—cowardice, narrow-mindedness, helplessness and inability to take the initiative—are a result of the Thirty Years' War and the period following it, precisely the period of rapid rise of almost all other great peoples. This character still clung to it when Germany was again swept into the historical movement. It was strong enough to impress its mark as the more or less general German type on all other classes of German society, until finally our working class broke through these narrow limits. The fact that the German working men "have no country" is confirmed most fully in their having cast off all German philistine narrow-mindedness.

German philistinism is therefore not a normal historical phase but an extreme caricature, a piece of degeneration, just as the Polish Jew is a caricature of Jewry. The English, French, etc. petty bourgeois are by no means on the same level as the German.

In Norway on the contrary the small peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie with a slight admixture of medium bourgeoisie—such as existed, say, in England and France in the seventeenth century—have constituted for several centuries the normal state of society. Here we do not have a case of forcible thrusting back into antiquated conditions because of an unsuccessful great movement and a Thirty Years' War. The country was trailing behind on account of its isolation and natural conditions but it was in a state that fully corresponded to its conditions of production and hence was normal. Only quite recently a modicum of modern industry has sporadically trickled into the land, but for the most powerful lever of the concentration of capital, the Stock Exchange, there is no room and besides, precisely the enormous expansion of marine commerce exerts a conservative influence. For, while everywhere else steam power puts sailing

vessels out of the running, Norway increases ils maritime fleet of sail tremendously and has if not the biggest then surely the second biggest sailing fleet in the world, mostly the property of small and medium shipowners, like in England about 1720. Nevertheless this has brought movement into the old stagnant state of things and this movement is finding expression also in the literary resurgenee.

The Norwegian peasant was *never* a *serf* and this provides an entirely different baekground for the whole development, which in a way was similar to that in Castile. The Norwegian petty bourgeois is the son of a free peasant and under lhese cireumstances is a *man* in comparison with the deterioraled German philistine. Likewlse lhe Norwegian woman of the lower middle class stands sky-high above the spouse of the German philistine. And whatever the shorlcomings of for instance Ibsen's plays may be they mirror a world which though small and medium-bourgeois is infinitely differenl from the German, a world in which peopfe still have slrength of characler and inilialive and acl lndependently, even if often rather slrangely in the judgment of foreigners. I prefer to make a thorough study of sueh things before condemning them....

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ENGELS TO C. SCHMIDT

London, August S, 1890

...I saw a review of Paul Barth's book[1] by that bird oi ill omen, Moritz Wirth, in the Vienna *Deutsche Worte,* and *this* eriticism left on my mind an unfavourable impression of the book itself, as well. I will have a look at it, but I musl say thal if "litlle Moritz" is right when he quotes Barth as stating that the sole example of the dependence of philosophy, elc., on the material conditions of existence which he can find in all Marx's works is

[1] Paul Barth, *The Philosophy of History of Hegel and the Hegelians up to Marx and Hartmann.—Ed.*

that Descartes declares animals to be machines, then I am sorry for the man who can write such a thing. And if this man has not yet discovered that while the *material mode of existence is the primum agens*[1] this does not preclude the ideological spheres from reacting upon it in their turn, though with a secondary effect, he cannot possibly have understood the subject he is writing about. However, as I have said, all this is second-hand and little Moritz is a dangerous friend. The materialist conception of history has a lot of them nowadays, to whom it serves as an excuse for *not* studying history. Just as Marx used to say, commenting on the French "Marxists" of the late seventies: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."

There has also been a discussion in the *Volkstribüne* about the distribution of products in future society, whether this will take place according to the amount of work done or otherwise. The question has been approached very "materialistically" in opposition to certain idealistic phraseology about justice. But strangely enough it has not struck anyone that, after all, the method of distribution essentially depends on *how much* there is to distribute, and that this must surely change with the progress of production and social organization, so that the method of distribution may also change. But to everyone who took *part* in the discussion, "socialist society" appeared not as something undergoing continuous change and progress but as a stable affair fixed once for all, which must, therefore, have a method of distribution fixed once for all. All one can reasonably do, however, is 1) to try and discover the method of distribution to be used *at the beginning*, and 2) to try and find the *general tendency* of the further development. But about this I do not find a single word in the whole debate.

In general, the word "materialistic" serves many of the younger writers in Germany as a mere phrase with which anything and everything is labelled without further study, that is, they stick on this label and then consider the question disposed of. But our conception of history is above all a guide to study, not a lever for construction after the manner of the Hegelian. All

[1] Primary agent, prime cause.—*Ed.*

history must be studied afresh, the conditions of existence of the different formations of society must be examined individually before the attempt is made to deduce from them the political, civil-law, aesthetic, philosophic, religious, etc., views corresponding to them. Up to now but little has been done here because only a few people have got down to it seriously. In this field we can utilize heaps of help, it is immensely big, and anyone who will work seriously can achieve much and distinguish himself. But instead of this too many of the younger Germans simply make use of the phrase historical materialism (and *everything* can be turned into a phrase) only in order to get their own relatively scanty historical knowledge—for economic history is still in its swaddling clothes! —constructed into a neat system as quickly as possible, and they then deem themselves something very tremendous. And after that a Barth can come along and attack the thing itself, which in his circle has indeed been degraded to a mere phrase.

However, all this will right itself. We are strong enough in Germany now to stand a lot. One of the greatest services which the Anti-Socialist Law did us was to free us from the obtrusiveness of the German intellectual who had got tinged with socialism. We are now strong enough to digest the German intellectual too, who is giving himself great airs again. You, who have really done something, must have noticed yourself how few of the young literary men who fasten themselves on to the Party give themselves the trouble to study economics, the history of economics, the history of trade, of industry, of agriculture, of the formations of society. How many know anything of Maurer except his name! The self-sufficiency of the journalist must serve for everything here and the result looks like it. It often seems as if these gentlemen think anything is good enough for the workers. If these gentlemen only knew that Marx thought his best things were still not good enough for the workers, how he regarded it as a crime to offer the workers anything but the very best! ...

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ENGELS TO J. BLOCH

London, September 21-22, 1890

... According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas—also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (that is, of things and events whose inner interconnection is so remote or so impossible of proof that we can regard it as non-existent, as negligible) the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree.

We make our history ourselves, but, in the first place, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc., and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one. The Prussian state also arose and developed from historical, ultimately economic, causes. But it could scarcely be maintained without pedantry that among the many small states of North Germany, Brandenburg was specifically determined by economic necessity to become the

great power embodying the economic, linguistic and, after the Reformation, also the religious difference between North and South, and not by other element as well (above all by its entanglement with Poland, owing to the possession of Prussia, and hence with international political relations—which were indeed also decisive in the formation of the Austrian dynastic power). Without making oneself ridiculous it would be a difficult thing to explain in terms of economics the existence of every small state in Germany, past and present, or the origin of the High German consonant permutations, which widened the geographic partition wall formed by the mountains from the Sudetic range to the Taunus to form a regular fissure across all Germany.

In the second place, however, history is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each in turn has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant—the historical event. This may again itself be viewed as the product of a power which works as a whole *unconsciously* and without volition. For what each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one willed. Thus history has proceeded hitherto in the manner of a natural process and is essentially subject to the same laws of motion. But from the fact that the wills of individuals—each of whom desires what he is impelled to by his physical constitution and external, in the last resort economic, circumstances (either his own personal circumstances or those of society in general)—do not attain what they want, but are merged into an aggregate mean, a common resultant, it must not be concluded that they are equal to zero. On the contrary, each contributes to the resultant and is to this extent included in it.

I would furthermore ask you to study this theory from its original sources and not at second-hand; it is really much easier. Marx hardly wrote anything in which it did not play a part. But especially *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is a most excellent example of its application. There are also many allu-

sions to it in *Capital*. Then may I also direct you to my writings: *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, in which I have given the most detailed account of historical materialism which, as far as I know, exists.

Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasize the main principle *vis-à-vis* our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to give their due to the other elements involved in the interaction. But when it came to presenting a section of history, that is, to making a practical application, it was a different matter and there no error was permissible. Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a new theory and can apply it without more ado from the moment they have assimilated its main principles, and even those not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent "Marxists" from this reproach, for the most amazing rubbish has been produced in this quarter, too....

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ENGELS TO C. SCHMIDT

London, October 27, 1890

Dear Schmidt,

I am taking advantage of the first free moments to reply to you. I think you would do very well to take the post in Zurich. You could always learn a good deal about economics there, especially if you bear in mind that Zurich is after all only a third-rate money and speculation market, so that the impressions which make themselves felt there are weakened by two-fold or three-fold reflection or are deliberately distorted. But you will get a practical knowledge of the mechanism and be obliged to follow the

stock exchange reports from London, New York, Paris, Berlin and Vienna at first-hand, and thus the world market, in its reflex as money and stock market, will reveal itself to you. Economic, political and other reflections are just like those in the human eye: they pass through a condensing lens and therefore appear upside down, standing on their heads. Only the nervous apparatus which would put them on their feet again for presentation to us is lacking. The money market man sees the movement of industry and of the world market only in the inverted reflection of the money and stock market and so effect becomes cause to him. I noticed that already in the lorties in Manchester: the London stock exchange reports were utterly useless for understanding the course of industry and its periodical maxima and minima because these gentry tried to explain everything by crises on the money market, which of course were themselves generally only symptoms. At that time the point was to disprove temporary over-production as the origin of industrial crises, so that the thing had in addition its tendentious side, provocative of distortion. This point now ceases to exist—for us, at any rate, for good and all—besides which it is indeed a fact that the money market can also have its own crises, in which direct disturbances of Industry play only a subordinate part or no part at all. Here there is still much to be established and examined, especially in the history of the last twenty years.

Where there is division of labour on a social scale there the separate labour processes become independent of each other. In the last instance production is the decisive factor. But as soon as trade in products becomes independent of production proper, it follows a movement of its own, which, while governed as a whole by that of production, still in particulars and within this general dependence again follows laws of its own inherent in the nature of this new factor; this movement has phases of its own and in its turn reacts on the movement of production. The discovery of America was due to the thirst for gold which had previously driven the Portuguese to Africa (cf. Soetbeer's *Production of Precious Metals*), because the enormously extended European Industry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the trade cor-

responding to it demanded more means of exchange than Germany, the great silver country from 1450 to 1550, could provide. The conquest of India by the Portuguese, Dutch and English between 1500 and 1800 had *imports from* India as its object—nobody dreamt of exporting anything there. And yet what a colossal reaction these discoveries and conquests, brought about solely by trade interests, had upon industry: it was only the need for *exports to* these countries that created and developed modern large-scale industry.

So it is, too, with the money market. As soon as trade in money becomes separate from trade in commodities it has—under certain conditions imposed by production and commodity trade and within these limits—a development of its own, special laws determined by its own nature and separate phases. If to this is added that money trade, developing further, comes to include trade in securities and that these securities are not only government papers but also industrial and transport stocks, so that money trade gains direct control over a portion of the production by which, taken as a whole, it is itself controlled, then the reaction of money trading on production becomes still stronger and more complicated. The traders in money are the owners of railways, mines, iron works, etc. These means of production take on a double aspect: their operation has to be directed sometimes in the interests of direct production but sometimes also according to the requirements of the shareholders, so far as they are money traders. The most striking example of this is furnished by the North American railways, whose operation is entirely dependent on the daily stock exchange operations of a Jay Gould or a Vanderbilt, etc., which have nothing whatever to do with the particular railway and its interests as a means of communication. And even here in England we have seen contests lasting decades between different railway companies over the boundaries of their respective territories—contests on which an enormous amount of money was thrown away, not in the interests of production and communication but simply because of a rivalry whose sole object usually was to facilitate the stock exchange transactions of the shareholding money traders.

With these few indications of my conception of the relation of production to commodity trade and of both to money trade, I have answered, in essence, your questions about "historical materialism" generally. The thing is easiest to grasp from the point of view of the division of labour. Society gives rise to certain common functions which it cannot dispense with. The persons appointed for this purpose form a new branch of the division of labour *within society*. This gives them particular interests, distinct, too, from the interests of those who empowered them; they make themselves independent of the latter and—the state is in being. And now things proceed in a way similar to that in commodity trade and later in money trade: the new independent power, while having in the main to follow the movement of production, reacts in its turn, by virtue of its inherent relative independence—that is, the relative independence once transferred to it and gradually further developed—upon the conditions and course of production. It is the interaction of two unequal forces: on the one hand, the economic movement, on the other, the new political power, which strives for as much independence as possible, and which, having once been established, is endowed with a movement of its own. On the whole, the economic movement gets its way, but it has also to suffer reactions from the political movement which it itself established and endowed with relative independence, from the movement of the state power, on the one hand, and of the opposition simultaneously engendered, on the other. Just as the movement of the industrial market is, in the main and with the reservations already indicated, reflected in the money market and, of course, in *inverted* form, so the struggle between the classes already existing and fighting with one another is reflected in the struggle between government and opposition, but likewise in inverted form, no longer directly but indirectly, not as a class struggle but as a fight for political principles, and so distorted that it has taken us thousands of years to get behind it.

The reaction of the state power upon economic development can be of three kinds: it can run in the same direction, and then development is more rapid; it can oppose the line of development,

in which case nowadays it will go to pieces in the long run in every great people, or it can prevent the economic development from proceeding along certain lines, and prescribe other lines. This case ultimately reduces itself to one of the two previous ones. But it is obvious that in cases two and three the political power can do great damage to the economic development and cause a great squandering of energy and material.

Then there is also the case of the conquest and brutal destruction of economic resources, by which, in certain circumstances, a whole local or national economic development could formerly be ruined. Nowadays such a case usually has the opposite effect, at least with great peoples: in the long run the vanquished often gains more economically, politically and morally than the victor.

Similarly with law. As soon as the new division of labour which creates professional lawyers becomes necessary, another new and independent sphere is opened up which, for all its general dependence on production and trade, has also a special capacity for reacting upon these spheres. In a modern state, law must not only correspond to the general economic condition and be its expression, but must also be an *internally coherent* expression which does not, owing to inner contradictions, reduce itself to nought. And in order to achieve this, the faithful reflection of economic conditions suffers increasingly. All the more so the more rarely it happens that a code of law is the blunt, unmitigated, unadulterated expression of the domination of a class—this in itself would offend the "conception of right." Even in the *Code Napoléon* the pure, consistent conception of right held by the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1792-96 is already adulterated in many ways, and, in so far as it is embodied there, has daily to undergo all sorts of attenuations owing to the rising power of the proletariat. This does not prevent the *Code Napoléon* from being the statute book which serves as the basis of every new code of law in every part of the world. Thus to a great extent the course of the "development of right" consists only, first, in the attempt to do away with the contradictions arising from the direct translation of economic relations into legal principles, and to

establish a harmonious system of law, and then in the repeated breaches made in this system by the influence and compulsion of further economic development, which involves it in further contradictions. (I am speaking here for the moment only of civil law.)

The reflection of economic relations as legal principles is necessarily also a topsy-turvy one: it goes on without the person who is acting being conscious of it; the jurist imagines he is operating with *a priori* propositions, whereas they are really only economic reflexes; so everything is upside down. And it seems to me obvious that this inversion, which, so long as it remains unrecognized, forms what we call *ideological outlook*, reacts in its turn upon the economic basis and may, within certain limits, modify it. The basis of the right of inheritance—assuming that the stages reached in the development of the family are the same—is an economic one. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to prove, for instance, that the absolute liberty of the testator in England and the severe restrictions in every detail imposed upon him in France are due to economic causes alone. Both react back, however, on the economic sphere to a very considerable extent, because they influence the distribution of property.

As to the realms of ideology which soar still higher in the air—religion, philosophy, etc.—these have a prehistoric stock, found already in existence by and taken over in the historical period, of what we should today call bunk. These various false conceptions of nature, of man's own being, of spirits, magic forces, etc., have for the most part only a negative economic element as their basis; the low economic development of the prehistoric period is supplemented and also partially conditioned and even caused by the false conceptions of nature. And even though economic necessity was the main driving force of the progressive knowledge of nature and has become ever more so, it would surely be pedantic to try and find economic causes for all this primitive nonsense. The history of science is the history of the gradual clearing away of this nonsense or rather of its replacement by fresh but always less absurd nonsense. The people who attend to this belong in their turn to special spheres

in the division of labour and appear to themselves to be working in an independent field. And to the extent that they form an independent group within the social division of labour, their productions, including their errors, react upon the whole development of society, even on its economic development. But all the same they themselves are in turn under the dominating influence of economic development. In philosophy, for instance, this can be most readily proved true for the bourgeois period. Hobbes was the first modern materialist (in the eighteenth century sense) but he was an absolutist in a period when absolute monarchy was at its height throughout Europe and in England entered the lists against the people. Locke, both in religion and politics, was the child of the class compromise of 1688. The English deists and their more consistent continuators, the French materialists, were the true philosophers of the bourgeoisie, the French even of the bourgeois revolution. The German philistine runs through German philosophy from Kant to Hegel, sometimes positively and sometimes negatively. But as a definite sphere in the division of labour, the philosophy of every epoch presupposes certain definite thought material handed down to it by its predecessors, from which it takes its start. And that is why economically backward countries can still play first fiddle in philosophy: France in the eighteenth century as compared with England, on whose philosophy the French based themselves, and later Germany as compared with both. But in France as well as Germany philosophy and the general blossoming of literature at that time were the result of a rising economic development. I consider the ultimate supremacy of economic development established in these spheres too, but it comes to pass within the limitations imposed by the particular sphere itself: in philosophy, for instance, by the operation of economic influences (which again generally act only under political, etc., disguises) upon the existing philosophic material handed down by predecessors. Here economy creates nothing anew, but it determines the way in which the thought material found in existence is altered and further developed, and that too for the most part indirectly, for it is the political, legal

and moral reflexes which exert the greatest direct influence on philosophy.

About religion I have said what was most necessary in the last section on Feuerbach.

If therefore Barth supposes that we deny any and every reaction of the political, etc., reflexes of the economic movement upon the movement itself, he is simply tilting at windmills. He has only got to look at Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*, which deals almost exclusively with the *particular* part played by political struggles and events, of course within their *general* dependence upon economic conditions. Or *Capital*, the section on the working day, for instance, where legislation, which is surely a political act, has such a trenchant effect. Or the section on the history of the bourgeoisie. (Chapter XXIV.) Or why do we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically impotent? Force (that is, state power) is also an economic power![1]

But I have no time to criticize the book now. I must first get volume III[2] out and besides I think that Bernstein, for instance, could deal with it quite effectively.

What these gentlemen all lack is dialectics. They always see only here cause, there effect. That this is a hollow abstraction, that such metaphysical polar opposites exist in the real world only during crises, while the whole vast process goes on in the form of interaction—though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, most primordial, most decisive—that here everything is relative and nothing absolute—this they never begin to see. As far as they are concerned Hegel never existed...

[1] *Potenz.—Ed.*

[2] of Marx's *Capital.—Ed.*

ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, February 23, 1891

Dear Kautsky,

You will have received my speedy congratulations of the day before yesterday. So now to return again to our muttons, Marx's letter.[1]

The fear that it would put a weapon in the hands of our opponents was unfounded. Malicious insinuations, of course, are being attached to anything and everything, but on the whole the impression made on our opponents was one of complete disconcertment at this ruthless self-criticism, and it gave rise to the feeling: what an inner power must be possessed by a party that can afford such a thing! That can be seen from the hostile newspapers that you sent me (for which many thanks) and from those to which I have otherwise had access. And, frankly speaking, that really was my intention when I published the document. That at the first moment some persons here and there could not but be unpleasantly affected by it I was aware of, but it was not to be avoided and it was amply outweighed, in my view, by the material content of the document. I knew, also, that the Party was quite strong enough to stand it, and I reckoned that it would today also be able to stomach this unconcealed language used

[1] The question at issue is Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which Engels published early in 1891 in the *Neue Zeit* in spite of the opposition of the opportunist leaders of German Social-Democracy. The publication of Marx's manuscript just at that time had become necessary because the next (Erfurt) Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany was scheduled to adopt a new programme.—*Ed*

fifteen years ago; that one would point with justifiable pride to this test of strength and would say: Where is there another party that can dare the like? That has been left, meanwhile, to the Saxonian and Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and to the *Züricher Post*.

That in No. 21 of the *Neue Zeit* you take upon yourself the responsibility for the publication is very nice of you, but do not forget that after all I gave the first impulse and moreover to a certain extent forced your hand.[1] I claim, therefore, the main responsibility for myself. As far as details are concerned, one can certainly always have different opinions about them. I have deleted and altered everything that you and Dietz objected to, and if Dietz had marked even more I would still, as far as possible, have been amenable even then, of that I have always given you proof. But, as far as the main point is concerned, it was *my duty* to publish the thing once the programme had come up for discussion. And especially now, after Liebknecht's report in Halle, in which he in part utilized his extracts from it unceremoniously as his own property, and in part polemized against it without specifying it by name, Marx would certainly have confronted this rehash with the original and it was my duty in his place to do the same. Unfortunately, at that time I had not yet got the document; I only found it considerably later after much search.

You say Bebel writes to you that Marx's treatment of Lassalle has caused bad blood among the old Lassalleans. That may be so. These people, you see, do not know the real story and nothing appears to have happened to enlighten them about it. If they do not know that Lassalle's whole greatness rested on this, that for years Marx allowed him to parade the results of Marx's research as his own and, owing to defective education in economics, to distort them into the bargain, then that is not my fault. But I am Marx's literary executor and as such I have my duty to perform.

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[1] When Engels sent Kautsky Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* for publication in the *Neue Zeit* he called his attention to the fact that if he did not get it out he (Engels) would publish it in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.—Ed.

