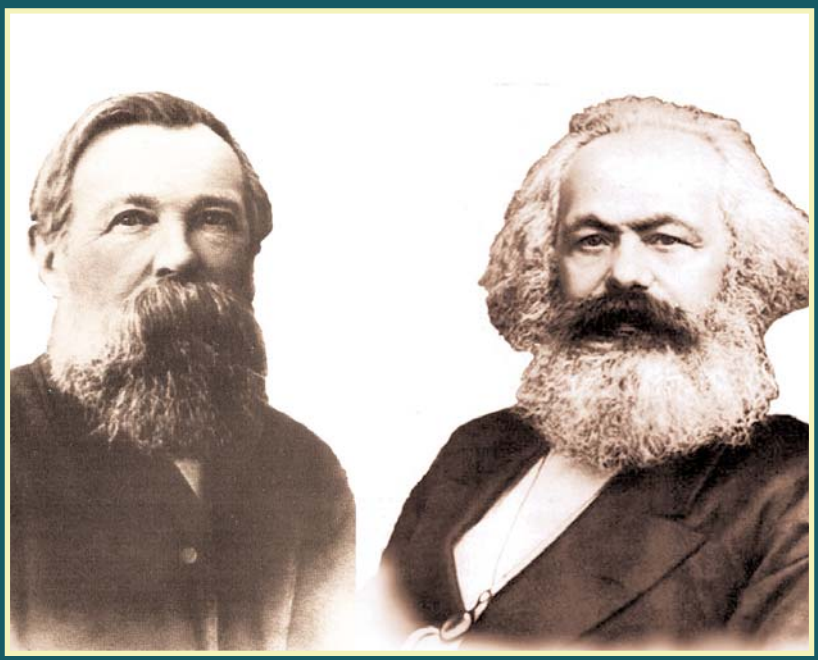
MARX & ENGELS
COLLECTED WORKS



VOLUME 27

Engels 1890-95

KARL MARX
FREDERICK ENGELS

Volume
27

Engels 1890-95

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DAVID FORGACS: Works 35, 55

VICTOR SCHNITTKE: Works 42 (part), 45, 66, 68, Appendices 2, 4, 5

STEPAN APRESYAN: Works 63, 66

Preface

Volume 27 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains the writings of Frederick Engels from the beginning of 1890 up to his death in 1895, thus completing the part of this edition which includes the works of Marx and Engels other than those on economics, which comprise volumes 28 to 37.

The works in this volume reflect Engels' wide range of activities in the final years of his life. These include editing the manuscripts of Volume Three of *Capital* for publication, helping socialist parties in working out theses and tactics, day-to-day contacts with representatives of various national working-class movements and attempting to consolidate the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat. Engels also paid particular attention to foreign policy questions against the background of a growing threat of war in Europe.

In this volume the reader will find a number of items which, although brief, are of major theoretical importance. They vary greatly in form, including articles for journals and newspapers, prefaces and introductions to new editions of works by Marx and by Engels himself, messages of greetings to socialist parties and workers' organisations, various notes, and so on.

The contents of this volume are closely connected with the volumes containing Engels' correspondence for 1890-1895 (vols 48, 49 and 50). Many of the problems merely mentioned in passing here are examined in greater detail in his letters. In his writings and correspondence of this period Engels sums up, as it were, his reflections on the historical experience of the struggle for emancipation of the proletariat over the preceding decades, and at the same time considers new trends in economics and

politics, trying to assess the effect of these changes on the prospect of the international revolutionary process.

Throughout the whole volume runs the idea that the capitalist mode of production has proved to be stabler than it appeared before, and capable of developing further and of extending its spheres of influence. In this connection Engels emphasises the need for socialist parties to make use of bourgeois-democratic institutions to win over the mass of the working class and other strata of the working people whilst at the same time continuing to struggle for the ultimate goal, the establishment of a new social order.

Engels examines all the major problems characteristic of this historical period both from the viewpoint of the most pressing tasks and of the more remote prospects of the working-class struggle. He devotes his attention to changes in the political life of many European states, the impressive achievements of the working-class movement (the formation and consolidation of the socialist parties and the creation of a new international proletarian alliance, the Second International), and the growth of this movement into a significant political force. Alongside the recognition of Marxism as the theoretical basis for socialist parties, he also perceives a certain revival of opportunism and anarchism, and a tendency to vulgarise and distort Marx's teaching. Engels notes the increasingly uneven development of capitalism and the aggravation of contradictions between the leading capitalist countries, fraught with the danger of war in Europe.

Engels' research work was always concrete. His theoretical writings were inseparable from his practical participation in the working-class struggle. This is equally true of the final period of his life. Almost all the works published in this volume were written either in response to specific events in the working-class and socialist movement or in connection with the need to develop and explain highly important questions of Marxist theory.

A major place in this activity was occupied by questions concerning Marx's economic teaching. Engels considered it his prime duty to complete the work on and disseminate Marx's *Capital*. The end of 1894 saw the publication of Volume Three. Engels had worked on the manuscripts for about ten years. He gave a brief outline of the contents and a description of its connection with the earlier volumes in "The Third Volume of

Karl Marx's *Capital*" and "On the Contents of the Third Volume of *Capital*", published here. In the Preface to Volume Three (see present edition, Vol. 37) Engels described the difficulties he had encountered in his work, noting that the delay in publication was due to pressing obligations to the international workers' movement. The fourth German edition of Volume One of *Capital* came out in 1890 and the second edition of Volume Two in 1893, both under his editorship. In the preface to the fourth German edition of Volume One (see present edition, Vol. 35) Engels showed yet again the invalidity of attempts by certain bourgeois economists to accuse Marx of misquoting and thereby discredit him as a scholar. (See also *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx* which is also devoted to this question.)

The new edition, prepared by Engels, of Marx's popular work *Wage Labour and Capital* (1891) also served to propagate Marx's economic teaching. Engels made some alterations and additions to the text of this work (written in 1849) in keeping with Marx's subsequent development of his economic teaching. The Introduction to this edition contains a popular exposition of the principles of Marxist political economy, above all, of the mechanism of capitalist exploitation.

Up to his very last days Engels sought to keep abreast of the processes taking place in capitalist economy. He concentrated on the changes in the forms of organisation of capitalist production which had been detected in embryo by Marx and himself back in the 1870s, and which acquired a more distinct character in the last decade of the 19th century. In his work "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891" and in several other articles he noted the rapidly growing significance of such forms of production and capital concentration as joint-stock companies, cartels and trusts, "which dominate and monopolise whole branches of industry" (p. 224) and are an "organised monopoly" (p. 330). Engels saw this phenomenon, and also the increasing role played by stock-exchange operations and the export of capital, as well as the growing unevenness in the development of different countries, as the main tendencies determining the future development of the capitalist mode of production, which later, at the turn of the century, led to the entry of capitalism into a qualitatively new stage, imperialism. These ideas were worked out in greater detail by Engels in his Supplementary Notes to Volume Three of *Capital*, "The Stock Exchange" (present edition, Vol. 37), in some footnotes to the text of that volume and additions to the fourth German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* published in

1891 (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 318 and 323), and also in the additions to the text of *Anti-Dühring* made in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 639-40 and 642).

The tendency for free competitive capitalism to grow into monopoly capitalism and the increasing role of the bourgeois state in the management of the economy were regarded by Engels, on the one hand, as evidence of the relative stability of capitalism—its ability to create new forms of the organisation of production more in keeping with the growing productive forces and—on the other, as a factor contributing to the aggravation of contradictions between the major capitalist states.

An important part of Engels' theoretical work was the formulation of tactics for socialist parties with due regard for changes that had occurred in the previous twenty years in the economic and political life of European states, particularly in the working-class movement itself. A considerable portion of this volume is taken up by works which analyse the situation and prospects of the working-class struggle and determine the ways and means of attaining immediate and ultimate aims in the context of the specific national characteristics of each country. Engels wrote many of them in the form of prefaces and introductions to new editions of Marx's and his own works. For these new editions he chose such works as elucidated key problems of the struggle of the previous few decades and were therefore particularly relevant to socialist parties formed during the preceding ten to fifteen years; these works were to help them master the Marxist method of analysing current events and find the most effective means for practical struggle. The new publications of such works as *The Civil War in France* and *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* by Marx, their joint work *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* and others enabled him in the introductions and prefaces not only to express his own ideas on the forms and prospects of the struggle for emancipation, but also to introduce readers to the Marxist method of studying contemporary political and tactical problems.

Another group of works consists of articles written in connection with specific events in the working-class movement or in the political life of individual countries. These writings proved to be of great interest for the international socialist movement as a whole.

Changes in the political climate were felt most of all in Germany. This was directly linked with the successes of the German Social Democrats, the strongest contingent of the international socialist working-class movement at that time. The present volume opens with two articles dealing with the major victory of the German socialists in the elections to the Reichstag on February 20, 1890—"The Elections of 1890 in Germany" and "What Now?"—in which Engels highly assesses this event which meant the failure of attempts by the reactionary bourgeois-Junker governmental bloc to put down the revolutionary vanguard of the German working class. The fate of the Anti-Socialist Law was thus predetermined. In the autumn of the same year it was repealed. Its initiator and the main organiser of the persecution of the socialists, Bismarck, had retired even before that, shortly after the elections. The collapse of the Bismarck regime was important not only for the German working class. It showed that the policy of outright suppression of the socialist working-class movement had outlived itself. It became clear that the bourgeoisie would now increasingly determine its policy with a view to combining its political hegemony with the legalisation of the working-class movement. This tendency manifested itself in other West European countries as well. Socialist parties were faced with the need to interpret the qualitative changes in political life and work out tactics suited to the new situation. Engels called on them to do this, stressing that in the present circumstances legal means of struggle could be far more effective than attempts to force events without any chance of success. "The attempt must be made," wrote Engels in his "Farewell Letter to the Readers of the *Sozialdemokrat*", "to get along with legal methods of struggle for the time being. Not only we are doing this, it is being done by all workers' parties in all countries where the workers have a certain measure of legal freedom of action, and this for the simple reason that it is the most productive method for them" (this volume, p. 78).

In the article "Socialism in Germany", which analyses the results of the parliamentary elections in that country over the preceding twenty years, he again stresses that legality "is working so well for us that we would be mad to spurn it as long as the situation lasts" (p. 241). Engels sets out these conclusions in most detail in his final work "Introduction to Karl Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (1895)". He again reminds readers that the socialists now have to wage their struggle in a totally new situation, a time of relatively peaceful development, when they can

successfully make use of legal means of working in the masses and in the interests of the masses in most capitalist states. Engels regarded it as the most important international achievement of the German Social Democrats that they had managed, even under the Anti-Socialist Law, to become a truly mass party and thus to prove the correctness of their chosen tactics by combining legal and illegal means without resorting to violence. "Everywhere the German example of utilising the suffrage, of winning all posts accessible to us, has been imitated" (p. 520).

Historical experience, particularly that of the Paris Commune, has shown that the victory of the socialist revolution, in whatever form, is impossible without the conscious participation of the broad masses. Consequently Engels insisted on the need to use all possible means to win over the masses: "Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must also be in on it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are fighting for,body and soul" (ibid.). Here Engels was referring not only to the workers, but to other strata of working people, above all, the peasantry. "...Even in France," he wrote further on, "the Socialists are realising more and more that no lasting victory is possible for them unless they first win over the great mass of the people, i.e. the peasants in this instance" (pp. 520-21).

However, in this work and others published in this volume, Engels at the same time warns against relying exclusively on legal means of struggle and stresses constantly that socialist parties should be ready to use other tactics, including violent ones, if the ruling classes again resort to aggressive methods of suppressing the workers' movement and if the course of historical development leads to a revolutionary crisis.

At the same time Engels saw the complexities and difficulties facing socialist parties in the new historical conditions. This applied to the German Social Democrats in particular. The transition to new forms of struggle had produced phenomena in their ranks which aroused Engels' misgivings. In the articles "Reply to the Editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*" and "Reply to Mr. Paul Ernst", both published in this volume, and others, Engels condemned actions by the oppositional group of the "Young" at the beginning of the 1890s, which made demagogic use of the opportunist mistakes of individual party leaders and accused all its leadership of renouncing revolutionary aims. The oppositional group also sought to force upon the party "tactics that are utterly insane" (p. 85) and adventuristic and make it

reduce parliamentary activity, etc., to a minimum. Such tactics, Engels shows, would inevitably lead to a break with the masses and might provoke the authorities to renew persecutions; in short, they "would be sufficient to bury the strongest party of millions" (p. 70). Engels' speeches and also his numerous letters to comrades-in-arms (see present edition, Vol. 48) rendered important assistance to the party leaders in their struggle against the group of the "Young", which ceased to exist shortly afterwards.

Engels saw another, even greater, danger in the opportunist moods of a number of active party members, which were increasingly reflecting reformist trends. His exposure of such views was of special importance in connection with the drafting in 1891 of a new programme for the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Precisely because of this Engels considered it expedient to publish Marx's manuscript *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (present edition, Vol. 24) hitherto known only to a few party leaders. In his Preface to the publication Engels wrote: "I think I would be guilty of suppression if I any longer withheld from publicity this important—perhaps the most important—document relevant to this discussion" (this volume, p. 92). It focussed the attention of the German Social Democrats on the importance of revolutionary theory for the day-to-day practice of the working-class movement to counterbalance the pragmatism characteristic of the opportunists, in particular, the followers of Lassalle. It dealt a heavy blow to the cult of Ferdinand Lassalle, still widespread at that time among German Social Democrats. This publication displeased some party leaders at first, but it was widely appreciated in party circles. The appearance of this work by Marx largely made it possible to overcome Lassallean influence in the new party programme.

"A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891", written in the form of comments on the draft and not then intended for publication is a most important document reflecting Engels' role in the victory of Marxist programmatic and tactical principles in German Social Democracy. Stressing that the draft "differs very favourably from the former programme" and "is, on the whole, based on present-day science" (p. 219), Engels made a number of comments whose theoretical significance goes far beyond concrete criticism of the draft's individual theses. He noted, in particular, the erroneous nature of the categorical assertion that the poverty of the workers was growing: "This is

incorrect when put in such a categorical way. The organisation of the workers and their constantly growing resistance will possibly check the *increase of misery* to a certain extent. However, what *certainly* does increase is the *insecurity of existence*" (p. 223).

In this work Engels gave a precise and apt definition of the nature of opportunism, directed straight at the representatives of the right wing of the German Social Democrats: "This forgetting of the great, the principal considerations for the momentary interests of the day, this struggling and striving for the success of the moment regardless of later consequences, this sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present ... is and remains opportunism" (p. 227).

Most of Engels' criticisms of the draft programme referred to the section on political demands. He stressed the profound inner connection of the struggle for the socialist transformation of society with the struggle for democratic rights. In the specific conditions of Germany, he noted, the prime task of the proletariat was to do away with the "semi-absolutist, and moreover indescribably confused political order" (p. 226) and to set up a democratic republic, that vital prerequisite for the proletariat to gain political power. Engels did not exclude the possibility that, in countries with established democratic traditions where "the representatives of the people concentrate all power in their hands" (ibid.), this process might take place peacefully.

Although not all Engels' suggestions were fully accepted, he was satisfied with the text of the programme adopted at the Erfurt Congress of the party in October 1891. On the whole this programme was of a Marxist nature and served for many years as a model for the socialists of other countries.

Engels examined the problems of the state and also speculated about the society of the future in his "Introduction to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France*". Bearing in mind the experience of the two decades following the Paris Commune, he gave a profound analysis of the Commune's historical significance and lessons. He noted in particular its efforts to "safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials" and to create guarantees against the "transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society" (pp. 189, 190) by ensuring that all officials were elected and could be dismissed at any time on a decision of the voters and that all material privileges

for them were abolished. "In this way," he believed, "an effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism" would be set up (p. 190).

Concerning the long-term prospects for the state after the establishment of socialist social relations, Engels expressed the conviction that it would continue to exist "until such time as a generation reared in new, free social conditions is able to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap" (ibid.). He repeated this idea in the "Preface to the Pamphlet *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat' (1871-75)*", adding that the party's ultimate aim was "to surpass the entire State, and thus democracy too" (p. 417).

Engels' description of the class essence of the state was aimed directly at Social-Democratic philistines who feel "a superstitious reverence for the state" (p. 190). One of Engels' last works, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", was also directed against opportunist elements in international Social Democracy.

In this work Engels developed further the principles of the proletarian party's agrarian programme and its tactics in relation to the peasantry. The work was prompted by two events. First, by the adoption, by the congress of the French Workers' Party in September 1894, of an agrarian programme in which one of the party's tasks was to retain small peasant holdings under capitalism and defend the interests of all peasants, including those who exploited hired labour, which was in direct contradiction to the ultimate aims of the socialists. Second, by an address at the congress of the German Social Democrats by the leader of their Bavarian organisation Georg Vollmar, who set forth similar aims and denied the need for a differentiated approach to the various categories of peasants. These facts testified to a lack of clarity on this question among socialists, which is what led Engels to write this article.

It is Engels who explained that under capitalism the peasantry should not be regarded as a single whole, because it is in the process of differentiation and the interests of its different categories are not the same. Therefore the tactics of socialist parties in respect of the big, middle and small peasantry should be different. Engels explained the importance of an alliance of the proletariat with the small peasantry both for the historical fate of the peasants themselves and for the success of the socialist transformation of society. Socialist parties, he wrote, should explain to the small peasantry the dangers which the development of capitalism posed for them, the coincidence of their vital interests with the interests of the working class, and what they

stood to gain from the abolition of capitalism. Engels believed that after the victory of the socialist revolution the main path of agricultural development would lie in the cooperation of peasant farms, in turning small-scale property "into co-operative property operated co-operatively" (p. 497). He particularly emphasised that the cooperative organisation of peasant farms should proceed on a strictly voluntary basis and warned against being over-hasty here.

Concerning future society, Engels frequently stressed that one could speak only about certain main features, basic laws, which could be determined proceeding from known facts and trends of development, but not about details, for the discussion of which life had not yet provided material. "We are *evolutionaries,* we have no intention of dictating definitive laws to mankind. Prejudices instead of detailed organisation of the society of the future?" Engels asked the correspondent of the French newspaper *Le Figaro,* who interviewed him in May 1893. "You will find no trace of that amongst us. We shall be satisfied when we have placed the means of production in the hands of the community" (p. 547).

The entire contents of this volume bear eloquent testimony to the outstanding role which Engels continued to play even in the final years of his life in the international working-class socialist movement. As Engels himself wrote in his Preface to Volume Three of *Capital* "the work as go-betweens for the national movements of Socialists and workers in the various countries" (present edition, Vol. 37) shifted entirely to his shoulders after the death of Marx. Engels invariably combined this activity with his theoretical studies, even if this affected their progress. "But if a man has been active in the movement for more than fifty years, as I have been," he continued, "he regards the work connected with it as a bounden duty that brooks no delay" (ibid.). The more the movement itself grew, socialist parties were formed, and new socialist newspapers and journals appeared, the wider and stronger Engels' international contacts became and the greater was his authority as a teacher and adviser of socialists the world over. He contributed directly to the socialist press of Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Britain and other countries, and to the Russian émigré press. The numerous documents published in this volume, such as greetings to various national contingents of the working-class movement, letters to the press, speeches, etc., show the extent of his influence in the international working-class movement,

his tireless struggle to consolidate Marxism as the ideological basis of the proletariat's struggle.

To the very end of his days Engels maintained regular contact with the socialists of almost all the European countries and the United States, giving them valuable assistance in solving theoretical and tactical problems. The role he played in the international socialist movement may further be seen from the fact that correspondents of the bourgeois press frequently turned to him, as can be seen from his interviews in the Appendices to this volume.

Some of the works in the volume reflect Engels' actual participation in the British working-class movement of the time, and the assistance he gave to those who were trying to set up a mass proletarian party in Britain. Engels hoped that such a party would "put an early end to the seesaw game of the two old parties which have been succeeding each other in power and thereby perpetuating bourgeois rule" (this volume, p. 323). His hopes that the Independent Labour Party set up in 1893 would play such a role did not materialise.

Engels continued to render the utmost assistance to his followers in the French socialist movement. He welcomed the successes of the socialist movement in Austria-Hungary and noted with satisfaction the first perceptible advances of the socialist cause in the Slav countries ("To the Editorial Board of the Bulgarian Magazine *Sotsial-Demokrat*", "For the Czech Comrades on Their May Day Celebration" and others). In his "Preface to the Polish Edition (1892) of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*" Engels noted the growing role of the young Polish proletariat in the struggle for the independence and national revival of Poland.

In the first half of the 1890s Engels devoted considerable attention to the Second International formed in 1889. He helped with the preparatory work for its initial congresses, striving to ensure that the influence of Marx's adherents predominated and struggling to preserve the unity of the international working-class movement and bring the mass workers' organisations, particularly the British trade unions, into this new international alliance (see, for example, pp. 74-75). "We must permit discussion in order not to become a sect," Engels wrote, "but the common standpoint must be retained" (p. 405). Addressing the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich in 1893, Engels noted with satisfaction that the new International, created on the basis of uniting the independent socialist parties, was much stronger than the former (pp. 404-05).

Engels attached great importance to the May Day celebrations, first held in 1890 following a decision of the Paris Congress of the Second International under the slogan of the struggle for an eight-hour working day. He called this event "the first international *action* of the militant working class" (p. 61). Engels himself took part in May Day meetings in London and sent May Day greetings to the workers of various countries. He sought to turn this celebration into a traditional display of the solidarity of the international proletariat, regarding it as an important means of the international education of the working masses and of winning them over to socialism.

Unity among the revolutionary forces of international socialism was of great importance in promoting the vital interests of the working class, and also in fighting militarism and the threat of war in Europe. Several works in the volume, such as *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom,* "Socialism in Germany" and *Can Europe Disarm?*, deal with problems of international relations, providing an analysis of the causes behind the aggravation of contradictions between the leading capitalist countries and setting out the tasks of socialists in the struggle against the threat of war.

Referring to the military-political blocs which were formed at that time, the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, on the one hand, and the Franco-Russian Alliance, which was finally set up at the beginning of the 1890s, on the other, Engels wrote: "Both camps are preparing for a decisive battle, for a war, such as the world has not yet seen, in which 10 to 15 million armed combatants will stand face to face" (p. 46). He attached special importance to the role played by the ruling circles of the Russian Empire and to its diplomatic activities, and believed that tsarist autocracy, notwithstanding considerable changes in the international alignment of forces beginning from the 1870s, remained the main bulwark of European reaction.

The question of the ways and future destiny of the revolutionary movement in Russia was, thus, closely connected with the future of the international working-class movement. With his article *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom,* written specially for the first Russian Marxist journal *Sotsial-demokrat* published in Geneva, Engels wanted to attract the attention of Russian socialists and the socialist parties of other countries to the international significance of the imminent popular revolution in Russia.

Engels closely followed the socio-economic development of Russia and the mounting signs of the imminent revolutionary

crisis there on account of the role tsarist Russia played in world politics as the "last stronghold" of European reaction. He finally concluded that "the transformation of the country into a capitalist industrial nation, the proletarianisation of a large proportion of the peasantry and the decay of the old communistic commune" was proceeding swiftly (p. 433). The collapse of tsarist autocracy, Engels argued, would have a decisive impact on the political climate in Europe, undermine the positions of reactionary regimes and, perhaps, also lead to their downfall. "It [a Russian revolution]," wrote Engels in his "Afterword (1894) to 'On Social Relations in Russia'", "will also give the labour movement of the West fresh impetus and create new, better conditions in which to carry on the struggle, thus hastening the victory of the modern industrial proletariat" (ibid).

In the face of the growing threat of a war of unprecedented proportions, which would inflict great losses primarily on the working masses of the belligerent countries, Engels invariably stressed that the international working class had a vital interest in preserving peace. He did his utmost to support all the actions of socialists aimed against militarism and the threat of war. In connection with the forthcoming discussion in the German Reichstag of a new draft military law Engels published a series of articles entitled *Can Europe Disarm?*, which were intended to assist the actions of Social-Democratic deputies on this question. Engels put forward a well-argued programme for the gradual reduction of arms and the turning of standing armies "into a militia based on the universal arming of the people" (p. 371). While Engels was under no illusions as to the plan being accepted by the European powers, he believed that his proposals would provide Social Democrats with a new weapon for exposing the anti-popular militaristic policy of the ruling circles and serve to extend their influence.

A number of theoretical works in this volume develop the materialist interpretation of history and its application to concrete historical research. In the Introduction to the English edition (1892) of his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* an introduction of theoretical importance in its own right, Engels used the term "historical materialism" for the first time and gave a concise, apt description of this vital part of Marxism. He defined it as a view "of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the

economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another" (p. 289). Demonstrating the invalidity of attempts by agnostics to prove that the world is unknowable, Engels develops and substantiates the thesis that human practice is the criterion of truth. The Introduction contains a vivid account of the main stages in the ideological and political struggle of the bourgeoisie against feudalism and shows that, with the development of the working-class movement, the bourgeoisie rejected free-thinking and turned again to religion, seeing it as a means of struggle against the revolutionary workers' movement.

The articles "On the History of Early Christianity" and "To the Early History of the Family" are examples of the application of the materialist interpretation of history to concrete historical issues. Engels revised this edition in the light of the latest scientific data.

Engels' reply to Paul Ernst, one of the leaders of the opposition group of the "Young" in German Social Democracy, attacks the vulgarisation of historical materialism. Engels comes out firmly against the oversimplified, schematic use of Marx's teaching to explain historical phenomena. "... The materialist method," he wrote, "turns into its opposite if, in an historical study, it is used not as a guide but rather as a ready-made pattern in accordance with which one tailors the historical facts" (p. 81). This letter is one of the first in a series written in the first half of the 1890s and known as the "Letters on Historical Materialism". They elaborate on the numerous questions relating to the materialist interpretation of history. Engels explains that the view of the economy as the only active factor in the historical process is nothing but a primitive interpretation of historical materialism.

* * *

The volume contains 93 works by Engels, of which 45, among them *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx, Can Europe Disarm?* and "The Italian Panama", are published in English for the first time, and eleven have appeared in English earlier only in part.

Works written by Engels in several languages, including English, are reproduced here from the English version. Any significant discrepancies are indicated in the footnotes.

In texts written in languages other than English, any English words and expressions are printed in small caps. Where there are

whole passages originally written in English, these are marked with asterisks.

Headings provided by the editors are given in square brackets.

Obvious misprints discovered in dates, numbers, etc., have been corrected by checking the sources used by Engels, usually without any further note.

The texts and notes for the first part of the volume were compiled and prepared by Yevgenia Dakhina and for the latter part (beginning with the "Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*") by Tatiana Chikileva. The preface was written by Boris Tartakovsky with the assistance of Yevgenia Dakhina and Tatiana Chikileva. The name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the index of periodicals were compiled by Svetlana Kiseleva. The volume was edited by Boris Tartakovsky and Valentina Smirnova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The English translations were done by David Forgacs, John Peet, Barrie Selman, Veronica Thompson (Lawrence & Wishart), Stepan Apresyan and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and edited by Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Cynthia Carlile, Stephen Smith, Maria Shcheglova and Anna Vladimirova (Progress Publishers) and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by Margarita Lopukhina, Mzia Pitskhelauri, Maria Shcheglova and Anna Vladimirova and assistant editor Natalia Kim (Progress Publishers).

FREDERICK ENGELS

WORKS

February 1890-April 1895

The Newcastle Daily Chronicle.
No. 9,945. NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1890. PRICE ONE PENNY.

[THE ELECTIONS OF 1890 IN GERMANY][1]

That the Social-Democratic party of Germany was sure to obtain a startling success at the general election of 1890 could not be doubted by any one who had followed the political development of that country for the last decade. In 1878 the German Socialists were placed under rigorous coercion laws,[2] in virtue of which all their newspapers had been suppressed, their meetings stopped or dissolved, their organisation annihilated, their every attempt to re-form it punished as a "secret society", sentences summing up to more than a thousand years' imprisonment having thus been pronounced against members of the party. Nevertheless, they succeeded in smuggling into the country, and regularly distributing every week some 10,000 copies of their organ printed abroad, the *Sozialdemokrat,* and thousands upon thousands of pamphlets; they succeeded in penetrating into the German Parliament (nine members)[3] and into innumerable town councils, amongst others that of Berlin. The growing strength of the party was evident even to its most embittered enemies.

Yet such a success as they have scored on the 20th February must surprise even the most sanguine among themselves. Twenty-one seats conquered: that is to say, in twenty electoral districts they proved stronger than all other parties put together. Fifty-eight second ballots, that is to say, in 58 districts they are either the strongest, or the strongest but one, of all parties which have put forward candidates, and the fresh election will finally decide between the two candidates who had the greatest number, while neither had the absolute majority of votes. As to the total number of Socialist votes given, we can only make an approximate estimate. In 1871 they summed up not more than 102,000; in

1877, 493,000; in 1884, 550,000; in 1887, 763,000; in 1890, they cannot be less than 1,250,000, and may be considerably more. The strength of the party has increased in three years by at least 60-70 per cent.

In 1887 there were but three parties with more than a million voters, the National Liberals, 1,678,000; the Centre or Catholic party, 1,516,000; and the Conservatives, 1,147,000.[4] This time the Centre will hold its own, the Conservatives have lost a good deal, and the National Liberals have lost enormously. Thus the Socialists will still be outnumbered by the Centre, but they will either fully come up to, or outnumber, the National Liberals as well as the Conservatives.

This election establishes a complete revolution in the state of parties in Germany. It will indeed inaugurate a new epoch in the history of that country. It marks the beginning of the end of the Bismarck period. The situation, at the present moment, is as follows.

With his rescripts on labour legislation and international labour conferences, young William broke loose from his mentor Bismarck.[5] The latter thought it prudent to give his young master plenty of rope, and to wait quietly until William II, had got himself into a mess with his hobby of playing the working man's friend: then would be the time for Bismarck to step in as the *deus ex machina*.[a] This time Bismarck did not care much how the elections went; an unmanageable Reichstag, to be dissolved as soon as the young Emperor had found out his mistake, would be rather an advantage to Bismarck, and considerable Socialist success might help to prepare a good cry to go to the country with when the time for dissolution arrived. And the wily Chancellor, this time, has indeed got a Reichstag that nobody will be able to manage. William II, will very soon find out the impossibility, for a man in his position, and with the present state of mind of both the landed aristocracy and the middle class, of carrying out even a shadow of the objects alluded to in his rescripts, while the elections have already convinced him that the working class of Germany will take anything he may offer them as an instalment, but will not give up one jot of their principles and demands, nor relax in their opposition against a Government which cannot live but by gagging the working majority of the people.

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[a] Literally: a god from a machine (by which in ancient theatre gods appeared in the air); a person or thing that comes in the nick of time to solve difficulty.— *Ed.*

Thus, before long there will be a conflict between Emperor and Parliament; the Socialists will be accused, by all rival parties, with being the cause of it all; the new election cry will be there, ready made; and then Bismarck, having given the necessary lesson to his lord and master, will step in and dissolve.

But then he will find that things have changed. The Socialist workmen will be stronger and more determined than ever. The aristocracy Bismarck never could rely on; they always considered him as a traitor to true Conservatism, and will be ready to throw him overboard as soon as the Emperor chooses to drop him. The middle class were his mainstay, but they have lost confidence in him. The little family quarrel between Bismarck and the Emperor has come to be publicly known. It has proved that Bismarck is no longer all-powerful, and that the Emperor is not proof against dangerous crotchets. In which of the two, then, is the German middle class Philistine to trust? The wise man is becoming powerless, and the powerful man proves to be unwise. In fact, the confidence in the stability of the order of things established in 1871, a confidence which, as regards the German middle class, was unshakeable while old William reigned, Bismarck governed, and Moltke was at the head of the army—that confidence is gone, and gone for ever. The growing load of taxation, the high price of living caused by ridiculous import duties on everything, food as well as manufactured goods, the unbearable burden of military service, the constant and ever-renewed fear of war, and that a war of European dimensions, when 4-5 millions of Germans would have to take up arms—all this has done its work in alienating from the Government the peasant, the small tradesman, the workman, in fact the whole nation, with the exception of the few who profit by the State-created monopolies. All this would be borne, as inevitable, so long as old William, Moltke, and Bismarck formed a ruling triumvirate which seemed invincible. But now old William is dead, Moltke is pensioned off, and Bismarck has to face a young Emperor whom he himself filled with an unbounded vanity, who is consequently considering himself a second Frederick the Great, and is, after all, but a conceited coxcomb, eager to shake off the yoke of his Chancellor, and, withal, a plaything in the hands of court intriguers. With such a state of things, the immense pressure upon the people no longer is patiently borne; the old faith in the stability of things is gone; resistance, which formerly appeared hopeless, now becomes a necessity; and thus, unmanageable as this Reichstag seems, maybe it will be far less so than the next.

Thus Bismarck very likely is miscalculating his game. If he dissolve, even the *spectre rouge*, the anti-Socialist cry, may fail him. But then he has one undoubted quality: reckless energy. If it suits him, he may provoke riots and try what effect a little "bleeding" may have. But then he ought not to forget that at least one-half of the German Socialists have passed through the army. There they have learned the discipline which has enabled them so far to withstand all provocation to riot. But there they have also learnt something more.

Written between February 21 and March 1, 1890

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Reproduced from the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*

WHAT NOW?[6]

February 20, 1890 is the beginning of the end of the Bismarck era. The alliance between Junkers and money-bags for the exploitation of the mass of the German people—for the Cartel[7] was this and nothing else—is bearing its fruit. The tax on spirits, the sugar premium, the corn and meat duties, which conjured millions from the people's pockets into the pockets of the Junkers; the industrial protective tariffs, introduced just at the moment when German industry, by its own efforts and in free trade, had won for itself a position in the world market, introduced specifically and exclusively so that the manufacturer could sell at home at monopoly prices, and abroad at giveaway prices; the whole system of indirect taxation, which oppresses the poorer masses of the people and scarcely touches the rich; the tax burden, growing to the intolerable, to cover the cost of endlessly growing armaments; the increasingly imminent danger of world war, growing along with the armaments and threatening to "finish off" four to five million Germans, because the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine has driven France into the arms of Russia, and thus made Russia the arbiter of Europe; the unparalleled corruption of the press, through which the government systematically swamped the people with alarmist lies each time the Reichstag was renewed; the police corruption aimed at bribing or forcing the wife to betray her husband, and the child its father; the system of *agents provocateurs*, as good as unknown in Germany until that time; police despotism far exceeding the period before 1848; the shameless flouting of all justice by the German courts, with the noble Reich Court leading the way; the outlawing of the entire working class by the Anti-Socialist Law—all this has had its

day, and a long day at that, thanks to the cowardice of the German philistine—but now it is coming to an end. The Cartel majority has been smashed, smashed irrevocably, so that only one thing can patch it up even for a single moment—a coup de force.

What now? Botch together a new majority for the old system? Oh, there would be enthusiasm for this, and not only in the Government. Amongst the Freisinnige[8] there are enough jitterers who would themselves play at the Cartel rather than let the wicked Social Democrats in—the dreams of suitability for government, buried together with Frederick III, are rapping once again on the coffin-lid. But the Government has no use for liberalism, and it is not *yet* ripe for an alliance with the Junkers from east of the Elbe, and they, after all, are the most important class in the Empire!

And the Centre? In the Centre, too, there are Junkers *en masse*, Westphalian, Bavarian and so on, who burn with desire to sink into the arms of their brothers east of the Elbe, who voted with relish for the taxes favouring the Junkers; and in the Centre too there are enough bourgeois reactionaries who want to go even further back than the Government can—who, if they could, would impose upon us once more the entire Middle Ages complete with guilds. A specifically Catholic party, after all, like any specifically Christian party, can be nothing else but reactionary. So why not a new Cartel with the Centre?

Simply because it is not Catholicism which actually holds the Centre together, but *hatred of the Prussians.* It is composed exclusively of elements hostile to the Prussians, which are strongest, of course, in the Catholic areas; Rhineland peasants, petty bourgeois and workers, South Germans, Hanoverian and Westphalian Catholics. Around the Centre are grouped the other bourgeois and peasant anti-Prussian elements: the Guelphs and other particularists, the Poles, the Alsatians.[9] The very day the Centre becomes the party of government, it will fall apart into a portion composed of Junkers, guildsmen and reactionaries and a portion consisting of peasants and democrats; and the gentlemen in the first portion know that they will not be able to show themselves to their electors again. Despite this, the attempt will be made, despite this the majority of the Centre will be ready for an accommodation. And we can have no objection to this. This specifically anti-Prussian Catholic party was itself a product of the Bismarck era, the rule of what is specifically Prussian. If the latter should fall, it is only just that the former too should fall.

We may therefore expect a momentary alliance of the Centre

and the Government. But the Centre does not consist of National Liberals—on the contrary, it is the first party to emerge triumphant from the struggle against Bismarck, to send him to Canossa.[10] It will thus certainly not be a Cartel, and Bismarck can only use a new Cartel.

So what will happen? Dissolution. New elections. Appeal to the fear of a Social Democratic tidal wave? It is too late for this as well. If Bismarck wanted this, then he would not fall out with his new Emperor even for a moment, still less make a great fuss about this quarrel.

As long as the old William was still alive, the invincibility of the Bismarck, Moltke, William triumvirate was unshakeably firm in the eyes of the German philistine. But now William is gone, Moltke has been made to go, and Bismarck vacillates as to whether he should be forced to go, or go by himself. And the young William who has replaced the old one has proved in the course of his quite short government, and particularly through his renowned decrees,[11] that respectable bourgeois philistines cannot possibly rely upon him, and also that he will not allow himself to be ordered about. The man in whom the philistines believed no longer has the power, and the philistines cannot believe in the man who has the power. The old confidence in the eternity of the inner order of the Empire founded in 1871 is gone, and no power on earth can restore it. The philistine, the last pillar of the old policy, has become shaky. How can dissolution help here?

A coup d'état? But this releases not only the people, but also the princes of the Empire from their loyalty to the Imperial Constitution thus broken; this means the disintegration of the Empire.

A war? Child's play to launch one. But what would become of it once launched defies the imagination. Should Croesus cross the Halys[12] or William cross the Rhine, he will destroy a great empire—but which? His own, or that of the enemy? It is well known that peace persists only thanks to the unending revolution in weapons technology, which precludes anyone getting ready for war, and thanks to everybody's fear of the absolutely incalculable prospects of the only war now still possible, a world war.

Only one thing can help: an uprising, provoked by governmental brutality and suppressed with double and triple brutality, a general state of siege, and re-election in conditions of terror. Even that would only produce a few years' stay of execution. But it is the only way—and we know that Bismarck is one of those who will stop at nothing. And did not William too say: At the slightest

resistance I shall have them all shot down? And therefore this way certainly will be applied.

The German Social-Democratic workers have just won a triumph, a triumph well earned through their tough steadfastness, their iron discipline, their cheerful humour in battle, their tirelessness; but it certainly came unexpectedly, even to themselves, and has astonished the world. The increase in the Social Democratic vote in every new election has proceeded with the irresistible force of a natural process; brutality, police despotism, judicial despicability—all these bounced off without effect; the steadily growing attack force moved forwards, forwards with increasing rapidity and now stands there, the second strongest party in the Empire. And should the German workers now spoil their own game by allowing themselves to be misled into a hopeless putsch for the sole reason of helping Bismarck out of his mortal anguish? At the moment when their own courage, their courage above all praise, is supported by the interaction of all outside circumstances, when the whole social and political situation, when even all their enemies have to work for the Social Democrats, as though they were paid by them—at this moment should discipline and self-control fail, and should we throw ourselves upon the outstretched sword? Never! The Anti-Socialist Law has trained our workers too well for this, for this we have far too many old soldiers in our ranks, amongst them too many who have learned to stand at order arms in a hail of bullets till the moment is ripe for the attack.

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Published in English for the first time

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF RUSSIAN TSARDOM[13]

Written in December 1889-February 1890 (translated into English in March 1890)

First published, in Russian, in *Sotsial-demokrat*, Nos. 1 and 2, February and August 1890, in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 5, May 1890 and, in Engels' English translation, in the *Time*, April and May 1890

Reproduced from the *Time*, checked with *Die Neue Zeit*

TIME.

NEW SERIES.

APRIL, 1890.

I

Not only Socialists, but every progressive party in every country of Western Europe,[a] has a double interest in the victory of the Russian Revolutionary Party.

First, because the Empire of the Tsar[b] is the mainstay of European reaction, its last fortified position and its great reserve army at once; because its mere passive existence is a standing threat and danger to us.

Secondly—and this point is not now being sufficiently insisted upon—because by its ceaseless meddling in the affairs of the West, it cripples and disturbs our normal development, and this with the object of conquering geographical positions, which will assure to Russia the mastery over Europe, and thus[c] crush every chance of progress under the iron heel of the Tsar.

It is impossible, in England, to write about Russian foreign policy without at once recalling the name of David Urquhart. For fifty years he worked indefatigably to spread among his countrymen a knowledge of the aims and methods of Russian diplomacy, a subject he thoroughly understood; and yet, all he got for his pains was ridicule and the reputation of an unmitigated bore. Now, the ordinary Philistine does indeed class under that head

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[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* the opening sentence begins as follows: "We, the West European workers' party...". (Hereinafter in this work the discrepancies between the English original and the text in *Die Neue Zeit* are given in quotation marks without further reference to the source.)—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "the Russian Empire of the Tsar".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German the end of the sentence reads: "would make the victory of the European proletariat impossible".—*Ed.*

every one who insists upon unpalatable subjects, be they ever so important. But then, Urquhart, who hated the Philistine without understanding either his nature or his historical unavoidability for the time being, was bound to fail. A Tory of the old school, with the fact before his eyes that in England the Tories alone had hitherto offered effective resistance to Russia, and that the action of English and foreign Liberals, including the whole revolutionary movement on the Continent, had generally led to advantages gained by that power, he held that, to really resist Russian inroads, one must needs be a Tory (or else a Turk), and that every Liberal and Revolutionist was, knowingly or not, a Russian tool. His constant occupation with Russian diplomacy led him to look upon it as something all-powerful, as indeed the only active agent in modern history, in whose hands all other governments were but passive tools; so that, but for his equally exaggerated estimate of the strength of Turkey, one cannot make out why this omnipotent Russian diplomacy has not got hold of Constantinople long ago. In order thus to reduce all modern history since the French Revolution to a diplomatic game of chess between Russia and Turkey, with the other European States for Russia's chessmen, Urquhart had to set himself up as a sort of Eastern prophet who taught, instead of simple historic facts, a secret esoteric doctrine in a mysterious hyper-diplomatic language, full of allusions to facts not generally known, but hardly ever plainly stated; and who, as infallible nostrums against the supremacy of Russian over English diplomacy, propounded the renewed impeachment of Ministers and the substitution, for the Cabinet, of the Privy Council. Urquhart was a man of great merit, and a fine Englishman of the old school to boot; but Russian diplomatists might well say: *Si M. Urquhart n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer.*[a]

Among the Russian Revolutionists, too, there still exists a comparatively great ignorance of this side of Russian history. On the one hand, because in Russia itself only the official legend is tolerated; on the other, with a great many, because they hold the Government of the Tsar in too great contempt, believing it incapable of anything rational, incapable, partly from stupidity, partly from corruption. And for Russian internal policy this is

[a] "If Mr. Urquhart did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him." Instead of this paragraph the German has: "It is to the credit of Karl Marx that he was the first to stress, and repeatedly did so from 1848, that the West European workers' party is obliged for this last reason to wage a life-and-death war against Russian Tsardom. In calling for the same, I am merely continuing the efforts of my late friend, catching up on what he did not live to do."—*Ed.*

right enough; here the impotence of Tsardom is clear as day. But we ought to know not only the weakness but the strength too of the enemy. And its foreign policy is unquestionably the side on which Tsardom is strong—very strong. Russian diplomacy forms, to a certain extent, a modern Order of Jesuits, powerful enough, if need be, to overcome even the whims of a Tsar, and to crush corruption within its own body, only to spread it the more plenteously abroad; an Order of Jesuits originally and by preference recruited from foreigners, Corsicans like Pozzo di Borgo, Germans like Nesselrode, Russo-Germans[a] like Lieven, just as its founder, Catherine II, was a foreigner.

The old Russian aristocracy had still too many worldly, private and family interests; they had not the absolute reliability which the service of this new order demanded. And as the personal poverty and celibacy of the Catholic Jesuit priest could not be forced upon them, they had, for the time, to be relegated to secondary or representative positions, embassies, &c., and thus gradually a school of native diplomats built up. Up to the present time only one thoroughbred Russian, Gortschakoff, has filled the highest post in this order, and his successor Von Giers again bears a foreign name.

It is this secret order, originally recruited from foreign adventurers, which has raised the Russian Empire to its present power. With iron perseverance, gaze fixed resolutely on the goal, shrinking from no breach of faith, no treachery, no assassination, no servility, lavishing bribes in all directions, made arrogant by no victory, discouraged by no defeat, stepping over the corpses of millions of soldiers and of, at least, one Tsar,[14] this band, unscrupulous as talented, has done more than all the Russian armies to extend the frontiers of Russia from the Dnieper and Dwina to beyond the Vistula, to the Pruth, the Danube and the Black Sea; from the Don and Volga beyond the Caucasus and to the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes; to make Russia great, powerful, and dreaded, and to open for her the road to the sovereignty of the world. But by doing this it has also strengthened the power of Tsardom at home. To the Jingo public the fame of victory, the conquests following on conquests, the might and glamour of Tsardom, far outweigh all sins, all despotism, all injustice, and all wanton oppression; the tall talk of Chauvinism fully compensates for all humiliations at home. And this the more, the less the actual causes and details of these

[a] The German has: "Baltic Germans".— *Ed.*

successes are known in Russia, and are replaced by an official legend, such as benevolent governments everywhere (in Prussia and France, *e.g.*) invent for the good of their subjects, and for the greater encouragement of patriotism. Thus the Russian who is a Chauvinist, will sooner or later fall on his knees before the Tsar, as we have seen in the case of Tichomiroff.

But how could such a band of adventurers manage to acquire this enormous influence in European history? Very simply. They have not created something new out of nothing, they have but made the right use of an existing situation. Russian diplomacy has had a very obvious, material foundation for all its achievements.

Look at Russia in the middle of last century—a colossal territory even at that time, peopled by a peculiarly homogeneous race. A sparse, but rapidly-growing population; therefore an assured growth of power with mere lapse of time. This population, intellectually stagnant, devoid of all initiative, but, within the limits of their traditional mode of existence, fit to be used for, and to be moulded into, anything; tenacious, brave, obedient, contemptuous of hardship and fatigue, unsurpassable stuff for soldiers in the wars of that time where the fighting of compact masses was decisive. The country itself with only one—its Western—side turned towards Europe, and so only attackable on that side; without any centre, the conquest of which might compel a peace; almost absolutely safeguarded against conquest by absence of roads, immenseness of surface, and poverty of resources. Here was a position of impregnable strength, ready for any one who knew how to use it, whence that might be done with impunity, which would have brought war after war upon any other Government in Europe.

Strong to impregnability on the defensive side, Russia was correspondingly weak on the offensive. The mustering, organisation, equipment and movements of her armies in the interior, met with the greatest obstacles, and to all material difficulties was added the boundless corruption of the officials and officers. All attempts to make Russia capable of attack on a large scale have, so far, failed, and probably the latest, present attempts to introduce universal compulsory conscription,[15] will fail as completely. One might say that the difficulties grow as the square of the masses to be organised, quite apart from the impossibility, with such a small town population, of finding the enormous number of officers now required. This weakness has been no secret to Russian diplomacy; hence it has, whenever possible, avoided war, has only accepted it as a last resort, and then only under the most favourable

conditions. Those wars alone suit it in which the allies of Russia have to bear the brunt of the burden, to lay bare their territory to devastation as the seat of war, to supply the great mass of combatants, and in which, to the Russian troops, falls the *rôle* of reserve forces. In that *rôle* they are generally spared in battle, but in decisive engagements, with relatively small sacrifices, they reap the glory of turning the balance of victory; such was their part in the war of 1813-1815.[16] But a war carried on under such favourable conditions is not always to be had; hence Russian diplomacy prefers to use the antagonistic interests and desires of the other powers for its own ends, to set these powers by the ears, and to exploit their enmities for the benefit of the Russian policy of conquest. Only against those who are clearly the weaker—Sweden, Turkey, Persia—does Tsardom fight on its own account, and in these cases it has not to share the spoils with anyone.

But to return to the Russia of 1760. This homogeneous, unattackable country had for neighbours only countries which were actually or apparently effete, approaching disintegration, and thus pure *matière à conquêtes*.[a] In the north, Sweden, whose power and prestige had been lost just because Charles XII. had attempted to invade Russia, and in doing so had ruined Sweden and made evident the unattackability of Russia. In the south, the Turks, and their tributaries the Crimean Tartars, wrecks of former greatness; the offensive power of the Turks broken for the last 100 years; their power of defence still considerable, but also on the decline; and as best proof of this growing weakness, rebel movements among the subject Christians, the Slavs, Roumanians, and Greeks, who formed the majority of the population in the Balkan Peninsula. These Christians, belonging almost exclusively to the Greek Church, were thus akin to the Russians by faith, and the Slavs among them, the Servians and Bulgarians, were moreover connected with them by race. Russia had therefore only to proclaim her duty to protect the oppressed Greek Church and the downtrodden Slavs, and the field for conquest—under the name of "freeing the oppressed"[b]—was ready to hand. In the same way there were south of the Caucasus small Christian States and Christian Armenians under the suzerainty of Turkey, as whose "saviour"[c] Tsardom could pose. And then, here in the south, a victor's prize like none other Europe could offer, enticed the lustful conqueror: the old capital of the Eastern Roman

[a] Object for conquest.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "the oppressed" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[c] The German has: "liberator".—*Ed.*

Empire, the metropolis of the whole Greco-Catholic world, the town whose Russian name already expresses supremacy over the east and the prestige which invests its possessor in the eyes of Eastern Christendom—Constantinople-Tsaregrad.

Tsaregrad as the third Russian capital alongside of Moscow and Petersburg: this meant not only moral supremacy over Eastern Christendom, it meant also the decisive step towards supremacy over Europe. It meant sole command of the Black Sea, Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula. It meant, whenever the Tsar pleased, the closing of the Black Sea to all merchant vessels and men-of-war except Russian, its transformation into a Russian Naval Port, and a place of manoeuvre exclusively for the Russian fleet, which from this safe refuge could pass through the fortified Bosphorus, and return thither as often as it chose. Then Russia would only need to obtain the same command, directly or indirectly, of the Sound and the Belts, to become unattackable at sea also.

Command of the Balkan Peninsula would bring Russia as far as the Adriatic. And this frontier on the south-west would be untenable, unless the Russian frontier were correspondingly advanced all along the west, and the sphere of her power considerably extended. But here the conditions were, if possible, still more favourable.

First of all, Poland, completely disorganised, a republic of nobles, founded upon the spoliation and oppression of the peasants, with a constitution that made all national action impossible,[17] and thus made the country an easy prey for its neighbours. Since the beginning of the century it had existed only, as the Poles themselves said, through disorder (*Polska nierzadem stoi*); the whole country was constantly occupied and traversed by foreign troops, who used it as an eating and drinking-house (*karczma zajezdna*, said the Poles), in which they usually forgot to pay the bill. Already Peter the Great had systematically ruined Poland—here his successors had but to reach out their hand for it. And to do this they had another pretext—the "Principle of Nationalities".[18] Poland was not a homogeneous country. At the time when Great Russia came under the Mongolian yoke, White Russia, and Little Russia found protection against the Asiatic invasion, by uniting themselves into the so-called Lithuanian Principality. This Principality later on voluntarily united itself with Poland.[19] Afterwards, in consequence of the higher civilization of the Poles, the White and Little Russian nobility had become largely Polish; and at the time of the Jesuit supremacy in Poland,[20] in the

16th century, the Greco-Catholic Poles[a] had been forced into union with the Roman Church. This gave the Tsars of Great Russia the welcome pretext to claim the former Lithuanian territory, as a land Russian by nationality but now oppressed by Poland, although the Little Russians at least, according to the greatest living authority on Slavonic languages, Miklosic, do not speak a mere Russian dialect, but a separate language; and the further pretext for interference as protectors of the Greek faith, for the benefit of the Uniate Greco-Catholics,[21] although these had long since become reconciled to their position with regard to the Roman Church.

Beyond Poland lay another country that seemed to have fallen into hopeless ruin—Germany. Since the Thirty Years' War, the Holy Roman Empire[b] was only nominally a State. The position of the princes within the Empire was more and more approaching complete sovereignty; their power of defying the Emperor, which in Germany replaced the Polish *liberum veto*,[22] had been, by the Peace of Westphalia,[23] expressly placed under the guarantee of France and of Sweden; a strengthening of the central power was therefore made dependent on the assent of the foreigner, whose direct interest it was to prevent anything like it. In addition to this, Sweden, thanks to her German conquests, was a member of the German Empire, with seat and vote at the Imperial Diets. In every war the Emperor encountered German Princes of the Empire among the allies of his foreign foes; every war was therefore a civil war. Almost all the larger and secondary Princes of the Empire had been bought by Louis XIV., and the country was so ruined economically that, without the annual influx of French bribe-money, it would have been impossible to keep money at all in the country for use as a circulating medium.* The Emperor had, therefore, long since sought his strength not within his Empire, which only cost him money and brought him nothing but worry and vexation, but in his Austrian, German, and extra-German dominions. And side by side with the power of Austria as distinct from Germany, the Prussian power was already rising as rival.

Such was the position of things in Germany in the time of Peter the Great. This really great man—great in a quite different way from Frederick "the Great", the obedient servant of Peter's

* "See Gülich. *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels u. Jena 1830*, 2. Band, S. 201-206." [*Engels' note to the German edition.*]

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[a] The German has: "Greco-Catholic Russians".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "Holy Roman-German Empire".—*Ed.*

successor, Catherine II.—was the first who thoroughly grasped the wonderfully favourable condition of Europe for Russian ends. Not only in respect to Sweden, Turkey, Persia, Poland, did he see clearly—far more clearly than appears from his so-called Testament, which seems the work of an epigone[24]—the main points of Russian policy; he firmly fixed it, and began to carry it out. He did the same in respect to Germany. He concerned himself far more with Germany than any country except Sweden. Sweden he must break; Poland he could have whenever he chose to stretch out his hand; Turkey was still too far away from him; but to set a firm foot in Germany, to obtain the position which France used so fully, and which Sweden was too weak to use, that was his chief task. He did everything to become a German Prince of the Empire, by the acquisition of German territory, but in vain; he could only initiate the system of intermarriage with German Princes, and the diplomatic exploitation of the internal dissensions of Germany.

Since Peter's time the position of things had become still more favourable to Russia through the rise of Prussia. This gave the German Emperor, within the Empire itself, an antagonist almost his equal, who perpetuated the divisions of Germany and brought them to a head. And at the same time this antagonist was still weak enough to be dependent upon the help of France or of Russia, especially of Russia, so that the more he emancipated himself from his vassalage with regard to the German Empire, the more surely did he sink into the vassalage of Russia.

Thus there remained in Europe only three Powers to be considered: Austria, France, England. And to set these by the ears, or to bribe them with the bait of new territory, was no difficult matter. England and France were still, as ever, rivals on the sea; France was to be got by the prospect of the acquisition of territory in Belgium and Germany; Austria could be bribed by dangling before her eyes advantages to be gained at the expense of France, Prussia, and, since the time of Joseph II., of Bavaria. Here then, by the adroit use of conflicting interests, were strong, overwhelmingly strong allies to be had for any diplomatic move of Russia. And now, face to face with these frontier lands in full disruption, face to face with three great Powers, whose traditions, economic conditions, political or dynastic interests, and lust after conquest, involved them in endless disputes and kept them occupied in outwitting one the other, here was the one homogeneous, youthful, rapidly-growing Russia, hardly attackable, and absolutely unconquerable, and at the same time an unworked, almost

unresisting, plastic raw material. What an opportunity for people of talent and ambition, for people striving after power, no matter how or where, so long only as the power was real, so long as it provided a real arena for their talent and ambition! And the "enlightened" 18th Century produced such people in numbers: people who in the service of "Humanity" traversed all Europe, visited the Courts of all enlightened Princes—and what Prince then but wished to be "enlightened",—who settled down wherever they found a favourable spot, a semi-aristocratic, semi-middleclass,[a] denationalized International of "Enlightenment". This International fell on its knees before the Semiramis of the North, one equally denationalized, Sophia Augusta of Anhalt, called Jekaterina II. of Russia, and it was from the ranks of this International that this same Catherine drew the elements for her Jesuit order of Russian diplomacy.[b]

Let us now see how this order of Jesuits works, how it uses the ever-changing aims of the rival Powers as a means for obtaining its one aim—never changing, never lost sight of—the World-Supremacy of Russia.

II

Never were things[c] more favourable to the plans for the aggrandisement of Tsardom than in 1762, when, after murdering her husband, the "great whore", Catherine ascended the throne. All Europe was split up into two camps by the Seven Years' War.[25] England had broken the power of France, on the high seas, in America, in India, and now left her continental ally, Frederick II. of Prussia, to shift for himself. The latter, in 1762, was on the brink of destruction, when suddenly Peter III. of Russia[d] withdrew from the war against Prussia. Deserted by his last[e] ally,

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[a] The German has: "an aristocratic-middle-class".— *Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* has an extra paragraph here: "In his work on Thomas More, Karl Kautsky showed how the original form of the bourgeois Enlightenment, the 'humanism' of the 15th and 16th centuries, was superseded by Catholic Jesuitism. It is precisely in the same way that we see here its second, fully mature, form being superseded by modern Jesuitry, by Russian diplomacy in the 18th century. This transformation into the opposite, this ultimate arrival at a point which represents the diametrical opposite of the point of departure, is the naturally ordained fate of all historical movements that are unaware of the reasons for and conditions of their existence and thus merely geared to illusory aims. They are mercilessly brought into line by the 'irony of history'."— *Ed.*

[c] The German has: "Never was international situation".— *Ed.*

[d] Added in the German: "ascended the throne and".— *Ed.*

[e] Added in the German: "and only".— *Ed.*

England, with Austria and France permanently hostile, exhausted by a seven years' struggle for existence, Frederick had no choice but to throw himself at the feet of the newly-crowned Tsarina. This assured him not only a powerful protection, but the promise of that part of Poland that divided Eastern Prussia from the main body of his kingdom, and the conquest of which now became the one aim of his life.

On the 31st March (11th April), 1764, Catherine and Frederick signed a treaty of alliance at Petersburg,[26] the secret article of which bound both to maintain, if need be[a] by force of arms, the existing Polish Constitution—that best means of ruining Poland—against every attempt at reform. With this the future partition of Poland was sealed. A piece of Poland was the bone which the Tsarina threw to the Prussian dog,[b] so that he might quietly submit to be chained up by Russia for a century.

I shall not go into the details of the first partition of Poland.[27] But it is characteristic that it was carried out, against the wish of the old-fashioned Maria Theresa, by the three great pillars of European "enlightenment", Catherine, Frederick, and Joseph. The two latter, proud of the superior statesmanship with which they trampled upon the superstition of a traditional law of nations, were yet stupid enough not to see how, by sharing in the Polish booty, they had signed themselves over, body and soul, to Russian Tsardom.

Nothing could have been more useful to Catherine than these "enlightened" princely neighbours of hers. "Progress" and[c] "enlightenment" were the parrot-cry of Russian Tsardom in Europe during the eighteenth century, just as the deliverance of enslaved[d] nations is in the nineteenth.

No spoliation, no violence, no oppression on the part of Tsardom, but has been perpetrated under pretext of "progress",[e] "enlightenment", "Liberalism", "the deliverance of the oppressed". And the childish Liberals of Western Europe—down to Mr. Gladstone—believe it to this day,[e] while the equally stupid Conservatives believe as firmly in the bunkum about the defence of legitimacy,[28] the upholding of order, religion, the balance of power,[f] and the sanctity of treaties—all of which are at one and

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[a] The words "if need be" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "Prussia".—*Ed.*

[c] The beginning of the sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[d] The word is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[e] The German has "believed it".—*Ed.*

[f] The German has "balance of power in Europe".—*Ed.*

the same time in the mouth of official Russia. Russian diplomacy has succeeded in soft-soaping the two great Bourgeois parties of Europe. To be Legitimist and Revolutionist, Conservative and Liberal, orthodox and "advanced",[a] all in one breath, is permitted to Russia, and to Russia alone. Imagine the contempt with which such a Russian diplomatist looks down upon the "cultured" Occident.

After Poland it was the turn of Germany. Austria and Prussia came to loggerheads in the Bavarian Succession War, 1778,[29] and again to the advantage of no one but Catherine. Russia had grown too big to speculate any longer, as Peter had done,[b] upon entering the German Empire by acquiring some small German principality. She now aimed at obtaining the position she already held in Poland, and which France possessed in the German Empire—that of guarantee of German anarchy against every attempt at reform. And this position she attained. At the Peace of Teschen, 1779, Russia, together with France, undertook the guarantee of this Treaty, and of all former Treaties of Peace therein confirmed, more especially the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. With this the impotence of Germany was signed and sealed, and she was marked out for future partition between France and Russia.

Turkey was not forgotten. Russian wars with Turkey always occur in those times when there is peace on Russia's western frontier, and, if possible, when Europe is occupied elsewhere. Catherine waged two such wars. The first resulted in conquests by the Sea of Azov, and in the independence of the Crimea; four years later, that country was transformed into a Russian Province. The second extended the Russian frontier from the Bug to the Dniester. During both these wars Russian agents had egged on the Greeks to rebel against Turkey. Of course, the rebels were eventually left in the lurch by the Russian Government.[30]

During the American War of Independence, Catherine for the first time formulated, for herself and her allies, what was called the Northern[c] "armed neutrality" (1780), the demand for the limitation of the rights claimed by England in time of war for her navy on the high seas. These demands have remained ever since the constant aim of Russian policy; they were, in the main, conceded by Europe, and consented to by England herself, in the

[a] The German has "enlightened" instead of "advanced".—*Ed.*

[b] The end of the sentence reads: "upon being granted the rights of a constituent member of the German Empire".—*Ed.*

[c] The words "what was called the Northern" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

Peace of Paris of 1856.[31] The United States of America alone will none of it.

The outbreak of the French Revolution was another windfall for Catherine. Far from fearing the revolutionary ideas might spread to Russia, she saw in the Revolution only a new opportunity of setting the other European States by the ears, so that Russia might have a free hand. After the death of her two "enlightened" friends and neighbours,[a] Frederick William II. in Prussia and Leopold in Austria tried[b] an independent policy. The Revolution gave Catherine the best possible opportunity—on a pretext of combating Republican France—of again chaining both of them to Russia, and at the same time, while they were busy on the French frontier, of making fresh inroads upon Poland. Both Austria and Prussia walked into the trap. And although Prussia—which from 1787-1791 had played the part of ally of Poland against Catherine—just in the nick of time thought better of it, and on this occasion claimed a larger share in the Polish spoil, and although Austria, too, had to be squared with a slice of Poland, yet Catherine was again able to lay hands on the greatest part of the plunder[32]; almost the whole of White Russia and of Little Russia were united to Great Russia.

But this time there was a reverse side to the medal. While the plundering of Poland took up, in 1792-94,[33] part of the strength of the Coalition, it weakened their power to attack France, until France was strong enough, single-handed, to achieve victory. Poland fell, but her resistance had saved the French Revolution,[34] and the French Revolution started a movement against which even Tsardom is powerless. And for this, we, in the West, shall never forget Poland. Nor is this—as we shall see—the only occasion on which the Poles have saved the European Revolution.

In the policy of Catherine we find all the chief points of the Russian policy of to-day sharply defined: the annexation of Poland, even though for a time part of the plunder must be handed over to her neighbours; the marking out of Germany for the next spoil; Constantinople, the great, never-to-be-forgotten, slowly-to-be-attained, final goal; the conquest of Finland as a protection to Petersburg; Sweden to be indemnified by Norway, which Catherine offered to Gustavus III.[35] at Fredrikshamn; the weakening of British supremacy on the seas, by international treaty-limitations; the stirring up revolt among the Christian and

[a] Frederick II and Joseph II.—*Ed.*
[b] In the original mistakenly "she tried".—*Ed.*

Rayah in Turkey; finally, the ample provision of both Liberal and Legitimist phraseology to be used as occasion required as dust for the eyes of those believers in phrases, the occidental "cultured" Philistine and his so-called public opinion.

At the death of Catherine, Russia already possessed more than the wildest national Chauvinism could have asked for. All who bore the Russian name, barring only the few Austrian Little Russians, were under the sceptre of her successor,[a] who had now a perfect right to call himself Autocrat of all the Russians.

Not only had the approach to the sea been gained; on the Baltic as on the Black Sea Russia possessed a broad litteral and numerous harbours. Not only Finns, Tartars, and Mongolians, but Lithuanians, Swedes, Poles, and Germans were under Russian dominion. What more do you desire?

To any other nation this would have sufficed. For Russian diplomacy—the nation was not consulted—this was only the stepping-stone to other conquests.

The French Revolution had worn itself out, and had brought forth its own dictator—a Napoleon. Thereby it had to all appearance justified the superior wisdom of Russian diplomacy, which had not allowed itself to be intimidated by the huge revolt.[b] The rise of Napoleon now gave it the opportunity for new successes.

Germany was nearing the fate of Poland. But Catherine's successor, Paul, was obstinate, capricious, unreliable; he was constantly thwarting the action of Russian diplomacy; he became unbearable, he had to be got rid of. It was easy enough to find the necessary officers of the Guards to do this: the heir to the Crown, Alexander, was in the plot, and served as cloak to it. Paul was strangled, and immediately a fresh campaign was begun to the greater honour and glory of the new Tsar, who through the manner of his accession had become the life-long slave of the diplomatic band of Jesuits.

They left it to Napoleon to completely break up the German Empire, and to push to a crisis the confusion existing there. But when it came to the settling of accounts Russia again stepped in.

The peace of Luneville (1801)[36] had given France the whole left[c] bank of the Rhine, on condition that the German Princes thus dispossessed should be indemnified on the right bank out of the possessions of the spiritual members of the Empire, Bishopries,

[a] Paul I.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "popular uprising" instead of "revolt".—*Ed.*

[c] The German has "German" instead of "left".—*Ed.*

Abbeys, etc. Now Russia insisted upon her position of guarantee, won at Teschen in 1779[37]: in the parcelling out of this indemnity she and France, the two guarantees of German Imperial disunion and decay,[a] clearly had a weighty word to say. And the dissension, greed, and general infamy[b] of the German Princes took care that this word of Russia and of France should be decisive. Thus it came about that Russia and France drew up a plan for the division of the spiritual princes' lands among the dispossessed potentates, and that this plan, drawn up by the foreigner, in the interest of the foreigner, was, in all essentials made part and parcel of the German Imperial constitution by the Reichs-Deputations-Hauptschluss, 1803.[38]

The German Empire[c] was practically dissolved; Austria and Prussia acted as independent European states, and, like Russia and France, looked upon the small German States simply as a field for conquest. What was to become of these small States? Prussia was still too small and too young to lay claim to supremacy over them, and Austria had just lost the last trace of such supremacy. But both Russia and France put in a claim for the inheritance of the German Empire. France had destroyed the old Empire by force of arms; she pressed upon the small States by her immediate neighbourhood all along the Rhine; the fame of the victories of Napoleon and the French armies did the rest towards throwing the small German Princes at her feet. And Russia? Now that the end for which she had been striving just a hundred years was almost within reach, now that Germany lay completely disintegrated, exhausted unto death, helpless, impotent, should Russia just at this moment let her prey be snatched from under her very nose by the Corsican upstart?

Russian diplomacy at once entered upon a campaign for the conquest of supremacy over the small German States. That this was impossible without a victory over Napoleon was self-evident. It was therefore necessary to win over the German Princes, and the so-called public opinion of Germany—so far as it could then be said to exist. The Princes were worked upon by diplomatic, the Philistine by literary means. While cajolery, threats, lies and bribery were soon broadcast at the Courts, the public was deluged with mysterious pamphlets, in which Russia was belauded as the

[a] The German has "ruin" instead of "disunion and decay".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has "habitual betrayal of the Empire" instead of "general infamy".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German the beginning of the sentence reads: "The German imperial union...".—*Ed.*

only Power that could save Germany and give her effective protection, and whose right and duty it moreover was to do this by virtue of the Treaty of Teschen of 1779. And when the war of 1805 broke out, it must have been clear to anyone whose eyes were at all open, that the only question was whether the small States should form a French or a Russian Confederacy of the Rhine.

The fates favoured Germany. The Russians and Austrians were beaten at Austerlitz, and the new Confederacy of the Rhine was formed, but anyhow, it was not an outpost of Tsardom.[39] The French yoke, at least, was a modern one; at all events it forced the disgraceful German Princes to do away with the most crying infamies of their former political system.[a]

After Austerlitz came the Prusso-Russian alliance, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, and the Peace of Tilsit in 1807.[40] Here again was shown what an immense advantage Russia has in her strategically safe position. Defeated in two campaigns, she gained new territory at the expense of her former ally, and the alliance with Napoleon for the sharing of the world: for Napoleon the West, for Alexander the East!

The first fruit of this alliance was the conquest of Finland. Without any declaration of war, but with the assent of Napoleon, the Russians advanced; the incapacity, discord, and corruption of the Swedish generals secured an easy victory; the daring march of Russian troops across the frozen Baltic compelled a violent change of dynasty at Stockholm, and the surrender of Finland to Russia.[41] But when three years later the breach between Alexander and Napoleon was impending, the Tsar summoned Marshal Bernadotte, the newly-elected Crown Prince of Sweden, to Abo, and promised him Norway if he would join the league of England and Russia against Napoleon.[42] Thus it was that in 1814 the plan of Catherine was carried out.[b]

But Finland was only the prelude. The real object of Alexander was, as ever, Constantinople. At Tilsit and at Erfurt,[43] Moldavia and Wallachia had been unconditionally promised him by Napoleon, and the prospect held out of a partition of Turkey, from which, however, Constantinople was to be excluded. Since 1806 Russia had been at war with Turkey, and this time not only the Greeks, but the Servians too had rebelled.[44] But what has been said erroneously with regard to Poland, is true of Turkey.

[a] The German has: "...former mode of existence".— *Ed.*

[b] The following words are added in the German: "Finland for me, Norway for you."— *Ed.*

Disorganisation saved it. The sturdy common soldier, the son of the sturdy Turkish peasant, found in this very disorganisation a means of making good the evil done by the corrupt Pashas. The Turks could be beaten but not subdued, and the Russian army advanced but slowly on its way towards the Bosphorus.[a]

The price, however, for this "free hand" in the East was the acceptance of Napoleon's Continental System, the suspension of all trade with England.[45] And this meant, to the Russia of that time, commercial ruin. This was the time when Eugene Onegin (in Pushkin's epic) learnt from Adam Smith how a nation grows wealthy, and how it has no need of money so long as it possesses plenty of the produce of labour. While, on the other hand, his father could not see it, and had to mortgage one estate after another.[b]

Russia could only get money by maritime commerce, and by the export of her national products[c] to England, then the chief market; and Russia was now far too much occidentalised to do without money. The commercial blockade became unbearable. Political Economy proved more powerful than Diplomacy and the Tsar put together; intercourse with England was quietly resumed, the terms of the Tilsit Treaty were broken, and the war broke out in 1812.

Napoleon, with the combined armies of the whole of the West, crossed the Russian frontier. The Poles, who were in a position to know, advised him to halt by the Dwina and the Dnieper, to organise Poland, and there to await the Russian attack. A general of the calibre of Napoleon must have known that this was the right plan. But Napoleon, standing on that giddy height with its insecure foundation, *could* no longer venture on a protracted campaign. Immediate successes, dazzling victories, treaties of peace taken by assault, were indispensable to him. He cast the Polish advice to the winds, went to Moscow, and so brought the Russians to Paris.

The destruction of the great armies of Napoleon, on the retreat from Moscow, gave the signal for a universal uprising against the French supremacy in the West. In Prussia the whole nation rose, and forced coward Frederick William III. into war with Napoleon. As soon as Austria had completed her armaments she joined Russia and Prussia. After the battle of Leipzig[46] the Rhenish Confederacy[47] deserted Napoleon, and, barely eighteen months

[a] The German has: "Tsaregrad".—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin*, I, 7; Engels' translation in prose.—*Ed.*

[c] The German has "raw materials" instead of "national products".—*Ed.*

after Napoleon's entry into Moscow, Alexander entered Paris, the lord and master of Europe.

Turkey, betrayed by France, had signed a peace at Bucharest in 1812, and sacrificed Bessarabia to Russia. The Congress of Vienna gave Russia the kingdom of Poland,[48] so that now almost nine-tenths of what had been Polish territory were annexed to Russia. But more important than all this was the position which the Tsar now occupied in Europe. He had now no rival on the Continent. He had Austria and Prussia in tow. The French Bourbon dynasty had been re-installed by him, and was therefore equally obedient. Sweden had received Norway from him as reward for her friendly policy[49]; even the Spanish dynasty owed its restoration far more to the victories of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, than to those of Wellington, which, after all, never could have overthrown the French Empire. Never before had Russia held so commanding a position. But she had taken another step beyond her natural frontiers. If Russian Chauvinism has some—I will not say justification—but some sort of excuse for the conquests of Catherine, there can be nothing of the kind with regard to those of Alexander. Finland is Finnish and Swedish, Bessarabia Roumanian, the kingdom of Poland[a] Polish. Here there is no longer any question of the union of scattered and kindred races, all bearing the name of Russians; here we see nothing but barefaced conquest of alien territory by brute force, nothing but simple theft.

III

The downfall of Napoleon meant the victory of the European monarchies over the French Revolution, whose last phase had been the Napoleonic Empire. This victory was celebrated by the restoration of "Legitimacy". Talleyrand fancied he was taking in the Tsar Alexander with this phrase, coined expressly for the purpose; but in reality it was Russian Diplomacy that by means of it led all Europe by the nose. Under the pretext of defending Legitimacy, Russian Diplomacy founded the "Holy Alliance", that expansion of the Russo-Austro-Prussian League into a conspiracy of all European sovereigns against their peoples, under the presidency of Russia.[50] The other princes believed in it; what the Tsar and his diplomatists thought of it we shall see directly.

Their next move was to take advantage of their newly-acquired

[a] The German has "the Poland of the Congress" instead of "the Kingdom of Poland".— *Ed.*

supremacy, by advancing a step nearer Constantinople. To this end they could employ three levers; the Roumanians, the Servians, the Greeks. The Greeks were the most promising element. They were a commercial people, and the merchants suffered most from the oppression of Turkish Pashas. The Christian peasant under Turkish rule was materially better off than anywhere else. He had retained his pre-Turkish institutions, and complete self-government; so long as he paid his taxes, the Turk, as a rule, took no notice of him; he was but seldom exposed to acts of violence, such as the peasant of Western Europe had had to bear in the Middle Ages at the hands of the nobles. It was a degraded kind of existence, a life on sufferance, but materially anything but wretched, and, on the whole, not unsuited to the state of civilisation of these peoples; it took therefore a long time before these Slav Rajahs discovered that this existence was intolerable. On the other hand, the commerce of the Greeks, since Turkish rule had freed them from the crushing competition of Venetians and Genoese, had rapidly thriven, and had become so considerable that it could now bear Turkish rule no longer. In point of fact, Turkish, like all Oriental rule, is incompatible with Capitalist Society; the appropriated surplus-value is not safe from the hands of rapacious Satraps and Pashas; the first fundamental condition of profitable trading[a] is wanting—security for the person and property of the merchant. No wonder, then, that the Greeks, who had twice revolted since 1774, should now rise again.[51]

The Greek rebellion then furnished the handle; but in order to enable Russian Diplomacy to apply the necessary pressure, the West must be prevented from interfering, and must therefore be provided with other work at home. And here the phrase of "Legitimacy" had brilliantly prepared the way. The "Legitimate" rulers had made themselves heartily hated everywhere. Their attempts to reinstate pre-revolutionary conditions had stirred up the Bourgeoisie throughout the whole of the West; in France and Germany, things were in a ferment; in Spain and Italy, open rebellion broke out.[52] Russian Diplomacy had a finger in the pie in all these conspiracies and rebellions. Not that it had made them, or even materially aided in their momentary successes. But what it could do, through its officious agents,[b] to sow discontent and disaffection among the subjects of its Legitimist allies, that it did.

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[a] The German has "condition of bourgeois enterprise" instead of "profitable trading".— *Ed.*

[b] The German further has: "to sow discord at home among its Legitimist allies, that it did".— *Ed.*

And it openly protected the rebel elements in the West, whenever and wherever they appeared under the mask of sympathy with Greece; the Philhellenes who collected funds, sent volunteers and fully armed corps to Greece, what were they but the Carbonari and other Liberals of the West?

All of which did not prevent the enlightened Tsar Alexander at the Congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle, Troppau, Laibach, Verona, from urging his Legitimist allies to act energetically against their rebellious subjects, and from sending the Austrians in 1821 to Italy, and the French in 1823 to Spain, to suppress the revolution there[53]; and from even apparently condemning the Greek rebellion, while at the same time he kept stirring it up, and encouraging the Philhellenes of the West to redoubled efforts. Once again stupid Europe was befooled in an incredible fashion. To the Princes and the Reactionaries, Tsardom preached Legitimacy and the maintaining of the *status quo*[a]; to the Liberal Philistine, the deliverance of oppressed nations[b]—and both believed it.

The French Minister at Verona, the romanticist Chateaubriand, was completely captivated by the Tsar, who seduced the French by the prospect of recovering the left bank of the Rhine, if only they would be obedient and stick to Russia. With this hope, subsequently strengthened by binding pledges under Charles X., Russian Diplomacy kept France in leading strings, and with few interruptions directed her Eastern Policy till 1830.

In spite of all this, the world looked with distrust, or at best with indifference upon the humanitarian policy of the Tsar,[c] who under the pretext of freeing the Greek Christians from the Mohammedan yoke, strove to put himself in the place of the Mohammedan. For, as the Russian Ambassador in London, Prince Lieven, says, (Dispatch of 18-30th October, 1825):

"All Europe looks with terror upon the Russian Colossus, whose giant strength waits but for a sign to be directed against her. Her interest is, therefore, to support Turkey, the natural enemy of our Empire."[d]

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[a] The words "and the maintaining of the *status quo*" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "the deliverance of oppressed nations and enlightenment".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German the sentence reads: "In spite of all this, the humanitarian policy pursued by the Tsar, who ... Mohameddan, did not make the desired headway...".—*Ed.*

[d] The quotation is probably taken from *Recueil de documents relatifs à la Russie pour la plupart secrets et inédits, utiles à consulter dans la crise actuelle*, Paris, 1854, pp. 52-53.—*Ed.*

Hence, the failure of all Russian attempts to invade the Danubian Provinces with the tacit consent of Europe, and thus to force Turkey to capitulate.[a] Just then, in 1825, help came to Turkey from Egypt; the Greeks were everywhere beaten and the revolt almost suppressed. Russian policy was face to face with either a defeat, or else a bold resolve.

The Chancellor, Nesselrode, took council with his Ambassadors. Pozzo di Borgo in Paris (Dispatch of 4-16th October, 1825), and Lieven in London (Dispatch of 18-30th October, 1825), declared unreservedly for a bold move; the Danubian Provinces must at once, and without any regard to Europe, be occupied, even at the risk of a European war. This was evidently the universal opinion of Russian Diplomacy. But Alexander was limp, capricious, *blasé,* mystico-romantic; he had of the Grec du Bas Empire[b] (as Napoleon called him) not only the cunning and deceit, but also the irresolution and want of energy. He began to take Legitimacy seriously, and seemed to have had enough of Greek rebellion. During this critical period,[c] he travelled about in the South, near Taganrog, inactive and at that time, before railways, almost inaccessible. Suddenly the news came that he was dead. There were whispers of poison. Had Diplomacy got rid of the son as it had of the father? At any rate, he could not have died more opportunely.

With Nicolas a Tsar came to the throne, than whom no better could have been desired by Diplomacy—a conceited mediocrity, whose horizon never exceeded that of a company officer, a man who mistook brutality for energy, and obstinacy in caprice for strength of will,[d] who prized beyond everything the mere *show* of power, and who, therefore, by the mere show of it, could be got to do anything. Now more energetic measures were resorted to, and the war against Turkey brought about. Europe did not interfere. England, by means of Liberal talk, France, by means of the promises already mentioned, had been induced to combine their Mediterranean fleets with the Russian, and, on the 20th October, 1827, in the midst of peace, to attack and destroy the Turco-Egyptian fleet, at Navarino.[54] And if England soon drew back,

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[a] The German has: "The war in Greece continued with alternating success, whilst all Russian attempts to invade the Danubian Provinces with authoritative European approval, and thus force Turkey to capitulate, failed".—*Ed.*

[b] The Greek of the period of Eastern Roman Empire.—*Ed.*

[c] The beginning of the sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[d] The words "conceited" and "a man who ... of will" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

Bourbon France remained faithful. While the Tsar declared war upon Turkey, and his troops crossed the Pruth on the 6th of May, 1828, 15,000 French troops were getting ready to embark for Greece, where they landed in August and September. This was sufficient warning for Austria, not to fall upon the flank of the Russian advance on Constantinople: a war with France would have been the result, and the Russo-French bond—Constantinople for the one, the left bank of the Rhine for the other—would then have come into effect.

At the head of the Russian army,[a] Diebitsch advanced as far as Adrianople, but there found himself in such a position that he would have had to re-cross the Balkan if the Turks could have held out another fortnight. He had only 20,000 men, of whom a fourth were down with the plague. Then the Prussian Embassy at Constantinople managed to negotiate a peace by lying reports as to a threatening, but really quite impossible, Russian advance. The Russian General was, in Moltke's words,

> "saved from a position which perhaps needed only to be prolonged a few days to hurl him from the height of victory to the abyss of destruction". (Moltke, *Der Russisch-Türkische Feldzug*, p. 390.)

Anyhow, the Peace gave Russia the mouths of the Danube, a slice of territory in Armenia, and ever new pretexts for meddling in the affairs of the Danubian Provinces.[55] These now became, till the Crimean War, the *karczma zajezdna* (eating-house) for Russian troops, from whom, during this period, they were scarcely ever free.

Before these advantages could be further turned to account, the Revolution of July broke out.[56] Now the Liberal phrase-mongering of the Russian agents was, for a while, pocketed; it was only a question now of safeguarding "Legitimacy". A campaign of the Holy Alliance against France was being prepared when the Polish Insurrection broke out, and for a year held Russia in check. Thus, for the second time, did Poland, by her own self-immolation, save the European Revolution.[57]

I pass over the Russo-Turkish relations during the years of 1830-1848. They were important, inasmuch as they enabled Russia, for once, to appear in the part of defender of Turkey against her rebel vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, to send 30,000 men to the Bosphorus for the defence of Constantinople, and by means of the Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi to place Turkey for

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[a] The beginning of the sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

some years practically under Russian supremacy[58]; inasmuch as Russia succeeded in 1840, through the treachery of Palmerston, in transforming, in one night, a European coalition threatening Russia, into a coalition against France[59]; and as, finally, she could prepare the Danubian Principalities for annexation by continued occupation, by quartering her soldiers upon the peasants,[a] and by bribing the Boyards with the "Règlement organique" *.[60]

In the main, however, this period was devoted to the conquest and Russification of the Caucasus, a task accomplished only after a struggle of twenty years.

A severe mishap, however, befell the diplomacy of Tsardom. When the Grand Duke Constantine, on the 29th November, 1830, had to fly from Warsaw before the Polish insurgents, the whole of his diplomatic archives fell into their hands; the despatches of the Foreign Minister,[c] and official copies of all the important despatches of the Ambassadors. The whole machinery of Russian diplomacy, and all the intrigues woven by it[d] from 1825 to 1830, were laid bare. The Polish Government sent Count Zamoyski with these despatches to England and France in 1835. On the instigation of William IV. they were published by David Urquhart in the "Portfolio".[e] This "Portfolio" is still one of the chief sources, and certainly the most incontestible one, for the history of the intrigues by which Tsarish diplomacy seeks to arouse quarrels among the nations of the West, and by means of these dissensions to make tools of them all.