Lassalle has belonged to history for twenty-six years. While under the Exceptional Law historical criticism of him was left in abeyance, the time is at last at hand when it must have its say and Lassalle's position in relation to Marx be made plain. The legend that conceals the true image of Lassalle and glorifies him can surely not become an article of faith of the Party. However highly one may estimate Lassalle's services to the movement, his historical role in it remains an equivocal one. Lassalle the Socialist is dogged at every step by Lassalle the demagogue. Everywhere, Lassalle the conductor of the Hatzfeldt law suit shows through Lassalle the agitator and organizer: the same cynicism in the choice of means, the same preference for surrounding himself with suspicious and corrupt people who can be used as mere tools and discarded. Until 1862 a specifically Prussian vulgar democrat in practice, with strong Bonapartist leanings (I have just looked through his letters to Marx), he suddenly switched round for purely personal reasons and began his agitation; and before two years had gone by he was demanding that the workers should take the part of the monarchy against the bourgeoisie, and intriguing with Bismarck, akin to him in character, in a way that would certainly have led to the actual betrayal of the movement, if fortunately for him he had not been shot in time. In his agitational writings, the correct things that he borrowed from Marx are so much interwoven with his own Lassallean, invariably false expositions that the two are hardly to be separated. The section of the workers that feels itself injured by Marx's judgment knows Lassalle only through coloured spectacles. But historical criticism cannot stand eternally, hat in hand, before such prejudices. It was my duty finally to settle accounts between Marx and Lassalle. That has been done. For the time being I can content myself with that. Moreover, I myself have other things to do now. And the published ruthless judgment of Marx on Lassalle will have its effect by itself and give others

[1] During 1845-1854 Lassalle in his capacity as lawyer handled the divorce case of Countess Hatzfeldt.—*Ed*

courage. But should I be forced to it, there would be no choice for me: I should have to make a clean sweep of the Lassalle legend once and for all

That voices have been raised in the Reichstag group[1] saying that the *Neue Zeit* should be placed under censorship is indeed a fine affair. What is this, the ghost of the group's dictatorship during the Anti-Socialist Law (which was, of course, necessary and excellently carried out), or remembrance of von Schweitzer's whilom strict organization? It is in fact a brilliant idea to put German socialist science, after its liberation from Bismarck's Socialist Law, under a new Socialist Law to be manufactured and carried out by the Social-Democratic Party authorities themselves. For the rest, it is ordained that trees shall not grow into the sky.[2]

The article in the *Vorwärts* does not stir me much.[3] I shall wait for Liebknecht's account of what happened and shall then reply to both in as friendly a tone as possible. In the *Vorwärts* article there are only a few inaccuracies to be corrected (for example, that we did not desire unity, that events proved Marx wrong, etc.) and a few obvious things to be confirmed. With this answer I intend then, for my part, to close the discussion unless new attacks or false assertions compel me to continue.

Tell Dietz that I am working on the *Origin*.[4] But today Fischer writes to me and what he wants is three new prefaces.

Yours,
F. E.

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[1] The group of Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag—*Ed.*

[2] A German saying equivalent to the English: "After all, there is a limit to everything."—*Ed.*

[3] The leading article in the *Vorwärts* (of February 13, 1891) expressed the official position of the Party Executive on Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. The article sharply condemned Marx's opinion of Lassalle and gave the Party credit for having accepted the draft programme in spite of Marx's criticism—*Ed*

[4] The reference is to the fourth edition of Engels's book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, which appeared in 1891.—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO J. MESA

[London,] March 24, 1891

Dear Friend Mesa,

We have learned with great pleasure from your letter of the 2nd inst. about the impending publication of your Spanish translation of Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*. It goes without saying that we eagerly endorse this work, which is certain to have a most favourable effect on the development of socialism in Spain.

Shaken in its foundations by Marx's book the Proudhonian theory certainly disappeared from the face of the earth after the fall of the Paris Commune. But it is still the great arsenal from which the pseudo-socialist radical bourgeois of Western Europe procure the phrases with which they hypnotize the workers. And as the workers of these countries have inherited similar Proudhonist phrases from their predecessors the phraseology of the radicals still strikes a responsive chord among many of them. That is the case in France where the only Proudhonists still in existence are the radical bourgeois who claim to be Socialists. And if I am not mistaken you too have in your Cortès and in your press republicans who call themselves Socialists because they see in the Proudhonian ideas a quite suitable means of opposing to true socialism, the rational and concise expression of the aspirations of the proletariat, a bourgeois socialism, a socialism of false coinage.

Fraternal greetings,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

Ryde, June 29, 1891

Dear Kautsky,

I have escaped here to Pumps for a few days; the work storming in upon me was getting too much. Happy and content, I was just in the middle of Group-Marriage when the Party programme[1] seized hold of me and that *had to be* taken up. I wanted first to try and formulate the preamble somewhat more strictly but from lack of time never got to this; besides it seemed to me more important to analyze the partly avoidable and partly unavoidable deficiencies of the political part, as in so doing I found an opportunity to let fly at the conciliatory opportunism of the *Vorwärts* and at the *frisch-fromm-fröhlich-freie*[2] "growth" of the filthy old mess "into socialist society." Meanwhile I hear that you have proposed a new introduction to them; so much the better....

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, October 14, 1891

Dear Kautsky,

To my great astonishment I found unexpectedly cropping up in the *Vorwärts* text of your draft[3] the words "one reactionary mass." I am writing you at once about it although I am almost afraid it is too late. This agitational phrase spoils, like a shrill discordant note, the whole harmonious array of briefly and for-

[1] The reference is to the draft programme of the German Social-Democratic Party adopted at the Erfurt Party Congress in October 1891.—*Ed.*

[2] Fresh-frisk-frolicking-free, the legend of a well-known German sports society.—*Ed.*

[3] of the Erfurt programme.—*Ed.*

cibly couched scientific propositions. For it is an agitational and extremely one-sided phrase and hence entirely wrong in the apodictically absolute form in which alone it rings true.

Wrong because it enunciates an *historical tendency* correct in itself as an *accomplished fact*. The moment the social revolution starts all other parties *appear* to be a reactionary mass vis-à-vis us. Possibly they already *are* such, have lost all capacity for any progressive action whatsoever, although not necessarily so. But at the *present moment* we cannot say so, at least not with the certainty with which we proclaim the other programmatic principles. Even in Germany conditions may arise under which the left parties, despite their miserableness, may be *forced* to sweep away part of the colossal anti-bourgeois, bureaucratic and feudal rubbish that is still lying there. And in that event they are simply no reactionary mass.

So long as we are not strong enough to seize the helm of state ourselves and realize our principles there can be no talk, strictly speaking, of *one* reactionary mass *vis-à-vis us*. Otherwise the whole nation would be divided into a reactionary majority and an impotent minority.

Did the people who broke up the system of small states in Germany, who gave the bourgeoisie elbow-room to make the industrial revolution, who introduced uniformity in communications facilities, both for persons and things, and in doing so had to give us too greater freedom of movement—did they do that as a "reactionary mass"?

Did the French bourgeois republicans, who in 1871-1878 definitely vanquished the monarchy and the rule of the clergy and secured freedom of the press, of organization and of assembly to an extent unheard-of in France before in non-revolutionary times, who introduced compulsory education and made instruction general and improved it to such an extent that we in Germany could profit by their example—did they act as a reactionary mass?

The Englishmen belonging to either of the official parties, who have enormously extended the suffrage, quintupled the number of voters, equalized the election districts, introduced compulsory

education and improved instruction, who at each session vote not only for bourgeois reforms but also for ever new concessions to the workers—they proceed slowly and drowsily but nobody can condemn them offhand as "*one* reactionary mass."

In brief, we have no right to represent a tendency gradually becoming a reality as an already accomplished fact, and particularly not since in England for instance this tendency will *never* become an absolutely complete fact. When the overturn comes here the bourgeoisie will still be ever ready for every manner of reform in detail. Only there is no longer any sense in insisting on reforming in detail a system that is being overthrown.

The Lassallean phrase is justified *under certain circumstances* in agitation, although with us it is enormously abused, for example since October 1, 1890[1] in the *Vorwärts*. *But it does not belong in the Programme*, for there it would be absolutely erroneous and misleading. There it would look like banker Bethmann's wife on the balcony they wanted to build for his house: "If you build me a balcony my wife will squat down on it and spoil the whole façade!"

I cannot speak of any other changes in the *Vorwärts* text. I mislaid the paper and the letter has to be mailed.

The Party Congress started on a glorious day. October 14 is the anniversary of the battles of Jena and Auerstedt where old, pre-revolutionary Prussia collapsed. May October 14, 1891 inaugurate for Prussianized Germany the *"inner Jena"* predicted by Marx.

Yours,
F. Engels

[1] On October 1, 1890 the emergency law against the Socialists was repealed in Germany.—*Ed*

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ENGELS TO N. F. DANIELSON

[London,] October 29-31, 1891

Dear Sir,

When your letter of 21st September arrived I was travelling in Scotland and Ireland; only to-day I find time and leisure to reply to it.

Your letter of 20th January was indeed lost, which I regret doubly, first because the interesting information it contained was kept from me for so long, and second because it put you to the trouble of working it out again for me. Many thanks!

The "*Züchtung von Millionären*,"[1] as Bismarck puts it, seems indeed to go on in your country with giant steps. Such profits as your official statistics show are unheard-of nowadays in English, French or German textile manufactories. 10, 15, at the outside 20 per cent, average profits, and 25-30 per cent in very very exceptional years of prosperity, are considered *good*. It was only in the childhood of modern industry that establishments with the very latest and best machinery, producing their goods with considerably less labour than was at the time socially necessary, were able to secure such rates of profit. At present, such profits are made only on lucky speculative undertakings with new inventions, that is to say on one undertaking out of a hundred, the rest mostly being dead failures.

The only country where similar, or approximatively similar profits are nowadays possible in staple industries, is the United States, America. There the protective tariff after the civil war, and now the McKinley tariff, have had similar results, *and* the profits must be, and are, enormous. The fact that this state of things depends entirely on tariff legislation, which may be altered from one day to another, is sufficient to prevent any large investment of *foreign* capital (large, in proportion to the quantity of domestic capital invested) in these industries, and thus to

[1] "Breeding of millionaires."—*Ed.*

keep out the principal source of competition and lowering of profits.

Your description of the changes produced by this extension of modern industry in the life of the mass of the people, of the ruin of their home-industry for the *direct consumption of the producers*, and by and by also of the home industry carried on for the capitalist purchaser, reminds me vividly of the chapter of our author on the *Herstellung des innern Markts*,[1] and of what took place in most places of Central and Western Europe from 1820 to 1840. This change, of course, with you has different effects to some extent. The French and German peasant proprietor dies hard, he lingers for two or three generations in the hands of the usurer before he is perfectly ripe for being sold out of his land and house; at least in the districts where modern industry has not penetrated. In Germany the peasantry are kept above water by all sorts of domestic industries—pipes, toys, baskets, etc.—carried on for account of capitalists, their spare time being of no value to them after they have tilled their little fields; they consider every kopek they receive for extra work as so much gain; hence the ruinously low wages and the inconceivable cheapness of such industrial products in Germany.

With you, there is the resistance of the община to be overcome (although I should say that that must be giving way considerably in the constant struggle with modern Capitalism), there is the resource of farming land from the large proprietors which you describe, in your letter of May 1st—a means of securing surplus value to the proprietor but also of continuing a lingering existence to the peasant *as a peasant*; and the kulaki, too, as far as I can see, on the whole prefer keeping the peasant in their clutches as a *sujet à exploitation*, to ruining him once for all and getting his land transferred to them. So that it strikes me, the Russian peasant, where he is not wanted as a workman for the factory or the town, will also die hard, will take a deal of killing before he does die.

The enormous profits secured by the youthful bourgeoisie in Russia, and the dependence of these profits on a good crop (har-

[1] Establishment of the domestic market.—*Ed.*

vest) so well exposed by you, explain many things otherwise obscure. Thus what should I make out of this morning's statement in the Odessa correspondence of a London paper: the Russian commercial classes seem to be possessed of the one idea, that war is the only real panacea for the ever increasing depression and distrust from which all Russian industries are now suffering—what should I make of it and how explain it but for this complete dependence of a tariff-made industry on the home market and on the harvest of the agricultural districts on which depends the purchasing power of its only customers! And if this market fails, what seems more natural to naive people than its extension by a successful war?

Very interesting are your notes on the apparent contradiction that, with you, a good harvest does *not* necessarily mean a lowering of the price of corn. When we study the real economic relations in various countries and at various stages of civilization, how singularly erroneous and deficient appear the rationalistic generalizations of the 18th century—good old Adam Smith who took the conditions of Edinburgh and the Lothians as the normal ones, of the universe! Well, Pushkin already knew that:

> . . . и почему
> Не нужно золота ему
> Когда простой продукт имеет.
> Отец понять его не мог
> И земли *отдавал в залог.*[1]

Yours very sincerely,

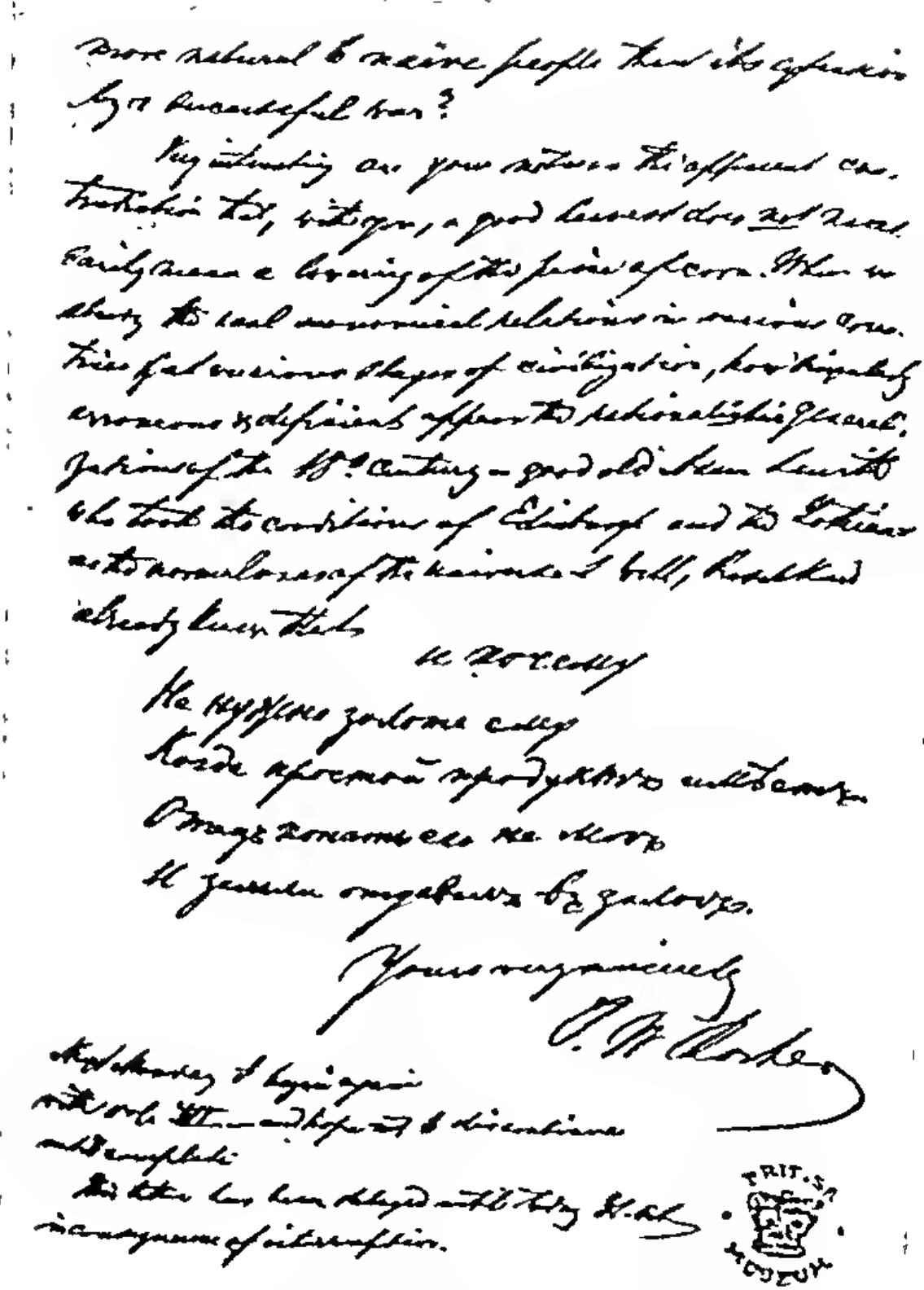
P. W. Rosher

Next Monday I begin again with vol. III—and hope not to *discontinue until complete.*

This letter has been delayed until to-day, 31 October, in consequence of interruption.

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[1] Of gold what has he
any use
Whose wealth consists
of nature's produce?
His son the father failed to understand
And mortgaged every acre of his land.
(From *Eugene Onegin*)



The end of Engels's letter to Danielson of October 29-31, 1891. with an excerpt from *Eugene Onegin*

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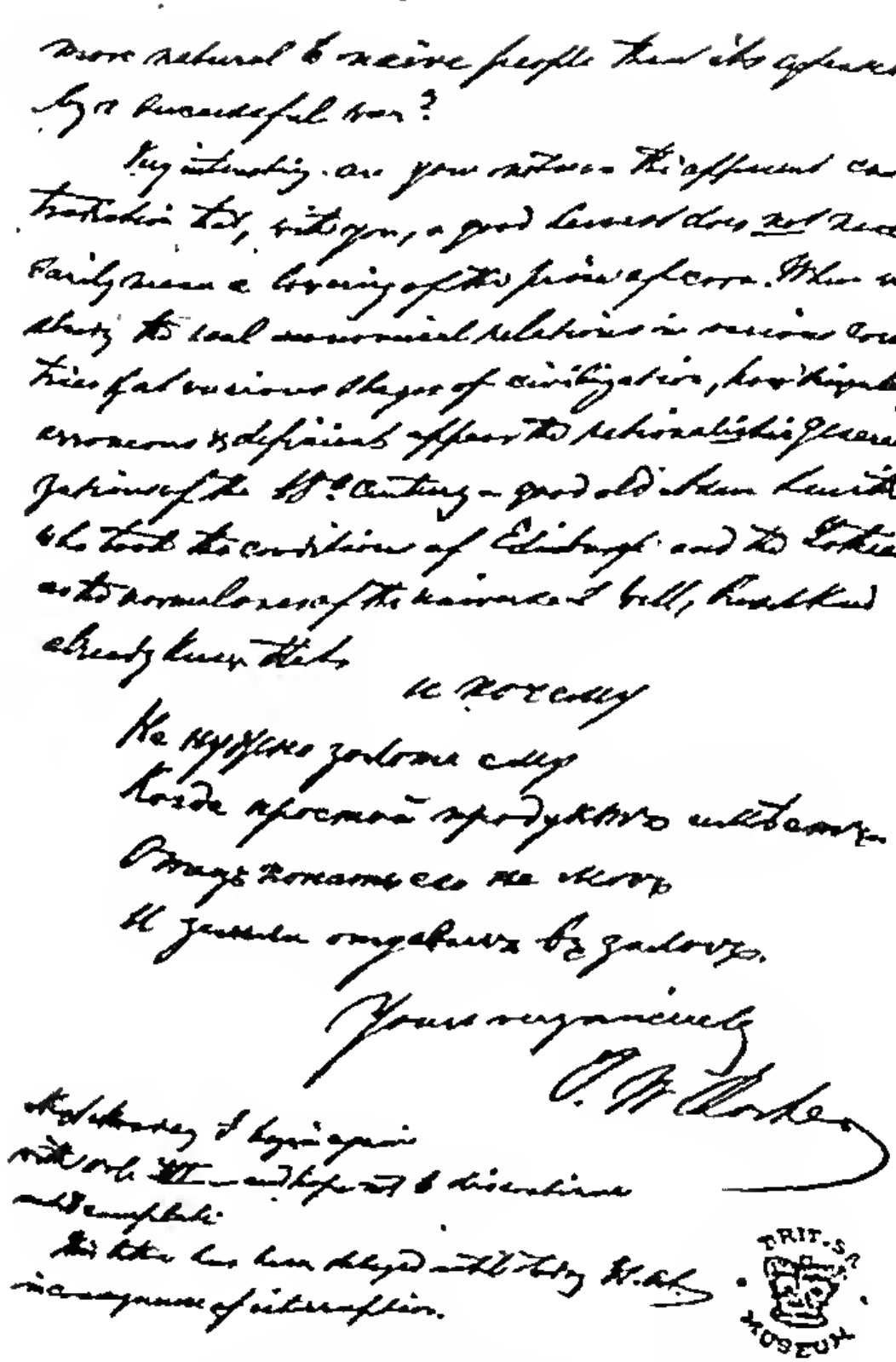
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ENGELS TO C. SCHMIDT

London, November 1, 1891

...It is impossible, of course, to dispense with Hegel and the man also takes some time to digest. The shorter *Logic* in the Encyclopaedia makes quite a good beginning. But you must take the edition in the sixth volume of the *Works*, not the separate edition by Rosenkranz (1845), because there are far more explanatory additions from the lectures in the former, even if that ass Henning often did not understand them himself.

In the Introduction you have the criticism, first (§ 26, etc.) of Wolf's version of Leibnitz (metaphysics *in the historical* sense), then of English-French empiricism (§ 37, etc.), then of Kant (§ 40 seqq.) and finally, of Jacobi's mysticism (§ 61). In the first section (Being) do not ponder too long over Being and Nothing; the last paragraphs on Quality and then Quantity and Measure are much finer, but the doctrine of Essence is the main thing: the resolution of the abstract contradictions into their own instability, where one no sooner tries to hold on to one side alone than it changes unnoticed into the other, etc. At the same time you can always make the thing clear to yourself by concrete examples; for instance, you, as a bridegroom, have a striking example of the inseparability of identity and difference in yourself and your bride. It is absolutely impossible to ascertain whether sexual love is pleasure in the identity in difference or in the difference in identity. Take away the difference (in this case of sex) or the identity (the human nature of both) and what have you got left? I remember how much this very inseparability of identity and difference worried me at first, although we can never take a step without stumbling upon it.

But you ought on no account to read Hegel as Herr Barth has done, namely in order to discover the paralogisms and rotten dodges which served him as levers in construction. That is pure schoolboy's work. It is much more important to discover the truth and the genius which lie beneath the false form and within the

artificial connections. Thus the transitions from one category or from one contradiction to the next are nearly always arbitrary—often made through a pun, as when Positive and Negative, § 120, "*zu*grunde *gehn*"[1] in order that Hegel may arrive at the category "*Grund*".[2] To subtilize much over this is a waste of time.

Since with Hegel every category represents a stage in the history of philosophy (as he generally indicates), you would do well to compare his Lectures on the History of Philosophy (one of his most brilliant works). As relaxation, I can recommend the *Aesthetics*. When you have worked yourself into that a bit you will be amazed.

Hegel's dialectics is upside down because it is supposed to be the "self-development of thought," of which the dialectics of facts therefore is only a reflection, whereas really the dialectics in our heads is only the reflection of the actual development going on in the world of nature and of human history in obedience to dialectical forms.

If you compare development from commodity to capital in Marx with development from Being to Essence in Hegel you will get quite a good parallel: here the concrete development which results from facts; there the abstract construction, in which exceedingly brilliant ideas and often very important transmutations, like that of quality into quantity and *vice versa*, are moulded into the apparent self-development of one concept from another—transmutations of the kind one could have manufactured a dozen more of....

[1] Perish.—*Ed.*

[2] Reason, ground.—*Ed.*

1892

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

London, January 6, 1892

... There is no place yet in America for a *third* party, I believe. The divergence of interests even in *the same* class group is so great in that tremendous area that wholly different factions and interests are represented in each of the two big parties, depending on the locality, and almost each particular section of the possessing class has its representatives in each of the two parties to a very large degree, though *today* big industry forms the core of the Republicans on the whole, just as the big landed property of the South forms that of the Democrats. The apparently haphazard way in which this jumbling together came about is what provides the splendid soil for the corruption and the exploitation of the government that flourish over there so extensively. Only when the land—the public lands—is completely in the hands of the speculators and settlement on the land thus becomes more and more difficult or falls victim to gouging—only then, I think, with *tranquil* development, will the time for a third party come. *Land* is the basis of speculation, and the mania and opportunity for speculation in America are the chief levers that keep the native-born worker under the spell of the bourgeoisie. Only when there is a generation of native-born workers that need not expect *anything any more* from speculation will we have a solid foothold in America. But of course who can count on *tranquil* development in America? There are economic leaps over there like the political ones in France—to be sure, they produce the same momentary retrogressions.

The small farmers and the petty bourgeois will hardly ever succeed in forming a strong party: they consist of elements that change too rapidly—the farmer is often migratory, working two, three, and four farms in succession in different states and territories; immigration and bankruptcy promote change in personnel in both groups, and economic dependence upon the creditor hampers independence—but to make up for it they are a splendid element for politicians, who speculate on their discontent in order to sell them out to one of the big parties afterward.

The tenacity of the Yankees, who are even rehashing the greenback humbug, is a result of their theoretical backwardness and their Anglo-Saxon contempt for all theory. They are punished for this by a superstitious belief in every philosophical and economic absurdity, by religious sectarianism, and idiotic economic experiments, which however are profitable to certain bourgeois cliques.

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, February 19, 1892

... The situation in Germany is actually becoming acute. Things must have gone far if oppositional tendencies are glimpsed again and again among the National Liberals and Richter can dream of a German "great Liberal Party." Capitalist society, which formally has not yet subordinated the state to itself, is compelled to leave the actual rule to a hereditary monarchist-bureaucratic Junker caste and content itself with the idea that by and large its own interests decide after all. This society, in view of its situation in Germany, wobbles between two trends: On the one hand an alliance of all official and possessing strata of Society against the proletariat. This trend leads in the long run to "one reactionary mass" and, in a *tranquil* development, finally

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* Irredeemable paper money issued by the U.S. Government during the Civil War.—*Ed.*

retains the upper hand. On the other hand there is a trend which continually places on the agenda that old conflict which out of cowardice has never been fought out, the conflict between the monarchy with its absolutist reminiscences, the landed aristocracy, and the bureaucracy, which deems itself superior to all parties, and, opposed to all of them, the industrial bourgeoisie, whose material interests are suffering every day and hour at the hands of these obsolete elements. Accidents of person, locality and the like determine which of these trends has the upper hand at any time. At the present moment the ascendency of the second one seems about to start, in which event the industrial barons à la Stumm and the shareholders of the industrial companies will naturally side in the main with the out-of-date reaction. But this rehash of the old conflict of 1848 that has been dished up an infinite number of times can become very serious only if the government and the landed aristocracy, flushed with their successes so far, should commit some monstrous imbecilities. I do not consider that impossible as the passing strange personal desires in top quarters are finding support in the increasing conviction of the Junkers that in the end industry *will be unable to stand* the taxes on raw materials and foodstuffs. What point this conflict will reach depends, as I have said, on the persons whom accident involves in it.

Indicative here is the circumstance that the old way of doing things is being used: They hit the bag but mean to hit the donkey (or rather both). They give it to the Social-Democracy but incidentally the bourgeoisie gets a good dose too; at first politically, with regard to its liberal principles, which it has been lavishly displaying for the past sixty years, and with regard to the tiny share it has *directly* in the government; but later on, if things fare well, also economically, and its interests are sacrificed to those of landed property.

A sharp turn to the right seems therefore to be in preparation, its pretext being the need to smash *our* forward movement....

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ENGELS TO N. F. DANIELSON

London, March 15, 1892

Dear Sir,

I am almost ashamed to reply to your kind and interesting letters of the 12th and 21st November last. But I have been so overwhelmed with work, and I find that writing by gas-light is still so hurtful to my eyes (which otherwise keep quite serviceable), that this extra work and the shortness of daylight during our winter must be my excuse.

You are passing indeed through a momentous period for your country, the full importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. From your letters it seems to me that you look upon the present неурожай[1] not as an accident, but as the necessary result, as one of the unavoidable concomitants of the economic development entered upon by Russia since 1861. And that is my opinion too, as far as one can judge from a distance. With the year 1861 Russia entered upon the development, on a scale worthy of a great nation, of Modern Industry. The conviction ripened that nowadays no country can take a befitting rank among civilized nations without possessing steam-driven industrial machinery and providing, to a great extent at least, for its own wants of manufactured goods. And upon that conviction Russia has acted, and acted with great energy. That she surrounded herself with a rampart of protective duties was but too natural; English competition forced that policy upon almost every great country, even Germany, where *une grande industrie* had successfully developed under *almost absolute free trade*, joined the chorus and turned protectionist, merely to accelerate the process of what Bismarck called *die Züchtung von Millionären*.[2] And if Germany entered upon this course even without any necessity, who can blame Russia for doing what to her was a necessity, as soon as the new industrial course was once determined upon?

[1] Crop failure.—*Ed.*
[2] See Letter 220.—*Ed.*

To some extent your present situation appears to me to find a parallel in that of France under Louis XIV. There, too, manufactures were placed in a condition of vitality by Colbert's protective system; and within 20 or 30 years, it was found out that a national manufacturing industry, under the circumstances then existing, can be created only at the expense of the peasantry. The *Naturalwirtschaft*[1] of the peasants was broken up and supplanted by the *Geldwirtschaft*,[2] the home-market was created and, at the same time, nearly destroyed again, at least for the time, by this process and the unprecedented violence with which economic necessity enforced itself, and by the increased taxation in money and in men, necessitated, then, by the introduction of standing armies by conscription, as it is nowadays nccessitated by the introduction of the Prussian military system of universal army-service. And when at last a crop or two failed, then arose that universal state of discomfort all over the country which we find depicted in Boisguillebert and Marshal Vauban.

But there is one immense differenee: The difference between old "*Manufaktur*"[3] and modern "*grande industrie*"[4] whlch (in the action upon the peasant, the agricultural producer on a small scale and with his own means of production) is as the dlfference between the old smooth-bore flint-musket of 1680 and the modern repeating rifle, calibre 7.50 millimetres, of 1892. And moreover, whereas in 1680 agriculture on a small scale was stitl the normal mode of production, and large estate-farming could only be a *rising* exception, but always an exception, large farming with machinery is now the rule and becomes more and more the only possible mode of agricultural production. So that the peasant today appears to be doomed.

You remember what our author said in the letter on Joukowsky[5] —that if the line entered upon in 1861 was persevered in, the

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[1] Natural economy.—*Ed.*

[2] Money economy.—*Ed.*

[3] Manufacture.—*Ed.*

[4] Large-scale Industry.—*Ed.*

[5] The reference is to the letter Marx wrote to the Editorial Board of the *Otechestvennlye Zapiski*. (See p. 376-377 of this volume.)—*Ed*

peasants' obščina must go to ruin. That seems to me to be in course of fulfilment just now. The moment seems getting near, at least in some districts, where the whole of the old social institutions of Russian peasant life not only lose their value to the individual peasant, but become a fetter, exactly as they have done in former times in Western Europe. I am afraid we shall have to treat the община as a dream of the past, and reckon, in future, with a Capitalist Russia. No doubt a great chance is thus being lost, but against economic facts there is no help. The only curious thing is that the very men in Russia who never tire of defending the invaluable superiority of Russian primitive institutions as compared with those of the rotten Occident, are doing their very best to destroy those primitive institutions and to replace them by those of the rotten Occident!

But if the Russian peasant is doomed to be transformed into a proletarian, industrial or agricultural, the помещик[1] does appear to be doomed too. From what I gather, this class is even more in debt than the peasants, and has to sell out gradually. And between the two seem to step in a new class of landowners, village кулаки[2] or town-bourgeois—the fathers of, perhaps, a future Russian landed aristocracy??

The failure of last years' crop has brought all this out into glaring daylight. And I am quite of your opinion that the causes are entirely social. As to deforestation, that is as essentially, as is the ruin of the peasants, a vital condition of bourgeois society. No European "civilized" country but has felt it, and America*, and no doubt Russia, too, feels it at this moment. Thus deforestation, in my eyes, is essentially a social factor as well as a social result. But it is also a very common pretext for interested parties, to devolve the blame for economic mishaps upon a cause which apparently nobody can be made responsible for.

The failure of the crop, in my opinion, has only made *patent*, what was there already *latent*. But it has terribly accelerated the

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[1] Landlord—*Ed.*

[2] Rich peasants—*Ed.*

* In America I have seen it myself 4 years ago. There great efforts are made to counteract its effects and redress the mistake. *[Note by Engels.]*

velocity of the process going on. The peasant, at seed time this spring, will be infinitely weaker than he was at seed time last autumn. And he will be called upon to recover strength under far more unfavourable circumstances. A pauper, over head and ears in debt, no cattle, what can he do—even in the places where he has got through the winter without having to leave his land? It therefore seems to me that it will take years before this calamity is completely overcome, and that when that point is reached, Russia *will* be a very *different* country *from* what she was even *on* 1st January 1891. And we will have to console ourselves with the idea that all this in the end must serve the cause of human progress.

I sent you last autumn a little book: *Ursprung der Familie,*[1] 4th edition; it was registered and my address outside on the wrapper; as it did not come back I hope you have received it.

I thank you very much for the many papers and reviews sent—the one of Mendelejeff's was especially interesting. But I regret I cannot just now give to them all the attention they deserve, owing to hard work. How fast I was with extra work, you will conceive when I tell you that from New Year to now—generally my quietest time—I have not been able to give one minute to the 3rd volume.

Your congratulations were duly forwarded to Paris. With kind regards ever yours

P. W. Rosher

No news from our mutual?[2]

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ENGELS TO N. F. DANIELSON

London, June 18, 1892

... Could Russia, in the year 1890, have existed and held its own in the world, as a purely agricultural country, living upon the export of her corn and buying foreign industrial products

[1] *Origin of the Family.—Ed.*

[2] H. Lopatin.—*Ed.*

with it? And there I believe we can safely reply: *no*. A nation of 100 millions that play an important part in the history of the world, could *not*, under the *present* economic and *industrial* conditions, continue in the state in which Russia was up to the Crimean war. The introduction of steam engines and working machinery, the attempt to manufacture textile and metal products by modern means of production, at least for home consumption, *must* have been made sooner or later, but at all events at *some* period between 1856 and 1880. Had it not been made, your domestic patriarchal industry would have been destroyed all the same by English machine competition, and the end would have been—India, a country economically subject to the great Central Workshop, England. And even India has reacted by protective duties against English cotton-goods; and all the rest of the British colonies, no sooner had they obtained self-government, than they protected their home manufactures against the overwhelming competition of the mother country. English interested writers cannot make it out, that their own Free Trade example should be repudiated everywhere, and protective duties set up in return. Of course, they *dare* not see that this, now almost universal, protective system is a—more or less intelligent and in some cases absolutely stupid—means of self-defence against this very English Free Trade, which brought the English manufacturing monopoly to its greatest height. (Stupid for instance in the case of Germany, which had become a great industrial country under Free Trade and where protection is extended to agricultural produce and raw materials, thus raising cost of industrial production!) I do not consider this universal recurrence to protection as a mere accident, but as a reaction against the unbearable industrial monopoly of England; the *form* of this reaction as I said, may be inadequate and even worse, but the historical necessity of such a reaction seems to *me* clear and evident.

All governments, be they ever so absolute, are *en dernier lieu*[1] but the executors of the economic necessities of the national situation. They may do this in various ways, good, bad and indiffer-

[1] In the final analysis.—*Ed.*

ent; they may accelerate or retard the economic development and its political and juridical consequences, but in the long run they must follow it. Whether the means by which the industrial revolution has been carried out in Russia have been the best for the purpose, is a question by itself which it would lead too far to discuss. For my purpose it is sufficient if I can prove that this industrial revolution, in itself, was unavoidable....

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

Ryde, September 4, 1892

. . If you had been here during the last elections you would talk differently about the Fabians. In our tactics one thing is thoroughly established for all modern countries and times: to bring the workers to the point of forming their own independent party, opposed to all bourgeois parties. During the last elections the English workers, for the first time and perhaps still only instinctively, pressed by the course of events, took a decided step in this direction; and this step has been surprisingly successful and has contributed more to the development of the minds of the workers than any other event of the last twenty years. And what did the Fabians do, not just this or that Fabian but the Society as a whole? It preached and practised: *affiliation of the workers to the Liberals*, and what was to be expected happened: the Liberals assigned them four seats impossible to win and the Fabian candidates conspicuously failed. The paradoxical belletrist Shaw—very talented and witty as a belletrist but absolutely useless as an economist and politician, although honest and not a careerist—wrote to Bebel that if they did not follow this policy of forcing their candidates on the Liberals they would reap nothing but defeat and disgrace (as if defeat were not often more honourable than victory) and now they have pursued their policy and have reaped both.

That is the crux of the whole matter. At a juncture when the workers for the first time come out independently, the Fabian Society advises them to remain the tail of the Liberals. And the Socialists on the Continent must be told that openly. To gloss this over would be to share the blame. That's why I was sorry that the final portion of the Avelings' article[1] did not appear. It was not *post festum*, not an afterthought. It had simply been overlooked in the rush to get the article off. The article is not complete without a description of the attitude of both socialist organizations towards the elections, and the readers of the *Neue Zeit* have a right to know about this.

I believe I told you myself in my last letter that both in the Social-Democratic Federation and in the Fabian Society the provincial members were better than the central body. But that is of no avail as long as the attitude of the central body determines that of the Society. I don't know any of the other fine chaps except Banner. Curiously enough Banner has never come to see me since he joined the Fabian Society. I suppose his action was determined by his disgust with the S.D.F. and the need for some kind of organization, perhaps also some illusions. But this one swallow makes no summer.

You see something unfinished in the Fabian Society. On the contrary, this crowd is only *too* finished: a clique of bourgeois "Socialists" of diverse calibres, from careerists to sentimental Socialists and philanthropists, united only by their fear of the threatening rule of the workers and doing all in their power to spike this danger by making *their own leadership* secure, the leadership exercised by the "eddicated." If afterwards they admit a few workers into their central board in order that *they may* play there the role of the worker Albert of 1848, the role of constantly outvoted minority, this should not deceive anyone.

The means employed by the Fabian Society are just the same as those of the corrupt parliamentary politicians: money, intrigues, careerism. That is, the English way, according to which

[1] An article by Eleanor and Edward Aveling entitled "Elections in Great Britain." It was published in the *Neue Zeit*.—*Ed.*

it is self-understood that every political party (only among the workers it is supposed to be different!) pays its agents in some way or other or rewards them with posts. These people are immersed up to their necks in the intrigues of the Liberal Party, hold Liberal Party jobs, as for instance Sidney Webb, who in general is a genuine British politician. These gentry do everything that the workers have to be warned against.

In spite of all this I do not ask you to treat these people as enemies. Neither ought you in my opinion to shield them from criticism, just as you don't shield anybody else. And that is precisely what the omission of the passages concerning them in the article by the Avelings looked like. But if you would like the Avelings to give you an article on the history and attitude of the different English socialist organizations, you only have to say so and I'll propose it to them....

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ENGELS TO F. MEHRING

London, September 28, 1892

Esteemed Herr Mehring,

Kautsky sent me a fragment of one of your letters with a query addressed to me. If you believe you cannot very well write to me because many years ago I once left two of your letters unanswered, I have no right to complain on that score. At that time we were, you see, in different camps, the Anti-Socialist Law was in effect and this forced on us the rule: He who is not for us is against us. Besides, if I remember rightly, you yourself said in one of the letters that you could not expect an answer. But that was a long time ago. Since then we have come to be in the same camp and you have published excellent works in the *Neue Zeit* while I have been by no means stingy in my appreciation of them, in letters to Bebel for instance. It is therefore with pleasure that I take the opportunity of answering you direct.

The claim that the discovery of the materialist outlook in history should be attributed to the Prussian romanticists of the historical school is indeed something new to me. I have Marwitz's *Inheritance* myself and read the book through a few years ago but I discovered nothing in it except superb things about cavalry and an unshakeable belief in the miraculous power of five blows of the whip when administered by nobleman to plebeian. Otherwise I have remained an entire stranger to this literature since 1841-42—I pay only the most superficial attention to it—and I certainly owe absolutely nothing to it in the field in question. Marx had acquainted himself in his Bonn and Berlin days with Adam Müller and Herr von Haller's *Restauration*, etc., he spoke only with considerable contempt of this insipid, bombastic, verbose imitation of the French romanticists Joseph de Maistre and Cardinal Bonald. But even if he had come across passages like the one cited from Lavergne-Peguilhen[1] they could not have made the slightest impression upon him at that time if he understood at all what those people wanted to say. Marx was then a Hegelian and that passage was pure heresy to him. He knew nothing whatever about political economy and could not have had any idea about the meaning of a term like *Wirtschaftsform*.[2] Hence the passage in question, even if he had known it, would have gone in one ear and come out the other without leaving a perceptible trace in his memory. But I greatly doubt whether traces of such views could have been found in the works of the romantic historians which Marx read between 1837 and 1842.

The passage is of course exceedingly noteworthy but I would like to have the quotation verified. I do not know the book, but its author is familiar to me as an adherent of the "historical school." The passage deviates in two points from the modern conception. 1) in deducing production and distribution from the form of economy instead of conversely deducing the form of economy from production; and 2) in the role which it assigns

[1] Moritz von Lavergne-Peguilhen, *Fundamentals of Social Science*.—*Ed*

[2] Form of economy.—*Ed*

to the "appropriate utilization" of the form of economy, which one may take to mean anything conceivable until one learns from the book itself what the author has in mind.

However the most peculiar thing is that the correct conception of history is to be found *in abstracto* among the very people who have been distorting history most *in concreto*, theoretically as well as practically. These people might have seen in the case of feudalism how *here* the form of state evolves from the form of economy because things are clear and unconcealed here, as if so to speak lying on the palm of your hand. I say they "*might have*" because apart from the above unverified passage —you say yourself it was *given* to you—I have never been able to discover more about it than that evidently the theoreticians of feudalism are less abstract than the bourgeois liberals. If now one of these goes further and generalizes this conception of the interconnection between the spread of culture and the form of state on the one hand and the form of economy within feudal society on the other by extending it to *all* forms of economy and state, how explain after that the total blindness of the same romanticist as soon as *other* forms of economy are at issue, for instance, the bourgeois form of economy and the forms of state corresponding to its various stages of development: mediaeval guild commune, absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, republic? It is hard to make this hang together. And the man who considers the form of economy to be the basis of the entire social and governmental organization belongs to a school to which the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries already signifies the fall of man, a betrayal of the true doctrine of the state.

True it says moreover that the form of state is brought forth just as inevitably by the form of economy and its *appropriate utilization* as the child is brought forth by the sexual union of man and woman. In consideration of the world-famed doctrine of the school to which the author belongs I can explain this only as follows: The true form of economy is the feudal one. But inasmuch as the malice of man conspires against it it must be "appropriately utilized" in such a way that its existence may be

safe against these attacks and preserved for all eternity and that the "form of state," etc., may forever correspond to it, *i.e.*, should be retrojected if at all possible to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Then the best of worlds and the finest of historical theories would equally be realized and the Lavergne-Peguilhenian generalization would be reduced again to its true content: that feudal society begets a feudal political system.