Russian diplomacy had by this time weathered so many Western-European revolutions, not only without loss, but with actual gain, that she was in a position to hail the outbreak of the Revolution of February, 1848, as a fresh piece of good luck. That

* A rural code which placed at the disposal of the Boyards—the landed aristocracy of the country—the greater portion of the peasants' working-time, and that without any remuneration whatever. For further particulars see Karl Marx, "Capital", Ch. X., pp. 218-222 of the English edition. [*Engels' note to the English edition.*][b]

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[a] The German has "exploitation of the peasants" instead of "by quartering her soldiers upon the peasants".— *Ed.*

[b] In place of Engels' note, the German text gives the following: "(see Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII)" which corresponds to Chapter X of the English edition (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[c] K. V. Nesselrode.— *Ed.*

[d] The words "and all the intrigues woven by it" are deleted in the German.— *Ed.*

[e] The reference is to the despatches by C. Lieven and K. Pozzo di Borgo published in *The Portfolio*, Nos 4, 5, 7 and 8, 1835; Engels erroneously has 1834.— *Ed.*

the revolution spread to Vienna, and thus not only removed Russia's chief opponent, Metternich, but also roused up from their slumber the Austrian Slavs, presumptive allies of Tsardom; that it seized Berlin, and so cured the impotent weakling,[a] Frederick William IV., of his hankering after independence from Russia—what could be more welcome? Russia was safe from all infection, and Poland was so strongly garrisoned that she could not move. And when now the revolution actually spread as far as the Danubian Principalities,[61] Russian diplomacy had what it wanted—a pretext for a new invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia, there to re-establish order and consolidate Russian rule.

But this was not enough. Austria—the most stubborn, the most dogged opponent of Russia on the side of the Balkan Peninsula—Austria had been brought to the verge of ruin by the Hungarian and Viennese insurrections. The victory of Hungary was, however, synonymous with a renewed outbreak of the European Revolution, and the numerous Poles in the Hungarian army were so many pledges that this revolution should not again halt at the Russian frontier. Then Nicolas played the magnanimous. He sent his armies to overrun Hungary; he crushed the Hungarian forces by superior numbers, and thus sealed the defeat of the European Revolution. And as Prussia was still making efforts to use the revolution for setting aside the German Confederation, and for bringing at least the smaller North German States under her supremacy, Nicolas summoned Prussia and Austria before his judgment-seat at Warsaw, and decided in favour of Austria.[62] Prussia, as a reward for her long years of subserviency to Russia, was ignominiously humiliated, because, for a moment, she had shown feeble velleities of resistance. The Schleswig-Holstein question Nicolas also decided against Germany, and after assuring himself of his adaptability to the ends of Tsardom, appointed the Glücksburger Christian as heir to the throne of Denmark.[63] Not only Hungary, the whole of Europe, lay at the feet of the Tsar, and that it lay there was a direct consequence of the Revolution. Was not Russian diplomacy right, then, if it secretly rejoiced over revolutions in the West?

But the Revolution of February was, after all, the first death-knell of Tsardom. The meagre soul of the narrow-minded Nicolas could not sustain such undeserved good fortune; he could not carry corn; he was in too great a hurry to set out for

[a] The German has "ambitious but incapable" instead of "impotent weakling".—*Ed.*

Constantinople. The Crimean war broke out: England and France came to the rescue of Turkey; Austria was burning to "*étonner le monde par la grandeur de son ingratitude*".[a] For Austria knew that in return for the help in the Hungarian war, and for the Warsaw judgment, she was expected to remain neutral, or even to facilitate Russian conquests on the Danube, conquests which meant the hemming in of Austria by Russia, on the north, the east, and the south, from Cracow to Orsova and Semlin. And this time, for once in a way, Austria had the courage of her opinion.

The Crimean War was one colossal Comedy of Errors, in which one constantly asks oneself: *Qui trompe-t-on ici,*[b] which is the dupe? But this comedy cost countless treasures and over a million human lives. Hardly had the first allied detachments reached Bulgaria when the Austrians moved forward into the Danubian Provinces, and the Russians retired beyond the Pruth. By this means Austria had, on the Danube, slipped in between the two belligerents; a continuance of the war on this side was only possible with her consent. But Austria was to be had for the purpose of a war on the western frontier of Russia. Austria knew Russia would never forgive her brutal ingratitude; Austria was therefore ready to join the Allies, but only for a real war, which should restore Poland, and considerably push back the western frontier of Russia. Such a war must also make impossible the neutrality of Prussia,[c] through whose territory Russia received her supplies; a European Coalition would have blockaded Russia by land as well as by sea, and would have attacked her with such superior forces that victory was certain.

But this was by no means the intention of England and France. Both, on the contrary, were glad to be freed from the danger of a serious and real war by Austria's action. What Russia wished, that the Allies should go to the Crimea and get themselves stuck fast there, Palmerston proposed and Louis Napoleon eagerly jumped at. To push forward into the interior of Russia from the Crimea, would have been strategical madness. So the war was happily turned into a sham war, to the intense satisfaction of the parties most interested. But the Tsar Nicolas could not, in the long run,

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[a] "Astound the world by the grandeur of her ingratitude"—a phrase ascribed to Felix Schwarzenberg, the head of the Austrian government, in connection with a sharp turn of Austrian foreign policy against Russia.—*Ed.*

[b] P. Beaumarchais, *Le Barbier de Seville,* III, 11. The sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[c] In the German the sentence reads: "Such a war was bound to draw Prussia ... supplies, into the Alliance...".—*Ed.*

put up with foreign troops settling down even on the frontier of his Empire, on Russian territory; for him the mock war soon became a war in earnest. Now, what was his most favourable ground for a mock war, was, for a real war, the most dangerous. The strength of Russia in defence, the immense extent of her territory, thinly populated, impassable, poor in resources, recoiled upon Russia as soon as Nicolas concentrated all forces on Sebastopol, upon one single point of the periphery. The South Russian Steppes that should have been the grave of the invaders, became the grave of the Russian armies, which Nicolas, with his own brutally stupid imperiousness, drove one after the other, the last in the midst of winter, to the Crimea. And when the last, hastily collected, poorly equipped, wretchedly provided army had lost some two-thirds of its men on the march—whole battalions perished in snow-storms—and the survivors were too weak even for a serious attack on the enemy, then the inflated, empty-headed Nicolas collapsed miserably, and escaped the consequences of his Caesarian madness by taking poison.[64]

The terms of peace which his successor[a] now hastened to sign, were anything but harsh, Far more incisive, however, were the consequences of the war *within* Russia. To rule absolutely at home, the Tsar must be more than unconquerable abroad; he must be uninterruptedly victorious, must be in a position to reward unconditional obedience by the intoxication of Chauvinist triumph, by conquests following upon conquests. And now Tsardom had miserably broken down, and that too in its outwardly most imposing representative[b]; it had laid bare the weakness of Russia to the world, and thus its own weakness to Russia. An immense sobering down followed. The Russian people had been too deeply stirred by the colossal sacrifices of the war, their devotion had been appealed to far too unsparingly by the Tsar, for them to return there and then to the old passive state of unthinking obedience. For gradually Russia, too, had developed economically and intellectually; alongside of the nobility there were now springing up the elements of a second educated class, the Bourgeoisie. In short, the new Tsar had to play the Liberal, but this time at home. This meant the beginning of an internal history of Russia, of an intellectual movement within the nation itself, and of the reflex of this movement: a public opinion, feeble at first, but perceptible more and more, and to be despised less

[a] Alexander II.— *Ed.*

[b] In the German the end of the sentence reads: "...it had exposed Russia to the world and thus itself to Russia".— *Ed.*

and less. And herewith arose the foe before whom Russian diplomacy must ultimately succumb. For this sort of diplomacy is possible only in a country where, and so long as, the people remain absolutely passive, have no will other than that of the Government, no mission but to furnish soldiers and taxes for carrying out the objects of the diplomats. As soon as Russia has an internal development, and with that, internal party struggles, the attainment of a constitutional form under which these party struggles may be fought out without violent convulsions, is only a question of time. But then the traditional Russian policy of conquest is a thing of the past; the unchanging identity of the aims of Russian diplomacy is lost in the struggle of parties for power; the absolute command over the forces of the nation is gone—Russia will remain difficult to attack, and relatively as weak in attack, but will become, in all other respects, a European country like the rest, and the peculiar strength of its diplomacy will be broken for ever.

"*La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille,*"[a] said Chancellor Gortchakoff after the war.[65] He himself did not know how truly he spoke. He was speaking only of diplomatic Russia. But non-official Russia was also recovering herself. And this *recueillement* was encouraged by the government itself. The war had proved that Russia needed railways, steam engines,[b] modern[c] industry, even on purely military grounds. And thus the government set about breeding a Russian capitalist class. But such a class cannot exist without a proletariat, a class of wage-workers,[d] and in order to procure the elements for this, the so-called emancipation of the peasants had to be taken in hand; his personal freedom the peasant paid for by the transference of the better part of his landed property to the nobility. What of it was left to him was too much for dying, too little for living. While the Russian peasant Obshtchina* was attacked thus at the very root, the new development of the bourgeoisie was artificially forced[e] as in a hot-house, by means of railway concessions, protective duties, and other privileges; and thus a complete social revolution was initiated in town and country, which would not allow the spirits

* The self-governing Commune of the Russian peasants. [*Engels' note to the English edition.*]

[a] "Russia is not sulking, she is collecting herself."—*Ed.*

[b] The words "steam engines" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[c] The German has here "large-scale".—*Ed.*

[d] The words "a class of wage-workers" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[e] The German has: "the new development of the big bourgeoisie was forced...".—*Ed.*

once set in motion to return to rest again. The new[a] bourgeoisie was reflected in a Liberal-constitutional movement, the just-arising proletariat in the movement which is usually called Nihilism. These were the real results of Russia's *recueillement.*

Meanwhile diplomacy did not yet seem to see what an opponent had arisen at home. On the contrary, abroad it seemed to be gaining victory on victory. At the Paris Congress, in 1856, Orlow was the centre figure, and played the leading part[b]; instead of making sacrifices, Russia won new successes; the maritime rights claimed by England, and disputed by Russia ever since the time of Catherine, were definitely abrogated, and the foundations laid of a Russo-French alliance against Austria.[66] This alliance came into effect in 1859, when Louis Napoleon lent himself to the avenging of Russia upon Austria. The consequences of the Russo-French conventions, which Mazzini exposed at the time, and according to which, in the event of Austria's prolonged resistance, a Russian Grand Duke was to be brought forward as candidate to the throne of an independent Hungary,—these consequences Austria escaped by quickly signing a peace. But since 1848 the people have been spoiling the handicraft of diplomacy. Italy became independent and united, against the will of the Tsar and of Louis Napoleon.[67]

The war of 1859 had alarmed Prussia also. She had nearly doubled her army, and had placed a man at the helm, who in one respect, at least, was a match for Russian diplomatists—in his utter indifference as to what means he employed. This man was Bismarck. During the Polish insurrection of 1863, he, with theatrical ostentation, sided with Russia against Austria, France, and England, and did everything to help her to victory.[68] This secured him, in 1864, the defection of the Tsar from his traditional policy in the Schleswig-Holstein Question; these Duchies were, with the permission of the Tsar, torn from Denmark.[69] Then came the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866; and here again the Tsar rejoiced over the renewed chastisement of Austria, and the growing power of Prussia—the only faithful vassal, faithful even after the kickings of 1849-50. The war of 1866 brought in its wake the Franco-German war of 1870, and again the Tsar sided with his Prussian "Dyadya Molodetz",* kept Austria

* "Uncle's a brick," habitual exclamation of Alexander II. on receiving William's telegraphic announcements of victories. [*Engels' note to the English edition.*]

[a] The German has "young" instead of "new".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "At the Paris Congress, in 1856, Orlow played the much-sought-after leading role...".—*Ed.*

directly in check, and thus deprived France of the only ally that could have saved her from complete defeat. But like Louis Napoleon in 1866, Alexander was taken in by the rapid successes of the German armies in 1870. Instead of a protracted war, exhausting both combatants to death, there came the swift repetition of blow upon blow, which in five weeks overthrew the Bonapartist Empire, and led its armies captive into Germany.

At this time there was but one place in Europe where the position was rightly understood, and that was in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. On the 9th of September, 1870, it issued a manifesto which said:—

"As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gortschakoff and Bismarck.[70] As Louis Bonaparte flattered himself that the war of 1866, resulting in the common exhaustion of Austria and Prussia, would make him the supreme arbiter of Germany, so Alexander flattered himself that the war of 1870, resulting in the common exhaustion of Germany and France, would make him the supreme arbiter of the Western Continent. As the Second Empire thought the North German Confederation incompatible with its existence, so autocratic Russia must consider herself endangered by a German Empire under Prussian leadership. Such is the law of the old political system. Within its pale the gain of one State is the loss of the other. The Tsar's paramount influence over Europe roots in his traditional hold on Germany. At a moment when in Russia herself volcanic social agencies threaten to shake the very base of autocracy, could the Tsar afford to bear with such a loss of foreign prestige? Already the Muscovite journals repeat the language of the Bonapartist journals after the war of 1866. Do the Teuton patriots really believe that liberty and peace will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia? If the fortune of arms, the arrogance of success, and dynastic intrigue lead Germany to a spoliation of French territory, there will then only remain two courses open to her. Either she must at all risks become the *avowed tool* of Russian aggrandisement, or, after some short respite, make again ready for another 'defensive' war, not one of those new-fangled 'localised' wars, but a *war of races,* a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races."[a]

[a] K. Marx, *Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War* (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 267). In the German a free rendering of the quotation is given, which reads: "The war of 1866, it said, had been fought with the consent of Louis

The new German Empire did Russia the service to wrest Alsace-Lorraine from France,[71] and thereby to throw France into Russia's arms. The diplomacy of the Tsar was now in the enviable position of having both France and Germany, now deadly foes by virtue of this dismemberment, dependent upon Russia. This advantageous position seemed to favour a step further towards Constantinople; the Turkish War of 1877 was declared. After long struggles the Russian troops, in 1878, got as far as the gates of the Turkish capital, when four English men-o'-war appeared in the Bosphorus, and forced Russia, in sight of the towers of the Church of St. Sophia, to halt, and to submit her proposed Treaty of Peace of San Stefano to a European Congress for revision.[72]

And yet an immense success had—apparently—been obtained. Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, enlarged and made independent by Russia, and therefore in her debt; the quadrilateral between the Danube and the Balkan, the strongest bulwark of Turkey,[73] dismantled; the last rampart of Constantinople, the Balkan, torn from Turkey and disarmed; Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, nominally Turkish, actually Russian, vassal states; the territory lost in 1856 in Bessarabia, recovered; new and important positions conquered in Armenia; Austria, by the occupation of Bosnia, made an accomplice in the partition of Turkey, and, moreover, an eternal opponent of all Servian efforts for unity and independence; finally, Turkey, by loss of territory, exhaustion, and an exorbitant war indemnity, reduced to absolute dependence upon Russia, to a position in which, as Russian diplomacy knows only too well,[a] she only holds, for the time being the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus in trust for Russia. And thus it seemed as if Russia had but herself to choose the moment when to take possession of

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Napoleon; but the victories and growth of Prussian power had been sufficient to drive France into a hostile position vis-à-vis Prussia. The renewed successes of 1870 and the concomitant further growth in Prussian-German power were likewise to compel the Russian Tsar to adopt a hostile position towards Germany, although he supported Germany diplomatically during the war. Russia's predominance in Europe was conditional on its traditional power over Germany which had now been broken. At a time when the revolutionary movement was becoming a menace in Russia itself, the Tsar could not take this loss of prestige abroad. And if Germany was now to drive France into Russia's arms by annexing Alsace-Lorraine, it must either submit to becoming the overt tool of Russian designs for conquest, or else, after a short pause, prepare for a war against Russia and France at the same time, a war, which might easily degenerate into a race-war against its Slav and Roman allies."—*Ed.*

[a] The German has "as the Russians believed quite correctly" instead of "as Russian diplomacy knows only too well".—*Ed.*

her great ultimate object, Constantinople, "*la clef de notre maison*".[a]

In reality, however, things were quite otherwise. If Alsace-Lorraine had thrown France into the arms of Russia, the advance on Constantinople and the Berlin Peace threw Austria into the arms of Bismarck. And with that the whole situation again changed. The great military powers of the Continent divided themselves into two huge camps, threatening each other: Russia and France here; Germany and Austria there. Around these two the smaller states have to group themselves. But this means that Russia[b] cannot take the last great step, cannot really take possession of Constantinople without a universal war, with fairly evenly balanced chances, whose final issue will probably depend, not upon the original belligerent parties, but upon England. For a war of Austria and Germany against Russia and France cuts off the whole of the West from the Russian supply of corn. All the western countries exist only by means of corn imported from abroad. This then could only be supplied by sea, and the naval superiority of England would allow her to cut off this supply either from France or from Germany, and thus starve out either one or the other, according to the side which she might take.* But to fight for Constantinople in a general war, in which England would turn the scales—that is exactly what Russian diplomacy has worked 150 years to avoid. It would in itself mean a defeat.

The importance of checkmating England's probable resistance to Russia's final installation on the Bosphorus has not been overlooked by the diplomatists of St. Petersburg. After the Crimean war, and especially after the Indian mutiny of 1857,[74] the conquest of Turkestan, attempted already in 1840,[75] became urgent. In

* The maritime rights, so long claimed by England, and at last abandoned by the Declaration of Paris, 1856, would not be missed by her in an ordinary war with one or two Continental Powers. The latter would, in this age of railroads, even if blockaded by sea, always be supplied, by land, with any quantity of imports by conterminous neutrals; this was, indeed, the chief service rendered to Russia, during the Crimean War, by Prussia. But in a European war, such as now threatens us, the whole Continent would be cut up into hostile groups; neutrality would become, in the long run, impossible; international commerce by land would be almost, if not altogether, suspended. Under such circumstances England might regret giving up her maritime rights. But then, such a war would also display the full force and effect of England's naval superiority, and it may be questioned whether anything more would be at all required. [*Engels' note to the English edition.*]

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[a] "The key to our house"—the words Alexander I said to the French Ambassador Caulaincourt in 1808.—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "Russian Tsardom".—*Ed.*

1865, a foothold was gained on the Jaxartes by the occupation of Tashkent; in 1868 Samarkand, in 1875 Khokand was annexed, and the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva brought under Russian vassalage. Then began the weary advance upon Merv from the south-east corner of the Caspian; in 1881, Geok Tepé, the first important advanced post in the desert was taken, in 1884 Merv surrendered, and now the Transcaspian Railway bridges over the gap in the Russian line of communications between Mikhailowsk on the Caspian and Tchardjui on the Oxus. The present Russian position in Turkestan is as yet far from offering a safe and sufficient basis for an attack upon India. But it constitutes, at all events, a very significant menace of future invasion and a cause of constant agitation amongst the natives. While the English raj in India had no possible rival, even the mutiny of 1857 and its deterrent suppression might be looked upon as events fortifying, in the long run, the dominion of England. But with a European first-rate military power settling down in Turkestan, forcing or coaxing Persia and Afghanistan into vassalage, and slowly but irresistibly advancing towards the Hindukush and Suleiman ranges, things are very different. The English raj ceases to be an unalterable doom imposed upon India; a second alternative opens up before the natives; what force has made force may undo; and whenever England now attempts to cross Russia's path on the Black Sea, Russia will try to find unpleasant work for England in India. But in spite of all this, England's maritime power is such that she still can hurt Russia far more than Russia can hurt her, in a general war such as now seems impending.[a]

Moreover, the alliance with a republican France, whose rulers are subject to constant change, is by no means safe for Tsardom, and still less in accordance with its heart's desire. Only a restored French monarchy could offer satisfactory guarantees as ally in a war so terrible as that which is now alone possible. Hence, too, for the last five years Tsardom has taken the Orleans under its special protection; they have had to intermarry with it, by marrying into the Danish Royal Family—that Russian advanced post on the Sound.[76] And to prepare the restoration, in France, of the Orleans, now equally promoted into a Russian advanced post, General Boulanger was made use of. His own followers in France boast that the secret source whence money was so lavishly provided them, was no other than the Russian government, which had found them 15 million francs for their campaign.[77] Thus is

[a] This paragraph is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

Russia again meddling in the internal affairs of the Western countries, this time undisguisedly as the mainstay of reaction, and is playing off the impatient Chauvinism of the French bourgeois against the revolutionary spirit of the French workmen.

Altogether it is since 1878 that we begin to really see how much the position of Russian diplomacy has changed for the worse since the people are more and more permitting themselves to put in a word, and that with success. Even in the Balkan Peninsula, the territory where Russia appears *ex professo*[a] as the champion of nationalities, nothing seems to succeed now. The Roumanians, as a reward for having made victory possible to the Russians at Plevna,[78] have been compelled to give up their portion of Bessarabia, and will hardly allow themselves to be taken in by drafts on the future with respect to Transsylvania and the Banat. The Bulgarians are heartily sick of the Tsar's method of liberation, thanks to the Tsar's agents sent into their country. Only the Servians, and possibly the Greeks—both outside the direct line of fire on Constantinople—are not yet recalcitrant. The Austrian Slavs, whom the Tsar felt called upon to deliver from German bondage, have since, in the Cisleithan Provinces of the Empire[79] at least, played the part of the ruling race. The phrase of the emancipation of oppressed Christian[b] nations by the almighty Tsar is played out, and can, at most, be applied to Crete and Armenia only, and that will no longer draw in Europe, not even with sanctimonious English Liberals; for the sake of Crete and Armenia, not even Tsar-worshipping Mr. Gladstone will risk a European war, after the exposure, by Mr. Kennan of the infamous brutality with which the Tsar suppresses every attempt at opposition in his own dominions,[c] after the notoriety given to the flogging to death of Madame Sihida and other Russian "atrocities".[80]

And here we come to the very kernel of the matter. The internal development of Russia since 1856, furthered by the Government itself, has done its work. The social revolution has made giant strides; Russia is daily becoming more and more Occidentalised; modern manufactures, steam,[d] railways, the transformation of all payments in kind into money payments, and with this the crumbling of the old foundations of society are developing with ever accelerated speed. But in the same degree is also

[a] Openly.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "oppressed Christian" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[c] The rest of the sentence is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[d] The word is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

evolving the incompatibility of despotic Tsardom with the new society in course of formation. Opposition parties are forming—constitutional and revolutionary—which the Government can only master by means of increased brutality. And Russian diplomacy sees with horror the day approaching, on which the Russian people will demand to be heard, and when the settlement of their own internal affairs will leave them neither time nor wish to concern themselves with such puerilities as the conquest of Constantinople, of India, and of the supremacy of the world. The Revolution that in 1848 halted on the Polish frontier, is now knocking at the door of Russia and it now has, within, plenty of allies who only wait the right moment to throw open that door to it.

It is true, that whoever reads Russian newspapers, might suppose that all Russia enthusiastically applauds the Tsar's policy of conquest; in them there is nothing but Jingoism, Panslavism, the deliverance of Christians from the Turkish, of Slavs from the German and Magyar, yoke. But, firstly, every one knows in what chains the Russian press lies bound; secondly, the Government itself has for years fostered this Jingoism and Panslavism in all schools; and thirdly, these newspapers express—so far as they express any sort of independent opinion, only the opinion of the town population, *i.e.* of the newly-created Bourgeoisie, naturally interested in new conquests as extensions of the Russian home market. But this town population is a vanishing minority throughout the country. As soon as a National Assembly gives the immense majority of the Russian people—the rural population—an opportunity of making itself heard, we shall see quite another state of things. The experiences of the Government with regard to the Zemstvos (County Councils)[a] and which forced it to take away again all power from the Zemstvos[81] prove that a Russian National Assembly, in order to settle only the most pressing internal difficulties, would at once have to put a decided stop to all hankering after new conquests.

The European situation to-day is governed by three facts: (1) the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany; (2) the impending advance of Russian Tsardom upon Constantinople; (3) the struggle in all countries, ever growing fiercer, between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie, the working-class and the

[a] The words in brackets are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

middle-class, a struggle whose thermometer is the everywhere advancing Socialist movement.

The two first necessitate the grouping of Europe, to-day, into two large camps. The German annexation makes France the ally of Russia against Germany; the threatening of Constantinople by Tsardom makes Austria and even Italy the allies of Germany. Both camps are preparing for a decisive battle, for a war, such as the world has not yet seen, in which 10 to 15 million armed combatants will stand face to face. Only two circumstances have thus far prevented the outbreak of this fearful war: first, the incredibly rapid improvements in firearms, in consequence of which every newly-invented arm is already superseded by a new invention, before it can be introduced into even *one* army; and, secondly, the absolute impossibility of calculating the chances, the complete uncertainty as to who will finally come out victor from this gigantic struggle.

All this danger of a general war will disappear on the day when a change of things in Russia will allow the Russian people to blot out, at a stroke, the traditional policy of conquest of its Tsars, and to turn its attention to its own internal vital interests, now seriously menaced, instead of dreaming about universal supremacy.

On that day the German Empire[a] will lose all its allies against France, whom the danger from Russia has driven into its arms. Neither Austria nor Italy will then have even the smallest interest in pulling the German Emperor's[b] chestnuts out of the fire of a colossal European war. The German Empire will fall back to that isolated position, in which, as Moltke says, everyone fears and no one loves it,[c] the unavoidable result of its policy. Then, too, the mutual sympathy between Russia striving after freedom and Republican France, will be as suitable to the state of both countries, as it will be free of danger to Europe generally; and then Bismarck, or whoever succeeds him, will think thrice before he forces on a war with France, in which neither Russia against Austria, nor Austria against Russia covers his flank, in which both these countries would rejoice at any defeat he might suffer, and in which it is very doubtful whether he could, single-handed, overcome the French. Then all sympathies would be on the side of

[a] The German has "Bismarck" instead of "the German Empire".— *Ed.*

[b] William II. The German has "Bismarck's" instead of "the German Emperor's".— *Ed.*

[c] In his speech in the German Reichstag on February 16, 1874 Moltke said: "Since our successful wars we have gained respect everywhere, but love nowhere."— *Ed.*

France, and she would, at worst, be safe from further spoliation. Instead, therefore, of steering towards a war, the German Empire would probably soon find its isolated condition so intolerable that it would seek a sincere reconciliation with France, and thus all the terrible danger of war would be removed. Europe could disarm, and Germany would have gained most of all.

On the same day Austria will lose her only historical *raison d'être,* the only justification for her existence, that of barrier against a Russian advance on Constantinople. When the Bosphorus is no longer threatened by Russia, Europe will lose all interest in the maintenance of this motley hodge-podge of many peoples. Equally indifferent then will be the whole of the so-called Eastern question, the continuation of Turkish supremacy in Slav, Greek, and Albanian regions, and the dispute about the possession of the entrance to the Black Sea, which no one will then be able to monopolise against the rest of Europe. Magyars, Roumanians, Servians, Bulgarians, Arnauts,[a] Greeks, Armenians,[b] and Turks, will then, at last, be in a position to settle their mutual differences without the interference of foreign Powers, to establish among themselves the boundaries of each national territory, to order their internal affairs according to their own necessities and wishes. It will at once be seen that the great hindrance to the autonomy and free grouping of the nations and fragments of nations between the Carpathians and the Ægean Sea was no other than that same Tsardom which used the pretended emancipation of these nations as a cloak for its plans of world-supremacy.

France will be freed from the unnatural, compulsory position into which her alliance with the Tsar has forced her. If the alliance with the Republic is repugnant to the Tsar, far more repugnant to the revolutionary French people is this league with the despot, the executioner of both Poland and Russia. In a war by the side of the Tsar, France would be forbidden, in the event of a defeat, to make use of her great, her only effective means of preservation, her salvation in 1793: the Revolution, the calling out of all the strength of the people by terror, and the revolutionist propaganda in the country of the enemy; in such an event the Tsar would at once join hands with the enemies of France, for times have changed since 1848, and the Tsar, in the meantime, has learnt to know from personal experience what the Terror is. The alliance with the Tsar, then, is no strengthening of France; on

[a] The Turkish name for Albanians.—*Ed.*

[b] The word is deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

the contrary, at the moment of greatest danger Tsardom will keep sheathed the sword of France. But if in Russia, in the place of the almighty Tsar, there is a National Assembly, then the friendship of newly-freed Russia for the French Republic will be self-understood and natural; then it will further instead of impeding the revolutionary movement in France, then it will be a gain to the European Proletariat fighting for its emancipation. So France, too, must gain by the overthrow of the omnipotence of the Tsar.

Then will also disappear the excuse for the mad armaments which are turning Europe into one large camp, and which make war itself seem almost a relief. Even the German Reichstag would then find itself obliged to refuse the ever-increasing demands for war supplies.

And with this, Western Europe would be in a position to occupy itself, undisturbed by foreign diversions and interference, with its own immediate historical task, with the conflict between Proletariat and Bourgeoisie, and[a] the solution of the economic problems connected with it.

The overthrow of the Tsar's despotic rule in Russia would also directly help on this process. On the day when Tsardom falls—this last stronghold of the whole European Reaction—on that day a quite different wind will blow across Europe. For the gentlemen in Berlin and Vienna[b] know perfectly well, in spite of all differences with the Tsar about Constantinople, etc., that the time may come when they will throw into his maw Constantinople, the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, anything he wants, if only he will protect them against Revolution. On the day, therefore, when this chief stronghold itself, when Russia[c] passes into the hands of the Revolution, the last remnant of confidence and security of the reactionary governments of Europe is gone; they will be thrown upon their own resources, and will soon learn how little they are worth then. The German Emperor[d] might perhaps be tempted into sending an army to restore the authority of the Tsar—than which there could be no better way to destroy his own authority.[e]

For there can be no doubt that Germany—quite independent of

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[a] In the German the end of the sentence reads: "with effecting the transition from capitalist to socialist society".—*Ed.*

[b] The German has: "For the reactionary governments of Europe...".—*Ed.*

[c] The words "when Russia" are deleted in the German.—*Ed.*

[d] William II.—*Ed.*

[e] In the German another sentence is printed instead of this one: "Perhaps they might opt to send in their armies to establish the authority of the Tsar—what an irony of world history!"—*Ed.*

any possible action of Russia or France—is rapidly approaching a revolution. The last general election shows that the German Socialists are doubling their strength every three years; that to-day, of all single parties in the empire, they are the strongest, counting 1,437,000 votes out of a total of seven millions; and that all penal and coercive legislation was utterly powerless to stop their advance.[82] But the German Socialists, while willing to accept, on account, any economic concessions the young Emperor may make to the working class, are determined, and after ten years' coercion more determined than ever, to recover the political liberty conquered in 1848 on the Berlin barricades, but lost again to a great extent under Manteuffel and Bismarck. They know that this political liberty will alone give them the means of attaining the economic emancipation of the working class. In spite of any appearances to the contrary, a struggle is imminent between the German Socialists and the Emperor, the representative of personal and paternal government. In this struggle, the Emperor must ultimately be beaten. The electoral returns prove that the Socialists are making headway rapidly even in the country districts, while the large towns already as good as belong to them; and, in a country where every able-bodied adult male is a soldier, this means the gradual conversion of the army to Socialism. Now let a sudden change of system take place in Russia, and the effect upon Germany must be tremendous; it must hasten the crisis and double the chances of the Socialists.[a]

These are the points why Western Europe in general, and especially its working class,[b] is interested, very deeply interested, in the triumph of the Russian Revolutionary Party, and in the overthrow of the Tsar's absolutism. Europe is gliding down an inclined plane with increasing swiftness towards the abyss of a general war, a war of hitherto unheard-of extent and ferocity. Only one thing can stop it—a change of system in Russia. That this must come about in a few years there can be no doubt. May it come to pass in good time before the otherwise inevitable occurs.

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[a] The paragraph is deleted in the German.— *Ed.*

[b] The German has "the West European workers' party" instead of "its working class".— *Ed.*

ON ANTI-SEMITISM

(FROM A PRIVATE LETTER TO VIENNA)[83]

...But whether you might not be doing more harm than good with your anti-Semitism is something I would ask you to consider. For anti-Semitism betokens a retarded culture, which is why it is found only in Prussia and Austria, and in Russia too. Anyone dabbling in anti-Semitism, either in England or in America, would simply be ridiculed, while in Paris the only impression created by M. Drumont's writings—wittier by far than those of the German anti-Semites—was that of a somewhat ineffectual flash in the pan. Moreover, now that he is standing for the Municipal Council he has actually had to declare himself an opponent of Christian no less than of Jewish capital. And M. Drumont would be read even were he to take the opposite view.

In Prussia it is the lesser nobility, the Junkers with an income of 10,000 marks and outgoings of 20,000, and hence subject to usury, who indulge in anti-Semitism, while both in Prussia and Austria a vociferous chorus is provided by those whom competition from big capital has ruined—the petty bourgeoisie, skilled craftsmen and small shop-keepers. But in as much as capital, whether Semitic or Aryan, circumcised or baptised, is destroying *these* classes of society which are reactionary through and through, it is only doing what pertains to its office, and doing it well; it is helping to impel the retarded Prussians and Austrians forward until they eventually attain the present-day level at which all the old social distinctions resolve themselves in the one great antithesis—capitalists and wage-labourers. Only in places where this has not yet happened, where there is no strong capitalist class and hence no strong class of wage-labourers, where capital is not yet strong enough to gain control of national production as a

whole, so that its activities are mainly confined to the Stock Exchange—in other words, where production is still in the hands of the farmers, landowners, craftsmen and suchlike classes surviving from the Middle Ages—there, and there alone, is capital mainly Jewish, and there alone is anti-Semitism rife.

In North America *not a single Jew* is to be found among the millionaires whose wealth can, in some cases, scarcely be expressed in terms of our paltry marks, gulden or francs and, by comparison with these Americans, the Rothschilds are veritable paupers. And even in England, Rothschild is a man of modest means when set, for example, against the Duke of Westminster.[a] Even in our own Rhineland from which, with the help of the French, we drove the aristocracy 95 years ago and where we have established modern industry, one may look in vain for Jews.

Hence anti-Semitism is merely the reaction of declining medieval social strata against a modern society consisting essentially of capitalists and wage-labourers, so that all it serves are reactionary ends under a purportedly socialist cloak; it is a degenerate form of feudal socialism and we can have nothing to do with that. The very fact of its existence in a region is proof that there is not yet enough capital there. Capital and wage-labour are today indivisible. The stronger capital and hence the wage-earning class becomes, the closer will be the demise of capitalist domination. So what I would wish for us Germans, amongst whom I also count the Viennese, is that the capitalist economy should develop at a truly spanking pace rather than slowly decline into stagnation.

In addition, the anti-Semite presents the facts in an entirely false light. He doesn't even know the Jews he decries, otherwise he would be aware that, thanks to anti-Semitism in eastern Europe, and to the Spanish Inquisition in Turkey, there are here in England and in America thousands upon thousands of *Jewish proletarians*; and it is precisely these Jewish workers who are the worst exploited and the most poverty-stricken. In England during the past twelve months we have had *three* strikes by Jewish workers.[84] Are we then expected to engage in anti-Semitism in our struggle against capital?

Furthermore, we are far too deeply indebted to the Jews. Leaving aside Heine and Börne, Marx was a full-blooded Jew; Lassalle was a Jew. Many of our best people are Jews. My friend Victor Adler, who is now atoning in a Viennese prison for his devotion to the cause of the proletariat, Eduard Bernstein, editor

[a] H. L. Grosvenor.—*Ed.*

of the London *Sozialdemokrat*, Paul Singer, one of our best men in the Reichstag—people whom I am proud to call my friends, and all of them Jewish! After all, I myself was dubbed a Jew by the *Gartenlaube* and, indeed, if given the choice, I'd as lief be a Jew as a 'Herr *von*'[a]!

London, April 19, 1890

Frederick Engels

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 19, May 9, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

[a] A German honorific indicating membership of the nobility.—*Ed.*

[PREFACE TO THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION (1890) OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*][85]

Since the above was written,[a] a new German edition of the *Manifesto* has again become necessary, and much has also happened to the *Manifesto* which should be recorded here.

A second Russian translation—by Vera Zasulich—appeared in Geneva in 1882; the preface to that edition was written by Marx and myself.[b] Unfortunately, the original German manuscript has gone astray; I must therefore retranslate from the Russian, which will in no way improve the text.[86] It reads:

"The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, in Bakunin's translation, was published in the early sixties[c] by the printing office of the *Kolokol*.[87] At that time the significance to the West of the Russian translation of this work was at most that of a literary curiosity. Such a view would no longer be possible today. What a limited field the proletarian movement still occupied at that time (January 1848[d]) is best shown by the last chapter of the *Manifesto*: "Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Opposition Parties."[e] The most notable omissions here are Russia and the United States. It was the time when Russia constituted the last great reserve of European reaction and when

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[a] The reference is to Engels' Preface (1883) to the German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 118-19).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, "Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 425-26).—*Ed.*

[c] К. Марксъ, Ф. Энгельсъ, *Манифестъ Коммунистической партіи*. Женева, 1869.—*Ed.*

[d] The manuscript of the Preface to the Russian edition of 1882 has "December 1847" instead of "January 1848".—*Ed.*

[e] The manuscript of the Preface to the 1882 Russian edition has further the following words: "in the various countries".—*Ed.*

emigration to the United States absorbed the surplus forces of the European proletariat. Both countries supplied Europe with raw materials and at the same time provided markets for the sale of its manufactured goods. Thus both served, each in its own way, as pillars of the European social order.

"How all that has changed today! It is that self-same European emigration which has made possible the immense development of North American agriculture which, through its competition, is shaking the very foundations of European landed property—large and small. It has also enabled the United States to make a start on exploiting its tremendous industrial resources, and with such energy and on such a scale that this is bound in a short while to put an end to the industrial monopoly of Western Europe.[a] And these two circumstances react in revolutionary manner also on America itself. The small and medium landed property of the self-employed[b] farmers, the foundation of America's entire political system, is increasingly succumbing to competition from giant farms, whilst simultaneously in the industrial regions a numerically strong proletariat is taking shape for the first time alongside a fabulous concentration of capitals.

"Let us move on to Russia. During the revolution of 1848-49 not only the European monarchs, but also the European bourgeois, saw in Russian intervention their sole salvation from a European proletariat just awakening to its own power. They proclaimed the Tsar[c] head of European reaction. Today he[d] languishes in Gatchina, a prisoner of war of the revolution,[88] and Russia forms the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Europe.

"It was the task of the *Communist Manifesto* to proclaim the inevitably impending demise of contemporary bourgeois property. But in Russia we find that, alongside the capitalist system, developing with a feverish haste, and bourgeois landed property, only just beginning to develop, more than half the land is the common property of the peasants.

"Now the question is: can the Russian peasant community,[e] a

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[a] In the manuscript of the Preface to the 1882 Russian edition there follows: "and especially of England".—*Ed.*

[b] The word "self-employed" was added by Engels to the German edition of 1890.—*Ed.*

[c] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[d] Alexander III.—*Ed.*

[e] The manuscript of the Preface to the 1882 Russian edition has the Russian word *Obshchina*—village community—transliterated as *Obschtschina* instead of "peasant community".—*Ed.*

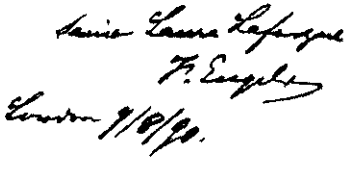
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XXXIII.

Das
Kommunistische Manifest.

Vierte autorisirte deutsche Ausgabe.

Mit einem neuen Vorwort von Friedrich Engels.



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

Title page of the German edition (1890)
of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

form of the primeval common ownership of land, albeit greatly eroded, pass directly to the higher, communist form of common ownership, or must it first pass through the same process of dissolution as demonstrated in the historical development of the West?

"The only answer possible to this question today is the following. If the Russian revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that the two complement each other, then present-day Russian common ownership may serve as a starting point for communist development.

"*London,* January 21, 1882."

At about the same date, a new Polish version appeared in Geneva: *Manifest Komunistyczny.*[a]

Furthermore, a new Danish translation has appeared in the *Socialdemokratisk Bibliotek,* København, 1885.[b] Unfortunately it is not quite complete; certain essential passages, which seem to have presented difficulties to the translator, have been omitted, and in addition there are signs of carelessness here and there, which are all the more unpleasantly conspicuous since the translation indicates that had the translator taken a little more pains he would have done an excellent piece of work.

A new French version appeared in 1886 in *Le Socialiste* of Paris; it is the best published to date.[c]

After this a Spanish version was published the same year, first in *El Socialista*[d] of Madrid, and then reissued in pamphlet form: *Manifesto del Partido Comunista* por Carlos Marx y F. Engels, Madrid, Administración de *El Socialista,* Hernán Cortés 8.

As a matter of curiosity I may also mention that in 1887 the manuscript of an Armenian translation was offered to a publisher in Constantinople. But the good man did not have the courage to publish something bearing the name of Marx and suggested that the translator set down his own name as author, which the latter, however, declined.

After one and then another of the more or less inaccurate

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[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifest Komunistyczny 1847.— Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Det Kommunistiske Manifest.— Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifeste du parti communiste, Le Socialiste,* Nos. 1-11, August 29-November 7, 1885. The date "1886" is given by Engels by mistake. The translation was done by Laura Lafargue and edited by Engels.— *Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifesto del Partido Comunista, El Socialista,* Nos. 14-17, 19-22, June 11-August 6, 1886.— *Ed.*

American translations had been repeatedly reprinted in England,[a] an authentic version at last appeared in 1888. This was by my friend Samuel Moore, and we went through it together once more before it was sent to press. It is entitled: *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Authorised English Translation, edited and annotated by Frederick Engels, 1888, London, William Reeves, 185 Fleet St., E.C.[b] I have added some of the notes of that edition to the present one.

The *Manifesto* has had a history of its own. Greeted with enthusiasm, at the time of its appearance, by the then still not at all numerous vanguard of scientific Socialism (as is proved by the translations mentioned in the first preface[c]), it was soon forced into the background by the reactionary developments that originated with the defeat of the Paris workers in June 1848, and was finally excommunicated "according to law" by the conviction of the Cologne Communists in November 1852.[89] With the disappearance from the public scene of the workers' movement that had begun with the February revolution,[d] the *Manifesto* passed into the background.

When the working class of Europe had again gathered sufficient strength for a new onslaught upon the power of the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association came into being. Its aim was to weld together into *one* huge army the whole militant working class of Europe and America. Therefore it could not *set out* from the principles laid down in the *Manifesto.* It was bound to have a programme which would not shut the door on the English Trade Unions, the French, Belgian, Italian and Spanish Proudhonists and the German Lassalleans.* This programme—the preamble to the Rules of the International[e]—was drawn up by Marx with a

* Lassalle personally, to us, always acknowledged himself to be a "disciple" of Marx, and, as such, stood, of course, on the ground of the *Manifesto.* Matters were quite different with regard to those of his followers who did not go beyond his demand for producers' co-operatives supported by state credits and who divided the whole working class into supporters of state assistance and supporters of self-assistance.

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[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communists,* London, 1886; K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communists, Justice,* Nos. 208-13, January 7-February 11, 1888.—*Ed.*

[b] The Preface by Engels to the 1888 English edition. See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 512-18.—*Ed.*

[c] The Preface by Marx and Engels to the 1872 German edition. See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75.—*Ed.*

[d] The 1848 revolution in France.—*Ed.*

[e] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14-16.—*Ed.*

master hand acknowledged even by Bakunin and the anarchists. For the ultimate triumph of the ideas set forth in the *Manifesto* Marx relied solely and exlusively upon the intellectual development of the working class, as it necessarily had to ensue from united action and discussion. The events and vicissitudes in the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the successes, could not but demonstrate to the fighters the inadequacy hitherto of their universal panaceas and make their minds more receptive to a thorough understanding of the true conditions for the emancipation of the workers. And Marx was right. The working class of 1874, at the dissolution of the International, was altogether different from that of 1864, at its foundation. Proudhonism in the Latin countries and the specific Lassalleanism in Germany were dying out, and even the then arch-conservative English TRADE UNIONS were gradually approaching the point where in 1887 the chairman of their Swansea Congress[a] could say in their name: "Continental Socialism [...] has lost its terrors for us."[b] Yet by 1887 Continental Socialism was almost exclusively the theory heralded in the *Manifesto.* Thus, to a certain extent, the history of the *Manifesto* reflects the history of the modern working-class movement since 1848. At present it is doubtless the most widely circulated, the most international product of all socialist literature, the common programme of many millions of workers of all countries, from Siberia to California.

Nevertheless, when it appeared we could not have called it a *socialist* manifesto. In 1847 two kinds of people were considered socialists. On the one hand were the adherents of the various Utopian systems, notably the Owenites in England and the Fourierists in France, both of whom at that date had already dwindled to mere sects gradually dying out. On the other, the manifold types of social quacks who wanted to eliminate social abuses through their various universal panaceas and all kinds of patchwork, without hurting capital and profit in the least. In both cases, people who stood outside the labour movement and who looked for support rather to the "educated" classes. The section of the working class, however, which demanded a radical reconstruction of society, convinced that mere political revolutions were not enough, then called itself *communist.* It was still a rough-hewn, only instinctive, and frequently somewhat crude Communism. Yet it was powerful enough to bring into being two

[a] W. Bevan.— *Ed.*

[b] W. Binning, *The Trades' Union Congress, The Commonweal,* No. 88, September 17, 1887.— *Ed.*

systems of Utopian Communism—in France the "Icarian" Communism of Cabet, and in Germany that of Weitling. Socialism in 1847 signified a bourgeois movement, Communism, a working-class movement. Socialism was, on the Continent at least, quite respectable, whereas Communism was the very opposite. And since we were very decidedly of the opinion as early as then that "the emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself",[90] we could have no hesitation as to which of the two names we should choose. Nor has it ever occurred to us since to repudiate it.

"Working men of all countries, unite!" But few voices responded when we proclaimed these words to the world forty-two years ago, on the eve of the first Paris revolution in which the proletariat came out with demands of its own. On September 28, 1864, however, the proletarians of most of the Western European countries joined hands in the International Working Men's Association of glorious memory. True, the International itself lived only nine years. But that the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries created by it is still alive and lives stronger than ever, there is no better witness than this day. Because today, as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces, mobilised for the first time, mobilised as *one* army, under *one* flag, for *one* immediate aim: the standard eight-hour working day to be established by legal enactment, as proclaimed by the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866, and again by the Paris Workers' Congress in 1889.[91] And today's spectacle will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all countries to the fact that today the working men of all countries are united indeed.

If only Marx were still by my side to see this with his own eyes!

London, May 1, 1890

F. Engels

First published in *Das Kommunistische Manifest,* London, 1890

Printed according to the book

MAY 4 IN LONDON[92]

The May Day celebration of the proletariat was epoch-making not only by its universal character which made it the first international *action* of the militant working class. It also marked most gratifying advances in the various countries taken individually. Friend and foe agree *that on the whole Continent it was Austria, and in Austria Vienna, that celebrated the holiday of the proletariat in the most brilliant and dignified manner,* and that the Austrian, above all the Viennese, workers thereby won themselves an entirely different standing in the movement. Only a few years ago the Austrian movement had declined almost to zero, and the workers of the German and Slav crown lands were split into hostile contingents that wore themselves out in internecine strife. Anyone who had claimed ever just three years ago that on May 1, 1890 Vienna and the whole of Austria would set an example to all others of how a proletarian class holiday should be celebrated, would have been laughed out of court. We shall do well not to forget this fact when judging those squabbles stemming from internal discord in which the workers of other countries continue to wear themselves out to this day, as, for instance, in France. Who would claim that Paris cannot do what Vienna has done?

But on May 4 Vienna was cast in the shade by London. And I consider it to be the most important and magnificent aspect of the entire May Day celebration that on May 4, 1890, the *English proletariat,* rousing itself from forty years of hibernation, *rejoined the movement of its class.* This cannot be appreciated without looking at the past history of May 4.

Towards the beginning of last year the world's largest and most poverty-stricken working-class district, the East End of London, was stirred gradually into action. On April 1, 1889, the Gas

Workers' and General Labourers' Union was founded; today it has some 100,000 members. It was largely through the participation of this interested union (many are gas workers in winter and dock workers in summer) that the big dockers' strike started on its way and shook even the bottom-most section of the East London workers out of their self-neglect.[93] Trades union upon trades union was formed among these, mostly unskilled workers, while those already in existence there, having hitherto barely kept themselves going, now blossomed forth at speed. But these new Trades Unions are very different from the old ones. The latter, encompassing "skilled" workers, are exclusive; they bar all workers who have not received a guild training, and thereby themselves give rise to competition from those not in the guild; they are rich, but the richer they become, the more they degenerate into mere health-insurance and death benefit funds; they are conservative and they steer clear above all of ... socialism, as far and as long as they can. The new "unskilled" unions, on the other hand, admit *every* worker in the given trade; they are essentially, and the gas workers even exclusively, unions geared to organising and funding strikes. And while they are not socialists to a man, they nevertheless absolutely insist on being led by socialists and no others. But socialist propaganda had already been actively pursued for years in the East End, where it was above all Mrs. E. Marx-Aveling and her husband, Edward Aveling, who had four years earlier discovered the most fertile ground for propaganda in the "Radical clubs"[94] consisting almost exclusively of workers, had worked on them steadily and, as is now evident, to the best effect. During the dock workers' strike Mrs. Aveling was one of the three women who organised the distribution of relief, and as a token of gratitude Mr. Hyndman, the runaway of Trafalgar Square,[95] slanderously alleged that in return they had been paid three pounds sterling every week from the strike fund. Mrs. Aveling led last winter's strike in Silvertown almost unaided,[96] as also in the East End, and in the gas workers' union she represents a women's branch founded by herself.

Last autumn the gas workers won an eight-hour working day here in London, but in an unsuccessful strike lost it again in the southern part of the city,[97] acquiring sufficient proof that this gain is by no means safe for all times in the northern part either. Is it surprising, then, that they readily accepted Mrs. Aveling's proposal to hold a May Day celebration, as decided by the Paris Congress, in support of a legal eight-hour day in London? In concert with several socialist groups, the Radical clubs and the

other TRADES UNIONS in the East End, they set up a Central Committee to organise a large demonstration for the purpose in Hyde Park. As it transpired that all attempts to hold the demonstration on Thursday, May 1, were bound to fail this year, a decision was taken to postpone it till Sunday, May 4.

To ensure that, as far as possible, *all* London workers took part, the Central Committee, in its naïve impartiality, invited the London TRADES COUNCIL as well. This is a body made up of delegates from the London TRADES UNIONS, mostly of the older "skilled" unions, and one in which, as might be expected, the anti-socialist elements still command a majority. The TRADES COUNCIL realised that the movement for an eight-hour day was threatening to grow beyond its control. The old TRADES UNIONS also favour an eight-hour working day, but not one to be established by law. What they mean by an eight-hour day is that normal daily wages should be paid for eight hours—so-and-so much per hour—but that any amount of overtime should be permitted daily, provided every hour of overtime is paid at a higher rate—say, at the rate of one and a half or two ordinary hours. The point therefore was to tie in the demonstration with this version of the working day, one to be won by "free" agreement but certainly not to be made statutory by an Act of Parliament. To this end the TRADES COUNCIL allied itself with the SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION under the above-mentioned Mr. Hyndman, an association which poses as the One True Church of English Socialism, which, quite in keeping with its nature, concluded a life-and-death alliance with the French Possibilists[98] and sent a delegation to their congress, and which therefore from the outset regarded the May Day celebration the Marxist Congress had decided to hold as a sin against the Holy Ghost. The movement was growing beyond the control of the Federation as well; but to fall in line with the Central Committee would mean placing itself under "Marxist" leadership; on the other hand, if the TRADES COUNCIL were to take the matter into its own hands and if the celebration were held on May 4 instead of the 1st, it would no longer be anything like the wicked "Marxist" May Day celebration and so it [the Federation] could join in. Notwithstanding the inclusion in its programme of a legal eight-hour day, the Social Democratic Federation eagerly clasped the hand proffered by the TRADES COUNCIL.

Now the new allies, strange bed-fellows though they were, played on the Central Committee a trick which would, it is true, be considered not only permissible but quite clever by the political ways of the English bourgeoisie, but one which European and

American workers will probably find perfectly ordinary. The fact is that in the case of mass meetings in Hyde Park the organisers must first announce their intention to the BOARD OF WORKS and reach agreement with it on details, namely secure permission to move onto the grass the carts that are to serve as platforms. Besides, regulations say that after a meeting has been announced, no other meeting may be held in the Park on the same day. The Central Committee had not yet made the announcement; but scarcely had the bodies allied against it heard the news than they registered a meeting in the Park for May 4 and obtained permission for seven platforms, doing so behind the backs of the Central Committee.

The TRADES COUNCIL and the Federation considered that they had thus rented the Park for May 4 and had victory in the bag. The former called a meeting of delegates from the TRADES UNIONS, to which it also invited two delegates from the Central Committee; the Central Committee sent three, including Mrs. Aveling. The TRADES COUNCIL treated them as if it were running the whole show. It informed them that *only* trades unions, that is to say no socialist associations or political clubs, were to take part in the demonstration and carry banners. Just how the Social Democratic Federation was to participate in the demonstration remained a mystery. The Council had already edited the resolution to be submitted to the meeting, and had *deleted* from it the demand for a *legal* eight-hour day; a proposal that this be reinserted was neither accepted for debate, nor was it voted on. And lastly, the Council refused to admit Mrs. Aveling as a delegate, claiming that she was not a manual worker (which is not true), and this despite the fact that its own President, Mr. Shipton, had not lifted a finger in his own trade for fully fifteen years.

The workers on the Central Committee were outraged by the trick played on them. It looked as if the demonstration had been finally put into the hands of two bodies representing only small minorities among the London workers. There seemed to be no remedy but to storm the platforms of the TRADES COUNCIL, as the gas workers had threatened.—Then Edward Aveling went to the Ministry and, contrary to regulations, secured permission for the Central Committee likewise to bring seven platforms to the Park. The attempt to fix the demonstration in accordance with the interests of the minority had failed; the TRADES COUNCIL pulled in its horns and was glad to be able to negotiate with the Central Committee on an equal footing over arrangements for the demonstration.

One has to know this past history to appreciate the nature and

significance of the demonstration. Prompted by the East End workers who had recently joined the movement, the demonstration elicited such a universal response that two elements—which were no less hostile to each other than both of them together were to the fundamental idea of the demonstration—had to pull together in order to seize the leadership and use the meeting to their own advantage. On the one hand, the conservative TRADES COUNCIL preaching equal rights for capital and labour; on the other, a Social Democratic Federation posing as radical and talking of social revolution whenever it was safe to do so—and the two joined together to play a mean trick with an eye to capitalising on a demonstration mortally hated by both. These events meant that the May 4 meeting was split into two parts. On the one side we find the conservative workers, whose horizons do not extend beyond the wage-labour system, and next to them a feeble but power-hungry socialist sect; on the other side, the great bulk of workers who had recently joined the movement and who want no more to do with the Manchesterism of the old TRADES UNIONS,[99] preferring to win their complete emancipation themselves, with allies of their own choice, and not with those imposed by a tiny socialist clique. On one side we find stagnation represented by TRADES UNIONS that have not yet completely freed themselves from the craft spirit, and by a narrow-minded sect backed by the most wretched of allies; on the other, the living free movement of the re-awakening English proletariat. And it was apparent even to the blindest where there was fresh life in that double gathering and where stagnation. Surrounding the seven platforms of the Central Committee were dense crowds as far as the eye could see, marching up with music and banners, over a hundred thousand in the procession, reinforced by almost as many who had come individually; everywhere harmony and enthusiasm, and yet order and organisation. Around the platforms of the combined reactionaries, on the other hand, everything seemed dull; their procession was greatly inferior to the other, poorly organised, ragged and mostly late, so that in some parts things did not get under way there until the Central Committee was already through. While the Liberal leaders of some Radical clubs, and the officials of several TRADES UNIONS joined the TRADES COUNCIL, the members of the selfsame associations—in fact, four entire branches of the Social Democratic Federation—marched together with the Central Committee. For all that, the TRADES COUNCIL succeeded in winning some attention, but the decisive success was achieved by the Central Committee.

What the numerous onlooking bourgeois politicians took home with them as the overall impression was the certainty that the English proletariat, which for fully forty years had trailed behind the great Liberal Party and served it as election fodder, had awakened at last to a new life and action of its own. There can be no doubt that on May 4, 1890 the English working class joined the great international army. And that is a fact of epoch-making proportions. The English proletariat rests on the most advanced industrial development and, moreover, possesses the greatest freedom of political action. Its long hibernation—the result, on the one hand, of the failure of the Chartist movement of 1836-50 and, on the other hand, of the colossal rise of industry between 1848 and 1880—has finally come to an end. The grandchildren of the old Chartists are stepping into the front line. For eight years the broad masses have been moving into action, now here, now there. Socialist groups have emerged, but none has been able to transcend the bounds of a sect; agitators and would-be party leaders, mere speculators and careerists among them, they have remained officers without an army. It has almost invariably been like the famous Robert Blum column of the Baden campaign of 1849[100]: one colonel, eleven officers, one bugler and one private. And the bickering among those various Robert Blum columns over the leadership of the future proletarian army has been anything but edifying. This will cease before long, just as it has ceased in Germany and in Austria. The tremendous movement of the masses will put an end to all these sects and little groupings by absorbing the men and showing the officers their proper places. Those who don't like it may sneak away. It won't come off without friction, but come off it will, and the English proletarian army will, much sooner than some expect, be as united, as well organised and as determined as any, and will be jubilantly hailed by all its comrades on the Continent and in America.

Written between May 5 and 21, 1890

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 21, May 23, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

[DRAFT OF A REPLY TO THE EDITORS OF THE *SÄCHSISCHE ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*][101]

In their farewell message in No. 105 (August 31, 1890) the retiring editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* state that petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism now had a majority in Germany. But majorities often very quickly became minorities,

> "and so the retiring editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung join Friedrich Engels* in hoping that, as the naive state socialism of Lassalle was overcome in the past, the success-hungry parliamentary tendency among the present-day Social Democrats will also soon be overcome by the common sense of the German working class".[a]

Had I been able to entertain the slightest doubt about the nature of the latest student revolt in our German party, then my eyes would have been opened by this height of impertinence displayed by the ex-editors of one of its main organs. The ex-editors "join" me in hoping—therefore I join them in hoping—that the tendency represented by people such as Auer, Bebel, Liebknecht, Singer should soon have the minority, and that the "principled attitude" represented by the ex-editors the majority of the German workers behind it. This means that the hopes of the ex-editors have been directly and *falsely attributed* to me and I shall see that they are made to answer for this personally.

I have felt no urge to involve myself in the brawl initiated by these student gents and men of letters. However, I have expressed my opinion frankly to all who wished to hear it. And if the brawling gents want to hear it publicly, so be it.

When these gents began to kick up a row against the party executive and the parliamentary group, I asked myself in surprise:

[a] "An unsere Leser!", *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 105, August 31, 1890.—*Ed.*

what are they after? What is all this aimed at? As far as I could see, there was no reason at all for the whole enormous palaver. On the disputed question of May Day the party executive had perhaps hesitated too long with its declaration. However, it consisted of five persons, living in four widely separated places, and needing time to reach an understanding. But when it spoke, it said the right thing, the only fitting thing in the situation. Events in Hamburg have proved it more than right.[102]

In the debate some members of the parliamentary group and the party executive have certainly been clumsy. Things like this occur always and everywhere, and reflect upon the individual, not the whole group. In its draft rules the parliamentary group has been responsible for some few offences against the democratic code of conduct.[103] But this is only a draft, and it is up to the Party Congress to adopt it, reject it, or amend it. The London Conference of the International in 1871 also committed such sins of form, and the Bakuninists immediately took them up, making them the formal lever for their attacks on the General Council.[104] For all that, everybody knows today that the real democracy rested in the General Council, and not in the Bakuninist Council,[105] which had engineered a whole secret conspiratorial apparatus in order to put the International at its service.

When, at the time of the Steamer Subsidy, the then parliamentary group did not for a moment know what it wanted, and sought to make the editors of the *Sozialdemokrat* the scapegoat for their own perplexity, I took a thoroughly decisive stand on the side of the editors and against the parliamentary group.[106] I would do the same again today were the parliamentary group or the party executive really to do things which seriously endangered the party. But there is no question of anything of this sort today; the[a]

Written on about September 6, 1890

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The manuscript breaks off here.— *Ed.*

[REPLY TO THE EDITORS OF THE *SÄCHSISCHE ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*][107]

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *SOZIALDEMOKRAT*

The signatory requests the publication of the following letter, which was dispatched yesterday to the present editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* in Dresden.

* * *

In their farewell message (No. 105 of August 31, 1890) the retiring editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* state that petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism had a majority in Germany. But majorities often very quickly became minorities,

"...and so the retiring editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung join Friedrich Engels* in hoping that, as the naive state socialism of Lassalle was overcome in the past, the success-hungry parliamentary tendency among the present-day Social Democrats will also soon be overcome by the common sense of the German working class".[a]

The retiring editors greatly surprise me in the above. And perhaps themselves too.... To date I know nothing of a majority for petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism in the German party. So they may "hope" whatever they like and as long as they will, but I do not "join" them in hoping.

Had I been able to entertain any doubt about the nature of the latest revolt by men of letters and students in our German party, then it would vanish faced with the height of impertinence of this attempt to announce my solidarity with the somersaults of these gentlemen.

[a] "An unsere Leser!", *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 105, August 31, 1890.—*Ed.*

My only connection with the retiring editors was that for the past few weeks they had been sending me, unsolicited, their paper; I did not find it necessary, however, to tell them what I thought of it. Now I really have to tell them, and in public at that.

Theoretically I found in it—and this is true by and large for the rest of the "opposition" press—a frenziedly distorted "Marxism", marked on the one hand by a considerable misunderstanding of the viewpoint which it claimed to represent, and on the other by a gross ignorance of the decisive historical facts on every occasion, and thirdly by that knowledge of their own immeasurable superiority which so advantageously distinguishes German scribblers. Marx foresaw such disciples when he had this to say at the end of the seventies about the "Marxism" raging among certain Frenchmen: "*tout ce que je sais, c'est que moi, je ne suis pas marxiste*"—"I know only this, that *I* am not a 'Marxist'."[108]

Practically, I found in the paper a ruthless disregard of all the actual conditions of party struggle, a death-defying "surmounting of obstacles" in the imagination, which may do all honour to the untamed youthful courage of the writers, but which, if transferred from the imagination to reality, would be sufficient to bury the strongest party of millions under the well-earned laughter of the whole hostile world. That even a small sect cannot allow itself, unpunished, such a schoolboy policy—in this respect the gentlemen have had curious experiences since then.

All the complaints against the parliamentary group or the party executive, which they have been storing up for months, boil down at most to simple trifles. But if the gentlemen like to strain at a gnat, this can be no reason for the German worker to swallow camels in appreciation.[a]

So they have harvested what they had sown. Quite apart from all the questions of context, the whole campaign was started with such childishness, such naive self-deception about their own importance, about the state of affairs and views within the party, that the outcome was a foregone conclusion. May the gentlemen take the lesson to heart. Some of them have written things which justified all manner of hope. Most of them could accomplish something, were they less convinced of the perfection of the stage of development they have reached at this moment. May they come to realise that their "academic education"—in any case requiring a thorough, critical self-assessment—does not provide them with an

[a] An allusion to the biblical expression: "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel" (Matthew, 23:24).—*Ed.*

officer's commission and a claim to a corresponding post in the party; that in our party everybody must work his way up; that positions of trust in the party are not won simply through literary talent and theoretical knowledge, even if both are undoubtedly present, but that this also demands familiarity with the conditions of party struggle and adjustment to its forms, proven personal reliability and constancy of character and, finally, a willingness to join the ranks of the fighters—in short, that they, the "academically educated" all in all have much more to learn from the workers than the workers from them.

London, September 7, 1890

Frederick Engels

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 37, September 13, 1890, in the supplement to the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 214, September 14, 1890, and in the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 112, September 17, 1890

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Published in English for the first time

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' CONGRESS OF 1891[109]

At the congress of the English TRADES UNIONS in Liverpool (September 1890)[110] the National Council of the Belgian workers' party invited the TRADES UNIONS to the international congress which is to be held next year in Belgium.

The Belgians were given a mandate by the Possibilist Congress to convene an international congress in Belgium. The Marxist Congress (I employ this designation for brevity's sake) only gave them the mandate to convene a congress *in cooperation with the Swiss*; the place of the congress remained unspecified.

Short of a deliberate misunderstanding, the Belgians have therefore invited the Englishmen to the Possibilist Congress, the only one which they had a mandate to convene on their own. And the English accepted enthusiastically.

It will be impossible to make the young TRADES UNIONS of simple manual workers see that their good faith has been abused; that there will be two congresses in 1891, a good one and a bad one, and that it is the bad one which they have promised to attend. This is not simply my personal opinion; it is also the opinion of people who worked harder than anyone to get the TRADES UNIONS to enter the international movement. The campaign which the *Sozialdemokrat* waged against the English friends of the Possibilists[111] in 1889 could not be repeated this time with the same success. If there are two congresses, why did the others not invite us also, so that we could have made our choice? Now it's too late. That is what these practical men will say. They have accepted the Belgians' invitation and they will go to the congress which is to be held in Belgium. That is absolutely certain; unless the Belgians

and the Possibilists repel them by committing some unequalled stupidities; but they will not commit these stupidities.

This situation is the inevitable consequence of the mistakes committed by the Marxist Congress. The most important question was left unresolved—that of the future congress. Even worse, any solution was rendered almost impossible in that the convening was entrusted to *two* national committees, Belgian and Swiss, without whose prior agreement even the smallest step could not be taken—the surest way of ensuring that nothing would be done. And again, just as after the conference at The Hague,[112] the Belgians, instead of staying within the limits of the mandate given to them, acted purely in their own interests. They wished to make sure that the congress was held in Belgium, and they are convening it, without worrying about their Swiss co-mandatees. I have no wish to cast doubt on the sincerity and good intentions of the Belgian National Council; but, in practice, by the course of action which it has chosen, it is managing the affairs of the Possibilists at our expense. Instead of blaming the others, let us recognise that we are but suffering the consequences of our own failings. (Do not let us blame them too much; the mandate which we gave them virtually invited them not to take it literally.)

We have placed ourselves in a sort of impasse, in a situation in which we cannot move, whereas our rivals are acting. How can we escape from it?

First of all, it is certain that new attempts will be made from more than one quarter to prevent the "scandal" of two rival working men's congresses. We would not be able to reject these attempts; on the contrary, if there is a repetition of the "scandal" it is in our greatest interest to ensure that the responsibility falls on the Possibilists and their allies. Anyone who has the slightest experience of the international movement knows that in the event of a split he who provokes it, or appears to provoke it, is always in the wrong in the eyes of the workers. Therefore, in the event that there are two congresses in 1891, let us act in such a way that it is not we who can be accused of being the cause.

If it is certain that these attempts to effect a union will be made—should we await them passively? Then we would be running the risk that at the last minute the Possibilists and their allies might present us with an ultimatum full of traps (such as we are familiar with)—traps hidden beneath soothing verbiage, so that the general public should not see any harm in it, whilst we would not be able to accept; this, then, is the fine situation facing us: either accept and walk into the trap with eyes wide open, or refuse and

carry the blame, in the eyes of the workers, for having brought about the collapse of the socialist union by sheer, inexplicable obstinacy!

In a word, the situation is quite intolerable. We must escape from it. How? By acting. Let us no longer sit back and rely on the mandate given to the Belgians and the Swiss—let us take the matter into our own hands.[a]

Would the union of the two congresses be a regrettable thing as far as we are concerned? Let us examine the question.

We may count, for certain, on 1) the French Collectivists[113] and Blanquists (the latter reduced by the large numbers that deserted to the Boulangist camp[114]), 2) the Germans, 3) the Austrians, 4) the Spanish socialists, 5) the "revolutionary" Danes,[115] $^1/_5$ of the Danish socialists, 6) the Swedes and perhaps some Norwegians, 7) the Swiss, 8) the banished Russians and Poles.

The rival congress would comprise 1) the French Possibilists, 2) the English Trades Unions, which would be represented en masse, and the English Social Democratic Federation, which has profited from the general upswing of the movement in England, 3) the Belgians, 4) the Dutch, 5) the Spanish trade unions from Barcelona, etc., 6) probably the Portuguese trade unions, 7) the Italians, 8) the "reformist" Danes, $^4/_5$ of the socialist mass in Denmark, who might attract a few Norwegians, too.

According to circumstances the Belgians and the Dutch would come along to be represented at our congress also; on the other hand, the Swiss would be capable of sending some delegates to the Possibilist congress.

It follows that this time the Possibilists would have a much more respectable army than in 1889. If we have the Germans, they will balance them with the English, lost to us by our inaction and clumsiness; as for the others, they have as many nationalities as we, if not more. And with their skill in inventing mandates and fictitious representatives they would leave us a long way behind. Let us add that if we carry on with the system of inaction implemented hitherto, the blame for the split would certainly fall on us, which would cause a further reduction in the strength of our congress.

Let us now suppose that the merger has taken place. Then our strength will be swollen by all those who up to the present have been neutral because of the "scandal" of the split: the Belgians,

[a] The following six paragraphs up to the words "What are for us the indispensable conditions" are crossed by a vertical line in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

the Dutch, the Italians; they will inevitably attract the new English TRADES UNIONS, formed out of excellent elements, still pliable but well intentioned and intelligent. We have already taken root there; the contact of the French Collectivists and the Germans would be enough to bring them still closer to us, all the more so as the S.D.F., whom with its overbearing airs they find repugnant, is the pledged ally of the Possibilists. The Belgians only want congresses where they can take the lead and which the Possibilists have procured for them, particularly a big congress at Brussels. If we help them to bring about a merger *in their country*, the Flemish, who are the better element in their ranks, will side with us and will balance the Possibilist tendencies of the Bruxellois. The Dutch are fanatically keen on a merger, but they are far from being Possibilists.

What are for us the indispensable conditions?

1) That the joint congress should be convened by the two countries mandated by the two congresses of 1889. The Belgians will convene in the name of the Possibilist mandate, and the Belgians and the Swiss jointly in the name of our mandate, form to be determined.

2) That the congress should be its own master. The rules and regulations, agendas and resolutions of the preceding congresses do not exist for it. It makes its own rules, the method of checking the mandates, and its agenda without being bound by any precedent. No committee, whether appointed by one of the preceding congresses, or during the course of the merger negotiations, has the right to bind the congress in all matters.

3) The terms on which the various working men's associations are to be represented, and their proportions, will be laid down beforehand (definite proposals are desirable, it is not up to me to lay them down).

4) A committee whose composition remains to be decided will be instructed to draft plans for the rules, the checking of mandates, and an agenda, on which points the congress will make the final decision.

Written between September 9 and 15, 1890

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Der Sozialdemokrat

Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutſcher Zunge.

[FAREWELL LETTER TO THE READERS OF THE *SOZIALDEMOKRAT*][116]

Might I too be permitted to bid farewell to the reader.

The *Sozialdemokrat* must vanish from the scene. Not only because this has been so often announced to the other parties. Far more because the *Sozialdemokrat* would itself under the changed circumstances necessarily become something else, with a different mission, different contributors, a different readership. And a paper which played such a specific historical role, a paper which was peculiar for the fact that in its columns, and in its columns only, the twelve most decisive years in the life of the German workers' party are reflected—such a paper cannot and must not change. It must remain what it was, or it must cease to exist. On this we all agree.

We also all agree that the paper cannot disappear without leaving a gap. No organ appearing in Germany, official or not, can replace it. For the party this is only a relative drawback: it is entering into different conditions of struggle and therefore needs different weapons and a different strategy and tactics. But it is an absolute loss for the contributors, and particularly for me.

Twice in my life I have had the honour and the pleasure of working for a periodical where I enjoyed to full measure the two most favourable conditions in which one can be effective in the press: firstly, unconditional press freedom, and secondly, the certainty that one was reaching exactly that public one wished to reach.

The first occasion was in 1848-1849 at the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[117] Those were revolutionary times, and in such times it is anyway a pleasure to work for the daily press. You see the effect of every word before your eyes, you see how the articles literally hit the target, as though they were shells, and how they explode.

The second occasion was at the *Sozialdemokrat.* This too was a revolutionary interval, after the party found its feet again at the Wyden Congress, and from then on resumed the fight "with all methods", legal or not.[118] The *Sozialdemokrat* was the embodiment of this illegality. For it there was no binding imperial constitution, no imperial criminal code, no Prussian common law. Illegally, defying and disdaining all imperial and provincial legislation, it penetrated every week the frontiers of the Holy German Empire; detectives, spies, agents provocateurs, customs officials, doubled and trebled frontier forces were powerless: almost with the certainty of a bill of exchange it was presented to the subscriber on the date of maturity; no Stephan could prevent the German Reichspost from having to dispatch and deliver it. And this with over ten thousand subscribers in Germany; the banned writings of the period before 1848 were very rarely paid for by their bourgeois purchasers, but for twelve years the workers paid with the greatest punctuality for their *Sozialdemokrat.* How often did my heart, the heart of an old revolutionary, rejoice to observe this excellently lubricated noiseless interplay between editors, distributors and subscribers, this BUSINESSLIKE organised revolutionary work proceeding week after week, year in, year out with the same certainty!

And the paper was worth the troubles and dangers which its distribution cost. It was certainly the best paper the party ever possessed. And this was not simply because it, alone amongst them, enjoyed full freedom of the press. The principles of the party were expounded and recorded with unusual clarity and firmness, and the tactical line of the editors was almost always the correct one. And then there was something else. While our bourgeois press cultivated the most deathly boredom, the *Sozialdemokrat* generously reflected the cheerful humour with which our workers are wont to fight police harassment.

And the *Sozialdemokrat* was anything but a mere mouthpiece for the parliamentary group. When in 1885 the majority of the group favoured the Steamer Subsidy, the paper firmly supported the opposite opinion and held on to its right to do so, even when the majority forbade it this right in an order of the day which they themselves must today find incomprehensible. The fight lasted for just four weeks, during which the editors were warmly supported by the party comrades inside and outside Germany. On April 2 the ban was issued; on the 23rd the *Sozialdemokrat* published a declaration agreed between the parliamentary group and the editors, indicating that the group had rescinded its ban.[119]

At a later date it fell to the *Sozialdemokrat* to put to the test the renowned Swiss right of asylum.[120] There it became clear, as in all similar cases since 1830, that this right of asylum always collapses precisely when it really ought to come into force. But this is nothing new. Since the little republic's democratisation from 1830 on,[121] the neighbouring great powers have allowed it the democratic experiment domestically only on the condition that the right of asylum for refugees is exercised under the supervision of the interested great power. Switzerland is too weak not to submit. It cannot be blamed for this. Marx used to say, specifically with reference to Holland, Switzerland and Denmark, that today the worst situated was a small country which had had a great history. But in "free Switzerland" they should stop bragging about their immaculate right of asylum.

The *Sozialdemokrat* was the banner of the German party; after twelve years of struggle the party is victorious. The Anti-Socialist Law has fallen, Bismarck has been overthrown. The powerful German Empire set in motion against us all its instruments of power; the party scoffed at them, until finally the German Empire had to lower its flag before ours. The Imperial Government will try out common law against us for the while, and so we shall, for the while, try out those legal means which we have regained for ourselves by the vigorous use of illegal means. Whether the "legal" means are once again written into our programme or not is pretty immaterial. The attempt must be made to get along with legal methods of struggle for the time being. Not only we are doing this, it is being done by all workers' parties in all countries where the workers have a certain measure of legal freedom of action, and this for the simple reason that it is the most productive method for them. However, the prerequisite for this is that the other side also acts legally. If the attempt is made once again actually to place our party outside the common law, be it by means of new emergency legislation, unlawful convictions and practices by the Imperial Supreme Court, by police tyranny, or by other illegal encroachments by the executive, then the German Social Democrats will once again be driven to the illegal path as the only one open to them. Even for the English, the most law-abiding nation, the first condition of legality on the part of the people is that all other agents of power remain within the bounds of the law; should this not be the case, then in the English view of law, rebellion is the first civic duty.

If this should happen, what then? Will the party build barricades, appeal to the power of the gun? It will certainly not do

its opponents this favour. It will be saved from this by the knowledge of its own position of strength, given it by every general election to the Reichstag. Twenty per cent of the votes cast [122] is a very respectable figure, but this also means that the opponents together still have eighty per cent of the vote. And with our party seeing in this connection that its vote has doubled in the past three years, and that it can expect an even greater increase by the time of the next elections, then it would be mad to attempt a putsch [123] today with twenty against eighty and the army on top of that; the certain result would be—the loss of all the positions of power won in the past twenty-five years.

The party has a much better and well-tested means at its disposal. On the day our rights under common law are disputed, the *Sozialdemokrat* will reappear. The old machinery, held in reserve for this case, will start up again, improved, enlarged, newly oiled. And one thing is certain: on a second run the German Empire will not hold out for twelve years.

Frederick Engels

Written between September 12 and 18, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 39, September 27, 1890

REPLY TO MR. PAUL ERNST

A friend sends me the Magdeburg *Volksstimme* of September 16. In an article therein, signed Paul Ernst, I find the following passage:

"And if Engels now describes our opposition as 'student revolt', I would ask him to demonstrate where we have championed other views but his own and Marx's; and if I have depicted our parliamentary Social Democrats as partly very petty-bourgeois in character, Engels need only look at what he himself wrote in 1887 in the Preface to his *Housing Question*."[a]

My dealing with German writers over the years have enriched me with many curious experiences. But it seems that there are even greater treats in store. I am supposed to tell Mr. Paul Ernst where "we" have championed other views, etc. Well, as far as the "we" is concerned, that is, the "opposition" which entered on to the scene with such high and mighty airs and made such a faint-hearted exit, and which I described as revolts by men of letters and students,[124] we can keep it short: in just about every article which they publish.

But as far as Mr. Ernst himself is concerned, I need not tell him that again. For I have already told him so—four months ago, in fact—and I suppose I must now plague the public, for better or for worse, with my "Ernst"[b] correspondence.

On May 31 this year Mr. Ernst wrote to me from Görbersdorf that Mr. Hermann Bahr was reproaching him in the *Freie Bühne* for wrongly applying the Marxist method of viewing history with

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[a] See F. Engels, "Preface to the Second Edition of *The Housing Question*" (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 424-33).—*Ed.*

[b] "Ernst" in German means "earnest".—*Ed.*

regard to the Scandinavian women's movement,[a] and would I please

"say in a few lines whether my view corresponds with Marx's or not, and furthermore permit me to use the letter against Bahr".

I replied to him on June 5 that I could not become involved in his dispute with Mr. Bahr, and that I was quite unfamiliar with the "Scandinavian women's movement".[b] I then went on:

"As regards your attempt to handle the matter in a materialist way, I should say first of all that the materialist method turns into its opposite if, in an historical study, it is used not as a guide but rather as a ready-made pattern in accordance with which one tailors the historical facts. And if Mr. Bahr believes he has caught you out in this respect, it seems to me that he may not be altogether unjustified.

"You subsume the whole of Norway and everything that happens there under one category, philistinism, and then unhesitatingly and erroneously apply to that Norwegian philistinism your opinion of *German* philistinism. But here there are two facts which present an insuperable obstacle.

"Firstly: When, throughout Europe, the victory over Napoleon turned out into the victory of reaction over the Revolution, the fear inspired by the latter sufficing only in its cradle, France, to wrest a bourgeois-liberal constitution[125] from the returning legitimists, Norway took occasion to give itself a constitution that was far more democratic[126] than any of its coevals in Europe.

"And, secondly, Norway has, during the past twenty years, experienced a literary revival unparalleled in any other country during that period save Russia. Philistine or not, this people has been far more creative than all the rest and is, indeed, putting its stamp on other literatures, not least the German.

"These facts, in my view, render it necessary to examine Norwegian 'philistinism' in the light of its particular characteristics.

"And in so doing you will probably find that a very important distinction emerges. In Germany philistinism was born of a failed revolution, a development that was interrupted and repressed. Its idiosyncratic, abnormally pronounced character made up of cowardice, bigotry, ineptitude, and a total lack of initiative,

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[a] The reference is to H. Bahr, "Die Epigonen des Marxismus", *Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, No. 17, May 28, 1890, which is spearheaded against P. Ernst, "Frauenfrage und soziale Frage", *Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, No. 15, May 14, 1890.— *Ed.*

[b] See F. Engels' letter to P. Ernst of June 5, 1890 (present edition, Vol. 50).— *Ed.*

resulted from the Thirty Years' War and the period that ensued—the very time in which practically all the great nations were experiencing a rapid rise. That character persisted, even after Germany had again been gripped by the historical movement, and was strong enough to imprint itself, more or less a generalised German type, on all the other social classes in Germany until such time as our working class broke out of these narrow confines. If the German workers are flagrantly 'unpatriotic',[127] it is precisely because they have completely shaken off German philistine bigotry.

"Hence German philistinism is not a normal historical phase but a caricature taken to extremes, a form of degeneration, just as your Polish Jew is a caricature of the Jews. The English, French, etc., lower middle class is not at all on the same level as your German lower middle class.

"In Norway, on the other hand, the class of small peasants and the lower middle class with a slight admixture of middle class elements—as it existed, say, in England and France in the seventeenth century—have, for several centuries, constituted the normal state of society. Here there is no question of an archaic state of affairs having been forcibly imposed upon them by the failure of a great movement or by a Thirty Years' War. The country has been retarded by its isolation and by its natural circumstances, but its state was commensurate with the conditions of its production, and hence normal. It is only quite recently that large-scale industry has, sporadically and on a very small scale, begun to come into the country, where, however, there is no place for the most powerful lever for the concentration of capital—the stock exchange; and even the tremendous expansion of maritime trade has proved to be a conservative factor. For whereas everywhere else steam is superseding sail, Norway is enormously increasing the number of its sailing vessels and possesses, if not the largest, then certainly the second largest, fleet of windjammers in the world, most of them owned by small and medium-sized shipping firms, as in England in, say, 1720. But nevertheless this has brought some animation into the old, sluggish existence—animation which finds expression in, among other things, the literary revival.

"The Norwegian peasant was never a serf, so that the whole process takes place against an entirely different background, as in Castile. The lower middle class Norwegian is the son of a free peasant and, such being the case, is a *man* compared with the degenerate German philistine. And whatever the failings of, for

example, Ibsen's plays, these reflect a world which is, it is true, lower middle and middle class, but utterly different from the German world—a world in which people still have character and initiative and act independently if, by the standards of other countries, often eccentrically. Personally, I would prefer to get to know all I could about things of this sort before passing judgment."

So here I told Mr. Ernst, albeit politely, but nonetheless clearly and firmly, "where"—namely, in the article from the *Freie Bühne* which he sent to me himself. When I demonstrate to him that he uses the Marxist approach as nothing but a pattern to which he tailors the historical facts that is precisely an example of the "considerable misunderstanding" of the same approach with which I reproached the gentlemen.[a] And when I prove to him, using his own example of Norway, that his pattern of philistinism on German lines flies in the face of the historical facts when applied to Norway, I thereby catch him in advance and in person displaying the 'gross ignorance of the decisive historical facts on every occasion', with which I also reproached those gentlemen.[b]

And now look at the affected primness which Mr. Ernst feigns, like a country maiden treated like "one of those" by some bluebloodded scoundrel in the streets of Berlin! He appears before me four months after the above letter, the picture of outraged virtue, demanding that I should tell him "where?". Mr. Ernst appears to have but two literary frames of mind. First he lets fly with impudence and self-assurance, as if there really was more to it than hot air; and when people proceed to defend themselves, [he protests that] he has said nothing at all and bemoans the base disregard shown to his pure feelings. Outraged virtue in his letter to me in which he complains that Mr. Bahr has treated him "with quite unbelievable insolence"! Injured innocence in his reply to me, in which he quite naively asks "where?", while he must have known the answer for a good four months. An unrecognised noble soul in the Magdeburg *Volksstimme,* in which he also asks old Bremer, who had quite rightly rapped his knuckles, "Where?"

> And the sigh asks always: where?
> Always, where?

Does Mr. Ernst still want to know "where"? Well, let him turn, for example, to the article in the *Volks-Tribüne* on the "Dangers of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 69-71.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

Marxism",[a] in which he appropriates without hesitation the odd assertion of the metaphysicist Dühring—as if, according to Marx, history makes itself quite automatically, without the cooperation of human beings (who after all are making it!), and as if these human beings were simply played like mere chessmen by the economic conditions (which are the work of men themselves!). A man who is capable of confusing the distortion of Marxist theory by an opponent such as Dühring with this theory itself must turn elsewhere for help—I give up.

Perhaps I may now be excused from answering any more "wheres"? Mr. Ernst is so prolific, he turns out articles with such alacrity that one comes across them everywhere. And when you imagine that you have finally seen the last of them, he turns up again as the author of sundry anonymous pieces. Then a mere mortal like myself is unable to keep up and is tempted to wish that instead of prescribing his remedies so freely, Mr. Ernst should have something prescribed for himself.

He says further:

> "If I have depicted our parliamentary Social Democrats as partly very petty-bourgeois in character, Engels need only", etc.