Until I get further news I can only assume that Lavergne-Peguilhen did not know what he wrote. Proverbially certain animals also find pearls on occasion and these animals are strongly represented among Prussian romantlcists. In any event their French prototypes should always be compared to see whether this is not borrowed, too.

To you I can only express thanks for having called my attention to this point, which unfortunately I cannot go into further at the present moment.

Yours sincerely,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

London, December 31, 1892

Dear Sorge,

Another few lines before the year ends. Your letters of November 18 and December 16 received. Thanks. Did you get the parcel of books that I mailed you in September containing *Condition of the Working-Class*, new edition, and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, translated by Aveling with an introduction by me? If not I'll send you a duplicate parcel registered.

Here in old Europe things are livelier than in your "youthful" country, which still doesn't quite want to get out of its babyhood. bourgeois prejudices are even in the working class in such a young country, which has never known feudalism and has grown

up on a bourgeois foundation from the beginning. Out of his very opposition to the mother country—which is still garbed in its feudal disguise—the American worker imagines that the traditional bourgeois regime he inherited is something progressive and superior by nature and for all time, a *non plus ultra*. Just as in New England Puritanism, the reason for the whole colony's existence, has on that very ground become an heirloom and almost inseparable from local patriotism. The Americans may strain and struggle as much as they like, but they simply cannot discount their future—colossally great as it is—like a bill of exchange; they must wait for the date on which it falls due; and just *because* their future is so great, their present must occupy itself mainly with preparatory work for that future, and this work is, as in every young country, of a predominantly material nature and involves a certain backwardness of thought, a clinging to the traditions connected with the foundation of the new nationality. The Anglo-Saxon race—these damned Schleswig-Holsteiners, as Marx always called them—is slow-witted anyhow, and its history, both in Europe and America (economic success and predominantly peaceful political development), has encouraged this still more. Only great events can be of assistance in such case, and if, added to the more or less completed transfer of the public lands to private ownership, there now comes an expansion of industry under a less insane tariff policy and the conquest of foreign markets, things may go well with you, too. The class struggles here in England, too, were more turbulent during the *period of development* of large-scale industry and died down just in the period of England's undisputed industrial domination of the world. In Germany, too, the development of large-scale industry since 1850 coincides with the rise of the socialist movement, and it will be no different, probably, in America. It is the revolutionizing of all traditional relations by industry *as it develops* that also revolutionizes people's minds.

Moreover, the Americans have for a long time been providing the European world with the proof that the bourgeois republic is the republic of capitalist businessmen, in which politics is a business like any other; and the French, whose ruling bourgeois

politicians have long known this and practised it in secret, are now at last, through the Panama scandal,[1] learning this truth also on a national scale. But to keep the constitutional monarchies from putting on virtuous airs, every one of them has had its little Panama—England; the building societies scandals, one of which, the Liberator, has thoroughly "liberated" a mass of small depositors from some £8,000,000 in savings; Germany: the Baare scandals[2] and Löwe's guns[3] (which prove that the Prussian officer steals as he always did, but very, very little—the one thing in which he is modest); Italy the Banca Romana,[4] which is already nearly a Panama, having bought about 150 deputies and senators. I am informed that documents about this are to be published in Switzerland shortly—Schlüter should watch for everything that appears in the papers about the Banca Romana. And in Holy Russia the ancient-Russian Prince Meshchersky is outraged by the indifference with which the Panama disclosures are received in Russia and can find no other explanation for it than that Russian virtue has been corrupted by French examples and that "we ourselves have more than one Panama at home."...

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[1] The *Panama scandal* occurred in France in 1892. After the financial collapse of the French canal-building company there was revealed an outrageous picture of capitalist swindling and speculation accompanied by wholesale political corruption. Many leading politicians and all the big French newspapers were shown to have accepted bribes.—*Ed.*

[2] Baare, chief director of the Bochum steel mills, was tried on a charge of concealing company assets with the intention of defrauding the government of taxes, forging seals and selling bad-quality rails.—*Ed.*

[3] The owners of the L. Löwe Co munition works delivered to the state arms known to have been of bad quality, bribing high state officials to get this done.—*Ed.*

[4] An audit in 1892 of the *Banca Romana* showed that it had unlawfully issued 133 million credit certificates instead of 70 million and given enormous amounts as gratifications to deputies, senators and other persons close to the government.—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

January 18, 1893

.. The Fabians here in London are a band of careerists who have understanding enough to realize the inevitability of the social revolution, but who could not possibly entrust this gigantic task to the raw proletariat alone and are therefore kind enough to set themselves at the head. Fear of the revolution is their fundamental principle. They are the "eddicated" *par excellence.* Their socialism is municipal socialism; not the nation but the *community* is to become the owner of the means of production, at any rate for the time being. This socialism of theirs is then represented as an extreme but inevitable consequence of bourgeois liberalism; hence their tactics of not decisively opposing the Liberals as adversaries but of pushing them on towards socialist conclusions and therefore of intriguing with them, of *permeating* liberalism with socialism—of not putting up socialist candidates against the Liberals but of fastening them on to the Liberals, forcing them upon the Liberals, or cajoling the latter into taking them. That in doing this they are either lied to and deceived themselves or else are lying about socialism they do not of course realize.

With great industry they have produced amid all sorts of rubbish some good propaganda writing as well, in fact the best of the kind which the English have produced. But as soon as they get on to their specific tactics of hushing up the class struggle, it all turns putrid. Hence, their fanatical hatred of Marx and all of us—because of the class struggle.

These people have of course many bourgeois followers and therefore money....

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ENGELS TO A. BEBEL

London, January 24, 1893

... I am very anxious to get the stenographic copy of Singer's speech on the stock exchange; it read very well in the *Vorwärts*. But one point of this topic is readily overlooked by all our people: The stock exchange is an institution where the bourgeoisie exploit not the workers but *one another*. The surplus value which changes hands on the Exchange is surplus value already *in existence*, the product of *past* exploitation of labour. Only when that process is finished can the surplus value serve the ends of stock exchange swindling. The stock exchange interests us primarily only indirectly just as its influence, its reaction on the capitalist exploitation of the workers, is felt only indirectly, asserts itself only in a round-about way. To ask that the workers should take a direct interest and wax indignant over the way the Junkers, manufacturers and petty bourgeois are fleeced on 'Change means demanding that the workers should take to arms in order to protect their direct exploiters in the possession of the surplus value which they had filched from these selfsame workers No, thank you. But as the finest fruit of bourgeois society, as the hearth of extreme corruption, as the hothouse of the Panama and other scandals—and therefore also as an excellent medium for the concentration of capitals, the disintegration and dissolution of the last remnants of naturally formed interconnections in bourgeois society and at the same time for the annihilation and conversion into their opposites of all orthodox moral conceptions, as an incomparable element of destruction, as a most powerful accelerator of the impending revolution—in this historical sense the stock exchange is also of direct interest to us. ...

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ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE BULGARIAN SYMPOSIUM "SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT"

До редакцията на сборникъ „Соцпалъ-Демократъ"[1]

London, June 9, 1893

Dear Party Comrades,

I cordially thank you for sending me No. 2 of your *Social-Democrat* and am endeavouring to show you by the superscription of this letter that I am at least beginning to understand your language. The requirements of internationality are growing with each year. Up to 1848 one believed one had done enough if one had a smattering of the main languages of Western and Central Europe, but now a point has been reached where I must in my old age learn even Rumanian and Bulgarian if I want to follow the progress of socialism eastward and southeastward. However for all that we in the West rejoice no less over these our south-eastern vanguards on the Asian frontier, who are carrying as far as the Black and the Aegean Sea the banner of the modern proletariat that Marx has unfurled—if only he had lived to see this!—and who answer the enticements and threats of Russian tsarism by countering the tsarist proclamations with the socialist works of the Russian champions of the proletariat. It has given me great pleasure to see Plekhanov's works translated into Bulgarian.

Long Live International Socialism!

Yours,
F. Engels

[1] To the Editorial Board of the Symposium "Social-Democrat."—*Ed*

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ENGELS TO F. MEHRING

London, July 14, 1893

Dear Herr Mehring,

Today is my first opportunity to thank you for the *Lessing Legend* you were kind enough to send me. I did not want to reply with a bare formal acknowledgment of receipt of the book but intended at the same time to tell you something about it, about its contents. Hence the delay.

I shall begin at the end—the appendix on historical materialism,[1] in which you have lined up the main things excellently and for any unprejudiced person convincingly. If I find anything to object to it is that you give me more credit than I deserve, even if I count in everything which I might possibly have found out for myself—in time—but which Marx with his more rapid *coup d'œil* and wider vision discovered much more quickly. When one had the good fortune to work for forty years with a man like Marx, one usually does not during his lifetime get the recognition one thinks one deserves. Then, when the greater man dies, the lesser easily gets overrated and this seems to me to be just my case at present; history will set all this right in the end and by that time one will have quietly turned up one's toes and not know anything any more about anything.

Otherwise only one more point is lacking, which, however, Marx and I always failed to stress enough in our writings and in regard to which we are all equally guilty. That is to say, we all laid, and *were bound* to lay, the main emphasis, in the first place, on the *derivation* of political, juridical and other ideological notions, and of actions arising through the medium of these notions, from basic economic facts. But in so doing we neglected the formal side—the ways and means by which these notions, etc., come about—for the sake of the content. This has given

[1] Mehring's article "On Historical Materialism" was printed in 1893 as an appendix to his book *The Lessing Legend*.—*Ed*

our adversaries a welcome opportunity for misunderstandings and distortions, of which Paul Barth is a striking example.

Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or seeming motive forces. Because it is a process of thought he derives its form as well as its content from pure thought, either his own or that of his predecessors. He works with mere thought material, which he accepts without examination as the product of thought, and does not investigate further for a more remote source independent of thought, indeed this is a matter of course to him, because, as all action is *mediated* by thought, it appears to him to be ultimately *based* upon thought.

The historical ideologist (historical is here simply meant to comprise the political, juridical, philosophical, theological—in short, all the spheres belonging to *society* and not only to nature) thus possesses in every sphere of science material which has formed itself independently out of the thought of previous generations and has gone through its own independent course of development in the brains of these successive generations. True, external facts belonging to one or another sphere may have exercised a codetermining influence on this development, but the tacit presupposition is that these facts themselves are also only the fruits of a process of thought, and so we still remain within that realm of mere thought, which apparently has successfully digested even the hardest facts.

It is above all this semblance of an independent history of state constitutions, of systems of law, of ideological conceptions in every separate domain that dazzles most people. If Luther and Calvin "overcome" the official Catholic religion or Hegel "overcomes" Fichte and Kant or Rousseau with his republican *Contrat social* indirectly "overcomes" the constitutional Montesquieu, this is a process which remains within theology, philosophy or political science, represents a stage in the history of these particular spheres of thought and never passes beyond the sphere of thought. And since the bourgeois illusion of the eternity and finality of

capitalist production has been added as well, even the overcoming of the mercantilists by the physiocrats and Adam Smith is accounted as a sheer victory of thought; not as the reflection in thought of changed economic facts but as the finally achieved correct understanding of actual conditions subsisting always and everywhere—in fact, if Richard Coeur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus had introduced free trade instead of getting mixed up in the crusades we should have been spared five hundred years of misery and stupidity.

This aspect of the matter, which I can only indicate here, we have all, I think, neglected more than it deserves. It is the old story: form is always neglected at first for content. As I say, I have done that too and the mistake has always struck me only later. So *I am not only far from reproaching you with this* in any way—as the older of the guilty parties I certainly have no right to do so; on the contrary. But I would like all the same to draw your attention to this point for the future.

Hanging together with this is the fatuous notion of the ideologists that because we deny an independent historical development to the various ideological spheres which play a part *in history we also deny them any effect upon history. The basis* of this is the common undialectical conception of cause and effect as rigidly opposite poles, the total disregarding of interaction. These gentlemen often almost deliberately forget that once an historic element has been brought into the world by other, ultimately economic causes, it reacts, can react on its environment and even on the causes that have given rise to it. For instance, *Barth on the priesthood and religion, your page 475.* I was very glad to see how you settled this fellow, whose banality exceeds all expectations; and him they make professor of history in Leipzig! I must say that old man Wachsmuth—also rather a bonehead but greatly appreciative of facts—was quite a different chap.

As for the rest, I can only repeat about the book what I repeatedly said about the articles when they appeared in the *Neue Zeit*: it is by far the best presentation in existence of the genesis of the Prussian state. Indeed, I may well say that it is



FREDERICK ENGELS
(1893)

the only good presentation, correctly developing in most matters their interconnections down to the veriest details. One regrets only that you were unable to include the entire further development down to Bismarck and one hopes involuntarily that you will do this another time and present a complete coherent picture, from the Elector Frederick William down to old William. You have already made your preliminary investigations and, in the main at least, they are as good as finished. The thing has to be done sometime anyhow before the shaky old shanty comes tumbling down. The dissipation of the monarchical-patriotic legends, while not directly a necessary preliminary for the abolition of the monarchy which screens class domination (inasmuch as a *pure*, bourgeois republic in Germany was outstripped by events before it came into existence) will nevertheless be one of the most effective levers for that purpose.

Then you will have more space and opportunity to depict the local history of Prussia as part of the general misery that Germany has gone through. This is the point where I occasionally depart somewhat from your view, especially in the conception of the preliminary conditions for the dismemberment of Germany and of the failure of the bourgeois revolution in Germany during the sixteenth century. When I get down to reworking the historical introduction to my *Peasant War*, which I hope will be next winter, I shall be able to develop there the points in question. Not that I consider those you indicated incorrect, but I put others alongside them and group them somewhat differently.

In studying German history—the story of a continuous state of wretchedness—I have always found that only a comparison with the corresponding French periods produces a correct idea of proportions, because what happens there is the direct opposite of what happens in our country. There, the establishment of a national state from the scattered parts of the feudal state precisely at the time we pass through the period of our greatest decline. There, a rare objective logic during the whole course of the process; with us, more and more dismal dislocation. There, during the Middle Ages, foreign intervention is represented by the English conqueror who intervenes in favour of the Provençal

nationality against the Northern French nationality. The wars with England represent, in a way, the Thirty Years' War, which, however, ends in the ejection of the foreign invaders and the subjugation of the South by the North. Then comes the struggle between the central power and vassal Burgundy, supported by its foreign possessions, which plays the part of Brandenburg-Prussia, a struggle which ends, however, in the victory of the central power and conclusively establishes the national state. And precisely at that moment the national state completely collapses in our country (in so far as the "German kingdom" within the Holy Roman Empire can be called a national state) and the plundering of German territory on a large scale sets in. This comparison is most humiliating for Germans but for that very reason the more instructive; and since our workers have put Germany back again in the forefront of the historical movement it has become somewhat easier for us to swallow the ignominy of the past.

Another especially significant feature of the development of Germany is the fact that neither of the partial states which in the end partitioned Germany between them was purely German—both were colonies on conquered Slav territory: Austria a Bavarian and Brandenburg a Saxon colony—and that they acquired power *within* Germany only by relying upon the support of foreign, non-German possessions: Austria upon that of Hungary (not to mention Bohemia) and Brandenburg that of Prussia. On the Western border, the one in greatest jeopardy, nothing of the kind took place; on the Northern border it was left to the Danes to protect Germany against the Danes; and in the South there was so little to protect that the frontier guard, the Swiss, even succeeded in tearing themselves loose from Germany!

But I have allowed myself to drift into all kinds of extraneous matter. Let this palaver at least serve you as proof of how stimulating an effect your work has upon me.

Once more cordial thanks and greetings from

Yours,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO N. F. DANIELSON

London, October 17, 1893

My Dear Sir,

When I received your letter of July 26th announcing your return home, I was on the point myself of going abroad for two months and am only just returned. This is the reason of my long silence.

Many thanks for the copies of the Очерки,[1]—three of which I have forwarded to appreciative friends. The book, I am glad to see, has caused considerable stir and indeed sensation, as it well merited. Among the Russians I have met, it was the chief subject of conversation. Only yesterday one of them writes: у нас на Руси идёт спор о „судьбах капитализма в России."[2] In the Berlin *Sozial-Politisches Zentralblatt** a Mr. P. v. Struve has a long article on your book; I must agree with him in this one point, that for me, too, the present capitalistic phase of development in Russia appears an unavoidable consequence of the historical conditions as created by the Crimean war, the way in which the change of 1861 in agrarian conditions was accomplished, and the political stagnation in Europe generally. Where he is decidedly wrong, is in comparing the present state of Russia with that of the United States, in order to refute what he calls your pessimistic views of the future. He says, the evil consequences of modern capitalism in Russia will be as easily overcome as they are in the United States. There he quite forgets that the U.S. are modern, bourgeois, from the very origin; that they were founded by petits bourgeois and peasants who ran away from European feudalism in order to establish a purely bourgeois society. Whereas in Russia, we have a groundwork of a primitive com-

[1] *Nikolai—on*: Sketches on our Post-Reform Social Economy (1893).—*Ed.*
[2] In our country "the destiny of capitalism in Russia" is being debated.—*Ed.*
* III. *Jahrgang*, No. 1, Oct. 1, 1893. [*Note by Engels.*]

munistic character, a pre-civilization *Gentilgesellschaft*,[1] crumbling ruins, it is true, but still serving as the groundwork, the material upon which the capitalistic revolution (for it is a real social revolution) acts and operates. In America, Geldwirtschaft[2] has been fully established for more than a century, in Russia, Naturalwirtschaft[3] was all but exclusively the rule. Therefore it stands to reason that the change, in Russia, must be far more violent, far more incisive, and accompanied by immensely greater sufferings than it can be in America.

But for all that it still seems to me that you take a gloomier view of the case than the facts justify. No doubt, the passage from primitive agrarian communism to capitalistic industrialism cannot take place without terrible dislocation of society, without the disappearance of whole classes and their transformation into other classes; and what enormous suffering, and waste of human lives and productive forces that necessarily implies, we have seen—on a smaller scale—in Western Europe. But from that to the complete ruin of a great and highly gifted nation there is still a long way. The rapid increase of population to which you have been accustomed, may be checked; the reckless deforestation combined with the expropriation of the old помещики[4] as well as the peasants may cause a colossal waste of productive forces; but after all, a population of more than a hundred millions will finally furnish a very considerable home market for a very respectable *grande industrie*, and with you as elsewhere, things will end by finding their own level—if capitalism lasts long enough in Western Europe.

You yourself admit that "the social conditions in Russia after the Crimean War were not favourable to the development of the form of production inherited by us from our past history." I would go further and say, that no more in Russia than anywhere else would it have been possible to develop a higher social form out of primitive agrarian communism unless—that higher form

[1] Gentile society.—*Ed.*
[2] Money economy.—*Ed.*
[3] Natural economy.—*Ed.*
[4] Landlords.—*Ed.*

was *already in existence* in another country, so as to serve as a model. That higher form being, wherever it is historicalty possible, the necessary consequence of the capitalistic form of production and of the social dualistic antagonism created by it, it could not be developed directly out of the agrarian commune, unless in imitation of an example already in existence somewhere else. Had the West of Europe been ripe, 1860-1870, for such a transformation, had that transformation then been taken in hand in England, France etc., then the Russians would have been called upon to show what could have been made out of their Commune, whtch was then more or tess intact. But the West remained stagnant, no such transformation was attempted, and capitalism was more and more raptdly devetoped. And as Russia had no choice but this: either to develop the Commune into a form of production from which it was separated by a number of historical stages, and for which not even in the West the conditions were then ripe—evidentty an impossible task—or else to develop Into Capltalism, what remained to her but the latter chance?

As to the Commune, it is onty possible so long as the differences of wealth among its members are but trifling. As soon as these differences become great, as soon as some of Its members become the debt-slaves of the richer members, it can no longer live. The кулаки and мироеды[1] of Athens, before Solon, destroyed the Athenian *gens* with the same Implacabiiity with which those of your country destroy the Commune. I am afraid that institution is doomed. But on the other hand, capitalism opens out new views and new hopes. Look at what it has done and is doing in the West. A great nation like yours outtives every crisis. There is no great historical evil without a compensating historical progress. Only the *modus operandi* is changed. Que les destinées s'accomplissent![2]

Yours ever,

L. K.

When vol. ttt is in the press, will take care to send you advance sheets.

[1] Big peasants and village exploiters.—*Ed.*

[2] May destiny take its course!—*Ed.*

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ENGELS TO H. STARKENBURG

London, January 25, 1894

Dear Sir,

Here is the answer to your questions:

I. What we understand by the economic relations, which we regard as the determining basis of the history of society, is the manner and method by which men in a given society produce their means of subsistence and exchange the products among themselves (in so far as division of labour exists). Thus the *entire technique* of production and transport is here included. According to our conception this technique also determines the manner and method of exchange and, further, of the distribution of products and with it, after the dissolution of gentile society, also the division into classes, and hence the relations of lordship and servitude and with them the state, politics, law, etc. Further included in economic relations are the *geographical basis* on which they operate and those remnants of earlier stages of economic development which have actually been transmitted and have survived—often only through tradition or by force of inertia; also of course the external environment which surrounds this form of society.

If, as you say, technique largely depends on the state of science, science depends far more still on the *state* and the *requirements* of technique. If society *has* a technical need, *that* helps science forward more than ten universities. The whole of hydrostatics (Torricelli, etc.) was called forth by the necessity for regulating the mountain streams of Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We have known anything reasonable about

electricity only since its technical applicability was discovered. But unfortunately it has become the custom in Germany to write the history of the sciences as if they had fallen from the skies.

2. We regard economic conditions as that which ultimately conditions historical development. But race is itself an economic factor. Here, however, two points must not be overlooked:

a) Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic basis. It is not that the economic situation is *cause, solely active*, while everything else is only passive effect. There is, rather, interaction on the basis of economic necessity, which *ultimately* always asserts itself. The state, for instance, exercises an influence by protective tariffs, free trade, good or bad fiscal system; and even the deadly inanition and impotence of the German philistine, arising from the miserable economic condition of Germany from 1648 to 1830 and expressing themselves at first in pietism, then in sentimentality and cringing servility to princes and nobles, were not without economic effect. That was one of the greatest hindrances to recovery and was not shaken until the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars made the chronic misery an acute one. So it is not, as people try here and there conveniently to imagine, that the economic situation produces an automatic effect. No. Men make their history themselves, only they do so in a given environment, which conditions it, and on the basis of actual relations already existing, among which the economic relations, however much they may be influenced by the other—the political and ideological relations, are still ultimately the decisive ones, forming the keynote which runs through them and alone leads to understanding.

b) Men make their history themselves, but not as yet with a collective will according to a collective plan or even in a definite, delimited given society. Their aspirations clash, and for that very reason all such societies are governed by *necessity*, the complement and form of appearance of which is *accident*. The necessity which here asserts itself athwart all accident is again ultimately economic necessity. This is where the so-called great

men come in for treatment. That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at a particular time in a particular country is, of course, pure chance. But cut him out and there will be a demand for a substitute, and this substitute will be found, good or bad, but in the long run he will be found. That Napoleon, just that particular Corsican, should have been the military dictator whom the French Republic, exhausted by its own warfare, had rendered necessary, was chance; but that, if a Napoleon had been lacking, another would have filled the place, is proved by the fact that the man was always found as soon as he became necessary: Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc. While Marx discovered the materialist conception of history, Thierry, Mignet, Guizot and all the English historians up to 1850 are evidence that it was being striven for, and the discovery of the same conception by Morgan proves that the time was ripe for it and that it simply *had* to be discovered.

So with all the other accidents, and apparent accidents, of history. The further the particular sphere which we are investigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure abstract ideology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accidents in its development, the more will its curve run zigzag. But if you plot the average axis of the curve, you will find that this axis will run more and more nearly parallel to the axis of economic development the longer the period considered and the wider the field dealt with.

In Germany the greatest hindrance to correct understanding is the irresponsible neglect by literature of economic history. It is so hard not only to disaccustom oneself to the ideas of history drilled into one at school but still more to rake up the necessary material for doing so. Who, for instance, has read at least old G. von Gülich, whose dry collection of material nevertheless contains so much stuff for the clarification of innumerable political facts!

For the rest, the fine example which Marx has given in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* should, I think, provide you fairly well with information on your questions, just because it is a practical example. I have also, I believe, already touched on most of the

points in *Anti-Dühring* I, chs. 9-11, and II, 2-4, as well as in III, 1, or Introduction, and also in the last section of *Feuerbach.*

Please do not weigh each word in the above too scrupulously, but keep the general conneetion in mind; I regret that I have not the time to word what I am writing to you as exactly as I should be obliged to do for publieation....

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ENGELS TO F. TURATI[1]

London, January 26, 1894

Dear Turatl,

The situatlon in Italy seems to me to be as follows:

Come to power during and after the national emancipation, the bourgeoisie has neither been able nor willing to complete Its victory. It has not destroyed the remnants of feudalism nor has It reorganlzed national production on the modern bourgeois pattern. Incapable of providing the country a share in the relative and temporary advantages of the capitalist regime It has cast upon it all the burdens, all the inconveniences of that system. And as if that did not suffice it has forfeiled forever, by filthy bank swindles, whatever respect and eredit it still enjoyed.

The working people—peasants, handieraftsmen, agricultural and industrial workers—consequently find themselves crushed on the one hand by the old abuses inherited not only from feudal times but even the days of antiquity (share farming, latifundia in the South, where eattle supplant men); on the other hand by the most voracious fiscal laws ever invented by the bourgeois system. It is a case where one may well say with Marx: "We, like all the rest of Continental Western Europe, suffer not only from the development of capitalist production, but also from the incompleteness of that development. Alongside of modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the

[1] Translated from the Italian as published in *Critica Sociale*, Nr. 3. Anno IV, 1894.—*Ed.*

passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their inevitable train of social and political anachronisms. We suffer not only from the living, but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif!*"[1]

The situation is tending towards a crisis. Everywhere the producing masses are in a ferment; here and there they are rising. Where will this crisis lead us?

Evidently the socialist party is too young and, on account of the economic situation, too weak to be able to hope for an immediate victory of socialism. Throughout the country the agricultural population far outweighs the urban. In the towns there are few developed industries, hence *typical* proletarians are scarce; handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and declassed elements—a mass fluctuating between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat—compose the majority. It is the petty and middle bourgeoisie of the Middle Ages in decay and disintegration, for the most part proletarians of the future but not yet proletarians of the present. It is this class alone which, always facing economic ruin and now driven to desperation, will be able to furnish both the mass of fighters and the leaders of a revolutionary movement. On this road it will be followed by the peasants, who are prevented from displaying any effective initiative by their lands being too scattered and by their illiteracy, but who in any event will be powerful and indispensable auxiliaries.

In case of a more or less peaceful success there will be a change of ministry and the "converted" republicans, the Cavalottis & Co., will accede to power; in case of a revolution there will be a bourgeois republic.

Faced with this eventuality, what will be the duty of the socialist party?

Ever since 1848 the tactics that have brought the Socialists the greatest successes were those set down in the *Communist Manifesto*:

"In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through,

[1] The living are in the grip of the dead!—*Ed.*

they [the Communists] always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.... The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

They therefore take an active part in every phase of development of the struggle between the two classes without ever losing sight of the fact that these phases are just so many stages leading to the first great goal: the conquest of political power by the proletariat as a means for reorganizing society. Their place is by the side of those fighting to obtain immediate benefits in the interests of the working class. They accept all these political or social benefits, but merely *as payments on account.* Hence they consider every revolutionary or progressive movement as a step in the direction in which they themselves are travelling. It is their special mission to impel the other revolutionary parties onward and, should one of them be victorious, to safeguard the interests of the proletariat. Those tactics, which never lose sight of the grand objective, spare Socialists the disappointment that inevitably will befall the other and less clear-sighted parties, be they republicans or sentimental Socialists, who mistake what is a mere stage for the final terminus of their forward march.

Let us apply all this to Italy.

The victory of the disintegrating petty bourgeoisie and of the peasantry may therefore possibly bring on a ministry of the "converted" republicans. That will get us universal suffrage and considerably greater freedom of movement (press, assembly, association, abolition of police surveillance, etc.)—new arms not to be disdained.

Or it will bring us a bourgeois republic with the same people and some Mazzinists among them. That would considerably increase our liberty and our field of action, at least for the time being. And Marx said that the bourgeois republic is the sole political form in which the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be *fought to a finish*, to say nothing of the repercussions this would have in Europe.

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ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE

London, November 10, 1891

...The movement over here still bears some resemblance to the American movement, save that it is *somewhat* ahead of you. The mass instinct that the workers must form a party of their own against the two official parties is getting stronger and stronger; it again showed itself more than ever in the municipal elections on November 1. But the various old traditional memories and the lack of people capable of translating this instinct into conscious action that will embrace the entire country encourage the persistence, at this preliminary stage, of haziness of thought and local isolation of action. Anglo-Saxon sectarianism prevails in the labour movement, too. The Social-Democratic Federation, just like your German Socialist Workers' Party, has managed to transform our theory into the rigid dogma of an orthodox sect: it is narrow-mindedly exclusive and thanks to Hyndman has a thoroughly rotten tradition in international politics, which is shaken from time to time, to be sure, but which has not been broken with as yet. The Independent Labour Party is extremely indefinite in its tactics, and its leader, Keir Hardie, is a supercunning Scot, whose demagogic tricks are not to be trusted for a minute. Although he is a poor devil of a Scottish coal miner, he has founded a big weekly, *The Labour Leader*, which could not have been established without considerable money, and he is getting this money from Tory or Liberal-Unionist, that is, anti-Gladstone and anti-Home Rule sources. There can be no doubt about this, and his notorious literary connections in London as well as direct reports and his political attitude confirm it. Consequently, owing to desertions by Irish and radical voters, he may very easily lose his seat in Parliament at the 1895 general elections and that would be a stroke of good luck—the man is the greatest obstacle at present. He appears in Parliament only on demagogic occasions, in order to cut a figure with phrases about the unemployed—without getting anything done—or to address

imbecilities to the Queen on the occasion of the birth of a prince, which is infinitely banal and cheap in this country, and so forth. Otherwise there are very good elements both in the Social-Democratic Federation and in the Independent Labour Party, especially in the provinces, but they are scattered; yet they have at least managed to foil all the efforts of the leaders to incite the two organizations against each other. John Burns stands pretty much alone politically; he is being viciously attacked both by Hyndman and by Keir Hardie and acts as if he despaired of the political organization of the workers and set his hopes solely on the trade unions. To be sure, he has had bad experiences with the former and might starve if the Engineers' Union did not pay him his Parliamentary salary. He is vain and has allowed the Liberals, that is, the "social wing" of the radicals, to lead him a bit too much by the nose. He attaches altogether too much importance to the many single concessions that he has forced through, but with all that he is the only really honest fellow in the whole movement, that is, among the leaders, and he has a thoroughly proletarian instinct which will, I believe, guide him more correctly at the decisive moment than cunning and selfish calculation with the others.

On the Continent success is developing the appetite for more success, and catching the peasant, in the literal sense of the word, is becoming the fashion. First the French, in Nantes, declare through Lafargue not only (what I wrote to them) that it is not our business to hasten by our direct interference the ruin of the small peasants, which capitalism is seeing to for us, but they add that we must directly *protect* the small peasant against taxation, usury, and landlords. But we cannot co-operate in this, first because it is stupid and second because it is impossible. Next however Vollmar comes along in Frankfort and wants to bribe the *peasantry as a whole*, though the peasant he has to deal with in Upper Bavaria is not the debt-ridden small peasant of the Rhineland, but the middle and even the big peasant, who exploits male and female farmhands and sells cattle and grain in quantity. And that cannot be done without giving up the whole principle. We can win over the Alpine peasants and the Lower

Saxon and Schleswig-Holstein big peasants only if we sacrifice the fieldhands and day labourers to them, and in doing that we lose more politically than we gain. The Frankfort Party Congress did not take a stand on the question, and that is to the good in so far as the matter will now be studied thoroughly; the people who were there knew far too little about the peasantry and rural conditions, which differ so fundamentally in different provinces, to have been able to do anything but make random decisions. But the matter has to be settled some time all the same. . . .

The war in China has given the death-blow to the old China. Isolation has become impossible; the introduction of railways, steam-engines, electricity, and modern large-scale industry has become a necessity, if only for reasons of military defence. But with it the old economic system of small peasant agriculture, where the family also made its industrial products itself, falls to pieces too, and with it the whole old social system which made relatively dense population possible. Millions will be turned out and forced to emigrate; and these millions will find their way even to Europe, and en masse. But as soon as Chinese competition sets in on a mass scale, it will rapidly bring things to a head in your country and over here, and thus the conquest of China by capitalism will at the same time furnish the impulse for the overthrow of capitalism in Europe and America. . . .

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ENGELS TO F. TÖNNIES

London, January 24, 1895

... Your observations on Auguste Comte interested me. As far as this "philosopher" is concerned a substantial job of work has in my opinion still to be done. Comte was for five years secretary to Saint-Simon and his intimate friend. The latter positively suffered from repleteness of thought. He was a genius and mystic in one. To establish clearness, order, system was not his forte. So in Comte he drew to his bosom a man who after his master's death would perhaps present these overbrimming ideas to the world in orderly fashion. Comte's mathematical schooling and method of thought seemed to render him peculiarly fit for this in contrast to other pupils, who were dreamers. Suddenly Comte broke with his "master" and withdrew from the school. Then, after a rather lengthy period of time, he came out with his "positive philosophy."

In this system there are three characteristic elements: 1) a series of brilliant thoughts, which however are almost always spoiled more or less because of insufficient development; 2) an accordingly narrow, philistine mode of outlook sharply contrasting with that brilliancy of mind; 3) a hierarchically organized religious constitution originating from a thoroughly Saint-Simonist source, but divested of all mysticism and sobered in the extreme, with a regular pope at the head, so that Huxley could say of Comtism that it was Catholicism without Christianity.

Now I'll bet you No. 3 furnishes us the clue to the otherwise incomprehensible contradiction between No. 1 and No. 2; Comte took all his bright ideas from Saint-Simon but mutilated them

when grouping them in his own peculiar way; by divesting them of the mysticism that adhered to them he dragged them down to a lower level, reshaping them in philistine fashion to the best of his ability. In very many of them the Saint-Simonist origin can easily be traced and I am convinced that this would be possible in yet other cases if somebody could be found to tackle the job seriously. It would certainly have been discovered long ago if after 1830 Saint-Simon's own writings had not been completely stifled by the clamour of the Saint-Simonist school and religion, which stressed and developed certain aspects of the master's teaching to the detriment of the magnificent conception as a whole.

Then there is another point I should like to correct, the note on p. 513.[1] Marx never was Secretary General of the International but only Secretary for Germany and Russia. And none of the Comtists in London participated in the founding of the International. Professor E. Beesly deserves great credit for his defence of the International in the press at the time of the Commune against the vehement attacks of that day. Frederic Harrison too publicly took up the cudgels for the Commune. But a few years later the Comtists cooled off considerably toward the labour movement. The workers had become too powerful and it was now a question of maintaining a proper balance between capitalists and workers (both producers, after all, according to Saint-Simon) and to that end of once more supporting the former. Ever since then the Comtists have wrapped themselves in complete silence as regards the labour question.

Yours very truly,

F. Engels

[1] Engels refers to the note in F. Tönnies's book *New Philosophy of History in Hegel, Marx, and Comte.—Ed.*

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ENGELS TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

London, February 26, 1895

...I shall have no time to read the criticism of my book[1] in the *Russkoye Bogatstvo*. I have read enough on this subject in the January issue of 1894.[2] As for Danielson I am afraid you will get nowhere with him. I sent him *in a letter* the material on Russian affairs taken from *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat'*,[3] and particularly the 1894 appendix,[4] which had *in part* been written with him directly in view. He received it, but as you see to no purpose. It is impossible to discuss things with the generation of Russians to which he belongs and which continues to believe in the spontaneously communist mission that distinguishes Russia, true Holy Russia, from the other, the profane peoples.

As for the rest, in a country like yours where modern large-scale industry is grafted on the primitive peasant community and where all intermediate phases of civilization are represented at the same time, in a country which besides is surrounded more or less effectively by an intellectual Chinese wall erected by despotism, one must not be surprised to encounter the most bizarre and impossible combinations of ideas. Look at that poor devil Flerovsky, who imagines that tables and beds can think but not remember. That is a stage the country has to pass through. Little by little, as the towns grow, the isolation of people of talent will disappear and with it the mental aberrations due to solitude, the disconnectedness of the sporadic knowledge of these droll thinkers, and a bit also the despair among the *Narodniks*[5] on seeing

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[1] The reference is to an article by L. Zak, "Historical Materialism," in which the author attempted to criticize Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.—*Ed.*

[2] A reference to N. Mikhailovsky's revue *Literature and Life*.—*Ed.*

[3] A collection of articles by Engels on international topics excerpted from the newspaper *Volksstaat*.—*Ed.*

[4] F. Engels, Afterword to the article: "On Social Relations in Russia."—*Ed.*

[5] *Narodnik*: Russian Populist.—*Ed.*

their hopes vanish. In fact the ex-terrorist *Narodnik* will wind up very properly by becoming a tsarist.

To be able to interfere in this controversy I would have to read stacks of books, then follow it up and make reply. That would consume all my time for a year. And the only useful result would perhaps be that I would know Russian much better than now. But I am asked to do the same for Italy with regard to the honourable Loria. And I am overwhelmed with work as is....

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ENGELS TO C. SCHMIDT

London, March 12, 1895

...Your letter gives me some light, I think, on how you have come to be side-tracked as regards the rate of profit. There I find the same way of going off into details, for which I put the blame on the eclectic method of philosophizing which has made such inroads in the German universities since 1848, and which loses all general perspective and only too often winds up in rather aimless and fruitless speculation about particular points. Now of the classical philosophers it was precisely Kant with whom you had formerly chiefly occupied yourself, and Kant, owing to the position of German philosophizing in his time and to his opposition to Wolf's pedantic Leibnitzianism, was more or less obliged to make some apparent concessions in form to this Wolfian speculation. This is how I explain your tendency, which also shows in the excursus on the law of value in your letter, to become so absorbed in details, without always, it seems to me, paying attention to the interconnection as a whole, that you degrade the law of value to a fiction, a necessary fiction, somewhat in the manner of Kant making the existence of God a postulate of the practical reason.

The objections you raise to the law of value apply to *all* concepts, regarded from the standpoint of reality. The identity of thinking and being, to express myself in Hegelian fashion,

everywhere coincides with your example of the circle and the polygon. Or the two of them, the concept of a thing and its reality, run side by side like two asymptotes, always approaching each other yet never meeting. This difference between the two is the very difference which prevents the concept from being directly and immediately reality and reality from being immediately its own concept. Because a concept has the essential nature of that concept and cannot therefore *prima facie* directly coincide with reality, from which it must first be abstracted, it is something more than a fiction, unless you are going to declare all the results of thought fictions because reality corresponds to them only very circuitously, and even then only with asymptotic approximation.

Is it any different with the general rate of profit? At any particular moment it exists only approximately. If it were for once realized in two establishments down to the last jot or tittle, if both yielded *exactly the same rate of profit* in a given year, that would be pure accident; in reality the rates of profit differ from business to business and from year to year according to the different circumstances, and the general rate only exists as an average of many businesses and a number of years. But if we were to demand that the rate of profit—say 14.876934...—should be exactly identical in every business and every year down to the 100th decimal place, on pain of degradation to fiction, we should be grossly misunderstanding the nature of the rate of profit and of economic laws in general; none of them has any reality except as approximation, tendency, average, and not as *immediate* reality. This is due partly to the fact that their action clashes with the simultaneous action of other laws, but partly to their own nature as concepts.

Or take the law of wages, the realization of the value of labour power, which is realized only as an average, and even that not always, and which varies in every locality, even in every branch, according to the customary standard of life. Or ground rent, representing a surplus profit over and above the general rate, derived from a monopolized force of nature. There too there is by no means a direct coinciding of real surplus profit and real rent, but only an approximate average.

It is exactly the same with the law of value and the distribution of the surplus value by means of the rate of profit.

1) Both attain their most complete approximate realization only on the presupposition that capitalist production has been everywhere completely established, i.e., that society has been reduced to the modern classes of landowners, capitalists (industrialists and merchants) and workers—all intermediate stages having been got rid of. This condition does not exist yet even in England and never will exist—we shall not let it get that far.

2) Profit, including rent, consists of various component parts:—

a) Profit from cheating—which is cancelled out in the algebraic sum.

b) Profit from increased value of stocks (e.g., the remainder of the last harvest when the next one has failed). Theoretically this *ought* also to balance in the end (in so far as it has not already been cancelled by falls in the values of other commodities) by either the capitalist buyers having to contribute what the capitalist sellers gain, or, in the case of the workers' means of subsistence, by eventual increases in wages. The most essential of these increases in value however are *not permanent*, and therefore the equalization takes place only in an average of years, and quite incompletely, notoriously at the expense of the workers; they produce more surplus value because their labour power is not fully paid.

c) The total sum of surplus value, from which however that portion is deducted which is *presented as a gift to the buyer*, especially in crises, when the surplus production is reduced to its real content of socially necessary labour.

From this indeed it follows from the outset that the total profit and the total surplus value can coincide only approximately. But when you further take into consideration the fact that both the total surplus value and the total capital are not constant but variable magnitudes which change from day to day, then any coincidence with the rate of profit through $\frac{\Sigma s}{\Sigma (c+v)}$ other than that of an approximating series, and any coincidence of total

price and total value other than one which is constantly striving towards unity and perpetually moving away from it again, appears a sheer impossibility. In other words, the unity of concept and phenomenon manifests itself as an essentially infinite process, and that is what it is, in this case as in all others.

Did feudalism ever correspond to its concept? Founded in the kingdom of the West Franks, further developed in Normandy by the Norwegian conquerors, its formation continued by the French Norsemen in England and Southern Italy, it came nearest to its concept—in the ephemeral kingdom of Jerusalem, which in the *Assize of Jerusalem*[1] left behind it the most classic expression of the feudal order. Was this order a fiction because it achieved only a short-lived existence, classically expressed throughout, and only in Palestine, and even that mostly on paper only?

Or are the concepts which prevail in the natural sciences fictions because they by no means always coincide with reality? From the moment we accept the theory of evolution all our concepts of organic life correspond only approximately to reality. Otherwise there would be no change. On the day when concepts and reality completely coincide in the organic world development comes to an end. The concept fish includes life in water and breathing through gills: how are you going to get from fish to amphibian without breaking through this concept? And it has been broken through, for we know a whole series of fish which have developed their air bladders further, into lungs, and can breathe air. How, without bringing one or both concepts into conflict with reality, are you going to get from the egg-laying reptile to the mammal, which gives birth to living young? And in reality we have in the monotremata a whole sub-class of egg-laying mammals—in 1843 I saw the eggs of the duck-bill in Manchester and with arrogant narrow-mindedness mocked at such stupidity—as if a mammal could lay eggs—and now it has been proved! So do not do to the conception of value what I had later to beg the duck-bill's pardon for!

[1] The collection of laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries A.D.—*Ed.*

In Sombart's otherwise very good article on Volume III[1] I also find this tendency to dilute the theory of value; he too had obviously expected a somewhat different solution.