Partly very petty-bourgeois? In the article in the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* which forced me to reply,[b] it says that petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism has now a *majority* in Germany. And I said that I knew nothing about this. Now Mr. Ernst merely wishes to defend the assertion that the parliamentary group is "partly" very petty-bourgeois. Again the unrecognised noble soul, to whom the wicked world imputes all kinds of outrages. Who has ever denied that the petty-bourgeois tendency is represented not only in the parliamentary group but also in the party as a whole? Every party has a right wing and a left wing, and that the right wing of the Social Democratic Party is petty-bourgeois is only in the nature of the things. If there is no more to it than that, why all the fuss? We have been well aware of this old story for years, but it is a far cry from that to a petty-bourgeois majority in the parliamentary group or in the party itself. If this danger were to pose a threat, we should not wait for the warnings of these strange loyal Eckarts. For the time being the vigorous and joyful proletarian struggle [128] against the Anti-Socialist Law and the rapid economic development have increasingly deprived this petty-

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[a] P. E[rnst], "Gefahren des Marxismus", *Berliner Volks-Tribune*, No. 32, August 9, 1890 (supplement).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 69-71.—*Ed.*

bourgeois element of ground, air and light, whereas the proletarian element has grown more and more powerful.

There is, however, one thing which I can divulge to Mr. Paul Ernst by way of conclusion: there is something that is far more dangerous to the party than a petty-bourgeois group which can be consigned to the lumber-room at the next elections. I am referring to a clique of loud-mouthed men of letters and students, particularly when they are incapable of seeing the simplest things with their own eyes and of impartially weighing up the relative importance of the available facts or the strength of the forces involved when assessing an economic or political situation, and hence seek to force on the party tactics that are utterly insane, as gentlemen such as Bruno Wille and Teistler in particular, and to a lesser extent Mr. Ernst, have amply demonstrated. And this clique becomes even more dangerous if it unites to form a mutual assurance society, setting in motion all the means of organised advertising in order to smuggle its members into the editorial chairs of the party newspapers and control the party by means of the party press. Twelve years ago the Anti-Socialist Law saved us from this danger, which was already overtaking us, even then. Now that this law is going, the danger is back again. And I trust this will make it quite clear to Mr. Paul Ernst exactly why I am willing to fight tooth and nail to prevent myself from being identified with the elements of such a clique.

London, October 1, 1890

Frederick Engels

First published in the *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 232, October 5, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *BERLINER VOLKSBLATT*

On my seventieth birthday I received so many messages of sincere support, so many unexpected testimonials, that it will unfortunately be impossible for me to answer each message personally. There was a veritable torrent of telegrams, letters, gifts, articles devoted specially to me in the party press of many different countries, but particularly in all parts of Germany. Therefore allow me to express thus my most sincere thanks to the friends old and new who remembered me so appreciatively on November 28.

Nobody knows better than I that the greater part of these testimonials were not due to me and my own services. It is my fate that I must harvest the glory and the honour the seed for which was sown by Karl Marx, a greater man than me. So I can only pledge myself to devote the remainder of my life to the active service of the proletariat, so that I may, if possible, make myself belatedly worthy of these honours.

London, December 2, 1890

Frederick Engels

First published in the *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 284, December 5, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

1re année — N° 14 PARAISSANT LE MERCREDI 25 Décembre 1890

LE SOCIALISTE

ORGANE CENTRAL DU PARTI OUVRIER

ABONNEMENTS
3 mois 1 fr. 50, 6 mois 3 fr., un an 6 fr.
10 CENT le NUMÉRO

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AU SECRÉTAIRE du CONSEIL NATIONAL
PARIS — 14, AVENUE DE MONTSOURIS, 14 — PARIS

ADMINISTRATION
[illegible], RUE MONTORGUEIL, [illegible]
PARIS

TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY[129]

Citizens,

I thank you with all my heart for the congratulations which you were kind enough to send me on the occasion of my seventieth birthday.

Rest assured that what remains of my life and my strength will be spent in fighting for the proletarian cause. The moment I am no longer of any use to the struggle, may it be granted to me to die.

But the battles won by you, by our brothers in Germany, England, Austria-Hungary, Russia, in fact everywhere, form a series of sparkling victories enough to rejuvenate a man older and more exhausted than I am. And what gladdens me more than anything is the sincere brotherhood, which has been, I hope, established forever, between the French and German proletarians, despite the chauvinistic cries of our corrupt bourgeoisies.

It was your great countryman Saint-Simon who was the first to predict that the alliance of the three great Western nations—France, England and Germany—is the prime international requisite for the political and social emancipation of the whole of Europe.[a] I hope to see this alliance—the kernel of the European alliance which will put

[a] See H. Saint-Simon and A. Thierry, *De la réorganisation de la société européenne, ou de la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples de l'Europe en un seul corps politique, en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale*; Idem., *Opinion sur les mesures à prendre contre la coalition de 1815.*—*Ed.*

an end for all time to the wars between governments and races—achieved by the proletarians of the three nations.

Long live the international social Revolution.

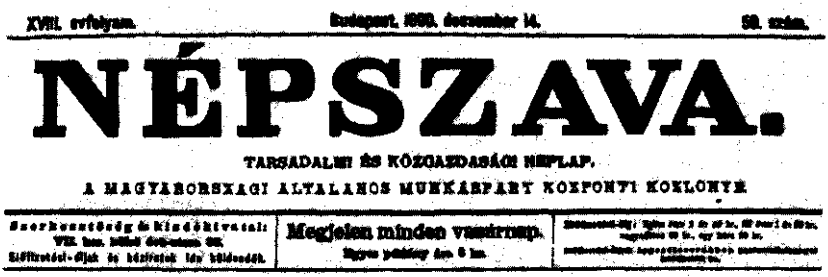
London, December 2, 1890

Frederick Engels

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 14, December 25, 1890

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French


XVII. évfolyam. Budapest, 1890. december 14. 50. szám.

NÉPSZAVA.

TÁRSADALMI ÉS KÖZGAZDASÁGI NÉPLAP.

A MAGYARORSZÁGI ÁLTALÁNOS MUNKÁSPÁRT KÖZPONTI KÖZLÖNYE.

Szerkesztőség és kiadóhivatal: VIII. ker. Mikó-utcza 6/c. Előfizetési-díjak és hirdetések ide küldendők.

Megjelen minden vasárnap. Egyes példány ára 5 kr.

[TO THE EDITORS
OF THE *ARBEITER-WOCHEN-CHRONIK*
AND *NÉPSZAVA* IN BUDAPEST][130]

London, December 3, 1890

I would like to thank you most sincerely for the best wishes on my seventieth birthday conveyed in your letter of November 26.

I realise only too well that by far the greater part of the honours shown me on this day by yourselves and so many others, only falls to me as the surviving representative of *Marx,* and beg your permission to be allowed to lay it on his grave as a wreath of honour. However, what I can do to show myself belatedly worthy of him I shall do; you may count on this.

Many thanks for your kind invitation to the Hungarian Party Congress.[131] I shall sadly not be able to accept the invitation in person, but in spirit I shall be amongst you on the 7th and 8th inst.

The existence of a Hungarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party is a fresh proof that modern large-scale industry cannot install itself in any country without revolutionising the old pre-capitalist society, without creating not only a capitalist class but also a proletariat and thus producing the class struggle between the two and a workers' party striving for the overthrow of the bourgeois-capitalist world order. This workers' party, which is now developing ever more strongly in Hungary too, as I learn from the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* you were kind enough to send me, has from the start the advantage of being international, of embracing Magyars, Germans, Romanians, Serbs and Slovaks. Please be kind

enough to convey my warmest greetings to this young party upon its Congress.

Long live international Social Democracy!

Long live the Hungarian Party Congress!

Frederick Engels

First published in the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik*, No. 50, December 14, 1890 and in *Népszava*, No. 50, December 14, 1890

Printed according to the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik*

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST [GERMAN] WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY [132]

122 Regents Park Road, N.W.
December 11, 1890

I am writing, albeit belatedly, to thank you for the congratulations enclosed with your kind letter of 28th of last month. Like you, I deeply regret that my friend Marx was not privileged to witness the present irresistible development of the proletarian-socialist movement, a development for which he more than anyone else laid the foundations.

May your wishes be fulfilled and victory be near!

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time



Nr. 18. IX. Jahrgang, I. Band. 1890-91.

[PREFACE TO KARL MARX'S *CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME*] [133]

The manuscript published here—the covering letter to Bracke[a] as well as the critique of the draft programme—was sent in 1875, shortly before the Gotha Unity Congress,[134] to Bracke for communication to Geib, Auer, Bebel, and Liebknecht and subsequent return to Marx. Since the Halle Party Congress [135] has put the discussion of the Gotha Programme on the agenda of the party, I think I would be guilty of suppression if I any longer withheld from publicity this important—perhaps the most important—document relevant to this discussion.

But the manuscript has yet another and more far-reaching significance. Here for the first time Marx's attitude to the line adopted by Lassalle in his agitation from the very beginning is clearly and firmly set forth, both as regards Lassalle's economic principles and his tactics.

The ruthless severity with which the draft programme is dissected here, the mercilessness with which the results obtained are enunciated and the shortcomings of the draft laid bare—all this today, after fifteen years, can no longer give offense. Specific Lassalleans now exist only abroad as isolated ruins, and in Halle

[a] See K. Marx's letter to W. Bracke of May 5, 1875 (present edition, Vol. 45).—*Ed.*

the Gotha Programme was given up even by its creators as altogether inadequate.

Nevertheless, I have omitted a few sharp personal expressions and judgements where these were immaterial, and replaced them by dots. Marx himself would have done so if he had published the manuscript today. The violence of the language in some passages was provoked by two circumstances. In the first place, Marx and I had been more intimately connected with the German movement than with any other; we were, therefore, bound to be particularly perturbed by the decidedly retrograde step manifested by this draft programme. And secondly, we were at that time, hardly two years after the Hague Congress of the International,[136] engaged in the most violent struggle against Bakunin and his anarchists, who made us responsible for everything that happened in the labour movement in Germany; hence we had to expect that we would also be saddled with the secret paternity of this programme. These considerations have now ceased to exist and with them the necessity for the passages in question.

For reasons of censorship, a few sentences have been indicated only by dots. Where I have had to choose a milder expression this has been enclosed in square brackets. Otherwise the text has been reproduced word for word.

London, January 6, 1891

Fr. Engels

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 18, 1890-1891

Printed according to the journal

IN THE CASE OF BRENTANO VERSUS MARX

REGARDING ALLEGED FALSIFICATION OF QUOTATION. THE STORY AND DOCUMENTS[137]

Written in December 1890-February 1891

First published as a pamphlet in: F. Engels, *In Sachen Brentano contra Marx wegen angeblicher Zitatsfälschung. Geschichtserzählung und Dokumente*, Hamburg, 1891

Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English in full for the first time

In my Preface to the fourth edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*[a] I found myself obliged to return to a polemic against Marx, initiated by Anonymous in the Berlin *Concordia* in 1872, and taken up again by Mr. Sedley Taylor of Cambridge in *The Times* in 1883.[b] Anonymous, revealed by Mr. Taylor as Mr. Lujo Brentano, had accused Marx of falsifying a quotation. The short report on the affair which I gave in my Preface (it is printed amongst the attached Documents, No. 12[c]), certainly was not intended to be pleasant to Mr. Brentano; nothing was more natural than that he should answer me. And this took place in a pamphlet: *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Frage des Fortschritts der Arbeiterklasse und seiner Ursachen.* Von Lujo Brentano, Berlin, Walther & Apolant, 1890.[d]

This pamphlet gives us too much and too little. Too much, because it "also" gives us at length Mr. Brentano's views on "the advance of the working class and its causes". These views have absolutely nothing to do with the point at issue. I remark only this: Mr. Brentano's constantly repeated declaration that labour protection legislation and trade association organisations are fitted to improve the condition of the working class is by no means his own discovery. From the *Condition of the Working Class in England*

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35; see also this volume, pp. 164-69.— *Ed.*

[b] See [L. Brentano,] "Wie Karl Marx citirt", *Concordia*, No. 10, March 7, 1872; S. Taylor, "To the Editor of *The Times*", *The Times*, No. 30990, November 29, 1883.— *Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 164-69.— *Ed.*

[d] "My Polemic with Karl Marx. Also a Contribution to the Advance of the Working Class and Its Causes".— *Ed.*

and *The Poverty of Philosophy* to *Capital* and down to my most recent writings,[a] Marx and I have said this a hundred times, though with very sharp reservations. Firstly, the favourable effects of the resisting trade associations are confined to periods of average and brisk business; in periods of stagnation and crisis they regularly fail; Mr. Brentano's claim that they "are capable of paralysing the fateful effects of the reserve army" is ridiculous boasting. And secondly—ignoring other less important reservations—neither the protection legislation nor the resistance of the trade associations removes the main thing which needs abolishing: capitalist relations, which constantly reproduce the contradiction between the capitalist class and the class of wage labourers. The mass of wage labourers remain condemned to life-long wage labour; the gap between them and the capitalists becomes ever deeper and wider the more modern large-scale industry takes over all branches of production. But since Mr. Brentano would gladly convert wage-slaves into *contented* wage-slaves, he must hugely exaggerate the advantageous effects of labour protection, the resistance of trade associations, social piecemeal legislation, etc.; and as we are able to confront these exaggerations with the simple facts—hence his fury.

The pamphlet in question gives too little, since it gives, of the documents in the polemic, only the items exchanged between Mr. Brentano and Marx, and not those which have appeared since with regard to this question. So in order to place the reader in a position to form an overall judgement, I give, in the appendix: 1. the incriminated passages from the Inaugural Address of the General Council of the International[b] and from *Capital*; 2. the polemic between Mr. Brentano and Marx; 3. that between Mr. Sedley Taylor and Eleanor Marx; 4. my Preface to the 4th edition of *Capital* and Mr. Brentano's reply to it; and 5. passages relevant to Gladstone's letters to Mr. Brentano. It goes without saying that I thereby omit all those passages of Brentano's argument which do not touch upon the question of falsification of quotation, but only constitute his "contribution to the advance", etc.

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[a] The reference probably is to Engels' "England in 1845 and 1885" and "Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*".—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13.—*Ed.*

I

In No. 10 of the Berlin *Concordia,* March 7, 1872, there was a fierce anonymous attack upon Marx as the author of the Inaugural Address of the General Council of the International in 1864.[a] In this Address, it was stated, Marx had falsified a quotation from the budget speech made by Gladstone, at that time English Chancellor of the Exchequer, on April 16, 1863.

The passage from the Inaugural Address is printed in the appendix, Documents, No. 1.[b] The article from the *Concordia* also there, document No. 3.[c] In the latter, the charge is formulated as follows:

"What is the relationship between this speech and the quotation by Marx? Gladstone first makes the point that there has undoubtedly been a colossal increase in the income of the country. This is proved for him by the income tax. But income tax takes notice only of incomes of 150 pounds sterling and over. Persons with lower incomes pay no income tax in England. The fact that Gladstone mentions this so that his yardstick can be properly appreciated is utilised by Marx to have Gladstone say: '*This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property.*' Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. It says quite the opposite. **Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!**"

This is the charge and, let it be noted, the only charge, that Anonymous, who has now admitted he is called Lujo Brentano, makes against Marx.

No. 10 of the *Concordia* was sent to Marx from Germany in May 1872. The copy still in my possession today bears the inscription

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 132-33.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 135-36.— *Ed.*

"Organ of the German Manufacturers' Association". Marx, who had never heard of this sheet, assumed the author to be a scribbling manufacturer, and dealt with him accordingly.

Marx demonstrated in his reply in the *Volksstaat* (Documents, No. 4[a]) that the sentence had not only been quoted in the same way by Professor Beesly in 1870 in *The Fortnightly Review*,[b] but also before the publication of the Inaugural Address in [H. Roy,] *The Theory of the Exchanges*, London, 1864; and finally that the report in *The Times* on April 17, 1863 also contained the sentence, in form and in content, as he had quoted it:

> "The augmentation I have described" (namely as "this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power") "is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property."[c]

If this passage, a passage which is certainly compromising in the mouth of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer, is not to be found in Hansard,[d] this is simply because Mr. Gladstone was clever enough to get rid of it, in accordance with traditional English parliamentary practice.

In any case, proof was given here that the sentence allegedly lyingly added *is to be found verbatim* in *The Times* of April 17, 1863 in its report of the speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone the evening before. And *The Times* was a Gladstonian organ at that time.

And what is the reply now from Mr. "Modesty" Brentano? (*Concordia*, July 4, 1872, Documents, No. 5.[e])

With an impertinence he would never have dared under his own name, he repeats the charge that Marx lyingly added the sentence: this charge, he adds, is

> "serious, and combined with the convincing evidence provided, absolutely devastating".

The evidence was nothing but the passage in Hansard in which the sentence is missing. It could thus at the most be "devastating" for this selfsame ill-fated sentence, which appeared in *The Times* and not in Hansard.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40 and also Vol. 23, pp. 164-67.— *Ed.*

[b] E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association", *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLVII, November 1, 1870.— *Ed.*

[c] Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 16, 1863 (*The Times*, No. 24535, April 17, 1863).— *Ed.*

[d] See *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. CLXX, London, 1863, p. 244.— *Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 140-44.— *Ed.*

But this victorious crowing was only intended to help negotiate this same unpleasant fact that the "lyingly added" sentence had been confirmed as authentic by the *Times* report. And with the feeling that this evidence for the prosecution was pretty "convincing", and that it would become "absolutely devastating" in time, our anonymous would-be professor now zealously attacks the quotation in Beesly and in *The Theory of the Exchanges,* causes a big stir, claims that Beesly quoted from the Inaugural Address and Marx from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* etc. All these are minor points. Even if they are true, they prove nothing on the question as to whether Gladstone spoke the sentence or Marx invented it. But by their very nature they could not be settled with absolute finality, either by Mr. Brentano at that time, or by me today. On the other hand, they serve to divert attention from the main point, namely from the fatal *Times* report.

Before venturing to deal with this, Anonymous flexes his muscles by using various items of strong language, such as "frivolity bordering upon the criminal", "this lying quotation", etc.; and then he lays in with gusto as follows:

"But here we come, to be sure, to Marx's third line of defence, and this far exceeds, *in its impudent mendacity,* anything which came before. Marx actually does not shrink from citing *The Times* of April 17, 1863 as proof of the correctness of his quotation. *The Times* of April 17, 1863, p. 7, page" (should be column) "5, line 17 et seq., reports, *however,* the speech as follows:

And here follows the *Times* report, which runs:

"The augmentation I have described" (namely as "this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power") "and the figures of which are founded, I think, upon accurate returns, *is entirely confined to classes of property.*"

And now we can only stare wide-eyed at the "impudent mendacity" of Marx, who still dares to claim that the *Times* report contained the sentence: This intoxicating augmentation, etc., is entirely confined to classes of property!

The Inaugural Address states: "THIS INTOXICATING AUGMENTATION OF WEALTH AND POWER IS *ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES OF PROPERTY.*"

The Times states: "THE AUGMENTATION THERE DESCRIBED" (which not even Mr. Brentano, anonymous or not, has so far argued is not the "AUGMENTATION" in the phrase "THIS INTOXICATING AUGMENTATION OF WEALTH AND POWER") "AND WHICH IS FOUNDED, I THINK, UPON ACCURATE RETURNS, *IS AN AUGMENTATION ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES OF PROPERTY.*"

And now that Mr. Brentano has pointed out in *The Times,* with his own index finger, the sentence which Marx allegedly lyingly added because it was missing in Hansard, and has thus taken upon

himself Marx's alleged impudent mendacity, he declares triumphantly that

"both reports" (*Times* and Hansard) "fully coincide materially. The report in *The Times* just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives verbatim. Yet despite the fact that the *Times* report contains the direct opposite of *that notorious passage* in the Inaugural Address, and the fact that according to the *Times* report, too, Mr. Gladstone said he believed this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *not* to be confined to classes in easy circumstances Marx has the impudence to write in the *Volksstaat* of June 1: 'So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared both in form and in content in the House of Commons, as reported in his own organ, *The Times*, on April 17, 1863, that this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property'" [a]

Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem. When two do the same, it is not the same.

When Marx has Gladstone say: This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property, this is "lyingly added", a "notorious passage", "completely forged". When the *Times* report has Gladstone say:

"This augmentation I have described as an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property,"

then this is only "formally more contracted" than the Hansard report, in which this sentence is missing, and the "direct opposite of that" (exactly the same) "notorious passage in the Inaugural Address". And when Marx then quotes the *Times* report in confirmation of this passage, Mr. Brentano states:

"...and finally he has the *impudence* to base himself on newspaper reports which *directly contradict* him".

This really does demand great "impudence". However, Marx has his on his face, and nowhere else.[b]

With the aid of "impudence" which may easily be distinguished from that of Marx, Anonymous, alias Lujo Brentano, then manages to have Gladstone say that

he "*believes* this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *not* to be confined to classes in easy circumstances".

Actually, according to *The Times* and Hansard, Gladstone says he would look with pain and apprehension upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if he believed it was confined to the classes in easy circumstances, and he adds, according to *The Times*, that it is, however, "confined to classes of property".

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[a] See this volume, p. 143.—*Ed.*

[b] Play on words: "Stirn" means forehead and impudence.—*Ed.*

"Indeed," the righteously indignant Anonymous finally exclaims, "to describe these practices we know only one word, a word with which Marx is very familiar (see *Capital*, p. 257[a]): they are simply 'nefarious'."

Whose practices, Mr. Lujo Brentano?

II

Marx's reply (*Der Volksstaat*, August 7, 1872, Documents, No. 6[b]) is good-natured enough to deal with all the stir created by Mr. Brentano about Professor Beesly, *The Theory of the Exchanges*, etc.; we leave this aside as being of secondary importance. In conclusion, however, it produces another two facts which are absolutely decisive for the main issue. The "lyingly added" passage is to be found, besides in the *Times* report, in the reports of two other London morning papers of April 17, 1863. According to *The Morning Star*, Gladstone stated:

"This augmentation"—which had just been described as an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power—"is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property."

According to *The Morning Advertiser*:

"The augmentation stated"—an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power—"is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property."

For any other opponent, these proofs would be "absolutely devastating". Not, however, for the anonymous Brentano. His reply (*Concordia*, August 22, 1872, Documents, No. 7[c]), which betrays undiminished impudence, was never seen by Marx, since numbers of *Concordia* later than that dated July 11 were not sent to him. I myself first read this reply in Brentano's reprint (*Meine Polemik, etc.*, 1890[d]), and must therefore take note of it here, for better or for worse.

"The *dogged mendacity* with which he" (Marx) "clings to the distorted quotation ... is astonishing even for someone for whom no means are too base for his subversive plans."

The quotation remains "forged", and the *Times* report "shows the exact opposite, since *The Times* and Hansard fully coincide". The confidence of this declaration is, however, simply child's play

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Book I, Part III, Chapter X, Section 6 (see present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 144-51.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 152-54.— *Ed.*

[d] L. Brentano, *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 21-23.— *Ed.*

compared to the "impudence" with which Mr. Brentano suddenly gives us the following information:

"Marx's second method of obscuring the *Times* report was simply to suppress, in his German translation, the relative clause which showed that Gladstone had only said that the augmentation of wealth, which was shown by the income tax returns, *was confined to the classes of property,* since the working classes were not subject to income tax, and that thus nothing about the increase in the prosperity of the working classes could be learned from the income tax returns; not, however, that the working classes in reality had been excluded from the extraordinary augmentation of national wealth."

Thus when *The Times* says that the oft-mentioned augmentation is confined to the classes of property, then it says the opposite of the "lyingly added" sentence, which says the same. As regards the "simply suppressed relative clause", we shall not allow Mr. Brentano to get away with that, if he will bear with us for a moment. And now he has happily survived the first great leap, it is easier for him to assert that black is white, and white black. Now that he has managed to deal with *The Times, The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* will give him little trouble.

"For these papers, even as he" (Marx) "quotes them, speak for us. After Gladstone has said, according to both papers, that he does *not* believe" (which, as we know, Mr. Brentano claims) "*this* intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is confined to the classes which find themselves in pleasant circumstances, he continued: '*This* great increase of wealth *takes no cognizance at all* of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation which I have described is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.*' The context and the use of the expression 'take cognizance' show clearly that this increase and the augmentation of the increase cited, and the citing," (*sic*!) "are intended to indicate those discernible in the income tax returns."

The Jesuit who originated the saying *Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem* was a bungler compared to the anonymous Brentano. When *The Times, The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* declare unanimously that the sentence which Brentano claims Marx had "lyingly added" was actually uttered by Gladstone, then these papers speak unanimously "for" Mr. Brentano. And when Marx quotes this sentence verbatim, this is a "lying quotation", "impudent mendacity", "complete forgery", "a lie", etc. And if Marx cannot appreciate this, that passes the understanding of our Anonymous, alias Lujo Brentano, and he finds it "simply nefarious".

But let us deal with the alleged "lying addition" once and for all by quoting the reports on our passage in all London morning papers on April 17, 1863.

We have already had *The Times, The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser.*

Daily Telegraph:

"I may say for one, that I should look almost with apprehension and alarm on *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power* if it were my belief that it was confined to the masses who are in easy circumstances. This question to wealth takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation stated is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.*"

Morning Herald:

"I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension at *this intoxicating increase of wealth* if I were of opinion that it is confined to the classes in easy circumstances. *This great increase of wealth* which I have described, and which is founded on accurate returns *is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital,* and takes no account of the poorer classes."

Morning Post:

"I may say, I for one, would look with fear and apprehension when I consider this great increase of wealth if I believed that its benefits were confined to the classes in easy circumstances. *This augmentation of wealth* which I have described, and which is founded on accurate returns *is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital,* and takes no account of the augmentation of wealth of the poorer classes."

Daily News:

"I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension when I consider *this great increase of wealth* if I believed that its benefits were confined to the classes in easy circumstances. *This augmentation of wealth* which I have described, and which is founded upon accurate returns, *is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital,* and takes no account of the augmentation of wealth of the poorer classes."

Standard:

"I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension at *this intoxicating increase of wealth* if I were of the opinion that it was confined to the classes in easy circumstances. *This great increase of wealth* which I have described, and which is founded on the accurate returns *is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital,* and takes no account of the poorer classes."

The eight newspapers cited here were, as far as I know, the only morning papers published in London at that time. Their testimony is "convincing". Four of them— *The Times, The Morning Star, The Morning Advertiser, Daily Telegraph*—give the sentence in exactly the form which Marx had "lyingly added". The augmentation described earlier as an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power "*is entirely confined to classes of property*". The four others— *Morning Herald, Morning Post, Daily News* and *Standard*— give it in an "only formally more contracted" version, by which it is further reinforced; this augmentation "*is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital*".

The eight newspapers cited all have their separate complete staff of parliamentary reporters. They are thus the same number

of witnesses, fully independent of one another. In addition they are in their totality impartial, since they adhere to the most diverse party tendencies. And both of the two versions of the irrepressible sentence are vouched for by Tories and Whigs and radicals. According to four of them, Gladstone said: *entirely confined to* classes of property. According to four others he said: entirely confined to the augmentation of capital. Eight irreproachable witnesses thus testify that Gladstone really uttered the sentence. The only question is whether this was in the milder version used by Marx, or in the stronger version given in four of the reports.

Against them all, in isolated grandeur stands—Hansard. But Hansard is not irreproachable like the morning papers. Hansard's reports are subject to censorship, the censorship of the speakers themselves. And precisely for this reason "it is the custom" to quote according to Hansard.

Eight non-suspect witnesses against one suspect witness! But what does that worry our victory-confident Anonymous? Precisely *because* the reports of the eight morning papers put "that notorious passage" in Gladstone's mouth, precisely *because of this,* they "speak for" our Anonymous, precisely *by this* they prove even more that Marx "lyingly added" it.

Indeed, nothing actually exceeds the "impudence" of the anonymous Brentano.

III

In reality, however, the ostentatious impudence we had to admire in Mr. Brentano, is nothing but a tactical manoeuvre. He has discovered that the attack on the "lyingly added" sentence has failed, and that he must seek a defensive position. He has found it; all that has to be done now is to retreat to this new position.

Already in his first reply to Marx (Documents, No. 5[a]) Mr. Brentano hints at his intention, though bashfully as yet. The fatal *Times* report compels him to do so. This report, it is true, contains the "notorious", the "lyingly added" passage, but that is actually beside the point. For since it "fully coincides materially" with Hansard, it says "the direct opposite of that notorious passage", although it contains it word for word. Thus it is no longer a question of the wording of the "notorious passage", but of its meaning. It is no longer a question of denying the passage's

[a] See this volume, pp. 140-44.— *Ed.*

existence, but of claiming that it means the opposite of what it says.

And Marx having declared in his second reply that lack of time forces him to end, once and for all, his pleasurable exchange of opinions with his anonymous opponent,[a] the latter can venture to deal with even greater confidence with this subject, which is not exactly proper at that. This he does in his rejoinder, reproduced here as No. 7 of the documents.[b]

Here he claims that Marx attempts to *obscure* the *Times* report, which materially fully coincides with Hansard, and this is in three ways. *Firstly* by an incorrect translation of CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES.[c] I leave aside this point as absolutely irrelevant. It is generally known that Marx had a command of the English language quite different from that of Mr. Brentano. But exactly what Mr. Gladstone thought when he used this expression—and whether he thought anything—it is quite impossible to say today, 27 years later, even for himself.

The *second* point is that Marx "simply suppressed" a certain "relative clause" in the *Times* report. The passage in question is previously cited at length in section II, p. 7.[d] By suppressing this relative clause, Marx is supposed to have suppressed for his readers the fact that the augmentation of wealth, as shown by the income tax returns, is confined to classes which possess property, since the labouring classes do not fall under the income tax, and thus nothing may be learned from the returns about the increase in prosperity amongst the workers; this does not mean, however, that in reality the labouring classes remain excluded from the extraordinary augmentation of national wealth.

The sentence in the *Times* report runs, in Mr. Brentano's own translation:

"The augmentation I have described, and the figures of which are based, I think, upon accurate returns, is entirely confined to classes of property."

The relative clause which Marx so maliciously "suppressed" consists of the words: "and the figures of which are based, I think, upon accurate returns". By the persistent, since twice repeated, suppression of these highly important words, so the story goes, Marx wished to conceal from his readers that the said augmenta-

[a] See this volume, p. 151.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 152-54.—*Ed.*

[c] On the translation of this expression, see Marx's footnote on p. 138 as well as his glosses on p. 148 of this volume.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 104.—*Ed.*

tion was an augmentation *solely of the income subject to income tax,* in other words the income of the "classes which possess property".

Does his moral indignation at the fact that he had run aground with "mendacity" make Mr. Brentano blind? Or does he think that he can make all sorts of allegations, since Marx will no longer reply in any case? The fact is that the incriminated sentence begins, according to Marx, both in the Inaugural Address and in *Capital,* with the words: "From 1842 to 1852 THE TAXABLE INCOME of the country increased by 6 per cent... In the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has ..."[a] etc.

Does Mr. Brentano know another "taxable income" in England apart from that subject to income tax? And has the highly important "relative clause" anything at all to add to this clear declaration that only income subject to income tax is under discussion? Or does he believe, as it almost appears, that people "forge" Gladstone's budget speeches, make "lying additions" or "suppress" something in them if they quote them without, *à la* Brentano, also providing the reader with an essay on English income tax in which they "falsify" income tax into the bargain, as Marx proved (Documents, No. 6),[b] and as Mr. Brentano was forced to admit (Documents, No. 7).[c] And when the "lyingly added" sentence simply says that the augmentation just mentioned by Mr. Gladstone was confined to classes of property, does it not say essentially the same, since only classes of property pay income tax? But of course, whilst Mr. Brentano creates a deafening hullabaloo at the front door about this sentence as a Marxian falsification and insolent mendacity, he himself allows it to slip in quietly through the back door.

Mr. Brentano knew very well that Marx quoted Mr. Gladstone as speaking about "taxable income" and no other. For in his first attack (Documents, No. 3), he quotes the passage from the Inaugural Address, and even translated TAXABLE as "liable to tax".[d] If he now "suppresses" this in his rejoinder, and if from now on until his pamphlet of 1890 he protests again and again that Marx concealed, intentionally and maliciously, the fact that Gladstone was speaking here solely of those incomes liable to income tax—should we now sling his own expressions back at him: "lying", "forgery", "impudent mendacity", "simply nefarious"?

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[a] See this volume, p. 133.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 147.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 154.— *Ed.*
[d] Ibid., p. 135.— *Ed.*

To continue with the text:

"*Thirdly* and finally, Marx attempted to conceal the agreement between the *Times* report and the Hansard report by failing to quote those sentences in which, according to *The Times* too, Gladstone directly and explicitly testified to the elevation of the British working class."

In his second reply to the anonymous Brentano,[a] Marx had to prove that he had not "*lyingly added*" the "notorious" sentence, and in addition had to reject the insolent claim made by Anonymous: in relation to *this* point, the only point in question, the *Times* report and the Hansard report "fully coincided materially", although the former included the sentence in question verbatim, and the latter excluded it verbatim. For this, the only point at issue, it was absolutely irrelevant what Mr. Gladstone had to say about the elevation of the British working class.

On the other hand the Inaugural Address—and this is the document which Brentano accuses of falsifying a quotation—states explicitly on p. 4,[b] only a few lines before the "notorious" sentence, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Gladstone), during the millennium of free trade, told the House of Commons:

"The average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age."

And these are precisely the words which, according to Brentano, Marx maliciously suppressed.

In the whole polemic, from his first retort to Marx in 1872 (Documents, No. 5[c]) down to his introduction and appendix to *Meine Polemik, etc.*, 1890, Mr. Brentano suppresses, with a sleight of hand which we must on no account describe as "insolent mendacity", the fact that Marx directly quoted in the Inaugural Address these Gladstonian declarations about the unparalleled improvement in the situation of the workers. And in this rejoinder, which, as already mentioned, remained unknown to Marx up to his death, and to me until the publication of the pamphlet *Meine Polemik, etc.*, in 1890, in which the accusation about the lyingly added sentence was only apparently maintained, though in reality dropped, and the lyingly added sentence not only shamefacedly admitted as genuine Gladstonian property, but also as "speaking for us", i.e. for Brentano—in this rejoinder a retreat is beaten to the new line of defence: Marx has distorted and

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[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 132.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 140-44.—*Ed.*

twisted Gladstone's speech; Marx has Gladstone say that, it goes, the riches of the rich have grown enormously, but that the poor, the working population, have at the most become less poor. But in fact Gladstone said, in plain words, that the condition of the workers had improved to an unexampled degree.

This second line of defence was pierced by the irresistible fact that precisely in the incriminated document, in the Inaugural Address, these same Gladstonian words were quoted explicitly. And Mr. Brentano *knew* this. "But what does it matter? The readers" of the *Concordia* "cannot check up on him!"

Incidentally, regarding what Gladstone really said, on this we shall have a few short words to say in a little while.

In conclusion, Mr. Brentano, in the security, first of his anonymity, and second of Marx's declaration that he has no wish to bother with him further, indulges in the following private jollity:

> "When Mr. Marx finally ends his article by breaking into abuse, we can assure him that his opponent could desire nothing more than the confession of his weakness which lies herein. Abuse is the weapon of those whose other means of defence have run out."

The reader can check for himself the extent to which Marx "breaks into abuse" in his rejoinder. As far as Mr. Brentano is concerned, we have already presented some choice bouquets from his attestations of politeness. The "lies", "impudent mendacity", "lying quotation", "simply nefarious", etc., heaped upon Marx's head by all means constitute an edifying "confession of weakness", and an unmistakeable sign that Mr. Brentano's "other means of defence have run out".

IV

Here ends the first act of our song and dance. Mr. Brentano, mysterious though not yet a privy councillor,[a] had achieved what he could scarcely have hoped to achieve. Admittedly, things had gone badly enough for him regarding the sentence allegedly "lyingly added"; and in fact he had dropped this original charge. But he had sought out a new line of defence, and on this line—*he had had the last word,* and with that you can, in the world of German professordom, claim you have stood your ground. And with this he could brag, at least amongst his own, that he had

[a] Play on words: "geheimnisvoll"—mysterious, "Geheimrat"—privy councillor.— *Trans.*

victoriously repelled Marx's onslaught, and slain Marx himself in the literary world. The luckless Marx, however, never heard a dying word about his slaughter in the *Concordia*; on the contrary, he had the "impudence" to live on for another eleven years, eleven years of mounting success for him, eleven years of uninterrupted growth in the numerical strength of his supporters in all countries, eleven years of constantly growing recognition of his merits.

Mr. Brentano and consorts wisely refrained from freeing the blinded Marx of his self-deception, or making it clear to him that he had actually been dead for a long time. But after he really did die in 1883, they could no longer contain themselves, their fingers itched too much. And now Mr. Sedley Taylor appeared on the scene, with a letter to *The Times* (Documents, No. 8).[a]

He provoked things himself, if he or his friend Brentano, as it almost appears, had not actually concocted it with M. Émile de Laveleye.[b] In that stilted style which betrays a certain recognition of his dubious cause, he states that it appears to him

"extremely singular that it was reserved for Professor Brentano to expose, eight years later, the *mala fides*[c]" of Marx.

And then begin the vainglorious phrases about the masterly conduct of the attack by the godlike Brentano, and the speedily ensuring deadly shifts of the notorious Marx, etc. What things were like in reality our readers have already seen. All that fell into deadly shifts was only Brentano's claim about the lying addition of the sentence in question.

And finally in conclusion:

"On Brentano's showing, by a detailed comparison of texts, that the reports of *The Times* and of "Hansard" agreed in utterly excluding the meaning which craftily isolated quotation had put upon Mr. Gladstone's words, Marx withdrew from further controversy under the plea of want of time!"

The "detailed comparison of texts" is simply farcical. Anonymous Brentano quotes *only* Hansard. Marx supplies him with the *Times* report, which includes verbatim the controversial sentence missing in Hansard. Mr. Brentano now also quoted the *Times* report, and this three lines further than Marx quoted it. These three lines are supposed to show that *The Times* and Hansard fully agree, and thus that the sentence allegedly "lyingly added"

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[a] See this volume, p. 155.— *Ed.*

[b] See É. de Laveleye, "To the Editor of *The Times*, Liège, November 16". *The Times*, No. 30987, November 26, 1883.— *Ed.*

[c] Bad faith.— *Ed.*

by Marx is *not* in the *Times* report, although it stands there word for word; or at the very least, if it should stand there, that it then means the opposite of what it says in plain words. Mr. Taylor calls this daredevil operation a "detailed comparison of texts".

Further. It is simply not true that Marx then withdrew under the plea of want of time. And Mr. Sedley Taylor knew this, or it was his business to know it. We have seen that before this Marx delivered proof to the anonymous godlike Brentano that the reports in *The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* also contained the "lyingly added" sentence. Only after this did he declare that he could waste no more time on Anonymous.

The further polemic between Mr. Sedley Taylor and Eleanor Marx (Documents, Nos 9, 10 and 11[a]) showed in the first place that he did not try for a moment to maintain the original charge about the lying addition of a sentence. He went so far as to claim that this was "of very subordinate importance". Once again the direct disavowal of a fact which he knew, or which it was his business to know.

In any case we take note of his admission that this charge does not hold water, and congratulate his friend Brentano on this.

So what is the charge now? Simply that of Mr. Brentano's second line of defence that Marx had wished to distort the sense of Gladstone's speech—a new charge of which, as we have noted, Marx never knew anything. In any case, this brings us to a completely different field. What was concerned to begin with was a definite fact: did Marx lyingly add this sentence or not? It is now no longer denied that Marx victoriously rebuffed this charge. The new charge of distorted quotation, however, leads us into the field of subjective opinions, which necessarily vary. *De gustibus non est disputandum.*[b] One person may regard as unimportant—intrinsically or for the purpose of quotation—something which another person declares to be important and decisive. The conservative will [never] quote acceptably for the liberal, the liberal never for the conservative, the socialist never for one of them or both of them. The party man whose own comrade is quoted against him by an opponent regularly discovers that the essential passage, the passage determining the real sense, has been omitted in quotation. This is such an everyday occurrence, something permitting so many individual viewpoints, that nobody attaches the slightest significance to such charges. Had Mr. Brentano utilised

[a] See this volume, pp. 156-63.—*Ed.*

[b] There can be no argument about taste.—*Ed.*

his anonimity to level this charge, and this charge alone, against Marx, then Marx would scarcely have regarded it as worth the trouble of a single word in reply.

In order to accomplish this new twist with that elegance peculiar to him alone, Mr. Sedley Taylor finds it necessary to repudiate thrice his friend and comrade Brentano. He repudiates him first when he drops his originally sole charge of "lying addition", and even denies its existence as original and sole. He repudiates him further when he summarily discards the infallible Hansard, to quote exclusively from which is the "custom" of the ethical Brentano,[a] and uses instead the *Times* report, which the selfsame Brentano calls "necessarily bungling". Thirdly, he repudiates him, and his own first letter to *The Times* into the bargain, by seeking the "quotation in dispute" no longer in the Inaugural Address but in *Capital*. And this for the simple reason that he had never laid his hand upon the Inaugural Address, to which he "had the hardihood" to refer in his letter to *The Times*!

Shortly after his controversy with Eleanor Marx he vainly sought this Address in the British Museum, and was introduced there to his opponent, whom he asked whether *she* could not obtain a copy for him. Whereupon, I sought out a copy amongst my papers, and Eleanor sent it to him. The "detailed comparison of texts" which this enabled him to make apparently convinced him that silence was the best reply.

And in fact it would be superfluous to add a single word to Eleanor Marx's retort (Documents, No. 11[b]).

V

Third act. My Preface to the fourth edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, reprinted as far as necessary in Documents, No. 12,[c] explains why I was forced to return to the bygone polemics of Messrs Brentano and Sedley Taylor. This Preface forced Mr. Brentano to make a reply: this was the pamphlet *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx usw.* by Lujo Brentano, Berlin, 1890. Here he has reprinted his anonymous and now finally legitimated *Concordia* articles, and Marx's answers in the *Volksstaat*, accompanied by an introduction and two appendices, with which, for better or worse, we are obliged to deal.

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[a] Play on words: "Sitte"—custom, "sittlich"—ethical.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume pp. 159-63.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 164-69.—*Ed.*

Above all we note that here too there is no longer any mention of the "lyingly added" sentence. The sentence from the Inaugural Address is quoted right on the first page, and it is then claimed that Gladstone had "stated in direct opposition to Karl Marx's claim" that these figures referred only to those paying income tax (which Marx had Gladstone say too, since he explicitly limits these figures to *taxable* income) but that the condition of the working class had at the same time improved in unexampled fashion (which Marx also has Gladstone say, only nine lines before the challenged quotation). I would request the reader to compare for himself the Inaugural Address (Documents, No. 1[a]) with Mr. Brentano's claim (Documents, No. 13[b]) in order to see how Mr. Brentano either "lyingly adds", or fabricates in another manner, a contradiction where there is none at all. But since the charge about the lyingly added sentence has broken down ignominiously, Mr. Brentano, contrary to his better knowledge, must attempt to take in his readers by telling them Marx tried to suppress the fact that Gladstone had spoken here only of "taxable income", or the income of classes which possess property. And here Mr. Brentano does not even notice that his first accusation is thus turned into the opposite, in that the second is a slap in the face of the first.

Having happily accomplished this "forgery", *he* is moved to draw the attention of the *Concordia* to the "forgery" allegedly committed by Marx, and the *Concordia* then asks him to send it an article against Marx. What now follows is too delicious not to be given verbatim:

"The article was not signed by me; this was done, on the one hand, at the request of the editors *in the interests of the reputation of their paper,* and, on the other hand, I had all the less objection, since following earlier literary controversies pursued by Marx it was to be expected that this time too he would heap personal insults on his adversary, and for this reason it could *only be amusing* to leave him in the dark as to the identity of his adversary."

So the editors of the *Concordia* wished "in the interests of the reputation of their paper" that Mr. Brentano should keep his name quiet! What a reputation this implies for Mr. Brentano amongst his colleagues in his own party. We can well believe that this actually happened to him, but that he himself shouts it from the rooftops is a really pyramidal achievement on his part. However, this is something which he has to settle with himself and with the editors of the *Concordia.*

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[a] See this volume, pp. 132-33.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 169-72.— *Ed.*

Since "it was to be expected that Marx would heap personal insults on his adversary", it could naturally "only be amusing to leave him in the dark as to the identity of his adversary". It was hitherto a mystery as to how you can heap *personal* insults upon a person you do *not* know. You can only get personal if you know something of the person in question. But Mr. Brentano, made anonymous in the interests of the paper's reputation, relieved his adversary of this trouble. He himself waded in with "insults", first with the "lyingly added" printed in bold type, and then with "impudent mendacity", "simply nefarious", etc. Mr. Brentano, the non-anonymous, obviously made a slip of the pen here. Mr. Brentano "on the other hand, had all the less objection" to the anonymity imposed upon himself, not so that the well-known Marx could "heap personal insults" upon the unknown Brentano, but so that the concealed Brentano could do this to the well-known Marx.

And this is supposed to "be amusing"! That's what actually transpired, but not because Mr. Brentano wanted it. Marx, as later his daughter, and now myself, have all tried to see the amusing aspect of this polemic. Such success as we have had, be it great or small, has been at the expense of Mr. Brentano. His articles have been anything but "amusing". The only contributions to amusement are the rapier-thrusts aimed by Marx at the shady side of his "left-in-the-dark person", which the man at the receiving end now wishes to laugh off belatedly as the "loutishness of his scurrilous polemics". The Junkers, the priests, the lawyers and other right and proper opponents of the incisive polemics of Voltaire, Beaumarchais and Paul Louis Courier objected to the "loutishness of their scurrilous polemics", which has not prevented these examples of "loutishness" from being regarded as models and masterpieces today. And we have had so much pleasure from these and similar "scurrilous polemics" that a hundred Brentanos should not succeed in dragging us down to the level of German university polemics, where there is nothing but the impotent rage of green envy, and the most desolate boredom.

However, Mr. Brentano once again regards his readers as so duped that he can lay it on thick again with a brazen face:

> "When it was shown that *The Times* too ... carried this" (Gladstone's) "speech in a sense according with the shorthand report, he" (Marx) "acted, as the editors of the *Concordia* wrote, like the cuttlefish, which *dims* the water with a dark fluid, in order to make pursuit by its enemy more difficult, i.e. he tried as hard as he could to hide the subject of controversy by clinging to completely inconsequential secondary matters."

If the *Times* report, which contains the "lyingly added"

sentence word for word, accords in sense with the "shorthand" report—should be with Hansard—which suppresses it word for word, and if Mr. Brentano once again boasts that he had demonstrated this, this can mean nothing other than the charge concerning the "lyingly added" sentence has been completely dropped—though shamefacedly and quietly—and Mr. Brentano, forced from the offensive onto the defensive, is retreating to his second line of defence. We simply note this; we believe that in sections III and IV we have thoroughly broken through the centre of this second line, and turned both flanks.

But then the genuine university polemicist appears. When Brentano, emboldened by the scent of victory, has thus driven his enemy into the corner, the foe acts like the cuttlefish, darkening the water and hiding the subject of controversy by focussing attention on completely inconsequential secondary matters.

The Jesuits say: *Si fecisti, nega.* If you have perpetrated something, deny it. The German university polemicist goes further and says: If you have perpetrated a shady lawyer's trick, then lay it at your opponent's door. Scarcely has Marx quoted *The Theory of the Exchanges* and Professor Beesly, and this simply because they had quoted the disputed passage like he had, than Brentano the cuttlefish "clings" to them with all the suckers of his ten feet, and spreads such a torrent of his "dark fluid" all around that you must look hard and grasp firmly if you do not wish to lose from eye and hand the real "subject of controversy", namely the allegedly "lyingly added" sentence. In his rejoinder, exactly the same method. First he starts another squabble with Marx about the meaning of the expression CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES, a squabble which under the best of circumstances could produce nothing but that very "obscuration" which Mr. Brentano desires. And then dark fluid is again squirted in the matter of that renowned relative clause which Marx had maliciously suppressed, and which, as we have shown, could perfectly well be omitted, since the fact to which it indirectly alluded had already been stated quite clearly in an earlier sentence of the speech which had been quoted by Marx. And thirdly, our cuttlefish has enough dark sauce left over to obscure once again the subject of controversy, by claiming that Marx has again suppressed some sentences from *The Times*—sentences which had absolutely nothing to do with the single point at issue between them *at that time,* the allegedly lyingly added sentence.

And the same waste of sepia in the present self-apologia. First, naturally, *The Theory of the Exchanges* must be the whipping boy.

Then, all of a sudden, we are confronted with the Lassallean "iron law of wages" with which, as everyone knows, Marx was as little connected as Mr. Brentano with the invention of gunpowder; Mr. Brentano must know that in the first volume of *Capital* Marx specifically denied all and every responsibility for any conclusions drawn by Lassalle,[a] and that in the same book Marx describes the law of wages as a function of differing variables and very elastic, thus anything but iron. But when the ink-squirting has started there is no stopping it: the Halle congress,[138] Liebknecht and Bebel, Gladstone's budget speech of 1843, the English trade unions, all manner of far-fetched things are resorted to so as, faced with an opponent who has gone over to the offensive, to cover by self-apologia the defensive line of Mr. Brentano and his lofty philanthropic principles, treated so scornfully by the wicked socialists. One gets the impression that a round dozen cuttlefish were helping him do the "hushing up" here.

And all of this because Mr. Brentano himself knows that he has hopelessly run aground with his claim about the "lyingly added" sentence, and has not got the courage to withdraw this claim openly and honourably. To use his own words:

"Had he" Brentano "simply admitted that he had been misled by this book", Hansard, "...one might have been surprised that he had relied upon such a source" as absolutely reliable "but the mistake would at least have been rectified. But for him there was no question of this."

Instead the ink was squirted in gallons for obscuring purposes, and if I have to be so discursive here, this is only because I must first dispose of all these far-fetched marginal questions, and disperse the obscuring ink in order to keep eye and hand on the real subject of the controversy.

Meanwhile Mr. Brentano has another piece of information for us *in petto*,[b] which in fact "could only be amusing". He has, in fact, been so lamentably treated that he can find no peace and quiet until he has moaned to us about all his misfortune. First the *Concordia* suppresses his name in the interests of the reputation of the paper. Mr. Brentano is magnanimous enough to consent to this sacrifice in the interests of the good cause. Then Marx unleashes upon him the loutishness of his scurrilous polemics. This too he swallows. Only he wished to reply to this "with the verbatim publication of the entire polemic". But sadly

[a] See F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*, Berlin, 1864, Ch. III, see also *Capital*, Vol. I, "Preface to the First German Edition" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] In store.—*Ed.*

"editors often have their own judgement; the specialist journal which I regarded as suitable above all others refused to publish, on the grounds that the dispute lacked general interest".

Thus do the noble suffer in this sinful world; their best intentions founder on the baseness or indifference of man. And to compensate this unappreciated honest fellow for his undeserved misfortune, and since some time will probably pass before he rounds up an editor who has not "often his own judgement", we herewith present him the "the verbatim publication of the entire polemic".

VI

In addition to the introductory self-apologia, Mr. Brentano's little pamphlet contains two appendices. The first contains extracts from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* intended to prove that this book was one of the main sources from which Marx concocted his *Capital.* I shall not go into detail about this repeated waste of sepia. I only have to deal with the old charge from the *Concordia.* His whole life long Marx could not and would not please Mr. Brentano. Mr. Brentano thus certainly has a whole bottomless sack of complaints against Marx, and I would be an idiot to let myself in for this. There would be no end to pleasing him.

But it is naive that here, at the end of the quotations, "the reproduction of the real budget speech" is demanded from Marx. So that is what Mr. Brentano understands by correct quotation. However, if the whole actual speech is always to be reproduced, then no speech has ever been quoted without "forgery".

In the second appendix Mr. Brentano has a go at me. In the fourth edition of *Capital,* volume one, I drew attention to *The Morning Star* in connection with the allegedly false quotation. Mr. Brentano utilises this to once again obscure completely, with spurts of sepia, the original point at issue, the passage in the Inaugural Address, and instead of this to hit out at the passage in *Capital* already quoted by Mr. S. Taylor. In order to prove that my source of reference was false, and that Marx could only have taken the "forged quotation" from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* Mr. Brentano prints in parallel columns the reports of *The Times* and *The Morning Star* and the quotation according to *Capital.* This second appendix is printed here as document No. 14b.[a]

[a] See this volume, pp. 173-74.—*Ed.*

Mr. Brentano has *The Morning Star* begin its report with the words "I MUST SAY FOR ONE" etc. He thus claims that the preceding sentences on the growth of taxable income from 1842 to 1852, and from 1853 to 1861 are missing in *The Morning Star*; from which it naturally follows that Marx did not use *The Morning Star* but *The Theory of the Exchanges*.

"The readers" of his pamphlet "with whom he is concerned, cannot check up on him!" But other people can, and they discover that this passage is certainly to be found in *The Morning Star*. We reprint it here, next to the passage from *Capital* in English and German for the edification of Mr. Brentano and his readers.

"The Morning Star", April 17, 1863	*"Capital", Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 639; 2nd ed., p. 678; 3rd ed., p. 671; 4th ed., p. 617, Note 103*[a]
"In ten years, from 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent, as nearly as I can make out—a very considerable increase in ten years. But in eight years from 1853 to 1861 the income of the country again increased from the basis taken in 1853 by 20 per cent. The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible."	*"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent... ...In the 8 years from 1858 to 1861 ... it had increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible."*

In German translation:[b]

The absence of this sentence in his quotation from *The Morning Star* is Mr. Brentano's main trump card in his claim that Marx quoted from *The Theory of the Exchanges* and not from *The Morning Star*. He confronts the claim that the quotation was taken from *The Morning Star* with the incriminating gap in the parallel column. And now the sentence is nevertheless to be found in *The Morning Star*, in fact exactly as in Marx, and the incriminating gap is Mr. Brentano's own invention. If that is not "suppression" and "forgery", into the bargain, then these words lack any sense.

But if Mr. Brentano "forges" at the *beginning* of the quotation, and if he now very carefully refrains from saying that Marx "lyingly added" a sentence in the *middle* of the same quotation, this in no way prevents him from insisting repeatedly that Marx suppressed the *end* of the quotation.

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a), present edition, Vol. 35.— *Ed.*

[b] Then follows the German translation of both quotations.— *Ed.*

In *Capital* the quotation breaks off with the passage:

"Whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."

Now in the reports in *The Times* and *The Morning Star* the sentence does not end here; separated only by a comma, there follow the words:

"but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know to be extraordinary" (in *The Times*: has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary) "and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age".

Thus Marx breaks off here in mid-sentence, "has Gladstone stop in mid-sentence", "making this sentence quite meaningless". And already in his rejoinder (Documents, No. 7[a]) Mr. Brentano calls this an "absolutely senseless version".

Gladstone's sentence: "Whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say" is a quite definite statement, complete in itself. If it makes sense, it makes sense when taken in isolation. If it makes no sense, no addition however long, tacked on behind a "yet", can give it sense. If the sentence in Marx's quotation is "completely senseless", then this is not due to Marx who quoted it, but to Mr. Gladstone who uttered it.

To probe more deeply this important case, let us now turn to the only source which, according to Mr. Brentano, it is the "custom" to quote, let us turn to Hansard, pure of all original sin. According to Mr. Brentano's own translation, it says:

"I will not presume to determine whether the wide interval which separates the extremes of wealth and poverty is less or more wide than it has been in former times"—*full stop.*

And only *after* this full stop does the new sentence begin:

"But if we look to the average condition of the British labourer", etc.

Thus if Marx likewise sets a full stop here, he does just as the virtuous Hansard does; and if Mr. Brentano makes this full stop a new crime on the part of Marx, and claims that Marx has Gladstone stop in the mid-sentence, then he has relied upon the "necessarily bungling newspaper reports", and he can only blame himself for the consequences. Thus the argument collapses that Marx has made the sentence completely senseless through his full stop; this comes not from him but from Mr. Gladstone, and let Mr. Brentano now correspond with him about the sense or nonsense of the sentence; we have nothing more to do with the matter.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 152-54.—*Ed.*

For Mr. Brentano is anyway in correspondence with Mr. Gladstone. What he has written to the latter we do not learn, of course, and we only learn very little of what Mr. Gladstone has written to him. In any case, Mr. Brentano has published from Gladstone's letters two meagre little sentences (Documents, No. 16[a]) and in my reply (Documents, No. 17[b]) I showed that "this arbitrary mosaic of sentences torn from their context" proves nothing at all *in* Mr. Brentano's favour whilst the fact that he indulges in this sort of ragged publication, instead of publishing the whole correspondence, speaks volumes *against* him.

But let us assume for a moment that these two little sentences only permitted the interpretation most favourable to Mr. Brentano. What then?

"You are completely correct, and Marx completely incorrect." "I undertook no changes of any sort." These are the alleged words—for Mr. Gladstone does not usually write in German, as far as I know—of the former minister.

Does this mean: I did not utter the "notorious" sentence, and that Marx "lyingly added" it? Certainly not. The eight London morning papers of April 17, 1863 would unanimously give the lie to such a claim. They prove beyond all doubt that this sentence was spoken. If Mr. Gladstone made no changes in the Hansard report—although I am twelve years younger than him, I would not like to rely so implicitly on my memory in such trivialities which occurred 27 years ago—then the omission of the sentence in Hansard says nothing in Mr. Brentano's favour, and a great deal against Hansard.

Aside from this one point about the "lyingly added" sentence, Mr. Gladstone's opinion is completely inconsequential here. For as soon as we disregard this point, we find ourselves exclusively in the field of inconsequential opinions, in which after years of strife each sticks to his guns. If Mr. Gladstone, should he happen to be quoted, prefers the quotation methods of Mr. Brentano, an admiring supporter, to those of Marx, a sharply critical opponent, then this is quite obvious, and his indisputable right. For us, however, and for the question as to whether Marx quoted in good or in bad faith, his opinion is not even worth as much as that of any old uninvolved third person. For here Mr. Gladstone is no longer a witness but an interested party.

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[a] Ibid., p. 175.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 175-76.—*Ed.*

VII

In conclusion, let us go briefly into the question of what Mr. Gladstone said in that—thanks to Mr. Brentano, now "notorious"—passage of his budget speech of 1863, and what Marx quoted of what he said, or else what he "lyingly added" or "suppressed". In order to oblige Mr. Brentano as far as possible, let us take as our basis the immaculate Hansard, and in his own translation.[a]

"In ten years from 1842 to 1852 inclusive, the taxable income of the country, as nearly as we can make out, increased by 6 per cent; but in eight years, from 1853 to 1861, the income of the country again increased upon the basis taken by 20 per cent. That is a fact so singular and striking as to seem almost incredible."

Mr. Brentano himself has nothing against Marx's quotation of this sentence, apart from the fact that it is allegedly taken from *The Theory of the Exchanges.* But of Brentano's quotation it must be said here that it too is far removed from giving "the real budget speech". He excises Mr. Gladstone's following excursus on the causes of this astonishing augmentation without even indicating the omission with dots.—Further:

"Such, Sir, is the state of the case as regards the general progress of accumulation; but, for one, I must say that I should look with some degree of pain, and with much apprehension, upon this extraordinary and almost intoxicating growth, if it were my belief that it is confined to the class of persons who may be described as in easy circumstances. The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax; or, in other words, sufficiently accurate for general truth, they do not take cognizance of the property of the labouring population, or of the increase of its income."

There now follows the sentence which according to Mr. Brentano was "lyingly added" by Marx, but which on the testimony of all eight morning papers of April 17 was certainly uttered by Mr. Gladstone:

"The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property." (*The Times, The Morning Star, The Morning Advertiser, Daily Telegraph.*) "...is entirely confined to the augmentation of capital". (*Morning Herald, Standard, The Daily News, Morning Post.*)

After the word "income", Hansard immediately continues with the words:

"Indirectly, indeed, the *mere augmentation of capital* is of the utmost advantage to the labouring class, because that augmentation cheapens the commodity which in the whole business of production comes into direct competition with labour."

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[a] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* Vol. CLXX, pp. 244-45.—*Ed.*

Although Hansard omits the "notorious" sentence, it says in substance just what the other papers say: it would be very embarrassing for the speaker if this intoxicating augmentation were confined to CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES, but although it pains him, this augmentation he has described is confined to people who do not belong to the working class and who are rich enough to pay income tax; yes, it is indeed a "mere augmentation of capital"!

And here, finally, the secret of Mr. Brentano's fury stands revealed. He reads the sentence in the Inaugural Address, finds in it an embarrassing admission, obtains the Hansard version, fails to find the embarrassing sentence in it, and hurries to publish to the world: Marx lyingly added the sentence in form and in content!—Marx shows him the sentence in *The Times, The Morning Star, The Morning Advertiser.* Now finally, for appearance's sake at least, Mr. Brentano must make a "detailed comparison of texts" and discovers—what? That *The Times, The Morning Star, The Morning Advertiser* "fully coincide materially" with Hansard! Unfortunately he overlooks the fact that the "lyingly added" sentence must then fully coincide materially with Hansard, and that then in the end it must turn out that Hansard coincides materially with the Inaugural Address.

The whole hullabaloo therefore because Mr. Brentano had neglected to undertake the detailed textual comparison ascribed to him by Mr. Sedley Taylor, and because, in fact, he had himself not understood what Mr. Gladstone had said according to Hansard. Of course, this was not that easy, for although Mr. Brentano claims that this speech

> "aroused the interest and admiration of the entire educated world ... notably through ... its clarity",

readers have been able to see for themselves that in the Hansard version it is presented in a particularly stilted, complicated and involved language, tying itself up in its own repetitions. In particular the sentence stating that the increase in capital is of extraordinary advantage to the worker, because it cheapens the commodity which in the business of production *comes into direct competition with labour,* is sheer nonsense. If a commodity comes into competition with labour, and this commodity (for example, machinery) is cheapened, then the first and immediate result is a fall in wages, and according to Mr. Gladstone this should be "of great benefit to the workers"! How philanthropic it was of some London morning papers, i. e. *The Morning Star,* in their "necessarily bungling" reports, to replace the above incomprehensible

sentence by what Mr. Gladstone probably *wanted* to say, namely that an increase in capital is of benefit to the workers because it cheapens the main articles of consumption!

When Mr. Gladstone said that he should look with some degree of pain and much apprehension at this intoxicating growth if he believed that it was confined to classes in easy circumstances—whether Mr. Gladstone *thought* thereby of another growth of wealth than that of which he *spoke,* namely, in his opinion, of the greatly improved situation of the entire nation; whether he *forgot* at that moment that he was speaking of the increase in income of the classes that pay income tax and of no others: this we cannot know. Marx has been charged with forgery, and what is at issue is the text and the grammatical meaning of what Mr. Gladstone *said,* and not what he possibly *wanted* to say. Mr. Brentano does not know the latter either, and on this point Mr. Gladstone, 27 years later, is no longer a competent authority. And in no way does this concern us.

The abundantly clear meaning of the words is: taxable income has undergone an intoxicating augmentation. I should be very sorry if this augmentation just described were confined to classes of property, but it is confined to them, since the workers have no income liable to tax, and it is thus purely an increase in capital! But the latter, too, is of advantage to the workers, because they, etc.

And now Marx:

"This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... is entirely confined to classes of property."[a]

Thus runs the sentence in the Inaugural Address, where it provided the occasion for this whole jolly controversy. But since Mr. Brentano has no longer dared to claim that Marx lyingly added it, since then the Inaugural Address has no longer been mentioned at all, and all attacks have been directed against the quotation of this passage in *Capital.* There Marx adds the following sentence:

"but... but it must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption."

The "arbitrarily thrown-together mosaic of sentences torn from their context" in Marx thus states "materially", "only formally more contracted", exactly what the immaculate Hansard has Gladstone say. The only reproach which can be levelled at Marx is that

[a] See this volume, p. 173.— *Ed.*

he utilised *The Morning Star* and not Hansard, and thus, in the final sentence, placed words of sense in Mr. Gladstone's mouth, although he had spoken nonsense. Further, according to Hansard[a]:

"But, besides this, a more direct and a larger benefit has, it may safely be asserted, been conferred upon the mass of the people [of the country]. It is a matter of profound and inestimable consolation to reflect, that while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have become less poor. I will not presume to determine whether the wide interval which separates the extremes of wealth and poverty is less or more wide than it has been in former times."

In Marx:

"...while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."

Marx gives only the two rare positive statements which, in Hansard, swim in a whole tureen of phrases as trivial as they are unctuous. It can be stated with certainty that they lose nothing thereby, but rather gain.

Finally the conclusion, according to Hansard:

"But if we look to the average condition of the British labourer, whether peasant, or miner, or operative, or artisan, we know from varied and indubitable evidence that during the last twenty years such an addition has been made to his means of subsistence as we may almost pronounce to be without example in the history of any country and of any age."

This sentence is quoted in the Inaugural Address a few lines above the "notorious" one just given. There we find:

"Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864, during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that:

'The average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age.'"[b]

Thus everything essential is cited. But that this may be read in the Inaugural Address, original edition, p. 4, this fact is stubbornly concealed from his readers by Mr. Brentano; however, his readers cannot check upon him, for we cannot possibly present each of them with a copy of the Address, as we did Mr. Sedley Taylor.

Notabene: In his second reply (Documents, No. 6[c]) Marx only

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[a] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. CLXX, p. 245.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 132.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 144-51.—*Ed.*

had to defend the Inaugural Address, since up to then Mr. Brentano had not got the passage in *Capital* into his nagging range. And in his following rejoinder (Documents, No. 7[a]) Mr. Brentano's attack is still directed against the Inaugural Address and Marx's defence of this.

It is only after Marx's death that a new turn comes, and this not through Mr. Brentano but through his Cambridge shield-bearer. Only now is it discovered that in *Capital* Marx suppressed the resonant declarations made by Mr. Gladstone about the unexampled improvement in the condition of the British worker, and that this converted Mr. Gladstone's meaning into the contrary.

And here we have to say that Marx missed the opportunity for a brilliant burst of rhetoric. The whole section in the introduction to which this speech by Gladstone is quoted has the purpose of furnishing evidence that the condition of the great majority of the British working class was straitened and unworthy, just at the time of this intoxicating augmentation of wealth. What a magnificent contrast Gladstone's selfsame pompous words about the happy condition of the British working class, [a condition] unexampled in the history of any country and any age, would have provided to this evidence of mass poverty, drawn from the official publications of Parliament itself!

But if Marx wished to refrain from such a rhetorical effect, he had no reason to quote these words of Gladstone's. Firstly, they are nothing but the standard phrases which every British Chancellor of the Exchequer believes it to be his moral duty to repeat in good or even in tolerable business periods; they are thus meaningless. And secondly, Gladstone himself retracted them within a year; in his next budget speech of April 7, 1864, at a time of even greater industrial prosperity, he spoke of masses "on the border of pauperism", and of branches of business "in which wages have not increased", and proclaimed—according to Hansard:

"Again, and yet more at large, what is human life, but, in the great majority of cases, a struggle for existence?" *

* And here some more from this speech, according to Hansard: the number of paupers had fallen to 840,000. "That amount, however, does not include persons who are dependent upon charitable establishments; or who are relieved by private almsgiving.... But, besides all those whom it comprises, think of those who are on the borders of that region, think how many of the labouring classes are struggling manfully but with difficulty to maintain themselves in a position above the place of

[a] See this volume, pp. 152-54.— *Ed.*

But Marx quotes this other budget speech of Gladstone's immediately after that of 1863, and if Mr. Gladstone himself, on April 7, 1864, declared that the unexampled blessings were non-existent, those blessings for the existence of which he had possessed "varied and indubitable evidence", then for Marx there was no longer the slightest shadow of a reason to quote these vivacious protestations, which were unfortunately ephemeral, even for Mr. Gladstone. He could content himself with the speaker's admissions that while the incomes of 150 pounds sterling and over had augmented intoxicatingly, the poor had in any case become less poor, and that the interval between extreme wealth and extreme poverty had scarcely been reduced.

We shall not comment on the fact that it is the habit of the official German economists to quote Marx in sentences torn from context. If he had created a hullabaloo in every such case, as Mr. Brentano has done here, he would never have been finished.

But now let us examine more closely the unexampled augmentation of the means of subsistence enjoyed at that time by the British labourer, peasant or miner, artisan or operative.

The *peasant* is in England and the greater part of Scotland only an agricultural day labourer. In 1861 there were a total of 1,098,261 such peasants, of whom 204,962 lived as farmhands on tenant farms.* From 1849 to 1859 his money wage had increased by 1 shilling, in a few cases by 2 shillings a week, but in the final analysis this was mostly only a nominal increase. His position in 1863, the really abject housing conditions under which he lived, are described by Dr. Hunter (Public Health, VII Report, 1864):

"The costs occasioned by the agricultural labourer are fixed at the lowest figure at which he can live."

paupers." In the congregation of a clergyman in the East End of London, 12,000 out of 13,000 souls were always on the verge of actual want; a well-known philanthropist had declared that there were whole districts in the East End of London in which you cannot find an omnibus or a cab, in which there is no street music, nor even a street beggar... The means to wage the struggle for existence were, however, *somewhat better than previously* (!) ... In many places wages had increased, but in many others they had not, etc. And this jeremiad came just one year after the pompous announcement of the "unexampled" improvement!

* The figures are taken partly from the census of 1861, partly from the report of the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION, 1863-1867.[a]

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[a] *Census of England and Wales for the year 1861*, London, 1863; *Children's Employment Commission (1862), Report (I-VI) of the Commissioners*, London, 1863.— *Ed.*

According to the same report, the food intake of a part of the day labourers' families (particularly in eight named counties) was below the absolute minimum necessary to avert starvation diseases. And Professor Thorold Rogers, a political supporter of Gladstone, declared in 1866 (*A History of Agriculture and Prices*) that the agricultural day labourer had once again become a serf, and, as he demonstrated at length, a poorly fed and poorly housed serf, much worse off than his ancestor at the time of Arthur Young (1770 to 1780), and incomparably worse than the day labourer in the 14th and 15th centuries. So Gladstone had no luck at all with the "peasants".

But how about the "miner"? On this we have the parliamentary report of 1866.[a] In 1861, 565,875 miners were working in the United Kingdom, 246,613 of them in coal mines. In the latter the wages of the men had risen slightly, and they mostly did an eight-hour shift, while the youngsters had to work 14 to 15 hours. Mine inspection was just a farce: there were 12 inspectors for 3,217 mines! The result was that the lives of the miners were sacrificed wholesale in largely avoidable explosions; the mine-owners compensated themselves in general for the small wage increases by wage deductions based on false weights and measures. In the ore mines, according to the report of the Royal Commission of 1864, conditions were still worse.

But the "artisan"? Let us take the metalworkers, altogether 396,998. Of these, some 70,000 to 80,000 were machine fitters, and their situation was in fact good, thanks to the toughness of their old, strong and rich trade association. For the other metalworkers too, provided full physical strength and skill were called for, a certain improvement had taken place, as was natural with business having again become better since 1859 and 1860. In contrast, the situation of the women and children also employed (10,000 women and 30,000 under 18 in Birmingham and district alone) was miserable enough, and that of the nail makers (26,130) and chain makers miserable in the extreme.

In the textile industry, the 456,646 cotton spinners and weavers, and with them 12,556 calico printers, are decisive. And they must have been very surprised to hear of this unexampled happiness—in April 1863, at the height of the cotton famine and the American Civil War, at the time (October 1862) when 60 per cent of the spindles and 58 per cent of the looms stood idle, and the

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[a] *Report from the Select Committee on Mines...* Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 23 July, 1866.—*Ed.*

remainder were only working 2-3 days a week; when over 50,000 cotton operatives, individually or with families, were supported by the Poor Law or the relief committee and (in March 1863) 135,625 were employed by the same committee at starvation wages on public works or in sewing schools! (Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine,* 1866, p. 211.)—The other textile operatives, particularly in the wool and linen branches, were relatively prosperous; the lack of cotton increased their employment.

The reports of the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION give us the best information on how things looked in a number of smaller branches of business: hosiery—120,000 workers, of whom only 4,000 were protected by the Factory Act, amongst the others many quite young children, colossally overworked; lace-making and dressing, mostly cottage industry—of 150,000 workers only 10,000 protected by the Factory Act, colossal overworking of children and girls; straw-plaiting and straw-hat-making—40,000, almost all children, disgustingly slave-driven; finally the manufacture of clothing and shoes, employing 370,218 female workers for outerwear and millinery, 380,716 ditto for underwear and—in England and Wales alone—573,380 male workers, including 273,223 shoemakers and 146,042 tailors, of whom between $^1/_5$ and $^1/_4$ were under 20. Of these $1\,^1/_4$ million, a maximum of 30 per cent of the men were passably off, working for private customers. The rest were exposed, as in all the branches of business mentioned in this paragraph, to exploitation through middle men, factors, agents, SWEATERS as they are called in England, and this alone describes their lot: terrible overwork for a wretched wage.

Things were no better with the "unexampled" fortune of the workers in paper-making (100,000 workers, half women), pottery (29,000), hat-making (15,000 in England alone), the glass industry (15,000), book printing (35,000), artificial flower-making (11,000), etc., etc.

In short, the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION demanded that no fewer than 1,400,000 women, young people and children should be placed under the protection of the Factory Act, in order to guard them from mostly ruinous overwork.

And finally the number of PAUPERS dependent upon poor relief from public funds in 1863: 1,079,382.

On this basis we may make an unofficial list of those workers unquestionably very badly off in 1863: agricultural day labourers in round figures 1,100,000; cotton operatives 469,000; seamstresses and milliners 751,000; tailors and shoemakers, after the

deduction of 30%, 401,000; lace-makers 150,000; paper-makers 100,000; hosiery workers 120,000; smaller branches investigated by the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION 189,000; and finally PAUPERS 1,079,000. Together 4,549,000 workers, added to which, in some cases, their family members.

And 1863 was a *good* business year. The crisis of 1857 had been fully overcome, demand was rising rapidly, with the exception of the cotton industry nearly all branches of business were very busy. So where is the "unexampled" improvement to be found?

The factory legislation of the forties had decisively improved the lot of those workers subject to it. But in 1863 this benefitted only the workers employed in wool, linen and silk, altogether about 270,000, while the cotton operatives were starving. For bleaching workers and dye workers, legal protection existed only on paper. Further: in branches of work in which full male strength and sometimes dexterity are indispensable, the resistance of the workers, organised in trade associations, had forced through for themselves a share of the proceeds of the favourable business period, and it may be said that on the average for *these* branches of work, involving heavy male labour, the living standard of the workers had risen decisively, though it is still ridiculous to describe this improvement as "unexampled". But while the great mass of productive work has been transferred to machines operated by weaker men, by women and young workers, the politicians like to treat the strong men employed in heavy work as the only workers, and to judge the whole working class according to their standard.

Against the $4\,^1/_2$ million worse-off workers and PAUPERS detailed above, we have, as well-off, 270,000 textile workers in wool, linen and silk. Further we may assume that of the 376,000 metal workers one third were well-off, one third middling, and only the last third, including the workers under 18, the nail-makers, chain-smiths, and women, were badly off. We may classify the situation of the 566,000 miners as medium-good. The situation of the building craftsmen may be considered as good, apart from those in the cotton districts. Amongst the joiners, at most $^1/_3$ were well-off, the great mass worked for blood-sucking SWEATERS. Amongst the railway employees there was already at that period colossal overworking, which has only brought about organised resistance in the last 20 years. In short, we may add together in total scarcely one million of whom we may say that their situation had improved in relation to the improvement in the business and the profits of the capitalists; what remains over is in a middling situation, has a few, on the whole insignificant, benefits from the better business

period, or consists of such a mixture of working people according to sex and age that the improvements for the men are offset by the overworking of the women and young workers.

And if this should not suffice, then one should consult the "Reports on PUBLIC HEALTH" which became necessary precisely because the "unexampled" improvement for the working class in the 20 years up to 1863 showed itself as typhus, cholera and other jolly epidemics, which finally spread from the working-class quarters to the genteel areas of the cities. Here the unexampled "augmentation of the means of subsistence" of the British worker is investigated with respect to housing and food, and it is found that in many cases his dwelling was simply a centre of infection, and his nourishment was on the borderline, or even beneath the border at which starvation diseases necessarily occur.

This was the real condition of the British working class at the beginning of 1863. This was the face of the "unexampled" improvement for the working class of which Mr. Gladstone boasted. And if Marx is to be blamed for anything, it is that he did Mr. Gladstone an unearned service by omitting his bragging statement.

Conclusion: Firstly, Marx "lyingly added" nothing.

Secondly, he "suppressed" nothing about which Mr. Gladstone might have a right to complain.

And thirdly, the octopus-like tenacity with which Mr. Brentano and his companions cling to this single quotation amongst the many thousands of quotations in Marx's writing proves that they know only too well "how Karl Marx quotes"—namely correctly.

DOCUMENTS

I

THE INCRIMINATED QUOTATIONS

No. 1. THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS[a]

The original edition is entitled: *"Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London." Price one penny. Printed at the "Bee-Hive" Newspaper Office, 10, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, 1864.* The address begins: "It is a great fact that the misery of the working masses has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivalled for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce." By way of proof, facts are quoted from the *Public Health Reports* about the poor nutrition of various groups of urban workers and agricultural day labourers in the country. It then continues:

*"Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864, during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that

"'the average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age.'

"Upon these official congratulations jars the dry remark of the official *Public Health Report*:

"'The public health of a country means the health of its masses, and the masses will scarcely be healthy unless, to their very base, they be at least moderately prosperous.'

"Dazzled by the 'Progress of the Nation' statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy:

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13.— *Ed.*

"'From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible!... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,' adds Mr. Gladstone, 'is entirely confined to classes of property.'" *

In German translation[a]:

No. 2. *CAPITAL*

MARX: *CAPITAL*, VOLUME 1, 3RD EDITION, PP. 670-672[b]

After these few examples one understands the cry of triumph of the Registrar-General[139] of the British people:

"Rapidly as the population has increased, it has not kept pace with the progress of industry and wealth." [101]

Let us turn now to the direct agents of this industry, or the producers of this wealth, to the working class.

"It is one of the most melancholy features in the social state of this country," says Gladstone, "that while there was a decrease in the consuming power of the people, and while there was an increase in the privations and distress of the labouring class and operatives, there was at the same time a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper classes, and a constant increase of capital." [102]

Thus spoke this unctuous minister in the House of Commons of February 13th, 1843. On April 16th, 1863, 20 years later, in the speech in which he introduced his Budget:

"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent.... In the 8 years from 1853 to 1861, it had increased from the basis taken in 1853, by 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible ... this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... entirely confined to classes of property ... must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption. While the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say." [103]

[101] "Census, etc.," l. c. p. 11.[c]

[102] Gladstone in the House of Commons, February 13, 1843. [Further follows the English text of the speech.— *Ed.*]

[103] [The English text of the speech is quoted.— *Ed.*] Gladstone in the HOUSE OF COMMONS, April 16, 1863.

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[a] In the original there follows the German translation of the preceding six paragraphs.— *Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a) (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[c] Here, in the extract from *Capital*, Marx's notes are numbered according to the third German edition.— *Ed.*

How lame an anti-climax! If the working class has remained "poor", only "less poor" in proportion as it produces for the wealthy class "an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power", then it has remained relatively just as poor. If the extremes of poverty have not lessened, they have increased, because the extremes of wealth have. As to the cheapening of the means of subsistence, the official statistics, e. g. the accounts of the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM, show an increase in price of 20% for the average of the three years 1860-1862, compared with 1851-1853. In the following three years, 1863-1865, there was a progressive rise in the price of meat, butter, milk, sugar, salt, coals, and a number of other necessary means of subsistence.[104] Gladstone's next budget speech of April 7th, 1864, is a Pindaric dithyrambus on the advance of surplus-value-making and the happiness of the people "tempered by poverty". He speaks of masses "on the border of pauperism", of branches of trade in which "wages have not increased", and finally sums up the happiness of the working-class in the words: "human life is but, in nine cases out of ten, a struggle for existence".[105] Professor Fawcett, not bound like Gladstone by official considerations, declares roundly:

"I do not, of course, deny that money wages have been augmented by this increase of capital" (in the last ten years), "but this apparent advantage is to a great extent lost, because many of the necessaries of life are becoming dearer" (he believes because of the fall in value of the precious metals) "...THE RICH GROW RAPIDLY RICHER, whilst there is no perceptible advance in the comfort enjoyed by the industrial classes.... They (the labourers) become almost the slaves of the tradesman, to whom they owe money." [106]

[104] See the official accounts in the Blue book: "MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS OF THE UN. KINGDOM", PART VI, LONDON, 1866, PP. 260-273, passim. An addition to the second edition. Instead of the statistics of orphan asylums &c., the declamations of the ministerial journals in recommending dowries for the Royal children might also serve. The greater dearness of the means of subsistence is never forgotten there.

[105] "THINK OF THOSE, WHO ARE ON THE BORDER OF THAT REGION (PAUPERISM)", "WAGES ... IN OTHERS NOT INCREASED ... HUMAN LIFE IS BUT, IN NINE CASES OUT OF TEN, A STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE." (Gladstone, HOUSE OF COMMONS, 7th April, 1864). The continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches of 1863 and 1864 were characterised by an English writer by the following quotation from Molière:[140]

"Voilà l'homme en effet. Il va du blanc au noir.
Il condamne au matin ses sentiments du soir.
Importun à tout autre, à soi même incommode,
Il change à tous moments d'esprit comme de mode."

(*The Theory of the Exchanges etc.*, London, 1864, p. 135).

[106] H. Fawcett, l. c., [*The Economic Position of the British Labourer*] pp. 67-68. As to the increasing dependence of labourers on the retail shopkeepers, this is the consequence of the frequent oscillations and interruptions of their employment.

II

BRENTANO AND MARX

No. 3. THE CHARGE

CONCORDIA, No. 10, MARCH 7, 1872

How Karl Marx Quotes

The following passage may be found in the Inaugural Address* of the International Working Men's Association written by Karl Marx.

"Dazzled by the 'Progress of the Nation' statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy: 'From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853,20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible!... *This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,' **adds Mr. Gladstone,** 'is entirely confined to classes of property.'*"

This quotation by Marx has become famous. We have discovered it in a considerable number of writings. However, the authors rarely quoted the Inaugural Address of the International as the source upon which they had drawn. They inferred that they had themselves read Gladstone's budget speech. To what extent this was the case may be seen from the following comparison with Gladstone's speech (see Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates,* 3rd Series, Vol. 170, p. 243 ff.):

"The Income Tax, at 7*d.* in the pound, in the year 1842 3, attaching to Great Britain only, and in Great Britain only to incomes of £150 and upwards, was assessed upon an aggregate amount of income in the schedules I have named reaching £156,000,000. Upon the very same area, with the same limitations, in 1860-1 the amount of assessed income was £221,000,000. Further, I am not aware that there has been any change in the machinery of the tax, or any improvement in the powers of levying the tax, as compared with the powers of escaping it, that will in any way account for the difference. On the contrary, certain concessions and relaxations have from time to time been enacted by the Legislature, which, as far as they go, would rather tell in the opposite direction. The difference, however, amounts to no less than £65,000,000 of annual income, or two-sevenths of the whole annual taxable income of the country within the area described. That is a most remarkable result; but there is a certain feature of that result which, when carefully examined, is yet more remarkable; and that is the accelerated rate of increase in the latter portion of that period. I again invite the attention of the Committee for a few minutes. I compare two periods—one of them before 1853, and the other since 1853, the year when the basis was altered. In ten years from

* Reprinted in the *Volksstaat,* No. 5 of January 17, 1872. [*Note by Brentano.*]

1842 to 1852 inclusive, the liable to tax income of the country, as nearly as we can make out, increased by 6 per cent; but in eight years, from 1853 to 1861, the income of the country again increased upon the basis taken by 20 per cent. That is a fact so singular and striking as to seem almost incredible. [...]

"Such, Sir, is the state of the case as regards the general progress of accumulation; but, for one, *I must say that I should look with some degree of pain, and with much apprehension, upon this extraordinary and almost intoxicating growth, if it were my belief that it is confined to the class of persons who may be described as in easy circumstances.* The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax; or, in other words, sufficiently accurate for general truth, they do not take cognizance of the property of the labouring population, or of the increase of its income. Indirectly, indeed, the mere augmentation of capital is of the utmost advantage to the labouring class, because that augmentation cheapens the commodity which in the whole business of production comes into direct competition with labour. *But, besides this, a more direct and a larger benefit has, it may safely be asserted, been conferred upon the mass of the people of the country. It is matter of profound and inestimable consolation to reflect, that while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have become less poor.* I will not presume to determine whether the wide interval which separates the extremes of wealth and poverty is less or more wide than it has been in former times. *But if we look to the average condition of the British labourer,* whether peasant, or miner, or operative, or artisan, **we know from varied and indubitable evidence that during the last twenty years such an addition has been made to his means of subsistence as we may almost pronounce to be without example in the history of any country and of any age.**"

What is the relationship between this speech and the quotation by Marx? Gladstone first makes the point that there has undoubtedly been a colossal increase in the income of the country. This is proved for him by the income tax. But income tax takes notice only of incomes of 150 pounds sterling and over. Persons with lower incomes pay no income tax in England. The fact that Gladstone mentions this so that his yardstick can be properly appreciated is utilised by Marx to have Gladstone say: "*This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property.*" Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. It says quite the opposite. **Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!**

No. 4. KARL MARX'S REPLY[a]

DER VOLKSSTAAT, No. 44, SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1872

A friend[b] has sent me, from Germany, *Concordia. Zeitschrift für die Arbeiterfrage*, No. 10, dated March 7, in which this "organ of the German Manufacturers' Association" publishes an editorial entitled "*How Karl Marx Quotes*".

In the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association I quote, amongst other material, a portion of

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 164-67.— *Ed.*

[b] W. Liebknecht.— *Ed.*

Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, which is not contained in Hansard's semi-official report of parliamentary debates. On this basis, with comfortable manufacturers' logic the *Concordia* concludes: "This sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech", and jubilates in the fullness of its heart with this mocking sentence in manufacturers' German, printed in mocking bold face:

"**Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!**"

It would, in fact, be extremely strange if the Inaugural Address, originally printed in English in London under Gladstone's very eyes, had placed in his mouth a sentence interpolated by me, a sentence that, for seven and a half years, circulated unchallenged in the London press, to be finally detected by the "learned men" of the German Manufacturers' Association in Berlin.

The sentence in question of the Inaugural Address reads as follows:

"This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property" (p. 6, Inaugural Address etc.). (In the German translation literally: [a])

In an article in *The Fortnightly Review* (November 1870), which attracted great attention and was discussed by all the London press, Mr. Beesly, Professor of History at the university here, quoted as follows, p. 518:

*"*An intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, as Mr. Gladstone observed, entirely confined to classes of property."* (In the German translation: [a])

Yet Professor Beesly's article appeared six years later than the Inaugural Address! Good! Let us now take a specialised publication, intended solely for the City and published not only *before* the appearance *of the Inaugural Address,* but even *before the International Working Men's Association was founded.* It is entitled: *The Theory of Exchanges. The Bank Charter Act of 1844.* London 1864, published by T. Cautley Newby, 30, Welbeck Street. It examines Gladstone's budget speech at length and p. 134 gives the following quotation from this speech:

"This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property." (In the German translation: [a])

That is, word for word, exactly what I quoted.

This proves irrefutably that the German Manufacturers' Associa-

[a] Further there follows the German translation of the sentence.—*Ed.*

tion "*lied both in form and in content*" in decrying this "sentence" as a fabrication "by me"!

Incidentally: honest old *Concordia* printed in bold face another passage, in which Gladstone prattled about an elevation of the English working class, over the last 20 years, that was supposedly "extraordinary and unparalleled in all countries and in all periods". The bold-face type is supposed to indicate that I had suppressed this passage. On the contrary! In the Inaugural Address I emphasised most strongly the screaming contrast between this shameless phrase and the "APPALLING STATISTICS", as Professor Beesly rightly calls them, contained in the official English reports on the same period.*

The author of *The Theory of the Exchanges*[b] quoted, like myself, not from Hansard, but from a London newspaper which, on April 17, published the April 16 budget speech. In my collectanea of cuttings for 1863, I have searched in vain for the relevant extract and thus, also, for the name of the newspaper that published it. This is, however, not important. Although the parliamentary reports of the London newspapers always differ from one another, I was certain that none of them could completely suppress such a striking quotation from Gladstone. So I consulted *The Times* of April 17, 1863—it was then, as now, Gladstone's organ—and there I found, on p. 7, column 5, in the report on the budget speech:

* "That is the state of the case as regards the *wealth of this country*. I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*, if it were my belief that it was confined to *classes who are in easy circumstances*.** This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation I have described*, and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, *is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property*." *

In the German translation:[d]

So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared "*both in form and in content*" in the House of Commons, as reported in his own

* Other whimsical apologetics from the same speech are dealt with in my work *Capital* (P. 638, 639).[a]

** The words "EASY CLASSES", "CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES" were apparently first introduced *by Wakefield* for the really rich portion of the propertied class.[c]

[a] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a) (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[b] Henry Roy.— *Ed.*

[c] [E. G. Wakefield,] *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations*, Vol. I-II, London, 1833.— *Ed.*

[d] Further there follows Marx's translation into German: "So steht's mit dem *Reichtum dieses Landes*. Ich für meinen Teil würde beinahe mit Besorgnis und mit Pein

organ, *The Times,* on April 17, 1863 that "*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*", and his apprehension gives him a sort of shiver, but only because of his scruples that this was confined to one part of this class, the part in really easy circumstances.

Italiam, Italiam![a] Finally we arrive at *Hansard.* In its edition, here botchily corrected, Mr. Gladstone was bright enough clumsily to excise the passage that would be, after all, compromising on the lips of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is, incidentally, traditional English parliamentary practice, and by no means the invention of little Lasker versus Bebel.[141] A careful comparison of Gladstone's speech itself, as it appeared in *The Times,* and its subsequent form, as distorted by the same Gladstone, would provide an amusing description of this unctuous, phrase-mongering, quibbling and strictly-religious bourgeois hero, who timidly displays his piousness and his liberal "ATTITUDES OF MIND".

One of the most infuriating things in my work *Capital* consists in the masses of official proof describing how manufacturers work, something in which no scholar could previously find a thing wrong. In the form of a rumour this even reached the ears of the gentlemen of the German Manufacturers' Association, but they thought:

> "Was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht,
> Das übet in Einfalt ein kindlich' Gemüt."[b]

No sooner said than done. They find a suspicious-looking quotation in the Inaugural Address and turn for information to a business friend in London, the first best Mundella, and he, being a manufacturer himself, rushes to despatch overseas, in black and white, the extract from Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Now they have my fabrication secret. I manufacture not only the text, but the quotations too. Drunk with victory, they trumpet out to the world "*How Karl Marx Quotes!*" So my wares were discredited,

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auf *diese berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht blicken,* wenn ich sie auf die *wohlhabenden Klassen* beschränkt glaubte. Es ist hier gar keine Notiz genommen von der arbeitenden Bevölkerung. *Die Vermehrung, die ich beschrieben habe*" (which he has just described as "diese berauschende Vermehrung von Reichtum und Macht" ["*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*"]) "*ist ganz und gar beschränkt auf Eigentumsklassen.*"—*Ed.*

[a] Virgil, *Aeneid,* III.—*Ed.*

[b] "What the knowledge of the knowing cannot find,
May be seen by an innocent childish mind."
Fr. Schiller, *Die Worte des Glaubens.*—*Ed.*

once and for all, and, as is fitting for manufacturers, in the way of normal business, without the expense of learned men.

The irksome subsequent events will perhaps teach the Manufacturing Associates that, however well they may know how to forge goods, they are as well fitted to judge literary goods as a donkey is to play the lute.

London, May 23, 1872

Karl Marx

No. 5. RETORT BY ANONYMOUS

CONCORDIA, No. 27, JULY 4, 1872

HOW KARL MARX DEFENDS HIMSELF

I

Our readers will perhaps recall the article "How Karl Marx Quotes" in No. 10 of this paper on March 7 this year. In it we dealt with a passage from the Inaugural Address of the International, written by Karl Marx, a passage which has won a certain fame and is frequently quoted by the Social Democrats as convincing proof of the irrevocable ruin of the working class should the state and social conditions of today persist. Here Marx quotes Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863. In this speech Gladstone first notes that there has been "an extraordinary and almost intoxicating growth" of the income of the country, and he uses the increase in income tax [revenue] to prove this. But the figures he quotes for this purpose "take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax"; they "do not take cognizance of the property of the labouring population, or of the increase of its income". Persons with an income under 150 pounds sterling, in fact, pay no income tax in England. And the fact that Gladstone had mentioned this to allow a proper appreciation of his yardstick was utilised by Marx in order to have Gladstone say: "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property." However, this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. On the contrary, Gladstone said that he did *not* believe this augmentation "had been confined to the class of persons who may be described as in easy circumstances". And indignant at the impudence with which Marx quoted distortingly, we exclaimed: "Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!"

This was a serious charge; combined with the convincing evidence provided, it was absolutely devastating for the widespread trust amongst our Social Democrats in the unparalleled and thorough learnedness, truthfulness and infallibility of the London oracle. It could therefore not be allowed to pass without a refutation, or at least something which looked like a refutation. In number 44 of the *Volksstaat* dated June 1,* Marx attempted to give such a refutation.[a] But our opponent has

* That is almost a full three months after the article appeared in the *Concordia*. Despite this, the *Volksstaat* was impudent enough scarcely 14 days after carrying

[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40.—*Ed.*

by no means been able to wash himself clean of the charge of *mala fides* in his quotations. In fact, the ways and means of his defence are more suitable than anything to prove his *mala fides*. The brazenness, namely, with which he once again abuses the fact that the readers of the *Volksstaat* have no possibility of checking his claims, this brazenness even exceeds his frivolity in quotation.

Marx naturally does not go so far as to challenge the correctness of our quotation from the shorthand report of Parliament. His immediate aim is to prove his *bona fides* in quotation, and to this end he refers to the fact that others have quoted like he did. He writes:

"In an article in *The Fortnightly Review* (November 1870),[a] which attracted great attention and was discussed by all the London press, Mr. Beesly, Professor of History at the university here, quoted as follows, p. 518: 'An intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, as Mr. Gladstone observed, entirely confined to classes of property.'—Yet Professor Beesly's article appeared six years later than the Inaugural Address!"

Quite right! Only the addition of another "yet" has been forgotten. This article by Professor Beesly deals, in fact, with the history of the International, and as the author himself informs every enquirer, was written on the basis of material provided him by Marx. And there is still more. At this point it is not Beesly who is quoting Gladstone at all; he is merely saying that the Inaugural Address of the International contains this quotation. "From this alarming statistics," Beesly writes, "the *Address* turns to the income-tax returns, which show that the taxable incomes of the country have increased by 20% in eight years, 'an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power', as Mr. Gladstone observed, entirely confined" etc.—A fine way of proof indeed! You trick some person who does not know your dishonesty into accepting a lying statement; this person repeats it in good faith; and then you cite this and the honesty of the person who repeated the statement in order to prove the correctness of the statement and your own honesty.—Marx continues his defence:

"Let us now take a specialised publication, intended solely for the City and published not only before the appearance of the Inaugural Address, but even before International Working Men's Association was founded. It is entitled: *The Theory of Exchanges. The Bank Charter Act of 1844*, London 1864, published by T. Cautley Newby, 30, Welbeck Street. It examines Gladstone's budget speech at length and p. 134 gives the following quotation from this speech: 'This intoxicating augmentation' etc., that is, word for word, exactly what I quoted.—This proves irrefutably that the German Manufacturers' Association 'lied in form' in decrying this 'sentence' as a fabrication 'by me'!... The author of *The Theory of the Exchanges*,"[b] Marx then continued, "quoted, like myself, not from Hansard, but

Marx's rebuttal to accuse us of "heroically silencing" this rebuttal. We believe that the *Volksstaat* had no reason to press so hard for the second, and sharper, treatment of its lord and master. Incidentally, the reason for the delay in our reply is partly due to the fact that one of the sources cited by Marx was not available here and had to be obtained from England, partly to the fact that the elucidation of this quotation demanded lengthy extracts from the relevant sources and consequently the above article became unusually long, so that, for reasons of space, we were obliged to postpone publication several times. *The editors of the "Concordia"*.

[a] E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association", *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLVII, November 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

[b] Henry Roy.—*Ed.*

from a London newspaper which, on April 17, published the April 16 budget speech."

And in fact the author of this book, which incidentally is a vulgar diatribe, quoted from Hansard just as little as did Marx. But Marx, as we shall soon show, also did not even quote from a London newspaper. First, however, it must be noted here that when we stated that Marx had lyingly added the sentence in question to Gladstone's speech, we did not claim, either "in form or in content", that he himself had also fabricated it. This would only be the case if Marx himself had been the fabricator of that still very obscure book, though one might be tempted to believe this on account of the ghastly style in which it is written. The source from which Marx quotes this sentence is actually this book itself, and this is also the reason why, as he claims in his "collectanea of cuttings for 1863", he has "searched in vain for the relevant extract and thus, also, for the name of the newspaper that published it"! This origin of Marx's quotation is shown clearly by a comparison of the passage in *Capital*, his book in which Marx reviews Gladstone's budget speech, and *The Theory of the Exchanges*. There, on p. 639, particularly in Note 103,[a] this speech is quoted in the absolutely senseless version given verbatim by that book on p. 134. And the glosses too, which Marx bases on the contradiction contained in this version, are already contained in that book, in particular also the quotation from Molière given in Note 105 on p. 640 of *Capital*[b]; and in the same way the statement of the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM about the rising prices of foodstuffs quoted by Marx appears on p. 135 of that book, though Marx bases his claim for its correctness not on that book, but on that book's sources (see *Capital*, p. 640, Note 104).[c]

Now we ask; does anyone tell a lie only when he himself invents an untruth, or does he not tell a lie quite as much when he repeats it contrary to what he knows, or is bound to know better? We believe that the answer is beyond doubt. And secondly, when Marx repeated the untruth contained in *The Theory of the Exchanges*, did he not do this contrary to his better knowledge, or should he at least not have known better? The answer here is also simple. The first rule for any interpretation, a rule undoubtedly known to Mr. Marx, is to interpret passages which at first glance contain contradictions—and thus make no sense—in such a way that the contradiction disappears; and if the available text appears to make this impossible, one should make a textual criticism rather than believe in the presence of a contradiction. And this was all the more imperative in the case of a speech which aroused the interest and admiration of the entire educated world, notably through its mastery of the material and its clarity. And finally it was an act of frivolity bordering upon the criminal to act in any other way than scrupulously when intending to tear out of context a passage which provides one half of the contradiction in this version and to cast it as a denunciation of the propertied amongst the propertyless all over the world. Karl Marx should have taken umbrage at this version if only on the basis of general learning, science and conscientiousness; and the criminal frivolity with which he accepts this lying quotation is completely inexcusable in his case, since the full text of Gladstone's speech was available to him. On the one hand, the English newspapers reproduced this speech the day after it was delivered, and, if not true to the word, then true to the sense. And then, immediately after the delivery of the speech, Gladstone published it verbatim in his book *Financial Statements*, London, 1863, which attracted great

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[a] See this volume, p. 133.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 134.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid.—*Ed.*

attention; and on p. 403 of that book the speech is printed just as we quoted it. Finally, Marx could refer to the shorthand report of this speech in *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* and it is the custom to always quote a speech to Parliament from the shorthand report, even if it contains no contradictions to the necessarily bungling newspaper reports.

But here we come, to be sure, to Marx's third line of defence, and this far exceeds, in its impudent mendacity, anything which came before. Marx actually does not shrink from citing *The Times* of April 17, 1863 as proof of the correctness of his quotation. *The Times* of April 17, 1863, p. 7, col. 5, line 17ff, reports, however, the speech as follows:

"That is the state of the case as regards the wealth of this country. **I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was confined to classes finding themselves in pleasant circumstances.** This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation I have described, *and the figures of which are based, I think, upon accurate returns,** is entirely confined to classes of property." (Marx quotes *The Times* to this point; we quote further.) "Now, the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer, because it cheapens the commodity which in the business of production comes into direct competition with labour. (*Hear, hear!*) But we have this profound, and, I must say, inestimable consolation, that, while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor.—Whether the extremes of poverty are less extreme than they were I do not presume to say, *but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know, has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age.* (*Cheers.*)"

A comparison of this *Times* report with the report after Hansard in the *Concordia* of March 7 will show that both reports fully coincide materially. The report in *The Times* just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives verbatim. Yet despite the fact that the *Times* report contains the direct opposite of that notorious passage in the Inaugural Address, and the fact that according to the *Times* report, too, Mr. Gladstone said he believed this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *not* to be confined to classes in easy circumstances, Marx has the impudence to write in the *Volksstaat* of June 1:

"So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared 'both in form and in content' that 'this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property'."

But even more. Since we had already presented to the public the complete text of the speech from Hansard, and this text completely excluded the possibility of any distortion, an attempt is made to delete this very embarrassing circumstance with the phrase in the Hansard "edition, here botchily corrected, Mr. Gladstone

* In his German quotation in the *Volksstaat* Marx omits this relative clause and instead inserts: "which he" (Gladstone) "had just described as 'this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power'." This omission and this insertion too are designed to mislead the reader about the sense of Gladstone's words. The omitted relative clause and in addition the general context show that the sense of the speech is as follows: The augmentation of wealth shown by the income tax returns is certainly confined to the classes of property (since this tax is only imposed upon persons with an income of 150 pounds sterling and over), but with regard to the labouring class, we know, etc. [*Note by Brentano.*]

was bright enough clumsily to excise the passage that would be, after all, compromising on the lips of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer"! All that is lacking is the claim that Gladstone probably did this in deference to the diatribe *The Theory of the Exchanges,* which did not appear until 1864!

What can one say about such methods? First we are presented, on the basis of an obscure diatribe, with a quotation which was completely forged, and the contradictory substance of which proved that it was forged, even without confronting it with the original. Called to account in this matter, Marx states that others quoted in the same way as he did, and refers to people whom he himself fooled with this lie. Even more: from the fact that his fuzzy sources accord with him, he tries to fashion an argument to excuse himself and show the correctness of his quotation, as though both of them had drawn upon a joint, correct, third source, though in fact one had only copied from the other. And finally he has the impudence to base himself on newspaper reports which directly contradict him. Indeed, to describe these practices we know only one word, a word with which Marx himself is very familiar (see *Capital,* p. 257): they are simply "nefarious".

Marx closes his defence with these words: "The irksome subsequent events will perhaps teach the Manufacturing Associates that, however well they may know how to forge goods, they are as well fitted to judge literary goods as a donkey is to play the lute."

We confidently leave it to the reader to decide on which side the forgery and the irksomeness ultimately lie. In a further article we shall explain to Mr. Marx the importance which we attach to the content of Gladstone's words.

The second article, *Concordia,* No. 28, July 11, 1872, contains absolutely nothing of relevance, and is therefore omitted.

No. 6. MARX'S SECOND REPLY[a]

DER VOLKSSTAAT, No. 63, AUGUST 7, 1872

In the *Concordia* of July 4, the German Manufacturers' Association attempted to prove to me that its "learned men" were as well fitted to judge literary goods as the Association was to forge commercial ones.

With reference to the passage from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, as quoted in the Inaugural Address of the International, the manufacturers' organ (No. 10) stated:

"Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content."

It thus declares that I fabricated the sentence in both form and content, with hair and bones. Even more: it knows exactly how I did so. The paper writes: "The fact that Gladstone mentioned

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 190-97.—*Ed.*

this, etc., *was utilised by Marx in order to have Gladstone say*, etc." By quoting the sentence from a work published *before* the Inaugural Address, *The Theory of the Exchanges*, I exposed the crude lie of the manufacturers' organ.[a] As the paper itself relates, it then ordered from London this work which it did not know, and convinced itself of the facts of the matter. How could it lie itself out of the situation? See here:

"When we stated that Marx had lyingly added the sentence in question to Gladstone's speech, we did not claim, either in form or in content, *that he himself had also fabricated it.*"

Here we obviously have a case of equivocation peculiar to the mind of manufacturers. For example, when a manufacturing swindler, in agreement with business colleagues, sends out into the world rolls of ribbon that contain, instead of the alleged three dozen ells only two dozen, then he has in fact *lyingly added* one dozen ells, precisely because he "*has not fabricated*" them. Why, moreover, should lyingly added sentences not behave just like lyingly added ells? "The understandings of the greater part of men," says Adam Smith, "are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments",[b] the understandings of the manufacturer included.

Through the *Volksstaat*, I extended the erudite materials of the manufacturers' organ, not only with the quotation from *The Theory of the Exchanges*, but also with the pages from my work *Capital* concerning Gladstone's budget speeches. Now, from the material with which I provided it, the paper attempts to prove that I did not quote the disputed passage from a "London newspaper", but from *The Theory of the Exchanges*. The chain of arguments is another sample of manufacturers' logic.

I told the manufacturers' sheet that *The Theory of the Exchanges* quotes on page 134 exactly as I quoted, and it discovers—that I quoted exactly as *The Theory of the Exchanges* quotes on page 134.

And further!

"And the glosses too, which Marx bases on the contradiction contained in this version, are already contained in that book."

This is simply a lie. On page 639 of *Capital*, I give my glosses to the words in Gladstone's speech:

"While the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. Whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."

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[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 2, London, 1776, p. 366.—*Ed.*

My remark on this is: "How lame an anti-climax! If the working class has remained 'poor', only 'less poor' in proportion as it produces for the wealthy class 'an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power', then it has remained relatively just as poor. If the extremes of poverty have not lessened, they have increased, because the extremes of wealth have." [a] And these "glosses" are nowhere to be found in *The Theory of the Exchanges.*

"And the glosses too ... are already contained in that book, *in particular also* the quotation from Molière given in Note 105 on p. 640 of *Capital.*" [142]

So, "in particular also" I quote Molière, and leave it up to the "learned men" of the *Concordia* to detect and communicate to the public the fact that the quotation comes from *The Theory of the Exchanges.* In fact, however, I state expressly in Note 105, p. 640 of *Capital* that the author of *The Theory of the Exchanges*[b] "*characterises with the following quotation from Molière*" the "continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches".

Finally:

"... in the same way the statement of the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM about the rising prices of foodstuffs quoted by Marx appears on p. 135 of that book, though Marx bases his claim for its correctness not on that book, but on that book's sources (see *Capital,* p. 640, Note 104)".

The *Concordia* advisedly forgets to inform its readers that "that book" gives *no sources.* What was it trying to prove? That I took from that "book" a passage from Gladstone's speech without knowing its source. And how does the *Concordia* prove it? By the fact that I really did take a quotation from that book, and checked it with the original sources, independent of the book!

Referring to my quotation from Professor Beesly's article in *The Fortnightly Review* (November 1870), the *Concordia* remarks.

"This article by Professor Beesly deals, in fact, with the history of the International, and as the author himself informs every enquirer, was written on the basis of material provided him by *Marx* himself."

Professor Beesly states:

"To no one is the success of the association so much due as to Dr. Karl Marx, who, in his acquaintance with the history and statistics of the industrial movement in all parts of Europe, is, I should imagine, without a rival. I am LARGELY indebted to him for the information contained in this article." [c]

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[a] See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a) (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] Henry Roy.—*Ed.*

[c] E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association", *The Fortnightly Review,* No. XLVII, November 1, 1870, pp. 529-30.—*Ed.*

All the material with which I supplied Professor Beesly referred exclusively to the history of the International, and not a word concerned the Inaugural Address, which he had known since its publication. The context in which his above remark stood left so little doubt on this point that *The Saturday Review*, in a review of his article,[a] more than hinted that *he himself* was the author of the Inaugural Address.*

The *Concordia* asserts that Professor Beesly did not quote the passage in question from Gladstone's speech, but only stated "*that the Inaugural Address contained this quotation*". Let us look into this.

Professor Beesly states:

"The address [...] is probably the most striking and powerful statement of the workman's case as against the middle class that has ever been compressed into a dozen small pages. I wish I had space for copious extracts from it."

After mentioning the "frightful statistics of the Blue Books",[143] to which the Address refers, he goes on:

"From these appalling statistics the address passes on to the income-tax returns, from which it appeared that the taxable income of the country had increased in eight years twenty per cent, 'an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power', *as Mr. Gladstone observed*, 'entirely confined to classes of property'."

Professor Beesly sets the words: "*as Mr. Gladstone observed*" outside quotation marks, saying these words on his own behalf, and thus proves to the *Concordia* with the greatest clarity that he knows Gladstone's budget speech—solely from the quotation in the Inaugural Address! As the London business friend of the German Manufacturers' Association, he is the only man who knows Gladstone's budget speeches, just as he, and he alone, knows: "Persons with an income under 150 pounds sterling, in fact, pay no income tax in England." (See the *Concordia*, Nos. 10 and 27.) Yet English tax officials suffer from the *idée fixe* that this tax only stops at incomes under **100** pounds sterling.

Referring to the disputed passage in the Inaugural Address, the manufacturers' paper stated:

"*Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech.*" I proved the contrary with a quotation from the "*Times*" *report* of April 17, 1863. I gave the quotation in the *Volksstaat* in both English and German, since a commentary was necessary on account of Gladstone's assertion that he would "look almost with

* Professor Beesly drew my attention, in writing, to this *quid pro quo*.

[a] "Mr. Beesly and the International Working Men's Association", *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, No. 785, November 12, 1870, pp. 610-11.—*Ed.*

apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were" his "belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES". Basing myself on Wakefield, I declared that the "CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES"—an expression for which there is no German equivalent—means the "really rich", "the really prosperous portion" of the propertied classes. Wakefield actually calls the real middle class "THE UNEASY CLASS", which is in German roughly "die ungemächliche Klasse".*

The manufacturers' worthy organ not only suppresses my exposition, it ends the passage I quoted with the words: "Marx quotes *The Times* to this point", thus leaving the reader to suppose that it had quoted from my translation; in fact, however, the paper, leaving my version aside, does not translate "CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES" as "wohlhabenden Klassen"[a] but as "Klassen, die sich in *angenehmen Verhältnissen befinden*".[b] The paper believes its readers capable of understanding that not all sections of the propertied class are "prosperous", though it will always be a "pleasant circumstance" for them to possess property. Even in the translation of my quotation, as given by the *Concordia,* however, Gladstone describes the progress of capitalist wealth as "*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*", and remarks that here he has "*taken no cognizance at all* of the condition of the labouring population", closing with words to the effect that this "*augmentation is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*". Once the "learned man" of the German Manufacturers' Association has, in the report of *The Times* of April 17, 1863, thus had Gladstone say "both in form and in content", the same as I had him say in the Inaugural Address, he strikes his swollen breast, brimming with conviction, and blusters:

"*Yet despite this ... Marx has the impudence* to write in the *Volksstaat* of June 1: 'So, on April 16, 1863, Mr. Gladstone declared '*both in form and in content*' in the House of Commons, as reported in his own organ, *The Times,* on April 17, 1863 that '*this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*'."

The "learned man" of the German Manufacturers' Association obviously knows exactly what to offer his readership!

In the *Volksstaat* of June 1, I remarked that the *Concordia* was

* "THE MIDDLE OR UNEASY CLASS" [E. G. Wakefield] ("ENGLAND AND AMERICA", London, 1833, V. I, P. 185).

[a] Prosperous classes.—*Ed.*

[b] Classes *finding themselves* in *pleasant circumstances.*—*Ed.*

trying to make its readers believe I had suppressed in the Inaugural Address Gladstone's phrases about the improvement in the condition of the British working class, though in fact the exact opposite was the case, and I stressed there with great emphasis the glaring contradiction between this declamation and the officially established facts. In its reply of July 4, the manufacturers' paper repeated the same manoeuvre. "Marx quotes *The Times* to this point," the paper says, "we quote further." In confrontation with the paper, I needed only to quote the disputed passage, but let us look for a moment at the "further".

After pouring forth his panegyric on the increase of capitalist wealth, Gladstone turns to the working class. He takes good care not to say that it had shared in the "*intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power*". On the contrary, he goes on, according to *The Times*: "Now, *the augmentation of capital is* of indirect benefit to the labourer, etc." *He consoles* himself further on with the fact "that while the rich have been growing *richer*, the poor have been growing *less poor*". Finally, he asserts that he and his enriched parliamentary friends "have the *happiness* to know" the opposite of what parliamentary enquiries and statistical data prove to be the fact, viz.,

> "that the average condition of the British labourer has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unparalleled in the history of any country and of any age".

Before Mr. Gladstone, all his predecessors "*had the happiness*" to supplement the picture of the augmentation of capitalist wealth in their budget speeches with self-satisfied phrases about the improvement in the condition of the working class. Yet he gives the lie to them all; for the millennium dates only from the passing of the Free Trade legislation. The correctness or incorrectness of Gladstone's reasons for consolidation and congratulation is, however, a matter of indifference here. We are concerned solely with this: that, from his standpoint, the pretended "extraordinary" improvement in the condition of the working class in no way contradicts the "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power that is entirely confined to the classes possessed of property". On the contrary. It is the orthodox doctrine of the mouthpieces of capital—Mr. Gladstone being one of the best paid—that the most infallible means for working men *to benefit themselves* is—*to enrich* their exploiters.

The shameless stupidity or stupid shamelessness of the manufacturers' organ culminates in its assurance: "The report in *The*

Times just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives *verbatim.*" * Now let us see both reports:

I	II
From Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863, printed in "The Times" of April 17, 1863	*From Gladstone's speech of April 16, 1863, printed by Hansard, Vol. 170, parliamentary debates of March 27 to May 28, 1863*
"That is the state of the case as regards the wealth of this country. I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power* if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *The augmentation I have described ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.* Now the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer etc."	"Such [...] is the state of the case as regards the general progress of accumulation; but, for one, I must say that I should *look with some degree of pain,* and with much apprehension, upon *this extraordinary* and **almost** *intoxicating growth,* if it were my belief that it is confined to THE CLASS OF PERSONS WHO MAY BE DESCRIBED AS IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax; *or,* in other words, sufficiently accurate for *general truth* (!), they do not take cognizance of the *property* (!) of the labouring population, *or* (!) of the increase of its *income.* Indirectly, indeed, the mere augmentation of capital is of the utmost advantage to the labouring class, etc."

I leave it to the reader himself to compare the stilted, involved, complicated CIRCUMLOCUTION OFFICE [a] style of the Hansard publication with the report in *The Times.*

Here it is enough to establish that the words of the *Times* report: "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... the augmentation I *have described ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property*", are in part garbled by Hansard and in part completely suppressed. Their emphatic "exact wording" escaped no earwitness. For example:

"*The Morning Star*", *April 17, 1863 (Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863).*

* The manufacturers' paper appears actually to believe that the big London newspapers employ no shorthand writers for their parliamentary reports.

[a] The name is taken from Ch. Dickens' *Little Dorrit.*— *Ed.*

"I must say, for one, I should look with apprehension and with pain upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. *THIS GREAT INCREASE OF WEALTH* takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *THE AUGMENTATION IS AN AUGMENTATION ENTIRELY CONFINED TO THE CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY.* BUT *THAT AUGMENTATION* must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, etc."

"*The Morning Advertiser*", *April 17, 1863 (Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863).*

"I must say, for one, I should look almost with apprehension and ALARM upon *this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,* if it were my belief that it was confined to the CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. *This great increase of wealth* takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. *THE AUGMENTATION STATED is an augmentation entirely confined to the CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY. THIS AUGMENTATION* must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, etc."

Thus, Gladstone subsequently filched away from the semi-official Hansard report of his speech the words that he had uttered in the House of Commons on April 16, 1863: "*This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.*" The *Concordia* did not, therefore, find this in the excerpt provided by their business friend in London, and trumpeted:

"Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. **Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content.**"

It is no surprise that they now weepingly tell me that it is the critical "*custom*" to quote parliamentary speeches as officially falsified, and not as they were actually delivered. Such a "custom" in fact accords with the "general" Berlin "education", and the limited thinking of the German Manufacturers' Association which is typical of Prussian subjects.[144] Lack of time forces me to end, once and for all, my pleasurable exchange of opinions with the Association, but as a farewell, another nut for its "learned men" to crack. In what article did a man—and what was his name—utter to an opponent of a rank at least equal with that of the *Concordia,* the weighty words: "*Asinus manebis in secula seculorum*"*?

London, July 28, 1872

Karl Marx

* "Thou wilt remain an ass for evermore."

No. 7. THE REJOINDER OF ANONYMOUS

CONCORDIA, No. 34, AUGUST 22, 1872

More on the Character of Karl Marx

On August 7, in the *Volksstaat*, Karl Marx replied to the article "How Karl Marx Defends Himself" in No. 27 of the *Concordia*. Astonishing is the dogged mendacity with which he clings to the distorted quotation from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, astonishing even for someone for whom no means are too base for his subversive plans. In fact this can only be explained by the fear, which must be called forth in the author, of the very embarrassing effect of confessing that this quotation, the bombshell of the Inaugural Address, is false, given the great circulation of the latter.

It will be recalled that in his first defence Marx admitted the shorthand report of Gladstone's speech in Hansard did not contain this quotation. But the reason was: Mr. Gladstone had clumsily excised this compromising passage! Initial proof: Professor Beesly, in an article in *The Fortnightly Review* had quoted this speech in the same way as the Inaugural Address.

This could lead the reader to believe that Professor Beesly had quoted Gladstone's speech in an essay on some other historical theme than the International. We therefore remarked, firstly, that this article dealt with the history of the International, and was written on the basis of material that Marx himself had provided the author with. And Marx does not now deny this. However, he assures us that the material he provided did not contain a single word referring to the contents of the Inaugural Address, which had been known to Professor Beesly since its publication. However, we never said or insinuated such a thing. And we absolutely believe Mr. Marx's assurance. Had he shown Mr. Beesly *The Theory of the Exchanges* as the source of his quotation, Beesly would certainly have refrained from reprinting it. Secondly, we replied—and this is the main rejoinder: it was not Beesly who quoted the passage in question from Gladstone's speech; he only cited it in an analysis of the Inaugural Address. We quoted word for word the relevant sentence from Beesly's article, as can be seen in No. 27 of the *Concordia*. The fact that Beesly, in his analysis, gave the words "as Mr. Gladstone observed" without quotation marks* is now used by Marx to explain to his readers that Beesly, suddenly interrupting his analysis, said these words on his own behalf!!

Marx sought to find further proof that Gladstone had clumsily excised the words in question from his speech in the fact that *The Theory of the Exchanges*, a publication which appeared before the Inaugural Address, quoted Gladstone's budget speech word for word as in the Address. We checked with the book, saw that this was correct, but that everything suggests Marx himself took his quotation from this book. The main sign of this was that *Capital* by Marx, on p. 639, especially in Note 103, quotes this speech in the *absolutely senseless* version given verbatim by *The Theory of the Exchanges* on p. 134. This suggestion that *The Theory of the Exchanges* was the source of Marx's quotation is further supported by the fact that in the passage in his book *Capital* where he quotes the Gladstone speech just as *The Theory of the Exchanges* did on p. 134, he gives other quotations to be found at the same place in that book, and adds glosses like this. How does Mr. Marx reply to this? For a start, that he also added glosses which are not to be found in *The Theory of the Exchanges*. But neither is this precluded by our remark. Then he states

* Additional note on republication: Professor Beesly copied the passage which he quoted from the Inaugural Address exactly as given there. There, however, the inserted clause is naturally without quotation marks. [*Note by Brentano.*]

that he specifically named the author of *The Theory of the Exchanges* as the author of the quotation from Molière. But we did not claim the contrary. Finally, regarding the statement of the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM, which Marx quotes on p. 640 of his book just as *The Theory of the Exchanges* does on p. 135, Marx himself admits that he quoted verbatim from this book, but that he checked the correctness with the original sources. Marx thus testifies himself that part of the glosses which he appends to the quotation from Gladstone's speech come from *The Theory of the Exchanges.* He thus bears witness to the correctness of the points with which we supported our main argument that he had also taken from *The Theory of the Exchanges* the quotation from Gladstone's speech. But he has nothing to say in answer to this main argument, in answer to the remark that he, like *The Theory of the Exchanges,* quotes Gladstone's speech in the *same absolutely senseless version.*

Thirdly and finally, Marx attempts to prove his claim that Gladstone subsequently falsified his own budget speech in the shorthand report in Hansard by referring to the report of this speech in *The Times* of April 17, 1863. But this report shows the exact opposite, since *The Times* and Hansard fully coincide materially. To obscure recognition of this fact by his readers, Marx utilises various methods. *The first method,* designed simultaneously to awaken amongst the readers of the *Volksstaat* new admiration for the erudition of their oracle, was a philological lecture. Gladstone explicitly stated, also according to the *Times* report, insofar as Marx quoted this, that he believed that the intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power of which he had spoken was *not* confined "TO THE CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES", i.e. the classes finding themselves in pleasant circumstances. Basing himself upon Wakefield, who had written a book entitled *The Middle or Uneasy Class,*[a] Marx now claimed that Gladstone had said he believed this augmentation was not confined to the "really rich", the "really prosperous portion" of the propertied classes; and since we took no notice of this entire argumentation, he now accuses us of suppression. But if we remained silent about this further attempt at falsification, the only reason was that it was, in fact, too manifest. For whatever Wakefield may have meant when he called the middle class THE UNEASY CLASS the whole context of Gladstone's speech, in the *Times* report too, shows that by the "CLASSES WHO ARE IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES" Gladstone at this point *meant those classes which are not part of the working population, since he drew a contrast between them and it.*

Marx's *second method* of obscuring the *Times* report was simply to suppress, in his German translation of this report, the relative clause which showed that Gladstone had only said that the augmentation of wealth, which was shown by the income tax returns, was confined to the classes of property, since the working classes were not subject to income tax, and that thus nothing about the increase in the prosperity of the working classes could be learned from the income tax returns; not, however, that the working classes in reality had been excluded from the extraordinary augmentation of national wealth. Marx, who, as we just have seen, quite unwarrantably accused the *Concordia* of suppression, once again quietly suppressed this relative clause, although we had remonstrated with him about his distortion. And even more. We had stated, in accordance with the truth, that the report in *The Times* just gives, formally more contracted, what the shorthand report by Hansard gives verbatim; but he denies this and dares to print side by side the *Times* report and that from Hansard, *though he* naturally *once again omits this relative clause.* But what does it matter? The readers of the *Volksstaat,* with whom he

[a] The reference is to the book: [E. G. Wakefield,] *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations,* Vol. I-II, London, 1833.— *Ed.*

is concerned, cannot check up on him!

Thirdly and finally, Marx attempted to conceal the agreement between the *Times* report and the Hansard report by failing to quote those sentences in which, according to *The Times* too, Gladstone directly and explicitly testified to the elevation of the British working class. We made a remark about this, and quoted in full the relevant passage of the *Times* report. Despite this, Marx lies to his readers that we had wanted to give the impression that we were quoting *The Times* according to his translation! But against this, he naturally suppresses our proof (in No. 28) that the glaring contradiction, according to Marx, between Gladstone's claim about the improvement in the condition of the British working class and the officially established facts, does not exist in reality; instead he repeats once again this accusation.

Apart from this, Marx, in his reply in the *Volksstaat* of August 7, produces two further witnesses to the correctness of his reading of Gladstone's budget speech: *The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* of April 17, 1863. But we do not need to check whether Marx has quoted the two papers without fresh falsification.* For these papers, even as he quotes them, speak for us. After Gladstone had said, according to both papers, that he did *not* believe *this* intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is confined to the classes which find themselves in pleasant circumstances, he continued: "*This* great increase of wealth *takes no cognizance at all* of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation *which I have described* is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property." The context and the use of the expression "*take cognizance*" show clearly that *this* increase and the augmentation of the increase cited, and the citing, are intended to indicate those discernible in the income tax returns.

But the introduction of these new alleged witnesses is only an expression of the faked thoroughness, intended to perpetuate the faith of *Volksstaat* readers in their oracle. Marx's article in the *Volksstaat* of August 7 is a model of this, and worthy of perusal by our readers in person. We need only quote one more example of this, in order to deprive Mr. Marx of the argument that we wished to conceal from our readers that he had corrected us on a point of minor import. We had stated that in England persons with an income under 150 pounds sterling paid no income tax. Mr. Marx taunts us that we do not know this tax only ceases on incomes under 100 pounds sterling. In fact the law of 1842 left all incomes under 150 pounds sterling quite free of tax, but in 1853 the tax was extended downwards to 100 pounds sterling, although the newly included incomes were treated more lightly, since they were subjected to a lower rate of tax than those of 150 pounds sterling and above. In 1863 the favoured sector was extended to 200 pounds sterling exclusive upwards, and the tax reduction granted in the manner that for every income from that figure down to 100 pounds sterling inclusive, 60 pounds sterling could be subtracted as tax-free.

Mr. Marx closes his article by telling us that lack of time forces him to end, once and for all, his pleasurable exchange of opinions with us. We understand that Mr. Marx welcomes the opportunity of avoiding somebody who uncovers his forgeries. When Mr. Marx finally ends his article by breaking into abuse, we can assure him that his opponents could desire nothing more than the confession of guilt which lies herein. Abuse is the weapon of those whose other means of defence have run out.

* Additional note on republication: Here too Marx omits the same sentences which he suppressed in his reproduction of the *Times* report. See the two reports at the beginning. [*Note by Brentano.*]

III

SEDLEY TAYLOR AND ELEANOR MARX

No. 8. ATTACK BY S. TAYLOR

THE TIMES, NOVEMBER 29, 1883

* *To the Editor of "The Times"*

Sir,—I ask leave to point out in *The Times* that the origin of the misleading quotation from Mr. Gladstone's Budget speech of April 16, 1863, which so eminent a publicist as Professor Émile de Laveleye[a] has been led to reproduce through reliance on German sources, and with respect to which he inserts a correction in *The Times* of this day, is to be found as far back as 1864 in an address issued by the council of the famous International Working Men's Association.[b]

What appears extremely singular is that it was reserved for Professor Brentano (then of the University of Breslau, now of that of Strassburg) to expose, eight years later in a German newspaper, the bad faith which had manifestly dictated the citation made from Mr. Gladstone's speech in the address.

Herr Karl Marx, who as the acknowledged author of the address attempted to defend the citation, had the hardihood, in the deadly shifts to which Brentano's masterly conduct of the attack speedily reduced him, to assert Mr. Gladstone had "manipulated" (*zurechtgestümpert*) the report of his speech in *The Times* of April 17, 1863, before it appeared in "Hansard", in order "to obliterate" (*wegzupfuschen*) a passage which "was certainly compromising for an English Chancellor of the Exchequer". On Brentano's showing, by a detailed comparison of texts, that the reports of *The Times* and of "Hansard" agreed in utterly excluding the meaning which craftily-isolated quotation had put upon Mr. Gladstone's words, Marx withdrew from further controversy under the plea of "want of time"!

The whole of the Brentano-Marx correspondence is eminently worthy of being unearthed from the files of newspapers under which it lies buried, and republished in an English form, as it throws upon the latter disputant's standard of literary honesty a light which can be ill spared at a time when his principal work is presented to us as nothing less than a fresh gospel of social renovation.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Sedley Taylor

Trinity College, Cambridge, November 26th* (1883)

This letter appeared in *The Times* on November 29, 1883. On November 30, Eleanor, Marx's junior daughter, sent her reply to *The Times*. Her letter did not appear. She again wrote in vain to the editor. Then she addressed herself to the *Daily News*, but once more without success. Then she published both Mr. Sedley

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[a] É. de Laveleye, "To the Editor of *The Times*. Liège, November 16", *The Times*, No. 30987, November 26, 1883.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-13.—*Ed.*

Taylor's accusation and her reply in the February 1884 issue of the socialist monthly *To-Day*. We publish her reply below.[145]

No. 9. ELEANOR MARX'S REPLY

TO-DAY, FEBRUARY 1884

* *To the Editor of "The Times"*

Sir,—In *The Times* of November 29th Mr. Sedley Taylor refers to a certain quotation of a speech by Mr. Gladstone,

"to be found as far back as 1864, in an address issued by the council of the famous International Working Men's Association".

He continues: (I here quote Mr. Taylor's letter from "What appears" to "want of time").

The facts are briefly these. The quotation referred to consists of a few sentences from Mr. Gladstone's Budget speech of April 16th, 1863. After describing the immense increase of wealth that took place in this country between 1853 and 1861 Mr. Gladstone is made to say:

"This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property."

An anonymous writer, who turns out to be Professor Brentano, published in a German paper, *Concordia*, of the 7th March, 1872 a reply in which it was stated:

"This sentence does not exist in Mr. Gladstone's speech, Marx has added it lyingly, both as to form and contents" (*formel und materiel hinzugelogen*).

This was the only point at issue between my father and his anonymous opponent.

In his replies in the Leipzig *Volksstaat*, June 1st and August 7th, 1872,[a] Dr. Marx quotes the reports of Mr. Gladstone's speech as follows:

"*The Times*, April 17th:

"The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, on accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property."

Morning Star 17th April:

"This augmentation is an augmentation confined entirely to the classes possessed of property,

Morning Advertiser, April 17th:

"The augmentation stated is altogether limited to classes possessed of property."

[a] See this volume, pp. 136-40, 144-51.— *Ed.*

The anonymous Brentano, in the "deadly shifts to which his own masterly conduct of the attack had reduced him", now took refuge under the assertion usual in such circumstances, that if the quotation was not a forgery it was, at all events, "misleading", in "bad faith", "craftily isolated", and so forth. I am afraid you would not allow me space to reply to this accusation of Herr Brentano, repeated now, after eleven years, by Mr. Taylor. Perhaps it will not be required, as Mr. Taylor says:

"The whole of this Brentano-Marx correspondence is eminently worthy of being unearthed from the file of newspapers in which it lies buried and republished in an English form."

I quite agree with this. The memory of my father could only gain by it. As to the discrepancies between the newspaper reports of the speech in question and the report in "Hansard" I must leave this to be settled by those most interested in it.

Out of thousands and thousands of quotations to be found in my father's writings this is the only one the correctness of which has ever been disputed. The fact that this single and not very lucky instance is brought up again and again by the professorial economists is very characteristic. In the words of Mr. Taylor,

"it throws upon the latter disputant's" (Dr. Marx) "standard of literary honesty a light which can ill be spared at a time when his principal work is presented to us as nothing less than a fresh gospel of social renovation".

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

Eleanor Marx

London, November 30, 1883*

No. 10. SEDLEY TAYLOR'S RETORT

TO-DAY, MARCH 1884

** To the Editors of "To-Day"*

Gentlemen,

No one can regret more than I do that Miss Marx should have been refused the public hearing to which she was so manifestly entitled. I am, however, far from thinking with her that the question whether a particular sentence did, or did not, occur in Mr. Gladstone's speech "was the only point at issue between" Dr. Marx and Professor Brentano. I regard that question as having been of very subordinate importance compared to the issue whether the quotation in dispute was made with the intention of conveying, or of perverting, Mr. Gladstone's meaning.

It would obviously be impossible to discuss in this letter the contents of the voluminous Brentano-Marx controversy without making an inadmissible demand on your space. As, however, Miss Marx has in your columns characterised as a

"calumny" and "libel" an opinion publicly expressed by me,* I feel bound to ask your insertion, side by side, of the two following extracts, which will enable your readers to judge for themselves whether Dr. Marx has quoted fairly or unfairly from the Budget Speech of 1863 in his great work, "Das Kapital". My reason for using the *Times* report in preference to that of Hansard will be obvious to readers of Dr. Marx' letters in his correspondence with Brentano.

Times, April 17, 1863

"In ten years, from 1842 to 1852 inclusive, the taxable income of the country, as nearly as we can make out, increased by 6 per cent.; but in eight years, from 1853 to 1861, the income of the country again increased from the basis taken by 20 per cent. That is a fact so strange as to be almost incredible....

"*I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if it were my belief that it was confined to the classes who are in easy circumstances. This takes no cognisance at all of the condition of the labouring population.* The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes possessed of property. Now, the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer, because it cheapens the commodity which in the business of production comes into direct competition with labour. But we have this profound, and I must say, inestimable consolation, that, while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. Whether the extremes of poverty are less extreme than they were I do not presume to say, *but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know, has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age.*" *

Capital, 2nd edition, 1872 page 678, note 103[a]

"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent...

"In the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it

had increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible .....

"...This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power...

"...entirely confined to classes of property... must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption...

"...while the rich have been growing richer the poor have been growing less poor! At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less I do not presume to say."

Mr. Gladstone, *in House of Commons, 16th April*, 1863

* In the covering letter to the Editors of *To-Day*, not published here. [*Note by Engels.*]

[a] See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5(a) (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

I invite especial attention to the hearing on Mr. Gladstone's meaning of the passages in the *Times* report which I have thrown into italics. The sentence, "*I must say ... easy circumstances,*" conveys the speaker's belief that the intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power previously described was *not* confined to those in easy circumstances. There is, it is true, a verbal contrariety with the later sentence, "The augmentation ... property," but the intervening words, "*This takes no cognisance ... population,*" unmistakably show what Mr. Gladstone meant, viz., that the figures which he had given, being based on the income-tax returns, included only incomes above the exemption limit,* and therefore afforded no indication to what extent the total earnings of the labouring population had increased during the period under consideration. The closing passage, from "*but the average*" to the end, announces in the most emphatic language that, on evidence independent of that obtained from the income-tax returns, Mr. Gladstone recognised as indubitable an extraordinary and almost unexampled improvement in the average condition of the British labourer.

Now, with what object were these essential passages almost wholly struck out in the process by which the newspaper report was reduced to the remarkable form in which it appears in Dr. Marx' work? Clearly, I think, in order that the arbitrarily-constructed mosaic, pieced together out of such of Mr. Gladstone's words as were allowed to remain, might be understood as asserting that the earnings of the labouring population had made but insignificant progress, while the incomes of the possessing classes had increased enormously—a view which the omitted passages explicitly repudiate in favour of a very different opinion.

I must not pass over unnoticed the fact that the German translation of this docked citation in the text of "Das Kapital" is immediately followed there by the expression of Dr. Marx' contemptuous astonishment at the "lame anti-climax" presented by the sentence made to figure as the conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's paragraph, when compared with his previous description of the growth of wealth among the possessing classes.

I am, Gentlemen, yours truly,

Sedley Taylor

Trinity College, Cambridge
February 8th, 1884*

No. 11. ELEANOR MARX'S SECOND REPLY[146]

TO-DAY, MARCH 1884

To the Editors of "To-Day"

*Gentlemen,

Mr. Sedley Taylor disputes my statement that, when the anonymous slanderer fell foul of Dr. Marx, the only point at issue was whether Mr. Gladstone had used certain words or not. According to him, the real question was,

"whether the quotation in dispute was made with the intention of conveying or of perverting Mr. Gladstone's meaning".

* This stood at £150 from 1842 to 1853, and was then lowered to £100. [*Note by Taylor.*]

I have before me the *Concordia* article (No. 10, 7th March, 1872), "How Karl Marx Quotes". Here the anonymous author first quotes the "Inaugural Address" of the International; then the passage of Mr. Gladstone's speech, in full, from Hansard; then he condenses the passage in his own way, and to his own satisfaction; and lastly, he concludes,

"Marx takes advantage of this to make Gladstone say, 'This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes possessed of property.' *This sentence, however, is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. The very contrary is said in it. Marx has lyingly added this sentence, both as to form and contents.*"

That is the charge, and the only charge, made against Dr. Marx. He is indeed accused of perverting Mr. Gladstone's meaning by "lyingly adding" a whole sentence. Not a word about "misleading", or "craftily isolated" quotations. The question simply is, "whether a particular sentence did, or did not, occur in Mr. Gladstone's speech".

Of two things, one. Either Mr. Taylor has read Brentano's attacks and my father's replies, and then his assertion is in direct contradiction of what he cannot help knowing to be the truth. Or else he has not. And then? Here is a man who dates his letters from Trinity College, Cambridge, who goes out of his way to assail my dead father's literary honesty in a way which must needs turn out to be a "calumny" unless he proves his case; who makes this charge upon the strength of a literary controversy dating as far back as 1872, between an anonymous writer (whom Mr. Taylor now asserts to be Professor Brentano) and my father; who describes in glowing terms the "masterly conduct" in which Saint George Brentano led his attack, and the "deadly shifts" to which he speedily reduced the dragon Marx; who can give us all particulars of the crushing results obtained by the said St. George "by a detailed comparison of texts"; and who after all, puts me into this delicate position that I am in charity bound to assume that he has never read a line of what he is speaking about.

Had Mr. Taylor seen the "masterly" articles of his anonymous friend, he would have found therein the following:

"Now we ask; does anyone tell a lie only then when he himself invents an untruth, or does he not tell a lie quite as much when he repeats it contrary to what he knows, *or is bound to know better?*"

Thus saith the "masterly" Brentano, as virtuous as he is anonymous, in his rejoinder to my father's first reply (*Concordia,* No. 27, 4th July, 1872, p. 210).[a] And on the same page he still maintains against all comers:

[a] See this volume, pp. 140-44.— *Ed.*

"According to the *Times* report, too, Mr. Gladstone said he believed this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *not* to be confined to classes of property."

If Brentano thus appears utterly ignorant of what was the real point at issue, is Mr. Sedley Taylor better off? In his letter to *The Times* it was a quotation made in the "Inaugural Address" of the International. In his letter to *To-Day* it is a quotation in "Das Kapital". The ground is shifted again, but I need not object. Mr. Taylor now gives us the Gladstonian passage as quoted on pages 678 and 679 of "Das Kapital", side by side with the same passage as reported—not by Hansard, but by *The Times.*

"My reason for using the *Times* report instead of that of Hansard, will be obvious to readers of Dr. Marx's letters and his correspondence with Brentano."

Mr. Taylor, as we have seen, is not of these "readers". His reason for his proceeding may therefore be obvious to others, but upon his own showing at least, it can hardly be so to himself.

Anyhow, from Hansard the Infallible we are brought down to that very report, for using which the anonymous Brentano (*Concordia,* same page, 210), assails my father as quoting "necessarily bungling (*stümperhafte*) newspaper reports". At any rate, Mr. Taylor's "reason" must be very "obvious" to his friend Brentano.

To me that reason is obvious indeed. The words which my father was accused of having lyingly added ("an augmentation", etc.), these words are contained in *The Times* as well as in the other dailies' reports, while in Hansard they are not only "manipulated", but entirely "obliterated". Marx established this fact. Mr. Taylor, in his letter to *The Times,* still awfully shocked at such unpardonable "hardihood", is now himself compelled to drop the impeachable Hansard, and to take refuge under what Brentano calls the "necessarily bungling" report of *The Times.*

Now for the quotation itself. Mr. Taylor invites especial attention to two passages thrown by him into italics. In the first he owns:

"*there is, it is true, a verbal contrariety* with the latter sentence; the augmentation ... property; but the intervening words: this takes ... population, unmistakeably show what Mr. Gladstone meant," etc., etc.

Here we are plainly on theological ground. It is the well-known style of orthodox interpretation of the Bible. The passage, it is true, is in itself contradictory, but if interpreted according to the true faith of a believer, you will find that it will bear out a meaning not in contradiction with that true faith. If Mr. Taylor

interprets Mr. Gladstone as Mr. Gladstone interprets the Bible, he must not expect any but the orthodox to follow him.

Now Mr. Gladstone on that particular occasion, either did speak English or he did not. If he did not, no manner of quotation or interpretation will avail. If he did, he said that he should be very sorry if that intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power was confined to classes in easy circumstances, but that it was confined entirely to classes of property. And that is what Marx quoted.

The second passage is one of those stock phrases which are repeated, with slight variations, in every British budget speech, seasons of bad trade alone excepted. What Marx thought of it, and of the whole speech is shown in the following extract from his second reply to his anonymous slanderer;

"Gladstone, having poured forth his panegyric on the increase of capitalist wealth, turns towards the working class. He takes good care not to say that they had shared in the intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power. On the contrary, he continues (according to *The Times*): 'Now, the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourers,' etc. He *consoles* himself with the fact that while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. He asserts, finally, he and his enriched parliamentary friends 'have the happiness to know' the contrary of what official enquiries and statistical dates prove to be the fact, viz.,

"'that the average condition of the British labourer has improved during the last 20 years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age.'"

"*Before* Mr. Gladstone, all his predecessors 'had the happiness' to complete in their budget speeches the picture of the augmentation of capitalist wealth by self-complacent phrases about the improvement in the condition of the working class. Yet he gives the lie to them all; for the millennium dates only from the passing of the Free Trade legislation. But the correctness or incorrectness of Gladstone's reasons for consolation and congratulation is a matter of indifference here. What alone concerns us is this, that from his stand-point the pretended 'extraordinary' improvement in the condition of the working-class is not at all in contradiction with the augmentation of wealth and power which is entirely confined to classes possessed of property. It is the orthodox doctrine of the mouth-pieces of capital—one of the best paid of whom is Gladstone—that the most infallible means for working

men to benefit themselves is—to enrich their exploiters." (*Volksstaat,* No. 63, August 7, 1872).[a]

Moreover, to please Mr. Taylor, the said passage of Mr. Gladstone's speech *is quoted in full* in the Inaugural Address, page 5, immediately before the quotation in dispute. And what else but this address did Mr. Taylor originally impute? Is it as impossible to get a reference to original sources out of him, as it was to get reasons out of Dogberry?

"The continuous crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches" form the subject of Note 105 on the same page (679) of "Das Kapital" to which Mr. Taylor refers us. Very likely indeed, that Marx should have taken the trouble to suppress "in bad faith" one of the contradictions! Quite the contrary. He has not suppressed anything worth quoting, neither has he "lyingly" added anything. But he has restored, rescued from oblivion, a particular sentence of one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, a sentence which had indubitably been pronounced, but which somehow or other had found its way—out of Hansard.

*Eleanor Marx**

[a] Cf. this volume, p. 149; present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 194-95.— *Ed.*

IV

ENGELS AND BRENTANO

No. 12. FROM ENGELS' PREFACE TO THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION OF MARX'S *CAPITAL*, VOLUME ONE[a]

Meanwhile a complete revision of the numerous quotations had been made necessary by the publication of the English edition.[b] For this edition Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor, undertook to compare all the quotations with their originals, so that those taken from English sources, which constitute the vast majority, are given there not as retranslations from German but in the original English form. In preparing the fourth edition it was therefore incumbent upon me to consult this text. The comparison revealed various small inaccuracies. Page numbers wrongly indicated, due partly to mistakes in copying from notebooks, and partly to the accumulated misprints of three editions; misplaced quotation or omission marks, which cannot be avoided when a mass of quotations is copied from notebook extracts; here and there some rather unhappy translation of a word; particular passages quoted from the old Paris notebooks of 1843-45, when Marx did not know English and was reading English economists in French translations,[c] so that the double translation yielded a slightly different shade of meaning, e.g., in the case of Steuart, Ure, etc.,

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 35.— *Ed.*

[b] The English edition of *Capital* appeared in 1886, i.e. between the third (1883) and fourth (1890) German editions.— *Ed.*

[c] The reference is to Marx's extracts from the following books: A. Smith, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Vols. 1-5, Paris, 1802; D. Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*, Vols. 1-2, Paris, 1835; J. Mill, *Éléments d'économie politique*, Paris, 1832; J. R. MacCulloch, *Discours sur l'origine, les progrès, les objets particuliers, et l'importance de l'économie politique*, Paris, 1825 (*MEGA*, Abt. IV, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1981, pp. 332-86, 392-427, 428-70, 473-79).— *Ed.*

where the English text had now to be used—and other similar instances of trifling inaccuracy or negligence. But anyone who compares the fourth edition with the previous ones can convince himself that all this laborious process of emendation has not produced the smallest change in the book worth speaking of. There was only one quotation which could not be traced—the one from Richard Jones (4th edition, p. 562, Note 47). Marx probably slipped up when writing down the title of the book.[a] All the other quotations retain their cogency in full, or have enhanced it due to their present exact form.

Here, however, I am obliged to revert to an old story.

I know of only one case in which the accuracy of a quotation given by Marx has been called in question. But as the issue dragged beyond his lifetime I cannot well ignore it here.

On March 7, 1872, there appeared in the Berlin *Concordia,* organ of the German Manufacturers' Association, an anonymous article entitled: "How Karl Marx Quotes".[b] It was here asserted, with an effervescence of moral indignation and unparliamentary language, that the quotation from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863 (in the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association, 1864, and repeated in *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 617, 4th edition; p. 671, 3rd edition),[c] had been falsified; that not a single word of the sentence: "this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power ... is entirely confined to classes of property" was to be found in the (semi-official) shorthand report in Hansard. "Yet this sentence is nowhere to be found in Gladstone's speech. It says quite the opposite." (In bold type): "***Marx has added the sentence lyingly, both in form and in content!***"

Marx, to whom the number of *Concordia* was sent the following May, answered Anonymous in the *Volksstaat* of June 1st.[d] As he could not recall which newspaper report he had used for the quotation, he limited himself to citing, first the equivalent quotation from two English publications, and then the report in *The Times,* according to which Gladstone says:

* "That is the state of the case as regards the wealth of this country. I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was

[a] The reference is to R. Jones, *Text-book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations,* Hertford, 1852. See K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Chapter XXII (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 135-36.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 132-34.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., pp. 136-40.—*Ed.*

confined to classes who are in easy circumstances. This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation I have described and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property."*

Thus Gladstone says here that he would be sorry if it were so, but it *is* so: this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power *is* entirely confined to classes of property. And as to the semi-official Hansard, Marx goes on to say: "In its edition, here botchily corrected, Mr. Gladstone was bright enough clumsily to excise the passage that would be, after all, compromising on the lips of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is, incidentally, traditional English parliamentary practice, and by no means the invention of little Lasker versus Bebel." [147]

Anonymous gets angrier and angrier. In his answer in the *Concordia,* July 4,[a] he sweeps aside second-hand sources and demurely suggests that it is the "custom" to quote parliamentary speeches from the shorthand report; adding, however, that the *Times* report (which includes the "lyingly added" sentence) and the Hansard report (which omits it) "fully coincide materially", while the *Times* report likewise contains "the direct opposite of that notorious passage in the Inaugural Address". This fellow carefully conceals the fact that the *Times* report explicitly includes that self-same "notorious passage", alongside of its alleged "opposite". Despite all this, however, Anonymous feels that he is stuck fast and that only some new dodge can save him. Thus, whilst his article bristles, as we have just shown, with "impudent mendacity" and is interlarded with such edifying terms of abuse as "bad faith", "dishonesty", "lying statement", "that lying quotation", "impudent mendacity", "a quotation completely forged", "this forgery", "simply nefarious", etc., he finds it necessary to divert the issue to another domain and therefore promises "to explain in a second article the importance which we" (the non-"mendacious" Anonymous) "attach to the content of Gladstone's words". As if his particular opinion, of no decisive value as it is, had anything whatever to do with the matter. This second article was printed in the *Concordia* on July 11.

Marx replied again in the *Volksstaat* of August 7[b] now giving also the reports of the passage in question from *The Morning Star* and *The Morning Advertiser* of April 17, 1863. According to both reports Gladstone said that he would look with apprehension, etc., upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if he

[a] See this volume, pp. 140-44.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 144-51.— *Ed.*

believed it to be *confined* to CLASSES IN EASY CIRCUMSTANCES. But this augmentation *was* in fact ENTIRELY CONFINED TO CLASSES POSSESSED OF PROPERTY. So these reports too reproduced word for word the sentence alleged to have been "lyingly added". Marx further established once more, by a comparison of the *Times* and the Hansard texts, that this sentence, which three newspaper reports of identical content, appearing independently of one another the next morning, proved to have been really uttered, was missing from the Hansard report, revised according to the familiar "custom", and that Gladstone, to use Marx's words, "had subsequently filched it away". In conclusion Marx stated that he had no time for further intercourse with Anonymous. The latter also seems to have had enough, at any rate Marx received no further issues of *Concordia.*

With this the matter appeared to be dead and buried. True, once or twice later on there reached us, from persons in touch with the University of Cambridge, mysterious rumours of an unspeakable literary crime which Marx was supposed to have committed in *Capital*; but despite all investigation nothing more definite could be learned. Then, on November 29, 1883, eight months after Marx's death, there appeared in *The Times* a letter dated from Trinity College, Cambridge, and signed Sedley Taylor,[a] in which this little man, who dabbles in the mildest sort of co-operative affairs, seizing upon some chance pretext or other, at last enlightened us, not only concerning those vague Cambridge rumours, but also Anonymous in the *Concordia.*

"What appears extremely singular," says the little man from Trinity College, "is that it was reserved for *Professor Brentano* (then of the University of Breslau, now of that of Strassburg) to expose ... the bad faith which had manifestly dictated the citation made from Mr. Gladstone's speech in the '(Inaugural)' Address. Herr Karl Marx, who ... attempted to defend the citation, had the hardihood, in the DEADLY SHIFTS to which Brentano's masterly conduct of the attack speedily reduced him, to assert that Mr. Gladstone had 'manipulated' the report of his speech in *The Times* of April 17, 1863, before it appeared in Hansard, in order to 'obliterate' a passage which 'was certainly compromising for an English Chancellor of the Exchequer'. On Brentano's showing, by a detailed comparison of texts, that the reports of *The Times* and of Hansard agreed in utterly excluding the meaning which craftily-isolated quotation had put upon Mr. Gladstone's words, Marx withdrew from further controversy under the plea of 'want of time!'"

So that was at the bottom of the whole business![b] And thus was the anonymous campaign of Mr. Brentano in the *Concordia*

[a] See this volume, p. 155.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx has: "des Pudels Kern", an allusion to the saying. "Das also war des Pudels Kern", in Goethe's *Faust,* Act I, Scene III ("Faust's Study").— *Ed.*

gloriously reflected in the productively co-operating imagination of Cambridge. Thus he stood, sword in hand, and thus he battled, in his "masterly conduct of the attack", this St. George of the German Manufacturers' Association, whilst the infernal dragon Marx, "in deadly shifts", "speedily" breathed his last at his feet.

All this Ariostian battle-scene, however, only serves to conceal the dodges of our St. George. Here there is no longer talk of "lying addition" or "forgery", but of "CRAFTILY ISOLATED QUOTATION". The whole issue was shifted, and St. George and his Cambridge squire very well knew why.

Eleanor Marx replied in the monthly journal *To-Day* (February 1884)[a], as *The Times* refused to publish her letter. She once more focussed the debate on the sole question at issue: had Marx "lyingly added" that sentence or not? To this Mr. Sedley Taylor answered that

> "the question whether a particular sentence did or did not occur in Mr. Gladstone's speech" had been, in his opinion, "of very subordinate importance" in the Brentano-Marx controversy, "compared to the issue whether the quotation in dispute was made with the intention of conveying, or of perverting, Mr. Gladstone's meaning".

He then admits that the *Times* report contains "a verbal contrariety"; but, if the context is rightly interpreted, i.e., in the Gladstonian Liberal sense, it shows what Mr. Gladstone *meant* to say! (*To-Day*, March 1884.)[b] The most comic point here is that our little Cambridge man now insists upon quoting the speech *not* from Hansard, as, according to the anonymous Brentano, it is "customary" to do, but from the *Times* report, which the same Brentano had characterised as "necessarily bungling". Naturally so, for in Hansard the vexatious sentence *is missing.*

Eleanor Marx had no difficulty (in the same issue of *To-Day*)[c] in dissolving all this argumentation into thin air. Either Mr. Taylor had read the controversy of 1872 in which case he was now making not only "lying additions" but also "lying suppressions"; or he had not read it and ought to remain silent. In either case it was certain that he did not dare to maintain for a moment the accusation of his friend Brentano that Marx had made a "lying" addition. On the contrary, Marx, it now seems, had not lyingly added but suppressed an important sentence. But this same sentence is quoted on page 5 of the Inaugural Address, a few lines before the alleged "lying addition". And as to the "contrariety" in

[a] See this volume, pp. 156-57.
[b] Ibid., pp. 156-59.— *Ed.*
[c] Ibid., pp. 159-63.— *Ed.*

Gladstone's speech, is it not Marx himself, who in *Capital,* p. 618 (3rd edition, p. 672), Note 105[a] refers to "the continuous crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches of 1863 and 1864"? Only he does not presume à la Mr. Sedley Taylor to resolve them into complacent Liberal sentiments. Eleanor Marx, in concluding her reply, finally sums up as follows:

"Marx has not suppressed anything worth quoting, neither has he 'lyingly' added anything. But he has restored, rescued from oblivion, a particular sentence of one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, a sentence which had indubitably been pronounced, but which somehow or other had found its way—out of Hansard."

With that Mr. Sedley Taylor too had had enough, and the result of this whole professorial cobweb, spun out over two decades and two great countries, is that nobody has since dared to cast any other aspersion upon Marx's literary honesty; whilst Mr. Sedley Taylor, no doubt, will hereafter put as little confidence in the literary war bulletins of Mr. Brentano as Mr. Brentano will in the papal infallibility of Hansard.

London, June 25, 1890

Frederick Engels

No. 13. BRENTANO'S REPLY

"My Polemic with Karl Marx", Berlin, 1890, pp. 3-5

On September 28, 1864, a public meeting was held in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, at which Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Poles and Italians were represented. Karl Marx submitted to this meeting the Provisional Rules of an international workers' organisation which was to be founded, together with the Inaugural Address he had drafted for the same. Both were adopted unanimously, and the Inaugural Address went round the world. It contained a quotation from Gladstone's budget speech of April 16, 1863, which attracted more attention than all the other statements contained therein:

"Dazzled by the 'Progress of the Nation' statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy: 'From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible!... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power,' adds Mr. Gladstone, 'is entirely confined to classes of property.'"

In the winter of 1871-72, while working on the second volume of my *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart,* I was obliged to investigate (cf. II, 241) to what extent the oft-heard objection—that a wage increase diminishes the future demand for labour—accords with the facts. In the previous decades this objection had

[a] Ibid., p. 134.—*Ed.*

repeatedly been used against the English trade associations every time they called for wage increases. Here I recalled this quotation from Gladstone's budget speech. However, it appeared to me to be unwise to quote as a source the Address of the International, as many others had, and the relevant passage in Marx's *Capital*, Vol I, 1867, p. 639; I consulted the shorthand report of Gladstone's budget speech and found that this in fact showed that the wage increases in the period 1842-1861 had not limited the increase in the income of the possessing classes in any way which negatively affected their demand for labour; but that, on the contrary Gladstone had stated in direct opposition to Karl Marx's claim: "The figures which I have quoted take little or no cognizance of the condition of those who do not pay income tax ... of the property of the labouring population, or of the increase of its income... But if we look to the average condition of the British labourer, whether peasant, or miner, or operative, or artisan, we know from varied and indubitable evidence that during the last twenty years such an addition has been made to his means of subsistence as we may almost pronounce to be without example in the history of any country and of any age."

In view of the great importance of the Gladstone's quotation for the Social Democratic claim that in the framework of the existing state and social order the rich would necessarily become ever richer and the poor ever poorer, I drew the attention of the editors of the *Concordia, Zeitschrift für die Arbeiterfrage*, at that time appearing in Berlin, to the forgery which had been committed here. They asked me to write an article on the subject, which was published in the *Concordia* of March 7, 1872.[a] The article was not signed by me; this was done, on the one hand, at the request of the editors in the interests of the reputation of their paper, and, on the other hand, I had all the less objection, since following earlier literary controversies pursued by Marx it was to be expected that this time too he would heap personal insults upon his adversary, and that for this reason it could only be amusing to leave him in the dark as to the identity of his adversary.

Three months later Marx replied in the *Volksstaat*. In the polemic which then developed it became clear that Marx had not undertaken the forgery himself, but had taken the forged quotation from a diatribe which had been published anonymously in 1864. This work, entitled *The Theory of the Exchanges. The Bank Charter Act of 1844. The abuse of the metallic principle to depreciation. Parliament mirrored in Debate, supplemental to 'The Stock Exchange and the Repeal of Sir J. Barnard's Act'*, London: T. Cautley Newby, 30, Welbeck Street, 1864, is the work of a perverse Thersites[b] and consists largely of garbled quotations from writings and speeches on national economy, bestrewn with Latin, English and French verses and other comments, aimed at derision. Being of such a nature, this book has understandably remained in thorough obscurity.

Had Marx simply admitted that he had been misled by this book, and from then on reproduced the quotation correctly, one might have been surprised that he had relied upon such a source, but the mistake would at least have been rectified. But for him there was no question of this. And given the wide circulation which had been attained by the Inaugural Address, the loss of this show-piece as the result of this correction, would have been very embarrassing for the agitation. One of the main agitational methods of Social Democracy is that its representatives proclaim themselves the sole proprietors of real science; and as the Party Congress in Halle[148] showed, they prefer to accuse themselves of having utilised the iron law of wages in deliberate untruthfulness simply as a means of agitation, rather than

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[a] See this volume, pp. 135-36.— *Ed.*

[b] The author is Henry Roy.— *Ed.*

confess that they have been shown to be in error. Instead of withdrawing, Marx therefore attempted to prove that Gladstone had subsequently tinkered with the shorthand report of his budget speech; the loutishnesses of his scurrilous polemics was now directed against the supposed manufacturer, who had attempted to tell him what to do with the help of an English business partner; when it was shown that *The Times* too, in its issue which appeared on the morning following the night in which Gladstone had made his speech, carried this speech in a sense according with the shorthand report, he acted, as the editors of the *Concordia* wrote[a]: "like the cuttlefish, which dims the water with a dark fluid, in order to make pursuit by its enemy more difficult, i.e. he tries as hard as he can to hide the subject of controversy by clinging to completely inconsequential secondary matters; and finally he saves himself with the explanation that for 'lack of time' he cannot go into the matter any further." And for all time he failed to reply to my analysis of his rejoinder published in the *Concordia* on August 22, 1872.

The fact that I was the author of the articles in the *Concordia* of March 7, July 4 and 11, and August 22, 1872[b] was known to a number of people, and in the second edition of Mehring's *Geschichte der Sozialdemokratie*,[c] which was published while Marx was still alive, I was publicly named as such. Having his attention thus drawn to it, Mr. Sedley Taylor of Trinity College, Cambridge studied the polemic, and wrote a letter about it to *The Times*.[d] This brought upon the scene Miss Eleanor Marx, daughter of Karl Marx, who had died in the meantime, and in the socialist monthly *To-Day* of March 1884 she not only defended her father's loyalty, but closed with the remark that her father had restored and rescued from oblivion a particular sentence from one of Gladstone's speeches, a sentence which had indubitably been pronounced, but which somehow or other had found its way out of the shorthand report in Hansard.[e]

Even at that time I considered replying to this obstinate clinging to the false quotation with the verbatim publication of the entire polemic. But editors often have their own judgement; the specialist journal which I regarded as suitable above all others refused to publish, on the grounds that the dispute lacked general interest. Engels was obviously of a different opinion. In the Preface to the fourth edition of the first volume of *Capital*, which he undertook, he returned to the polemic, but reported upon it in such a manner that the dishonesty with which it had been conducted by Marx was, understandably, not made clear; in addition he left unchanged the passage in *Capital*, I, 4th edition, p. 617, in which Marx had Gladstone say the opposite of what he really said; and even more, while Marx in his first edition simply referred to "Gladstone in H.o.C., April 16, 1863", the 4th edition added "*The Morning Star*, April 17, 1863", as though the report in this newspaper really contained the quotation as given by Marx! But the report in *The Morning Star* too contains all those sentences omitted by *The Theory of the Exchanges*, and subsequently by Marx, sentences which show that where Gladstone refers in his budget speech to income tax revenue, he is only contrasting the incomes of those who pay this tax with the incomes of those who, because of lower incomes, are free of this tax; that he perceives from the income tax lists an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, and remarks at the same time that the increase in income

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[a] *Concordia*, No. 33, August 15, 1872.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 140-44, 152-54.— *Ed.*

[c] See F. Mehring, *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre*, Bremen, 1878, p. 221.— *Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 155.— *Ed.*

[e] See this volume, pp. 159-63.— *Ed.*

shown by these lists is confined to those in easy circumstances—quite naturally, since the incomes of the rest are not shown in these lists; but that he does *not* believe this augmentation is confined to these classes, since it is known from other sources that at the same time the condition of the British labourer has improved to a degree unexampled in any country and any age...

(The remainder has nothing to do with the charge and is simply a "Contribution to the Question" etc.—*F. Engels.*)

No. 14. FROM THE APPENDICES TO BRENTANO'S REPLY

a) From [H. Roy,] *The Theory of the Exchanges,* London, 1864, p. 134.

"From 1842 to 1852, the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent ... in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it had increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! My honourable friend says, it is owing to Australian gold. I am sorry to see that he is lost in the depths of heresy upon the subject of gold. This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to classes of property, but must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption—while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor! at any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say."

> *"Voilà l'homme en effet. Il va du blanc au noir.*
> *Il condamne au matin ses sentiments du soir.*
> *Importun à tout autre, à lui même incommode,*
> *Il change à tous moments d'esprit comme de mode."* [149]

"The average condition of the British labourer has improved during the last twenty years in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age, a matter of the greatest thankfulness, because, etc. ... hardly have earnings given a sufficiency of prime necessaries,..."

Noteworthy for the connection between *The Theory of the Exchanges,* and Marx's remarks in *Capital,* I, 1st edition, p. 639 is also the following. Having advanced here the details, quoted from *The Theory of the Exchanges,* given by the LONDON ORPHAN ASYLUM, against Gladstone's sentence "WHETHER THE EXTREMES OF POVERTY ARE LESS EXTREME THAN THEY WERE, I DO NOT PRESUME TO SAY", Marx turns against Gladstone's budget speech of April 7, 1864; *The Theory of the Exchanges* has an APPENDIX, in which, as a supplement to the pages just printed here, there is also a gloss on the budget of 1864. The style in which this is done is the same as that which is familiar enough from the foregoing. This excursus contains the following passage (p. 234):

"But the Chancellor is eloquent upon 'poverty'... 'Think of those who are on the border of that region...', upon 'wages ... in others it is true not increased... human life is, but, in nine cases out of ten, a struggle for existence'."

Now compare with this Marx, I, 1st ed., p. 640, 4th ed., p. 618. Here too again, instead of the reproduction of the actual budget speech verbatim, [we find] the same mosaic of sentences torn from their context as in *The Theory of the Exchanges.* And here too it is not this source which is referred to, but simply to Gladstone, H.o.C., April 7, 1864. And then the text continues: "The continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches of 1863 and 1864 were characterised by an English writer by the following quotation from Molière" (followed by the verse from Molière printed above).

It becomes clear that Marx took not only this quotation, but also the "continual crying contradictions in Gladstone's budget speeches of 1863 and 1864", invented by the author of *The Theory of the Exchanges,* from this book.

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b) As was already remarked in the introduction to this reprint, Engels, in the fourth edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital,* p. 617, added "*The Morning Star,* April 17, 1863" to the now-as-ever falsely reproduced quotation from Gladstone's budget speech. The relevant portions of this speech are given above on pp. 8 and 9 according to Hansard's shorthand report. Although on p. 13 the *Times* report—completely coincident in sense, with its wording condensed only as is a newspaper's wont, this report, together with that in *The Morning Star* quoted by Engels, and the wording of the quotation in Marx are presented parallel here:

* *The Times* April 17, 1863	* *The Morning Star* April 17, 1863	*Capital* I, 1st ed., p. 639, Note 103
"In ten years, from 1842 to 1852 inclusive, the taxable income of the country, as nearly as we can make out, increased by 6 per cent; but in eight years, from 1853 to 1861, the income of the country again increased from the basis taken by 20 per cent. That is a fact so strange as to be almost incredible... *I must say for one, I should look almost with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was confined to the classes who are in easy circumstances.* This takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation I have described, and which is founded, I think, upon accurate returns, is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property. Now, the augmentation of capital is of indirect benefit to the labourer, because it cheapens the commodity	"*I must say, for one, I should look with apprehension and with pain upon this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power, if it were my belief that it was confined to the classes who are in easy circumstances.* This great increase of wealth takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation is an augmentation entirely confined to classes of property. But that augmentation must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities which go to the general consumption. So that we have this pro-	*"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent. In the eight years from 1853 to 1861 it had increased from the basis taken in 1853, 20 per cent! The fact is so astonishing as to be almost incredible .... "This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power "is entirely confined to classes of property, but must be of indirect benefit to the labouring population, because it cheapens the commodities of general consumption—

which in the business of production comes into direct competition with labour. (Hear, hear.) But we have this profound, and, I must say inestimable consolation, that while the rich have been growing richer the poor have been growing less poor. Whether the extremes of poverty are less extreme than they were I do not presume to say, *but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know, has improved during the last twenty years in a degree which we know to be extraordinary, and which we may almost pronounce to be unexampled in the history of any country and of any age.* (Cheers.)" *

found, and I almost say, inestimable consolation—while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor. (Hear, hear.) At any rate, whether the extremes are less extreme than they were I do not presume to say, *but the average condition of the British labourer, we have the happiness to know to be extraordinary, and that we may almost pronounce it to be unexampled in the history of any country or any age.* (Cheers)" *

"while the rich have been growing richer, the poor have been growing less poor! At any rate, whether the extremes of poverty are less, I do not presume to say." *

Here, in the middle of a sentence, as the reprint above shows, *The Theory of the Exchanges* breaks off to insert a quotation from Molière; Marx who, as the comparison above shows, did not take the quotation from *The Morning Star* but—omitting a passage marked *by him* with dots—verbatim from *The Theory of the Exchanges*, has Gladstone end in the middle of a sentence...

The comparison above shows us that the arbitrarily thrown-together mosaic of sentences torn from their context, which Marx presents as Gladstone's budget speech, can be found as little in *The Morning Star* as in *The Times* or Hansard; on the other hand, it can be found solely in *The Theory of the Exchanges.* The heavily leaded sentences[a] are those omitted by Henry Roy, and still more by Karl Marx—compare the last sentence—in order to have Gladstone say the opposite of what he really said.

No. 15. FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS OF THE LONDON PRESS OF APRIL 17, 1863

* *Morning Herald.* I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension at this intoxicating increase of wealth if I were of opinion that it is confined to the classes in easy circumstances. This great increase of wealth which I have described, and which is founded on accurate returns is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital, and takes no account of the poorer classes.

Morning Post. I may say, I for one, would look with fear and apprehension when I consider this great increase of wealth if I believed that its benefits were confined to the classes in easy circumstances. This augmentation of wealth which I have described, and which is founded on accurate returns is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital, and takes no account of the augmentation of wealth of the poorer classes.

[a] In italics in this edition.—*Ed.*

Daily Telegraph. I may say for one, that I should look almost with apprehension and alarm on this intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power if it were my belief that it was confined to the masses who are in easy circumstances. This question to wealth takes no cognizance at all of the condition of the labouring population. The augmentation stated is an augmentation entirely confined to the classes possessed of property.

Daily News. I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension when I consider this great increase of wealth if I believed that its benefits were confined to the classes in easy circumstances. This augmentation of wealth which I have described, and which is founded upon accurate returns, is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital, and takes no account of the augmentation of wealth of the poorer classes.

Standard. I may say that I for one would look with fear and apprehension at this intoxicating increase of wealth if I were of the opinion that it was confined to the classes in easy circumstances. This great increase of wealth which I have described, and which is founded on the accurate returns is confined entirely to the augmentation of capital, and takes no account of the poorer classes.*

No. 16. GLADSTONE TO BRENTANO

DEUTSCHES WOCHENBLATT, No. 49, DECEMBER 4, 1890

Message

In number 45 of the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* Professor Lujo Brentano published an essay "My Polemic with Karl Marx", which served at the same time as an introduction to a republication of this polemic as a pamphlet. This polemic dealt mainly with a parliamentary speech delivered by Gladstone in 1863, and which Marx reproduced in a distorted form in his Inaugural Address on the formation of the International Working Men's Association.

Obviously nobody is more qualified to settle this dispute about the wording of Gladstone's speech than Gladstone himself. It is therefore of special interest that Gladstone, as a result of the republication of Brentano's polemic with Marx, has addressed two letters to Brentano. On November 22 Gladstone wrote to Brentano: "You are completely correct, and Marx completely incorrect", and on November 28: "I undertook no changes of any sort". Thus the affair, which throws a revealing light on the Social Democratic line of argumentation, may finally be decided to the detriment of the Social Democratic standpoint.

By uncovering this deceit Brentano has done a service, and it was very timely that he chose this precise moment to rekindle the memories of this dispute.

O.A.

No. 17. ENGELS' REPLY TO No. 16

DIE NEUE ZEIT, No. 13, 1891, P. 425

In the Case of Brentano v. Marx[150]

In my preface to the fourth edition of Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I,[a] I was obliged to report upon the course of Mr. Lujo Brentano's

[a] See present edition, Vol. 35; see also this volume, pp. 164-69.

favourite anonymous campaign against Marx, a campaign based upon the charge that Marx had forged a quotation from a speech by Gladstone.

Mr. Brentano responded to this with a pamphlet *My Polemic with Karl Marx* by Lujo Brentano, Berlin, Walter und Apolant, 1890. I shall reply to this in his own coin.

In the meantime, No. 49 of the *Deutsches Wochenblatt,* December 4, 1890, carries a further note on this matter, which states:

"Obviously nobody is more qualified to settle this dispute about the wording of Gladstone's speech than Gladstone himself. It is therefore of special interest that Gladstone, as a result of the republication of Brentano's polemic with Marx, has addressed two letters to Brentano. On November 22 Gladstone wrote to Brentano: 'You are completely correct, and Marx completely incorrect', and on November 28: 'I undertook no changes of any sort'."[a]

What is this supposed to mean? *In what* "are you completely correct" and Marx "completely incorrect"? *In what* "have I undertaken no changes of any sort"? Why is Mr. Brentano's message confined to these two short sentences?