Your article in the *Centralblatt*[2] is *very good* indeed and the proof of the specific difference between Marx's theory of the rate of profit—by quantitative determination—and that of the old political economy was very well demonstrated. The illustrious Loria in his wisdom sees in the third volume a direct renunciation of the theory of value, and here your article comes in handy as a ready reply. Now two people are interested in this: Labriola in Rome and Lafargue, who is polemizing with Loria in the *Critico Sociale*. If therefore you could send a copy to Professor Antonio Labriola, Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, 251, Rome, the latter would do his utmost to publish an Italian translation of it; and a second copy to Paul Lafargue, Le Perreux Seine, France, would occasion him to quote you. For that reason I wrote to both of them that your article contained a ready answer to the main point. If you cannot get these copies off please advise me of that fact. But here I must close, otherwise I'll never get through.

Best regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO V. ADLER

London, March 16, 1895

. . . As you want to plough through *Capital* II and III behind the bars, I will give you a few hints to make it easier.

Volume II, Section I. Read Chapter 1 thoroughly, then you can take it easier with Chapters 2 and 3; Chapter 4 more exactly

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[1] W. Sombart, "A Contribution to the Criticism of the Economic System of Karl Marx."—*Ed.*

[2] C. Schmidt's article, "The Third Volume of *Capital*"—*Ed.*

again as it is a summary; 5 and 6 are easy, especially 6, which deals with secondary matters.

Section II. Chapters 7-9 important. Especially important are 10 and 11. Ditto 12, 13, 14. On the other hand 15, 16, 17 need only be skimmed through at first.

Section III is a most excellent account of the entire circuit of commodities and money in capitalist society—the first since the days of the Physiocrats—excellent in content but fearfully heavy in form 1) because it is patched together from two elaborations of the problem by two different methods and 2) because elaboration No. 2 was carried to its conclusion by main force during a state of illness in which the brain was suffering from chronic insomnia. I should keep this for *the very end*, after working through Volume III for the *first time*. Besides, for your work it can be dispensed with at the beginning.

Then the third volume.

Important here are: In Section I, Chapters 1 to 4; less important for the *general* interconnection, on the contrary, are Chapters 5, 6, 7, on which not much time need be spent at first.

Section II. *Very important:* Chapters 8, 9, 10. Skim through 11 and 12.

Section III. *Very important*: everything—13-15.

Section IV. Likewise very important but also easy to read: 16-20.

Section V. Very important: Chapters 21-27. Less so Chapter 28. Chapter 29 important. As a whole Chapters 30-32 are not important for your purposes; 33 and 34 are important as soon as paper-money is dealt with; 35 on international rates of exchange important; 36: *of great interest to you* and easy to read.

Section VI. Ground rent. 37 and 38 important. 39 and 40: less so, but still to be included. 41-43 can be read superficially more. (Differential rent II. Particular cases.) 44-47 important again but mostly easy to read, too.

Section VII. Very fine, but unfortunately a torso and with very marked traces of sleeplessness to boot.

Thus, if you go through the main things thoroughly and the less important ones superficially to begin with, while following

these directions (best first to re-read the main things in Volume I), you will get a general idea of the whole and can later work through the more neglected portions more easily. . . .

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, April 1, 1895

Dear Baron,

Postcard received. To my astonishment I see in the *Vorwärts* today an extract from my "*Introduction,*" *printed without my prior knowledge* and trimmed in such a fashion that I appear as a peaceful worshipper of legality at any price.[1] So much the more would I like the whole thing to appear now in the *Neue Zeit* so that this disgraceful impression will be wiped out. I shall give Liebknecht a good piece of my mind on that score and also, no matter who they are, to those who gave him the opportunity to misrepresent my opinion without even telling me a word about it. . . .

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ENGELS TO P. LAFARGUE

London, April 3, 1895

Liebknecht has just played me a nice trick. He has taken from my *Introduction* to Marx's articles on France of 1848-50 every thing that could serve him to defend the tactics of *peace at any price and of opposition to force and violence*, which it has pleased him for some time now to preach, especially at present when

[1] On publishing in the *Vorwärts* Engels's Introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party deleted very important passages dealing with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, thus falsifying Engels's views by giving them an opportunist complexion.—*Ed*

coercive laws are being prepared in Berlin. But I am preaching these tactics only for *the Germany of today*, and even then *with an important proviso*. In France, Belgium, Italy, and Austria these tactics could not be followed in their entirety and in Germany they may become inapplicable tomorrow.

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ENGELS TO K. KAUTSKY

London, May 21, 1895

...You had undertaken at that time to publish a history of socialism. Of all persons alive there was then but one—this I am entitled to say—whose collaboration in this work seemed absolutely necessary, and this one person was I. And I even venture to say that without my help such a job is bound to be gappy and full of defects. You people knew that as well as I. But of all persons that could possibly be made use of it was exactly I, and I alone, who was *not* asked to collaborate. You must have had very cogent reasons for excluding precisely me. I don't complain about that; far from it. You had a perfect right to act the way you did. I am only stating a fact.

What did pique me, however only for a moment, was the strange mysteriousness in which you wrapped the matter as far as I was concerned, while the whole world was talking about it. It was only through third persons that I learned of the whole project and only through the printed prospectus of the plan outlined. Not a word from either you or Ede. It was as if you had a bad conscience. To this must be added surreptitious inquiries by all sorts of people: how I regarded the matter, whether I had declined to collaborate, etc. And then at long last, when silence was no longer possible, good old Ede got to talking about this matter, with a shame-facedness and embarrassment that would have been worthy of a worse cause—for nothing improper had occurred except this laughable comedy, which by the way, as Louise can testify, brought me many an hour of real good fun.

Well then, you have confronted me with an accomplished fact: a history of socialism without my collaboration. I have accepted this fact from the beginning without complaint. But you cannot unmake the fact you yourselves have accomplished, nor can you ignore it should this suit you some day. I too cannot unmake it. Having shut the big front door to me after mature deliberation at a time when my counsel and my help could be of substantial use to you, please do not now ask me to sneak in through some small back-door to help you out of a difficulty. I confess that if our roles had been reversed I would have thought it over pretty long before I would have made you a proposal like the one in question.[1] Is it really so extremely difficult to understand that everyone must bear the consequences of his own acts? As you make your bed, so you must lie in it. If there is no room for me in this business, that is so only because you wanted it so.

Well, that's that. And now please do me the favour of considering this reply irrevocable. Let the whole incident be dead and buried as far as both of us are concerned. I shall also not speak about it with Ede, unless he starts.

Meanwhile I am about to send you a piece of work for the *Neue Zeit* that will gladden your heart: supplements and addenda to *Capital*, Book III, No. 1: "Law of Value and Rate of Profit," reply to the doubts of Sombart and C. Schmidt. Later No. 2 will follow: the very considerably altered role of the Bourse since Marx wrote about it in 1865. To be continued according to demand and time available. The first article would be finished if my mind had been free.

As for your book[2] I can say that it gets better the further one reads. Plato and Early Christianity are still inadequately treated, according to the original plan. The mediaeval sects much better, and *crescendo*. Best are the Taborites, Münzer, and the

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[1] While opposed to letting Engels direct the work of publishing the *History of Socialism*, Kautsky wanted to make use of Engels's knowledge and therefore asked him to let him have certain material for the chapter on the history of the First International.—*Ed.*

[2] Engels refers to Kautsky's *Forerunners of Modern Socialism* (1895).—*Ed.*

Anabaptists. Very many important economic analyses of political events, paralleled however by commonplaces where there were gaps in research. I have learnt a great deal from the book; it is an indispensable preliminary study for my new revision of the *Peasant War*. There seem to be two important shortcomings: 1) A very inadequate examination of the development and role of the declassed, almost pariah-like, elements, who were wholly outside the feudal structure and were inevitably bound to come into existence whenever a town was formed; who constituted the lowest stratum of the population of every mediaeval town and, having no rights, were detached from the *Markgenossenschaft*,[1] from feudal dependence and from the craft guild. This is difficult, but it is the *chief basis*, for by degrees, as the feudal ties were loosened, these elements became the *pre*-proletariat, which in 1789 made the revolution in the suburbs of Paris and which absorbed all the outcasts of feudal and guild society. You speak of proletarians—the expression is ambiguous—and bring in the weavers, whose importance you describe quite correctly—but only *after* declassed journeymen weavers came to exist outside the guilds, and only *in so far as* there were such, can you make them your "proletariat." Here there is still much room for improvement.

2) You have not fully grasped Germany's position in the world market, in so far as it is possible to speak of such, her international economic position at the end of the 15th century. This position *alone* explains why the bourgeois-plebeian movement in religious form, which succumbed in England, the Netherlands and Bohemia, could achieve success, to a *certain* extent, in Germany in the 16th century: the success of its *religious disguise*, while the success of the bourgeois content was reserved for the next century and for the countries lying along the new world trade routes which had arisen in the meantime: Holland and England. This is a lengthy subject, which I hope to deal with *in extenso* in the *Peasant War*. If only I were already at it!...[2]

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[1] Mediaeval village community.—*Ed.*

[2] A few months later, on August 6, 1895, Engels died.—*Ed.*

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Cavaignac, Louis-Eugène (1802-1857): French general; in 1848, vested with dictatorial powers, drowned in blood the June insurrection of Paris proletariat—72, 73, 311

Cavalotti, Felice (1842-1898): Italian political figure, radical-republican leader of extreme Left in Parliament (1873-1894)—532

Cervantes, Miguel de (1547-1616)—467

Champion, Henry Hyde (1857-1928): English Socialist, member of Social-Democratic Federation, 1887 was expelled from Federation for election deal with Conservatives; later leader of Australian Socialist Party—491

Changarnier, Nicolas-Anne (1793-1877): French general, Orleanist; took part in suppressing June 1848 uprising in Paris—73, 74

Cherbuliez, Antoine-Elisée (1797-1869): Swiss economist, Sismondist, petty-bourgeois critic of capitalism—415

Chernyshev, Alexander Ivanovich (1785-1857): Russian general, took part in campaigns against Napoleon I (1805-07 and 1812-14), organizer of partisan detachments—155

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889): great Russian scientist, critic and publicist, revolutionary democrat, Socialist—293, 311, 377, 450

Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 B.C.): Roman orator, political leader and philosophic writer—124

Clausewitz, Karl von (1770-1831): Prussian general and military theoretician—90

Clemenceau, Georges (1841-1929): French politician, leader of bourgeois radicals; one of instigators of World War I and military intervention against Soviet Republic—449, 471

Cloots, Jean-Baptiste (Anacharsis) (1755-1794): personage of French bourgeois revolution of late 18th century, Hébertist—458, 459

Cluseret, Gustave-Paul (1823-1900): French officer, chief of staff of Paris Commune defence; after defeat of Commune emigrant; allied with Bakuninists he fought Marx within First International—304, 305, 314

**Cluss, Adolph*: member of Communist League in Mayence, after 1849 journalist in America; up to 1854 active supporter of

Marx; afterwards official of U.S. Navy Department—88, 89

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865): English Liberal, one of leaders of free-traders, founder of Anti-Corn-Law League—182

Colbert, Jean Baptiste (1619-1683): minister under Louis XIV, conducted mercantilist policy—525

Colins, Jean Guillaume (1783-1859) Belgian economist, social reformist—415, 416

Colomb, Ferdinand August von (1775-1854): Prussian General, took part in 1813-14 campaign against Napoleon I—155

Comte, Auguste (1798-1857): French philosopher, founder of positivism—218, 559

Crassus, Marcus Licinius (114-53 B. C.): consul of Roman Republic, member of Triumvirate, put down Spartacus revolt—152

Cremer, William Randall (1838-1908): British trade union leader; 1864-66 Secretary of General Council of First International; 1867 left General Council; later Liberal, pacifist—179, 180, 181, 234

Cremieux, Adolphe (1796-1880): French liberal politician, 1848 Minister of Justice in Provisional Government—54

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—235, 278, 281, 550

**Cuno, Theodor Friedrich* (1847-1934): German Socialist, active member of First International, partisan of Marx, later was active in labour movement of U.S.A.—333

Curran, John Philpot (1750-1817): Irish lawyer, known for his speech in defence of Irish insurgents (1798)—280

Cuvier, Georges, baron de (1769-1832)—242

D

Dana, Charles Anderson (1819-1897). American journalist, member of Republican Party; editor of *New York Daily Tribune*—76

Daniels, Dr Roland (1819-1855): one of leaders of Communist League in Cologne, co-defendant at Cologne Communist Trial—67, 145

**Danielson, Nikolai Franzevich* (pseudonym "Nikolai—on") (1844-1918): Russian economist, ideologist of Narodism (Russian Populism); translator of Marx's *Capital*, provided Marx and Engels with books and materials on Russia—380, 406, 463, 516, 524, 527, 545, 561

Dante, Alighieri (1265-1321)—467

Danton, Georges-Jacques (1759-1794): prominent leader of French bourgeois revolution of late 18th century, head of right wing of Jacobins—75, 483, 488

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882)—151, 155, 157, 208, 243, 290, 367, 368, 373, 441

Davis, Jefferson (1808-1889): American statesman, one of leaders of secessionists, President of Southern Confederacy—166

Deak, Ferenz (1803-1876): Hungarian politician, moderate liberal—304

Delescluze, Charles (1809-1871) neo-Jacobin, took part in 1830 and 1848 Revolutions in France, member of secret Republican societies and of Paris Commune, killed on barricades—263

Democritus (c. 460-370 B.C.): materialist philosopher of ancient Greece, one of founders of atomistic theory—124

Demuth, Helene (Lenchen, Nim) (1823-1890) maid at Marx's house, close friend of the family, after Marx's death lived at Engels's house—135, 445

Descartes, René (1596-1650)—106

Deville, Gabriel (b. 1854) French Socialist, author of popular version of Marx's *Capital*, Volume I, subsequently left socialist movement—443

Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm (1843-1922) German Social Democrat, proprietor of Social-Democratic publishing house in Stuttgart—500, 511

Dietzgen, Joseph (1828-1888) German worker, Social Democrat, materialist philosopher—253, 260, 262

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—84, 356

Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1836-1861), prominent Russian publicist, revolutionary democrat and Socialist—450

Domela-Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand (1846-1919): founder of Dutch Social-Democratic Party, later became Anarchist—499

Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891): German publicist, "true Socialist," later member of Communist League, one of editors of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; in fifties withdrew from political life—59, 69

Dühring, Eugen (1833-1921): German vulgar materialist and positivist, representative of reactionary petty-bourgeois "equalitarian" socialism—238, 239, 240, 290, 371, 372, 375, 451, 500

Dumouriez, Charles-François (1739-1823): French general, Girondist—72

Dunoyer, Barthélemy-Charles (1786-1862), French economist, after 1830 Revolution prefect, later state councillor—190

Duncker, Franz Gustav (1822-1888): German democratic publicist and publisher, one of founders of Hirsch-Duncker trade unions created to subject labour movement to bourgeois influence—136, 226, 229

Dupin, André-Marie (1783-1865) French statesman, Orleanist, after February Revolution President of Legislative Assembly, later Bonapartist—73

Dupont de l'Eure, Jacques-Charles (1767-1855) French statesman, bourgeois republican President of Provisional Government in 1848—54

Durand, Gustave-Paul secretary of "French Section of 1871" in London, in 1871 was exposed as spy and expelled from International—332

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889): German worker, emigrant in London, member of Communist League, active member of

First International, Secretary of General Council (1867-1871); until 1872 supported Marx; at Hague Congress made common cause with Bakuninists, later took part in British trade-union movement—179, 180, 181, 211, 254, 255, 270, 275, 487

Eichhoff, Wilhelm (1833-1895) German journalist, in late fifties exposed Stieber as spy, later editor of a number of Social-Democratic newspapers in Germany—145, 146, 260, 478

Eisermann: German joiner, lived in Paris, "true Socialist"—34, 35, 36

Elector of Hesse. see Ludwig III

Elgin, James Bruce (1811-1863) English statesman, crushed anti-English risings in China, later Viceroy of India—135

Elizabeth (1633-1603)· Queen of England (1558-1603)—235

Emmanuel: see Victor-Emmanuel II

Engel, Johann Jakob (1741-1802). German writer on history of literature, author of *Fürstenspiegel*—92

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895)—32, 83, 89, 148, 201, 202, 204, 206, 290, 314, 360, 396, 404, 414

Epicurus (c. 341-270 B.C): materialist philosopher of ancient Greece—124, 435

Ernest Augustus (1771-1851): King of Hanover—66

Ernst, Paul (1866-1933): German playwright and critic; in late eighties joined Social-Democratic Party; in 1890-92 one of leaders of semi-anarchist opposition of the "Young"—493

D'Ester, Karl Ludwig (1811-1859)· member of Communist League in Cologne, took part in Baden insurrection—29

Estrup, Jakob (1825-1913): Danish Conservative statesman—492

F

Falloux, Frédéric Alfred-Pierre (1811-1886) French author and political figure, Legitimist and Clerical—264

Faucher, Julius (1820-1878): German vulgar economist, advocate of free trade; belonged to Progressives—205, 250, 251

Favre, Jules (1809-1880)· French bourgeois republican, 1870 member of Government of National Defence, helped to suppress Paris Commune—264, 301, 311, 312, 313, 323, 325, 337

Fechner, Gustav Theodor (1801-1887): German physicist and idealist philosopher—290

Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804-1872): German materialist philosopher —185, 260, 262, 507, 551

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814): German philosopher, subjective idealist—541

Firks, Fyodor Ivanovich (Schedo-Ferroti), baron (1812-1872): Baltic landlord; reactionary publicist, opposed emancipation of peasants—261, 283

Fischer, Richard (1855-1920)· German Social-Democrat, secretary of German Socialist Party. Centrist—511

Flerovsky: see Bervi

Fleury, Charles Friedrich (Krause). Prussian police agent and spy in London; forged documents

used against defendants at Cologne Communist Trial—149

Flocon, Ferdinand (1800-1866): French publicist, petty-bourgeois democrat, member of Provisional Government in 1848, editor of Paris newspaper *Réforme*—55, 75, 554

Fontana, Giuseppe (1840-1876): Italian worker, emigrant in London, Mazzinist; 1864-65 member of General Council of First International—180, 181, 182

Fourier, François Charles Marie (1772-1837)—33, 50, 165, 216, 223, 417

Fox, Charles James (1749-1806): English politician, Whig, Foreign Secretary (1782-1797), sympathetic to French bourgeois revolution—458

Fox, Peter (d. 1869): English journalist, Comtist; 1864-67 member of General Council of First International—217, 235

**Fränckel, Leo* (1844-1896): Hungarian Socialist, one of Paris Commune leaders, later emigrant in London, member of General Council of First International, supporter of Marx, subsequently one of founders of Hungarian Social-Democratic Party—321

Frederick I Barbarossa (Hohenstaufen) (c. 1123-1190): Holy Roman Emperor (1155-1190)—106, 107

Frederick II (1712-1786): King of Prussia (1740-1786)—116

Frederick II (Hohenstaufen) (1194-1250): Holy Roman Emperor (1212-1220)—106

Frederick William (1620-1688): Elector of Brandenburg—543

Frederick William III (1770-1840): King of Prussia (1797-1840)—307

Frederick William IV (1795-1861): King of Prussia (1840-1861)—26, 92

**Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876): German revolutionary poet, member of Communist League, friend of Marx—69, 121, 145, 149

Friedrich Karl Nikolaus (1828-1885): Prince of Prussia, Commander-in-Chief of Prussian army in 1864—184

Frost, John (1785-1877): Chartist—120

G

Gambetta, Léon Michel (1838-1882): French statesman, belonged to moderate wing of republican party; Minister of Interior in "Government of National Defence" (1870)—309, 312, 313

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882): leader of Italian national liberation movement during struggle for Italy's unification—151, 179, 215

Garnier-Pagès, Louis-Antoine (1803-1878): Minister of Finance in French Provisional Government of 1848, bourgeois republican—54

Geib, August (1842-1879): German Social-Democrat, Lassallean who turned Eisenacher, 1874, elected to Reichstag—360

Geiser, Bruno (1847-1874): German Social-Democrat, editor of journal *Die Neue Welt*, one of

leaders of opportunist wing of the Party—447

George II (1683-1760): King of England (1727-1760)—237

Georg V (1819-1878) King of Hanover—64

George, Henry (1839-1897) American economist, advocated bourgeois nationalization of land—414, 416, 469, 473-475

Gerhardt, Charles-Frédéric (1816-1856): French chemist—229

Gibbon, Edward (1737-1794): English historian—95

Gigot, Philippe (b. 1820): Belgian archive official, member of Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee—32, 33

Girardin, Emile de (1806-1881): French journalist, bourgeois republican, later Bonapartist—137, 234.