Either Mr. Gladstone has not given his permission to publish the whole of the letters. This is then proof enough that they prove nothing.

Or else Mr. Gladstone wrote the letters in the first place for the public, and permitted Mr. Brentano to make what use he would of them. Then the publication *only* of these meaningless extracts proves even more strongly that Mr. Gladstone's testimony in its entirety is unusable for Mr. Brentano, and therefore "bodged together" as above.

In order to know what the two sentences above are worth, we must have before us not only the two letters from Mr. Gladstone, but also the relevant letters from Mr. Brentano. And as long as the whole correspondence in this matter has not been published in the original language, the fragments above are completely insignificant to the question under dispute, and not worth the paper they are printed on.

F. Engels

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[a] See this volume, pp. 175.— *Ed.*

[GREETINGS TO THE FRENCH WORKERS ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE]

London, March 17

Citizens and citizenesses,

It is twenty years ago today that working-class Paris rose as one man against the criminal attack of the bourgeois and the rurals, led by Thiers. These enemies of the proletariat trembled when they saw the workers of Paris armed and organised to defend their rights. Thiers thought to deprive them of the arms which they had used with glory against the foreign invasion and which they would use even more gloriously against the attacks of the Versailles mercenaries. To crush Paris in revolt the rurals and the bourgeois begged for and obtained the Prussians' assistance. After an heroic struggle, Paris was crushed by weight of numbers and disarmed.

For twenty years now the workers of Paris have been without arms, and it is the same everywhere: in all the large civilised countries the proletariat is deprived of the material means of defence. Everywhere it is the adversaries and exploiters of the working class who have armed forces under their exclusive control.

What has all this led to?

It means that today, when every able-bodied man serves in the army, this army increasingly reflects popular feelings and ideas, and this army, the great means of repression, is becoming less secure day by day: already the heads of all the big states foresee with terror the day when soldiers under arms will refuse to butcher their fathers and brothers. We saw it in Paris when the Tonkinois[a] had the audacity to claim the presidency of the French republic;

[a] Jules Ferry.— *Ed.*

we see it today in Berlin, where Bismarck's successor[a] is asking the Reichstag for the means to strengthen obedience in the army with non-commissioned officers bought for money—because there are thought to be too many socialists amongst the N.C.O.s![151]

When such things start to happen, when day starts to dawn in the army, the end of the old world is visibly approaching.

May destiny be fulfilled! May the bourgeoisie in its decadence abdicate or die, and long live the Proletariat! Long live the international social Revolution!

F. Engels

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 27, March 25, 1891

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Leo von Caprivi.— *Ed.*

INTRODUCTION [TO KARL MARX'S *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE*][152]

I did not anticipate that I would be asked to prepare a new edition of the Address of the General Council of the International on *The Civil War in France,* and to write an introduction to it. Therefore I can only touch briefly here on the most important points.

I am prefacing the longer work mentioned above by the two shorter Addresses of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War.[a] In the first place, because the second of these, which itself cannot be fully understood without the first, is referred to in *The Civil War.* But also because these two Addresses, likewise drafted by Marx, are, no less than *The Civil War,* outstanding examples of the author's remarkable gift, first proved in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,*[b] for grasping clearly the character, the import and the necessary consequences of great historical events, at a time when these events are still in progress before our eyes or have only just taken place. And, finally, because today we in Germany are still having to endure the consequences which Marx predicted would follow from these events.

Has that which was declared in the first Address not come to pass: that if Germany's defensive war against Louis Bonaparte degenerated into a war of conquest against the French people, all the miseries that befell Germany after the so-called wars of independence[153] would revive again with renewed intensity?[c] Have we not had a further twenty years of Bismarck's rule, the

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 3-8 and 263-70.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 11, pp. 99-197.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., Vol. 22, p. 6.— *Ed.*

Exceptional Law and socialist-baiting taking the place of the prosecution of demagogues,[154] with the same arbitrary action of the police and with literally the same staggering interpretations of the law?[155]

And has not the prediction been proved to the letter, that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine would "force France into the arms of Russia",[a] and that after this annexation Germany must either become the avowed servant of Russia, or must, after some short respite, arm for a new war, and, moreover, "a war of races—a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races"?[b] Has not the annexation of the French provinces driven France into the arms of Russia? Has not Bismarck for fully twenty years vainly wooed the favour of the tsar, wooed it with services even more lowly than those which little Prussia, before it became the "first Power in Europe", was wont to lay at Holy Russia's feet? And is there not every day still hanging over our heads the Damocles' sword of war, on the first day of which all the chartered covenants of princes will be scattered like chaff; a war of which nothing is certain but the absolute uncertainty of its outcome; a race war which will subject the whole of Europe to devastation by fifteen or twenty million armed men, and which is not raging already only because even the strongest of the great military states shrinks before the absolute incalculability of its final result?

All the more is it our duty to make again accessible to the German workers these brilliant proofs, now half-forgotten, of the farsightedness of international working-class policy in 1870.

What is true of these two Addresses is also true of *The Civil War in France*. On May 28, the last fighters of the Commune succumbed to superior forces on the slopes of Belleville; and only two days later, on May 30, Marx read to the General Council the work in which the historical significance of the Paris Commune is delineated in short, powerful strokes, but with such trenchancy, and above all such truth as has never again been attained in all the mass of literature on this subject.

Thanks to the economic and political development of France since 1789, Paris has been placed for the last fifty years in such a position that no revolution could break out there without assuming a proletarian character, that is to say, without the proletariat, which had bought victory with its blood, advancing its own demands after victory. These demands were more or less

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, p. 267.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid.— *Ed.*

unclear and even confused, corresponding to the state of development reached by the workers of Paris at the particular period, but in the last resort they all amounted to the abolition of the class antagonism between capitalists and workers. It is true that no one knew how this was to be brought about. But the demand itself, however indefinitely it still was couched, contained a threat to the existing order of society; the workers who put it forward were still armed; therefore, the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state. Hence, after every revolution won by the workers, a new struggle, ending with the defeat of the workers.

This happened for the first time in 1848. The liberal bourgeois of the parliamentary opposition held banquets for securing a reform of the franchise,[156] which was to ensure supremacy for their party. Forced more and more, in their struggle with the government, to appeal to the people, they had gradually to yield precedence to the radical and republican strata of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. But behind these stood the revolutionary workers, and since 1830 these had acquired far more political independence than the bourgeois, and even the republicans, suspected. At the moment of the crisis between the government and the opposition, the workers began street-fighting; Louis Philippe vanished, and with him the franchise reform; and in its place arose the republic, and indeed one which the victorious workers themselves designated as a "social" republic. No one, however, was clear as to what this social republic was to imply; not even the workers themselves. But they now had arms and were a power in the state. Therefore, as soon as the bourgeois republicans in control felt something like firm ground under their feet, their first aim was to disarm the workers. This took place by driving them into the insurrection of June 1848 by direct breach of faith, by open defiance and the attempt to banish the unemployed to a distant province. The government had taken care to have an overwhelming superiority of force. After five days' heroic struggle, the workers were defeated. And then followed a blood-bath among the defenceless prisoners, the like of which has not been seen since the days of the civil wars which ushered in the downfall of the Roman republic. It was the first time that the bourgeoisie showed to what insane cruelties of revenge it will be goaded the moment the proletariat dares to take its stand against the bourgeoisie as a separate class, with its own interests and demands. And yet 1848 was only child's play compared with the frenzy of the bourgeoisie in 1871.

Punishment followed hard at heel. If the proletariat was not yet able to rule France, the bourgeoisie could no longer do so. At least not at that period, when the greater part of it was still monarchically inclined, and it was divided into three dynastic parties[157] and a fourth, republican party. Its internal dissensions allowed the adventurer, Louis Bonaparte, to take possession of all the commanding points—army, police, administrative machinery—and on December 2, 1851, to explode the last stronghold of the bourgeoisie, the National Assembly.[158] The Second Empire began—the exploitation of France by a gang of political and financial adventurers, but at the same time also an industrial development such as had never been possible under the narrow-minded and timorous system of Louis Philippe, with the exclusive domination of only a small section of the big bourgeoisie. Louis Bonaparte took the political power from the capitalists under the pretext of protecting them, the bourgeois, from the workers, and on the other hand the workers from them; but in return his rule encouraged speculation and industrial activity—in a word, the insurgence and enrichment of the whole bourgeoisie to an extent hitherto unknown. To an even greater extent, it is true, corruption and mass thievery developed, clustering around the imperial court, and drawing their heavy percentages from this enrichment.

But the Second Empire was the appeal to French chauvinism, was the demand for the restoration of the frontiers of the First Empire, which had been lost in 1814, or at least those of the First Republic. A French empire within the frontiers of the old monarchy and, in fact, within the even more amputated frontiers of 1815—such a thing was impossible for any length of time. Hence the necessity for occasional wars and extensions of frontiers. But no extension of frontiers was so dazzling to the imagination of the French chauvinists as the extension to the German left bank of the Rhine. One square mile on the Rhine was more to them than ten in the Alps or anywhere else. Given the Second Empire, the demand for the restoration of the left bank of the Rhine, either all at once or piecemeal, was merely a question of time. The time came with the Austro-Prussian War of 1866[159]; cheated of the anticipated "territorial compensation" by Bismarck and by his own over-cunning, hesitant policy, there was now nothing left for Napoleon but war, which broke out in 1870 and drove him first to Sedan, and thence to Wilhelmshöhe.[160]

The necessary consequence was the Paris Revolution of September 4, 1870. The empire collapsed like a house of cards, and

the republic was again proclaimed. But the enemy was standing at the gates; the armies of the empire were either hopelessly encircled at Metz or held captive in Germany. In this emergency the people allowed the Paris deputies to the former legislative body to constitute themselves into a "Government of National Defence". This was the more readily conceded, since, for the purposes of defence, all Parisians capable of bearing arms had enrolled in the National Guard and were armed, so that now the workers constituted a great majority. But very soon the antagonism between the almost completely bourgeois government and the armed proletariat broke into open conflict. On October 31, workers' battalions stormed the town hall and captured part of the membership of the government. Treachery, the government's direct breach of its undertakings, and the intervention of some petty-bourgeois battalions set them free again, and in order not to occasion the outbreak of civil war inside a city besieged by a foreign military power, the former government was left in office.

At last, on January 28, 1871, starved Paris capitulated. But with honours unprecedented in the history of war. The forts were surrendered, the city wall stripped of guns, the weapons of the regiments of the line and of the Mobile Guard were handed over, and they themselves considered prisoners of war. But the National Guard kept its weapons and guns, and only entered into an armistice with the victors. And these did not dare enter Paris in triumph. They only dared to occupy a tiny corner of Paris, which, into the bargain, consisted partly of public parks, and even this they only occupied for a few days! And during this time they, who had maintained their encirclement of Paris for 131 days, were themselves encircled by the armed workers of Paris, who kept a sharp watch that no "Prussian" should overstep the narrow bounds of the corner ceded to the foreign conqueror. Such was the respect which the Paris workers inspired in the army before which all the armies of the empire had laid down their arms; and the Prussian Junkers, who had come to take revenge at the home of the revolution, were compelled to stand by respectfully, and salute precisely this armed revolution!

During the war the Paris workers had confined themselves to demanding the vigorous prosecution of the fight. But now, when peace had come after the capitulation of Paris,[161] now Thiers, the new supreme head of the government, was compelled to realise that the rule of the propertied classes—big landowners and capitalists—was in constant danger so long as the workers of Paris had arms in their hands. His first action was an attempt to disarm

them. On March 18, he sent troops of the line with orders to rob the National Guard of the artillery belonging to it, which had been constructed during the siege of Paris and had been paid for by public subscription. The attempt failed; Paris mobilised as one man for resistance, and war between Paris and the French Government sitting at Versailles was declared. On March 26 the Paris Commune was elected and on March 28 it was proclaimed. The Central Committee of the National Guard, which up to then had carried on the government, handed in its resignation to the Commune after it had first decreed the abolition of the scandalous Paris "Morality Police". On March 30 the Commune abolished conscription and the standing army, and declared the sole armed force to be the National Guard, in which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to be enrolled. It remitted all payments of rent for dwelling houses from October 1870 until April, the amounts already paid to be booked as future rent payments, and stopped all sales of articles pledged in the municipal loan office. On the same day the foreigners elected to the Commune were confirmed in office, because "the flag of the Commune is the flag of the World Republic".[a] On April 1 it was decided that the highest salary to be received by any employee of the Commune, and therefore also by its members themselves, was not to exceed 6,000 francs (4,800 marks). On the following day the Commune decreed the separation of the church from the state, and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes as well as the transformation of all church property into national property; as a result of which, on April 8, the exclusion from the schools of all religious symbols, pictures, dogmas, prayers—in a word, "of all that belongs to the sphere of the individual conscience"[b]—was ordered and gradually put into effect.—On the 5th, in reply to the shooting, day after day, of captured Commune fighters by the Versailles troops, a decree was issued for the imprisonment of hostages, but it was never carried out.—On the 6th, the guillotine was brought out by the 137th battalion of the National Guard, and publicly burnt, amid great popular rejoicing.—On the 12th, the Commune decided that the Victory Column on the *Place Vendôme*, which had been cast from captured guns by Napoleon after the war of 1809, should be demolished as a symbol of chauvinism and

[a] "Rapport de la Commission des Élections", *Journal officiel de la République française*, No. 90, March 31, 1871.—*Ed.*

[b] Apparently, this is a quotation from the order of the delegate for education E. Vaillant of May 11, 1871, published in *Journal officiel de la République française*, No. 132, May 12, 1871.—*Ed.*

incitement to national hatred. This was carried out on May 16.—On April 16 it ordered a statistical tabulation of factories which had been closed down by the manufacturers, and the working out of plans for the operation of these factories by the workers formerly employed in them, who were to be organised in co-operative societies, and also plans for the organisation of these co-operatives in one great union.—On the 20th it abolished night work for bakers, and also the employment offices, which since the Second Empire had been run as a monopoly by creatures appointed by the police—labour exploiters of the first rank; these offices were transferred to the mayoralties of the twenty *arrondissements* of Paris.—On April 30 it ordered the closing of the pawnshops, on the ground that they were a private exploitation of the workers, and were in contradiction with the right of the workers to their instruments of labour and to credit.—On May 5 it ordered the razing of the Chapel of Atonement, which had been built in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI.

Thus from March 18 onwards the class character of the Paris movement, which had previously been pushed into the background by the fight against the foreign invaders, emerged sharply and clearly. As almost only workers, or recognised representatives of the workers, sat in the Commune, its decisions bore a decidedly proletarian character. Either these decisions decreed reforms which the republican bourgeoisie had failed to pass solely out of cowardice, but which provided a necessary basis for the free activity of the working class—such as the implementation of the principle that *in relation to the state,* religion is a purely private matter—or the Commune promulgated decrees which were in the direct interest of the working class and in part cut deeply into the old order of society. In a beleaguered city, however, it was possible to make at most a start in the realisation of all this. And from the beginning of May onwards all their energies were taken up by the fight against the armies assembled by the Versailles government in ever-growing numbers.

On April 7 the Versailles troops had captured the Seine crossing at Neuilly, on the western front of Paris; on the other hand, in an attack, on the southern front on the 11th they were repulsed with heavy losses by General Eudes. Paris was continually bombarded and, moreover, by the very people who had stigmatised as a sacrilege the bombardment of the same city by the Prussians. These same people now begged the Prussian government for the hasty return of the French soldiers taken prisoner at Sedan and Metz, in order that they might recapture Paris for them. From the

beginning of May the gradual arrival of these troops gave the Versailles forces a decided superiority. This already became evident when, on April 23, Thiers broke off the negotiations for the exchange, proposed by the Commune, of the Archbishop of Paris[a] and a whole number of other priests held as hostages in Paris, for only one man, Blanqui, who had twice been elected to the Commune but was a prisoner in Clairvaux. And even more from the changed language of Thiers; previously procrastinating and equivocal, he now suddenly became insolent, threatening, brutal. The Versailles forces took the redoubt of Moulin Saquet on the southern front, on May 3; on the 9th, Fort Issy, which had been completely reduced to ruins by gunfire; on the 14th, Fort Vanves. On the western front they advanced gradually, capturing the numerous villages and buildings which extended up to the city wall, until they reached the main defences; on the 21st, thanks to treachery and the carelessness of the National Guards stationed there, they succeeded in forcing their way into the city. The Prussians, who held the northern and eastern forts, allowed the Versailles troops to advance across the land north of the city, which was forbidden ground to them under the armistice, and thus to march forward, attacking on a wide front, which the Parisians naturally thought covered by the armistice, and therefore held only weakly. As a result of this, only a weak resistance was put up in the western half of Paris, in the luxury city proper; it grew stronger and more tenacious the nearer the incoming troops approached the eastern half, the working-class city proper. It was only after eight days' fighting that the last defenders of the Commune succumbed on the heights of Belleville and Menilmontant; and then the massacre of defenceless men, women and children, which had been raging all through the week on an increasing scale, reached its zenith. The breechloaders could no longer kill fast enough; the vanquished were shot down in hundreds by *mitrailleuse* fire. The "Wall of the Federals" at the Père Lachaise cemetery, where the final mass murder was consummated,[162] is still standing today, a mute but eloquent testimony to the frenzy of which the ruling class is capable as soon as the working class dares to stand up for its rights. Then, when the slaughter of them all proved to be impossible, came the mass arrests, the shooting of victims arbitrarily selected from the prisoners' ranks, and the removal of the rest to great camps where they awaited trial by courts-martial. The Prussian troops surround-

[a] Georges Darboy.— *Ed.*

ing the northeastern half of Paris had orders not to allow any fugitives to pass; but the officers often shut their eyes when the soldiers paid more obedience to the dictates of humanity than to those of the Supreme Command; particular honour is due to the Saxon army corps, which behaved very humanely and let through many who were obviously fighters for the Commune.

If today, after twenty years, we look back at the activity and historical significance of the Paris Commune of 1871, we shall find it necessary to make a few additions to the account given in *The Civil War in France.*

The members of the Commune were divided into a majority, the Blanquists, who had also been predominant in the Central Committee of the National Guard; and a minority, members of the International Working Men's Association, chiefly consisting of adherents of the Proudhon school of socialism. The great majority of the Blanquists were at that time socialists only by revolutionary, proletarian instinct; only a few had attained greater clarity on principles, through Vaillant, who was familiar with German scientific socialism. It is therefore comprehensible that in the economic sphere much was left undone which, according to our view today, the Commune ought to have done. The hardest thing to understand is certainly the holy awe with which they remained standing respectfully outside the gates of the Bank of France. This was also a serious political mistake. The bank in the hands of the Commune—this would have been worth more than ten thousand hostages. It would have meant the pressure of the whole of the French bourgeoisie on the Versailles government in favour of peace with the Commune. But what is still more wonderful is the correctness of much that nevertheless was done by the Commune, composed as it was of Blanquists and Proudhonists. Naturally, the Proudhonists were chiefly responsible for the economic decrees of the Commune, both for their praiseworthy and their unpraiseworthy aspects; as the Blanquists were for its political commissions and omissions. And in both cases the irony of history willed—as is usual when doctrinaires come to the helm—that both did the opposite of what the doctrines of their school prescribed.

Proudhon, the socialist of the small peasant and master-craftsman, regarded association with positive hatred. He said of it that there was more bad than good in it; that it was by nature

sterile, even harmful, because it was a fetter on the freedom of the worker; that it was a pure dogma, unproductive and burdensome, in conflict as much with the freedom of the worker as with economy of labour; that its disadvantages multiplied more swiftly than its advantages; that, as compared with it, competition, division of labour and private property were economic forces. Only in the exceptional cases—as Proudhon called them—of large-scale industry and large establishments, such as railways, was the association of workers in place. (See *General Idea of the Revolution,* 3rd sketch.[163])

By 1871, large-scale industry had already so much ceased to be an exceptional case even in Paris, the centre of artistic handicrafts, that by far the most important decree of the Commune instituted an organisation of large-scale industry and even of manufacture which was not only to be based on the association of the workers in each factory, but also to combine all these associations in one great union; in short, an organisation which, as Marx quite rightly says in *The Civil War,* must necessarily have led in the end to communism,[a] that is to say, the direct opposite of the Proudhon doctrine. And, therefore, the Commune was the grave of the Proudhon school of socialism. Today this school has vanished from French working-class circles; here, among the Possibilists[164] no less than among the "Marxists", Marx's theory now rules unchallenged. Only among the "radical" bourgeoisie are there still Proudhonists.

The Blanquists fared no better. Brought up in the school of conspiracy, and held together by the strict discipline which went with it, they started out from the viewpoint that a relatively small number of resolute, well-organised men would be able, at a given favourable moment, not only to seize the helm of state, but also by a display of great, ruthless energy, to maintain power until they succeeded in sweeping the mass of the people into the revolution and ranging them round the small band of leaders. This involved, above all, the strictest, dictatorial centralisation of all power in the hands of the new revolutionary government. And what did the Commune, with its majority of these same Blanquists, actually do? In all its proclamations to the French in the provinces, it appealed to them to form a free federation of all French Communes with Paris, a national organisation which for the first time was really to be created by the nation itself. It was precisely the oppressing power of the former centralised government, army, political

[a] See present edition, Vol. 22, p. 335.—*Ed.*

police, bureaucracy, which Napoleon had created in 1798 and which since then had been taken over by every new government as a welcome instrument and used against its opponents—it was precisely this power which was to fall everywhere, just as it had already fallen in Paris.

From the very outset the Commune was compelled to recognise that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment. What had been the characteristic attribute of the former state? Society had created its own organs to look after its common interests, originally through simple division of labour. But these organs, at whose head was the state power, had in the course of time, in pursuance of their own special interests, transformed themselves from the servants of society into the masters of society. This can be seen, for example, not only in the hereditary monarchy, but equally so in the democratic republic. Nowhere do "politicians" form a more separate and powerful section of the nation than precisely in North America. There, each of the two major parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate on seats in the legislative assemblies of the Union as well as of the separate states, or who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions. It is well known how the Americans have been trying for thirty years to shake off this yoke, which has become intolerable, and how in spite of it all they continue to sink ever deeper in this swamp of corruption. It is precisely in America that we see best how there takes place this process of the state power making itself independent in relation to society, whose mere instrument it was originally intended to be. Here there exists no dynasty, no nobility, no standing army, beyond the few men keeping watch on the Indians, no bureaucracy with permanent posts or the right to pensions. And nevertheless we find here two great gangs of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state power, and exploit it by the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends—and the nation is powerless against these two great cartels of politicians, who are ostensibly its servants, but in reality dominate and plunder it.

Against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society—an inevitable transformation in all previous states—the Commune made use of two infallible means. In the first place, it filled all posts—administrative, judicial and educational—by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to the right of recall at any time by the same electors. And, in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers. The highest salary paid by the Commune to anyone was 6,000 francs. In this way an effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism was set up, even apart from the binding mandates to delegates to representative bodies which were added besides.

This shattering [*Sprengung*] of the former state power and its replacement by a new and truly democratic one is described in detail in the third section of *The Civil War*. But it was necessary to dwell briefly here once more on some of its features, because in Germany particularly the superstitious belief in the state has been carried over from philosophy into the general consciousness of the bourgeoisie and even of many workers. According to the philosophical conception, the state is the "realisation of the idea",[a] or the Kingdom of God on earth, translated into philosophical terms, the sphere in which eternal truth and justice is or should be realised. And from this follows a superstitious reverence for the state and everything connected with it, which takes root the more readily since people are accustomed from childhood to imagine that the affairs and interests common to the whole of society could not be looked after otherwise than as they have been looked after in the past, that is, through the state and its lucratively positioned officials. And people think they have taken quite an extraordinarily bold step forward when they have rid themselves of belief in hereditary monarchy and swear by the democratic republic. In reality, however, the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy; and at best an evil inherited by the proletariat after its victorious struggle for class supremacy, whose worst sides the victorious proletariat, just like the Commune, cannot avoid having to lop off at once as much as possible until such time as a generation reared in new, free social conditions is able to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap.

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[a] This refers to Hegel's *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft.—Ed.*

Of late, the German philistine[165] has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

London, on the twentieth anniversary of the Paris Commune, March 18, 1891 *F. Engels*

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Printed according to the book

[RE: THE SPANISH EDITION OF KARL MARX'S *THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY*

(LETTER TO JOSE MESA)][166]

London, March 24, 1891

My Dear Friend Mesa,

We were very pleased to hear from your letter of the 2nd of this month about the forthcoming publication of your translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Marx. It goes without saying that we fully associate ourselves with this publication, which undoubtedly must have the most favourable effect on the development of socialism in Spain.

The Proudhonist theory, destroyed in its foundations by Marx's book, has probably disappeared from the face of the earth since the fall of the Paris "Commune". But it continues to furnish the arsenal from which the radical bourgeoisie and pseudo-socialists of Western Europe produce the phrases with which they lull the workers. And as the workers of these same countries have inherited from their predecessors similar Proudhonist phrases, it happens that this radical phraseology still finds an echo in many of them. This is what happens in France, where the only remaining Proudhonists are the radical bourgeoisie or Republicans who call themselves socialists. And, if I am not mistaken, you also have in your Cortes and in your newspapers some of these Republicans who call themselves socialists because they see in Proudhonist ideas a plausible way, and one within everyone's reach, of opposing true socialism, the rational and concise expression of the aspirations of the proletariat, a bourgeois socialism of bad faith.

Fraternal greetings.

F. Engels

First published, in Spanish, in: Carlos Marx, *Miseria de la filosofía*, Madrid, 1891

Printed according to the book, checked with the French rough manuscript

Translated from the Spanish

Published in English for the first time

[TO THE COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING FOR THE CLAIMS OF LABOUR][167]

Dear citizens,

I deeply regret that I am unable to accept your kind invitation, which does me great honour, to attend your meeting of the 12th inst. I regret it all the more since I feel a particular attachment to your country after holding the position of secretary for Italy twenty years ago on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.[168] Since then the International has disappeared in its official form; but in the spirit of solidarity with the working class of all countries it has always lived on; today it is more alive and more powerful than ever, so powerful that its old official form from 1864 to 1875 would no longer be able to contain the millions of European and American workers who are gathered around the red banner of the militant proletariat. I hope, as you do, that your meeting of April 12 will bring new columns of fighters into the great army of the worldwide proletariat; that it will contribute greatly to strengthening the bonds of solidarity which unite the Italian workers with their brothers beyond the Alps—French, German, Slav; and that it will finally mark a new stage in the emancipatory advance of the Italian proletariat.

We have made tremendous progress in the last twenty years; but there still remains much to be done before we can aspire to an immediate and certain victory. *Dunque, avanti, sempre avanti!*[a]

London, April 9, 1891

F. E.

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part II, 1936

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] "Thus forward, always forward!"—*Ed.*

INTRODUCTION
[TO KARL MARX'S *WAGE LABOUR AND CAPITAL* (1891 EDITION)][169]

The following work appeared as a series of leading articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from April 4, 1849 onwards. It is based on the lectures delivered by *Marx* in 1847 at the German Workers' Society in Brussels.[170] The work as printed remained a fragment; the words at the end of No. 269: "To be continued," remained unfulfilled in consequence of the events which just then came crowding one after another: the invasion of Hungary by the Russians, the insurrections in Dresden, Iserlohn, Elberfeld, the Palatinate and Baden,[171] which led to the suppression of the newspaper itself (May 19, 1849). The manuscript of the continuation was not found among Marx's papers after his death.[172]

Wage Labour and Capital has appeared in a number of editions as a separate publication in pamphlet form, the last being in 1884, by the Swiss Co-operative Press, Hottingen-Zurich. The editions hitherto published retained the exact wording of the original. The present new edition, however, is to be circulated in not less than 10,000 copies as a propaganda pamphlet, and so the question could not but force itself upon me whether under these circumstances Marx himself would have approved of an unaltered reproduction of the original.

In the forties, Marx had not yet finished his critique of political economy. This took place only towards the end of the fifties. Consequently, his works which appeared before the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859)[a] differ in some points from those written after 1859, and contain expressions and whole sentences which, from the point of view of the later works, appear unfortunate and even incorrect. Now, it is self-evident that in ordinary editions intended for the general public this earlier point of view also has its place, as a part of the intellectual development of the author, and that both author and public have an indisputable right to the unaltered reproduction of

[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 257-417.—*Ed.*

these older works. And I should not have dreamed of altering a word of them.

It is another thing when the new edition is intended practically exclusively for propaganda among workers. In such a case Marx would certainly have brought the old presentation dating from 1849 into harmony with his new point of view. And I feel certain of acting as he would have done in undertaking *for this edition* the few alterations and additions which are required in order to attain this object in all essential points. I therefore tell the reader beforehand: this is not the pamphlet as Marx wrote it in 1849 but approximately as he would have written it in 1891. The actual text, moreover, is circulated in so many copies that this will suffice until I am able to reprint it again, unaltered, in a later complete edition.

My alterations all turn on one point. According to the original, the worker sells his *labour* to the capitalist for wages; according to the present text he sells his labour *power*. And for this alteration I owe an explanation. I owe it to the workers in order that they may see it is not a case here of mere juggling with words, but rather of one of the most important points in the whole of political economy. I owe it to the bourgeois, so that they can convince themselves how vastly superior the uneducated workers, for whom one can easily make comprehensible the most difficult economic analyses, are to our supercilious "educated people" to whom such intricate questions remain insoluble their whole life long.

Classical political economy took over from industrial practice the current conception of the manufacturer, that he buys and pays for the *labour* of his workers. This conception had been quite adequate for the business needs, the book-keeping and price calculations of the manufacturer. But, naively transferred to political economy, it produced there really wondrous errors and confusions.

Political economy observes the fact that the prices of all commodities, among them also the price of the commodity that it calls "labour", are continually changing; that they rise and fall as the result of the most varied circumstances, which often bear no relation whatever to the production of the commodities themselves, so that prices seem, as a rule, to be determined by pure chance. As soon, then, as political economy made its appearance as a science, one of its first tasks was to seek the law which was concealed behind this chance apparently governing the prices of commodities, and which, in reality, governed this very chance. Within the prices of commodities, continually fluctuating and

oscillating, now upwards and now downwards, political economy sought for the firm central point around which these fluctuations and oscillations turned. In a word, it started from the *prices* of commodities in order to look for the *value* of the commodities as the law controlling prices, the value by which all fluctuations in price are to be explained and to which finally they are all to be ascribed.

Classical political economy then found that the value of a commodity is determined by the labour contained in it, requisite for its production. With this explanation it contented itself. And we also can pause here for the time being. I will only remind the reader, in order to avoid misunderstandings, that this explanation has nowadays become totally inadequate. Marx was the first thoroughly to investigate the value-creating quality of labour and he discovered in so doing that not all labour apparently, or even really, necessary for the production of a commodity adds to it under all circumstances a magnitude of value which corresponds to the quantity of labour expended. If therefore today we say offhandedly with economists like Ricardo that the value of a commodity is determined by the labour necessary for its production, we always in so doing imply the reservations made by Marx. This suffices here; more is to be found in Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 1859, and the first volume of *Capital*.[a]

But as soon as the economists applied this determination of value by labour to the commodity "labour", they fell into one contradiction after another. How is the value of "labour" determined? By the necessary labour contained in it. But how much labour is contained in the labour of a worker for a day, a week, a month, a year? The labour of a day, a week, a month, a year. If labour is the measure of all values, then indeed we can express the "value of labour" only in labour. But we know absolutely nothing about the value of an hour of labour, if we only know that it is equal to an hour of labour. This brings us not a hair's breadth nearer the goal; we keep on moving in a circle.

Classical political economy, therefore, tried another tack. It said: The value of a commodity is equal to its cost of production. But what is the cost of production of labour? In order to answer this question, the economists have to tamper a little with logic. Instead of investigating the cost of production of labour itself, which

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 269-92 and K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Ch. I, Sections 1-3 (Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

unfortunately cannot be ascertained, they proceed to investigate the cost of production of the *worker*. And this can be ascertained. It varies with time and circumstance, but for a given state of society, a given locality and a given branch of production, it too is given, at least within fairly narrow limits. We live today under the domination of capitalist production, in which a large, ever-increasing class of the population can live only if it works for the owners of the means of production—the tools, machines, raw materials and means of subsistence—in return for wages. On the basis of this mode of production, the cost of production of the worker consists of that quantity of the means of subsistence—or their price in money—which, on the average, is necessary to make him capable of working, keep him capable of working, and to replace him, after his departure by reason of old age, sickness or death, with a new worker—that is to say, to propagate the working class in the necessary numbers. Let us assume that the money price of these means of subsistence averages three marks a day.

Our worker, therefore, receives a wage of three marks a day from the capitalist who employs him. For this, the capitalist makes him work, say, twelve hours a day, calculating roughly as follows:

Let us assume that our worker—a machinist—has to make a part of a machine which he can complete in one day. The raw material—iron and brass in the necessary previously prepared form—costs twenty marks. The consumption of coal by the steam engine, and the wear and tear of this same engine, of the lathe and the other tools which our worker uses represent for one day, and reckoned by his share of their use, a value of one mark. The wage for one day, according to our assumption, is three marks. This makes twenty-four marks in all for our machine part. But the capitalist calculates that he will obtain, on an average, twenty-seven marks from his customers in return, or three marks more than his outlay.

Whence came the three marks pocketed by the capitalist? According to the assertion of classical political economy, commodities are, on the average, sold at their values, that is, at prices corresponding to the amount of necessary labour contained in them. The average price of our machine part—twenty-seven marks—would thus be equal to its value, that is, equal to the labour embodied in it. But of these twenty-seven marks, twenty-one marks were values already present before our machinist began work. Twenty marks were contained in the raw materials, one mark in the coal consumed during the work, or in the machines

and tools which were used in the process and which were diminished in their efficiency to the value of this sum. There remain six marks which have been added to the value of the raw material. But according to the assumption of our economists themselves, these six marks can only arise from the labour added to the raw material by our worker. His twelve hours' labour has thus created a new value of six marks. The value of his twelve hours' labour would, therefore, be equal to six marks. And thus we would at last have discovered what the "value of labour" is.

"Hold on there!" cries our machinist. "Six marks? But I have received only three marks! My capitalist swears by all that is holy that the value of my twelve hours' labour is only three marks, and if I demand six he laughs at me. How do you make that out?"

If previously we got into a vicious circle with our value of labour, we are now properly caught in an insoluble contradiction. We looked for the value of labour and we have found more than we can use. For the worker, the value of the twelve hours' labour is three marks, for the capitalist it is six marks, of which he pays three to the worker as wages and pockets three for himself. Thus labour would have not one but two values and very different values into the bargain!

The contradiction becomes still more absurd as soon as we reduce to labour time the values expressed in money. During the twelve hours' labour a new value of six marks is created. Hence, in six hours three marks—the sum which the worker receives for twelve hours' labour. For twelve hours' labour the worker receives as an equivalent value the product of six hours' labour. Either, therefore, labour has two values, of which one is double the size of the other, or twelve equals six! In both cases we get pure nonsense.

Turn and twist as we will, we cannot get out of this contradiction, as long as we speak of the purchase and sale of labour and of the value of labour. And this also happened to the economists. The last offshoot of classical political economy, the Ricardian school, was wrecked mainly by the insolubility of this contradiction. Classical political economy had got into a blind alley. The man who found the way out of this blind alley was Karl Marx.

What the economists had regarded as the cost of production of "labour" was the cost of production not of labour but of the living worker himself. And what this worker sold to the capitalist was not his labour. "As soon as his labour actually begins," says Marx, "it has already ceased to belong to him; it can therefore no longer be

sold by him."[a] At the most, he might sell his *future* labour, that is, undertake to perform a certain amount of work in a definite time. In so doing, however, he does not sell labour (which would first have to be performed) but puts his labour power at the disposal of the capitalist for a definite time (in the case of time-work) or for the purpose of a definite output (in the case of piece-work) in return for a definite payment: he hires out, or sells, his *labour power*. But this labour power is intergrown with his person and is inseparable from it. Its cost of production, therefore, coincides with his cost of production; what the economists called the cost of production of labour is really the cost of production of the worker and therewith of his labour power. And so we can go back from the cost of production of labour power to the *value* of labour power and determine the amount of socially necessary labour requisite for the production of labour power of a particular quality, as Marx has done in the chapter on the buying and selling of labour power (*Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter IV, Section 3).[b]

Now what happens after the worker has sold his labour power to the capitalist, that is, placed it at the disposal of the latter in return for a wage—day wage or piece wage—agreed upon beforehand? The capitalist takes the worker into his workshop or factory, where all the things necessary for work—raw materials, auxiliary materials (coal, dyes, etc.), tools, machines—are already to be found. Here the worker begins to drudge. His daily wage may be, as above, three marks—and in this connection it does not make any difference whether he earns it as day wage or piece wage. Here also we again assume that in the twelve hours the worker by his labour adds a new value of six marks to the raw materials used up, which new value the capitalist realises on the sale of the finished piece of work. Out of this he pays the worker his three marks; the other three marks he keeps for himself. If, now, the worker creates a value of six marks in twelve hours, then in six hours he creates a value of three marks. He has, therefore, already repaid the capitalist the counter-value of the three marks contained in his wages when he has worked six hours for him. After six hours' labour they are both quits, neither owes the other a pfennig.

"Hold on there!" the capitalist now cries. "I have hired the worker for a whole day, for twelve hours. Six hours, however, are only half a day. So go right on working until the other six hours

[a] Engels quotes from K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VI, Ch. XIX (see present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II, Ch. VI (*ibid.*).— *Ed.*

are up—only then shall we be quits!" And, in fact, the worker has to comply with his contract "voluntarily" entered into, according to which he has pledged himself to work twelve whole hours for a labour product which costs six hours of labour.

It is just the same with piece wages. Let us assume that our worker makes twelve items of a commodity in twelve hours. Each of these costs two marks in raw materials and depreciation and is sold at two and a half marks. Then the capitalist, on the same assumptions as before, will give the worker twenty-five pfennigs per item; that makes three marks for twelve items, to earn which the worker needs twelve hours. The capitalist receives thirty marks for the twelve items; deduct twenty-four marks for raw materials and depreciation and there remain six marks, of which he pays three marks to the worker in wages and pockets three marks. It is just as above. Here, too, the worker works six hours for himself, that is, for replacement of his wages (half an hour in each of the twelve hours) and six hours for the capitalist.

The difficulty over which the best economists came to grief, so long as they started out from the value of "labour", vanishes as soon as we start out from the value of "labour *power*" instead. In our present-day capitalist society, labour power is a commodity, a commodity like any other, and yet quite a peculiar commodity. It has, namely, the peculiar property of being a value-creating power, a source of value and, indeed, with suitable treatment, a source of more value than it itself possesses. With the present state of production, human labour power not only produces in one day a greater value than it itself possesses and costs; with every new scientific discovery, with every new technical invention, this surplus of its daily product over its daily cost increases, and therefore that portion of the labour day in which the worker works to produce the replacement of his day's wage decreases; consequently, on the other hand, that portion of the labour day in which he has to *make a present* of his labour to the capitalist without being paid for it increases.

And this is the economic constitution of the whole of our present-day society: it is the working class alone which produces all values. For value is only another expression for labour, that expression whereby in our present-day capitalist society is designated the amount of socially necessary labour contained in a particular commodity. These values produced by the workers do not, however, belong to the workers. They belong to the owners of the raw materials, machines, tools and the reserve funds which allow these owners to buy the labour power of the working class.

From the whole mass of products produced by it, the working class, therefore, receives back only a part for itself. And as we have just seen, the other part, which the capitalist class keeps for itself and at most has to divide with the class of landowners, becomes larger with every new discovery and invention, while the part falling to the share of the working class (reckoned per head) either increases only very slowly and inconsiderably or not at all, and under certain circumstances may even fall.

But these discoveries and inventions which supersede each other at an ever-increasing rate, this productivity of human labour which rises day by day to an extent previously unheard of, finally give rise to a conflict in which the present-day capitalist economy must perish. On the one hand are immeasurable riches and a superfluity of products which the purchasers cannot cope with; on the other hand, the great mass of society proletarianised, turned into wage-workers, and precisely for that reason made incapable of appropriating for themselves this superfluity of products. The division of society into a small, excessively rich class and a large, propertyless class of wage-workers results in a society suffocating from its own superfluity, while the great majority of its members is scarcely, or even not at all, protected from extreme want. This state of affairs becomes daily more absurd and—more unnecessary. It *must* be abolished, it *can* be abolished. A new social order is possible in which the present class differences will have disappeared and in which—perhaps after a short transitional period involving some privation, but at any rate of great value morally—through the planned utilisation and extension of the already existing enormous productive forces of all members of society, and with uniform obligation to work, the means for existence, for enjoying life, for the development and employment of all bodily and mental faculties will be available in an equal measure and in ever-increasing fulness. And that the workers are becoming more and more determined to win this new social order will be demonstrated on both sides of the ocean by May the First, tomorrow, and by Sunday, May 3.[173]

London, April 30, 1891

Frederick Engels

First published as supplement to the *Vorwärts*, No. 109, May 13, 1891 and in the pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Lohnarbeit und Kapital,* Berlin, 1891

Printed according to the pamphlet

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION [OF *SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*][174]

My assumption that the contents of this publication will present little difficulty to our German workers has proven correct. At any rate, since March 1883, when it first appeared, three editions totaling 10,000 copies have been disposed of, and this under the operation of the now defunct Anti-Socialist Law[175]—which again illustrates how impotent police bans against a movement like that of the modern proletariat are.

Since the first edition various translations into foreign languages have also appeared: an Italian rendition by Pasquale Martignetti: *Il Socialismo Utopico e il Socialismo Scientifico,* Benvenuto, 1883; a Russian one: *Razvitie naucznago socializma,*[a] Geneva, 1884; a Danish one: *Socialismens Udvikling fra Utopi til Videnskab,* in *Socialistisk Bibliotek,* Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1885; a Spanish one: *Socialismo utópico y Socialismo cientifico,* Madrid, 1886, and a Dutch one: *De Ontwikkeling van het Socialisme van Utopie tot Wetenschap,* The Hague, 1886.

The present edition has undergone various slight alterations; more important additions have been made in only two places: in the first chapter on Saint-Simon, who was dealt with too briefly in comparison with Fourier and Owen, and towards the end of the third chapter on the new form of production, the "trusts", which meanwhile has become important.[176]

London, May 12, 1891

Frederick Engels

First published in: Friedrich Engels, *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft,* Berlin, 1891

Printed according to the book

[a] Engels' transliteration.—*Ed.*

TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FAMILY (BACHOFEN, McLENNAN, MORGAN)

[PREFACE TO THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION (1891) OF THE *ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE*][177]

The previous large editions of this work have been out of print now for almost six months and the publisher[a] has for some time past desired me to prepare a new edition. More urgent tasks have hitherto prevented me from doing so. Seven years have elapsed since the first edition appeared, and during this period our knowledge of the primitive forms of the family has made important progress. It was, therefore, necessary diligently to apply the hand to the work of amplification and improvement, particularly in view of the fact[b] that the proposed placing of the present text on stereotypes will make further changes on my part impossible for some time to come.

I have, therefore, submitted the whole text to a careful revision, and have made a number of additions, in which, I hope, due regard has been paid to the present state of science. Further, in the course of this preface, I give a brief review of the development of the history of the family from Bachofen to Morgan, principally because the English prehistoric school, which is tinged with chauvinism, continues to do its utmost to kill by silence the revolution Morgan's discoveries have made in conceptions of the history of primitive society, although it does not hesitate in the

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[a] J. H. W. Dietz.— *Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* the end of the sentence reads: "that the latest edition most commonly to be found in German socialist literature has very seldom been the subject of attention in other areas of the German book-trade, up to today."— *Ed.*

least to appropriate his results. Elsewhere, too, this English example is followed only too often.

My work has been translated into various languages. First into Italian: *L'origine della famiglia, della proprietà privata e dello stato.* Versione riveduta dall'autore, di Pasquale Martignetti. Benevento, 1885. Then Rumanian: *Originea familiei, proprietăţii, private şi a statului.* Traducere de Joan Nădejde, in the Yassy periodical *Contemporanul,* September 1885 to May 1886. Further into Danish: *Familjens, Privatejendommens og Statens Oprindelse.* Dansk af Forfatteren gennemgaaet Udgave, besørget af Gerson Trier, Copenhagen, 1888. A French translation by Henri Ravé based on the present German edition is in the press.[a]

Until the beginning of the sixties there was no such thing as a history of the family. In this sphere historical science was still completely under the influence of the Five Books of Moses. The patriarchal form of the family, described there in greater detail than anywhere else, was not only implicitly accepted as the oldest form of the family, but also—after excluding polygamy—identified with the present-day bourgeois family, as if the family had really undergone no historical development at all. At most it was admitted that a period of promiscuous sexual relationships might have existed in primeval times.—To be sure, in addition to monogamy, Oriental polygamy and Indo-Tibetan polyandry were also known, but these three forms could not be arranged in any historical sequence and appeared disconnectedly alongside of each other. That among certain peoples of ancient times, and among some still existing savages, the line of descent was reckoned not from the father but from the mother and, therefore, the female lineage alone was regarded as valid; that among many peoples of today marriage within definite larger groups—not subjected to closer investigation at that time—is prohibited, and that this custom is to be met with in all parts of the world—these facts were indeed known and new examples were constantly being brought to light. But nobody knew what to do with them, and even in E. B. Tylor's *Researches into the Early History of Mankind, etc. etc.* (1865), they figure merely as "strange customs" along with the taboo in force among some savages

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[a] The reference is to *L'Origine de la famille, de la propriété privée et de l'État.—Ed.*

against the touching of burning wood with iron tools, and similar religious bosh and nonsense.

The study of the history of the family dates from 1861, from the publication of Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht.* In this work the author advances the following propositions: 1) that in the beginning humanity lived in a state of sexual promiscuity, which the author unhappily designates as hetaerism; 2) that such promiscuity excludes all certainty as regards paternity, that lineage, therefore, could be reckoned only through the female line—according to mother right—and that originally this was the case among all the peoples of antiquity; 3) that consequently women, who, as mothers, were the only definitely ascertainable parents of the younger generation, were treated with a high degree of consideration and respect, which, according to Bachofen's conception, was enhanced to the complete rule of women (gynaecocracy); 4) that the transition to monogamy, where the woman belongs exclusively to *one* man, implied the violation of a primeval religious injunction (that is, in actual fact, the violation of the ancient traditional right of the other men to the same woman), a violation which had to be atoned for, or the toleration of which had to be purchased, by surrendering the woman for a limited period of time.

Bachofen finds evidence in support of these propositions in countless passages of ancient classical literature, which he had assembled with extraordinary diligence. According to him, the evolution from "hetaerism" to monogamy, and from mother right to father right, takes place, particularly among the Greeks, as a consequence of the evolution of religious ideas, the intrusion of new deities, representatives of the new outlook, into the old traditional pantheon representing the old outlook, so that the latter is more and more driven into the background by the former. Thus, according to Bachofen, it is not the development of the actual conditions under which men live, but the religious reflection of these conditions of life in the minds of men that brought about the historical changes in the mutual social position of man and woman. Bachofen accordingly points to the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus as a dramatic depiction of the struggle between declining mother right and rising and victorious father right in the Heroic Age. Clytemnestra has slain her husband Agamemnon, just return from the Trojan War, for the sake of her lover Aegisthus; but Orestes, her son by Agamemnon, avenges his father's murder by slaying his mother. For this he is pursued by the Erinyes, the demonic defenders of mother right, according to which matricide is the most heinous and inexpiable of crimes. But Apollo, who through his oracle has incited Orestes to commit this deed, and

Athena, who is called in as arbiter—the two deities which here represent the new order, based on father right—protect him. Athena hears both sides. The whole controversy is briefly summarised in the debate which now ensues between Orestes and the Erinyes. Orestes declares that Clytemnestra is guilty of a double outrage; for in killing *her* husband she also killed *his* father. Why then have the Erinyes persecuted him and not Clytemnestra, who is much the greater culprit? The reply is striking:

"*Unrelated by blood* was she to the man that she slew."[a]

The murder of a man not related by blood, even though he be the husband of the murderess, is expiable and does not concern the Erinyes. Their function is to avenge only murders among blood-relatives, and the most heinous of all these, according to mother right, is matricide. Apollo now intervenes in defense of Orestes. Athena calls upon the Areopagites—the Athenian jurors—to vote on the question. The votes for acquittal and for the conviction are equal. Then Athena, as President of the Court, casts her vote in favour of Orestes and acquits him. Father right has gained the day over mother right. The "gods of junior lineage", as they are described by the Erinyes themselves, are victorious over the Erinyes, and the latter allow themselves finally to be persuaded to assume a new office in the service of the new order.

This new but absolutely correct interpretation of the *Oresteia* is one of the best and most beautiful passages in the whole book, but it shows at the same time that Bachofen himself believes in the Erinyes, Apollo and Athena at least as much as Aeschylus did in his day; he, in fact, believes that in the Heroic Age of Greece they performed the miracle of overthrowing mother right and replacing it by father right. Clearly, such a conception—which regards religion as the decisive lever in world history—must finally end in sheer mysticism. It is, therefore, an arduous and by no means always profitable task to wade through Bachofen's bulky quarto volume. But all this does not detract from his merit as a pioneer, for he was the first to substitute for mere phrases about an unknown primitive condition of promiscuous sexual intercourse proof that ancient classical literature teems with traces of a condition that had in fact existed before monogamy among the Greeks and the Asiatics, in which not only a man had sexual intercourse with more than one woman, but a woman had sexual intercourse with more than one man, without

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[a] Aeschylus, *Oresteia. Eumenides.*—*Ed.*

violating the established custom; that this custom did not disappear without leaving traces in the form of the limited surrender by which women were compelled to purchase their right to monogamian marriage; that descent, therefore, could originally be reckoned only in the female line, from mother to mother, that this exclusive validity of the female line persisted far into the time of monogamy with assured, or at least recognised, paternity; and that this original position of the mother as the sole certain parent of her children assured her, and thus women in general, a higher social status than they have ever enjoyed since. Bachofen did not express these propositions as clearly as this—his mystical outlook prevented him from doing so; but he proved that they were correct, and this, in 1861, meant a complete revolution.

Bachofen's bulky tome was written in German, that is, in the language of the nation which, at that time, interested itself less than any other in the prehistory of the present-day family. He, therefore, remained unknown. His immediate successor in this field appeared in 1865, without ever having heard of Bachofen.

This successor was J. F. McLennan, the direct opposite of his predecessor. Instead of the talented mystic, we have here the dry-as-dust lawyer; instead of exuberant poetic fancy, we have the plausible arguments of the advocate pleading his case. McLennan finds among many savage, barbarian and even civilised peoples of ancient and modern times a form of marriage in which the bridegroom, alone or accompanied by friends, has to feign to carry off the bride from her relatives by force. This custom must be the survival of a previous custom, whereby the men of one tribe acquired their wives from outside, from other tribes, by actually abducting them by force. How then did this "marriage by abduction" originate? As long as men could find sufficient women in their own tribe there was no occasion for it whatsoever. But quite as often we find that among undeveloped peoples certain groups exist (which round about 1865 were still often identified with the tribes themselves) within which marriage is forbidden, so that the men are obliged to secure their wives, and the women their husbands, from outside the group; while among others the custom prevails that the men of a certain group are compelled to find their wives only within their own group. McLennan calls the first type of group exogamous, and the second endogamous, and without further ado establishes a rigid antithesis between exogamous and endogamous "tribes". And although his own researches into exogamy bring under his very nose the fact that in many, if not most, or even all cases this antithesis exists only in his own imagination, he nevertheless makes it the

foundation of his entire theory. Accordingly, exogamous tribes may procure their wives only from other tribes; and in the state of permanent intertribal warfare that is characteristic of savagery, this, he believes, could be done only by abduction.

McLennan argues further: Whence this custom of exogamy? The conceptions of consanguinity and incest have nothing to do with it, for these are things which developed only much later. But the custom, widespread among savages, of killing female children immediately after birth, might. This custom created a superfluity of men in each individual tribe, the necessary and immediate sequel of which was the common possession of a woman by a number of men—polyandry. The consequence of this again was that the mother of a child was known, but the father was not, hence kinship was reckoned only in the female line to the exclusion of the male—mother right. And another consequence of the dearth of women within a tribe—a dearth mitigated but not overcome by polyandry—was precisely the systematic, forcible abduction of women of other tribes.

* "...As exogamy and polyandry are referable to one and the same cause—a want of balance between the sexes—we are forced *to regard all the exogamous races as having originally been polyandrous*...[a] Therefore, we must hold it to be beyond dispute that among exogamous races the first system of kinship was that which recognized blood-ties through mothers only."* (McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, 1886, "Primitive Marriage", p. 124.)

McLennan's merit lies in having drawn attention to the general prevalence and great importance of what he terms exogamy. But he by no means *discovered* the existence of exogamous groups, and still less did he understand it. Apart from the earlier, isolated notes of many observers which served as McLennan's sources, Latham (*Descriptive Ethnology*, 1859) exactly and correctly described this institution among the Indian Magars[178] and declared that it was generally prevalent and existed in all parts of the world—a passage which McLennan himself quotes. And our Morgan, too, as far back as 1847, in his letters on the Iroquois (in the *American Review*), and in 1851 in *The League of the Iroquois* proved that it existed in this tribe, and described it correctly, whereas, as we shall see, McLennan's lawyer mentality caused far greater confusion on this subject than Bachofen's mystical fantasy did in the sphere of mother right. It is also to McLennan's credit that he recognised the system of tracing descent through mothers as the original one, although, as he himself admitted later, Bachofen anticipated him

[a] Engels' italics.— *Ed.*

in this. But here again he is far from clear; he speaks continually of "KINSHIP THROUGH FEMALES ONLY" and constantly applies this expression—correct for an earlier stage—also to later stages of development, where, although descent and inheritance are still exclusively reckoned in the female line, kinship is also recognised and expressed in the male line. This is the restricted outlook of the jurist, who creates a rigid legal term for himself and continues to apply it without modification to conditions which in the meantime have rendered it inapplicable.

In spite of its plausibility, McLennan's theory evidently did not seem to be too well founded even to the author himself. At least, he himself is struck by the fact that

* "it is observable that the form of" (mock) "capture is now most distinctly marked and impressive just among those races which have *male*[a] kinship"* (meaning descent through the male line) (p. 140).

And, again:

* "It is a curious fact that nowhere now, that we are aware of, is infanticide *a system*[b] where exogamy and the earliest form of kinship co-exist"* (p. 146).

Both these facts directly refute his interpretation, and he can oppose to them only new, still more intricate, hypotheses.

Nevertheless, in England his theory met with great approbation and evoked great response. McLennan was generally accepted there as the founder of the history of the family, and the most eminent authority in this field. His antithesis between exogamous and endogamous "tribes", notwithstanding the few exceptions and modifications admitted, remained nevertheless the recognised foundation of the prevailing view, and was the blinker which made any free survey of the field under investigation and, consequently, any definite progress, impossible. The overrating of McLennan, which became the vogue in England and, following the English fashion, elsewhere as well, makes it a duty to point out in contrast that the harm he caused with his completely erroneous antithesis between exogamous and endogamous "tribes" outweighs the good done by his researches.

Meanwhile, more and more facts soon came to light, which did not fit into his neat scheme. McLennan knew only three forms of marriage—polygamy, polyandry and monogamy. But once attention had been directed to this point, more and more proofs were discovered of the fact that among undeveloped peoples forms of marriage existed in which a group of men possessed a group of

[a] Engels' italics.—*Ed.*

[b] McLennan's italics.—*Ed.*

women in common; and *Lubbock* (*The Origin of Civilisation,* 1870) acknowledged this COMMUNAL MARRIAGE to be a historical fact.

Immediately after, in 1871, *Morgan* appeared with new and, in many respects, conclusive material. He had become convinced that the peculiar system of kinship prevailing among the Iroquois was common to all the aborigines of the United States and was thus spread over a whole continent, although it conflicted directly with the degrees of kinship actually arising from the connubial system in force there. He thereupon prevailed on the American Federal Government to collect information about the kinship systems of the other peoples, on the basis of questionnaires and tables drawn up by himself; and he discovered from the answers: 1) that the American Indian system of kinship prevailed also among numerous tribes in Asia, and, in a somewhat modified form, in Africa and Australia; 2) that it was completely explained by a form of group marriage, now approaching extinction, in Hawaii and in other Australian islands; and 3) that, however, alongside this marriage form, a system of kinship prevailed in these same islands which could only be explained by a still earlier but now extinct form of group marriage. He published the collected data and his conclusions from them in his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity,* 1871, and thereby carried the discussion on to an infinitely wider field. Taking the systems of kinship as his starting-point, he reconstructed the forms of the family corresponding to them, and thereby opened up a new avenue of investigation and a more far-reaching retrospect into the prehistory of mankind. Were this method to be recognised as valid, McLennan's neat construction would be resolved into thin air.

McLennan defended his theory in a new edition of "Primitive Marriage" (*Studies in Ancient History,* 1876). While he himself very artificially constructs a history of the family out of sheer hypotheses, he demands of Lubbock and Morgan not only proofs for every one of their statements, but proofs of incontestable validity such as alone would be admitted in a Scottish court of law. And this is done by the man who, from the close relationship between one's mother's brother and one's sister's son among the Germans (Tacitus, *Germania,* c. 20), from Caesar's report that the Britons in groups of ten or twelve possessed their wives in common,[a] and from all the other reports of ancient writers concerning community of women among the barbarians, unhesitatingly concludes that polyandry was the rule among all these

[a] Caesar, *Gallic War,* V, XIV.— *Ed.*

peoples! It is like listening to counsel for the prosecution, who permits himself every license in preparing his own case, but demands the most formal and legally most valid proof for every word of counsel for the defence.

Group marriage is a pure figment of the imagination, he asserts, and thus falls back far behind Bachofen. Morgan's systems of kinship, he says, are nothing more than mere precepts on social politeness, proved by the fact that the Indians also address strangers, white men, as brother, or father. It is as if one were to argue that the terms father, mother, brother, sister are merely empty forms of address because Catholic priests and abbesses are likewise addressed as father and mother, and because monks and nuns, and even freemasons and members of English craft unions, in solemn session assembled, are addressed as brother and sister. In short, McLennan's defence was miserably weak.

One point, however, remained on which he had not been challenged. The antithesis between exogamous and endogamous "tribes" on which his whole system was founded not only remained unshaken, but was even generally accepted as the cornerstone of the entire history of the family. It was admitted that McLennan's attempt to explain this antithesis was inadequate and contradicted the very facts he himself had enumerated. But the antithesis itself, the existence of two mutually exclusive types of separate and independent tribes, one of which took its wives from within the tribe, while this was absolutely forbidden to the other—this passed as incontrovertible gospel truth. Compare, for example, Giraud-Teulon's *Origines de la famille* (1874) and even Lubbock's *Origin of Civilisation* (Fourth edition, 1882).

This is the point at which Morgan's chief work enters: *Ancient Society* (1877), the book upon which the present work is based. What Morgan only dimly surmised in 1871 is here developed with full comprehension. Endogamy and exogamy constitute no antithesis; up to the present no exogamous "tribes" have been brought to light anywhere. But at the time when group marriage still prevailed—and in all probability it existed everywhere at one time or other—the tribe consisted of a number of groups related by blood on the mother's side, gentes, within which marriage was strictly prohibited, so that although the men of a gens could, and as a rule did, take their wives from within their tribe, they had, however, to take them from outside their gens. Thus, while the gens itself was strictly exogamous, the tribe, embracing all the gentes, was as strictly endogamous. With this, the last remnants of McLennan's artificial structure definitely collapsed.

Morgan, however, did not rest content with this. The gens of the American Indians served him further as a means of making the second decisive advance in the field of investigation he had entered upon. He discovered that the gens, organised according to mother right, was the original form out of which developed the later gens, organised according to father right, the gens as we find it among the civilised peoples of antiquity. The Greek and Roman gens, an enigma to all previous historians, was now explained by the Indian gens, and thus a new basis was found for the whole history of primitive society.

The rediscovery of the original mother-right gens as the stage preliminary to the father-right gens of the civilised peoples has the same significance for the history of primitive society as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology, and Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy. It enabled Morgan to outline for the first time a history of the family, wherein at least the classical stages of development are, on the whole, provisionally established, as far as the material at present available permits. Clearly, this opens a new era in the treatment of the history of primitive society. The mother-right gens has become the pivot around which this entire science turns; since its discovery we know in which direction to conduct our researches, what to investigate and how to classify the results of our investigations. As a consequence, progress in this field is now much more rapid than before Morgan's book appeared.

Morgan's discoveries are now generally recognised, or rather appropriated, by prehistorians in England, too. But scarcely one of them will openly acknowledge that it is to Morgan that we owe this revolution in outlook. In England his book is hushed up as far as possible, and Morgan himself is dismissed with condescending praise for his *previous* work; the details of his exposition are eagerly picked on for criticism, while an obstinate silence reigns with regard to his really great discoveries. The original edition of *Ancient Society* is now out of print; in America there is no profitable market for books of this sort; in England, it would seem, the book was systematically suppressed, and the only edition of this epoch-making work still available in the book trade is—the German translation.

Whence this reserve, which it is difficult not to regard as a conspiracy of silence, particularly in view of the host of quotations given merely for politeness' sake and of other evidences of camaraderie, in which the writings of our recognised prehistorians abound? Is it perhaps because Morgan is an American, and it is

very hard for English prehistorians, despite their highly commendable diligence in the collection of material, to have to depend for the general viewpoint which determines the arrangement and grouping of this material, in short, for their ideas, upon two talented foreigners—Bachofen and Morgan? A German might be tolerated, but an American? Every Englishman waxes patriotic when faced with an American, amusing examples of which I have come across while I was in the United States.[179] To this must be added that McLennan was, so to speak, the officially proclaimed founder and leader of the English prehistoric school; that it was, in a sense, good form among prehistorians to refer only with the greatest reverence to his artificially constructed historical theory leading from infanticide, through polyandry and marriage by abduction, to the mother-right family; that the slightest doubt cast upon the existence of mutually wholly exclusive exogamous and endogamous "tribes" was regarded as rank heresy; so that Morgan, in thus resolving all these hallowed dogmas into thin air, was guilty of a kind of sacrilege. Moreover, he resolved them in such a way that he had only to state his case for it to become obvious at once; and the McLennan worshippers, hitherto confusedly staggering about between exogamy and endogamy, were almost driven to beating their foreheads and exclaiming: How could we have been so stupid as not to have discovered all this for ourselves long ago!

And, as though this were not crime enough to prohibit the official school from treating him with anything else but cold indifference, Morgan filled the cup to overflowing not only by criticising civilisation, the society of commodity production, the basic form of our present-day society, after a fashion reminiscent of Fourier, but also by speaking of a future transformation of society in words which Karl Marx might have used. He received his deserts, therefore, when McLennan indignantly charged him with having "a profound antipathy to the historical method",[a] and when Professor Giraud-Teulon endorsed this view in Geneva as late as 1884. Was it not this same M. Giraud-Teulon, who, in 1874 (*Origines de la famille*), was still wandering helplessly in the maze of McLennan's exogamy, from which it took Morgan to liberate him?

It is not necessary for me to deal here with the other advances which the history of primitive society owes to Morgan; a reference to what is needed will be found in the course of this book. During

[a] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1876, p. 333.—*Ed.*

the fourteen years that have elapsed since the publication of his chief work our material relating to the history of primitive human societies has been greatly augmented. In addition to anthropologists, travellers and professional prehistorians, students of comparative law have taken the field and have contributed new material and new points of view. As a consequence, some of Morgan's hypotheses pertaining to particular points have been shaken, or even become untenable. But nowhere have the newly-collected data led to the supplanting of his principal conceptions by others. In its main features, the order he introduced into the study of the history of primitive society holds good to this day. We can even say that it is finding increasingly general acceptance in the same measure as his authorship of this great advance is being concealed.*

London, June 16, 1891

Frederick Engels

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Printed according to the book, checked with the journal

* On my return voyage from New York in September 1888 I met an ex-Congressman for Rochester constituency who had known Lewis Morgan. Unfortunately, he could tell me little about him. Morgan, he said, had lived in Rochester as a private citizen occupying himself only with his studies. His brother was a colonel in the army, and held a post in the War Department at Washington. Through the good offices of his brother, he had succeeded in interesting the government in his researches and in publishing a number of his works at public cost. This ex-Congressman said that he himself had also assisted in this while in Congress.

[MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE SECOND AUSTRIAN PARTY CONGRESS][180]

London, June 26, 1891

Dear Comrades,

Please accept my warmest thanks for your kind invitation to the Second Party Congress of the Austrian Social Democrats, and at the same time my regret that I shall not be able to attend in person; my best wishes for the successful course of your deliberations.

Since Hainfeld,[181] when the Austrian workers' party found its feet again, you have made enormous progress. This is the best guarantee that your present Congress will be the starting point for new and even more important victories.

The invincible inner strength possessed by our party is proved not only by its successes following swiftly one upon another, not only by the fact that it, as last year in Germany, has this year overcome the state of emergency in Austria.[182] It shows its strength far more by conquering obstacles in all countries, and accomplishing things where the other parties, recruited from the propertied classes, come helplessly to a halt. While the propertied classes of France and Germany feud with irreconcilable hatred, French and German proletarians work hand in hand. And while, around you in Austria, the propertied classes of the various crown lands lose the last remnants of the ability to rule in their blind national discord, your Second Party Congress will display the picture of an Austria which no longer knows national discord—the Austria of the workers.

Frederick Engels

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 27, July 3, 1891 and in the pamphlet, *Verhandlungen des zweiten österreichischen sozialdemokratischen Parteitages, abgehalten zu Wien am 28., 29. und 30. Juni 1891*, Vienna, 1891

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

A CRITIQUE OF THE DRAFT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME OF 1891 [183]

Written between June 18 and 29, 1891

First published (without Appendix) in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1901-1902 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part II, Moscow, 1936

Printed according to the manuscript

The present draft[184] differs very favourably from the former programme.[185] The strong survivals of outmoded traditions—both the specific Lassallean and vulgar socialistic—have in the main been removed, and as regards its theoretical aspect the draft is, on the whole, based on present-day science and can be discussed on this basis.

It is divided into three sections: I. The Preamble, II. Political Demands, III. Demands for Measures of Protection for the Workers.

I. PREAMBLE IN TEN PARAGRAPHS

In general it suffers from the attempt to combine two things that are uncombinable: a programme and a *commentary* on the programme as well. The fear that a short, pointed exposition would not be intelligible enough, has caused explanations to be added, which make it verbose and drawn out. To my view the programme should be as short and precise as possible. No harm is done even if it contains the occasional foreign word, or a sentence whose full significance cannot be understood at first sight. Verbal exposition at meetings and written commentaries in the press take care of all that, and the short, precise phrase, once understood, takes root in the memory, and becomes a slogan, a thing that never happens with verbose explanations. Too much should not be sacrificed for the sake of popularity, and the mental ability and educational level of our workers should not be underestimated. They have understood much more difficult things than the

shortest, most concise programme can offer them; and if the period of the Anti-Socialist Law[186] has made more difficult, and here and there even prevented the spreading of comprehensive knowledge among the masses joining the movement, now that our propagandist literature can again be kept and read without risking trouble, lost time will soon be made up for under the old leadership.

I shall try to make this entire section somewhat shorter and if I succeed shall enclose it or send it on later. Now, I shall deal with the individual paragraphs numbered from 1 to 10.

Paragraph 1. "*The separation,*" etc., "mines, pits, quarries"—three words for the same thing; two should be deleted. I would leave *mines* (*Bergwerke*), which is a word used even in the most level parts of the country, and I would designate them all by this widely used term. I would, however, add "*railways and other* means of communication".

Paragraph 2. Here I would insert: "In the hands of *their appropriators* (or *their owners*) the *social* means of labour are" and likewise below "dependence ... on the *owners* (or appropriators) of the means of labour", etc.

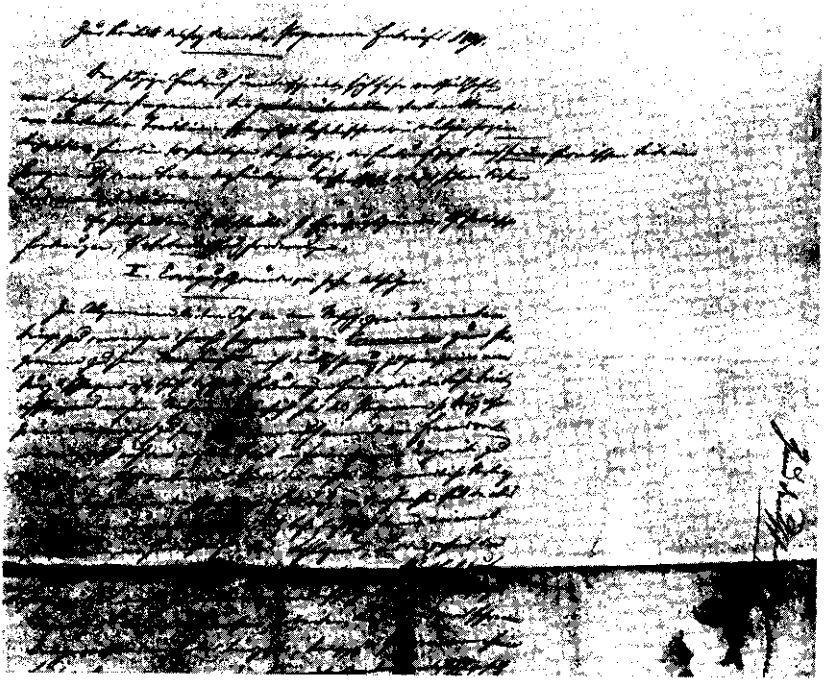
It has already been said in para. 1 that these gentlemen have appropriated these things as "*exclusive* possession" and will simply need to be repeated here if one absolutely insists on introducing the word "monopolists". Neither this nor the other word adds anything to the sense. And anything redundant in a programme weakens it.

"The means of labour *necessary* for the *existence* of society"

— these are precisely those that are at hand. Before the steam engine it was possible to do without it, now we couldn't. Since all the means of labour are nowadays directly or indirectly—either by their design or because of the social division of labour—*social means of labour,* these words express what is available at every given moment sufficiently clearly, correctly and without any misleading associations.

If this conclusion is intended to correspond with the preamble of the Rules of the International, I should prefer it to correspond *completely*: "to social misery" (this is No. 1), "mental degradation and political dependence".[a] Physical degradation is part of social misery and political *dependence* is a fact, while the *denial of political*

[a] K. Marx, "General Rules of the International Working Men's Association", present edition, Vol. 23, p. 3.—*Ed.*



First page of F. Engels' manuscript
A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891

rights is a declamatory phrase which is only *relatively* true and for this reason does not belong in the programme.

Paragraph 3. In my opinion the first sentence should be changed.

"Under the *domination* of the *individual owners*."

First of all that which follows is an economic fact, which should be explained in economic terms. The expression "*domination* of the individual owners" creates the false impression that this has been caused by the *political* domination of that gang of robbers. Secondly, these individual owners include not only "capitalists and big landowners" (what does the "bourgeoisie" following here signify? Are they a third class of individual owners? Are the big landowners also "bourgeois"? And, once we have turned to the subject of big landowners, should we ignore the colossal survivals of feudalism, which give the whole filthy business of German politics its specific reactionary character?). *Peasants* and *petty bourgeois* too are "individual owners", at least they still are today; but they do not appear anywhere in the programme and therefore the wording should make it clear that they are not included in the category of individual owners under discussion.

"The accumulation of the means of labour **and** of the wealth that has been created by the exploited."

The "wealth" consists of 1. means of labour, 2. means of subsistence. It is therefore grammatically incorrect and illogical to mention one *part* of the wealth without the other and then refer to the total wealth, linking the two by **and**.

"...increases ... in the hands of the *capitalists* with growing speed".

What has happened to the "big landowners" and the "bourgeoisie" mentioned above? If it is enough to speak only of capitalists here, it should be so above as well. If one wishes to specify, however, it is generally not enough to mention them alone.

"The number and the *misery* of the proletariat increase continuously."

This is incorrect when put in such a categorical way. The organisation of the workers and their constantly growing resistance will possibly check the *increase of misery* to a certain extent. However, what *certainly* does increase is the *insecurity of existence.* I should insert this.

Paragraph 4.

"The planlessness rooted in the nature of capitalist private production"

needs considerable improvement. I am familiar with capitalist production as a social form, or an economic phase; capitalist *private* production being a *phenomenon* which in one form or another is encountered in that phase. What is capitalist *private* production? Production by *separate* entrepreneurs, which is increasingly becoming an exception. Capitalist production by *joint-stock companies* is no longer *private* production but production on behalf of many associated people. And when we pass on from joint-stock companies to trusts, which dominate and monopolise whole branches of industry, this puts an end not only to *private production* but also to *planlessness*. If the word "*private*" were deleted the sentence could pass.

"The ruin of broad layers of the population."

Instead of this declamatory phrase, which looks as though we still regret the ruin of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois, I should state the simple fact: "which by the ruin of the urban and rural middle classes, the petty bourgeois and small peasants, widen (or deepen) the chasm between the haves and have-nots".

The last two phrases repeat the same thing. In the Appendix to Section I, I give a draft amendment.[a]

Paragraph 5. Instead of "the causes" this should read "*its* causes", which is probably due to a slip of the pen.

Paragraph 6. "Mines, pits, quarries," see above, para. 1. "*Private* production," see above. I would say: "The transformation of present capitalist production on behalf of individuals or joint-stock companies into socialist production on behalf of society as a whole and according to a preconceived plan, a transformation, etc. ... which creates ... and by which alone can be achieved the emancipation of the working class and with it the emancipation of all members of society without exception."

Paragraph 7. I would say as in the Appendix to Section I.[b]

Paragraph 8. Instead of "class-conscious", which in our circles is an easily understood abbreviation, I would say the following to facilitate universal understanding and translation into foreign languages: "with workers conscious of their class position", or something like it.

Paragraph 9. Closing sentence: "... places ... and thereby concentrates in the same hands the power of economic exploitation and political oppression".

Paragraph 10. After "class rule" the words "and the classes

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[a] See this volume, p. 231.— *Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 232.— *Ed.*

themselves" should be inserted. The abolition of classes is our basic demand, without which the abolition of class rule is economically inconceivable. Instead of "for equal rights for all", I suggest: "for equal rights and *equal duties* of all", etc. *Equal duties* are for us a particularly important addition to the bourgeois-democratic *equal rights* and do away with their specifically bourgeois meaning.

The closing sentence: "In their struggle ... are capable," would be better deleted. The imprecise wording "which are capable ... of improving the position of *the people* in general" (who is that?), can be taken to embrace everything, protective tariffs and free trade, guilds and freedom of enterprise, loans on landed security, exchange banks, compulsory vaccination and prohibition of vaccination, alcoholism and prohibition, etc., etc. What *should* be said here, has already been said earlier, and it is unnecessary to mention specifically that the demand for the whole includes every separate part, for this, to my mind, weakens the impact. If, however, this sentence is intended as a link to pass on to the individual demands, something resembling the following could be said: "Social Democracy fights for all demands *which help it approach this goal*" ("measures and arrangements" to be deleted as repetitious). Or else, which would be even better: to say directly what it is all about, i.e., that it is necessary to catch up with what the bourgeoisie has missed; I have included a closing sentence to this effect in Appendix I.[a] I consider this important in connection with my notes to the next section and to motivate the proposals put forward by me therein.

II. POLITICAL DEMANDS

The political demands of the draft have one great fault. It *lacks* precisely what should have been said. If all the 10 demands were granted we should indeed have more diverse means of achieving our main political aim, but the aim itself would in no wise have been achieved. As regards the rights being granted to the people and their representatives, the imperial constitution is, strictly speaking, a copy of the Prussian constitution of 1850, a constitution whose articles are extremely reactionary and give the government all the real power, while the chambers are not even allowed to reject taxes; a constitution, which proved during the period of the conflict that the government could do anything it

[a] See this volume, p. 232.— *Ed.*

liked with it.[187] The rights of the Reichstag are the same as those of the Prussian chamber and this is why Liebknecht called this Reichstag the fig-leaf of absolutism. It is an obvious absurdity to wish "to transform all the instruments of labour into common property" on the basis of this constitution and the system of small states sanctioned by it, on the basis of the "union" between Prussia and Reuss-Greiz-Schleiz-Lobenstein,[188] in which one has as many square miles as the other has square inches.

To touch on that is dangerous, however. Nevertheless, somehow or other, the thing has to be attacked. How necessary this is is shown precisely at the present time by opportunism, which is gaining ground in a large section of the Social-Democratic press. Fearing a renewal of the Anti-Socialist Law, or recalling all manner of over-hasty pronouncements made during the reign of that law, they now want the party to find the present legal order in Germany adequate for putting through all party demands by peaceful means. These are attempts to convince oneself and the party that "present-day society is developing towards socialism" without asking oneself whether it does not thereby just as necessarily outgrow the old social order and whether it will not have to burst this old shell by force, as a crab breaks its shell, and also whether in Germany, in addition, it will not have to smash the fetters of the still semi-absolutist, and moreover indescribably confused political order. One can conceive that the old society may develop peacefully into the new one in countries where the representatives of the people concentrate all power in their hands, where, if one has the support of the majority of the people, one can do as one sees fit in a constitutional way: in democratic republics such as France and the U.S.A., in monarchies such as Britain, where the imminent abdication of the dynasty in return for financial compensation is discussed in the press daily and where this dynasty is powerless against the people. But in Germany where the government is almost omnipotent and the Reichstag and all other representative bodies have no real power, to advocate such a thing in Germany, when, moreover, there is no need to do so, means removing the fig-leaf from absolutism and becoming oneself a screen for its nakedness.

In the long run such a policy can only lead one's own party astray. They push general, abstract political questions into the foreground, thereby concealing the immediate concrete questions, which at the moment of the first great events, the first political crisis automatically pose themselves. What can result from this except that at the decisive moment the party suddenly proves

helpless and that uncertainty and discord on the most decisive issues reign in it because these issues have never been discussed? Must there be a repetition of what happened with protective tariffs, which were declared to be a matter of concern only to the bourgeoisie, not affecting the interests of the workers in the least, that is, a matter on which everyone could vote as he wished? Are not many people now going to the opposite extreme and are they not, in contrast to the bourgeoisie, who have become addicted to protective tariffs, rehashing the economic distortions of Cobden and Bright and preaching them as the purest socialism—the purest Manchesterism[189]? This forgetting of the great, the principal considerations for the momentary interests of the day, this struggling and striving for the success of the moment regardless of later consequences, this sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present, may be "honestly" meant, but it is and remains opportunism, and "honest" opportunism is perhaps the most dangerous of all!

Which are these ticklish, but very significant points?

First. If one thing is certain it is that our party and the working class can only come to power under the form of a democratic republic. This is even the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the Great French Revolution has already shown. It would be inconceivable for our best people to become ministers under an emperor, as Miquel. It would seem that from a legal point of view it is inadvisable to include the demand for a republic directly in the programme, although this was possible even under Louis Phillippe in France, and is now in Italy. But the fact that in Germany it is not permitted to advance even a republican party programme openly, proves how totally mistaken is the belief that a republic, and not only a republic, but also communist society, can be established in a cosy, peaceful way.

However, the question of the republic could possibly be passed by. What, however, in my opinion should and could be included is the demand for *the concentration of all political power in the hands of the people's representatives.* That would suffice for the time being if it is impossible to go any further.

Second. The reconstitution of Germany. On the one hand, the system of small states must be abolished—just try to revolutionise society while there are the Bavarian-Württemberg reservation rights[190]—and the map of present-day Thuringia, for example, is such a sorry sight.[191] On the other hand, Prussia must cease to exist and must be broken up into self-governing provinces for the specific Prussianism to stop weighing on Germany. The system of

small states and Prussianism are the two sides of the antithesis now gripping Germany in a vice, in which one side must always serve as the excuse and justification for the existence of the other.

What should take its place? In my view, the proletariat can only use the form of the one and indivisible republic. In the gigantic territory of the United States, the federal republic is still, on the whole, a necessity, although in the Eastern states it is already becoming a hindrance. It would be a step forward in Britain where the two islands are peopled by four nations and in spite of a single Parliament three different systems of legislation already exist side by side. In little Switzerland, it has long been a hindrance, tolerable only because Switzerland is content to be a purely passive member of the European state system. For Germany, federalisation on the Swiss model would be an enormous step backward. Two points distinguish a union state from a completely unified state: first, that each member state, each canton, has its own civil and criminal legislative and judicial system, and, second, that alongside a popular chamber there is also a federal chamber in which each canton, whether large or small, votes as such. The first we have luckily overcome and we shall not be so childish as to reintroduce it, the second we have in the Bundesrat and we could do very well without it, since our "federal state" generally constitutes a transition to a unified state. The revolution of 1866 and 1870 must not be reversed from above but supplemented and improved by a movement from below.

So, then, a unified republic. But not in the sense of the present French Republic, which is nothing but the Empire established in 1799[a] without the Emperor.[192] From 1792 to 1799 each French department, each commune, enjoyed complete self-government on the American model, and this is what we too must have. How self-government is to be organised and how we can manage without a bureaucracy has been shown to us by America and the First French Republic, and is being shown even today by Australia, Canada and the other English colonies. And a provincial and communal self-government of this type is far freer than, for instance, Swiss federalism, under which, it is true, the canton is very independent in relation to the federation, but is also independent in relation to the district and the commune. The cantonal governments appoint the district governors and prefects, which is unknown in English speaking countries and which we

[a] Here and in the next sentence Engels mistakenly has 1798.— *Ed.*

want to abolish here as resolutely in the future as the Prussian Landräte and Regierungsräte.

Probably few of these points should be included in the programme. I mention them also mainly to describe the system in Germany where such matters cannot be discussed openly, and to emphasise the self-deception of those who wish to transform such a system in a legal way into communist society. Further, to remind the party executive that there are other important political questions besides direct legislation by the people and the gratuitous administration of justice without which we can also ultimately get by. In the generally unstable conditions these questions may become urgent at any time and what will happen then if they have not been discussed by us beforehand and no agreement has been reached on them?

However, what can be included in the programme and can, at least indirectly, serve as a hint of what may not be said directly is the following demand:

"Complete self-government in the provinces, districts and communes through officials elected by universal suffrage. The abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed by the state."

Whether or not it is possible to formulate other programme demands in connection with the points discussed above, I am less able to judge here than you can over there. But it would be desirable to debate these questions within the party before it is too late.

1. I fail to see the difference between "election rights and voting rights", between "elections and voting" respectively. If such a distinction should be made, it should in any case be expressed more clearly or explained in a commentary appended to the draft.

2. "The right of the people to propose and reject" *what*? All laws or the decisions of the people's representatives—this should be added.

5. Complete separation of the Church from the State. All religious communities without exception are to be treated by the state as private associations. They are to be deprived of any support from public funds and of all influence on public education. (They cannot be prohibited from forming their *own* schools out of their *own* funds and from teaching their own nonsense in them.)

6. In that case the point on the "secular character of the school" no longer arises, since it relates to the preceding paragraph.

8 and 9. Here I want to draw attention to the following: These points demand that the following should be taken over by the state: (1) *the bar,* (2) *medical services,* (3) *pharmaceutics, dentistry, midwifery, nursing,* etc., etc., and later the demand is advanced that workers' insurance become a state concern. Can all this be entrusted to Mr. von Caprivi? And is it compatible with the rejection of all state socialism, as stated above?

10. Here I should say: "Progressive ... tax to cover all expenditure of the state, district and community, insofar as taxes are required for it. Abolition of all indirect state and local taxes, duties, etc." The rest is a redundant commentary or motivation that tends to weaken the effect.

III. ECONOMIC DEMANDS

To item 2. Nowhere more so than in Germany does the right of association require guarantees also from the *state.*

The closing phrase: "for the regulation", etc., should be added *as item 4* and be given a corresponding form. In this connection it should be noted that we would be taken in good and proper by labour chambers made up half of workers and half of entrepreneurs. For years to come the entrepreneurs would always have a majority, for only a single black sheep among the workers would be needed to achieve this. If it is not agreed upon that in cases of conflict *both halves* express *separate* opinions, it would be much better to have a chamber of entrepreneurs and *in addition an independent chamber of workers.*

In conclusion I should like to request that the draft be compared once more with the French programme,[193] where some things seem better precisely for Section III. Being pressed for time, I unfortunately cannot search for the Spanish programme,[194] which is also very good in many respects.

APPENDIX TO SECTION I

1. "Pits, quarries" delete—"Railways and other means of communication."

2. In the hands of their appropriators (or their owners) the social means of labour have become means of exploitation. The economic subjugation of the worker by the appropriator of the means of labour, that is to say, of the means of livelihood, conditioned thereby, is the basis of slavery in all its forms: social misery, mental degradation and political dependence.

3. Under this exploitation the wealth created by the exploited is concentrated in the hands of the exploiters—the capitalists and big landowners—with growing speed; the distribution of the product of labour between the exploiters and exploited becomes ever more uneven, and the numbers and insecurity of the proletariat grow ever greater, etc.

4. "*Private*" (production) delete ... deteriorate, by the ruin of the urban and rural middle classes, the petty bourgeois and small peasants, widen (or deepen) the chasm between the haves and have-nots, make general insecurity the normal state of society and prove that the class of the appropriators of the social means of labour has lost the vocation and ability for economic and political leadership.

5. "its" causes.

6. ...and the transformation of capitalist production on behalf of individuals or joint-stock companies into socialist production on behalf of society as a whole and according to a preconceived plan, a transformation, for which capitalist society itself creates the material and spiritual conditions, and by which alone can be

achieved the emancipation of the working class and with it the emancipation of all members of society without exception.

7. The emancipation of the working class can be the work only of the working class itself. It is self-evident that the working class cannot leave its emancipation either to the capitalists and big landowners, its opponents and exploiters, or to the petty bourgeois and small peasants, who, being stifled by competition on the part of the big exploiters, have no choice but[a] to join either their ranks or those of the workers.

8. ...with workers conscious of their class position, etc.

9. ...places ... and thereby concentrates in the same hands the power of economic exploitation and political oppression of the workers.

10. ...class rule and the classes themselves[b] and for equal rights and equal duties of all without, etc. ... origin (delete end). In its struggle for ... mankind it is obstructed by Germany's backward political state. First and foremost, it has to conquer room for movement, to abolish the massive survivals of feudalism and absolutism, in short, to do the work which the German bourgeois parties were and still are too cowardly to carry out. Hence it has, at least at present, to include also such demands in its programme, which in other cultural countries have already been implemented by the bourgeoisie.

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[a] The end of the sentence is written in pencil; crossed out is the following: "to cling to them or to sink into the ranks of the proletariat, and therefore either to oppose or to follow the working class".— *Ed.*

[b] The words "and the classes themselves" are written in pencil.— *Ed.*

[THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS. THE SITUATION IN EUROPE

(FROM A LETTER TO PAUL LAFARGUE)][195]

London, September 2, 1891

THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS

We have every reason to be satisfied with the Brussels Congress. It was right to vote for the exclusion of the anarchists: that is where the old International broke off, that is where the new one resumes. It is quite simply the confirmation, nineteen years later, of the resolutions of the Hague Congress.[196]

No less important was the way the door was thrown wide open to the English TRADES UNIONS. The step which shows how well the situation has been understood. And the votes which tied the TRADES UNIONS to "the class struggle and the abolition of wage-labour" mean that it was not a concession on our part.

The Domela Nieuwenhuis incident has shown that the European workers have finally left behind the period of the domination of the resounding phrase, and that they are aware of the responsibilities incumbent on them: they are a class constituted as a party of "struggle", a party which reckons with "facts". And the facts are taking an increasingly revolutionary turn.

THE SITUATION IN EUROPE

In Russia there is already famine; in Germany there will be famine in a few months; the other countries will suffer less. This is why: the harvest deficit for 1891 is estimated at eleven and a half million hectolitres of wheat and between 87 and 100 million hectolitres of rye. The latter deficit will, therefore, mainly affect the two rye-consuming countries, Russia and Germany.

This guarantees us peace until the spring of 1892. Russia will not make a move before then; so, excepting some inconceivable foolishness on the part of Paris or Berlin, there will be no war.

On the other hand, will tsarism survive this crisis? I doubt it. There are too many rebel elements in the big cities, and particularly in St. Petersburg, for them not to attempt to seize this opportunity to depose that alcoholic Alexander III, or at the very least to place him under the control of a national assembly. Perhaps he himself will be forced to take the initiative in convening one. Russia—that is to say, the government and the

young bourgeoisie—has worked enormously hard to create a big national industry (see Plekhanov's article in the *Neue Zeit*[a]). This industry will be stopped dead in its tracks because the famine will close down its only market—the domestic market. The Tsar will see the results of making Russia a self-sufficient country independent of abroad: to the crisis in agriculture will be added an industrial crisis.

In Germany the government will decide too late, as usual, to abolish or suspend the duty on corn. That will break the protectionist majority in the Reichstag. The big landowners, the "rurals",[197] will no longer want to uphold the duties on industrial products, they will want to buy as cheaply as possible. So we shall probably see a repetition of what happened at the time of the vote on the Anti-Socialist Law[198]; a protectionist majority, by itself divided by conflicting interests arising out of the new situation, which finds it impossible to reach agreement on the details of a protectionist system. All the possible proposals being only minority ones; there will be either a reversion to the free trade system, which is just as impossible, or dissolution, with the old parties and the old majority unseated and replaced by a new free-trade majority opposed to the present government. That will mean the real, definitive end of the Bismarck period and of political stagnation in home affairs—I am not speaking here of our party but of parties which might "possibly" govern. There will be strife between the landed nobility and the bourgeoisie, and between the industrial bourgeoisie, which is protectionist, and the men of commerce and a fraction of the industrial bourgeoisie who are free traders. The stability of the administration and of domestic politics will be shattered, in short there will be movement, struggle, life, and our party will reap all the rewards. And if events take this turn, our party will be able to come to power round about 1898.

There we have it! I do not speak of the other countries because the agricultural crisis does not affect them so severely. But if this crisis in agriculture were to unleash in England the industrial crisis which we have been awaiting for twenty-five years... Then we'll see!

F. Engels

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Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the first time

[a] G. Plechanow, "Die sozialpolitische Zustände Rußlands im Jahre 1890", *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 47-52, Vol. 2, 1890-91.—*Ed.*

SOCIALISM IN GERMANY [199]

Written: main text—in October 1891, introduction and conclusion to the German translation—in January 1892

First published in *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*, Lille, 1891 (without introduction and conclusion), and in full in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 19, 1891-1892

Signed: *Fr. Engels*

Printed: main text according to *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*, checked with *Die Neue Zeit*; introduction and conclusion according to *Die Neue Zeit*

Translated from the French and German

The following is the translation of an article which I wrote in French at the request of our Parisian friends for the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*. I owe it to the French—as well as the German—socialists to publish it in German. To the French, because it must be known in Germany how openly it is possible to discuss with them the circumstances in which German socialists would undoubtedly take part in a war, even against France, and how free *these* Frenchmen are from the chauvinism and vengefulness which all the bourgeois parties, from the monarchists to the radicals, display in all their glory. To the Germans, because they are entitled to hear from me at first hand what I have been telling the French about them.

It goes without saying—but let me make it quite clear once again—that in this article I speak purely in my own name and not in the name of the German party. The only ones entitled to do this are the elected bodies, representatives and delegates of this party. And, in addition, the international position which I have attained after fifty years' work prevents me from acting as the representative of any particular national socialist party as opposed to another, although it does not prevent me from recalling that I am a German and being proud of the position which our German workers were the first to win for themselves through struggle.

I

German socialism made its appearance well before 1848. At that time there were two independent tendencies. Firstly, a workers' movement, a branch of French working-class communism, a

movement which, as one of its phases, produced the utopian communism of Weitling. Secondly, a theoretical movement, emerging from the collapse of the Hegelian philosophy; this movement, from its origins, was dominated by the name of Marx. The *Communist Manifesto* of January 1848 marks the fusion of these two tendencies, a fusion made complete and irrevocable in the furnace of revolution, in which everyone, workers and philosophers alike, shared equally the personal cost.[a]

After the defeat of the European revolution in 1849, socialism was reduced in Germany to a secret existence. It was not until 1862 that Lassalle, a fellow student of Marx, again raised the socialist banner. But it was no longer the bold socialism of the *Manifesto*; what Lassalle demanded in the interest of the working class was cooperative production assisted by state credit; a reproduction of the programme of the Parisian workers affiliated before 1848 to the *National* of Marrast,[b] of the programme proposed by the *pure republicans,* as the alternative to Louis Blanc's Organisation of Labour.[200] Lassallean socialism was, as we can see, very moderate. Nevertheless, its appearance on the scene marks the starting point of the second phase of socialism in Germany; for Lassalle's talent, spirit and indomitable energy succeeded in creating a workers' movement to which everything that had roused the German proletariat[c] over the last ten years was attached by links positive or negative, amicable or hostile.[201]

Could, then, pure Lassalleanism on its own fulfil the socialist aspirations of the nation that had produced the *Manifesto*? It proved impossible. Therefore, thanks mainly to the efforts of Liebknecht and Bebel, a workers' party was soon formed which loudly proclaimed the principles of 1848.[202] Then, in 1867, three years after the death of Lassalle, Marx's *Capital* appeared. The decline of Lassalleanism as such dates from this day. Increasingly the theories of *Capital* became the common property of all the German socialists, Lassalleans and others. More than once entire groups of Lassalleans went over en masse, drums beating and banners flying, to Bebel's and Liebknecht's[d] new party, called the Eisenach party. As this party continued to grow in strength, there was soon all-out hostility between the Lassalleans and their rivals;

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[a] The German translation reads "showed honorably what they are worth" instead of "shared equally the personal cost".— *Ed.*

[b] In the German text there follows "organ of pure Republicans".— *Ed.*

[c] The German has "the German proletariat had made independently" instead of "had roused the German proletariat".— *Ed.*

[d] In the German text the words "Bebel's and Liebknecht's" are omitted.— *Ed.*

they fought with cudgels precisely at the moment when there was no longer any real difference between the combatants, when the principles, arguments, and even the methods of the struggle of one side were in all essentials identical with those of the other.

At this point the presence in the Reichstag of deputies from the two socialist factions imposed on them the necessity of joint action. When confronted with bourgeois deputies,[a] the ridiculous nature of this traditional hostility was obvious. The situation became intolerable. Then in 1875 the two factions merged.[203] Since then the brother-enemies have continued to form a family united in harmony. If there was the slightest chance of a split, Bismarck himself undertook to eliminate it when, in 1878, he placed German socialism beyond the pale of the law with his notorious exceptional law.[204] The hammer blows of shared persecution completed the work of forging Lassalleans and Eisenachers into a homogeneous mass. Today, whilst the socialist party publishes an official edition of Lassalle's works,[205] it is removing from its programme, with the aid of the former Lassalleans, the last remaining traces of Lassalleanism as such.[206]

Need I recount in detail the vicissitudes, the struggles, the setbacks and the triumphs which have accompanied the career of the German party? Represented by two deputies[b] and one hundred thousand votes from 1866, when universal suffrage opened up to it the doors of the Reichstag, today it has 35 deputies and a million-and-a-half voters, a figure which none of the other parties reached in the elections of 1890.[207] Eleven years passed as an outlaw and in a state of siege have resulted in a quadrupling of its strength, to make it the strongest party in Germany. In 1867 the bourgeois deputies[c] were able to regard their socialist colleagues as strange creatures that had arrived from another planet; today, whether they like it or not, they have to regard them as the avant-garde of the power to come. The socialist party which overthrew Bismarck, the party which after eleven years of struggle has broken the Anti-Socialist Law; the socialist party, which like a rising tide overflows all the dikes, invading towns and countryside, even in the most reactionary Vendées[d]—this party today has reached the point where it is

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[a] Instead of "bourgeois deputies" the German text reads "the parties of order".— *Ed.*

[b] August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.— *Ed.*

[c] The German text reads "deputies of the parties of order" instead of "bourgeois deputies".— *Ed.*

[d] The German text reads "agricultural districts" instead of "Vendées".— *Ed.*

possible to determine the date when it will come to power almost by mathematical calculation.

The number of socialist votes was:

In 1871	101,927	In 1884	549,990
In 1874	351,670	In 1887	763,128
In 1877	493,447	In 1890	1,427,298

Since the last elections the government has done its best to push the mass of people towards socialism; it has prosecuted associations and strikes; it has upheld, even in the present scarcity, import tariffs which make the bread and meat of the poor more expensive in order to benefit the big landowners. So at the elections in 1895 we can count on two and a half million votes at least, which will increase by 1900 to three and a half to four million out of ten million registered voters,[a] a figure which will appear curiously "*fin de siècle*" to our bourgeois.

Facing this compact and steadily growing mass of socialists there are only the divided bourgeois parties. In 1890 the conservatives (two factions combined) received 1,377,417 votes; the national liberals 1,177,807; the progressists (radicals)[b] 1,159,915; the Catholics[c] 1,342,113.[208] There we have a situation in which one solid party able to muster two and a half million votes will be strong enough to force any government to capitulate.

But the votes of the electors are far from constituting the main strength of German socialism. In our country you do not become a voter until the age of twenty-five, but at twenty you are a soldier. Moreover, since it is precisely the younger generation which provides the party with most of its recruits, it follows that the German army is becoming more and more infected with socialism. Today we have one soldier in five, in a few years' time we shall have one in three, by 1900 the army, hitherto the most outstandingly Prussian element in Germany, will have a socialist majority. That is coming about as if by fate. The Berlin government can see it happening just as clearly as we can, but it is powerless. The army is slipping away from it.

How many times have the bourgeois called on us to renounce the use of revolutionary means for ever, to remain within the law, now that the exceptional law has been dropped and one law has

[a] The words "out of ten million registered voters" are omitted in the German text.— *Ed.*

[b] The German text has "the German liberal-minded" instead of "progressists (radicals)".— *Ed.*

[c] The German text reads "Centre" instead of "Catholics".— *Ed.*

been re-established for all, including the socialists? Unfortunately we are not in a position to oblige *messieurs les bourgeois*. Be that as it may, for the time being it is not we who are being destroyed by legality.[209] It is working so well for us that we would be mad to spurn it as long as the situation lasts. It remains to be seen whether it will be the bourgeois and their government who will be the first to turn their back on the law in order to crush us by violence. That is what we shall be waiting for. You shoot first, *messieurs les bourgeois*![210]

No doubt they will be the first ones to fire. One fine day the German bourgeois and their government, tired of standing with their arms folded, witnessing the ever increasing advances of socialism, will resort to illegality and violence. To what avail? With force it is possible to crush a small sect, at least in a restricted space but there is no force in the world which can wipe out a party of two million men[a] spread out over the entire surface-area of a large empire. Counter-revolutionary violence[b] will be able to slow down the victory of socialism by a few years; but only in order to make it all the more complete when it comes.

II

All the above was said with the reservation that Germany will be able to pursue its economic and political development in peace. A war would change all that. And war is liable to break out at any moment.

Everyone knows what war means today. It would be Russia and France on one side; Germany, Austria and perhaps Italy on the other. Socialists in all these countries, conscripted whether they like it or not, will be forced to do battle against one another: what will the German *socialist* party do in such a case?[c]

The German empire is a monarchy with semi-feudal institutions, but dominated ultimately by the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. Thanks to Bismarck this empire has committed some grave blunders. Its domestic policy, a policy of harassment and meanness based on the police, unworthy of the government of a great nation, has earned it the scorn of all the bourgeois liberal

[a] The German text reads "over two or three million men" instead of "two million men".— *Ed.*

[b] The German text has "the temporary superiority of counter-revolutionary forces" instead of "counter-revolutionary violence".— *Ed.*

[c] In the German text there follows: "What will become of it?"— *Ed.*

countries; its foreign policy has excited the distrust, if not the hatred, of all its neighbours. With the violent annexation of Alsace-Lorraine the German government rendered any reconciliation with France impossible for a long time to come; without gaining any real advantage itself it has made Russia the arbiter of Europe. This is so evident that the day after Sedan [211] the General Council of the International was able to predict the situation in Europe as it is today. In its address of September 9, 1870 it said: "Do the Teuton patriots really believe that liberty and peace will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia? If the fortune of her arms, the arrogance of success, and dynastic intrigue lead Germany to a dismemberment of France, there will then only remain two courses open to her. She must at all risks become the avowed tool of Russian aggrandisement, or, after some short respite, make again ready for another 'defensive' war, not one of those new-fangled 'localised' wars but a war of races, a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races." [a]

There is no doubt: in relation to this German empire, the French republic as it is now represents revolution, the bourgeois revolution, to be sure, but still revolution. But the instant this republic places itself under the orders of the Russian tsar it is a different matter entirely. Russian tsarism is the enemy of all the Western nations, even of the bourgeois of these nations. By invading Germany, the tsarist hordes would be bringing slavery instead of liberty, destruction instead of development, degradation instead of progress. Arm in arm with Russia, France cannot bring a single liberating idea to Germany; the French general who spoke to the Germans about the republic would make Europe and America laugh. It would mean the abdication of France's revolutionary role [b]; it would mean permitting Bismarck's empire to pose as the representative of Western progress against the barbarism of the East.

But behind official Germany there is the German socialist party, the party to which belongs the future, the imminent future of the country. The moment this party comes to power it will neither be able to exercise it nor to retain it without making good the injustices committed by its predecessors towards the other nationalities. It will have to prepare for the restoration of Poland,

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[a] K. Marx, *Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War*, present edition, Vol. 22, p. 267.— *Ed.*

[b] The German text has "its entire revolutionary role in history" instead of "France's revolutionary role".— *Ed.*

so shamefully betrayed today by the French bourgeoisie; it will have to appeal to northern Schleswig and to Alsace-Lorraine[212] freely to decide their own political future. All these questions will thus be resolved effortlessly, and in the near future, if Germany is left to itself. Between a socialist France and a socialist Germany there can be no Alsace-Lorraine question; the case will be settled in the twinkling of an eye. It is a matter, then, of waiting another ten years or so. The French, English and German proletariat is still awaiting deliverance; could not the patriots of Alsace-Lorraine wait? Is there any reason to devastate a continent and to subjugate it, ultimately, to the tsarist knout? Is the game worth the candle?

In the event of war first Germany, then France would be the main battleground; these two countries in particular will pay the cost in devastation. And there is more. This war will be distinguished from the outset by a series of betrayals between allies unequalled in the annals of diplomatic betrayal to date; France or Germany, or both, will be the main victims. It is therefore almost certain that neither of these countries will provoke an open conflict in view of the risks they would be running. But Russia, protected by its geographical position and by its economic situation against the more disastrous consequences of a series of defeats—official Russia alone could find it in its interests to unleash such a terrible war; it is Russia who will be pressing for war. In any case, given the present political situation, the odds are ten to one that at the first sound of cannon on the Vistula the French armies will march on the Rhine.

Then Germany will be fighting for its very existence. If victorious it will find nothing to annex.

To the East as well as to the West it will only find provinces speaking foreign tongues; it has enough of those already. Beaten, crushed between the French hammer and the Russian anvil it will have to cede Old Prussia and the Polish provinces to Russia, Schleswig to Denmark, and the entire left bank of the Rhine to France. Even if France refused to accept, its ally would impose this conquest on it; *what Russia needs more than anything else is a cause of permanent enmity between France and Germany.*[a] Reconcile these two great countries and that is the end of Russian supremacy in Europe. Dismembered in this way, Germany would be unable to play its part in Europe's civilising mission[b]; reduced to the role

[a] In the German text there follows: "eternal apple of discord".— *Ed.*

[b] In the German text the end of this phrase after the words "would be unable" is given as follows: "to play the part befitting it in the historical development of Europe".— *Ed.*

imposed on it by Napoleon after Tilsit it could not live except by preparing for a new war of national rehabilitation. But in the meanwhile it would be the humble tool of the Tsar,[a] who would not fail to make use of it—against France.

What will become of the German socialist party in such circumstances? It goes without saying that neither the Tsar nor the French bourgeois republicans nor the German government itself would let pass such a good opportunity to crush the sole party which, for them, constitutes the enemy. We have seen how Thiers and Bismarck extended their hands to each other over the ruins of the Paris Commune[213]; we would then see the Tsar, Constans, Caprivi (or their successors) embracing one another over the corpse of German socialism.

But the German socialist party, thanks to the efforts and the unceasing sacrifices of more than thirty years, has attained a position that none of the other socialist parties in Europe occupies: a position which guarantees it political power in a short while. Socialist Germany occupies in the international working-class movement the most advanced, the most honourable and the most responsible outpost; it is its duty to defend this outpost against all.[b]

Now, if the victory of the Russians over Germany means the crushing of socialism in this country, what will be the duty of the German socialists with regard to this eventuality? Should they passively endure the events that are threatening them with extinction, abandon the post they have conquered and for which they are answerable to the world proletariat without putting up a fight?

Obviously not. In the interest of the European revolution they are obliged to defend all the positions that have been won, not to capitulate to the enemy from without any more than to the enemy within; and they cannot accomplish that except by fighting Russia and its allies, whoever they may be, to the bitter end. If the French republic placed itself at the service of His Majesty the Tsar, Autocrat of all the Russias, the German socialists would fight it with regret, but they would fight it all the same. The French republic may represent vis-à-vis the German empire the bourgeois revolution. But vis-à-vis the republic of the Constanses, the Rouviers and even the Clemenceaus, especially vis-à-vis the republic that is

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[a] Alexander III.— *Ed.*

[b] The German text reads "against every attack to the last man" instead of "against all".— *Ed.*

working for the Russian Tsar, German socialism represents the proletarian revolution.

A war in which Russians and Frenchmen invaded Germany would be, for Germany, a war to the death, in which, in order to ensure its national existence, it would have to resort to the most revolutionary means. The present government, certainly, would not unleash revolution, unless it were forced to. But there is a strong party which would force it to, or if necessary replace it: the socialist party.

We have not forgotten the marvellous example which France gave us in 1793.[214] The centenary of '93 is approaching. If the Tsar's thirst for conquest and the chauvinist impatience of the French bourgeoisie stop the victorious but peaceful march of the German socialists, the latter are ready, you may be sure, to prove that the German proletarians of today are not unworthy of the French sans-culottes of a hundred years ago, and that 1893 will equal 1793. And then the soldiers of Constans, on setting foot on German soil, will be greeted with the song[a]:

> What, would foreign hordes
> Lay down the law in our homes?

Let us sum up. Peace ensures the victory of the German socialist party in some ten years' time; war offers it either victory in two or three years, or complete ruin, at least for the next fifteen to twenty years. In this position the German socialists would have to be mad to prefer the all-or-nothing of war to the certain victory which peace offers them. There is more. No socialist, of whatever country, can desire victory by war, either by the present German government or by the French bourgeois republic; even less by the Tsar, which would be tantamount to the subjugation of Europe. That is why socialists everywhere demand that peace be maintained. But if war is to break out nonetheless, one thing is certain. This war, in which fifteen to twenty million armed men would slaughter one another and devastate Europe as it has never been devastated before—this war would either lead to the immediate triumph of socialism, or it would lead to such an upheaval in the old order of things, it would leave behind it everywhere such a heap of ruins, that the old capitalist society would become more impossible than ever, and the social revolution, set back by ten or fifteen years, would only be all the more radical and more rapidly implemented.

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[a] Rouget de Lisle, *Marseillaise.—Ed.*

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That, then, was the article from the French workers' calendar. It was written in the late summer, when the heads of the French bourgeoisie were still flushed with the champagne-induced inebriation of Kronstadt,[215] and the great manoeuvres on the battle area of 1814 between the Seine and the Marne had brought patriotic enthusiasm to a head. At that time France—the France that expresses itself in the big press and the parliamentary majority—was indeed ripe for more or less unlimited stupidity in the service of Russia, and the eventuality of war moved into the foreground as a possibility. And in order, should it become a reality, to prevent any last minute misunderstanding between the French and German socialists, I considered it necessary to make it clear to the former what in my opinion the necessary attitude of the latter should be with regard to such a war.

But then a powerful check was imposed on the Russian war-monger. First came the news of harvest failure at home, with every reason to expect a famine. Then came the failure of the Paris loan,[216] signifying the final collapse of Russian state credit. The four hundred million marks were, it was said, oversubscribed many times; but when the Paris bankers sought to palm off the bonds onto the public, all their attempts failed; the esteemed subscribers had to dispose of their good securities in order to cover these bad ones—and to such an extent that the other large European stock exchanges were also forced down by these mass sales; the new "Russians" sank several per cent below their issue price—in short, there was such a crisis that the Russian government had to take back a hundred and sixty millions worth of bonds and only received cover for two hundred and forty instead of four hundred million. At this the proclamation of a further Russian attempt to get credit—this time for all of eight hundred million marks—which had been gaily crowed out to the world, fell through miserably. And at the same time it also became plain that French capital has no "patriotism" at all, but it does have—however much it may beat the drum in the press—a salutory fear of war.

Since then the failure of the harvest has indeed developed into a famine, and such a famine as we in Western Europe have not seen on this scale for a long time, such as rarely occurs even in India, the typical country for such calamities, indeed such as barely ever reached this height in the holy Russia of earlier times, when there were still no railways. How does this come about? How can it be explained?

Very simply. The Russian famine is not the result of a mere failure of the harvest, it is a part of the tremendous social revolution which Russia has been undergoing since the Crimean War; it is simply the transformation of the chronic sufferings linked with this revolution into acute sufferings brought about by this bad harvest.

Old Russia went irrevocably to its grave the day when Tsar Nicholas, despairing of himself and of old Russia, took poison.[217] On its ruins the Russia of the bourgeoisie is being built.

The beginnings of a bourgeoisie were already present at that time. Partly bankers and import merchants—mostly Germans and German Russians or their descendants—partly Russians who had risen through domestic trading, but particularly schnapps pedlars and army suppliers who had grown rich at the expense of the state and people, and also a few manufacturers. From now on this bourgeoisie, particularly the industrial bourgeoisie, was literally cultivated by means of massive goverment aid, by subsidies, premiums, and protective tariffs that were gradually raised to the utmost.[218] The immeasurable Russian Empire was supposed to become a production area sufficient unto itself, which could dispense with imports from abroad entirely or almost entirely. And it is to ensure not only that the domestic market should continually grow, but also that the products of warmer climes should be produced inside the country itself, that there is this steady striving for conquests in the Balkan peninsula and in Asia, with Constantinople and British India respectively as the ultimate goals. This is the secret, the economic basis of the drive for expansion that is so rife among the Russian bourgeoisie, the branch that leads south-west being called Pan-Slavism.[219]

However, the serfdom of the peasants was absolutely inconsistent with such industrial plans. It fell in 1861. But how! The Prussian abolition of servitude and statute labour carried out slowly between 1810 and 1851[220] was taken as a model; but everything was to be settled in a few years. Consequently, in order to break the resistance of the big landowners and "serf"-owners, concessions had to be made to them which were quite different from those granted by the Prussian state and its corrupt officials to the gracious landlords of their day. And as for corruptibility, the Prussian bureaucrat was nothing but a babe-in-arms compared with the Russian *tschinownik*.[a] Thus it was that in the partition of the land the nobility received the

[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian word meaning "a civil servant".—*Ed.*

lion's share, and as a rule the land made fertile by the labour of many generations of peasants, while the peasants received only the minimum necessary for subsistence, and even this was generally allotted to them in poor wasteland. Common forest and common grazing went to the landlord; if the peasant wished to use them—and without them he could not exist—he had to pay the landlord for it.

To ensure, however, that both landed nobility and peasants were ruined as quickly as possible, the nobility was given the capitalised redemption sum in state bonds from the government in a lump sum, while the peasants had to pay the redemption price in long-term instalments. As was only to be expected, the nobility for the most part squandered the money received immediately, while the peasant, facing what was, for someone in his position, enormous payments, was suddenly hurled out of a subsistence economy into a money economy.

The Russian peasant, who previously had hardly had to make any money payments excepting relatively low taxes, is now supposed not only to live off the smaller and poorer plot allotted to him and, after the abolition of the free wood and free grazing on common land, feed his livestock through the winter and improve his plot—but also to pay increased taxes as well as the annual redemption instalment, and in cash too. He was thus placed in a position in which he could neither live nor die. On top of this there was the competition of the newly developed large-scale industry, which deprived him of the market for his domestic industry—domestic industry was the main source of money for countless Russian peasants—or, where this was not yet quite the case, delivered up this domestic industry to the mercy of the merchant, i. e. the middleman, the Saxon entrepreneur or the English SWEATERS, thus turning the peasants engaged in domestic industry into nothing less than the slaves of capital. In short, anyone curious to know how the Russian peasants have been abused over the last thirty years need only look up the chapter on the "Creation of the Home Market" (Chapter 24, Section 5) in the first volume of Marx's *Capital*.[a]

The ravages wrought among the peasants by the transition from a subsistence economy to a money economy—this chief means of producing the home market for industrial capital—are depicted in a classic manner by Boisguillebert and Vauban from the example

[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII, Chapter XXX (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

of France under Louis XIV.[a] But what occurred then is child's play compared with what is happening in Russia. Firstly the scale is three or four times larger, and secondly the revolutionisation of the conditions of production, in whose service this transition is being forced on the peasants, is infinitely more thorough-going. The French peasant was slowly dragged into the sphere of manufacture, the Russian peasant is being swept overnight into the tornado of large-scale industry. If manufacture felled peasants with the flint-lock, large-scale industry is carrying out the job with a repeating-rifle.

This was the position when the failure of the harvest in 1891 exposed at a stroke the entire upheaval and its consequences, which had been quietly taking place for years but had remained invisible to the European philistine. This position was such that the first bad harvest was bound to turn into a national crisis. And now there is a crisis that will not be mastered for years to come. In the face of a famine like this every government is powerless, but particularly the Russian, which expressly trains its officials in thieving. Since 1861 the old communist customs and institutions of the Russian peasants have partly been undermined by economic developments, partly destroyed systematically by the government. The old communist community has disintegrated, or is in the process of so doing, but at the very moment when the individual peasant is being placed on his own feet, the ground is removed from under them. Is it any wonder that last autumn winter-corn was sown in extremely few districts? And where it was sown the weather ruined most of it. Is it any wonder that the main instrument of the peasant, the beast of burden, first had nothing to eat itself and then, for this irrefutable reason, was eaten by the peasant himself? Is it any wonder that the peasant is leaving house and home and fleeing to the cities, vainly looking for work but unfailingly bringing typhoid with him?

In a word: here we have before us not an isolated famine but an immense crisis prepared by a prolonged, quiet economic revolution and merely rendered acute by the failure of the harvest. This acute crisis, however, is assuming in its turn a chronic form and threatens to stay for years. Economically it is accelerating the dissolution of the old communist peasant community, the enrichment of the village usurers (the *kulaki*) and their transformation into big landowners, and the transfer of the landed

[a] See P. Boisguillebert, *Le Détail de la France* and S. Vauban, *Projet d'une dîme royale.* In: *Économistes financiers du XVIII^e siècle.—Ed.*

property of the nobility and the peasants into the hands of the new bourgeoisie.

For Europe it means peace for the time being. Russian warmongering is paralysed for a good many years to come. Instead of millions of soldiers falling on the battlefields, millions of Russian peasants are dying of starvation. But its effects as far as Russian despotism is concerned remain to be seen.

[TO THE EDITORS OF THE *VOLKSFREUND*][221]

London, November 13, 1891

My dear comrades,

Accept my heartiest thanks for your friendly invitation to the tenth anniversary celebrations for the *Volksfreund*. Unfortunately I shall be unable to come myself, since my work on the third volume of Marx's *Capital*, which must finally be published, keeps me here. These lines must represent me.

I can however congratulate you heartily on this momentous occasion. I know what it costs to keep alive a militant Social Democratic paper like the *Volksfreund* for ten years under the Austrian press and police laws, and I know too, at least in general, the sacrifices which have had to be made to do this. *That* you have succeeded despite everything is all the more praiseworthy as the Austrian press laws, drafted in realisation that by and large the organs of the *propertied* classes are not dangerous, appear to aim at ruining or taming the workers' papers by pressure upon their *financial resources*. And therefore, if the workers of Brünn have managed, despite this financial pressure, to maintain their paper for ten years without in any way denying their banner, this is once again proof of the tenacity and readiness for sacrifice which is to be found today only amongst the workers.

I cannot end this letter without expressing once again my pleasure that, while young Czech[222] and old German bourgeois are everywhere at loggerheads, the Czech and German workers are fighting united, shoulder to shoulder, for the liberation of the entire proletariat.

Once again, heartiest thanks and best wishes from your old

Fr. Engels

First published in the *Volksfreund*, No. 22, November 25, 1891

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[THE COVERING LETTER TO THE STATEMENT TO THE] EDITOR, *DAILY CHRONICLE* OFFICE

Dear Sir

For the sake of historical truth I request you to insert the enclosed reply[a] to one of the most infamous slanders ever concocted.[b]

I regret that the *Daily Chronicle* which has done such good service to the working class in England should allow its correspondents abroad to spread calumnious reports about Continental working class movements and their leaders.[c]

Yours faithfully

Written on November 17, 1891

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

Reproduced from the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 253.— *Ed.*

[b] "The Case of M. Lafargue", *The Daily Chronicle*, No. 9261, November 17, 1891.— *Ed.*

[c] The following sentence is crossed out: "Your Paris correspondent seems to be jealous of your Berlin one, about whose true character I believe you have been some time ago told the truth."— *Ed.*

THE LATE MADAM KARL MARX

THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY CHRONICLE*

Sir,—In your issue of this morning your Paris correspondent, amongst other inaccuracies concerning the family of my late friend Karl Marx, states that after the Commune the French Minister of Justice ordered the arrest of M. Paul Lafargue, recently elected deputy at Lille.[a] He then continues—

"Madam Karl Marx is said at this time to have revealed the whereabouts of a depôt of arms to the authorities, on condition that her son-in-law should not be molested. M. Lafargue then passed the Spanish frontier."

Mrs. Aveling, the daughter of Mrs. Marx, being for the moment absent from London, the duty of repelling the above-mentioned accusation against her mother devolves upon me. The facts are these:—M. Lafargue, while staying with his wife[b] and his two sisters-in-law[c] at Bagnères-de-Luchon, was informed of his impending arrest by a friendly Republican police-officer. He escaped the same day into Spain, passing the Pyrenées on horseback.[223] Mrs. Marx, who was then in London, therefore could not, even if she had been so minded, interfere on his behalf by betraying to the French Government anything whatever. The whole story of the pretended depôt of arms is a mere fable, invented to blacken the memory of a woman whose noble and self-sacrificing nature was utterly incapable of a mean action.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

Frederick Engels

122, Regent's-park-road, N.W., Nov. 17.

First published in *The Daily Chronicle*, No. 9269, November 26, 1891

Reproduced from the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

[a] "The Case of M. Lafargue", *The Daily Chronicle*, No. 9261, November 17, 1891.—*Ed.*

[b] Laura Lafargue.—*Ed.*

[c] Jenny and Eleanor Marx.—*Ed.*

TO THE CHOIR CLUB OF THE COMMUNIST [GERMAN] WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY[224]

TOTTENHAM STREET

122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.
November 28, 1891

Dear Comrades,

Mrs. Kautsky has just informed me that my friend Lessner has told her you intend to bring me musical greetings this evening on my seventy-first birthday. However I had already arranged to spend the evening with a friend,[a] and since others will be coming too, it is absolutely impossible to reverse my plans now; very regretfully, I shall not be able to be at home this evening.

I am therefore obliged, dear comrades, to convey to you by letter my most sincere thanks for your so kind and honourable offer, and at the same time my regrets that I was not informed earlier of your plans. Both Marx and I were always opposed to all public tributes to individuals, except in a case where a greater purpose could be served; and most particularly against such tributes as would centre around ourselves in our lifetime. Had I had the slightest indication that such an honour was planned for me, I would have hurried to request, humbly but most urgently, that the singers should refrain from carrying out their intention. To my regret I only learned of this today, and being so reluctantly faced with the necessity of frustrating your plans, as well meaning and honourable as they are, I can only best make amends by assuring you that the few years I may expect to survive at the outside, and the whole strength of which I still dispose, I shall continue to devote unstintingly to our great cause, as I have done

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[a] Eleanor Marx-Aveling.— *Ed.*

for nearly fifty years now—the cause of the international proletariat.

Sincerely yours,
Frederick Engels

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

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English in full for the first time

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST [GERMAN] WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY[225]

[London] 122, Regent's Park Road
December 1, 1891

Many thanks for your greetings on my 71st birthday.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, No. 10, Berlin, 1970

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

PREFACE [TO THE 1892 ENGLISH EDITION OF *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND IN 1844*][226]

The book, an English translation of which is here republished, was first issued in Germany in 1845. The author, at that time, was young, twenty-four years of age, and his production bears the stamp of his youth with its good and its faulty features, of neither of which he feels ashamed. It was translated into English, in 1886, by an American lady, Mrs. F. Kelley Wischnewetzky, and published in the following year in New York. The American edition being as good as exhausted, and having never been extensively circulated on this side of the Atlantic, the present English copyright edition is brought out with the full consent of all parties interested.

For the American edition, a new Preface[a] and an Appendix[b] were written in English by the author. The first had little to do with the book itself; it discussed the American Working-Class Movement of the day, and is, therefore, here omitted as irrelevant; the second—the original preface—is largely made use of in the present introductory remarks.

The state of things described in this book belongs to-day in many respects to the past, as far as England is concerned. Though not expressly stated in our recognised treatises, it is still a law of modern Political Economy that the larger the scale on which capitalistic production is carried on, the less can it support the petty devices of swindling and pilfering which characterise its early stages. The pettifogging business tricks of the Polish Jew, the representative in Europe of commerce in its lowest stage, those

[a] See present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 434-42.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 399-405.—*Ed.*

tricks that serve him so well in his own country, and are generally practised there, he finds to be out of date and out of place when he comes to Hamburg or Berlin; and again the commission agent who hails from Berlin or Hamburg, Jew or Christian, after frequenting the Manchester Exchange for a few months, finds out that in order to buy cotton-yarn or cloth cheap, he, too, had better drop those slightly more refined but still miserable wiles and subterfuges which are considered the acme of cleverness in his native country. The fact is, those tricks do not pay any longer in a large market, where time is money, and where a certain standard of commercial morality is unavoidably developed, purely as a means of saving time and trouble. And it is the same with the relation between the manufacturer and his "hands".

The revival of trade, after the crisis of 1847, was the dawn of a new industrial epoch. The repeal of the Corn Laws[227] and the financial reforms subsequent thereon gave to English industry and commerce all the elbow-room they had asked for. The discovery of the Californian and Australian gold-fields followed in rapid succession. The colonial markets developed at an increasing rate their capacity for absorbing English manufactured goods. In India millions of hand-weavers were finally crushed out by the Lancashire power-loom. China was more and more being opened up. Above all, the United States—then, commercially speaking, a mere colonial market, but by far the biggest of them all—underwent an economic development astounding even for that rapidly progressive country. And, finally, the new means of communication introduced at the close of the preceding period—railways and ocean steamers—were now worked out on an international scale; they realised actually what had hitherto existed only potentially, a world-market. This world-market, at first, was composed of a number of chiefly or entirely agricultural countries grouped around one manufacturing centre—England—which consumed the greater part of their surplus raw produce, and supplied them in return with the greater part of their requirements in manufactured articles. No wonder England's industrial progress was colossal and unparalleled, and such that the status of 1844 now appears to us as comparatively primitive and insignificant. And in proportion as this increase took place, in the same proportion did manufacturing industry become apparently moralised. The competition of manufacturer against manufacturer by means of petty thefts upon the workpeople did no longer pay. Trade had outgrown such low means of making money; they were not worth while practising for the manufacturing millionaire, and

served merely to keep alive the competition of smaller traders, thankful to pick up a penny wherever they could. Thus the truck system was suppressed, the Ten Hours' Bill[228] was enacted, and a number of other secondary reforms introduced—much against the spirit of Free Trade and unbridled competition, but quite as much in favour of the giant-capitalist in his competition with his less favoured brother. Moreover, the larger the concern, and with it the number of hands, the greater the loss and inconvenience caused by every conflict between master and men; and thus a new spirit came over the masters, especially the large ones, which taught them to avoid unnecessary squabbles, to acquiesce in the existence and power of Trades Unions, and finally even to discover in strikes—at opportune times—a powerful means to serve their own ends. The largest manufacturers, formerly the leaders of the war against the working-class, were now the foremost to preach peace and harmony. And for a very good reason. The fact is that all these concessions to justice and philanthropy were nothing else but means to accelerate the concentration of capital in the hands of the few, for whom the niggardly extra extortions of former years had lost all importance and had become actual nuisances; and to crush all the quicker and all the safer their smaller competitors who could not make both ends meet without such perquisites. Thus the development of production on the basis of the capitalistic system has of itself sufficed—at least in the leading industries, for in the more unimportant branches this is far from being the case—to do away with all those minor grievances which aggravated the workman's fate during its earlier stages. And thus it renders more and more evident the great central fact that the cause of the miserable condition of the working-class is to be sought, not in these minor grievances, but *in the capitalistic system itself.* The wage-worker sells to the capitalist his labour-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours' work he has reproduced the value of that sum; but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working-day; and the value he produces during these additional hours of surplus labour is surplus value which costs the capitalist nothing but yet goes into his pocket. That is the basis of the system which tends more and more to split up civilised society into a few Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence, on the one hand, and an immense number of wage-workers, the owners of nothing but their labour-force, on the other. And that this result is caused, not by this or that secondary grievance, but by the system

itself—this fact has been brought out in bold relief by the development of Capitalism in England since 1847.

Again, the repeated visitations of cholera, typhus, smallpox, and other epidemics have shown the British bourgeois the urgent necessity of sanitation in his towns and cities, if he wishes to save himself and family from falling victims to such diseases. Accordingly, the most crying abuses described in this book have either disappeared or have been made less conspicuous. Drainage has been introduced or improved, wide avenues have been opened out athwart many of the worst "slums" I had to describe. "Little Ireland" had disappeared, and the "Seven Dials" are next on the list for sweeping away.[229] But what of that? Whole districts which in 1844 I could describe as almost idyllic have now, with the growth of the towns, fallen into the same state of dilapidation, discomfort, and misery. Only the pigs and the heaps of refuse are no longer tolerated. The bourgeoisie have made further progress in the art of hiding the distress of the working-class. But that, in regard to their dwellings, no substantial improvement has taken place is amply proved by the Report of the Royal Commission "on the Housing of the Poor", 1885.[a] And this is the case, too, in other respects. Police regulations have been plentiful as blackberries; but they can only hedge in the distress of the workers, they cannot remove it.

But while England has thus outgrown the juvenile state of capitalist exploitation described by me, other countries have only just attained it. France, Germany, and especially America, are the formidable competitors who at this moment—as foreseen by me in 1844[b]—are more and more breaking up England's industrial monopoly. Their manufactures are young as compared with those of England, but increasing at a far more rapid rate than the latter; and, curious enough, they have at this moment arrived at about the same phase of development as English manufacture in 1844. With regard to America, the parallel is indeed most striking. True, the external surroundings in which the working-class is placed in America are very different, but the same economical laws are at work, and the results, if not identical in every respect, must still be of the same order. Hence we find in America the same struggles for a shorter working-day, for a legal limitation of the working-time, especially of women and children in factories; we find the

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[a] See *Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes. England and Wales. 1885.—Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 579-80.—*Ed.*

truck system in full blossom, and the cottage system,[230] in rural districts, made use of by the "bosses" as a means of domination over the workers. When I received, in 1886, the American papers with accounts of the great strike of 12,000 Pennsylvanian coal-miners in the Connellsville district,[231] I seemed but to read my own description of the North of England colliers' strike of 1844.[a] The same cheating of the workpeople by false measure; the same truck system; the same attempt to break the miners' resistance by the capitalists' last, but crushing, resource, the eviction of the men out of their dwellings, the cottages owned by the companies.

I have not attempted, in this translation, to bring the book up to date, or to point out in detail all the changes that have taken place since 1844. And for two reasons: Firstly, to do this properly, the size of the book must be about doubled; and, secondly, the first volume of *Das Kapital*, by Karl Marx, an English translation of which is before the public,[232] contains a very ample description of the state of the British working class, as it was about 1865, that is to say, at the time when British industrial prosperity reached its culminating point. I should, then, have been obliged again to go over the ground already covered by Marx's celebrated work.

It will be hardly necessary to point out that the general theoretical standpoint of this book—philosophical, economical, political—does not exactly coincide with my standpoint of to-day. Modern international Socialism, since fully developed as a science, chiefly and almost exclusively through the efforts of Marx, did not as yet exist in 1844. My book represents one of the phases of its embryonic development; and as the human embryo, in its early stages, still reproduces the gill-arches of our fish-ancestors, so this book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of Modern Socialism from one of its ancestors, German philosophy. Thus great stress is laid on the dictum that Communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self-emancipation of the working class, so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone. The French bourgeois of 1789,[b] too, declared the emancipation of the

[a] Ibid., pp. 540-47.—*Ed.*

[b] The reference is to the French Revolution.—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie to be the emancipation of the whole human race; but the nobility and clergy would not see it; the proposition—though for the time being, with respect to feudalism, an abstract historical truth—soon became a mere sentimentalism, and disappeared from view altogether in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. And to-day, the very people who, from the "impartiality" of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a Socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes—these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing.

The recurring period of the great industrial crisis is stated in the text as five years. This was the period apparently indicated by the course of events from 1825 to 1842. But the industrial history from 1842 to 1868 has shown that the real period is one of ten years; that the intermediate revulsions were secondary and tended more and more to disappear. Since 1868 the state of things has changed again, of which more anon.

I have taken care not to strike out of the text the many prophecies, amongst others that of an imminent social revolution in England, which my youthful ardour induced me to venture upon. The wonder is, not that a good many of them proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right, and that the critical state of English trade, to be brought on by Continental and especially American competition, which I then foresaw—though in too short a period—has now actually come to pass. In this respect I can, and am bound to, bring the book up to date, by placing here an article which I published in the London *Commonweal* of March 1, 1885, under the heading: "England in 1845 and in 1885."[233] It gives at the same time a short outline of the history of the English working class during these forty years, and is as follows:

"Forty years ago England stood face to face with a crisis, solvable to all appearances by force only. The immense and rapid development of manufactures had outstripped the extension of foreign markets and the increase of demand. Every ten years the march of industry was violently interrupted by a general commercial crash, followed, after a long period of chronic depression, by a few short years of prosperity, and always ending in feverish over-production and consequent renewed collapse. The capitalist class clamoured for Free Trade in corn,[234] and threatened to enforce it by sending the starving population of the

towns back to the country districts whence they came, to invade them, as John Bright said, not as paupers begging for bread, but as an army quartered upon the enemy.[a] The working masses of the towns demanded their share of political power—the People's Charter[235]; they were supported by the majority of the small trading class, and the only difference between the two was whether the Charter should be carried by physical or by moral force. Then came the commercial crash of 1847 and the Irish famine, and with both the prospect of revolution.

"The French Revolution of 1848 saved the English middle class. The Socialistic pronunciamentos of the victorious French workmen frightened the small middle class of England and disorganised the narrower, but more matter-of-fact movement of the English working class. At the very moment when Chartism was bound to assert itself in its full strength, it collapsed internally before even it collapsed externally, on the 10th of April, 1848.[236] The action of the working class was thrust into the background. The capitalist class triumphed along the whole line.

"The Reform Bill of 1831[237] had been the victory of the whole capitalist class over the landed aristocracy. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the victory of the manufacturing capitalist not only over the landed aristocracy, but over those sections of capitalists, too, whose interests were more or less bound up with the landed interest—bankers, stock-jobbers, fund-holders, etc. Free Trade meant the readjustment of the whole home and foreign, commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now represented the nation. And they set about this task with a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. The tariff and the whole system of taxation were revolutionised. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the *bringing down*—of wages. England was to become the 'workshop of the world'[238]; all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England, the great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world, with an

[a] The statement was made apparently not by Bright but by his followers. See *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. 71, No. 141, 1843, p. 273.—*Ed.*

ever-increasing number of corn and cotton-growing Irelands revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

"The manufacturing capitalists set about the realisation of this their great object with that strong common sense and that contempt for traditional principles which has ever distinguished them from their more narrow-minded compeers on the Continent. Chartism was dying out. The revival of commercial prosperity, natural after the revulsion of 1847 had spent itself, was put down altogether to the credit of Free Trade. Both these circumstances had turned the English working class, politically, into the tail of the 'great Liberal Party', the party led by the manufacturers. This advantage, once gained, had to be perpetuated. And the manufacturing capitalists, from the Chartist opposition, not to Free Trade, but to the transformation of Free Trade into the one vital national question, had learnt, and were learning more and more, that the middle class can never obtain full social and political power over the nation except by the help of the working class. Thus a gradual change came over the relations between both classes. The Factory Acts,[239] once the bugbear of all manufacturers, were not only willingly submitted to, but their expansion into acts regulating almost all trades was tolerated. Trades Unions, hitherto considered inventions of the devil himself, were now petted and patronised as perfectly legitimate institutions, and as useful means of spreading sound economical doctrines amongst the workers. Even strikes, than which nothing had been more nefarious up to 1848, were now gradually found out to be occasionally very useful, especially when provoked by the masters themselves, at their own time. Of the legal enactments, placing the workman at a lower level or at a disadvantage with regard to the master, at least the most revolting were repealed. And, practically, that horrid 'People's Charter' actually became the political programme of the very manufacturers who had opposed it to the last. 'The Abolition of the Property Qualification' and 'Vote by Ballot' are now the law of the land. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884[240] make a near approach to 'universal suffrage', at least such as it now exists in Germany; the Redistribution Bill now before Parliament creates 'equal electoral districts'—on the whole not more unequal than those of Germany; 'payment of members', and shorter, if not actually 'annual Parliaments', are visibly looming in the distance—and yet there are people who say that Chartism is dead.

"The Revolution of 1848, not less than many of its predecessors,

has had strange bedfellows and successors. The very people who put it down have become, as Karl Marx used to say, its testamentary executors.[241] Louis Napoleon had to create an independent and united Italy, Bismarck had to revolutionise Germany and to restore Hungarian independence, and the English manufacturers had to enact the People's Charter.

"For England, the effects of this domination of the manufacturing capitalists were at first startling. Trade revived and extended to a degree unheard of even in this cradle of modern industry; the previous astounding creations of steam and machinery dwindled into nothing compared with the immense mass of productions of the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, with the overwhelming figures of exports and imports, of wealth accumulated in the hands of capitalists and of human working power concentrated in the large towns.The progress was indeed interrupted, as before, by a crisis every ten years, in 1857 as well as in 1866; but these revulsions were now considered as natural, inevitable events, which must be fatalistically submitted to, and which always set themselves right in the end.

"And the condition of the working class during this period? There was temporary improvement even for the great mass. But this improvement always was reduced to the old level by the influx of the great body of the unemployed reserve, by the constant superseding of hands by new machinery, by the immigration of the agricultural population, now, too, more and more superseded by machines.

"A permanent improvement can be recognised for two 'protected' sections only of the working class. Firstly, the factory hands. The fixing by Act of Parliament of their working-day within relatively rational limits has restored their physical constitution and endowed them with a moral superiority, enhanced by their local concentration. They are undoubtedly better off than before 1848. The best proof is that, out of ten strikes they make, nine are provoked by the manufacturers in their own interests, as the only means of securing a reduced production. You can never get the masters to agree to work 'short time', let manufactured goods be ever so unsaleable; but get the work-people to strike, and the masters shut their factories to a man.

"Secondly, the great Trades Unions. They are the organisations of those trades in which the labour of *grown-up men* predominates, or is alone applicable. Here the competition neither of women and children nor of machinery has so far weakened their organised strength. The engineers, the carpenters and joiners, the brick-

layers, are each of them a power, to that extent that, as in the case of the bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, they can even successfully resist the introduction of machinery. That their condition has remarkably improved since 1848 there can be no doubt, and the best proof of this is in the fact that for more than fifteen years not only have their employers been with them, but they with their employers, upon exceedingly good terms. They form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final. They are the model working-men of Messrs. Leone Levi & Giffen, and they are very nice people indeed nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general.

"But as to the great mass of working-people, the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, if not lower. The East End of London is an ever-spreading pool of stagnant misery and desolation, of starvation when out of work, and degradation, physical and moral, when in work. And so in all other large towns—abstraction made of the privileged minority of the workers; and so in the smaller towns and in the agricultural districts. The law which reduces the *value* of labour-power to the value of the necessary means of subsistence, and the other law which reduces its *average price,* as a rule, to the minimum of those means of subsistence, these laws act upon them with the irresistible force of an automatic engine which crushes them between its wheels.

"This, then, was the position created by the Free Trade policy of 1847, and by twenty years of the rule of the manufacturing capitalists. But then a change came. The crash of 1866 was, indeed, followed by a slight and short revival about 1873; but that did not last. We did not, indeed, pass through the full crisis at the time it was due, in 1877 or 1878; but we have had, ever since 1876, a chronic state of stagnation in all dominant branches of industry. Neither will the full crash come; nor will the period of longed-for prosperity to which we used to be entitled before and after it. A dull depression, a chronic glut of all markets for all trades, that is what we have been living in for nearly ten years. How is this?

"The Free Trade theory was based upon one assumption: that England was to be the one great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world. And the actual fact is that this assumption has turned out to be a pure delusion. The conditions of modern industry, steam-power and machinery, can be established wherever

there is fuel, especially coals. And other countries besides England—France, Belgium, Germany, America, even Russia—have coals. And the people over there did not see the advantage of being turned into Irish pauper farmers merely for the greater wealth and glory of English capitalists. They set resolutely about manufacturing, not only for themselves, but for the rest of the world; and the consequence is that the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by England for nearly a century is irretrievably broken up.

"But the manufacturing monopoly of England is the pivot of the present social system of England. Even while that monopoly lasted, the markets could not keep pace with the increasing productivity of English manufacturers; the decennial crises were the consequence. And new markets are getting scarcer every day, so much so that even the Negroes of the Congo are now to be forced into the civilisation attendant upon Manchester calicos, Staffordshire pottery, and Birmingham hardware. How will it be when Continental, and especially American, goods flow in in ever-increasing quantities—when the predominating share, still held by British manufacturers, will become reduced from year to year? Answer, Free Trade, thou universal panacea.

"I am not the first to point this out. Already in 1883, at the Southport meeting of the British Association,[242] Mr. Inglis Palgrave, the President of the Economic section, stated plainly that

'the days of great trade profits in England were over, and there was a pause in the progress of several great branches of industrial labour. *The country might almost be said to be entering the non-progressive state.*'[a]

"But what is to be the consequence? Capitalist production *cannot* stop. It must go on increasing and expanding, or it must die. Even now the mere reduction of England's lion's share in the supply of the world's markets means stagnation, distress, excess of capital here, excess of unemployed workpeople there. What will it be when the increase of yearly production is brought to a complete stop?

"Here is the vulnerable place, the heel of Achilles, for capitalistic production. Its very basis is the necessity of constant expansion, and this constant expansion now becomes impossible. It ends in a deadlock. Every year England is brought nearer face to face with the question: either the country must go to pieces, or capitalist production must. Which is it to be?

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[a] *Report of the Fifty-Third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; held at Southport in September 1883,* pp. 608-09.—*Ed.*

"And the working class? If even under the unparalleled commercial and industrial expansion, from 1848 to 1868, they have had to undergo such misery; if even then the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement of their condition, while only a small, privileged, 'protected' minority was permanently benefited, what will it be when this dazzling period is brought finally to a close; when the present dreary stagnation shall not only become intensified, but this, its intensified condition, shall become the permanent and normal state of English trade?

"The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working class have, to a certain extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had, at least, a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why, since the dying-out of Owenism, there has been no Socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally—the privileged and leading minority not excepted—on a level with its fellow-workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be Socialism again in England."

To this statement of the case, as that case appeared to me in 1885, I have but little to add. Needless to say that to-day there is indeed "Socialism again in England", and plenty of it—Socialism of all shades: Socialism conscious and unconscious, Socialism prosaic and poetic, Socialism of the working class and of the middle class, for, verily, that abomination of abominations, Socialism, has not only become respectable, but has actually donned evening dress and lounges lazily on drawing-room *causeuses*. That shows the incurable fickleness of that terrible despot of "society", middle-class public opinion, and once more justifies the contempt in which we Socialists of a past generation always held that public opinion. At the same time we have no reason to grumble at the symptom itself.

What I consider far more important than this momentary fashion among bourgeois circles of affecting a mild dilution of Socialism, and even more than the actual progress Socialism has made in England generally, that is the revival of the East End of London. That immense haunt of misery is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the "New Unionism", that is to say, of the organisation of the great mass of "unskilled" workers. This organisation may to a great

extent adopt the form of the old Unions of "skilled" workers but it is essentially different in character. The old Unions preserve the traditions of the time when they were founded, and look upon the wages system as a once-for-all established, final fact, which they at best can modify in the interest of their members. The new Unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken; their founders and promoters were Socialists either consciously or by feeling; the masses, whose adhesion gave them strength, were rough, neglected, looked down upon by the working-class aristocracy; but they had this immense advantage, that *their minds were virgin soil,* entirely free from the inherited "respectable" bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated "old" Unionists. And thus we see now these new Unions taking the lead of the working-class movement generally, and more and more taking in tow the rich and proud "old" Unions.

Undoubtedly, the East Enders have committed colossal blunders; so have their predecessors, and so do the doctrinaire Socialists who pooh-pooh them. A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes. And for all the faults committed in past, present and future, the revival of the East End of London remains one of the greatest and most fruitful facts of this *fin de siècle,* and glad and proud I am to have lived to see it.

January 11th, 1892

F. Engels

First published in the book: *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844,* London, 1892

Reproduced from the book

CRITICA SOCIALE
RIVISTA QUINDICINALE
di studi sociali, politici, filosofici e letterari
Anno II - N. 4.

REPLY TO THE HONOURABLE GIOVANNI BOVIO[243]

In an article in *La Tribuna* of February 2 this year, the honourable Giovanni Bovio reproaches the Italian Republican parliamentary deputies, who have latterly gone over to the royalist camp, for treating too scornfully the question of the form of government. This does not affect me directly. What does affect me is that he deals with my article on German socialism (*Critica Sociale,* January 16, 1892)[a] making the same reproach against the German socialists in general and against me in particular. This is what he says on the matter[b]:

"Thus we can see the error of those socialists who, with Frederick Engels, speak of the imminent coming to power of socialism and do not specify what kind of power. Engels even established with mathematical arguments (and numbers have for some time seemed to me a good argument in history) the not too distant year in which the socialist party will become the majority in the German parliament. So far so good. And then?

"—It will take power.

"—Even better. But what power? Will it be monarchic, or republican, or will it go back to Weitling's utopia, superseded by the *Communist Manifesto* of January 1848?

"—The forms make no difference to us.

"—Really?... But you cannot speak of power except where the form is made concrete. You can say that the new substance, the new idea, will of itself create the form, produce it from deep within itself, but you cannot, you must not, dispense with the problem."

To this I reply that I do not accept in the slightest the honourable Mr. Bovio's interpretation.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 237-41.—*Ed.*

[b] The following quotations are given in Italian in the original.—*Ed.*

For a start, I have never said the socialist party will become the majority and then proceed to take power. On the contrary, I have expressly said that the odds are ten to one that our rulers, well before that point arrives, will use violence against us, and this would shift us from the terrain of majority to the terrain of revolution. But let us pass over this.

"It will take power. But what power? Will it be monarchic, or republican, or will it go back to Weitling's utopia, superseded by the *Communist Manifesto* of January 1848?"

Here I must permit myself the use of one of the honourable Mr. Bovio's own expressions. He must really be a "man of the cloister" if he has the slightest doubt about the nature of this power.

All of governmental, aristocratic and bourgeois Germany reproaches our friends in the Reichstag for being republicans and revolutionaries.

Marx and I, for forty years, repeated ad nauseam that for us the democratic republic is the only political form in which the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class can first be universalised and then culminate in the decisive victory of the proletariat.

The honourable Mr. Bovio is surely not so naive as to believe that an emperor of Germany would draw his ministers from the socialist party and that, if he so desired, he would accept the conditions—implying abdication—without which those ministers could not count on the support of their party? But it is true that his fear of seeing us "go back to Weitling's utopia" gives me a fairly exalted estimate of my interlocutor's naivety.

Or does the honourable Mr. Bovio, in referring to Weitling, mean to imply that the German socialists attribute no more importance to the social form than to the political form? Again he would be mistaken. He should be well enough acquainted with German socialism to know that it demands the socialisation of all the means of production. How can this economic revolution be accomplished? That will depend on the circumstances in which our party seizes power, on the moment at which and the manner in which that occurs. As Bovio says:

"the new substance, the new idea, will of itself create the form, produce it from deep within itself".

Meanwhile, if tomorrow, by some accident, our party were called to power, I know perfectly well what I would propose as a programme of action.

"The forms make no difference to us."?

I should like to point out that it was neither I nor any other German socialist who said that, or anything of the kind, but the honourable Mr. Bovio and he alone. I should certainly like to know by what right he attributes such "*sciocchezza*"[a] to us.

For the rest, if the honourable Mr. Bovio had waited for and read the second half of my article (*Critica Sociale,* February 1),[b] perhaps he would not have taken the trouble of confusing the German revolutionary socialists with the Italian royalist Republicans.

February 6, 1892

Frederick Engels

First published in *Critica Sociale,* No. 4, February 16, 1892

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the journal

Translated from the French and Italian

[a] Rubbish.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 241-45.— *Ed.*

PREFACE [TO THE POLISH EDITION (1892) OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*][244]

The fact that a new Polish edition of the *Communist Manifesto* has become necessary gives rise to various thoughts.

First of all, it is noteworthy that of late the *Manifesto* has become an index, as it were, of the development of large-scale industry on the European continent. In proportion as large-scale industry expands in a given country, the demand grows among the workers of that country for enlightenment regarding their position as the working class in relation to the possessing classes, the socialist movement spreads among them and the demand for the *Manifesto* increases. Thus, not only the state of the labour movement but also the degree of development of large-scale industry can be measured with fair accuracy in every country by the number of copies of the *Manifesto* circulated in the language of that country.

Accordingly, the new Polish edition indicates a decided progress of Polish industry. And there can be no doubt whatever that this progress since the previous edition[a] published ten years ago has actually taken place. The Kingdom of Poland, Congress Poland,[245] has become the big industrial region of the Russian Empire. Whereas Russian large-scale industry is scattered sporadically—a part round the Gulf of Finland, another in the centre (Moscow and Vladimir), a third along the coasts of the Black and Azov seas, and still others elsewhere—Polish industry has been packed into a relatively small area and enjoys both the advantages and the disadvantages arising from such concentration. The competing Russian manufacturers acknowledge the advantages when they demanded protective tariffs against Poland,[246] in spite of their

[a] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifest Komunistyczny 1847 r.—Ed.*

ardent desire to transform the Poles into Russians. The disadvantages—for the Polish manufacturers and the Russian government—are manifest in the rapid spread of socialist ideas among the Polish workers and in the growing demand for the *Manifesto*.

But the rapid development of Polish industry, outstripping that of Russia, is in its turn a new proof of the inexhaustible vitality of the Polish people and a new guarantee of its impending national restoration. And the restoration of an independent strong Poland is a matter which concerns not only the Poles but all of us. A sincere international collaboration of the European nations is possible only if each of these nations is fully autonomous in its own house. The Revolution of 1848, which under the banner of the proletariat, after all, merely let the proletarian fighters do the work of the bourgeoisie, secured the independence of Italy, Germany and Hungary, among other things, through Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, its testamentary executors; but Poland, which since 1792 had done more for the revolution than all these three together, was left to its own resources when it succumbed in 1863 to a tenfold greater Russian force. The nobility could neither maintain nor regain Polish independence; today, to the bourgeoisie, this independence is, to say the least, immaterial. Nevertheless, it is a necessity for the harmonious collaboration of the European nations.[a] It can be gained only by the young Polish proletariat, and in its hands it is secure. For the workers of all the rest of Europe need the independence of Poland just as much as the Polish workers themselves.

F. Engels

London, February 10, 1892

First published in *Przedświt*, No. 35, February 27, 1892 and in: K. Marx i F. Engels, *Manifest Komunistyczny*, London, 1892

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the Polish edition of 1892

[a] This sentence is omitted in the Polish edition.—*Ed.*

[GREETINGS TO THE FRENCH WORKERS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE]

London, March 17, 1892

Citizens and citizenesses,

Twenty-one years ago today the people of Paris raised the red flag, in defiance of both the French tricolour flying at Versailles and the German tricolour flying over the forts occupied by the Prussians.

The red flag was the Paris proletariat rising to a height from which conquerors and conquered alike disappeared.

What constitutes the historic grandeur of the Commune is its eminently international character. It is the bold challenge which it made to every sentiment of bourgeois chauvinism. The proletariat of all countries was not mistaken. Let the bourgeois celebrate their July 14 or their September 22.[247] The holiday of the proletariat, everywhere and always, will be March 18.

Hence the vile slanders which the vile bourgeoisie has heaped on the tomb of the Commune. But hence, also, the International Association of Working Men, which alone dared to identify itself from the very first day with the Paris insurgents and, until the last day and thereafter, with the defeated proletarians. It is true that where the Commune succumbed, the International was not able to survive: to the cry of "At the Communards!" it was smashed from one end of Europe to the other.

Well! Twenty-one years have passed since the recapture of the cannons on the hill of Monmartre.[a] The children born in 1871 have now reached their majority, and thanks to the stupidity of the ruling classes they are *soldiers,* learning to handle arms, the art

[a] See this volume, p. 184.—*Ed.*

of organising themselves and defending themselves, gun in hand. The Commune which they claimed to have killed, the International which they imagined they had wiped out forever, are here in our midst, alive and twenty times more powerful than in 1871. Those responding to our call have grown from hundreds into thousands, and from thousands into millions. The union of the world proletariat, which the First International was able to predict and prepare, is today a reality. And, what is more, the sons of the Prussian soldiers who occupied the forts surrounding the Paris of the Commune in 1871 are today fighting in their millions in the front line, side by side with the sons of the Communards; for the complete and lasting liberation of the working class.

Long live the Commune!

Long live the International Social Revolution!

Fred. Engels

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 79, March 26, 1892

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Translated from the French

[PREFACE TO THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION OF KARL MARX'S *THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY*][248]

For the second edition I have only to remark that the name wrongly written Hopkins in the French text (on page 45[a]) has been replaced by the correct name Hodgskin and that in the same place the date of the work of William Thompson has been corrected to 1824.[b] It is to be hoped that this will appease the bibliographical conscience of Professor Anton Menger.

Frederick Engels

London, March 29, 1892

First published in: Karl Marx, *Das Elend der Philosophie,* Stuttgart, 1892

Printed according to the book

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138.—*Ed.*

[b] W. Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness.*—*Ed.*

INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH EDITION (1892) OF *SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*[249]

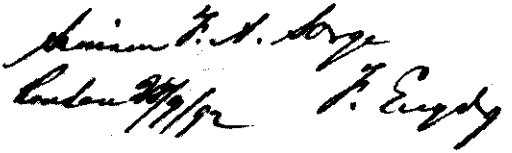
The present little book is, originally, a part of a large whole. About 1875, Dr. E. Dühring, *privatdocent* at Berlin University, suddenly and rather clamorously announced his conversion to socialism, and presented the German public not only with an elaborate socialist theory, but also with a complete practical plan for the reorganisation of society. As a matter of course, he fell foul of his predecessors; above all, he honoured Marx by pouring out upon him the full vials of his wrath.

This took place about the time when the two sections of the Socialist Party in Germany—Eisenachers and Lassalleans[250]—had just effected their fusion, and thus obtained not only an immense increase of strength, but, what was more, the faculty of employing the whole of this strength against the common enemy. The Socialist Party in Germany was fast becoming a power. But to make it a power, the first condition was that the newly-conquered unity should not be imperilled. And Dr. Dühring openly proceeded to form around himself a sect, the nucleus of a future separate party. It thus became necessary to take up the gauntlet thrown down to us, and to fight out the struggle whether we liked it or not.

This, however, though it might not be an overdifficult, was evidently a long-winded, business. As is well known, we Germans are of a terribly ponderous *Gründlichkeit,* radical profundity or profound radicality, whatever you may like to call it. Whenever any one of us expounds what he considers a new doctrine, he has first to elaborate it into an all-comprising system. He has to prove that both the first principles of logic and the fundamental laws of the universe had existed from all eternity for no other purpose than to ultimately lead to this newly-discovered, crowning theory.

SOCIALISM

UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC



Half-title of the English edition
of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*
presented by Engels to F. A. Sorge

SOCIALISM

UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC

BY

FREDERICK ENGELS

TRANSLATED BY EDWARD AVELING

D.Sc., Fellow of University College, London

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR



LONDON:
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1892

Title page of the English edition
of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

And Dr. Dühring, in this respect, was quite up to the national mark. Nothing less than a complete *System of Philosophy,* mental, moral, natural, and historical; a complete *System of Political Economy and Socialism*; and, finally, a *Critical History of Political Economy*[a]—three big volumes in octavo, heavy extrinsically and intrinsically, three army corps of arguments mobilised against all previous philosophers and economists in general, and against Marx in particular—in fact, an attempt at a complete "revolution in science"—these were what I should have to tackle. I had to treat of all and every possible subject, from the concepts of time and space to Bimetallism[251]; from the eternity of matter and motion to the perishable nature of moral ideas; from Darwin's natural selection to the education of youth in a future society. Anyhow, the systematic comprehensiveness of my opponent gave me the opportunity of developing, in opposition to him, and in a more connected form than had previously been done, the views held by Marx and myself on this great variety of subjects. And that was the principal reason which made me undertake this otherwise ungrateful task.

My reply was first published in a series of articles in the Leipzig *Vorwärts,* the chief organ of the socialist party, and later on as a book: *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (*Mr. E. Dühring's Revolution in Science*), a second edition of which appeared in Zurich, 1886.

At the request of my friend, Paul Lafargue, now representative of Lille in the French Chamber of Deputies, I arranged three chapters of this book as a pamphlet, which he translated and published in 1880, under the title: *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique.*[252] From this French text Polish and Spanish editions were prepared. In 1883, our German friends brought out the pamphlet in the original language. Italian, Russian, Danish, Dutch, and Roumanian translations, based upon the German text, have since been published. Thus, with the present English edition, this little book circulates in ten languages. I am not aware that any other socialist work, not even our *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 or Marx's *Capital,* has been so often translated. In Germany it has had four editions of about 20,000 copies in all.

The Appendix, "The Mark", was written with the intention of spreading among the German Socialist Party some elementary

[a] This refers to E. Dühring's books: *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung*; *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie einschliesslich der Hauptpunkte der Finanzpolitik*; *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und der Socialismus.*—*Ed.*

knowledge of the history and development of landed property in Germany. This seemed all the more necessary at a time when the assimilation by that party of the working people of the towns was in a fair way of completion, and when the agricultural labourers and peasants had to be taken in hand. This appendix has been included in the translation, as the original forms of tenure of land common to all Teutonic tribes, and the history of their decay, are even less known in England than in Germany. I have left the text as it stands in the original, without alluding to the hypothesis recently started by Maxim Kovalevsky, according to which the partition of the arable and meadow lands among the members of the Mark was preceded by their being cultivated for joint-account by a large patriarchal family community embracing several generations (as exemplified by the still existing South Slavonian Zadruga), and that the partition, later on, took place when the community had increased, so as to become too unwieldy for joint-account management.[a] Kovalevsky is probably quite right, but the matter is still *sub judice*.[b]

The economic terms used in this work, as far as they are new, agree with those used in the English edition of Marx's *Capital*.[253] We call "production of commodities" that economic phase where articles are produced not only for the use of the producers, but also for purposes of exchange; that is, *as commodities*, not as use values. This phase extends from the first beginnings of production for exchange down to our present time; it attains its full development under capitalist production only, that is, under conditions where the capitalist, the owner of the means of production, employs, for wages, labourers, people deprived of all means of production except their own labour-power, and pockets the excess of the selling price of the products over his outlay. We divide the history of industrial production since the Middle Ages into three periods: (l) handicraft, small master craftsmen with a few journeymen and apprentices, where each labourer produces the complete article; (2) manufacture, where greater numbers of workmen, grouped in one large establishment, produce the complete article on the principle of division of labour, each workman performing only one partial operation, so that the product is complete only after having passed successively through the hands of all; (3) modern industry, where the product is produced by machinery driven by power, and where the work of

[a] Engels refers to M. M. Kovalevsky's works: *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété* and *Первобытное право*, I, «Родъ».— *Ed.*

[b] Under consideration.— *Ed.*

the labourer is limited to superintending and correcting the performances of the mechanical agent.[a]

I am perfectly aware that the contents of this work will meet with objection from a considerable portion of the British public. But if we Continentals had taken the slightest notice of the prejudices of British "respectability",[b] we should be even worse off than we are. This book defends what we call "historical materialism", and the word materialism grates upon the ears of the immense majority of British readers. "Agnosticism" might be tolerated, but materialism is utterly inadmissible.

And yet the original home of all modern materialism, from the seventeenth century onwards, is England.[c]

"Materialism is the natural-born son of Great Britain. Already the British schoolman, Duns Scotus, asked, 'whether it was impossible for matter to think?'

"In order to effect this miracle, he took refuge in God's omnipotence, *i.e.*, he made theology preach materialism. Moreover, he was a nominalist.[254] Nominalism, the first form of materialism, is chiefly found among the English schoolmen.

"The real progenitor of English materialism is Bacon. To him natural philosophy is the only true philosophy, and physics based upon the experience of the senses is the chiefest part of natural philosophy. Anaxagoras and his homoiomeriae,[255] Democritus and his atoms, he often quotes as his authorities. According to him the senses are infallible and the source of all knowledge. All science is based on experience, and consists in subjecting the data furnished by the senses to a rational method of investigation. Induction, analysis, comparison, observation, experiment, are the principal forms of such a rational method. Among the qualities inherent in matter, motion is the first and foremost, not only in the form of mechanical and mathematical motion, but chiefly in the form of an impulse, a vital spirit, a tension—or a 'qual', to use a term of Jakob Böhme's*—of matter.[d]

"In Bacon, its first creator, materialism still occludes within itself

* "Qual" is a philosophical play upon words. Qual literally means torture, a pain which drives to action of some kind; at the same time the mystic Böhme puts

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[a] The beginning of the Introduction up to the words "the mechanical agent" is omitted in *Die Neue Zeit*.—*Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows: "i.e. British philistines".—*Ed.*

[c] Further on Engels quotes a lengthy passage from *The Holy Family* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 127-29). Substantial differences between the text in *Die Neue Zeit* and Engels' translation into English are given in footnotes.—*Ed.*

[d] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows the sentence omitted in the English edition: "The

the germs of a many-sided development. On the one hand, matter, surrounded by a sensuous, poetic glamour, seems to attract man's whole entity by winning smiles. On the other, the aphoristically formulated doctrine pullulates with inconsistencies imported from theology.

"In its further evolution, materialism becomes one-sided. Hobbes is the man who systematises Baconian materialism. Knowledge based upon the senses loses its poetic blossom, it passes into the abstract experience of the mathematician[b]; geometry is proclaimed as the queen of sciences. Materialism takes to misanthropy. If it is to overcome its opponent, misanthropic, fleshless spiritualism, and that on the latter's own ground, materialism has to chastise its own flesh and turn ascetic. Thus, from a sensual, it passes into an intellectual entity; but thus, too, it evolves all the consistency, regardless of consequences, characteristic of the intellect.

"Hobbes, as Bacon's continuator, argues thus: if all human knowledge is furnished by the senses, then our concepts and ideas are but the phantoms, divested of their sensual forms, of the real world. Philosophy can but give names to these phantoms. One name may be applied to more than one of them. There may even be names of names. It would imply a contradiction if, on the one hand, we maintained that all ideas had their origin in the world of sensation, and, on the other, that a word was more than a word; that besides the beings known to us by our senses, beings which are one and all individuals, there existed also beings of a general, not individual, nature. An unbodily substance is the same absurdity as an unbodily body. Body, being, substance, are but different terms for the same reality. *It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks.* This matter is the substratum of all changes going on in the world. The word infinite is meaningless, unless it states that our mind is capable of performing an endless

into the German word something of the meaning of the Latin *qualitas*; his "qual" was the activating principle arising from, and promoting in its turn, the spontaneous development of the thing, relation, or person subject to it, in contradistinction to a pain inflicted from without.[a]

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primary forms of matter are the living, individualising forces of being inherent in it and producing the distinctions between the species."—*Ed.*

[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* this note was omitted by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* continues with the following: "Physical motion is sacrificed to mechanical or mathematical motion."—*Ed.*

process of addition. Only material things being perceptible to us, we cannot know anything about the existence of God. My own existence alone is certain. Every human passion is a mechanical movement which has a beginning and an end. The objects of impulse are what we call good. Man is subject to the same laws as nature. Power and freedom are identical.

"Hobbes had systematised Bacon without, however, furnishing a proof for Bacon's fundamental principle, the origin of all human knowledge from the world of sensation. It was Locke who, in his Essay on the Human Understanding, supplied this proof.[a]

"Hobbes had shattered the theistic prejudices of Baconian materialism; Collins, Dodwell, Coward, Hartley, Priestley similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism. At all events, for practical materialists, Theism[256] is but an easy-going way of getting rid of religion." *

Thus Karl Marx wrote about the British origin of modern materialism. If Englishmen nowadays do not exactly relish the compliment he paid their ancestors, more's the pity. It is none the less undeniable that Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke are the fathers of that brilliant school of French materialists which made the eighteenth century, in spite of all battles on land and sea won over Frenchmen by Germans and Englishmen, a pre-eminently French century, even before that crowning French Revolution, the results of which we outsiders, in England as well as in Germany, are still trying to acclimatise.

There is no denying it. About the middle of this century, what struck every cultivated foreigner who set up his residence in England, was, what he was then bound to consider the religious bigotry and stupidity of the English respectable middle class. We, at that time, were all materialists, or, at least, very advanced freethinkers, and to us it appeared inconceivable that almost all educated people in England should believe in all sorts of impossible miracles, and that even geologists like Buckland and Mantell should contort the facts of their science so as not to clash too much with the myths of the book of Genesis; while, in order to find people who dared to use their own intellectual faculties with regard to religious matters, you had to go amongst the uneducated, the "great unwashed", as they were then called, the working people, especially the Owenite Socialists.

* Marx and Engels, *Die heilige Familie,* Frankfurt a. M., 1845, pp. 201-04.

[a] J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.—Ed.*

But England has been "civilised" since then. The exhibition of 1851[257] sounded the knell of English insular exclusiveness. England became gradually internationalised—in diet, in manners, in ideas; so much so that I begin to wish that some English manners and customs had made as much headway on the Continent as other continental habits have made here. Anyhow, the introduction and spread of salad-oil (before 1851 known only to the aristocracy) has been accompanied by a fatal spread of continental scepticism in matters religious, and it has come to this, that agnosticism, though not yet considered "the thing" quite as much as the Church of England, is yet very nearly on a par, as far as respectability goes, with Baptism, and decidedly ranks above the Salvation Army. And I cannot help believing that under these circumstances it will be consoling to many who sincerely regret and condemn this progress of infidelity to learn that these "new-fangled notions" are not of foreign origin, are not "made in Germany", like so many other articles of daily use, but are undoubtedly Old English, and that their British originators two hundred years ago went a good deal further than their descendants now dare to venture.

What, indeed, is agnosticism, but, to use an expressive Lancashire term,[a] "shamefaced" materialism? The agnostic's conception of Nature is materialistic throughout. The entire natural world is governed by law, and absolutely excludes the intervention of action from without. But, he adds, we have no means either of ascertaining or of disproving the existence of some Supreme Being beyond the known universe. Now, this might hold good at the time when Laplace, to Napoleon's question, why in the great astronomer's *Mécanique céleste*[b] the Creator was not even mentioned, proudly replied: "*Je n'avais pas besoin de cette hypothèse.*"[c] But nowadays, in our evolutionary conception of the universe, there is absolutely no room for either a Creator or a Ruler; and to talk of a Supreme Being shut out from the whole existing world, implies a contradiction in terms, and, as it seems to me, a gratuitous insult to the feelings of religious people.

Again, our agnostic admits that all our knowledge is based upon the information imparted to us by our senses. But, he adds, how do we know that our senses give us correct representations of the

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[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* the phrase "to use an expressive Lancashire term" is omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to P. S. Laplace, *Traité de mécanique céleste.*—*Ed.*

[c] "I had no need of this hypothesis."—*Ed.*

objects we perceive through them? And he proceeds to inform us that, whenever he speaks of objects or their qualities, he does in reality not mean these objects and qualities, of which he cannot know anything for certain, but merely the impressions which they have produced on his senses. Now, this line of reasoning seems undoubtedly hard to beat by mere argumentation. But before there was argumentation, there was action. *Im Anfang war die That.*[a] And human action had solved the difficulty long before human ingenuity invented it. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. From the moment we turn to our own use these objects, according to the qualities we perceive in them, we put to an infallible test the correctness or otherwise of our sense-perceptions. If these perceptions have been wrong, then our estimate of the use to which an object can be turned must also be wrong, and our attempt must fail. But if we succeed in accomplishing our aim, if we find that the object does agree with our idea of it, and does answer the purpose we intended it for, then that is positive proof that our perceptions of it and of its qualities, *so far,* agree with reality outside ourselves. And whenever we find ourselves face to face with a failure, then we generally are not long in making out the cause that made us fail; we find that the perception upon which we acted was either incomplete and superficial, or combined with the results of other perceptions in a way not warranted by them—what we call defective reasoning.[b] So long as we take care to train and to use our senses properly, and to keep our action within the limits prescribed by perceptions properly made and properly used, so long we shall find that the result of our action proves the conformity of our perceptions with the objective nature of the things perceived. Not in one single instance, so far, have we been led to the conclusion that our sense-perceptions, scientifically controlled, induce in our minds ideas respecting the outer world that are, by their very nature, at variance with reality, or that there is an inherent incompatibility between the outer world and our sense-perceptions of it.

But then come the Neo-Kantian agnostics and say: We may correctly perceive the qualities of a thing, but we cannot by any sensible or mental process grasp the thing-in-itself. This "thing-in-itself" is beyond our ken. To this Hegel, long since, has replied: If

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[a] "In the beginning was the deed" (see Goethe, *Faust,* Part I, Scene 3, "Faust's Study").— *Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* the words "what we call defective reasoning" are omitted.— *Ed.*

you know all the qualities of a thing, you know the thing itself; nothing remains but the fact that the said thing exists without us; and when your senses have taught you that fact, you have grasped the last remnant of the thing-in-itself, Kant's celebrated unknowable *Ding an sich*. To which it may be added that in Kant's time our knowledge of natural objects was indeed so fragmentary that he might well suspect, behind the little we knew about each of them, a mysterious "thing-in-itself". But one after another these ungraspable things have been grasped, analysed and, what is more, *reproduced* by the giant progress of science; and what we can produce, we certainly cannot consider as unknowable. To the chemistry of the first half of this century organic substances were such mysterious objects; now we learn to build them up one after another from their chemical elements without the aid of organic processes. Modern chemists declare that as soon as the chemical constitution of no matter what body is known, it can be built up from its elements. We are still far from knowing the constitution of the highest organic substances, the albuminous bodies; but there is no reason why we should not, if only after centuries, arrive at that knowledge and, armed with it, produce artificial albumen. But if we arrive at that, we shall at the same time have produced organic life, for life, from its lowest to its highest forms, is but the normal mode of existence of albuminous bodies.

As soon, however, as our agnostic has made these formal mental reservations, he talks and acts as the rank materialist he at bottom is. He may say that, as far as *we* know, matter and motion, or as it is now called, energy, can neither be created nor destroyed, but that we have no proof of their not having been created at some time or other. But if you try to use this admission against him in any particular case, he will quickly put you out of court. If he admits the possibility of spiritualism *in abstracto*, he will have none of it *in concreto*. As far as we know and can know, he will tell you there is no Creator and no Ruler of the universe; as far as we are concerned, matter and energy can neither be created nor annihilated; for us, mind is a mode of energy, a function of the brain; all we know is that the material world is governed by immutable laws, and so forth. Thus, as far as he is a scientific man, as far as he *knows* anything, he is a materialist; outside his science, in spheres about which he knows nothing, he translates his ignorance into Greek and calls it agnosticism.

At all events, one thing seems clear: even if I was an agnostic, it is evident that I could not describe the conception of history sketched out in this little book as "historical agnosticism".

Religious people would laugh at me, agnostics would indignantly ask, was I going to make fun of them? And thus I hope even British respectability[a] will not be overshocked if I use, in English as well as in so many other languages, the term "historical materialism", to designate that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another.

This indulgence will perhaps be accorded to me all the sooner if I show that historical materialism may be of advantage even to British respectability.[b] I have mentioned the fact that about forty or fifty years ago, any cultivated foreigner settling in England was struck by what he was then bound to consider the religious bigotry and stupidity of the English respectable middle class. I am now going to prove that the respectable English middle class of that time was not quite as stupid as it looked to the intelligent foreigner. Its religious leanings can be explained.

When Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, the rising middle class[c] of the towns constituted its revolutionary element. It had conquered a recognised position within medieval feudal organisation, but this position, also, had become too narrow for its expansive power. The development[d] of the middle class, the *bourgeoisie,* became incompatible with the maintenance of the feudal system; the feudal system, therefore, had to fall.