Gisquiet, Henri Joseph (1792-1866) police prefect of Paris—145

Gladstone, William (1809-1898)—244, 275, 276, 287, 329, 386, 460, 556

Gneisenau, August von (1760-1831): Prussian general, took part in various campaigns against Napoleon I—307

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang (1749-1832)—139

Gögg, Amand (1820-1897): German democrat, member of Baden revolutionary government in 1849, one of leaders of bourgeois pacifist League of Peace and Freedom—269, 355

Golovin, Ivan Gavrilovich (1816-1890): Russian nobleman, liberal publicist; 1841 went abroad, where he moved in political-emigrant circles—91

Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822-1885): U. S general, appointed Commander-in-Chief of Northern Army in 1864, President of U.S (1869-1877)—184

Grattan, Henry (1746-1820): Irish statesman, well-known parliamentary orator—280

Gray, John (1798-1850) English utopian Socialist, disciple of Owen—127

Grillenberger, Karl (1848-1897): German Social-Democrat, one of organizers of Social-Democratic movement in Bavaria; 1881 became member of Reichstag, reformist—431

Grimm, Jakob Ludwig Karl (1785-1863) German philologist, Germanist—242, 243

Grousset, Pascal (1845-1909) French journalist; member of Central Committee of National Guard and Paris Commune; belonged to the "majority" of Commune—324

Grün, Karl (1817-1887): German publicist, exponent of so-called "true Socialism" (in forties); later bourgeois democrat—31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 167

Guelph the Blind: see Georg V

Guesde, Jules (1845-1922): French Socialist, one of founders of French Workers' Party; in eighties and nineties fought against Possibilists, later one of leaders of Centrism in Second International, during World War I chauvinist—403, 404, 417, 427

Guibert of Nogent (1053-1124): Benedictine monk, theologian and historian—103

Guillaume, James (1844-1917): Swiss Anarchist, close associate of Bakunin, one of leaders of secret "Alliance"; at Hague Congress (1872) was expelled from First International—332

Guillaume-Schack, Gertrude, German Anarchist—461

Guizot, François-Pierre-Guillaume (1787-1874) French bourgeois historian and statesman under Louis Philippe, headed big finance—83, 415, 530

Gülich, Gustav von (1791-1847) German bourgeois historian, author of works on history of political economy—530

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893) German physician in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels—297, 298

H

Habsburgs Austrian dynasty (1273-1918)—221

Haller, Karl Ludwig von (1768-1854) reactionary Swiss politician and writer, expert in public law—532

Hanssen, Georg (1809-1894): German historian, economist and statistician—430

Hardie, James Keir (1856-1915): English politician, reformist, founded Independent Labour Party—526, 527

Hardy, Gathorne (Earl of Cranbrook) (1814-1906) British statesman, Conservative, Minister of Interior (1867-68), cruelly suppressed Fenian insurrection—234

Harkness, Margaret (pseudonym John Law): English writer, member of Social-Democratic Federation—478

Harney, George Julian (1817-1897): one of left-wing leaders of Chartist movement, founded *Society of Fraternal Democrats*, editor of *Northern Star*, Chartist central organ; in 1870's and 1890's lived in America, friend of Marx and Engels—38, 84, 87, 275

Harris, George E.: English journalist, member of General Council of First International (1869-1872), follower of the Chartist O'Brien—279

Harrison, Frederic (1831-1913): English publicist, follower of Auguste Comte—560

Hartmann, Lev Nikolayevich (1850-1913): member of *Narodnaya Volya* ("*People's Will*"), represented it abroad after he emigrated in 1880, knew Marx and Engels personally—227, 422

Hasenclever, Wilhelm (1837-1889) German poet, Lassallean—352, 359

Hasselmann, Wilhelm (b. 1844): one of leaders of Lassalleans; was expelled from German Social Democratic Party in 1880 for his anarchist views—352, 359

Hatzfeldt, Sophie von (Countess) (1805-1881), friend and follower of Lassalle—193, 202, 236, 510

Hauel, Hermann Wilhelm (b. 1833) member of Communist League in Hamburg, arrested in 1851, betrayed members of Central Committee in Cologne, later Prussian Consul in Pratil—62

Haxthausen, August Freiherr von (1792-1866): Prussian official. After visiting Russia in 1843-44 wrote a book on survivals of communal system in land relations of Russia—134, 319, 377

Hébert, Jacques-René (1757-1794): politician during Jacobin dictatorship; one of leaders of Paris Commune in 1792-94—488

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831): 42, 75, 86, 91, 121-124, 130-132, 157, 185, 188, 210, 218, 227, 229, 240, 243, 262, 290, 342, 347, 460, 464, 467, 506, 507, 519, 520, 541, 562

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—301

Heinzen, Carl (1809-1880). German radical publicist, took part in 1848 Revolution, emigrated to America; sworn enemy of communism—83, 84, 85, 86, 93

Hellwald, Friedrich von (1842-1892): German ethnographer, geographer and historian—367

Helmholtz, Hermann von (1821-1894): German physicist and physiologist—373

Helvétius, Claude-Adrien (1715-1771): French materialist philosopher of the Enlightenment—190

Hennessy, John (1834-1891): Irish political figure, Tory—236

Henry IV (1553-1610): King of France (1589-1610)—481

Henry VII (1269-1313): Roman Emperor (1308-1313)—107

Hepner, Adolf (1846-1923): German Social-Democrat; 1869 assisted W. Liebknecht in editing *Volksstaat*; later emigrated to America—308, 344, 372

Heraclitus (c. 535-475 B. C.): ancient Greek philosopher, one of founders of dialectics, spontaneous materialist—121-124

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870): outstanding Russian author and publicist, revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher—90, 91, 377

Hess, Moses (1812-1875): German publicist, representative of "true Socialism" in the forties; in sixties joined Lassalle—194, 196, 199, 200

Hilditch, Richard· English economist, advocate of nationalization of land—415

Hins, Eugène (1839-1923): one of organizers of Belgian Sections of First International, member of Belgian Federal Council; Proudhonist, later Bakuninist—337

Hirsch, Karl (1841-1900): German Social-Democrat, editor of *Volksstaat* (1870-71)—396, 397

Hirsch, Wilhelm: German emigrant in London; for short time was member of Communist League; secret London agent of Prussian police—146

Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679)—157, 368, 506

Höchberg, Dr. Karl (pseudonym Richter) (1853-1885): German journalist, social-philanthropist; financed a number of Social-Democratic newspapers—376, 388, 395, 399

Hofmann, August Wilhelm (1818-1892): German chemist—227, 229

Hohenzollerns: dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Kings of Prussia (1701-1918) and German Emperors (1871-

1918)—116, 174, 209, 303, 308, 309, 374

Hood, John Bell (1831-1879): American Confederate general in Civil War—151

Horner, Leonard (1785-1864): English geologist; social reformer, factory inspector—141

Hubert, Adolph, took part in Paris Commune, French emigrant in London, member of First International—321

Hutten, Ulrich von (1488-1523): German humanist, follower of Luther, one of leaders of German knights during their 1522-1523 revolt—130, 140, 141, 143

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-1895): —168, 559

Hyndman, Henry Mayers (1842-1922): English social reformist, one of founders of Democratic Federation reorganized in 1881 into Social-Democratic Federation Editor of its organ *Justice*, during World War I Social-Chauvinist—172, 497, 499, 536, 537

I

Ibsen, Henrik (1828-1906): Norwegian dramatist—495

Itzig see Lassalle

J

Jacoby, Abraham (b. 1812): member of Communist League, defendant at Cologne Communist trial, later physician in New York—67

Jastrow, Ivan Edvardovich (1841-1892): Russian liberal economist and statistician, Professor at St Petersburg University—479

Jellinger: see Schlemmer

Jomini, Henri (1779-1869): French general, later served in Russian Army, prominent military author—90

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869): English poet, one of leaders of left-wing Chartism, editor of Chartist *People's Paper*; friend of Marx and Engels—53, 81, 87, 119, 120, 132, 211

Jones, Richard (1790-1855): English economist—53

Joss, Fritz (died c. 1517): one of leaders of peasant detachments during Peasant War in Germany.

Joule, James Prescott (1818-1889): English physicist

Jourdan, Jean Baptiste (1762-1833): marshal of France, army commander during revolutionary and Napoleonic wars—193

Jung, Georg (1814-1886): Young Hegelian, one of founders of *Rheinische Zeitung*, 1848 democrat, subsequently National Liberal—27

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901): member of General Council of First International (1864-72); until 1872 supported Marx, 1872 opposed decisions of Hague Congress and waged active struggle against General Council—487

Junge, Adolf Friedrich, Cologne Communist, emigrant in Paris—37

Juch, Hermann: German journalist in London, editor of *Hermann*—145, 146

K

Kaufman, Nikolai Alexeyevich (1842-1919): Russian economist and statistician, Professor at

Moscow University, Liberal Narodnik (Populist)—409

Kablukova (Gorbunova), Minna Karlovna (b. 1840): zemstvo statistician and publicist of Narodnik trend—401

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—186, 188, 372, 506, 519, 541, 562

Kareyev, Nikolai Ivanovich (1850-1931): Russian historian, professor at Petersburg University—481, 482, 483, 484, 486

Kaufmann, Illarion Ignatievich (1848-1916): Russian economist and statistician, professor at Petersburg University—385

**Kautsky, Karl* (1854-1938): a theoretician of German Social-Democracy and Second International; Centrist, during World War I social-pacifist, renegade from Marxism, inveterate enemy of Soviet Union—365, 422, 441, 445, 451, 453, 481, 508, 513, 529, 531, 568, 569

Kautsky, Louise· Austrian Socialist, 1890 became secretary to Engels, delegate to Brussels and Zurich congresses of Second International—489, 569

**Kautsky, Minna* (1836-1912): German author, wrote novels on social themes; mother of Karl Kautsky—466

Kayser, Max (1853-1888): German Social-Democrat, member of right-wing Social-Democratic Reichstag group—397, 431

**Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence* (1859-1932): member of Socialist Labour Party of U.S.A., translated Engels's *Condition of the Working-Class in England* into English; afterwards a bourgeois reformist—473, 476

Kinkel, Gottfried (1815-1882): German publicist and poet, petty-bourgeois democrat, an emigrant in London, he waged fierce struggle against Marx—58, 93, 149

Klapka, Georg (1820-1892): general of Hungarian revolutionary army, later emigrant in Switzerland—150

Klings, Karl· Solingen worker, member of Central Committee of General Association of German Workers—193

Komp, Albrecht: founder of the Communist Club, a German workers' society in New York—147

Kosciuszko, Thadeusz (1746-1817) Polish national hero, headed 1794 uprising—88, 115-116

Kossuth, Ludwig (1802-1894): leader of bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary, head of Hungarian Republic of 1849—78, 150

Krapülinski: nickname of Napoleon III

Kriege, Hermann (1820-1850): representative of German "true socialism," edited *Volkstribun*, a newspaper appearing in New York—37

**Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1830-1902)· Hanover physician, took part in Revolution of 1848, member of First International, helped to publish and distribute Marx's *Capital*—202, 213, 222, 230, 244, 250, 263, 267, 276, 283, 289, 291, 295, 298, 305, 311, 318, 319

L

Labriola, Antonio (1843-1904). Italian man of letters and philosopher; in eighties and nineties was close to Marxism; in his last years retired from political life—566

•Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911) French Socialist, prominent figure of First International, one of founders of French Workers' Party, Marx's son-in-law—215, 216, 264, 318, 322, 403, 404, 414, 417, 418, 427, 555, 557, 566, 568

Lamartine, Alphonse de (1790-1869). French poet and bourgeois-liberal politician, actual head of Provisional Government in 1848—54

•Lange, Friedrich Albert (1828-1875) German neo-Kantian philosopher and publicist; author of social-reformist book on working class—207, 220

Lankester, Edwin Ray (1847-1929): English natural scientist, Professor of London and later Oxford University—409, 435

•Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864): German Socialist, founder of General Association of German Workers; originated opportunist, reformist, trend in German working-class movement (Lassalleism) indefatigably combated by Marx and Engels—121-124, 136, 138, 140, 151, 162, 171, 191, 196, 197, 200, 202-206, 214, 254, 257, 258, 259, 267, 270, 347, 353, 355, 356, 358, 361, 362, 365, 368, 369, 425, 509, 510, 515

Laurent, Auguste (1807-1853): French chemist—229

Lavergne-Peguilhen, Moritz von: Prussian historian and economist, belonged to reactionary romantic school—532, 534

•Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich (1823-1900): Russian publicist and theoretician of Narodism (Russian Populism), founder of so-called "Russian subjective school of sociology"; editor of *Vperyod*, which appeared in Zurich and London—366

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre-Auguste (1807-1874): French political figure, in 1848 member of Provisional Government; one of leaders of petty-bourgeois democrats—54, 55, 76, 78, 253, 551

Lee, Robert Edward (1807-1870): Commander-in-Chief of Confederate Army in American Civil War—184

Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm (1646-1716)—519, 562

Le Lubez, Victor (b. 1830): French emigrant in London, member of General Council of First International; 1866 expelled from International for slandering and intriguing against General Council—179-182

Lenchen: see Demuth, Helene

Leo, Heinrich (1799-1878): German historian, Conservative—489

Leroux, Pierre (1797-1871): French utopian Socialist—476

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781)—122, 290, 549

•Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910): German worker, member of Communist League, took part in Revolution of 1848, active member of First International

friend and close associate of Marx and Engels—254

Levy, Gustav: German Socialist, in fifties opposed Lassalle but later supported him, active member of General Association of German Workers—109, 110, 111, 147

Liebig, Justus von (1803-1873). German chemist, founder of agricultural chemistry—367

**Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900): one of founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy and Second International—88, 194, 195, 198, 199, 203, 204, 220, 253, 260, 267-269, 294, 295, 296, 297, 308, 315, 317, 319, 325, 344, 348, 352, 358, 359, 360, 363, 366, 372, 387, 388, 427, 509, 511, 568

Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1665)—163, 166

Linguet, Simon Nicolas Henri (1736-1794): French publicist and historian—192

List, Friedrich (1789-1846): German bourgeois economist, advocate of protectionism—28

Lizzy: see Burns, Lizzy

Locke, John (1632-1704)—506

Longuet, Charles (1833-1903): French Socialist, Proudhonist, member of General Council of First International and of Paris Commune; Marx's son-in-law—215

Longuet, Madame: see Marx, Jenny (Longuet)

Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich (1845-1918): Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (Populist), member of General Council of First International; 1884-1905 was imprisoned in Schlüsselburg Fortress; friend of Marx—409, 465, 527

Loria, Achille (b. 1857): Italian bourgeois economist—562, 566

Louis XIV (1638-1715): King of France (1643-1715)—283, 385, 481, 525

Louis XV (1710-1774): King of France (1715-1774)—385

Louise: see Kautsky, Louise

Louis Philippe (1773-1850): King of France (1830-1848)—383

Löwe, Wilhelm (Löwe von Calbe) (1814-1886): German politician; in Frankfort Parliament (1848) belonged to democratic Left, one-time president of this parliament, Progressive in sixties and seventies—73, 77

Lubbock, John (Lord Avebury) (1834-1913): English Darwinian biologist, ethnologist and archaeologist—412

Luby, Thomas Clarke (1821-1901) Fenian, contributor to *Irish People*—281

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897): English trade unionist, member of General Council of First International, 1871 broke with International and turned Liberal—217, 275

Lucullus, Lucius Licinius (106-56 B.C.): Roman general, Consul of Roman Republic—151

Ludwig III (1806-1877): Elector of Hesse; 1848 became Grand Duke of Hesse—220

Luther, Martin (1483-1546)—140, 446, 541

Lützow, Adolf von (1782-1834): Prussian general, participant in War of 1813—155

M

McCulloch, John Ramsay (1789-1864). English economist, apologist of capitalism, vulgarizer of Ricardo—85, 233

Machiavelli, Niccolo (1469-1527)—119

Maistre, Joseph Marie, de (1753-1821): French reactionary publicist and political figure of Piedmont, avowed enemy of French bourgeois revolution of late 18th century—532

Malon, Benoit (1841-1893), one of founders of Bakuninist "Alliance," took part in Paris Commune, one of leaders of Possibilists—403, 418, 421, 425, 427

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834) English bourgeois economist, apologist of capitalism, author of reactionary theory of population which justifies poverty of working masses under capitalism—60, 61, 65, 101, 156, 166, 208, 290, 355, 368

Mann, Thomas (1856-1941): prominent in English working-class movement, leader of new Trade Unionism, functionary of Independent Labour Party, since 1920 was member of Communist Party of Great Britain, took part in creation of the Profintern (Red International of Labour Unions)—491

Manning, Henry Edward (1809-1892): English cardinal (since 1875)—431

Manu: mythical author of Hindu Code of Laws—101

Marie de Saint-Georges, Alexandre (1795-1870): French bourgeois republican, member of Provisional Government (1848)—54, 264

Marrast, Armand (1801-1852): French bourgeois republican, editor of *National*, member of Provisional Government (1848)—54

Martens, Joachim Friedrich: German worker, founder of Communist League community in Hamburg—64

Martin, Alexandre (1815-1895): French worker known as Albert, took part in Blanquist secret societies, member of Provisional Government (1848)—55, 530

Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898): Marx's youngest daughter, wife of Edward Aveling; took active part in British and international working-class movements in eighties and nineties—310, 349, 427, 434, 445, 490, 530, 531

Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen) (1814-1881): Marx's wife—31, 59, 69, 83, 88, 89, 156, 167, 227, 297, 417, 434, 436

Marx, Jenny (1844-1883). Marx's eldest daughter, wife of Charles Longuet—257, 288, 291, 431

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—56, 58, 59, 69, 93, 201, 207, 210, 231, 261, 267, 310, 311, 347, 351, 355, 357, 358, 359, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 377, 401, 417, 418, 427, 433, 434, 436, 437, 439, 441, 442, 443, 444, 450, 451, 454, 456, 458, 459, 461, 476, 487, 489, 492, 493, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 515, 529, 532, 535, 537, 539, 540, 550, 551, 553, 560, 566, 568, 570

Marx, Laura (1845-1911). Marx's second daughter, wife of Paul Lafargue—241, 302, 318

Maurer, Georg Ludwig (1790-1872). German historian, studied social structure of ancient and mediaeval Germany—241, 428, 429, 430, 497

Mayne, Richard (1796-1868): London Police Commissioner—221

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872): Italian petty-bourgeois democrat, fought for national unification of Italy; tried to replace influence of First International by his own—69, 70, 71, 78, 180, 181, 234, 337

McClellan, George Brinton (1826-1885): Commander-in-Chief of Army of the North in 1861-62, strove for compromise with pro-slavery elements—154, 163, 166

McKinley, William (1843-1901): President of U S A. (1897-1901), championed high protective tariff of 1890—518

Meagher, Thomas (1823-1867) Irish revolutionary, in 1848 carried on revolutionary propaganda in Ireland; later emigrated to America—236

**Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919). German Social-Democrat, literary critic and historian, one of leaders of left wing of German Social-Democracy; afterwards member of Spartacus League and Communist Party of Germany—531, 540

Meissner, Otto (1850-1930): Hamburg publisher, published Marx's *Capital*—224, 290, 291

Meitzen, August (1822-1910): German statistician and historian of agrarian relations—430

Mendeleyev, Dmitri Ivanovich (1834-1907)—527

**Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904): Spanish Socialist, member of Spanish Federal Council of First International, one of founders of Spanish Workers' Party (1879)—512

Meshchersky, Vladimir Petrovich (1839-1914) Russian reactionary publicist and belletrist; published reactionary newspaper *Grazhdanin*—536

**Meyer, Siegfried* (1840-1872): German Socialist, in 1866 went to America, actively helped to organize New York Section of First International—221, 281, 310

Mieroslawski, Ludwig (1814-1878): Polish revolutionary, took part in Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863, was in command of Baden revolutionary army (1849)—110

Mignet, François-Auguste (1796-1884): French historian of liberal views—550

Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich (1842-1904): Russian publicist and literary critic, theoretician of liberal Narodism (Populism)—376, 378

Mill, James (1773-1836): English historian, philosopher and economist, follower of Ricardo—85, 415

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873): English philosopher, Liberal politician, economist, epigone of bourgeois classical school of political economy—415

Milner, George: Irishman, follower of Chartist O'Brien, member of General Council of First International (1868-1872)—275

Miquel, Johannes (1828-1901): Prussian banker and politician, National-Liberal, in youth was member of Communist League, Minister of Finance (1890-1901)—61, 66, 67, 203, 205, 323, 391

Mirabeau, Honoré-Gabriel (1749-1791): prominent leader of French bourgeois revolution of late 18th century, leader of oppositional nobility and big bourgeoisie—203

Mithridates the Great (132-63 B.C.): King of Pontus—152

Mohammed (c. 570-632)—96, 97, 100

Moleschott, Jacob (1822-1893): German physiologist, vulgar materialist—367

Moltke, Count Helmuth Karl von (1800-1891): German field-marshal and military writer, Conservative, in 1857-88 Chief of General Staff—296

Monteil, Amans Alexis (1769-1850): French historian—282

Montesquieu, Charles, baron de (1689-1755)—541

Moore, Samuel (1830-1912): translator of *Capital* and *Communist Manifesto* into English, friend of Marx and Engels—303

Morgan, Lewis Henry (1818-1881): American ethnologist, studied primitive society—441, 445, 446, 447, 550

Morley, Samuel (1809-1886): English Liberal M. P.—322

Möser, Justus (1720-1791): German reactionary publicist and historian—242

Most, Johann (1846-1906): German Social-Democrat, adherent of Dühring's vulgar-materialist philosophy; afterwards became Anarchist—371, 372, 375, 419, 436, 437, 438

Mottershead, Thomas: Irish worker, member of General Council of First International (1869-1872); at Hague Congress (1872) joined Marx's opponents—275

Mühlberger, Arthur (1817-1907): German publicist, Proudhonist, author of article "The Housing Question" published in *Volksstaat*, in reply to which Engels wrote series of articles of identical title (1872-1873)—315

Müller, Adam Heinrich (1779-1829): German reactionary sociologist—532

Müller-Tellering, Eduard von: German journalist, Vienna correspondent of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, later London emigrant, 1850 opened campaign of slander against Marx and Engels—148, 149, 150

Münzer, Thomas (c. 1490-1525): German plebeian revolutionary, one of principal leaders of Peasant War in Germany (1524-25); propagated egalitarian utopian communism—140, 570

N

Nabruzzi, Lodovico (born c. 1813): member of First International in Ravenna, Bakuninist—331

Napoleon I (Bonaparte) (1769-1821): Emperor of the French (1804-1814 and 1815)—73, 74, 81, 90, 115, 192, 298, 299, 307, 337, 415, 493, 504, 549, 550

Napoleon III (Louis Bonaparte) (1808-1873): Emperor of the French (1852-1870)—74-77, 80 81, 92, 114, 136, 137, 138, 173, 183, 191, 192, 196, 218, 221, 289, 291, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 303, 306, 312, 313, 316, 319, 324, 340, 383, 415, 456

Nechayev, Sergei Gennadiyevich (1847-1882): Russian Anarchist, conspirator—332, 340

Nim: see Demuth, Helene

Nothjung, Peter (1821-1880): one of defendants at Cologne Communist trial, afterwards Lassallean—64

Novoïrl (1280-1332). Arabian historian—100

O

O'Connell, Daniel (1775-1847): leader of Irish nationalists, representative of moderate Irish bourgeoisie—281

O'Connor, Feargus Edward (1794-1855): Chartist leader, publisher of *Northern Star*—87

Odger, George (1820-1877): English worker, trade union leader, member of General Council of First International, after Paris Commune renegade—179, 180, 234, 244, 275

O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah (1831-1915): one of Fenian leaders, published *Irish People*; later emigrated to U.S.A. where he led Fenian left trend—275, 278, 287

Orleans: younger line of house of Valois and later of Bourbons—77

Orsini, Felice (1809-1858): Italian nationalist, conspiratorial revolutionary; 1858 attempted life of Napoleon III—136

Otto-Walster, August· German Social-Democrat, journalist—366

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—223, 364, 479

P

Palikao, Charles Cousin Montauban (1796-1878): French general, Prime Minister and Minister of War when Republic was proclaimed in September 1870—301

Palmerston, Henry John (1784-1865)—114, 135, 276

•*Popritz, Eugenie Edwardovna* (1853-1919): Russian singer, later carried on research in Russian music; was connected with illegal Moscow Translators' and Publishers' Society (1882-1884) which issued a number of Russian translations of works by Marx and Engels—450

•*Patten, Philipp van*: American bourgeois, joined socialist movement; since 1876 Secretary of Central Workers' Society in New York; left working-class movement in eighties and became public official—436

Pélissier, Jean-Jacques (1794-1864): French general; in 1855 was appointed to supreme command of French troops in the Crimea—137

Perret, Henri; Swiss Socialist, active member of First Interna-

tional, Secretary of Latin Federal Committee in Geneva—348

Peter I (1672-1725) Emperor of Russia (1682-1725)—191

Petty, Sir William (1623-1687) English economist and statistician, founder of classical school of bourgeois political economy—61, 127

Philip II Augustus (1165-1223) King of France (1180-1223)—542

Pieper, Wilhelm (1826-c. 1899) German philologist and journalist, member of Communist League, London emigrant—78, 82

Pigott, Richard (1828-1889) Irish journalist, editor of *Irishman*—281

Pindar (c. 518-442 B. C.) lyrical poet of ancient Greece—383

Pitt, William (the younger) (1759-1806) English statesman, leader of Whig Party, Prime Minister during war of England against revolutionary France—164, 230, 498

Plato (427-347 B.C.)—570

**Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich* (1856-1918) organizer of first Russian Marxist group "Emancipation of Labour" in 1883, eminent propagandist and pioneer of Marxism in Russia of eighties and nineties, after Second Congress of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party became Menshevik; during World War I social-chauvinist—424, 429, 530, 561

Plon-Plon, nickname of Bonaparte, Joseph

Plutarch (c. 46-c. 120)—124

Pompey (106-48 B. C.): Roman general—151, 152

Pope, John (1822-1892): general of the Federal Army during the Civil War in U.S.A.—163

Potter, George (1832-1893): English trade unionist, founder and editor of *Beehive*—182, 234, 241

Pouyer-Quertier, Auguste (1820-1891) French politician, Bonapartist, 1871 Finance Minister in Thiers government—321

Powderly, Terence Vincent (1849-1924): American Socialist, leader of Order of Knights of Labor (1879-1893)—470, 473

**Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph* (1809-1865): French economist, ideologist of petty-bourgeoisie, founder of anarchism—32-37, 32-51, 78, 185-192, 194, 203, 215, 223, 232, 255, 257, 271, 327, 328, 337, 361, 415, 442, 453

Pumps: see Rosher, Mary Ellen

Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich (1799-1837)—518

Puttkamer, Robert Viktor von (1828-1900) Prussian reactionary, Minister of Interior (1881-1888); one of organizers of persecutions of Social-Democracy at time of Exceptional Law—431

Pyat, Félix (1810-1889): French petty-bourgeois journalist, neo-Jacobin, member of Commune (1871); later emigrated to England, engaged in calumnious attacks against Marx and General Council—111, 321

Q

Quesnay, François (1694-1774)· French economist, founder of physiocratic school—174, 177, 178

R

Ramm, Hermann. German Social-Democrat, member of *Volksstaat* editorial board—359

Ranke, Leopold (1795-1886) German bourgeois historian—484

Raumer, Friedrich (1781-1873): German bourgeois historian, member of Frankfort National Assembly, 1848-1849—192

Raveaux, Franz (1810-1851)· German democrat, leader of moderate left of Frankfort National Assembly and member of Baden revolutionary government; later emigrant—64

Reinhardt, Richard: German emigrant in Paris, secretary to Heinrich Heine—78, 80

Reynolds, George William (1814-1879): English journalist, Radical, publisher of *Reynolds' Weekly Newspaper*—275

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—60, 62, 85, 101, 125, 127, 156, 160, 161, 164, 165, 174, 188, 208, 238, 239, 240, 252, 271, 273, 274, 355, 415

Richard I (Coeur-de-Lion) (1157-1199): King of England (1189-1199)—542

Richter, Eugen (1838-1906): leader of German Progressives and subsequently of Free Thinkers, sworn enemy of Social-Democracy—522

Rings: member of Communist League, emigrant in London—88

Roberts, William (1806-1871): Irish emigrant in America, a leader of secret Fenian organization—235

Robespierre, Maximilien (1758-1794): outstanding personage of French bourgeois revolution of late 18th century, Jacobin leader, head of revolutionary government (1793-1794)—75, 110, 193, 483, 488, 489

Robin, Paul (b 1837): French Bakuninist, secretary of Geneva Section of Alliance; 1871 was expelled from General Council of International—337

Rodbertus, Johann Karl (Jagetzow) (1805-1875): German economist, "Socialist of the chair," theoretician of Prussian-Junker "state socialism"—443, 451, 453, 454

Roscher, Wilhelm (1817-1891): German vulgar economist—238, 240

Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig (b. 1850): German journalist; until 1889 secretary of National Executive Committee of Socialist Labor Party in U.S.A.—490

Röser, Peter Gerhardt (1814-1865): German handicraftsman, member of Communist League, a defendant at Cologne Communist trial—91, 148

Rosher, Mary Ellen (née Burns, nicknamed Pumps): niece of Engels's wife, brought up by Engels—373, 401, 513

Rosher, P. W. (P.W.R.): a pseudonym of Engels

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712-1778)—192, 541

Rudolph I of Habsburg (1218-1291): Holy Roman Emperor (1273-1291), founder of Austrian Habsburg dynasty—108

*Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880): German Radical publicist, left Hegelian; 1841 jointly with Marx published *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*; 1848 member of Frankfort National Assembly; petty-bourgeois democrat; 1866 became supporter of Bismarck—25, 27, 66, 93, 148, 292

Rüstow, Friedrich Wilhelm (1821-1878) military writer of democratic views, chief of staff in Garibaldi's expedition (1860)—161

S

Südt public Prosecutor at Cologne Communist trial—88

Saint-Just, Louis-Antoine-Léon de (1767-1794) in French bourgeois revolution of late 18th century was member of National Convention and Committee of Public Safety—75

Saint-Simon, Henri de (1760-1825)—163, 327, 479, 559, 560

Sassanids ancient Persian dynasty (224 to 651)—100

Say, Jean-Baptiste (1767-1832): French vulgar economist—85

Scharper, Karl (1813-1870): one of League of the Just leaders, member of Central Committee of Communist League, 1850 he and Willich headed "left" faction of Communist League which opposed Marx, later was again close to Marx; in 1865 member of General Council of First International—59, 77, 95, 111, 221

Schedo Ferroti see Firkx

Scherzer, Andreas (1807-1879): German tailor, follower of Weitling, active member of German workers' educational society in London, editor of London *Neue Zeit* and contributor to *Das Volk*—111, 147

Scheewitsch, Sergei editor of *Yorker Volkszeitung*—490

Schiller, Friedrich (1759-1805)—140, 142, 147, 467

Schily, Victor (1810-1876) German democrat, took part in Baden uprising (1849), later emigrant in Paris, member of First International—59

Schleiden, Matthias Jakob (1804-1881) German botanist, one of authors of cell theory—131

Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph (1776-1861): German bourgeois historian, liberal—151

Schlüter, Hermann (d. 1919) German Social-Democrat, emigrated to U.S.A. where he took part in German Social Democratic movement; author of works on history of working-class movement in Great Britain and America—535

*Schmidt, Conrad (1863-1932), German Social-Democrat, neo-Kantian; subsequently revisionist, one of founders of revisionist *Sozialistische Monatshefte*—193, 500, 519, 562, 570

Schuli: Lyons worker, emigrant in London—319

Schorlemmer, Karl (Hollymeyer) (1834-1892) prominent chemist, born in Germany, Communist, Professor of Chemistry in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels—227, 293, 431, 446

Schramm, Karl August German economist; since early seventies took part in Social-Democratic movement, in eighties came out

against Marxism and abandoned Social-Democracy—454

Schramm, Rudolf (1813-1882): German publicist, 1848 member of left wing in Prussian diet, later adherent of Bismarck—203

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883): German bourgeois economist, one of leaders of bourgeois party of Progressives in sixties, propagandized producers' co-operative societies to be organized from savings of workers—205, 210, 234, 257

Schwann, Theodor (1810-1882): German zoologist, one of authors of cell theory—131

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1876) one of leaders of Lassallean General Association of German Workers, gave support to Bismarck's policy; after 1871 retired from political life—185, 194, 198, 203, 205, 253, 254, 256, 267, 269, 292, 327, 338, 388, 611

Schwitzguébel, Adhémor (1844-1895): Swiss Bakuninist, member of Alliance Committee, one of leaders of Jura Federation—332

Senior, William Nassou (1790-1864): English vulgar economist, apologist of capitalism—85, 231

Serraillier, Auguste (b. 1840) French worker, member of General Council of First International and Paris Commune; friend and adherent of Marx and Engels—314

Sertorius, Quintus (1st cent. B.C.) Roman general—152

Shakespeore, William (1564-1616) —140, 142, 152, 349

Shaw, George Bernard (1856-1950): English author, like Webb, central figure in Fabian Society—529

Shermon, William (1820-1891): American general, commanded Eastern Union Army during U.S. Civil War—184

Sickingen, Franz von (1481-1523): German knight, joined Reformation movement, head of 1522-1523 uprising of knights—138-143

Siebel, Karl (1836-1868): Rhineland poet, relative of Engels—193

Sieber, Nikolai Ivonovich (1844-1888): Russian economist, one of first propagandists in Russia of Marx's economic theory—109

Simon, Jules (1814-1896): French bourgeois republican; 1848 supported Cavaignac, 1871 played leading part in suppression of Paris Commune by Versailles Government—264

Singer, Paul (1844-1911): German Social-Democrat, 1887 became member of Executive of Social-Democratic Party—538

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—43, 160, 164, 174, 239, 250, 518, 542

Solon (6th cent. B.C.): Athenian legislator at time of decay of gentile system in ancient Greece—547

Sombart, Werner (1863-1941): German bourgeois economist: tried to refute Marx's labour theory of value—506, 570

Sonnemann, Leopold (1831-1909): German democrat, founder and editor of *Frankfurter Zeitung*—363

Sorge, Friedrich Albert (1823

1906): German Marxist, prominent figure in international working-class movement Participant in German revolution of 1848-49 After defeat of Baden insurrection of 1849 emigrated to USA where he later organized sections of First International. Secretary of General Council of First International after its removal to New York. friend of Marx and Engels—318, 320, 374, 375, 396, 403, 414, 434, 437, 469, 486, 490, 521, 531, 537, 556

Spartacus Roman gladiator, headed uprising of slaves in Roman Republic (73-71 BC)—151

Spinoza, Benedict (1632-1677)—290

**Starkenburg, Heinz*: German Social-Democrat, contributed to *Neue Zeit*—549

Stephens, James (1825-1901) Irish revolutionary (Fenian)—235

Stewart, James (1712-1780). English economist, mercantilist—127

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1892). chief of Prussian political police, rigged up Cologne Communist trial (1852). during wars of 1866 and 1870 71 headed Prussian intelligence service—83, 145, 291, 308, 365

Stirner, Max (pseudonym of *Johann Kaspar Schmidt*) (1806-1856): German philosopher, advocate of bourgeois individualism and anarchism—67

Strousberg, Bethel Henry (1823-1884): Big German financier, speculator during era of frenzied company promotion, railway magnate. Conservative—392

Struve, Pyotr Berngardovich (1870-1914): Russian bourgeois publicist, "legal Marxist," later monarchist, took active part in armed counter-revolutionary struggle against Soviet Russia—545

Stuarts English royal dynasty (1603-1714)—26

Stumpf, Paul (1827-1913): member of Communist League, took part in Revolution of 1848-49, later Social-Democrat, Eisenacher—217, 220

Sulla, Lucius Cornelius (138-78 BC). Roman general, adherent of democratic party, afterwards switched to the camp of landed oligarchy—152

Swinton, John (1830-1901): American journalist, abolitionist, Radical, editor of several newspapers—414

Szemere, Bartholomew (1812-1869): Hungarian politician and publicist; 1849 Prime Minister of Hungarian revolutionary government—87

T

Tacitus, Publius Cornelius (c. 55-120)—242

Taine, Hippolyte (1828-1893): French reactionary historian, literary and art critic—451, 495

Talandier, Pierre-Théodor (1822-1890): French petty-bourgeois republican, took part in Revolution of 1848; 1865 member of General Council of First International, later Bakuninist—110, 227

Techow, Gustav Adolph (1811-1893): Prussian officer, chief of

staff of Baden revolutionary army (1849)—72, 78

Tedesco, Victor (1821-1897): Belgian Socialist—52

Tellering: see Müller-Tellering

Ténot, Eugène (1839-1890): French journalist, bourgeois republican, in eighties member of House of Deputies—263

**Terzaghi, Carlo*: Italian Bakuninist, secretary of "Emancipation of Proletariat," a Turin workers' society; editor of newspaper *Il Proletario Italiano*; exposed by Marx and Engels as agent of Italian police—331

Tessendorf, Hermann (1831-1895): Prussian Junker; 1873 became Public Prosecutor of Berlin, instituted prosecution of Social-Democrats—365

Thierry, Augustin (1795-1856). French liberal historian—85, 105, 106, 550

Thiers, Louis-Adolphe (1797-1877): French bourgeois historian and politician, hangman of Paris Commune—73, 74, 190, 264, 317, 319, 321, 325, 340

Thünen, Johann Heinrich von (1783-1850): German economist—239, 240

Tocqueville, Alexis Charles (1805-1859): French historian and statesman, Liberal—481

Tolain, Henri-Louis (1828-1897): French worker, Proudhonist, one of founders of French Section of First International; 1870 turned renegade, enemy of Paris Commune; 1871 expelled from International—179, 332

Tölcke, Karl Wilhelm (1817-1893): Lassallean, succeeded Bernhard Becker to presidency of General Association of German Workers—352, 359

**Tönnies, Ferdinand* (b. 1855): German bourgeois sociologist—559

Torricelli, Evangelista (1608-1647): Italian mathematician and physicist—548

Tridon, Eduard-Marie (1841-1871). French journalist, Blanquist, member of First International and Paris Commune—261

**Trier, Gerson*: Danish Social-Democrat, translator of Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, during World War I internationalist—491

Trochu, Louis-Jules (1815-1896): French general, 1870 President of Government of National Defence, one of butchers of Paris Commune—301, 311, 312

**Turati, Filippo* (1857-1932): Italian Socialist, reformist, one of founders and leaders of Italian Socialist Party; during World War I chauvinist—551

Tussy: see Marx, Eleanor

Tylor, Edward Burnett (1832-1917): English ethnologist and student of primitive culture—142

U

Urquhart, David (1805-1877): English diplomatist and publicist, opponent of Palmerston's foreign policy—127

V

Vahlteich, Karl Julius (1839-1915). German Social-Democrat, reformist; one of founders of Ger-

eral Association of German workers, later follower of Eisenachers; emigrated to America—363, 364

Varlin, Louis-Eugène (1839-1871): French bookbinder, an outstanding personality of French labour movement in sixties, left Proudhonist; member of Federal Council of Paris Sections of First International, took a leading part in Paris Commune, shot by Versaillists—321

Vauban, Sébastien (1633-1707) French marshal, military engineer and publicist—525

Vermorel, Auguste-Jean-Marie (1841-1871) French revolutionary journalist and historian, Proudhonist, took active part in Paris Commune and gave his life in its defence—204

Vesinier, Pierre (1826-1902) French journalist, Republican, organizer of French Section of First International in London, headed slanderous campaign against General Council and Marx, in 1868 was expelled from International—324

Victor-Emmanuel II (1820-1878). King of Sardinia and Piedmont (1849-1860), and of united Italy (1861-1879)—136

Vidocq, François-Eugène (1775-1857): French adventurer and police agent—145

Viereck, Ludwig (1851-1921). German Social-Democrat, a leader of right wing of Social Democratic Reichstag group; 1886 emigrated to U.S.A. and withdrew from socialist movement—431

Vinoy, Joseph (1800-1880): French general who commanded Versailles army against Paris Commune—319

Vogel von Falkenstein, Eduard (1797-1885): Prussian general, took part in Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71—309

Vogt, August (c. 1830-c. 1863): German worker, member of Communist League and General Association of German Workers; 1867 moved to America; active member of First International in U.S.A.—281

Vogt, Karl (1817-1895). German vulgar materialist, avowed enemy of working-class and communist movement; exposed by Marx as agent of Napoleon III—146, 148, 150, 319, 367

Vollmar, Georg Heinrich (1850-1922). German Social-Democrat, member of Reichstag; 1879-80 editor of Zurich *Sozialdemokrat*, ideologist of reformism—425, 426, 427, 557

Voltaire, François-Marie (Arouet) (1694-1778)—193

W

Wachsmuth, Wilhelm (1784-1866). German historian, Professor in Leipzig, author of numerous general histories—512

Wade, John (1788-1875): English economist and publicist—43

Wagener, Hermann (1815-1889): German publicist, follower of Bismarck, editor of *Kreuzzei-*

tung—204, 209

Wagner, Adolph (1835-1917): German bourgeois economist, professorial Socialist, founder of reactionary Christian-Social Party—290

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796-1862): English economist and colonial statesman—85, 273

Waldeck, Benedict (1802-1870): member of Prussian National Diet; in sixties member of Prussian Landtag and leader of Progressive Party—67

Wolpole, Spencer Horace (1806-1898): English statesman, Conservative—228

Walster: see Otto-Walster

Webb, Sidney (1859-1947). historian and theoretician of British trade unionism, one of founders of Fabian Society; during World War I chauvinist—531

Weerth, Georg Ludwig (1822-1856): German poet and journalist; member of Communist League and of Editorial Board of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, friend of Marx and Engels—69

Weitling, Wilhelm (1808-1871): German utopian Communist, adherent of equalitarian communism—38, 376

Weston, John: English worker, Owenist, member of General Council of First International—180, 181, 212, 235, 275, 315

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-1866): member of Communist League, participant in Revolution of 1848; emigrated to America; one of founders of "German Workers' Society" in New York; took part in American Civil War in the Army of the North; member of First International, friend of Marx and Engels—69, 83, 90, 183

Whately, Richard (1787-1863): English archbishop, Professor of political economy at Drummond and Dublin—85

William I (1797-1888): King of Prussia (1861-1888), German Emperor (1871-1888)—106, 167, 220, 291, 295, 296, 301, 309, 414, 431, 447, 543

Williams, A.- pseudonym of Marx

Willich, August (1810-1878): Prussian officer, Commander of volunteer corps during Baden insurrection in 1849, member of Central Committee of Communist League in London; headed "left" faction which opposed Marx, 1853 went to America—58, 59, 72, 77, 95, 111

Wischnewetzky. see Kelley-Wischnewetzky

Wolff, Ferdinand ("Red Wolff") (1812-1895): German journalist, member of Communist League and of Editorial Board of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, emigrated to England—73

Wolff, Luigi: Mazzini's secretary, participant in Garibaldi's campaigns, member of General Council of First International in 1864-65; later proved to be Bonapartist spy—179, 180, 181

Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864): German publicist, member of Central Committee of Communist League, of Editorial Board of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, in 1851 emigrated to London; comrade-in-arms and friend of Marx and Engels—69

Wurtz, Charles-Adolphe (1817-1884) French chemist—229

Y

York, Theodor (1830-1874): German Social-Democrat, member of Lassallean General Association of German Workers, later Eisenacher—314

Z

*Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna (1851-1919) began as Narodnik (Populist), one of founders of "Emancipation of Labour" group in 1883; after Second Congress of Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party joined Menshevik, then Liquidator—411, 442, 458

Zhukovsky, Julius Galaktionovich (1822-1907): Russian bourgeois journalist Wrote article "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital" (Vestnik Evropy, No. 9, 1877) in which he tried to criticize Marx's economic theory—376, 444, 525

Zola, Emile (1840-1902)—179

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К. МАРКС и Ф. ЭНГЕЛЬС

ИЗБРАННЫЕ ПИСЬМА

На английском языке