But the great international centre of feudalism was the Roman Catholic Church. It united the whole of feudalised Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system, opposed as much to the schismatic Greeks as to the Mohammedan countries. It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration. It had organised its own hierarchy on the feudal model, and, lastly, it was itself by far the most powerful feudal lord, holding, as it did, full one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. Before profane feudalism could be

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[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follow the words: "which in German is called philistinism".— *Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* the words "the respectability of the British philistine" are substituted for "British respectability".— *Ed.*

[c] From here on and up to the paragraph beginning with the words "The new starting-point" (p. 292 of this volume), Engels' terms "middle class" and "bourgeoisie" are translated as "Bürgerthum" in *Die Neue Zeit.*—*Ed.*

[d] In *Die Neue Zeit*: "The free development".— *Ed.*

successfully attacked in each country and in detail, this, its sacred central organisation, had to be destroyed.

Moreover, parallel with the rise of the middle class went on the great revival of science; astronomy, mechanics, physics, anatomy, physiology, were again cultivated. And the bourgeoisie, for the development of its industrial production, required a science which ascertained the physical properties of natural objects and the modes of action of the forces of Nature. Now up to then science had but been the humble handmaid of the Church, had not been allowed to overstep the limits set by faith, and for that reason had been no science at all. Science rebelled against the Church; the bourgeoisie could not do without science, and, therefore, had to join in the rebellion.

The above, though touching but two of the points where the rising middle class was bound to come into collision with the established religion, will be sufficient to show, first, that the class most directly interested in the struggle against the pretensions of the Roman Church was the bourgeoisie; and second, that every struggle against feudalism, at that time, had to take on a religious disguise, had to be directed against the Church in the first instance. But if the universities and the traders of the cities started the cry, it was sure to find, and did find, a strong echo in the masses of the country people, the peasants, who everywhere had to struggle for their very existence with their feudal lords, spiritual and temporal.

The long[a] fight of the bourgeoisie against feudalism culminated in three great, decisive battles.

The first was what is called the Protestant Reformation in Germany. The war-cry raised against the Church by Luther was responded to by two insurrections of a political nature: first, that of the lower nobility under Franz von Sickingen (1523), then the great Peasants' War, 1525.[258] Both were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the indecision of the parties most interested, the burghers of the towns—an indecision into the causes of which we cannot here enter. From that moment the struggle degenerated into a fight between the local princes and the central power,[b] and ended by blotting out Germany, for two hundred years, from the politically active nations of Europe. The Lutheran Reformation produced a new creed indeed, a religion adapted to absolute

[a] Instead of "long" *Die Neue Zeit* has "great".—*Ed.*

[b] Instead of "central power" *Die Neue Zeit* has "imperial central power".—*Ed.*

monarchy. No sooner were the peasants of North-East Germany converted to Lutheranism than they were from freemen reduced to serfs.

But where Luther failed, Calvin won the day. Calvin's creed was one fit for the boldest of the bourgeoisie of his time. His predestination doctrine was the religious expression of the fact that in the commercial world of competition success or failure does not depend upon a man's activity or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrollable by him. It is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of the mercy of unknown superior economic powers; and this was especially true at a period of economic revolution, when all old commercial routes and centres were replaced by new ones, when India and America were opened to the world, and when even the most sacred economic articles of faith—the value of gold and silver—began to totter and to break down. Calvin's church constitution was thoroughly democratic and republican; and where the kingdom of God was republicanised, could the kingdoms of this world remain subject to monarchs, bishops and lords? While German Lutheranism became a willing tool in the hands of princes,[a] Calvinism founded a republic in Holland, and active republican parties in England, and, above all, Scotland.

In Calvinism, the second great bourgeois upheaval found its doctrine ready cut and dried. This upheaval took place in England. The middle class of the towns brought it on, and the yeomanry[b] of the country districts fought it out. Curiously enough, in all the three great bourgeois risings,[c] the peasantry furnishes the army that has to do the fighting; and the peasantry is just the class that, the victory once gained, is most surely ruined by the economic consequences of that victory. A hundred years after Cromwell, the yeomanry of England had almost disappeared. Anyhow, had it not been for that yeomanry and for the *plebeian* element in the towns,[d] the bourgeoisie alone would never have fought the matter out to the bitter end, and would never have brought Charles I to the scaffold. In order to secure even those

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[a] *Die Neue Zeit* has "petty princes" instead of "princes".—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* has "the middle peasantry (yeomanry)" instead of "yeomanry".—*Ed.*

[c] *Die Neue Zeit* has "bourgeois revolutions" instead of "bourgeois rising".—*Ed.*

[d] In *Die Neue Zeit* the rest of the sentence reads as follows: "the matter would have never been fought out to the bitter end and Charles I brought to the scaffold."—*Ed.*

conquests of the bourgeoisie that were ripe for gathering at the time, the revolution had to be carried considerably further—exactly as in 1793 in France and in 1848 in Germany. This seems, in fact, to be one of the laws of evolution of bourgeois society.

Well, upon this excess of revolutionary activity there necessarily followed the inevitable reaction which in its turn went beyond the point where it might have maintained itself.[a] After a series of oscillations, the new centre of gravity was at last attained and became a new starting-point. The grand period of English history, known to respectability[b] under the name of "the Great Rebellion", and the struggles succeeding it, were brought to a close by the comparatively puny event[c] entitled by Liberal historians, "the Glorious Revolution".[259]

The new starting-point was a compromise between the rising middle class[d] and ex-feudal landowners. The latter, though called, as now, the aristocracy, had been long since on the way which led them to become what Louis Philippe in France became at a much later period, "the first bourgeois of the kingdom". Fortunately for England, the old feudal barons had killed one another during the Wars of the Roses.[260] Their successors, though mostly scions of the old families, had been so much out of the direct line of descent that they constituted quite a new body, with habits and tendencies far more bourgeois than feudal. They fully understood the value of money, and at once began to increase their rents by turning hundreds of small farmers out and replacing them by sheep. Henry VIII, while squandering the Church lands, created fresh bourgeois landlords by wholesale; the innumerable confiscations of estates, regranted to absolute or relative upstarts, and continued during the whole of the seventeenth century, had the same result. Consequently, ever since Henry VII, the English "aristocracy", far from counteracting the development of industrial production, had, on the contrary, sought to indirectly profit thereby; and there had always been a section of the great landowners willing, from economical or political reasons, to co-operate with the leading men of the financial and industrial bourgeoisie. The compromise of 1689 was, therefore, easily accomplished. The political spoils of

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[a] *Die Neue Zeit* has "beyond its goal" instead of "beyond the point where it might have maintained itself".—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* has "philistinism" instead of "respectability".—*Ed.*

[c] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows "of 1689".—*Ed.*

[d] Here and below the term "middle class" is translated in *Die Neue Zeit* as "bourgeoisie" and as "middle class", "middle estate".—*Ed.*

"pelf and place"[a] were left to the great landowning families, provided the economic interests of the financial, manufacturing, and commercial middle class were sufficiently attended to. And these economic interests were at that time powerful enough to determine the general policy of the nation. There might be squabbles about matters of detail, but, on the whole, the aristocratic oligarchy knew too well that its own economic prosperity was irretrievably bound up with that of the industrial and commercial middle class.

From that time, the bourgeoisie was a humble, but still a recognised component of the ruling classes of England. With the rest of them, it had a common interest in keeping in subjection the great working mass of the nation. The merchant or manufacturer himself stood in the position of master, or, as it was until lately called, of "natural superior" to his clerks, his workpeople, his domestic servants. His interest was to get as much and as good work out of them as he could; for this end they had to be trained to proper submission. He was himself religious; his religion had supplied the standard under which he had fought the king and the lords; he was not long in discovering the opportunities this same religion offered him for working upon the minds of his natural inferiors, and making them submissive to the behests of the masters it had pleased God to place over them. In short, the English bourgeoisie now had to take a part in keeping down the "lower orders", the great producing mass of the nation, and one of the means employed for that purpose was the influence of religion.

There was another fact that contributed to strengthen the religious leanings of the bourgeoisie. That was the rise of materialism in England. This new[b] doctrine not only shocked the pious feelings of the middle class; it announced itself as a philosophy only fit for scholars and cultivated men of the world, in contrast to religion which was good enough for the uneducated masses, including the bourgeoisie. With Hobbes it stepped on the stage as a defender of royal prerogative and omnipotence; it called upon absolute monarchy to keep down that *puer robustus sed malitiosus,*[261] to wit, the people. Similarly, with the successors of Hobbes, with Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, etc., the new deistic form of materialism remained an aristocratic, esoteric doctrine, and,

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[a] *Die Neue Zeit* has "posts, sinecure and high salary" instead of "pelf and place".—*Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows the word "irreligious".—*Ed.*

therefore, hateful to the middle class both for its religious heresy and for its anti-bourgeois political connections. Accordingly, in opposition to the materialism and deism of the aristocracy, those Protestant sects which had furnished the flag and the fighting contingent against the Stuarts, continued to furnish the main strength of the progressive middle class, and form even today the backbone of "the Great Liberal Party".

In the meantime materialism passed from England to France, where it met and coalesced with another materialistic school of philosophers, a branch of Cartesianism.[262] In France, too, it remained at first an exclusively aristocratic doctrine. But soon its revolutionary character asserted itself. The French materialists did not limit their criticism to matters of religious belief; they extended it to whatever scientific tradition or political institution they met with; and to prove the claim of their doctrine to universal application, they took the shortest cut, and boldly applied it to all subjects of knowledge in the giant work after which they were named—the *Encyclopédie*. Thus, in one or the other of its two forms—avowed materialism or deism—it became the creed of the whole cultured youth of France; so much so that, when the great Revolution broke out, the doctrine hatched by English Royalists gave a theoretical flag to French Republicans and Terrorists, and furnished the text for the Declaration of the Rights of Man.[263]

The great French Revolution was the third uprising of the bourgeoisie, but the first that had entirely cast off the religious cloak, and was fought out on undisguised political lines; it was the first, too, that was really fought out up to the destruction of one of the combatants, the aristocracy, and the complete triumph of the other, the bourgeoisie. In England the continuity of pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary institutions, and the compromise between landlords and capitalists, found its expression in the continuity of judicial precedents and in the religious preservation of the feudal forms of the law. In France the Revolution constituted a complete breach with the traditions of the past; it cleared out the very last vestiges of feudalism, and created in the *Code Civil*[264] a masterly adaptation of the old Roman law—that almost perfect expression of the juridical relations corresponding to the economic stage called by Marx the production of commodities—to modern capitalistic conditions; so masterly that this French revolutionary code still serves as a model for reforms of the law of property in all other countries, not excepting England. Let us, however, not forget that if English law continues

to express the economic relations of capitalistic society in that barbarous feudal language which corresponds to the thing expressed, just as English spelling corresponds to English pronunciation—*vous écrivez Londres et vous prononcez Constantinople*,[a] said a Frenchman—that same English law is the only one which has preserved through ages, and transmitted to America and the Colonies, the best part of that old Germanic personal freedom, local self-government and independence from all interference but that of the law courts, which on the Continent has been lost during the period of absolute monarchy, and has nowhere been as yet fully recovered.

To return to our British bourgeois. The French Revolution gave him a splendid opportunity, with the help of the continental monarchies, to destroy French maritime commerce, to annex French colonies, and to crush the last French pretensions to maritime rivalry. That was one reason why he fought it. Another was that the ways of this revolution went very much against his grain. Not only its "execrable" terrorism, but the very attempt to carry bourgeois rule to extremes. What should the British bourgeois do without his aristocracy, that taught him manners, such as they were, and invented fashions for him—that furnished officers for the army, which kept order at home, and the navy, which conquered colonial possessions and new markets abroad? There was indeed a progressive minority of the bourgeoisie, that minority whose interests were not so well attended to under the compromise; this section, composed chiefly of the less wealthy middle class, did sympathise with the Revolution,[265] but it was powerless in Parliament.

Thus, if materialism became the creed of the French Revolution, the God-fearing English bourgeois held all the faster to his religion. Had not the reign of terror in Paris proved what was the upshot, if the religious instincts of the masses were lost? The more materialism spread from France to neighbouring countries, and was reinforced by similar doctrinal currents, notably by German philosophy, the more, in fact, materialism and free thought generally became, on the Continent, the necessary qualifications of a cultivated man, the more stubbornly the English middle class stuck to its manifold religious creeds. These creeds might differ from one another, but they were, all of them, distinctly religious, Christian creeds.

[a] "You write London, but pronounce Constantinople."—*Ed.*

While the Revolution ensured the political triumph of the bourgeoisie in France, in England Watt, Arkwright, Cartwright, and others initiated an industrial revolution, which completely shifted the centre of gravity of economic power. The wealth of the bourgeoisie increased considerably faster than that of the landed aristocracy. Within the bourgeoisie itself, the financial aristocracy, the bankers, etc., were more and more pushed into the background by the manufacturers. The compromise of 1689, even after the gradual changes it had undergone in favour of the bourgeoisie, no longer corresponded to the relative position of the parties to it. The character of these parties, too, had changed; the bourgeoisie of 1830 was very different from that of the preceding century. The political power still left to the aristocracy, and used by them to resist the pretensions of the new industrial bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the new economic interests. A fresh struggle with the aristocracy was necessary; it could end only in a victory of the new economic power. First, the Reform Act[266] was pushed through, in spite of all resistance, under the impulse of the French Revolution of 1830. It gave to the bourgeoisie a recognised and powerful place in Parliament. Then the Repeal of the Corn Laws, which settled, once for all, the supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and especially of its most active portion, the manufacturers, over the landed aristocracy. This was the greatest victory of the bourgeoisie; it was, however, also the last it gained in its own exclusive interest. Whatever triumphs it obtained later on, it had to share with a new social power, first its ally, but soon its rival.

The industrial revolution had created a class of large manufacturing capitalists, but also a class—and a far more numerous one—of manufacturing workpeople. This class gradually increased in numbers, in proportion as the industrial revolution seized upon one branch of manufacture after another, and in the same proportion it increased in power. This power it proved as early as 1824, by forcing a reluctant Parliament to repeal the acts forbidding combinations of workmen.[267] During the Reform agitation, the working men constituted the Radical wing of the Reform party; the Act of 1832 having excluded them from the suffrage, they formulated their demands in the People's Charter,[268] and constituted themselves, in opposition to the great bourgeois Anti-Corn Law party,[269] into an independent party, the Chartists, the first working men's party of modern times.

Then came the continental revolutions of February and March, 1848, in which the working people played such a prominent part,

and, at least in Paris, put forward demands which were certainly inadmissible from the point of view of capitalist society. And then came the general reaction. First the defeat of the Chartists on the 10th April, 1848, then the crushing of the Paris working men's insurrection in June of the same year, then the disasters of 1849 in Italy, Hungary, South Germany, and at last the victory of Louis Bonaparte over Paris, 2nd December, 1851. For a time, at least, the bugbear of working-class pretensions was put down, but at what cost! If the British bourgeois had been convinced before of the necessity of maintaining the common people in a religious mood, how much more must he feel that necessity after all these experiences? Regardless of the sneers of his continental compeers, he continued to spend thousands and tens of thousands, year after year, upon the evangelisation of the lower orders; not content with his own native religious machinery, he appealed to Brother Jonathan, the greatest organiser in existence of religion as a trade, and imported from America revivalism, Moody and Sankey, and the like[270]; and, finally, he accepted the dangerous aid of the Salvation Army, which revives the propaganda of early Christianity, appeals to the poor as the elect, fights capitalism in a religious way, and thus fosters an element of early Christian class antagonism, which one day may become troublesome to the well-to-do people who now find the ready money for it.

It seems a law of historical development that the bourgeoisie can in no European country get hold of political power—at least for any length of time—in the same exclusive way in which the feudal aristocracy kept hold of it during the Middle Ages. Even in France, where feudalism was completely extinguished, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, has held full possession of the Government for very short periods only. During Louis Philippe's reign, 1830-48, a very small portion of the bourgeoisie ruled the kingdom; by far the larger part were excluded from the suffrage by the high qualification. Under the Second Republic, 1848-51, the whole bourgeoisie ruled, but for three years only; their incapacity brought on the Second Empire. It is only now, in the Third Republic, that the bourgeoisie as a whole have kept possession of the helm for more than twenty years; and they are already showing lively signs of decadence. A durable reign of the bourgeoisie has been possible only in countries like America, where feudalism was unknown, and society at the very beginning started from a bourgeois basis. And even in France and America, the successors of the bourgeoisie, the working people, are already knocking at the door.

In England, the bourgeoisie never held undivided sway. Even the victory of 1832 left the landed aristocracy in almost exclusive possession of all the leading Government offices. The meekness with which the wealthy middle class submitted to this, remained inconceivable to me until the great Liberal manufacturer, Mr. W. A. Forster, in a public speech implored the young men of Bradford to learn French, as a means to get on in the world, and quoted from his own experience how sheepish he looked when, as a Cabinet Minister, he had to move in society where French was, at least, as necessary as English! The fact was, the English middle class of that time were, as a rule, quite uneducated upstarts, and could not help leaving to the aristocracy those superior Government places where other qualifications were required than mere insular narrowness and insular conceit, seasoned by business sharpness.* Even now the endless newspaper debates about middle-class education show that the English middle class does not yet consider itself good enough for the best education, and looks to something more modest. Thus, even after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, it appeared a matter of course that the men who had carried the day, the Cobdens, Brights, Forsters, etc., should remain excluded from a share in the official government of the country, until twenty years afterwards, a new Reform Act[271] opened to them the door of the Cabinet. The English bourgeoisie are, up to the present day, so deeply penetrated by a sense of their social inferiority that they keep up, at their own expense and that of the nation, an ornamental caste of drones to represent the nation worthily at all state functions; and they consider themselves

* And even in business matters, the conceit of national chauvinism is but a sorry adviser. Up to quite recently, the average English manufacturer considered it derogatory from an Englishman to speak any language but his own, and felt rather proud than otherwise of the fact that "poor devils" of foreigners settled in England and took off his hands the trouble of disposing of his products abroad. He never noticed that these foreigners, mostly Germans, thus got command of a very large part of British foreign trade, imports and exports, and that the direct foreign trade of Englishmen became limited, almost entirely, to the colonies, China, the United States, and South America. Nor did he notice that these Germans traded with other Germans abroad, who gradually organised a complete network of commercial colonies all over the world. But when Germany, about forty years ago, seriously began manufacturing for export, this network served her admirably in her transformation in so short a time, from a corn-exporting into a first-rate manufacturing country. Then, about ten years ago, the British manufacturer got frightened, and asked his ambassadors and consuls how it was that he could no longer keep his customers together. The unanimous answer was: (1) You don't learn your customer's language but expect him to speak your own; (2) You don't even try to suit your customer's wants, habits, and tastes, but expect him to conform to your English ones.

highly honoured whenever one of themselves is found worthy of admission into this select and privileged body, manufactured, after all, by themselves.

The industrial and commercial middle class had, therefore, not yet succeeded in driving the landed aristocracy completely from political power when another competitor, the working class, appeared on the stage. The reaction after the Chartist movement and the continental revolutions, as well as the unparalleled extension of English trade from 1848 to 1866 (ascribed vulgarly to Free Trade alone, but due far more to the colossal development of railways, ocean steamers and means of intercourse generally), had again driven the working class into the dependency of the Liberal party, of which they formed, as in pre-Chartist times, the Radical wing. Their claims to the franchise, however, gradually became irresistible; while the Whig leaders of the Liberals "funked", Disraeli showed his superiority by making the Tories seize the favorable moment and introduce household suffrage[a] in the boroughs, along with a redistribution of seats. Then followed the ballot; then in 1884 the extension of household suffrage to the counties and a fresh redistribution of seats, by which electoral districts were to some extent equalised.[272] All these measures considerably increased the electoral power of the working class, so much so that in at least 150 to 200 constituencies that class now furnishes the majority of voters. But parliamentary government is a capital school for teaching respect for tradition; if the middle class look with awe and veneration upon what Lord John Manners playfully called "our old nobility", the mass of the working people then looked up with respect and deference to what used to be designated as "their betters", the middle class. Indeed, the British workman, some fifteen years ago, was the model workman, whose respectful regard for the position of his master, and whose self-restraining modesty in claiming rights for himself, consoled our German economists of the Katheder-Socialist school[273] for the incurable communistic and revolutionary tendencies of their own working men at home.

But the English middle class—good men of business as they are—saw farther than the German professors. They had shared their power but reluctantly with the working class. They had learnt, during the Chartist years, what that *puer robustus sed malitiosus,* the people, is capable of. And since that time, they had

[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* there follows: "which was extended to every lease-holder".—*Ed.*

been compelled to incorporate the better part of the People's Charter in the Statutes of the United Kingdom. Now, if ever, the people must be kept in order by moral means, and the first and foremost of all moral means of action upon the masses is and remains—religion. Hence the parsons' majorities on the school boards, hence the increasing self-taxation of the bourgeoisie for the support of all sorts of revivalism,[a] from ritualism[274] to the Salvation Army.

And now came the triumph of British respectability[b] over the free thought and religious laxity of the continental bourgeois. The workmen of France and Germany had become rebellious. They were thoroughly infected with socialism, and, for very good reasons, were not at all particular as to the legality of the means by which to secure their own ascendency. The *puer robustus*, here, turned from day to day more *malitiosus*. Nothing remained to the French and German bourgeoisie as a last resource but to silently drop their free thought, as a youngster, when sea-sickness creeps upon him, quietly drops the burning cigar he brought swaggeringly on board; one by one, the scoffers turned pious in outward behaviour, spoke with respect of the Church, its dogmas and rites, and even conformed with the latter as far as could not be helped. French bourgeois dined *maigre*[c] on Fridays, and German ones sat out long Protestant sermons in their pews on Sundays. They had come to grief with materialism. "*Die Religion muss dem Volk erhalten werden*,"—religion must be kept alive for the people—that was the only and the last means to save society from utter ruin. Unfortunately for themselves, they did not find this out until they had done their level best to break up religion for ever. And now it was the turn of the British bourgeois to sneer and to say: "Why, you fools, I could have told you that two hundred years ago!"

However, I am afraid neither the religious stolidity of the British, nor the *post festum* conversion of the continental bourgeois will stem the rising proletarian tide. Tradition is a great retarding force, is the *vis inertiae* of history, but, being merely passive, is sure to be broken down; and thus religion will be no lasting safeguard to capitalist society. If our juridical, philosophical, and religious ideas are the more or less remote offshoots of the economical relations prevailing in a given society, such ideas

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[a] *Die Neue Zeit* has "for the use of all possible means of pious demagogy" instead of "for the support of all sorts of revivalism".—*Ed.*

[b] *Die Neue Zeit* has "British respectable philistinism" instead of "British respectability".—*Ed.*

[c] Without meat or milk.—*Ed.*

cannot, in the long run, withstand the effects of a complete change in these relations. And, unless we believe in supernatural revelation, we must admit that no religious tenets will ever suffice to prop up a tottering society.

In fact, in England too, the working people have begun to move again. They are, no doubt, shackled by traditions of various kinds. Bourgeois traditions, such as the widespread belief that there can be but two parties, Conservatives and Liberals, and that the working class must work out its salvation by and through the great Liberal Party. Working men's traditions, inherited from their first tentative efforts at independent action, such as the exclusion, from ever so many old Trade Unions, of all applicants who have not gone through a regular apprenticeship; which means the breeding by every such union, of its own blacklegs. But for all that the English working class is moving, as even Professor Brentano has sorrowfully had to report to his brother Katheder-Socialists.[a] It moves, like all things in England, with a slow and measured step, with hesitation here, with more or less unfruitful, tentative attempts there; it moves now and then with an over-cautious mistrust of the name of Socialism, while it gradually absorbs the substance; and the movement spreads and seizes one layer of the workers after another. It has now shaken out of their torpor the unskilled labourers of the East End of London, and we all know what a splendid impulse these fresh forces have given it in return. And if the pace of the movement is not up to the impatience of some people, let them not forget that it is the working class which keeps alive the finest qualities of the English character, and that, if a step in advance is once gained in England, it is, as a rule, never lost afterwards. If the sons of the old Chartists, for reasons explained above, were not quite up to the mark, the grandsons bid fair to be worthy of their forefathers.

But the triumph of the European working class does not depend upon England alone. It can only be secured by the co-operation of, at least, England, France, and Germany. In both the latter countries the working-class movement is well ahead of England. In Germany it is even within measurable distance of success. The progress it has there made during the last twenty-five years is unparalleled. It advances with ever-increasing velocity. If the German middle class have shown themselves lamentably deficient in political capacity, discipline, courage, energy, and

[a] This refers to L. Brentano's writings dealing with British trade unions: *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart.* Vol. 2: *Zur Kritik der englischen Gewerkvereine.* See also this volume, pp. 95-176.— *Ed.*

perseverance, the German working class have given ample proof of all these qualities. Four hundred years ago, Germany was the starting-point of the first upheaval of the European middle class; as things are now, is it outside the limits of possibility that Germany will be the scene, too, of the first great victory of the European proletariat?

F. Engels

April 20th, 1892

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TO THE THIRD AUSTRIAN PARTY CONGRESS IN VIENNA

London, May 31, 1892

Dear Comrades,

I thank you for your friendly invitation to your twice-banned party congress, which, it is to be hoped, will now take place.[275] Although I shall not be able to attend your sessions as guest, I am happy to take the opportunity of sending the assembled Austrian comrades my greetings and a confirmation of my lively interest. We here, who enjoy a freedom of movement unknown on the entire Continent, certainly can appreciate that, despite the many limitations of their field of manoeuvre, the Austrian workers have captured the glorious position they now occupy. And I can assure you that here, in the motherland of large-scale industry, the workers' cause progresses; and this is the most significant and gratifying feature of today that, look where we will, everywhere the workers are on their irresistible march forward.

Your old
Frederick Engels

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CARL SCHORLEMMER[276]

Not only science in all countries, but also German Social Democracy, mourn at the grave earthed in today at the Southern Municipal Cemetery in Manchester. The great chemist who lies there was a Communist before Lassalle appeared in Germany; far from making any secret of his convictions he was, until his death, an active and regular dues-paying member of the Socialist Party of Germany.

Carl Schorlemmer was born on September 30, 1834 in Darmstadt, attended gymnasium in his home town, and then studied chemistry in Giessen and Heidelberg. After completing his studies he moved in 1858 to England, where at that time more than one career opened up for talented chemists from the Liebig school. Most of his young colleagues plunged into industry, but he remained true to science, first becoming the assistant of Angus Smith, the private chemist, and then of Roscoe, who shortly before had been appointed professor of chemistry of the newly founded Owens College.[277] In 1861, having previously been Roscoe's assistant, he was engaged as an official laboratory assistant at Owens College.

The sixties were the time of his remarkable chemical discoveries. Organic chemistry had finally reached the point at which it could develop, from a large number of isolated, more or less incomplete statements about the composition of organic substances, into a real science. Schorlemmer selected the simplest of these substances as his object of investigation, convinced that the foundation of the new science was to be laid here: substances originally consisting only of carbon and hydrogen which become the most manifold and most varied other substances when part of

their hydrogen is replaced by other simple or complex substances; these are the paraffins, the best known of which are to be found in petroleum, and from which are derived alcohols, fatty acids, ether, etc. We owe our knowledge about these paraffins today mainly to Schorlemmer. He investigated the existing substances belonging to the paraffin series, separated each one from the others, and produced many of them for the first time in pure form; others, which should have existed theoretically but were not yet known in practice, he discovered and also produced. Thus he became one of the founders of the scientific organic chemistry of today.

Apart from this speciality of his, however, he also devoted a great deal of attention to what is called theoretical chemistry, i.e. to the basic laws of this science, and the way it fits in with related sciences, that is to say physics and physiology. He was particularly capable in this field. He was probably the only important scientist of his time who did not disdain learning from Hegel, at that period despised by many, but esteemed by himself. And rightly so. Anybody who wants to achieve anything in the field of theoretical integrated science must regard natural phenomena not as invariable magnitudes, as most do, but as variable and in a state of flux. And this may be most easily learned, even today, from Hegel.

When I got to know Schorlemmer at the beginning of the sixties—within a short time Marx and I became intimately acquainted with him—he often visited me with a bruised and battered face. The paraffins are no playthings, these often still unknown bodies exploded in his hands all the time, and he thus acquired a number of honourable injuries. It was only due to his glasses that he did not lose his sight.

At that time he was already a complete Communist, and all he had to learn from us were the economic grounds for a conviction he had gained long ago. Once he became familiar through us with the progress made by the workers' movement in the various countries, he always followed these events with great interest; but in particular the movement in Germany, after it advanced beyond the first stage of pure Lassalleanism. After I moved to London at the end of 1870, the greater part of our lively correspondence was concerned with the sciences and party affairs.

To that date Schorlemmer, despite his world-wide reputation, had remained in Manchester, a man of very modest status. This now changed. In 1871 he was proposed as a member of the Royal Society, the English Academy of Sciences, and immediately elected, which does not often happen; in 1874 Owens College finally

established a new professorship in organic chemistry, specially for him, and soon after the University of Glasgow made him an honorary doctor. But these public honours made absolutely no difference to him. He was the soul of modesty, since his modesty was based upon a correct assessment of his own worth. For this reason he regarded these honours as self-evident, and therefore immaterial.

He regularly spent his holidays in London with Marx and myself, except for the time he spent in Germany. Four years ago he accompanied me on a "whirlwind trip" to America.[278] But his health was undermined even then; in 1890 we were still able to travel to Norway and the North Cape, but in 1891 his health collapsed at the beginning of a joint journey we attempted,[279] and after this he never came to London again. From February this year he was almost entirely confined to the house, and from May to his bed; on June 27 he succumbed to cancer of the lung.

It was the lot even of this man of science to experience in person the effects of the Anti-Socialist Law.[280] Six or seven years ago he travelled from Switzerland to Darmstadt. Around this time a trunk full of the *Sozialdemokrat* from Zurich had fallen into the hands of the police somewhere. Who could the smuggler be other than the Social Democratic professor? After all, in the eyes of the police a chemist is a scientifically trained smuggler. So there were raids on the homes of his mother and his brother; but the professor was in Höchst. Immediate telegrams: a domicilary search there too, in which something quite unexpected was found—an English passport. After the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law Schorlemmer had had himself naturalised in England. This English passport stopped the police in their tracks; they shied away from diplomatic complications with England. So the upshot was a big scandal in Darmstadt, which was worth at least 500 votes to us at the next election.

In the name of the Party Executive I laid upon the grave of our true friend and comrade a wreath with a red streamer inscribed: "FROM THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY".

London, July 1, 1892

Frederick Engels

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[PREFACE TO THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION (1892) OF *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND*][281]

The book herewith again made available to the German public first appeared in the summer of 1845. Both in its strengths and in its weaknesses it bears the stamp of the author's youth. At the time, I was twenty-four; today, I am thrice as old, and as I reread this early work I find I need not be ashamed of it on any count. So I have no intention of somehow obliterating this stamp of youthfulness. I am presenting my work to the reader again, unchanged. I have only worded more precisely a few not entirely clear passages and added, here and there, a brief footnote, marked with the present date (*1892*).

As for the fate of this book, I will only mention that an English translation of it (by Mrs. Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky) came out in New York in 1887 and was also published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. in London in 1892. The preface to the American edition[282] underlies that to the English one,[a] and the latter in its turn underlies the present German preface. Modern large-scale industry makes the economic conditions in all the countries affected uniform to such an enormous extent that I hardly need tell the German reader anything different from what I tell the American or English.

The state of things described in this book belongs today in many respects, to the past, as far as England is concerned. Though not expressly stated in our recognised treatises, it is still a law of modern political economy that the larger the scale on which capitalistic production is carried on, the less can it support the petty devices of swindling and pilfering which characterise its early

[a] See this volume, pp. 257-69.—*Ed.*

stages. The pettifogging business tricks of the Polish Jew, the representative in Europe of commerce in its lowest stage, those tricks that serve him so well in his own country, and are generally practised there, fail him once he comes to Hamburg or Berlin; and, again, the commission agent who hails from Berlin or Hamburg, Jew or Christian, after frequenting the Manchester Exchange, finds out that in order to buy cotton yarn or cloth cheap, he, too, had better drop those slightly more refined but still miserable wiles and subterfuges which are considered the acme of cleverness in his native country. Of course, with the progress of large-scale industry a great deal has supposedly changed in Germany too, and a bad odour now attaches, particularly since the industrial Jena of Philadelphia,[283] even to the time-honoured German principle: People will be nothing but pleased if we first send them good samples and then bad goods. The fact is, those tricks do not pay any longer in a large market, where time is money, and where a certain standard of commercial morality is unavoidably developed not because of any considerations of virtue, but purely as a means of saving time and trouble. And exactly the same has taken place in England with the relation between the manufacturer and his "hands".

The revival of trade, after the crisis of 1847, was the dawn of a new industrial epoch. The repeal of the Corn Laws[284] and the financial reforms subsequent thereon gave to English industry and commerce all the elbow-room they had asked for. The discovery of the Californian and Australian goldfields followed in rapid succession. The colonial markets developed at an increasing rate their capacity for absorbing English manufactured goods. In India millions of handweavers were finally crushed out by the Lancashire power-loom. China was more and more being opened up. But most important of all, America was developing at a rate unprecedented even for that country of tremendous progress; and America, it will be recalled, was then merely a colonial market, indeed the largest of all, i.e., a country supplying raw materials and importing industrial products, notably from England.

And, finally, the new means of communication introduced at the close of the preceding period—railways and ocean steamers—were now worked out on an international scale; they realised actually what had hitherto existed only potentially, a *world-market.* This world-market, at the time, was still composed of a number of chiefly or entirely agricultural countries grouped around one manufacturing centre—England—which consumed the greater part of their surplus raw produce, and supplied them in return

THE CONDITION

OF THE

WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND

IN 1844

WITH PREFACE WRITTEN IN 1892

BY

FREDERICK ENGELS

TRANSLATED BY FLORENCE KELLEY WISCHNEWETZKY

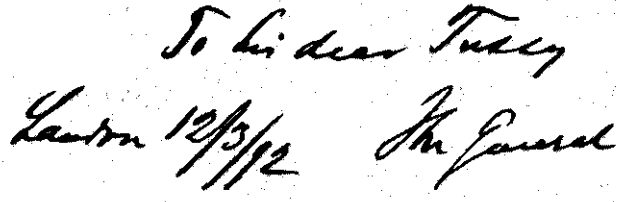


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Reverse of the title page
of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*
presented by Engels to Eleanor Marx-Aveling

with the greater part of their requirements in manufactured articles. No wonder, therefore, that England's industrial progress was colossal and unparallelled, and such that the status of 1844 now appears to us as comparatively insignificant, almost primitive.

And in proportion as this increase took place, in the same proportion did manufacturing industry become apparently moralised. The competition of manufacturer against manufacturer by means of petty thefts upon the workpeople did no longer pay. Trade had outgrown such low means of making money; the manufacturing millionaire had to know better than waste his time on petty tricks of this kind. Such practices were good enough, at best, for small fry in need of money, who had to snap up every penny in order not to succumb to competition. Thus the TRUCK SYSTEM was suppressed, the Ten-Hours' Bill[285] was enacted, and a number of other secondary reforms introduced—much against the spirit of Free Trade and unbridled competition, but quite as much in favour of the giant-capitalist in his competition with his less favoured brother.

Moreover, the larger the concern, and with it the number of workers, the greater the loss and inconvenience caused by every conflict with the workers and thus a new spirit came over the manufacturers, especially the largest ones, which taught them to avoid unnecessary squabbles, to acquiesce in the existence and power of TRADES UNIONS, and finally even to discover in strikes—at opportune times—a powerful means to serve their own ends. The largest manufacturers, formerly the leaders of the war against the working class, were now the foremost to preach peace and harmony. And for a very good reason.

All these concessions to justice and philanthropy were nothing else but means to accelerate the concentration of capital in the hands of the few and crushing the smaller competitors, who could not survive without extra receipts of this sort. To these few, the petty accessory extortions of earlier years had not only lost all significance but had turned, as it were, into hindrances to large-scale business. Thus the development of production on the basis of the capitalistic system has of itself sufficed—at least in the leading industries, for in the more unimportant branches this is far from being the case—to do away with all those minor grievances which aggravated the workman's fate during its earlier years. And thus it renders more and more evident the great central fact that the cause of the miserable condition of the working class is to be sought, not in these minor grievances, but *in the capitalistic system itself.* The worker sells to the capitalist his

labour-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours' work he has reproduced the value of that sum; but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working-day; and the value he produces during these additional hours of surplus labour is surplus value, which costs the capitalist nothing, but yet goes into his pocket. That is the basis of the system which tends more and more to split up civilised society into a few Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence, on the one hand, and an immense number of wage-workers, the owners of nothing but their labour-force, on the other. And that this result is caused, not by this or that secondary grievance, but by the system itself—this fact has been brought out in bold relief by the development of capitalism in England.

Again, the repeated visitations of cholera, typhus, smallpox, and other epidemics have shown the British bourgeois the urgent necessity of sanitation in his towns and cities, if he wishes to save himself and family from falling victims to such diseases. Accordingly, the most crying abuses described in this book have either disappeared or have been made less conspicuous. Drainage has been introduced or improved, wide avenues have been opened out athwart many of the worst "slums". "Little Ireland" had disappeared, and the "SEVEN DIALS"[286] are next on the list for sweeping away. But what of that? Whole districts which in 1844 I could describe as almost idyllic have now, with the growth of the towns, fallen into the same state of dilapidation, discomfort, and misery. Only the pigs and the heaps of refuse are no longer tolerated. The bourgeoisie have made further progress in the art of hiding the distress of the working class. But that, in regard to their dwellings, no substantial improvement has taken place is amply proved by the Report of the Royal Commission "ON THE HOUSING OF THE POOR", 1885.[a] And this is the case, too, in other respects. Police regulations have been plentiful as blackberries; but they can only hedge in the distress of the workers, they cannot remove it.

But while England has thus outgrown the juvenile state of capitalist exploitation described by me, other countries have only just attained it. France, Germany, and especially America, are the formidable competitors who, at this moment—as foreseen by me

[a] See *Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes. England and Wales, 1885.—Ed.*

in 1844—are more and more breaking up England's industrial monopoly. Their manufactures are young as compared with those of England, but increasing at a far more rapid rate than the latter; and they have at this moment arrived at about the same phase of development as English manufacture in 1844. With regard to America, the parallel is indeed most striking. True, the external surroundings in which the working class is placed in America are very different, but the same economical laws are at work, and the results, if not identical in every respect, must still be of the same order. Hence we find in America the same struggles for a shorter working-day, for a legal limitation of the working-time, especially of women and children in factories; we find the TRUCK SYSTEM in full blossom, and the COTTAGE SYSTEM,[287] in rural districts, made use of by the "BOSSES", the capitalists and their agents, as a means of domination over the workers. When I received, in 1886, the American papers with accounts of the great strike of 12,000 Pennsylvanian coal-miners in the Connellsville district,[288] I seemed but to read my own description of the North of England colliers' strike of 1844.[a] The same cheating of the workpeople by false measure; the same TRUCK SYSTEM; the same attempt to break the miners' resistance by the capitalists' last, but crushing, resource—the eviction of the men out of their dwellings, the cottages owned by the companies.

Neither here nor in the English editions did I try to update the book, i.e. to list one by one the changes that have taken place since 1844. I did not do it for two reasons. Firstly, I would have had to double the volume of the book. And secondly, Volume One of Marx's *Capital* gives a detailed description of the condition of the British working class for about 1865, i.e. the time when Britain's industrial prosperity had reached its peak. I would therefore have had to repeat what Marx says.

It will be hardly necessary to point out that the general theoretical standpoint of this book—philosophical, economical, political—does not exactly coincide with my standpoint of to-day. Modern international socialism, since fully developed as a science, chiefly and almost exclusively through the efforts of Marx, did not as yet exist in 1844. My book represents one of the phases of its embryonic development; and as the human embryo, in its early stages, still reproduces the gill-arches of our fish-ancestors, so this book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of modern

[a] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 540-47.—*Ed.*

socialism from one of its ancestors, German classical philosophy. Thus great stress is laid on the dictum that communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self-emancipation of the working class, so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone. The French bourgeois of 1789,[a] too, declared the emancipation of the bourgeoisie to be the emancipation of the whole human race; but the nobility and clergy would not see it; the proposition—though for the time being, with respect to feudalism, an abstract historical truth—soon became a mere sentimentalism, and disappeared from view altogether in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. And to-day, the very people who, from the "impartiality" of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles—these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing.

The recurring period of the great industrial crisis is stated in the text as five years. This was the period apparently indicated by the course of events from 1825 to 1842. But the industrial history from 1842 to 1868 has shown that the real period is one of ten years; that the intermediate revulsions were secondary, and had been increasingly disappearing from 1842 onwards. Since 1868 the state of things has changed again, of which more anon.

I have taken care not to strike out of the text the many prophecies, amongst others that of an imminent social revolution in England, which my youthful ardour induced me to venture upon. The wonder is, not that a good many of these prophecies proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right, and that the critical state of English trade, to be brought on by Continental and especially American competition, which I then foresaw—though in too short a period—has now actually come to pass. In this respect I am bound to bring the book up to date, by placing here an article which appeared in the London *Commonweal*

[a] Engels refers to the French Revolution.—*Ed.*

of March 1, 1885, in English and in *Neue Zeit* in June of the same year (Issue 6) in German.[289]

"Forty years ago England stood face to face with a crisis, solvable to all appearances by force only. The immense and rapid development of manufactures had outstripped the extension of foreign markets and the increase of demand. Every ten years the march of industry was violently interrupted by a general commercial crash, followed, after a long period of chronic depression, by a few short years of prosperity, and always ending in feverish over-production and consequent renewed collapse. The capitalist class clamoured for Free Trade in corn,[290] and threatened to enforce it by sending the starving population of the towns back to the country districts whence they came, to invade them, as John Bright said, not as paupers begging for bread, but as an army quartered upon the enemy.[a] The working masses of the towns demanded their share of political power—the People's Charter[291]; they were supported by the majority of the small trading class, and the only difference between the two was whether the Charter should be carried by physical or by moral force. Then came the commercial crash of 1847 and the Irish famine, and with both the prospect of revolution.

"The French Revolution of 1848 saved the English middle class. The Socialistic pronunciamentos of the victorious French workmen frightened the small middle class of England and disorganised the narrower, but more matter-of-fact movement of the English working class. At the very moment when Chartism was bound to assert itself in its full strength, it collapsed internally before even it collapsed externally, on the 10th of April, 1848.[292] The action of the working class was thrust into the background. The capitalist class triumphed along the whole line.

"The Reform Bill of 1831[293] had been the victory of the whole capitalist class over the landed aristocracy. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the victory of the *manufacturing* capitalist not only over the landed aristocracy, but over those sections of capitalists, too, whose interests were more or less bound up with the landed interest—bankers, stockjobbers, fundholders, etc. Free Trade meant the readjustment of the whole home and foreign, commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now

[a] These words belong apparently not to Bright but to his adherents. See *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. 71, No. 141, p. 273.—*Ed.*

represented the nation. And they set about this task with a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. The tariff and the whole system of taxation were revolutionised. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the bringing down—of wages. England was to become the 'workshop of the world'[294]; all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England, the great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world, with an ever-increasing number of corn and cotton-growing Irelands revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

"The manufacturing capitalists set about the realisation of this their great object with that strong common sense and that contempt for traditional principles which has ever distinguished them from their more narrow-minded compeers on the Continent. Chartism was dying out. The revival of commercial prosperity, natural after the revulsion of 1847 had spent itself, was put down altogether to the credit of Free Trade. Both these circumstances had turned the English working class, politically, into the tail of the 'great Liberal Party', the party led by the manufacturers. This advantage, once gained, had to be perpetuated. And the manufacturing capitalists, from the Chartist opposition, not to Free Trade, but to the transformation of Free Trade into the one vital national question, had learnt, and were learning more and more, that the middle class can never obtain full social and political power over the nation except by the help of the working class. Thus a gradual change came over the relations between both classes. The Factory Acts,[295] once the bugbear of all manufacturers, were not only willingly submitted to, but their expansion into acts regulating almost all trades was tolerated. Trades Unions, hitherto considered inventions of the devil himself, were now petted and patronised as perfectly legitimate institutions, and as useful means of spreading sound economical doctrines amongst the workers. Even strikes, than which nothing had been more nefarious up to 1848, were now gradually found out to be occasionally very useful, especially when provoked by the masters themselves, at their own time. Of the legal enactments, placing the workman at a lower level or at a disadvantage with regard to the master, at least the most revolting were repealed. And, practically, that

horrid People's Charter actually became the political programme of the very manufacturers who had opposed it to the last. *The Abolition of the Property Qualification* and *Vote by Ballot* are now the law of the land. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884[296] make a near approach to *universal suffrage,* at least such as it now exists in Germany; the Redistribution Bill now before Parliament creates *equal electoral districts*—on the whole not more unequal than those of France or Germany; *payment of members,* and shorter, if not actually *annual Parliaments,* are visibly looming in the distance—and yet there are people who say that Chartism is dead.

"The Revolution of 1848, not less than many of its predecessors, has had strange bedfellows and successors. The very people who put it down have become, as Karl Marx used to say, its testamentary executors.[297] Louis Napoleon had to create an independent and united Italy, Bismarck had to revolutionise Germany and to restore Hungarian independence, and the English manufacturers had to enact the People's Charter.

"For England, the effects of this domination of the manufacturing capitalists were at first startling. Trade revived and extended to a degree unheard of even in this cradle of modern industry; the previous astounding creations of steam and machinery dwindled into nothing compared with the immense mass of productions of the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, with the overwhelming figures of exports and imports, of wealth accumulated in the hands of capitalists and of human working power concentrated in the large towns. The progress was indeed interrupted, as before, by a crisis every ten years, in 1857 as well as in 1866; but these revulsions were now considered as natural, inevitable events, which must be fatalistically submitted to, and which always set themselves right in the end.

"And the condition of the working-class during this period? There was temporary improvement even for the great mass. But this improvement always was reduced to the old level by the influx of the great body of the unemployed reserve, by the constant superseding of hands by new machinery, by the immigration of the agricultural population, now, too, more and more superseded by machines.

"A permanent improvement can be recognised for two 'protected' sections only of the working class. Firstly, the factory hands. The fixing by Act of Parliament of their working-day within relatively rational limits has restored their physical constitution and endowed them with a moral superiority, enhanced by their local concentration. They are undoubtedly better off than

before 1848. The best proof is that, out of ten strikes they make, nine are provoked by the manufacturers in their own interests, as the only means of securing a reduced production. You can never get the masters to agree to work 'short time', let manufactured goods be ever so unsaleable; but get the workpeople to strike, and the masters shut their factories to a man.

"Secondly, the great Trades Unions. They are the organisations of those trades in which the labour of *grown-up men* predominates, or is alone applicable. Here the competition neither of women and children nor of machinery has so far weakened their organised strength. The engineers, the carpenters and joiners, the bricklayers, are each of them a power, to that extent that, as in the case of the bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, they can even successfully resist the introduction of machinery. That their condition has remarkably improved since 1848 there can be no doubt, and the best proof of this is in the fact that for more than fifteen years not only have their employers been with them, but they with their employers, upon exceedingly good terms. They form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final. They are the model working men of Messrs. Leone Levi & Giffen (and also the worthy Lujo Brentano), and they are very nice people indeed nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general.

"But as to the great mass of working people, the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, if not lower. The East End of London is an everspreading pool of stagnant misery and desolation, of starvation when out of work, and degradation, physical and moral, when in work. And so in all other large towns—abstraction made of the privileged minority of the workers; and so in the smaller towns and in the agricultural districts. The law which reduces the value of labour-power to the value of the necessary means of subsistence, and the other law which reduces its average price, as a rule, to the minimum of those means of subsistence, these laws act upon them with the irresistible force of an automatic engine which crushes them between its wheels.

"This, then was the position created by the Free Trade policy of 1847, and by twenty years of the rule of the manufacturing capitalists. But then a change came. The crash of 1866 was, indeed, followed by a slight and short revival about 1873; but that did not last. We did not, indeed, pass through the full crisis at the

time it was due, in 1877 or 1878; but we have had, ever since 1876, a chronic state of stagnation in all dominant branches of industry. Neither will the full crash come; nor will the period of longed-for prosperity to which we used to be entitled before and after it. A dull depression, a chronic glut of all markets for all trades, that is what we have been living in for nearly ten years. How is this?

"The Free Trade theory was based upon one assumption: that England was to be the one great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world. And the actual fact is that this assumption has turned out to be a pure delusion. The conditions of modern industry, steam-power and machinery, can be established wherever there is fuel, especially coals. And other countries besides England—France, Belgium, Germany, America, even Russia—have coals. And the people over there did not see the advantage of being turned into Irish pauper farmers merely for the greater wealth and glory of English capitalists. They set resolutely about manufacturing, not only for themselves, but for the rest of the world; and the consequence is that the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by England for nearly a century is irretrievably broken up.

"But the manufacturing monopoly of England is the pivot of the present social system of England. Even while that monopoly lasted, the markets could not keep pace with the increasing productivity of English manufacturers; the decennial crises were the consequence. And new markets are getting scarcer every day, so much so that even the Negroes of the Congo are now to be forced into the civilisation attendant upon Manchester calicos, Staffordshire pottery, and Birmingham hardware. How will it be when Continental, and especially American, goods flow in in ever-increasing quantities—when the predominating share, still held by British manufacturers, will become reduced from year to year? Answer, Free Trade, thou universal panacea.

"I am not the first to point this out. Already in 1883, at the Southport meeting of the British Association,[298] Mr. Inglis Palgrave, the President of the Economic section, stated plainly that

"'the days of great trade profits in England were over, and there was a pause in the progress of several great branches of industrial labour. *The country might almost be said to be entering the non-progressive state'*.[a]

"But what is to be the consequence? Capitalist production *cannot* stop. It must go on increasing and expanding, or it must die. Even

[a] *Report of the Fifty-Third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; held at Southport in September 1883*, pp. 608-09.—*Ed.*

now the mere reduction of England's lion's share in the supply of the world's markets means stagnation, distress, excess of capital here, excess of unemployed workpeople there. What will it be when the increase of yearly production is brought to a complete stop?

"Here is the vulnerable place, the heel of Achilles, for capitalistic production. Its very basis is the necessity of constant expansion, and this constant expansion now becomes impossible. It ends in a deadlock. Every year England is brought nearer face to face with the question: either the country must go to pieces, or capitalist production must. Which is it to be?

"And the working class? If even under the unparalleled commercial and industrial expansion, from 1848 to 1868, they have had to undergo such misery; if even then the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement of their condition, while only a small, privileged, 'protected' minority was permanently benefited, what will it be when this dazzling period is brought finally to a close; when the present dreary stagnation shall not only become intensified, but this, its intensified condition, shall become the permanent and normal state of English trade?

"The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working class have, to a certain extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had, at least, a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why, since the dying-out of Owenism, there has been no Socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally—the privileged and leading minority not excepted—on a level with its fellow-workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be Socialism again in England."

So I wrote in 1885. In the Preface to the English edition written on January 11, 1892 I continued:

"To this statement of the case, as that case appeared to me in 1885, I have but little to add. Needless to say that to-day there is indeed 'Socialism again in England', and plenty of it—Socialism of all shades: Socialism conscious and unconscious, Socialism prosaic and poetic, Socialism of the working class and of the middle class, for, verily, that abomination of abominations, Socialism, has not only become respectable, but has actually donned evening dress and lounges lazily on drawing-room *causeuses*. That shows the incurable fickleness of that terrible despot of 'society', middle-class public

opinion, and once more justifies the contempt in which we Socialists of a past generation always held that public opinion. At the same time we have no reason to grumble at the symptom itself.

"What I consider far more important than this momentary fashion among bourgeois circles of affecting a mild dilution of Socialism, and even more than the actual progress Socialism has made in England generally, that is the revival of the East End of London. That immense haunt of misery is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the 'New Unionism', that is to say, of the organisation of the great mass of 'unskilled' workers. This organisation may to a great extent adopt the form of the old Unions of 'skilled' workers but it is essentially different in character. The old Unions preserve the traditions of the time when they were founded, and look upon the wages system as a once-for-all established, final fact, which they at best can modify in the interest of their members. The new Unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken; their founders and promoters were Socialists either consciously or by feeling; the masses, whose adhesion gave them strength, were rough, neglected, looked down upon by the working-class aristocracy; but they had this immense advantage, that *their minds were virgin soil,* entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old' Unionists. And thus we see now these new Unions taking the lead of the working-class movement generally, and more and more taking in tow the rich and proud 'old' Unions.

"Undoubtedly, the East Enders have committed colossal blunders; so have their predecessors, and so do the doctrinaire Socialists who pooh-pooh them. A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes. And for all the faults committed in past, present and future, the revival of the East End of London remains one of the greatest and most fruitful facts of this *fin de siècle,* and glad and proud I am to have lived to see it."

Since I wrote the above, six months ago, the English working-class movement has again made a good step forward. The parliamentary elections which took place a few days ago gave both the official parties, Conservative as well as Liberal, notice in due form that from now on one and the other will have to reckon with a third party, the workers' party. This workers' party is now only

in the process of formation; its elements are still engaged in shaking off traditional prejudices of all kinds—bourgeois, old trade-unionist, indeed, even doctrinaire-socialist—in order to be able to get together at last on ground common to all of them. And yet the instinct to unite which they followed was already so strong that it produced election results hitherto unheard-of in England. In London two workers[a] have stood for election, and openly as Socialists at that; the Liberals did not dare to put up one of theirs against them, and the two Socialists have won by an overwhelming and unexpected majority. In Middlesbrough a workers' candidate[b] has stood against a Liberal and a Conservative and been elected in the teeth of both; on the other hand, the new workers' candidates who allied themselves with the Liberals have been hopelessly defeated, with the exception of a single one. Among those who so far have been called workers' representatives, that is, those who are forgiven their quality of workers because they themselves would willingly drown it in the ocean of their liberalism, the most significant representative of the old Unionism, Henry Broadhurst, has suffered a striking defeat because he declared himself against the eight-hour day. In two Glasgow, one Salford, and several other constituencies, independent workers' candidates stood against candidates of the two old parties; they were beaten, but so were the Liberal candidates. Briefly, in a number of large-town and industrial constituencies the workers have resolutely severed all connections with the two old parties and thus achieved direct or indirect successes such as they had never scored in any election so far. And the joy on this account among the workers is boundless. For the first time they have seen and felt what they can do when they make use of their electoral rights in the interest of their class. The superstitious belief in the "great Liberal Party" which had kept a hold on the English workers for nearly forty years has been destroyed. They have seen by striking examples that they, the workers, are the decisive force in England if only they have the will and know their own will; and the 1892 elections have been the beginning of that knowledge and that will. The workers' movement on the Continent will see to the rest: the Germans and the French, who are already so strongly represented in parliaments and local councils, will keep the spirit of emulation of the English sufficiently high by further successes. And if in the not very distant future it turns out that this new parliament can get

[a] James Keir Hardie and John Burns.—*Ed.*
[b] John Havelock Wilson.—*Ed.*

nowhere with Mr. Gladstone, nor Mr. Gladstone with this parliament, the English workers' party will surely be sufficiently constituted to put an early end to the seesaw game of the two old parties which have been succeeding each other in power and thereby perpetuating bourgeois rule.

F. Engels

London, July 21, 1892

First published in: F. Engels, *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England,* second edition, Stuttgart, 1892

Printed according to the book

Published in English in full for the first time

[ON CERTAIN PECULIARITIES IN ENGLAND'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT][299]

Owing to its eternal compromises, the kind of gradual, peaceful political development that takes place in England gives rise to a situation full of contradictions; because of its overwhelming advantages this situation can be practically tolerated within certain limits, but its logical absurdities cause much anguish to the thinking mind. Hence, the need of all "state-supporting" parties for a theoretical cloak, a justification, which, naturally, can be provided only through sophisms, distortions, and *enfin* by dubious tricks. Thus, a literature is being cultivated in the political field that repeats all the wretched hypocrisy and untruthfulness of theological apologetics, and which also transplants the theological intellectual vices to a mundane soil. Thus the soil of the specific liberal hypocrisy is fertilised, sown and cultivated by the Conservatives themselves. And thus is theological apologetics offered an argument, produced by ordinary minds, which it lacks in other lands. What of it if the facts related in the gospel and the dogmas preached in the New Testament in general contradict each other? Does that make them untrue? The English Constitution contains many more inconsistencies and constantly contradicts itself, but continues to exist and, hence, is true!

September 12, 1892

The absence of crises since 1868 is also due to the expansion of the world market, which distributes the surplus English, respectively European, capital in transport investment, etc., *throughout the world* and also among a whole mass of other *branches* of

investment. This has made a crisis impossible owing to excessive speculation in railways, banking, etc., or in specifically American investments, or in *Indian* trade, but small crises, such as the Argentinian,[300] have become possible for the past three years. But all this proves that a *giant crisis* is in the making.

Written on September 12, 1892

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part II, Moscow, 1936

[TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY OF SPAIN][301]

Dear Comrades,

The English Trade Union Congress, meeting in Glasgow, adopted at its session of September 8th a resolution which the socialists of the European continent will hardly be able to ignore.

The Zurich Committee which, in conformity with the Brussels 1891 resolutions, was entrusted with the preparations for the next congress of the International in 1893, sent a letter of invitation to the Trade Union Congress. Despite the repeated complaints of the secretary of the Gas Union, Comrade Will Thorne, during three days of the proceedings, this letter was neither produced nor read to the Congress, which as a result never had an opportunity to express its opinion about the Zurich invitation.

Finally, Matkin proposed a motion that the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress[302] should be entrusted with the convening of an international congress to discuss and pass a resolution on an international legal eight-hour working day.

Comrade Parnell (who went to the Paris congress of 1889) and Comrade Quelch replied that two international workers' congresses had already been called for 1893, one to meet in Zurich, the other in Chicago[303]; that the Zurich provisional committee had invited the Trade Union Congress to participate in the Zurich congress, and that instead of calling a third congress the invitation to the Zurich congress should be accepted.

In reply, the representatives of the old conservative unions stated that the Zurich and Chicago congresses had not been convened by the English Trade Unions; that the workers on the Continent were badly organised and weak compared to the

English, and that it was inappropriate for the English to make themselves responsible for all the WILD THEORIES of continental socialism, etc. etc. Only then was the invitation of our Zurich Committee read out.

In the end the Zurich Committee was turned down by 189 votes against 97, and the proposal to summon "immediately" an international congress to discuss and pass a resolution on the international legal eight-hour working day was approved.

These two votes constitute an offence directed against the organised and socialist proletariat of the whole European Continent. Let us hope that the most advanced sectors of the English proletariat who, while being socialists at *heart*, are still frightened of the *name* and have been taken in by the old conservatives; that these more intelligent and bolder elements will be able to make amends for the mistake at the next congress.

Meanwhile it seems appropriate that the continental workers save their dignity in the face of the insult contained in the said resolutions, and this is why I have informed our friends in France and Germany of the events in Glasgow, hoping that they will agree on what line of action to follow; as the French comrades will be celebrating their Marseilles congress[304] in a few days, they will be able to make a first reply to the Trade Union Congress.

But in my capacity as ex-secretary for Spain on the General Council of the old International of glorious memory, I believe it my duty to communicate to the Spanish National Council an event which concerns the Spanish comrades no less than those of other countries.

Greetings and social revolution.

Written on September 16, 1892

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the Spanish

Published in English for the first time

[ADDENDA TO THE BIOGRAPHY][305]

1) Secretary for Italy, Spain and Portugal on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.
2) New edition of *Condition*[a] (1892).
3) *Ludwig Feuerbach*[b] etc. Stuttgart, 1888.

Written after October 7, 1892

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.—Ed.*
[b] F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.—Ed.*

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION[306]

The ancient world was dominated by Fatum, Heimarmene, inescapable mysterious fate. These were the names given by the Greeks and Romans to that impalpable omnipotence which frustrated all human will and effort, which led all human deeds to results quite other than those intended, that irresistible force which has since then been called providence, predestination, etc. This mysterious force has slowly taken on a more palpable form, and for this we may thank the rule of the bourgeoisie and capital, the first system of class rule which seeks to find clarity about the causes and conditions of its own existence, thus opening the door to the recognition of the inevitability of its own imminent fall. Fate, providence—that we know now—consists of the economic conditions under which production and exchange take place, and these combine today in the *world market.*

And this is the importance of the American presidential election, that it is an event of the first order on the world market.

Four years ago I published an essay on protective tariffs and free trade, in Boston in English and in Stuttgart in German.[a] Here I demonstrated that England's industrial monopoly could not be reconciled with the economic development of the other civilised countries; that the protective tariffs introduced in America since the Civil War[307] showed Americans' will to shake off the yoke of this monopoly; that thanks to the gigantic natural resources and the intellectual and moral talents of the American race this target has already been reached, and the customs barrier has become in America, no less than in Germany, a fetter to industry. And then I

[a] F. Engels, "Protection and Free Trade".—*Ed.*

wrote: If America introduces free trade, then it will beat England on the world market in ten years.

Very well. The presidential election of November 8, 1892 has opened the way for free trade. The protective tariff in the form devised by MacKinley had become an unbearable fetter; the nonsensical price increase for all imported raw materials and foodstuffs, which affected the price of many domestic products, had largely closed world markets to American products, while the home market suffered a glut of American industrial products. In fact, in the past few years the protective tariff only served to ruin the small producers under the pressure of the large producers combined in cartels and trusts, and to surrender the market and thus the consuming nation to exploitation by the latter, that is to say the organised monopoly. America can only escape from this permanent domestic industrial crisis caused by the protective tariff by opening itself up to the world market, and for this it must emancipate itself from the protective tariff, at least in its present nonsensical form. The total turn-about of public opinion demonstrated by the election shows that it is determined to do this. Once established on the world market, America—*like,* and *through* England—will irresistibly be driven further along the path of free trade.

And then we shall experience an industrial battle as never before. On all markets English products, particularly textiles and iron goods, will have to fight with American products, and finally lose. Even now American cottons and linens chase the English from the field. Would you like to know who performed the miracle of converting in one short year the cotton operatives of Lancashire from furious opponents to enthusiastic advocates of the legal eight-hour day? Refer to the *Neue Zeit,* No. 2 of October this year, p. 56, where you can see how American cottons and linens are displacing the English step by step on the domestic market, how English imports have, since 1881, never reached the American, and in 1891 only amounted to about one third of the latter.[308] And China is, beside India, much the main market for these textiles.

This is renewed proof that with the turn of the century all relations are shifting. Transfer the centre of gravity of the textile and iron industries from England to America, and England will become either a second Holland, whose bourgeoisie live on their former greatness, and whose proletariat shrivels, or—it will reorganise itself along socialist lines. The first is not possible, the English proletariat will not put up with it, it is far too numerous and developed for this. Only the second remains. *The fall of protective tariffs in America means the ultimate victory of socialism in England.*

And Germany? Back in 1878 it won a position on the world market, which it is now losing step by step thanks to its foolish protective tariff policy—will it insist upon continuing obstinately to close for itself the path to the world market by taxing raw materials and foodstuffs, even against its American competitors, who will throw themselves into things quite differently from the English competition hitherto? Will the German bourgeoisie have the understanding and courage to follow the example set by America, or will it, lethargic as hitherto, wait until American industry, grown all-powerful, forcibly breaks the tariff-cartel between the Junkers and the large-scale manufacturers[309]? And will the government and the bourgeoisie finally realise how marvellously clumsily this precise moment has been chosen to crush the economic forces of Germany with new and prohibitive military burdens, when it should be entering into industrial competition with the most youthfully strong nation in the world, which has easily paid off its colossal war debt in a few years, and whose government does not know what to do with the tax income?

The German bourgeoisie have—perhaps for the last time—the opportunity finally to perform a great deed. One hundred to one they are too narrow-minded and too cowardly to utilise this opportunity for anything except to prove that once and for all their time is up.

Written between November 9 and 15, 1892 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Vorwärts*, No. 269, November 16, 1892

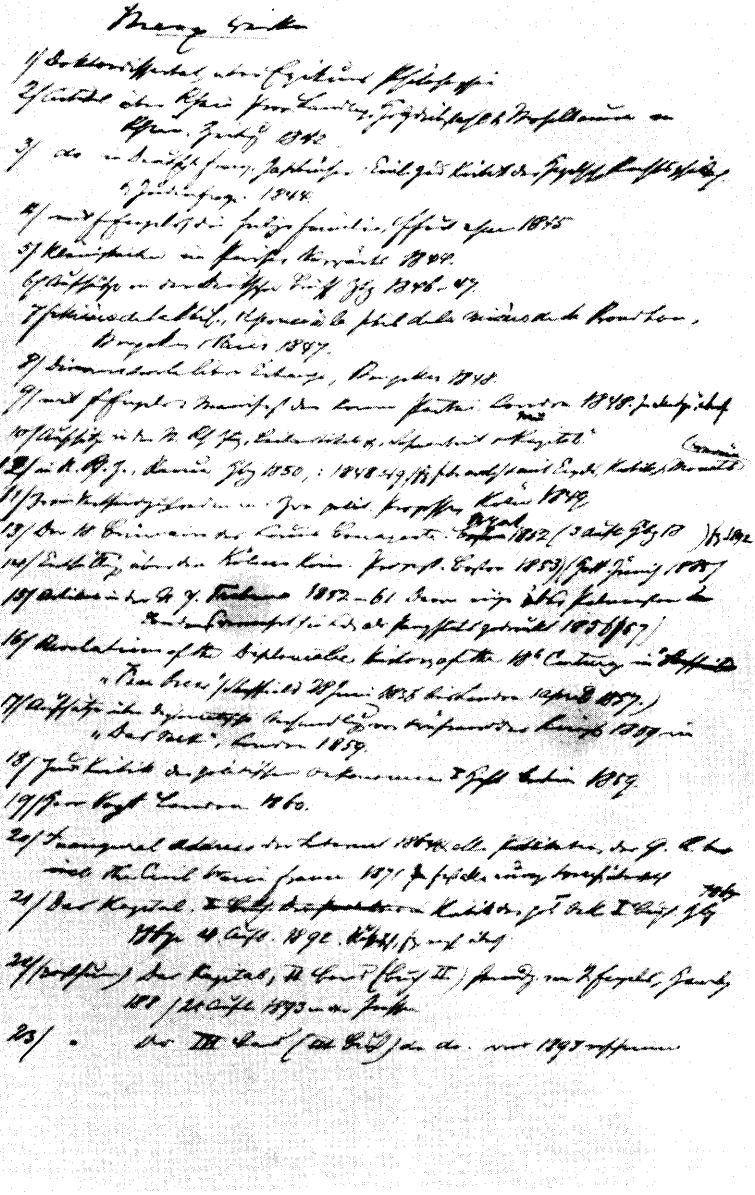
Signed: *Frederick Engels*

MARX, HEINRICH KARL,[310]

was born in Trier on May 5, 1818, the son of the lawyer and later counsellor of justice Heinrich Marx, who, as is shown by the baptismal certificate of his son, converted with his family from Judaism to Protestantism in 1824. After concluding his preparatory education at Trier Gymnasium, Karl Marx studied from 1835 in Bonn and then in Berlin, first law and later philosophy, attaining his *Dr. Phil.* in Berlin in 1841 with a dissertation on the philosophy of Epicurus.[a] In the same year he moved to Bonn in order to qualify as a lecturer, but the obstacles which the government laid in the path of his friend *Bruno Bauer*, officially there as lecturer in theology, which culminated in Bauer's removal from the university, soon made it clear to him that there was no room for him at a Prussian university.—This was the time when the younger elements of the radical bourgeoisie of the Rhineland, tinged with Young Hegelianism, urged, in agreement with the liberal leaders *Camphausen* and *Hansemann*, the publication of a big opposition paper in Cologne; Marx and Bauer were also consulted as capable main contributors. A concession—necessary at that time—was quietly obtained by a devious route, and the *Rheinische Zeitung* appeared on January 1, 1842. Marx contributed lengthy articles from Bonn for the new paper; foremost among these were: a critique of proceedings in the Rhine Province Assembly, a study of the situation of the peasant vintners on the Mosel, and another on wood theft and the relevant legislation.[b] In

[a] K. Marx, "Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature".—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. First Article. Debates on Freedom of the Press and Publication of the Proceedings of the Assembly of the Estates"; "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. Third Article. Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood"; "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel".—*Ed.*



List of K. Marx's works drawn up by F. Engels[311]

October 1842 he took over the management of the paper and moved to Cologne. From this point the paper adopted a sharply oppositional character. But the management was so adroit that despite first double censorship, and then triple censorship, imposed upon the paper (first the ordinary censor, then the Regierungspräsident, and finally a Mr. von Saint-Paul dispatched *ad hoc* from Berlin), the government found this sort of newspaper hard to deal with and therefore decided to forbid further publication of the paper as of April 1, 1843. Marx's resignation from the editorial board[312] on this date bought a three months' stay of execution, but then the paper was finally suppressed.

Marx then decided to move to Paris where *Arnold Ruge* also wished to turn, following the suppression of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* at about the same time. But first in Kreuznach he married Jenny von Westphalen, sweetheart of his youth, to whom he had been engaged since the beginning of his university days. The young couple reached Paris in the autumn of 1843, and here Marx and Ruge published the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* a journal of which only the first issue appeared; a continuation failed, partly because of the insuperable difficulties of circulating it secretly in Germany, and partly because of the differences of principle which very soon became apparent between the two editors. *Ruge* remained tied up with Hegelian philosophy and political radicalism, while Marx threw himself into the study of political economy, the French socialists, and the history of France. The result was his conversion to socialism. In September 1844, Fr. Engels visited Marx in Paris for a few days: the two had been in correspondence since their joint work on the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* and their collaboration, which only ended with the death of Marx, dates from this point. The first fruit of this collaboration was a polemical pamphlet against *Bruno Bauer,* with whom they had likewise parted ways on principles in the course of the disintegration of the Hegelian school: *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company,* Frankfurt a. M., 1845.

Marx helped to edit a small German weekly called *Vorwärts!,* published in Paris, which poured biting scorn on the wretchedness of the German absolutism and sham constitutionalism of the time. This prompted the Prussian Government to demand that Guizot's ministry expel Marx from France. It was agreed: in early 1845 Marx moved to Brussels, and Engels arrived there soon afterwards. Here Marx published *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon,* Brussels and Paris, 1847,

and also "Speech on the Question of Free Trade", Brussels, 1848. In addition he wrote occasional articles for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. In January 1848 he drew up, together with Engels, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* on the instructions of the Central Authority of the Communist League, a secret propaganda society which Marx and Engels had joined in the spring of 1847.[313] The *Manifesto* has since appeared in innumerable authorised and unauthorised German editions and been translated into nearly all European languages.

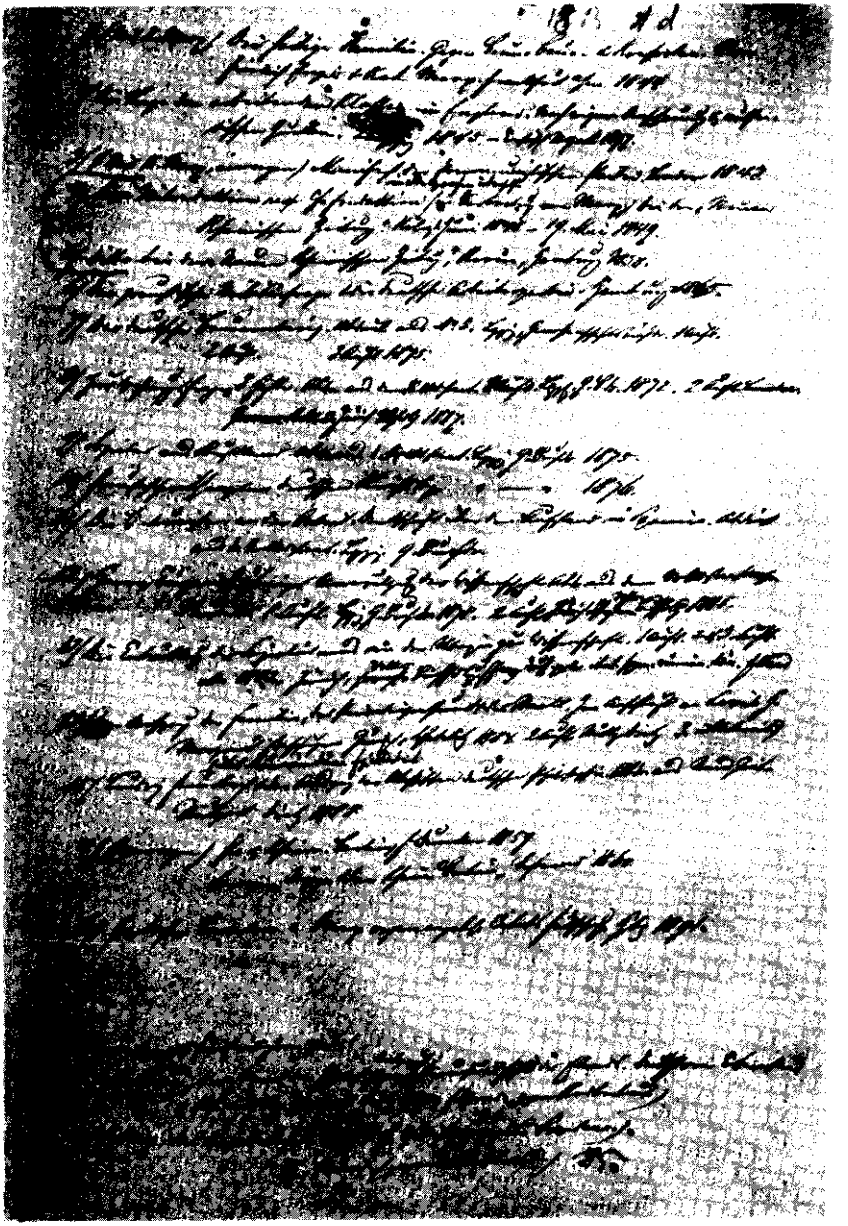
On the outbreak of the 1848 February Revolution, which brought about popular movements in Brussels too, Marx was arrested and expelled from Belgium; in the meantime the Provisional Government of the French Republic had invited him to come back to Paris, so he returned there.

At first in Paris he and his friends took a stand against the game of forming legions, which gave the majority in the new government a simple means of ridding themselves of the "tiresome" foreign workers. It was clear that such openly organised Belgian, German, etc., legions would only be able to march across the frontiers into a well-organised trap, and this was indeed the case. Marx and the other leaders of the Communist League obtained for about four hundred unemployed Germans the same travel allowance as the legionaries, so that they too could return to Germany.

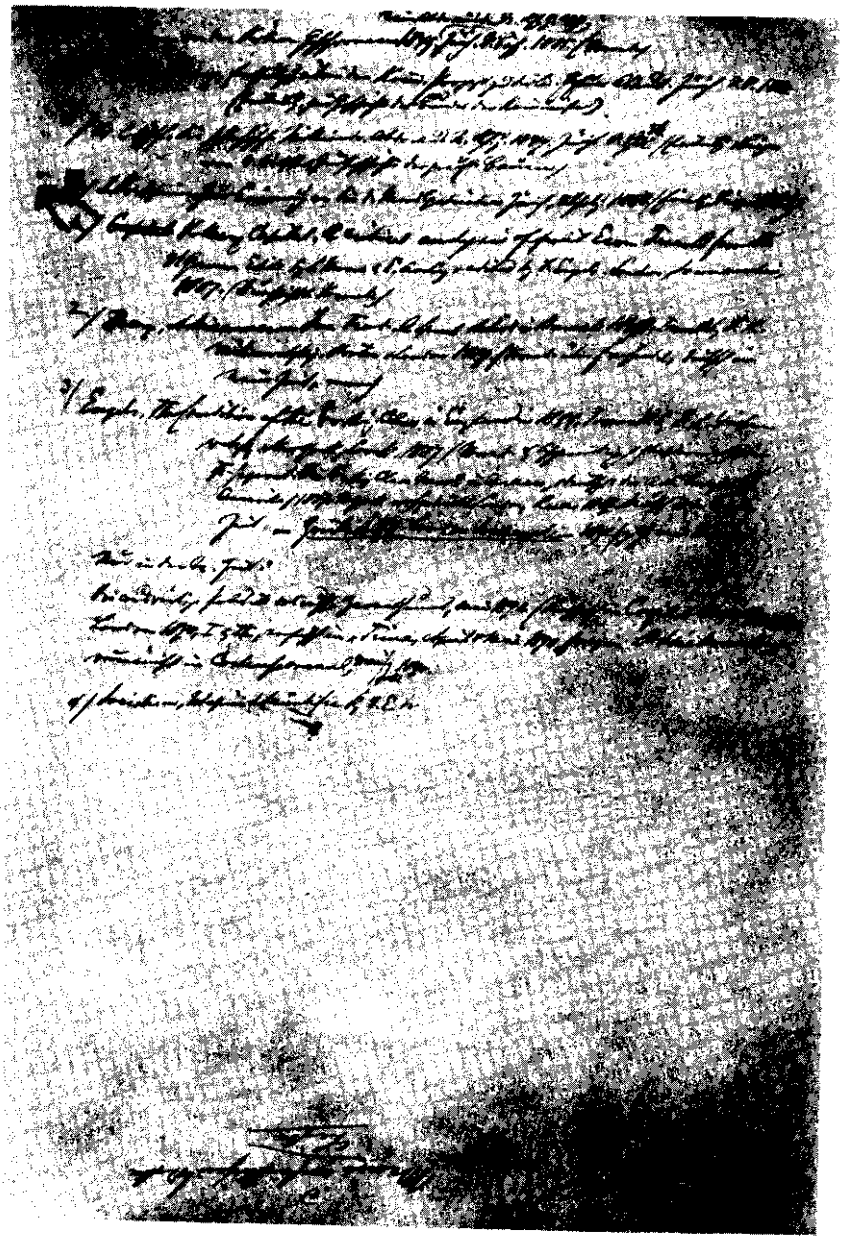
In April Marx went to Cologne, and on July 1 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published there under his management; it appeared for the last time on May 19 the following year. The editors were either threatened with judicial arrest, or with expulsion as non-Prussians. The latter fate befell Marx, who during his time in Brussels had taken his release from the Prussian state. During the existence of the paper he had to appear twice before the Jury, on February 7, 1849 because of a press misdemeanour, and on the 8th on charges of incitement to armed resistance to the government (at the time of the tax refusal, November 1848); both times he was acquitted.[314]

After the paper had been suppressed Marx returned to Paris, but after the demonstration of June 13[315] he was faced with the choice of either allowing himself to be interned in Brittany or of turning his back on France once again. He naturally chose the latter and moved to London, where he now finally established his residence.

In London he published: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Hamburg, 1850, of which six issues appeared.



List of F. Engels' works drawn up by himself[316]



List of F. Engels' works drawn up by himself
(*continued*)

His main work there was *1848 to 1849*,[a] an account of the causes and the inner connection of the events of these years, particularly in France; also (together with Engels) reviews and political résumés. The former work was soon followed by the continuation, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, New York, 1852, reissued in Hamburg in 1869 and 1885. The big Communist trial in Cologne gave rise to a further pamphlet, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, Boston, 1853, latest edition Zurich, 1885. From 1852 onwards Marx was London correspondent of the *New-York Tribune*, and for years virtual European editor. His articles are in part signed with his name, and in part published as editorials: they are not ordinary articles, but extensive accounts of the political and economic position of the various countries of Europe, based upon thorough study, and often constituting a whole series of articles. The military essays amongst them, on the Crimean War, the Indian Rebellion, etc., are by Engels. Some of Marx's articles on Lord Palmerston were reprinted in London in pamphlet form.[b] His work for the *Tribune* only came to an end with the American Civil War.

The year 1859 involved Marx, on the one hand, in a polemic with Karl Vogt arising from the Italian War, which found its conclusion in *Herr Vogt* by Karl Marx, London, 1860. But on the other hand, it brought the first fruits of his years of economic studies in the British Museum in the form of Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Berlin, 1859. This Part One had scarcely been published when Marx discovered that he was not yet completely clear about the detailed execution of the basic ideas of the subsequent parts; the manuscript, which is still extant, is the best proof of this.[317] So he immediately started again from the beginning, and so, instead of the continuation, *Capital* was published in 1867. Book One: *The Process of Production of Capital*, Hamburg, 1867.

While he was working on all three volumes of *Capital*—the second and third volumes at least in draft—Marx finally again found an opportunity for practical work in the world of labour. In 1864 the International Working Men's Association was founded. Many people, in particular Frenchmen, have arrogated to themselves the honour of having been founders of this Association. It is obvious that something like this cannot be founded by one person

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[a] K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.—Ed.*
[b] K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston.—Ed.*

alone. But one thing is certain: amongst all those participating there was only one who was clear about what had to be done and what had to be founded; and this was the man who back in 1848 had flung the call to the world: Workingmen of all lands, unite!

At the foundation of the International Giuseppe Mazzini too attempted to win and utilise the elements coming together for his mystical conspiratorial democracy *Dio e popolo.*[a] But the drafts for the statutes and the Inaugural Address submitted in his name were rejected in favour of those edited by Marx,[318] and from this point Marx was sure of the leadership of the International. He wrote all the promulgations of the General Council, including most notably *The Civil War in France* which appeared after the fall of the Paris Commune and was translated into most European languages.

This is not the place to relate the history of the International. It is enough to say that Marx was able to draft statutes with principled motivation[b] under which French Proudhonists, German Communists and English New Trades Unionists could work together in unity, and that nothing disturbed the harmony of the Association until there appeared on the scene those people who have since then attempted to disrupt every workingmen's movement, the anarchists under Bakunin. It is clear that the strength of the Association lay solely in the previously unheard-of attempt to unite the European and American proletariat; the General Council had no means but moral ones, not even funds; instead of the fabled "millions of the International" it generally had only debts. Never, probably, has so much been achieved with so little money.

After the Commune the International became impossible in Europe. To continue in the previous form the struggle against the governments and against the bourgeoisie, which was equally excited in all countries, would have demanded enormous sacrifices. Then there was the struggle inside the Association itself against the anarchists and the Proudhonist elements sympathising with them. *Le jeu ne valait pas la chandelle.*[c] So after formal victory over the anarchists had been achieved at the Hague Congress,[319] Marx proposed that the General Council be moved to New York.

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[a] God and the people.— *Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx, "Provisional Rules of the Association".— *Ed.*

[c] The game was not worth the candle.— *Ed.*

The continued existence of the Association was thus guaranteed in case changed conditions made necessary its re-establishment in Europe. When, however, such conditions emerged, the old form was outdated; the movement had far outgrown the old International.

From this time Marx stayed aloof from public agitation, but this is not to suggest he was any less active in the European and American working-class movement. He was in correspondence with almost all the leaders in the various countries, who, whenever possible, consulted him on important matters; he increasingly became the much-sought-after and ever-willing adviser of the valiant proletariat. But despite all this, Marx was now able to devote himself once more to his studies, the field of which had greatly expanded in the meantime. For a man who checked every subject for its historical origin and its preconditions, every single question naturally produced whole series of new questions. Pre-history, agronomy, Russian and American landownership relations, geology, etc., were combed, in particular to work out, to an extent hitherto never previously attempted, the section on ground rent in Book III of *Capital.* In addition to all the Germanic and Romance languages, which he read with ease, he also learned Old Slavonic, Russian and Serbian. Unfortunately increasing illness prevented him from utilising the material so collected. On December 2, 1881 his wife died,[a] on January 11, 1883 his eldest daughter,[b] and on March 14 of the same year he passed away quietly in his armchair.

Most biographies of Marx which have appeared in print teem with errors. The only authentic one is that which appeared in Bracke's *Volks-Kalender* for 1878 in Brunswick (by Engels).[c]

The following is the fullest possible list of the published writings by Marx:

Rheinische Zeitung, Cologne, 1842: articles on the Rhine Province Assembly, on the situation of the peasant vintners on the Mosel, on wood theft; leading articles October to December 1842.[d]— *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* by A. Ruge and K. Marx, Paris, 1844: *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction; On the Jewish Question.*—K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, Against Bruno Bauer and Company,* Frankfurt a.M.,

[a] Jenny Marx.— *Ed.*
[b] Jenny Longuet.— *Ed.*
[c] F. Engels, "Karl Marx".— *Ed.*
[d] See present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 215-23, 264-310.— *Ed.*

1845.—Shorter articles (anonymous) in Paris *Vorwärts!*, 1844.[a]— Various articles, anonymous and signed, in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, Brussels, 1847-1848.[b]— *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon*, Brussels and Paris, 1847. German: Stuttgart, 2nd edition, 1892. Spanish: Madrid, 1891.— "Speech on the Question of Free Trade", Brussels, 1848. English: Boston, 1888. German in the German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*.—With F. Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, London, 1848. Latest German: London, 1890; translated into almost all European languages.—Articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, editorials, etc., Cologne, 1848-1849.[c] Of these repeatedly reprinted separately: *Wage Labour and Capital*, latest Berlin, 1891; appeared in Russian, Polish, Italian, French.—"Two Political Processes", Cologne, 1849 (two defence speeches by Marx).[d]— *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue*, Hamburg, 1850. 6 issues. Including by Marx: *1848 to 1849*.—Written with Engels: reviews and monthly synopses.— *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, New York, 1852. Third edition: Hamburg, 1885. Also published in French.— *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, Basle, 1853 (edition confiscated); Boston, 1853. Latest Zurich, 1885.—Articles in the *New-York Tribune*, 1852-1861. Of these some about Palmerston—enlarged—published as pamphlet in London, 1856.— *Free Press*, Sheffield, June 1856, and London, until April 1857; *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (on the continued interested dependence of English Whig ministers upon Russia).— *Das Volk*, London, 1859: Articles on the diplomatic history of the Italian War of 1859.[e]— *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One, Berlin, 1859. Polish, 1890.— *Herr Vogt*, London, 1860.— *The Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association*, London, 1864; further all publications of the General Council, up to and including *The Civil War in France*, London, 1871. (Latest German Berlin, 1891, also published in French, Italian, Spanish.)— *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*, first volume, Hamburg, 1867, latest edition, 4th, 1890. Published in Russian, French, English, Polish, Danish.—The

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[a] Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 189-210.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 72-74, 220-34, 312-40, 402-05, 537-39.— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., Vols. 7 and 8.— *Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, "The First Trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", "The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats".— *Ed.*

[e] K. Marx, "Spree and Mincio", "Erfurtery in the Year 1859", "Quid pro Quo".— *Ed.*

same, second volume, Hamburg, 1885, second edition in the press. Published in Russian. The third volume will be published in 1893.

London

Frederick Engels

Written between November 9 and 25, 1892

Printed according to the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*

First published in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Vol. 4, 1892

[TO THE EDITORS OF THE *BERLINER VOLKS-TRIBÜNE*][320]

The series of articles "The Jura Federation and Mikhail Bakunin" published in the *Volks-Tribüne,* constrains me to a short rebuttal.

Although the author[a] appears to take pains to treat his subject objectively and impartially, he in fact depicts it as the anarchist gentlemen depicted it themselves and wished it to be depicted. In particular he has at his disposal very extensive Bakuninist material; he utilises very little from the publications of the Geneva opposing party, and nothing at all from the publications of the London General Council.

I extract the most obvious untruths from only *one* of the articles (X of November 12).

It is incorrect that in 1871 the General Council summoned a "secret" conference to London[321] of which

> "only the anarchist sections in Switzerland were not informed; they, however, learned of the plan", etc.

The conference was just as public and just as secret as any committee meeting of any Social-Democratic party; it was not broadcast to all and sundry in the newspapers and reporters were not invited to the meeting place.

The Jura sections were in open rebellion against the General Council and outside all official relations with the same. On the other hand there sat on the General Council *two Bakuninist anarchists* and members of the Bakuninist secret society, elected on the proposal of "dictator" Marx: Robin and Bastelica. Robin in particular provided relations with the Jurassians, proposed on

[a] Louis Héritier.— *Ed.*

their behalf, back in March 1871, the same conference which they later disavowed, and also informed them that it had been summoned. Anything else is an anarchist lie.

The conference

"which was to assemble at Marx's place ... was held ... in Marx's house".

Stupid lie; it was held in the Blue Posts, an inn near Tottenham Court Road, right in the so-called French Quarter.

The composition of the conference is also given wrongly, as is the point of difference on a paragraph, not of the Rules, but of their motivating introduction. In its French translation the first Paris (Proudhonist) local committee had falsified the relevant passage: "The economical emancipation of the working classes is [...] the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means" [a]—as:

"the great goal, in the face of which every political movement must withdraw".[322]

While the papers of the Geneva Congress[323] were confiscated by the Bonapartist police in transit through France, and only finally released after intervention by the English Foreign Office, the old Paris translation was immediately reprinted in Geneva, whereupon the later anarchists could claim that the Geneva Congress had so decided. This HUMBUG was brought to an end, though to the great sorrow of the Bakuninists, by the publication in 1871 of an authentic English, French and German text of the Rules,[b] with which the General Council had been charged by the same Geneva Congress. Before me I have the copy of the Rules in which Marx entered the changes decided by the Geneva Congress; these are wholly confined to the articles of the Rules, and have no effect on the motivating introduction.

Neither is it true that the London conference decided to place

"the anarchist movement of the Jura under the command of the Geneva committee".

And it is here that I begin to doubt the honourable intentions of the author. Either he can read, or he cannot. If he can read, he can only gather from the conference decisions: 1. that the Jura committee was deprived of the name *Comité romand* (which it had arrogated), and that this name was awarded to the old Geneva committee; 2. that the Jurassians were urged to get along with the Genevans; 3. if this was not possible, they should establish their

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14, 441.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 23, pp. 3-20.—*Ed.*

own federation entitled Jura Federation.[a] The conference thus did nothing except to leave their own complete autonomy to the Genevans and the Jurassians.

Enough. The author is, or acts like, an innocent child who believes to the word everything said by the poor, slandered anarchist lambs. Our reporter knows not a word of that which these gentlemen preferred to keep quiet, that is to say nothing about the background to the whole dispute. Behind the *public* "Alliance of Social Democracy" founded by Bakunin there hid a *secret* Alliance with the aim of putting into the hands of the anarchists control over the whole International.[324] This secret Alliance was very widespread in the Jura, in Italy and in Spain. The General Council received proof of this first from Spain, and later from Geneva the Rules and many other documents of this innocent plot against the European workers' movement. It was these documents upon which the Hague Congress of 1872 adjudicated, when it excluded Bakunin and Guillaume from the International.[325] And all this, and much more to correct the now warmed-up anarchist falsifications of history may be studied in the work commissioned by the Hague Congress: *L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs,* London & Hamburg, 1873, German by Kokosky: *Ein Komplott gegen die Internationale,* Brunswick, Bracke, 1874.[b]

London, November 15, 1892

Frederick Engels

First published in the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne,* No. 47, November 19, 1892 (supplement)

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Ibid., Vol. 22, pp. 419-22.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.—Ed.*

[LETTER TO A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY][326]

[London,] November 30, 1892
122, Regent's Park Road

Dear Comrade,

My most sincere thanks for the kind greetings from the comrades. May the society feel as well as I do when it reaches my age.

With Social Democratic greetings,

F. Engels

First published in *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, No. 10, Berlin, 1970

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

A NEWLY-DISCOVERED CASE OF GROUP MARRIAGE[327]

Recently it has become the fashion among certain rationalist *ethnographers* to deny the existence of group marriage. Hence, the following report, which I have translated from *Russkija Vjedomosti* (Russian Gazette)[a], Moscow, October 14, 1892, Old Style, will be of interest. Not only is group marriage, e.g., the right of sexual intercourse between a number of men and a number of women, expressly stated to be in full practice, but it is shown to bear a form closely approximating the punaluan marriage of the Hawaiians, that is, the most developed and most classical phase of group marriage. Whereas the typical punaluan family consisted of a number of brothers (natural and collateral) married to a number of natural and collateral sisters, on the Island of Sakhalin we find that a man is married to all his brothers' wives and to all his wife's sisters, which, from the female viewpoint, means that his wife has the right to free sexual intercourse with her husband's brothers and her sisters' husbands. Thus, the only difference between this and the typical form of punaluan marriage is that the husband's brothers and the sisters' husbands are not necessarily the same persons.

It is to be observed, further, that the report also confirms what I stated in *The Origin of the Family,* 4th edition, pp. 28-29[b]; that group marriage by no means looks like what it is fancied to be by the philistine in his brothel-tainted imagination; that the people married in groups do not lead openly anything like the life of depravity that the philistine leads in secret; and that this form of

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[a] *Русскія Вѣдомости.—Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 154-55).—*Ed.*

marriage, at least in those examples of it that still exist today, differs in practice from the loose pairing marriage, or from polygamy, only in that custom allows a number of cases of sexual intercourse which under other circumstances would be severely punished. The fact that the exercise of this right is gradually dying out only proves that this form of marriage is doomed to extinction, which is confirmed by the rarity of the cases met with now.

For the rest, the whole description is interesting for the reason that it shows once again how similar, and in fundamentals identical, are the social institutions of these primitive people who are in about the same stage of development. Most of what is related about these Mongoloids of Sakhalin applies to the Dravidian tribes of India, to the South Sea Islanders at the time of their discovery, and to the American Indians. The report states:

"At a meeting of the Anthropological Section of the Friends of Natural History Society, held in Moscow[a] on October 10" (October 22, New Style), "N. A. Yanchuk reported on an interesting communication made by Mr. Sternberg on the Sakhalin Giliaki, a tribe that has been little investigated, and living on the cultural level[b] of savages. The Giliaki know neither agriculture nor the art of pottery; they obtain their means of subsistence mainly by hunting and fishing; they heat water in a wooden trough by dropping red-hot stones into it, etc. Particularly interesting are their family and gens institutions. A Giliak calls not only his natural father, but all the latter's brothers father; the wives of these brothers, as well as his mother's sisters, he calls his mothers; and the children of all these 'fathers' and 'mothers'[c] he calls his brothers and sisters. As is well known, a similar way of naming[d] prevails among the Iroquois and other Indian tribes in North America, as well as among some tribes in India. Among these, however, it has long ceased to correspond to existing conditions, whereas among the Giliaki it serves to designate *conditions that exist to this day.* Even today *every Giliak has conjugal rights to the wives of his brothers and the sisters of his wife*[e]; (at all events, the exercise of these rights is not regarded as a transgression[f]). These survivals of group marriage based on gentile organisation[g] are reminiscent of the celebrated punaluan family, which still existed in the Sandwich Islands in the first half of the present century. This form of family and gens relationship[h] serves as the basis of the Giliaki's social and gentile organisation.

"A Giliak's gens consists of all his father's brothers (near and collateral, actual

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[a] The words "in Moscow" were added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "degree" instead of "level" here.—*Ed.*

[c] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "all the relatives enumerated" instead of "all these 'fathers' and 'mothers'".—*Ed.*

[d] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "terminology" instead of "way of naming".—*Ed.*

[e] Engels' italics.—*Ed.*

[f] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "sin" instead of "transgression".—*Ed.*

[g] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has here: "These survivals of gentile marriage..."—*Ed.*

[h] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "family relations and kinship" instead of "family and gens relationship".—*Ed.*

and nominal), their fathers and mothers (?),[a] his brothers' children and his own children. Naturally, a gens constituted in this way may have a very large number of members. The life of the gens proceeds on the following principles. Marriage in the gens is absolutely prohibited. The wife of a deceased Giliak passes, on the decision of the gens, to one of his brothers (natural or nominal).[b] The gens maintains all its members who are unfit to work. 'There are no beggars among us,' said a Giliak to the reporter: 'if anybody is poor, the khal (gens) feeds him.' Furthermore, the members of the gens are united by common sacrifices and festivals, a common burial ground, etc.

"The gens guarantees the life and safety of every one of its members from attack by members of another gens.[c] The punitive means for this is blood revenge,[d] which owing to the influence of the Russians, has greatly subsided of late. Women are entirely exempt from the operation of blood revenge.—In some cases, extremely rare, members of other gentes are adopted by the gens. As a general rule the property of a deceased member must not leave the gens. In this respect, the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables: 'Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento'—'If he has no heirs, then the members of the gens shall inherit'[328]—is in operation in the literal sense of the word among the Giliaki. Not a single important event in the Giliak's life takes place without the participation of the gens. Until comparatively recently, one or two generations ago, the oldest member of the gens was the head, the '*starost*',[e] of the gens. At the present time, however, the functions of the elder of the gens are confined almost entirely to superintending religious rites. Often the members of the gens are scattered over places very remote from each other; but even though separated, they remember each other, visit each other, help and protect each other, etc. Incidentally, the Giliak does not leave his fellow-gentiles or the graves of the gens unless absolute necessity compels him to do so. The life of the gens has a strong impact upon the Giliak's mentality, character, ethics and institutions. The habit of discussing all matters collectively, the necessity of having constantly to act in the interests of his fellow-gentiles, mutual obligation in matters of blood revenge,[f] the necessity and custom of living in large yurtas together with scores of his fellows, of living constantly among the people, have all served to make the Giliak sociable and communicative. The Giliaki are extremely hospitable, they love to entertain guests and to go visiting themselves. The noble custom of hospitality manifests itself particularly in times of need. In hard years, when the Giliak lacks food for himself and his dogs, he does not beg for alms; he goes off visiting, certain of finding sustenance—and sometimes for a fairly long period.

"Among the Sakhalin Giliaki one rarely meets with crime due to selfish motives. The Giliak keeps his valuables in a shed, which is never locked. He is so sensitive to shame that if he is found guilty of some shameful act he goes off into the taiga and hangs himself. Murder among the Giliaki is very rare, and in most cases is committed in fits of anger: at all events it is never committed for selfish motives. In his relations with others[g] the Giliak displays truthfulness, loyalty to his word and conscientiousness.

[a] The question mark is Engels'.—*Ed.*

[b] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "of any grade" instead of "natural or nominal".—*Ed.*

[c] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "khal" instead of "gens" here.—*Ed.*

[d] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "means" instead of "punitive means" and "gens revenge" instead of "blood revenge".—*Ed.*

[e] Engels' transliteration.—*Ed.*

[f] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "revenge" instead of "blood revenge".—*Ed.*

[g] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "civic relations" instead of "relations with others".—*Ed.*

"Notwithstanding their long subjection to the China-ised Manchurians and the corrupting influence of the colonisation [a] of the Amur Region, the Giliaki in their morals have retained many of the virtues peculiar to primitive tribes. But the fate of their social system is irrevocably sealed. Another generation or two, and the Giliaki on the mainland will have become completely Russified, and with the benefits of civilisation they will acquire all its vices. The Sakhalin Giliaki, being more or less removed from the centres of Russian settlement, have some chance of preserving themselves in their purity somewhat longer. But even on them the Russian population is beginning to exercise its influence. From all the villages they travel to Nikolayevsk to make purchases or to seek employment; and every Giliak who returns from such employment to his native village carries with him the same atmosphere that the town worker carries into the Russian village. Moreover, employment in town, with its vicissitudes of fortune, is more and more destroying the primitive equality which is the predominating feature of the simple economic life of people like the Giliaki.

"Mr. Sternberg's article also contains data on the religious views of the Giliaki, their rites, legal institutions,[b] etc. It will be published in *Etnografitscheskoje Obozrenie* (*Ethnographical Review*)." [c]

Written at the end of November-December 4, 1892

Printed according to the journal

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1892-1893

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

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[a] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "disreputable population" instead of "colonisation".— *Ed.*

[b] *Русскія Вѣдомости* has "legal customs" instead of "legal institutions".— *Ed.*

[c] See Л. Я. Штернберг, «Сахалинские гиляки», *Этнографическое обозрение*, No. 2. 1893.— *Ed.*

[TO THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF VIENNA][329]

[London,] December 9, 1892
122, Regent's Park Road

Dear Comrades,

Sincere congratulations on the silver anniversary of the Association. The fight lasted long enough so that you might celebrate the happy occasion with honour.

And even outside Austria, there are plenty of people who admire your stamina in these battles. Your past is a guarantee for us all in future as well.

Many thanks for your kind invitation, which I am unfortunately unable to accept.

Once more: long live the festival of the proletariat, long live international Social Democracy!

Yours as ever,
F. Engels

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY][330]

Dear Comrades,

My best thanks for your kind invitation to the Party Congress of the Hungarian Social Democrats, which I shall sadly be unable to attend.

I cannot dispatch these lines without expressing my great regret at the strife which has broken out in your ranks. Far be it from me to intervene in matters which I am neither called upon to decide nor sufficiently informed to be capable of so doing. I can only express the wish that the Party Congress succeeds in reconciling the differences of opinion and[a] ends the danger of a split.

With best wishes for the success of the Party Congress

Yours,
F. E.

Written in early January 1893

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, Part II, Moscow, 1936

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript: "the Hungarian Party retains such a capable worker as Comrade P. Engelmann hardly is".— *Ed.*

[ON THE LATEST CAPER OF THE PARIS POLICE][331]

The bourgeois press of Paris announces with great pomp that the police have uncovered a very vile plot. A number of "Russian Nihilists" have conspired to dispatch to eternity the gentle Tsar and Autocrat of All the Russias[a]; but the police have been on their guard, the "transgressors and aggressors" have been caught, the magnanimous Father of the Russian Fatherland has been saved.

Seen in the light of day it turns out that the "Russian Nihilists" deserve this name insofar as they have *nihil*—nothing—to do with Russians. They are simply Poles who only have the misfortune to have been born under the sceptre of the Little Father in Petersburg, people who lived very quietly and retiringly in Paris, and were not simple-minded enough to hatch murder plots—sensible people today leave such business to the police. The simple necessity of presenting to the public the Polish names of these "Russian Nihilists" was sufficient to make untenable the whole rigmarole of murder and plotting even for the police. They had to instruct their Havas-Reuter[332] that the persons would simply be expelled from France.

Why such a hubbub everywhere? Very simple.

The rulers of the opportunist-radical bourgeois republic—the ministers, senators, deputies—are, all of them, mixed up in the Panama scandal,[333] some as bribe-takers, others as accomplices and hushers-up. In their view, the public has occupied itself long enough with *this* side of their grimy existences. They think: the world has now said enough about us discrediting the Republic with our swindling. Let us now demonstrate that we are also

[a] Alexander III.—*Ed.*

capable of discrediting this Republic politically. Let us demonstrate that in grovelling to the Tsar we can beat the blessed Bismarck by six boot-licking lengths. The Russian Embassy wishes to inspect the papers of the Polish émigrés, so let us prove our burning desire to lay before it everything it wants: not only the papers, but the Poles themselves at the same time, and the whole of France if need be.

We cannot complain if the bourgeois Republic ruins itself in this way. Its heirs stand at the door: not the monarchists, busily plotting again but not dangerous for all that, but the socialists who will be the heirs. But what is beyond the pale, even for us, is the stupidity of these people, the powers-that-be in France at this time. They beg for the grace and favour of official Russia, they lick its boots, they demean themselves before this Russian robber band, they appoint the Tsar real ruler of France and director of French policy—and this Tsar is in a position of impotence which makes it absolutely impossible for him to render any sort of real service to France. The present winter proves that a permanent state of starvation for years to come has been declared in Russia[a]; the resources of the country have been exhausted for a long time to come, the financial situation is absolutely desperate. It is not France which needs Russia, on the contrary, it is Russia which would be completely paralysed without the moral support of France. If these French bourgeois had a bit of sense, they could force their Russian ally to anything which involved no money and no war. Instead they lie prostrate before it in the dust, allowing themselves to be exploited for Russian state ends as not even Prussia was in its deepest abasement. And they imagine that they are being cunning and have no idea, the stupid devils, how they are being laughed at in Petersburg.

Paris vaut bien une messe—Paris is worth a mass, as Henri IV said when he obtained the surrender of Paris by converting to Catholicism. *La France vaut bien une Marseillaise*—France is worth a *Marseillaise*—said Alexander III when, at the moment of his greatest political helplessness and perplexity, Admiral Gervais handed him France on a plate.[334]

Written on January 10, 1893

First published in the *Vorwärts*, No. 11, January 13, 1893

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 248-50, 387.—*Ed.*

THE ITALIAN PANAMA[335]

I

"Italia, Italia, you really have canaglia" runs a German student song on Italian bugs and fleas. But apart from the six-legged canaglia there are the two-legged sort there as well, and *la belle Italia* insists on showing that in this respect it is not outranked either by *la belle France* with its Panama Affair, or by that chaste Germania with its piety, sanctimoniousness and the Guelph fund.[336]

Italy has its paper-money turned out by six banks, two Tuscan, one Neapolitan, one Sicilian and two Roman: the Banca Romana and the Banca Nazionale. The banknotes of these six privileged banks have currency as fully valid legal tender under a law which expired some years ago, and was then extended from year to year up to December 31, 1892 and finally for three months up to March 31, 1893.

Back under the Crispi administration in 1889 an investigation was ordered into the management of these banks, in view of the renewal of this bank privilege which had become necessary, and because of the disquieting rumours that were circulating. The Banca Nazionale was investigated by Senator Consiglio, the Banca Romana by Senator Alvisi, an honourable man, to whom was assigned as expert Biagini, a capable official from the Ministry of Finance. Nothing is known up to the present as to what Consiglio has discovered; after Alvisi's death a copy of the Alvisi report together with all documentary evidence, came into hands generally described as unauthorised, and this led to the Panamino, the little Panama, as the Italians call it.

At that time the Crispi administration quietly pigeonholed the report. Alvisi referred to the matter in the Senate a few times, threatened a scandal, but always allowed himself to be silenced. He

was silent too when Minister Miceli, who had ordered the investigation, presented to the Chamber Commission on the next annual prolongation of the Bank Law an enormously white-washing report on the Banca Romana; and he implored his friend Alvisi not to compromise him and the credit of his country through disclosures. Crispi fell, Rudini replaced him; Rudini fell, and was succeeded by the Giolitti administration now in power. The definitive bank law, which was to reorganise the banks and extend their privilege for six years, was still up in the air. Nobody wanted to nibble this dangerous bait. As in the children's game "The spark still lives" the glowing spill passed from hand to hand, until finally, on December 21, the last spark was crushed out, cruelly and without authorisation.

As recently as December 6, 1892, Giolitti had introduced a bill to prolong the bank privilege for *six years.* But as a result of the embarrassing rumours unauthorisedly circulating about gross irregularities in bank administration, on December 21 Giolitti was quick to demand only a stay of execution for three months—until March 31. During the debate Deputy Colajanni took the floor and read out, to universal astonishment, various passages from Alvisi's general report on the Banca Romana, and from Biagini's special report on the books and holdings which he had checked. Fine things came to light! Nine million francs in illegally issued excess banknotes; an intermingling, contrary to the statutes, of the bank funds and the gold reserve extremely agreeable to the bank governor and cashier; a portfolio full of totally irredeemable fictitious bills; 73 million from the bank funds advanced to 179 privileged persons; $33^1/_2$ million of this amount to just 19 persons; amongst the bank debtors there figured Tanlongo, the bank governor, with over one million and Prince Giulio Torlonia, chairman of the board of directors, with 4 million, etc., etc. Colajanni gave no further names, but made it clear that he knew more than he had said, and demanded a parliamentary investigation of the banks.

Another deputy, Gavazzi, then read out a further passage from the report, according to which the Banca Romana had made large advances to lawyers, journalists and political figures, and that such special clients had received monies up to 12 million, which did not figure in the published balance sheets.

Up jumped Miceli, the ex-minister, who had ordered the investigation under Crispi. Up jumped Giolitti, Crispi, Rudini, one after another, the three prime ministers involved, to declare that these disclosures were fabrications.

And what a depth of moral indignation they displayed! A German commercial traveller, confronted with goods ordered from him on sound samples and then delivered in poor quality, could not have shown more righteous rage.

On the same day deputies exchanged banknotes of the Banca Romana to the value of over 50,000 francs at the bank counter of the Chamber, and the shares (nominal par 1,000 fr.) fell by 100 francs. But after the heroic ministerial speeches, the stock exchange people were on top again that very same evening. Impressions were that the scandal was dead and buried.

II

But every word uttered by Colajanni was true, and it was scarcely one third of what the investigation report contained. Tanlongo the governor, Lazzaroni the chief cashier and Torlonia, chairman of the board of directors, had quite cosily authorised advances up to nine million. According to Tanlongo's testimony the bank was altogether managed "cosily"—*patriarcalmente*; so cosily that the funds which should have guaranteed easier credit for commerce and industry had been loaned on bad and practically irredeemable mortgages, or to persons whose knowledge of industry was confined to a cavalier treatment of every financial obligation, against constantly prolonged bills of exchange, or even on open current account. It was run so cosily that gradually almost all journalists and no fewer than *one-hundred-and-fifty members of the current Chamber of Deputies,* most of them notoriously insolvent, or even living solely upon debts, were carried on the books of the bank as debtors. A list of these clients was also attached to Alvisi's report; on this list, apart from only one deputy of the right wing, Arbib, there figured almost all persuasions of the left with sums of 500,000-600,000 fr. per head. The bearer of a name honoured throughout the world[a] is amongst them, as are two current ministers—Grimaldi and Martini; Grimaldi is even one of the legal advisers of the bank with an annual salary of 25,000 fr. That was already quite jolly, but that was in 1889, that was just the beginning, that was not even a Panamino, it was only a Panaminetto, a very very small Panama.

These delicate matters and others, naturally including exaggerated rumours, spread slowly and bit by bit amongst the public,

[a] Menotti Garibaldi.— *Ed.*

once Colajanni's speech had started things off. The public began to withdraw deposits from the Banca Romana—in a few days more than 9 million of the total 14 million deposited—and to regard its notes with distrust. The government felt that action must now be taken. Something which had been shuffled for years from one administration to another—regulation of the banks and paper-money—was now to be accomplished helter-skelter. At the beginning of January negotiations were initiated on the amalgamation of the two Roman and the two Tuscan banks as one large credit institution, and at the same time the administration ordered a new inspection of the banks. The Banca Nazionale, which was to constitute the core of the new institution, naturally declined to take over the sins of the Banca Romana unseen; it made difficulties and low offers. All this got around; distrust grew into panic. The city of Rome withdrew from the Banca Romana its credit balance of over one million, and the Savings Bank also retrieved its deposit of over 500,000 fr. The shares of the Banca Romana, which had fallen after Colajanni's speech to 670, were quoted on January 15 at just 504 fr. for 1,000 fr. face value. In the north of the country people began refusing to accept the notes of this bank.

And now rumours seeped out to the public about the still more astounding results of the new inspection of the Banca Romana. Admittedly, Prince Giulio Torlonia had paid off his debt: on January 13, 4 million, on the 14th a further 600,000 fr., on the 15th the remaining 2 million. Admittedly, Tanlongo the governor, and Lazzaroni the cashier had made over to the bank their entire large fortunes against their debts. Admittedly, "a very high-ranking person"—the *Corriere di Napoli* pointed out with the broadest of hints at the king[a]—had paid the bank debts of Minister Grimaldi and the members of his family. Admittedly, the constitutional-radical Deputy Fortis had issued a declaration that the credit granted him had been sanctioned in his capacity of legal adviser to the bank. But what was all this against the news that the new inspection had revealed that the Banca Romana, which was permitted to issue 70 million in banknotes, *had put 133 million in circulation*; that, in order to conceal this, fake creditors to the tune of 49 million figured in the books, and that Governor Tanlongo had withdrawn 25 million on a simple receipt dated as recently as January 3, 1893 (*Secolo*, January 21-22). Further it was whispered that the gold reserves had, it is true, been found to be in order,

[a] Umberto I.—*Ed.*

but only because Baron Michele Lazzaroni, nephew of the chief cashier, had borrowed from Swiss business friends sundry millions in cash for a few days specially for this purpose, promising he would immediately return them *in natura* after the inspection had been made; but this will be somewhat difficult, as the government has, in the meantime, impounded all the funds of the Banca Romana. And now disclosures came rattling out here, there and everywhere; now the names of the 150 deputies circulated with greater or lesser accuracy and certainty; now it could no longer be denied that at least the last three administrations had known all about the business. That they had put the money of the bank regularly and in large quantities at the disposal of their supporters for election purposes, that they had frequently discussed the misappropriations in the Council of Ministers and had intentionally kept them secret in full knowledge of the responsibility they thus incurred—that they had thus assented to their continuation.

How pale in contrast was Biagini's report published in the *Corriere di Napoli,* January 19-20. The Panamino was there.

III

The crisis could no longer be avoided. Amongst the people who had cheated with the bank and blown and blued its funds—by means of honest tick, of course—one section disposed of public power, the other not. It was abundantly clear that as soon as the knife was put to their throats, the first section would sacrifice the second. One accomplice took the lofty decision to be the hangman of the other. Just as in France. There too Rouvier, Floquet, Freycinet and Co. similarly sacrificed Lesseps and Fontane; they and their accomplices had often enough, as Charles Lesseps said, "put the knife to our throats" to squeeze, from Panama, funds for political purposes. In exactly the same way Giolitti and Grimaldi sacrificed their bosom friend Tanlongo, after they and their predecessors had extracted from him bank money for electoral and pressure purposes for so long that nothing remained but the crash. And when Grimaldi's debts had been paid off in the familiar secretive way, it was he who called loudest for Tanlongo's arrest.

But Tanlongo is a thoroughly crafty old Italian who knows all the tricks of the trade, not a greenhorn in swindling like Charles Lesseps and the other puppets, who had to run Panama for Reinach and Co. Tanlongo is a pious man who went to mass every

morning at 4; here he fixed his deals with representatives and middlemen—no scandal on me, dear child[a]—whom he did not want to see on his bank premises. Tanlongo was on excellent terms with the Vatican, and he is said to have conveyed into the safety of the Vatican, untouchable to the Italian police, a small casket containing those documents which guarantee him against his powerful friends and patrons, those documents which he does not wish to entrust too hastily to the law. For in Italy with its Panamino, just as in France with its Panama, there are strong suspicions that the domicilary searches by the law sometimes serve not to bring documents to light, but rather to make them disappear. And Tanlongo feels that certain documents which are to defend him and clarify the real state of affairs are not safe with the Italian examining magistrate, but only in the Vatican.

Enough. Scarcely had the ministry concluded the business of the Banca Nazionale, by which the latter takes over the entire assets and liabilities of the Banca Romana and pays the shareholders 450 fr. for each 1,000 fr. share; scarcely did it believe that it had thereby protected from publication the names of the political bank debtors, than worthy Tanlongo met his fate—the ingratitude which is the reward of bourgeois politics. From the evening of January 16 his house was watched; on the nineteenth he and chief cashier Lazzaroni were arrested.

This did not hit him unexpectedly. Earlier he had told a journalist from the *Parlamento.*

"They may lock me up, but they should consider that they will be playing a bad card ... if they want to hold me responsible for the sins of other people then I shall be forced to create a scandal... They want to ruin me? Then I shall drag into the public eye the names of people *who demanded from me million upon million.* How often did I say: I cannot provide them, the only reply was: they are necessary (*occorrono*). And I have the proof of this ... it is always the same; the more I did, the more they kicked me in the face; but *if I fall then I shall be in good company.*"

And when the sick old man, who had been held in custody until then in this palace, was taken to Regina Coeli prison on the 25th, he said to the officials who accompanied him: "I shall come, but I reserve the right to make disclosures," and to his family he said: "They would like to see me die in prison, but I have strength enough to take revenge."

He does not look the man to go to pieces in open court session, like the Paris Panama directors who, instead of crushing their prosecutors with the incriminating facts, ten times as grave, which

[a] H. Heine, *Die Heimkehr.* Anhang.—*Ed.*

stood at their disposal, begged in silence for a mild sentence. Palsied as he is, the newspapers describe him as a large boney man, "a real cuirassier of seventy", and his whole past vouches that he knows he can only find salvation in violent combat, in the toughest resistance; and so it will surely come that one fine day the notorious *cassetta d'oro*[a] will find its way from the Vatican to the courtroom, and spread its contents on the court table. *Bon appetit*!

In the meantime the Chambers went into session again on the 25th, and the scandal has started up there too. Giolitti can only shout to his 150 what Rouvier shouted to his 104: If we had not taken this money, then you would not be seated here. And that is a fact. And Crispi and Rudini can only say the same. But that is not the end of the matter. Further revelations are bound to follow, both in the Chamber and in the courtroom. The Panamino, like the Panama, stands only at the start of its development.

And what is the moral of the story? That the Panama, and the Panamino, and the Guelph funds demonstrate the whole of bourgeois politics, both the pleasing squabble between the bourgeois parties themselves, and their collective resistance to the pressure of the working class, cannot be undertaken without enormous volumes of money; that these volumes of money are used for purposes which cannot be publicly admitted; and that owing to the tight-fistedness of the bourgeoisie governments find themselves increasingly constrained to obtain by unutterable means the cash for these unutterable ends. "We take the money where we find it," said Bismarck, who must know. And we have just seen "*where* we find it".

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[a] Gold casket.— *Ed.*

BIBLIOTECA DELLA *CRITICA SOCIALE*

CARLO MARX e FEDERICO ENGELS

IL MANIFESTO

DEL

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CON UN NUOVO PROEMIO AL LETTORE ITALIANO

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Title page of the Italian edition
of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* presented
to Engels by F. Turati

TO THE ITALIAN READER

[PREFACE TO THE ITALIAN EDITION (1893) OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*][337]

The publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* coincided, one may say, with March 18, 1848, the day of the revolutions in Milan and Berlin, which were armed uprisings of the two nations situated in the centre, the one, of the continent of Europe, and the other, of the Mediterranean; two nations until then enfeebled by division and internal strife, and thus fallen under foreign domination. While Italy was subject to the Emperor of Austria, Germany underwent the yoke, not less effective though more indirect, of the Tsar of all the Russias. The consequences of March 18, 1848, freed both Italy and Germany from this disgrace; if from 1848 to 1871 these two great nations were reconstituted and somehow again put on their own, it was, as Karl Marx used to say, because the men who suppressed the revolution of 1848 were, nevertheless, its testamentary executors in spite of themselves.[338]

Everywhere that revolution was the work of the working class; it was the latter that built the barricades and paid with its lifeblood. Only the Paris workers, in overthrowing the government, had the very definite intention of overthrowing the bourgeois regime. But conscious though they were of the fatal antagonism existing between their own class and the bourgeoisie, still, neither the economic progress of the country nor the intellectual development of the mass of French workers had as yet reached the stage which would have made a social reconstruction possible. In the final analysis, therefore, the fruits of the revolution were reaped by the capitalist class. In the other countries, in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, the workers, from the very outset, did nothing but raise the bourgeoisie to power. But in any country the rule of the bourgeoisie is impossible without national independence. There-

fore, the revolution of 1848 had to bring in its train the unity and autonomy of the nations that had lacked them up to then: Italy, Germany, Hungary. Poland will follow in turn.

Thus, if the revolution of 1848 was not a socialist revolution, it paved the way, prepared the ground for the latter. Through the impetus given to large-scale industry in all countries, the bourgeois regime during the last forty-five years has everywhere created a numerous, concentrated and powerful proletariat. It has thus raised, to use the language of the *Manifesto,* its own grave-diggers. Without restoring autonomy and unity to each nation, it will be impossible to achieve either the international union of the proletariat, or the peaceful and intelligent co-operation of these nations toward common aims. Just imagine joint international action by the Italian, Hungarian, German, Polish and Russian workers under the political conditions preceding 1848!

The battles fought in 1848 were thus not fought in vain. Nor have the forty-five years separating us from that revolutionary epoch passed to no purpose. The fruits are ripening, and all I wish is that the publication of this Italian translation may augur as well for the victory of the Italian proletariat as the publication of the original did for the international revolution.

The *Manifesto* does full justice to the revolutionary part played by capitalism in the past. The first capitalist nation was Italy. The close of the feudal Middle Ages, and the opening of the modern capitalist era are marked by a colossal figure: an Italian, Dante, both the last poet of the Middle Ages and the first poet of modern times. Today, as in 1300, a new historical era is approaching. Will Italy give us the new Dante, who will mark the hour of birth of this new, proletarian era?

London, February 1, 1893

Frederick Engels

First published in: Carlo Marx e Federico Engels, *Il Manifesto del Partito Comunista,* Milan, 1893

Printed according to the book, checked with the rough manuscript in French

Translated from the Italian

CAN EUROPE DISARM?[389]

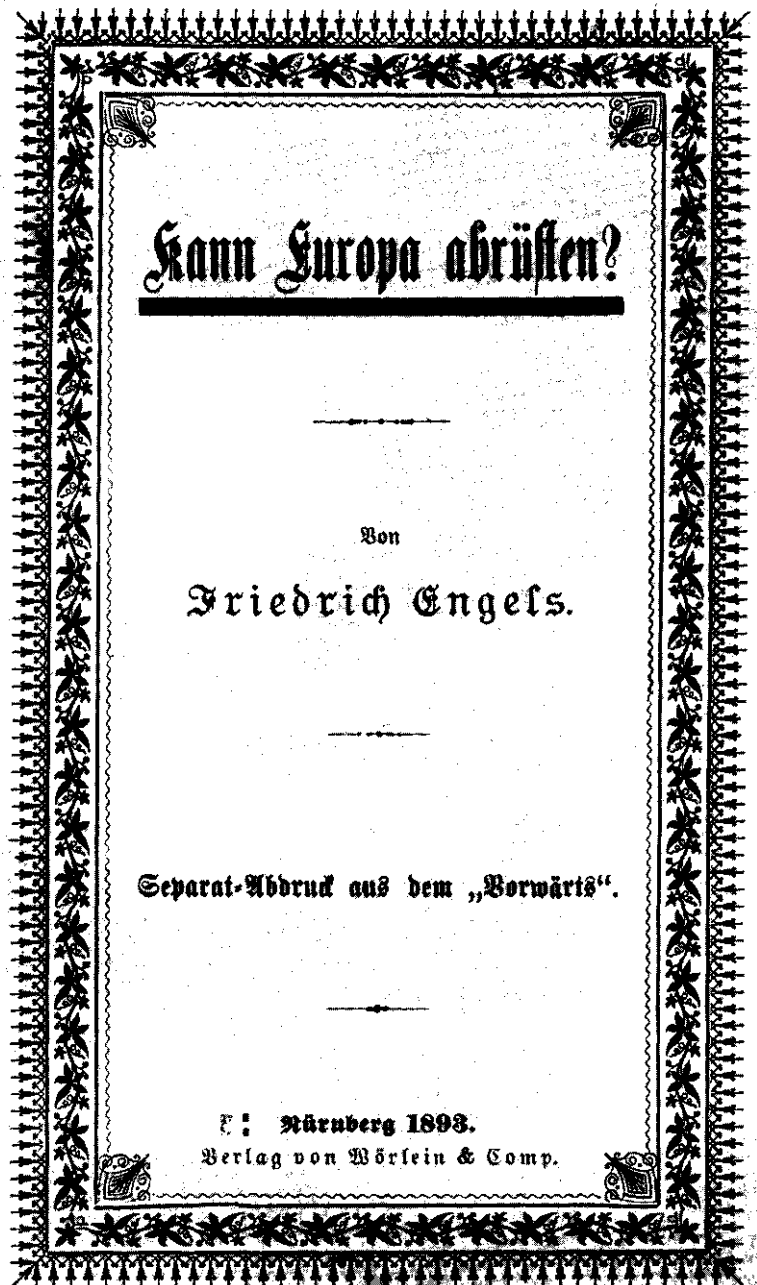
Written in February 1893; Foreword, on March 28

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time



Kann Europa abrüsten?

Von

Friedrich Engels.

Separat-Abdruck aus dem „Vorwärts".

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Title page of the pamphlet *Can Europe Disarm?*

FOREWORD

The articles reprinted here were published in the Berlin newspaper *Vorwärts* in March 1893, during the Reichstag debate on the Military Bill.

In them I proceed from the assumption that is increasingly gaining general acceptance: that the system of standing armies has been carried to such extremes throughout Europe that it must either bring economic ruin to the peoples on account of the military burden, or else degenerate into a general war of extermination, unless the standing armies are transformed in good time into a militia based on the universal arming of the people.

I attempt to prove that this transformation is possible right at this moment, even for the present governments and in the present political situation. I thus take this situation as my basis and for the time being propose only such means as could be adopted by any government of the day without jeopardising national security. I simply seek to establish that from a purely military point of view there is nothing whatever to prevent the gradual abolition of standing armies; and that, if these armies are nevertheless maintained, it is for political and not military reasons—that, in a word, the armies are intended to provide protection not so much against the external enemy as the internal one.

However, I consider the gradual reduction of the term of service by international treaty, which forms the core of my argument, to be the simplest and quickest way possible of effecting the general transition from a standing army to the arming of the people organised as a militia. The terms of such a treaty would naturally vary according to the nature of the contracting governments and the political situation of the day. And things

could not possibly be more favourable than at present; if it is possible even today to set a *maximum* term of service of two years as a starting point, in a few years it may be possible to choose a much shorter period of time.

By making the physical and military training of all male youths an essential condition for the transition to the new system, I expressly preclude the possibility of the military system proposed here being confused with any other militia now in existence, e.g., the Swiss one.

London, March 28, 1893

F. Engels

I

For the past twenty-five years all Europe has been arming on a hitherto unprecedented scale. Every major power is seeking to surpass another in military might and readiness for war. Germany, France and Russia are exhausting themselves in their efforts to outdo one another. At this very moment the German government is demanding from the people a new exertion so tremendous that even the present tame Reichstag shrinks away from it. Is it not folly, then, to talk of disarmament?

And yet in all countries the classes of people who almost exclusively have to provide the bulk of the soldiers and pay the bulk of the taxes are crying out for disarmament. And yet everywhere the effort has reached the stage where its strength—here the recruits, there the money, somewhere else both—is beginning to fail. Is there no way out of this blind alley except through a war of destruction such as the world has never seen?

I maintain: disarmament and thus a guarantee of peace is possible, it is even comparatively easy to carry out, and Germany more than any other civilised state has the power, as well as the mission, to carry it out.

After the war of 1870-71, the superiority of the system of universal compulsory military service with a reserve and Landwehr—even in its then stunted Prussian form[340]—over the system of conscription by proxy had been conclusively demonstrated. All the continental countries adopted it in more or less modified forms. There would not have been any great harm in this itself. An army that has its main reserve in middle-aged married men is by its very nature less offensive than was the conscript army of

Louis Napoleon, which was heavily permeated by paid proxies—recruited professional soldiers. But then came the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which turned the Peace of Frankfurt into a mere ceasefire for France, as the Peace of Tilsit[341] had been for Prussia. And now began the feverish arms race between France and Germany, into which Russia, Austria and Italy were also gradually drawn.

To start with, the obligatory term of service in the Landwehr was extended. In France the territorial army acquired a reserve of older men; in Germany the second levy of the Landwehr and even the Landsturm were revived.[342] And so it went on, step by step, until the age limit set by nature was reached and even exceeded.

Then conscription was stepped up and the new training cadres which this made necessary were set up; but here again the limit has been almost or fully reached, and in France has even been exceeded. The last enlistment intakes of the French army already include quite a number of young men who are not yet—or not at all—equal to the hardships of service. The English officers, impartial on this point, who attended the large manoeuvre in Champagne in 1891 and acknowledged the high efficiency of the present French army, generously and at times admiringly, report unanimously that an excessively large number of young soldiers dropped out in the course of the marches and combat exercises. In Germany we have admittedly not yet exhausted our reserves of men fit for military service, but to remedy that is precisely the purpose of the new Military Bill. In short, even in this respect we are approaching the limits of our powers.

Now the modern, the *revolutionary* aspect of the Prussian military system consists precisely in the demand that the strength of every able-bodied man should be placed at the service of national defence for as long as he is capable of bearing arms. And the only revolutionary thing that can be discerned in all military development since 1870 is the very fact that it has been deemed necessary—often enough with some reluctance—actually to increasingly carry out this demand, which had hitherto only been fulfilled in chauvinist fantasy. Neither the term of service liability nor the enlistment of all able-bodied young men can be called into question today, least of all by Germany and even less by the Social-Democratic Party, which, quite the contrary, is the only force able to translate also this demand fully into practice.

Accordingly there remains only one point where the need for disarmament can apply the lever: the term of service with the colours. And this, in fact, is the Archimedean point: *international*

regulation, by the great powers of the Continent, *of the maximum term of active service with the colours* for all arms of the service, initially for two years, as far as I am concerned—but with the proviso of an immediate further reduction as soon as people are convinced of the possibility, and *with the militia system as the ultimate objective.* And I maintain that Germany in particular is better able to make this proposal, and that Germany will profit more than anyone else by making it, even if it is rejected.

II

The international regulation of the maximum term of service with the colours would affect the armies of all powers equally. It is generally assumed that, in armies whose men have never been under fire, for the initial phase of a campaign the term of active service—within certain limits—provides the best measure of their suitability in all war situations, particularly for strategic and tactical attack. Our warriors of 1870 had sufficient experience of the *furia francese,* of the bayonet attack of the long-serving imperial infantry and the full force of the cavalry attacks at Wörth and Sedan; but at Spichern, right at the beginning of the war, they also demonstrated that they could expel this same infantry from a strong position—even though outnumbered.[343] Generally speaking, then, let us concede that within certain limits, which vary with the national character, in troops with no experience of war the term of service with the colours is decisive with regard to their general suitability for war and particularly their fitness for the offensive.

If we succeed in setting a maximum limit to their term of service internationally, the relative capacity of the various armies will remain roughly what it is today. What one forfeits in immediate potential, the others will also forfeit. Insofar as a surprise attack by one state on another is excluded, it will continue to be so, to the same extent. The difference in the term of active service between France and Germany, for instance, has up till now not been such that it is of any importance; even under the reduced term of service everything would depend on how the agreed term of service was used in each of the armies, just as it does today. Apart from this, the relative strength of the two armies would correspond to the ratio between the populations of the two countries. Once universal compulsory military service is actually introduced, in countries of roughly equal economic

development (which determines the percentage of the unfit) the population size will always be the measure of the strength of the armed forces. Then there will be no more tricks like the Prussian tricks of 1813; *that* cream will have been skimmed off.

But a great deal is dependent on how the established term of service is utilised. And on this subject there are men in almost all armies who could tell a tale or two if they were—permitted to, for shortage of money has everywhere forced armies to give a proportion of their recruits a "makeshift" training in a few months. Then they have to restrict themselves to essentials, a whole lot of traditional tomfoolery is thrown out of the window, and they find to their surprise how little time it takes to make a soldier out of a tolerably well-built young man. Bebel has related in the Reichstag how this astonished the training officers of the German Ersatzreserve.[344] In the Austrian army there are plenty of officers who maintain that the Landwehr, which has about the same term of service as the German Ersatzreserve, is better than the line. No wonder. There they lack the time that is wasted in the line on the traditional and hence sanctified idiocies—and for this very reason it is not wasted.

The German infantry regulations of 1888 limit the tactical formations for battle to the essentials. It contains nothing new; fighting ability in all reversed situations had already been introduced by the Austrians after 1859; the formation of all battalion columns by means of a simple combination of four company columns had been introduced at about the same time by the Darmhessians, who had to succumb to this rational formation again being prohibited by the Prussians after 1866.[345] In other respects the new regulations do away with an immense tangle of antediluvian ceremonies that were as useless as they were sancrosanct; least of all do I have any reason to find fault with it. For after the war of 1870 I allowed myself the luxury of drawing up a plan of the closed formations and movements of companies and battalions appropriate to present-day warfare, and was not a little surprised to find this piece of the "state of the future" implemented in almost every particular in the relevant sections of the new regulations.

But the regulations are one thing, and putting them into practice is another. The martinets, which have always flourished in the Prussian army in times of peace, reintroduce the time-wasting abolished in the instructions through the back door of the parade-ground. All at once parade drill is vitally necessary to counterbalance the unruliness of the dispersed battle order, as the sole means of establish-

ing true discipline, etc., etc. This is tantamount to saying that order and discipline can only be established by making the men practise utterly useless things. The abolition of the "goose step" alone would make whole weeks available for rational exercises, quite apart from the fact that foreign officers could then watch a German review without laughing up their sleeves.

Another similar obsolete institution is sentry duty, which, according to an old traditional notion, also serves to develop the intelligence and especially the independent thought of the men by teaching them the art—in case they are not already familiar with it—of standing guard and thinking of nothing at all for two hours. In view of the present universal custom of practising outpost duty in the field, sentry duty in town, where there are after all security police of every kind, has become totally senseless. Its abolition would result in at least a twenty per cent gain in the effective term of service for the army and ensure safety on the streets for civilians.

And then there are everywhere a lot of soldiers who on all sorts of pretexts do as little service as possible: company craftsmen, batmen, etc. There is plenty of scope for changes here.

Yes—but what about the cavalry? Surely they must have a longer term of service?—This is certainly desirable if one is dealing with recruits who can neither ride nor tend a horse. But there is plenty of scope for changes here too. If the horse rations were not so meagerly proportioned—the horses have to be specially fed for the manoeuvres in order to attain their normal strength!—and if every squadron had a number of extra horses available so that the men were able to practise in the saddle more often and for longer periods—in short, if a serious effort were made to compensate for the shorter term of service by the more intensive pursuit of essentials and the elimination of things superfluous, it would soon be found that it is possible to manage in that way, too. Even for rough-riding, on which so much stress has been placed and the vital necessity of which I readily concede, ways and means can be found. And anyway there is nothing to prevent the retention and extension of the system of three or four-year volunteers or of re-enlisted soldiers for cavalry troops, for as long as it is considered necessary—in return for corresponding compensations in the service liability of the reserve and the Landwehr, without which such things will not be attained.

Of course, if one listens to the military authorities one hears quite a different tale. It is all quite impossible, they say, and

nothing may be altered without everything collapsing. But for fifty years now I have heard so many military institutions solemnly described as unassailable and sacrosanct today, only to see them flung mercilessly into the junk room tomorrow, and by the very same authorities; furthermore, I have so often seen that what is praised to the skies in one army is deemed beneath contempt in another; I have so often observed that customs lavished with praise and institutions of long standing prove to be folly in the face of the enemy; finally, it has so often been my experience that in every army there is a particular conventional tradition intended for those of minor rank, the common soldier and the public, that is cultivated by the higher superiors but ridiculed by the officers of independent mind and reduced to nought by every campaign—in short, I have had so much historical experience of this that I would advise everyone to distrust nothing more than military "*expertise*".

III

It is a peculiar contrast: our high-ranking soldiers are generally so dreadfully conservative precisely in their own field, and yet there is today scarcely any other domain that is as revolutionary as the military one. The smooth-bore six-pounder and the seven-pound howitzer which I handled close by the Kupfergraben in the old days[346] and today's rifled breech-loading guns, the large-calibre smooth-bore gun of those days and the modern 5mm repeating breech-loaders, seem centuries apart; and there is still no end to it, every day technology still ruthlessly throws overboard all the latest innovations. Now it is even discarding the romantic powder-smoke, giving battle a totally different character and course that are quite incalculable in advance. We must, however, increasingly come to terms with such incalculable factors in the midst of this ceaseless revolutionising of the technical basis of warfare.

As late as forty years ago the effective firing range of the infantry extended no further than 300 paces, at which distance a single man could survive unscathed a volley from an entire battalion, provided that the men were all really aiming at him. As for the firing range of the field artillery, it was practically ineffectual even at 1,500 to 1,800 paces. In the Franco-Prussian War the effective firing range of the rifles was 600-1,000 paces, that of the artillery 3,000-4,000 paces at the most. But the new

small-bore rifles, as yet untried in war, have a range approaching that of the artillery, their projectiles have four to six times the penetration; the repeating rifle gives a section today the same firepower that a whole company used to have; the artillery, while it cannot boast of a similar increase in firing range, has loaded its shells with entirely new explosives of previously unheard-of effect; though admittedly it is not yet quite certain who will have to suffer this effect, the shooter or the shot-at.

And in the midst of this unceasing, ever accelerating revolutionisation of the whole military system we are faced with military authorities who five years ago were still drumming into their troops all the conventional ceremonies and artificial contortions of old Fritz's[a] linear tactics, which vanished from the battlefield long ago, and continued to revere regulations by which you could still be beaten because you had marched off to the right and there was no room to form up on the left! Authorities who to this very day dare not question the shiny buttons and metal fittings of the soldiers' equipment—just as many magnets to attract 5mm bullets—who send the Uhlans into action with broad red doublets, and the cuirassiers admittedly without cuirasses—at last!—but in white battledress, and have only decided after much heart-searching to sacrifice on the altar of the fatherland the epaulettes (which were all the more sacred for being in such appalling taste)—rather than the epaulette-bearer himself.

It seems to me that it is neither in the interest of the German people, nor of the German army that this conservative superstition remains in control of the army amidst the technical revolution surging all around it. We need fresher, bolder minds, and I would be very much mistaken if there were not plenty of these among our most capable officers, plenty longing to be liberated from the routine and the pedantry which has again run riot in the last twenty years of peace. But until they find the courage and the opportunity to assert their convictions, the rest of us will have to step into the breach and do our best to prove that we too learnt something in the army.

Furthermore I have attempted to demonstrate above that the two-year term of service can be put into practice now in all arms of the service if the men are taught what they need to know in war and are spared the traditional time-consuming antiquities. But I stated right from the outset that it should not stop at two years. Rather, the proposal for an international two-year term of service

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[a] Frederick II.—*Ed.*

should be seen as simply the first step towards a gradual further reduction in the term of service—say, eighteen months to begin with, two summers and a winter—then a year—then...? This is where the state of the future starts, the unadulterated militia system, and we shall return to this once the thing has really been set in motion.

And this, setting the thing in motion, is most important of all. If one first faces the fact that the reduction of the term of service is a necessity for the economic existence of all countries and for the preservation of European peace, the next gain to be made is the realisation that *the stress in military training should be placed on the education of youth.*

When I returned to the Rhine after ten years' exile,[347] I was pleasantly surprised to see parallel and horizontal bars set up everywhere in the yards of the village schools. So far, so good: unfortunately it did not go very far. The apparatus was acquired in accordance with instructions, in the good old Prussian manner, but when it came to using it there was always some sort of obstacle. That was a different kettle of fish entirely—in fact, it usually never came to it at all. Is it too much to ask that the whole business should be taken seriously at last? That school pupils of all classes should be taught gymnastics both with and without apparatus systematically and thoroughly while their limbs are still elastic and supple, instead of, as now, making twenty-year-old lads slave away in vain in the sweat of their brows—and one's own—in order to make their stiffened bones, muscles and ligaments loose and pliant once again? Any doctor will tell you that the division of labour deforms any human being subjected to it, whole series of muscles being developed at the expense of others, and that the effects of this vary according to the specific branch of labour, each job producing its own deformity. Is it not then madness first to let the men become deformed and then afterwards make them straight and mobile again in the army? Does it demand a degree of insight surpassing the official horizon to see that one will obtain soldiers that are three times as good if one guards against this deformation at the appropriate time, at elementary school and secondary college?

But this is only the beginning. A boy can be taught the formation and movement of a serried troop at school with ease. The schoolboy stands and walks straight by nature, particularly when he has physical training; during our military service every one of us has observed the way our recruits stand and how hard it is to teach many of them to walk and stand straight. The

movements in column and company can be trained at any school and with a facility unknown in the army. What is a detested, often almost insurmountable difficulty for the recruit is a game and a diversion for the schoolboy. The contact and sense of direction in frontal marching and wheeling which is so difficult to attain with adult recruits is easily learnt by schoolboys as soon as drill is systematically carried out with them. If a good part of the summer is devoted to marches and exercises in the field, the minds and bodies of the boys will derive no less benefit from it than the military coffers, which will thus save whole months of service time. Military rambles of this kind are particularly well suited for getting the boys to solve such problems as are encountered on active service, and this in turn is highly apt to develop the pupils' intelligence and enable them to acquire a specifically military training in a comparatively short time. The practical proof of this has been provided by my old friend Beust, himself a former Prussian officer, at his school in Zurich. With the present complicated state of military matters, a transition to the militia system is inconceivable without preparatory military training for young people, and it is precisely in this field that Beust's successful experiments are of the greatest importance.

And now permit me to strike a specifically Prussian note. The vital question of concern to the Prussian state is: what is to become of the non-commissioned officer who has served his time? Until now he has been used as a policeman, frontier guard, doorkeeper, clerk, as a civil servant of every conceivable kind; there is not a single slot in the Prussian bureaucracy, however humble, that has not been filled with non-commissioned officers with a claim to a government appointment. Well then: you have worked your fingers to the bone to find situations for the non-commissioned officers; you have insisted on thrusting them in where they are no good, and using them for things of which they know nothing; is it not about time they were found a place in the field with which they are familiar and in which they can perform a useful job? They should become schoolmasters, but not in reading, writing and arithmetic—let them teach gymnastics and drill. That will do them and the boys good. And once the non-commissioned officers are transferred from the secrecy of the barracks and military jurisdiction into the daylight of the schoolyard and civil criminal procedure, I bet our rebellious school pupils will soon teach even the worst parade-ground despot good manners.

IV

We reserve the right to return to the question of whether such a proposal for a universal, equal and gradual reduction in the term of service has any prospect of being adopted by international treaty. For the time being let us proceed from the assumption that it has been adopted. Will it then be translated from paper into reality, will it be honestly carried out by all parties?

Certainly, in the main. Firstly, it will not be possible to keep secret a way of evading it that is in any respect worth the trouble. And secondly, the population itself will ensure that it is implemented. No one remains in the barracks of his own free will if he is kept there beyond the period prescribed by law.

As far as individual countries are concerned, Austria and Italy, as well as the second and third-rank states that have introduced universal military service, will welcome such a treaty as an act of liberation and will happily adhere to it in every detail. We shall discuss Russia in the next section. But what about France? And in this matter France is quite definitely the decisive country.

Once France has signed and ratified the treaty there can be no doubt that it will have, by and large, to keep to it. But let us admit that the revanchist tendency existing in the propertied classes and the part of the working class that is not yet socialist may win the upper hand for a moment and provoke infringements of the treaty limits, either direct or based on hair-splitting. Such infringements can, however, never be of any importance, for otherwise Paris would prefer to abrogate the treaty. But Germany is in the fortunate position of being able generously to turn a blind eye to such minor cheating. Despite all the very commendable efforts of France to render a repetition of the defeats of 1870 impossible, Germany is much further ahead of it than is evident at first glance. Firstly there is the annually growing gap between the populations, now amounting to more than 12 million in Germany's favour. Secondly, the fact that the present military system has been in existence in Prussia for more than seventy years; the population has grown accustomed to it; it has been tested in every detail in a long series of mobilisations; all the problems that may arise and the mode of solving them have been experienced in practice and are familiar—advantages from which the other German armies also benefit. In France, however, general mobilisation still has to be tried out, and with an organisation that, for this purpose, is much more complicated. Thirdly, however, the undemocratic institution of one-year volunteers has encountered

insuperable obstacles in France; the three-year soldiers have simply ousted the one-year privileged ones from the army by means of chicanery. This proves how far public political consciousness in Germany, and the political institutions tolerated by it, lag behind those of France. But the political shortcoming is in this case a military advantage. It is beyond all doubt that no country, in relation to its population, sends such a number of young people through its secondary and high schools as Germany, and so the institution of one-year volunteers, undemocratic and politically objectionable though it may be, provides the army command with an excellent means of giving the majority of these young people (who have already received an adequate all-round training) a military training for service as officers. The campaign of 1866 first illustrated this, but since then, and particularly since 1871, this aspect of Germany's military strength has been specially fostered, indeed almost to excess. And even if so many of the German reserve officers have recently been doing their best to make their rank a laughing stock, there is still no doubt that as a body they are militarily superior, man for man, to their French counterparts, and, most importantly, that among its reservists and territorials Germany possesses a much higher percentage of men qualified for service as officers than any other country.

This peculiar abundance of officers enables Germany to muster a disproportionately larger number of new formations, already trained in peacetime, than any other country. According to the claim made by Richter (*Freisinnige Zeitung*, November 26, 1892[348]), which as far as I know has not been refuted either in the Reichstag or in the military commission, each German infantry regiment will be able to provide a mobile reserve regiment, two battalions of Landwehr and two Ersatzreserve battalions for action in war. Thus every three battalions provide ten, or the 519 battalions of the 173 peacetime regiments turn into 1,730 battalions in wartime, not counting riflemen and gunners. And in such a short time that no other country is able to come even remotely near it.

The French reserve officers, as one of them admitted to me, are much less numerous; yet they are supposed to be sufficient to fill the posts of the new formations envisaged by official publications. What is more, this man confessed that half of these officers are not of much use. The new formations in question are, however, a long way from equalling what Germany is said to be capable of achieving. And even so, the officers that France is able to muster will by then all have been used, while Germany will still be keeping some of them in reserve.

In all wars hitherto there has been a lack of officers after a couple of months of campaigning. With all other countries this would still be the case even today. Germany alone has an inexhaustible supply of officers. This being so, should we not be able to turn a blind eye to it if the French occasionally drill their men two or three weeks longer than stipulated in the treaty?

V

We now come to Russia. Frankly speaking, it makes little difference whether Russia adheres to a treaty on the gradual equal reduction of the term of service, or even enters into one at all. In fact, as far as the issue at hand is concerned, we can disregard Russia almost entirely, for reasons given below.

Although the Russian Empire embraces over a hundred million people, easily twice as many as the German Empire, it is far from possessing an offensive military force anywhere near that of Germany. The fifty million people of Germany are huddled together over an area of 540,000 square kilometres; the at most 90 to 100 million people in Russia that come into consideration for us militarily are dispersed over $3^1/_2$ million square kilometres, at a moderate estimate; the advantage accruing to the Germans on account of this far greater density of population is enhanced even further by the incomparably better railway network. In spite of this, the fact remains that a hundred million can in the long run provide more soldiers than fifty. As things stand it will take quite a long time before they come; but they are bound to come eventually. What then?

An army needs not only recruits but also officers. And in this respect the position in Russia looks pretty bad. In Russia only the nobility and the citizenry of the towns are considered for the rank of officer. The nobility is comparatively very small in numbers; there are few towns—one man in ten at most lives in a town—and of these towns only very few indeed merit the name. The number of secondary schools and of the pupils attending them is exceedingly small. Where are the officers for all the rank-and-file troops supposed to come from?

One man's meat is another man's poison. The system of universal military service presupposes a certain degree of economic and intellectual development; where this is lacking the system does more harm than good. And this is obviously the case in Russia.

First, it takes a comparatively long time anyway to make a trained soldier out of the average Russian recruit. The Russian soldier is of unquestionable bravery. As long as the attack by serried ranks of infantry was tactically decisive, he was in his element. His entire experience of life had led him to rely on the union with his comrades. In the villages, the semi-communistic community, in the towns, the cooperative work of the artel,[349] everywhere the *krugovaya poruka*,[a] the mutual liability of the comrades; in short, a state of society that palpably points to cohesion, the fount of all salvation, on the one hand, and the powerless solitude of the isolated individual left to his own initiative, on the other. The Russian retains this character even in the army; the massed battalions are almost impossible to break up, the greater the danger, the harder the lumps cluster together. But this instinct to close ranks, which was still of inestimable value at the time of the Napoleonic campaigns and compensated for a good many less useful aspects of the Russian soldier, is today a definite danger. Today the masses in closed ranks have disappeared from the battle-line, today it is a matter of holding together dispersed bands of infantrymen, in which troops from the most diverse units are all mixed up and command often and rapidly enough switches to officers who are completely unknown to most of the men; today every soldier must be able to do what has to be done at any particular moment on his own, though without losing his sense of belonging to the whole. This sense of cohesion cannot be facilitated through the primitive herd instinct of the Russian but only by developing the intelligence of each individual. The essential conditions for this can only be found at a stage of civilisation marked by higher "individualistic" development, such as that existing in the capitalist nations of the West. The small-bore repeating breech-loader and low-smoke powder have transformed the quality which was hitherto the greatest strength of the Russian army into one of its greatest weaknesses. Thus nowadays it will take even longer than before to make the Russian recruit into a soldier fit for battle, and he will no longer be able to match the soldiers of the West at all.

But secondly: where are the officers to come from to give all these new formations a framework in wartime? If even France is having trouble finding a sufficient number of officers, how will Russia manage? Russia, where the educated population, which alone can supply competent officers, constitutes such a dispropor-

[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian words.— *Ed.*

tionately small percentage of the total, and yet the soldiers, even the trained soldiers, need a larger percentage of officers than in other armies?

And thirdly: with the notorious, widespread system of embezzlement and theft on the part of the civil servants in Russia, and all too often the officers too, how is a mobilisation supposed to take place? In all previous Russian wars it immediately turned out that even part of the peacetime army and its stocks of equipment existed only on paper. How will they manage, then, when the reservists on leave and the *opoltschenie*[a] (Landwehr) are to join their units and be equipped with uniforms, arms and ammunition? Unless everything goes off smoothly during mobilisation, unless everything is available at the right time and in the right place, there is utter confusion. But how is everything to go off smoothly if everything passes through the hands of thieving, corrupt Russian *tschinowniks*[b]? The Russian mobilisation—that will be a show fit for the Gods!

All things considered: for purely military reasons alone, we can allow the Russians to call up as many soldiers and to keep them with the colours as long as the Tsar sees fit. Apart from the troops who are already under arms he will hardly be able to put many more on their feet, and hardly at the right time. The experiment with universal military service may cost Russia dear.

And then, if it comes to war, all along the border from Kovno to Kaminiets the Russian army will be in enemy country right there on her own soil, amidst Poles and Jews, the Tsarist government even having made mortal enemies of the Jews. The moment Russia loses a couple of battles the battlefield will be pushed back from the Vistula to the Dvina and the Dnieper; in the rear of the German army, under its protection, an army of Polish allies will be formed; and it will be a just punishment for Prussia if it is then compelled to restore a strong Poland to ensure its own safety.

Up to now we have only considered the directly military conditions, finding that Russia can be disregarded as far as the present issue is concerned. This will become even more evident, however, as soon as we cast a glance at the overall economic situation, and particularly the financial position, in Russia.

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[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian word.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels' transliteration of the Russian word meaning "civil servants".— *Ed.*

VI

The internal situation in Russia is almost desperate at the moment. The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and the development of large-scale capitalist industry related to it, partly as cause, partly as effect, have hurled this, the stablest of all countries, *this European China,* into an economic and social revolution which is now proceeding inexorably on its way; and its progress is, for the time being, overwhelmingly devastating.

At the time of the emancipation, the nobility received compensation in state loan bonds, which they spent in revelry as fast as they could. When this was accomplished, the new railways opened up a market for the wood from their forest for them; they had the timber cut and sold and once again lived in splendour and pleasure as long as the proceeds lasted. The management of the estates under the new conditions and with free workers generally remained most unsatisfactory; little wonder that the landowning Russian nobility are up to their ears in debt, if not utterly bankrupt, and that the produce yielded by their estates is decreasing rather than increasing.

The peasant generally received worse land, and less of it, than he had owned until then; he lost the right to common grazing and the use of the forest, and hence the basis for rearing livestock. Taxes were raised considerably, and now had to be paid by him personally in cash, everywhere; on top of this there were the instalments—also in cash—to pay off the interest and capital on the redemption money advanced by the state (*wykup*)[a]. In short, the deterioration of his overall economic position was aggravated by his suddenly being forcibly removed from a subsistence farming economy and being placed in a money economy, which is alone enough to ruin the peasantry of a country. The result of this was the luxuriant development of the exploitation of the peasants by the rural money-owners, well-to-do farmers and pot-house landlords, *mirojedy* (literally "community eaters") and *kulaki*[a] (usurers). And as if that were not enough, along came modern large-scale industry and ruined the subsistence economy of the peasants to the very last bit. Not only did its competition undermine the domestic industrial production of the peasant for his own wants, it also took away the market for his handicrafts intended for sale, or placed it, at best, under the sway of the capitalist "entrepreneur" or, even worse, his middleman. The

[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian words.—*Ed.*

Russian peasant, with his primeval agriculture and his old communistic community system, was thus suddenly brought into collision with the most advanced form of modern large-scale industry, which had to forcibly acquire a domestic market; a situation in which he was irredeemably bound to perish. But the peasant comprised almost nine-tenths of the population of Russia, and the ruin of the peasant was synonymous with the—at least temporary—ruin of Russia.*

After this process of social upheaval had been going on for about twenty years, other results emerged too. The ruthless deforestation destroyed the stocks of subsoil water, the rain and snow water flowed quickly away along the streams and rivers without being absorbed, producing serious floods; but in summer the rivers became shallow and the ground dried out. In many of the most fertile areas of Russia the level of subsoil water is said to have dropped a full metre, so that the roots of the corn crops can no longer reach it and wither away. So that not only are the human beings ruined, but in many areas so is the land itself for at least a generation.

This hitherto chronic process of ruination was rendered acute and thus visible to the whole world by the famine of 1891. And for this reason Russia has not managed to escape from famine since 1891. That bad year largely ruined the peasants' last and most important means of production—livestock—and drove their indebtedness to such heights that it is bound to crush their last powers of resistance.

In a position like this a country could do no more than embark on a war of desperation. But even the means for this are lacking. In Russia the nobility lives on debts, the peasant now also lives on debts, and the state, especially, lives on debts. The amount of money owed by the Russian state abroad is known: over four thousand million marks. The amount it owes at home is known to no one; firstly, because neither the total of the loans raised nor that of the paper-money in circulation is known and, secondly, because the value of this paper-money changes every day. But one thing is certain: Russia's credit abroad is exhausted. The four thousand million marks of the Russian national debt bonds have glutted the Western European money market to bursting point.

* I set forth all this a year ago in the *Neue Zeit* 1891/92, No. 19, in the article "Socialism in Germany".[a]

[a] See this volume, pp. 246-50.— *Ed.*

England got rid of most of her "Russians" long ago, and Germany has recently done so. Holland and France have ruined their digestion by purchasing them, as was evident from the last Russian loan in Paris: only 300 of the 500 million francs could be placed, and the Russian minister of finance had to take back 200 million from the subscribing and oversubscribing bankers.[350] This constitutes proof of the fact that there is no prospect whatever of a new Russian loan in the immediate future, not even in France.

This is the position of the country which is said to be threatening us with the imminent risk of war and yet is even unable to get a war of desperation off the ground unless we are stupid enough to toss the money for it into its jaws ourselves.

The ignorance of the French government and the French *bourgeois* public opinion that controls it is incomprehensible. It is not France that needs Russia—rather it is Russia that needs France. Without France, the Tsar and his policy would be isolated in Europe; powerless he would have to let everything in the West and the Balkans take its course. With a little common sense France could squeeze as much out of Russia as it wanted to. But instead, the French authorities are grovelling prostrate before the Tsar.

Russia's wheat exports have already been ruined by cheaper American competition. This leaves only rye as its chief export commodity, and this goes almost exclusively to Germany. *The moment Germany starts eating white bread instead of black bread, the present, official Tsarist-big-bourgeois Russia will go bankrupt.*

VII

We have now sufficiently criticised our neighbouring, placid enemies. But what are things like at home?

Well, to put it bluntly: a gradual reduction in the term of service can only be to the advantage of the army if an end is put once and for all to *maltreatment* of soldiers which has gained ground in recent years and become the rule in the army, far more than people care to admit.

This maltreatment is the counterpart of square-bashing and parade drill; both have always spread in the Prussian army as soon as it becomes a peacetime army for a while, and from the Prussians it is passed on to the Saxons, Bavarians, etc. It is a legacy from the genuine "Old Prussian" age, when the soldier was either an enlisted ragamuffin or the son of a bond peasant, and therefore had to put up with every form of ill-treatment and

degradation from his Junker officer without a murmur. And particularly the down-at-heel nobility of starvelings and spongers, which is by no means under-represented east of the Elbe, still provides its share of the worst tormentors even today, and is only equalled in this respect by the snobbish little sons of the bourgeoisie eager to play the Junker.

The browbeating of the soldier has never entirely died out in the Prussian army. But it used to be rarer, more lenient and at times more humorous. But then, on the one hand, it became necessary to teach the soldier more and more, while, on the other hand, nobody thought of abolishing the useless debris of outmoded tactical drills, which had become meaningless. From this time on, the non-commissioned officer increasingly received tacit authorisation to adopt any method of training which he deemed suitable. Furthermore he was indirectly constrained to employ forcible means by the order to drum one thing or another into his squad with a satisfactory result in a limited period. On top of all this, the soldier's right of complaint is a downright mockery—no wonder the favourite Old Prussian method came into vogue again wherever the soldiers put up with it. For I am certain that there is much less tormenting of soldiers in the regiments of the West or those with a strong admixture of city-dwellers than in those which are chiefly made up of country people from east of the Elbe.

There used to be a means of counterbalancing this, at least in practice. With the smooth-bore muzzle-loader it was a simple matter to drop a pebble down the barrel onto the blank cartridge during manoeuvres, and it was by no means unusual for hated superiors to be accidentally shot during manoeuvres. Sometimes it went wrong as well: I knew a young man from Cologne who was killed in this way in 1849, by a shot that was intended for his captain. Now, with the small-bore breech-loader it is no longer possible to do this so easily and unobtrusively; for this reason, the army suicide statistics indicate to us the barometric level of soldier tormenting fairly accurately. But if the live cartridge is put to use in "serious cases", there is certainly every reason to wonder whether the old practice is again finding its advocates, as is said to have happened here and there in recent wars; though of course that would not contribute much to victory.[351]

The reports of English officers are unanimous in praising the exceptionally good relations between superiors and soldiers in the French army on manoeuvres in Champagne in 1891. Such things as so often leak out of the barracks and into the press in our country would be quite impossible in this army. Even before the

Great Revolution the attempt to introduce Prussian flogging with rods failed. Even at the worst moment of the Algerian campaigns and the Second Empire, no superior would have dared treat the French soldiers anything like as badly as the German soldier is treated before our very eyes. And today, after the introduction of universal compulsory military service, I should like to see the French non-commissioned officer who would venture to order the soldiers to box each other's ears or spit in each other's faces. But what scorn the French soldiers must feel for their future adversaries when they hear and read what they submit to without turning a hair. And every care is taken to ensure that the men in French barracks do read and hear all about it.

In the French army there prevails the spirit and relationship between officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers that prevailed in Prussia from 1813 to 1815, and twice took our soldiers to Paris. In our own country, however, the state of affairs is fast approaching that of 1806, when the soldier was hardly even considered a human being, and was flogged and tormented, when there was an unbridgeable gulf between him and the officer—and this state of affairs led the army to Jena[352] and into French captivity.

There is a lot of talk about the decisive value of morale in war. Yet what else is done in peacetime but to destroy it almost systematically?

VIII

So far we have assumed that the proposal for a gradual, equal reduction in the term of service with an ultimate transition to the militia system has been universally adopted. But the main question is: will it be adopted?

Let us assume that Germany first puts the proposal to Austria, Italy and France. Austria will gladly accept a maximum term of service of two years and will probably reduce it even further in actual practice. In the Austrian army it seems that there is far less reticence than in the German army to talk about the fact that the short term of service of some troops has been a success. Many officers there state quite bluntly that the Landwehr, which only serves for a few months, is a better troop than the line; one thing in their favour, at any rate, I am assured, is that a Landwehr battalion can mobilise in 24 hours, while a battalion of the line requires several days. Naturally: in the line they are afraid to

infringe on the casual old Austrian arrogance; in the Landwehr, where all the institutions are newly created, they have, however, had the guts not to introduce it. At any rate, both the people and the government of Austria are longing for an alleviation of the military burden, which is most easily obtainable here by reducing the term of service, precisely on account of their own experience.

Italy will likewise grasp the opportunity with both hands. It is succumbing under the pressure of the military budget to such a degree that the help must be brought in, and soon. Here, too, reduction of the maximum term of service is the shortest and easiest way. One may thus say: either the Triple Alliance[353] will come to grief or it will have to adopt a method that is more or less tantamount to our proposal.

But if Germany, supported by the acceptance of Austria and Italy, puts this proposal to the French government, the latter will be placed in a very awkward position. If it accepts the proposal, it will certainly not be making its relative military position any worse. On the contrary, it would have the opportunity of improving this relative position. In some respects it is a disadvantage for France that universal compulsory military service was only introduced there 20 years ago. But this disadvantage entails the advantage that everything is still new, that the pigtail of yore has only recently been chopped off, that further improvements can easily be introduced without coming up against the stubborn resistance of ingrained prejudices. All armies are immensely capable of development after *major defeats*. Better utilisation of the term of service laid down by treaty would therefore be far easier to put into effect in France than elsewhere. Moreover, since the educational system is also in a state of revolutionisation, just like the army, it will be possible to put the all-round physical (and particularly the military) training of young people into operation far more rapidly and more easily there than elsewhere. But this would mean a strengthening in the military position of France vis-à-vis that of Germany. In spite of all this, it is possible and indeed even probable that the chauvinist tendency—French chauvinism is just as stupid as the German variety—will be strong enough to bring down any government that adopts any such thing, particularly if it hails from Germany. So let us assume that France refuses. What then?

Then, by the simple fact of having made this proposal, Germany will have gained a tremendous advantage. We should not forget: the twenty-seven years of Bismarckian rule have made Germany hated in all countries—not without justification. Neither the

annexation of the North Schleswig Danes, nor the breaking and subsequent juggling away of the Prague Peace Treaty article relating to it,[354] nor the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, nor the petty-minded measures against the Prussian Poles, had anything at all to do with restoration of the "national unity". Bismarck has managed to give Germany the reputation of being greedy for territory; the chauvinist German burgher who threw out the German Austrians and yet still desires to hold Germany fraternally together above everything "from the *Etsch* to the Memel",[a] but would like to unite Holland, Flanders, Switzerland and the allegedly "German" Baltic provinces of Russia with the German Empire—this German chauvinist has given Bismarck every possible assistance, and with such splendid success that not a single person in Europe trusts the "honest Germans" any more. Wherever you care to go, you will find everywhere sympathy for France and distrust of Germany, which is regarded as the cause of the present war danger. There would be an end to all this if Germany decided to put forward our proposal. It would be acting as a peacemaker in a manner that left no room for doubt. It would be declaring its willingness to lead the way in the work of disarmament, as rightly befits the country that gave the signal for armament. Distrust would turn into trust, aversion into sympathy. Not only would the saying that the Triple Alliance is an alliance for peace finally become a reality—so would the Triple Alliance itself, which at present is a mere pretence. All public opinion in Europe and America would take sides with Germany. And that would be a moral conquest which would amply outweigh even any military disadvantages in our proposal that could possibly be thought out.

France, on the other hand, having turned down the disarmament proposal, would slip into the same unfavourable position of suspicion now occupied by Germany. Now we all see, the European philistine would say—and it is he who is the greatest great power—now we all see who wants peace and who wants war. And if a really warlike government should one day take the helm in France, it would be faced with a situation that with a little sense would positively prohibit war. No matter how it went about it, it would stand before the whole of Europe as the party that had precipitated, indeed generated the war. Thus it would not only have prejudiced the small countries against it, and England too; it would not even be sure of the aid of Russia, not even the

[a] A paraphrase of *Lied der Deutschen* by Hoffmann von Fallersleben.— *Ed.*

traditional Russian aid that consists of first getting its allies into trouble and then leaving them in the lurch.

Let us not forget: *the next war will be decided by England.* The Triple Alliance at war with Russia and France, as well as France, separated from Russia by enemy territory, are all dependent on sea transport for the large grain imports which are indispensable to them. England is absolute master of the sea. If it places its navy at the disposal of one side, the other will simply be starved into submission, its grain supplies being cut off; it will be the starvation of Paris[355] on an immensely larger scale, and the side that is starved out will have to surrender, as sure as two and two are four.

All right then: at the moment the Liberal tendency has the upper hand in England, and the English Liberals have distinct French sympathies. Moreover, old Gladstone is personally a Russophile. If a European war breaks out, England will remain neutral as long as possible; but in the above-mentioned circumstances even her "benevolent" neutrality may be of decisive help to one of the warring parties. If Germany puts forward our proposal and it is rejected by France, Germany will not only have overcome all English sympathies opposed to it, and assured itself of England's benevolent neutrality; it will also have made it virtually impossible for the English government to join the war on the side of Germany's opponents.

So, in conclusion:

Either France accepts the proposal. Then the risk of war arising out of ever-increasing armaments will really have been removed, the peoples will come to rest and Germany will enjoy the glory for having initiated this.

Or France does not accept. It will then make its own position in Europe worse and Germany's better, to such an extent that Germany will no longer need to fear a war at all and will even be able to proceed to gradually reduce the term of service and pave the way for the militia system off its own bat and free of danger in collaboration with its allies, who will only then truly be its allies.

Will it have the courage to take the step towards deliverance? Or will it wait until France, enlightened as to the position of Russia, takes the first step and reaps the credit for itself?

[TO THE GERMAN WORKERS ON MAY DAY 1893]

What better can I tell the German workers today than about the coming May Day celebration here in England, which, particularly this year, will be of special importance.[a] If Germany now is no longer Heinrich Heine's "pious nursery",[b] then England of today is no longer the model country of the German academic tender-hearts, the country where worthy TRADES UNIONS and progress within the law ensure that the bogus dreams of socialism find no soil. That has gone for ever. The working class of England, after its glorious struggles and ultimate defeats in the Chartist period, has taken a long time to get under way again. But it is undoubtedly under way again. Those socialist organisations which exist here were until recently no more than simply sects, compared with which the old TRADES UNIONS appeared a great force in fact. Hence the protestation of the tame German academics that the English workers did not wish to abolish the wage system, but only "refine" it. But how are things today? The masses of the

[a] In the manuscript this sentence is preceded by the following paragraph which does not occur in the published text (it was either omitted in the fair copy or—in view of the changed situation—at the printing stage): "At the moment when I am to despatch these lines to the German May Day newspaper a crisis is expected in Berlin in connection with the debates on the Military Bill.[356] What will happen? If the Bill is rejected, then the [Reichstag] will be dissolved and the election campaign will override and overshadow the May Day celebrations and with good reason. Now, it is true, one can bet five to one that the compromise being longed for will come about and the Reichstag will prolong its existence for another two years. But a tiny accident can upset everything. What can I then tell the German workers on the occasion of their May Day if it is unknown in what circumstances they will be celebrating it?"— *Ed.*

[b] H. Heine, "Zur Beruhigung".— *Ed.*

workers are awakening more and more to the realisation that their salvation lies not so much in wresting higher wages and shorter hours in the struggle against individual employers, but above all in winning political rights, parliament,[a] through the working class organised into an independent party. This was first demonstrated in the general election of 1892. The workers prevailed with three of their candidates[b] in the struggle against both old parties, and in addition in over twenty constituencies gave the latter a tough taste of their power, hitherto unexerted. This increased enormously the self-awareness of the workers.

In England, even with the present limited suffrage, the workers form the absolute majority in at least 150 constituencies. If the electoral reform[357] introduced by the government goes through, then in 200. And even today the worker votes are decisive in a majority of all constituencies. What the awakening of the workers to class consciousness means under such circumstances is obvious. The workers only have to want it, and England cannot be governed against their will.

This awakening is also shown in the preparations for this year's May Day. For the first time the negotiations are going smoothly, without wrangles and petty jealousy, with unanimous enthusiasm. And what is more: the socialists hold the leadership, and for the first time the celebrations will have an unquestionably Social-Democratic character.

March 13, 1893

Frederick Engels

First published in the May Day issue of the *Vorwärts*, May 1, 1893

Printed according to the May Day issue, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English in full for the first time

[a] In the manuscript: "but in winning parliament, the political power".— *Ed.*
[b] J. K. Hardie, J. Burns, J. H. Wilson.— *Ed.*

[TO THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS ON MAY DAY 1893][358]

London. I have been asked to address a few words to the Austrian comrades in their May Day newspaper. What can I say to them? They know better than I how May Day should be celebrated. From 1890 onwards the Austrian workers have shown their brothers in all other countries, year after year, what a real May Day is in the sense of the proletariat. Nowhere else has it been possible to do the same, or even imitate them.

Indeed the festival of May Day has a far greater importance in Austria than elsewhere. In Germany in 1890 they could point to the Reichstag election, just concluded, which had provided such a grandiose review of the militant German working class that any May festival appeared pale in comparison. In France in 1892 the municipal elections on the basis of general suffrage, which similarly brought great victories to the workers, fell on May the First[359]; there it was necessary to work for the cause of the proletariat on May the First, not to celebrate. But in Austria the workers have not yet got the vote, and the state of press freedom as well as their right of coalition and right of assembly was defined by Government Counsellor Baron von Czapka in his answer to questions in the Reichs Council.[360] And for this reason the Austrian workers are right and right again when they insist, under all circumstances, upon their rigorously executed May Day celebration. For the workers of other countries this celebration is mainly an international affair; it can therefore come to pass that it takes second place to special domestic circumstances. For the Austrians

it is not only an international affair but also, and perhaps predominantly, a domestic affair, and thus stands for them, unconditionally and always, in the first place.

May it this year too pass off as brilliantly as ever.

Written in March-early April 1893

First published in *Zum 1. Mai 1893*, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* publishing house, Vienna, 1893

Printed according to *Zum 1. Mai 1893*

Published in English for the first time

FOR THE CZECH COMRADES ON THEIR MAY DAY CELEBRATION

A REMINISCENCE OF THE YEAR 1848[361]

At that time Karl Marx met in Vienna[362] the Prague bookseller Borrosch, the leader of the German-Bohemian group in the Austrian National Assembly.

Borrosch complained a great deal about the national strife in Bohemia, and the alleged fanatical enmity of the Czechs towards the Bohemian Germans. Marx asked him how things were with the Bohemian workers. "Yes," replied Borrosch, "that is quite a different matter; as soon as the workers join the movement, that comes to an end; there is no more talk of Czechs or Germans, they all stand together."

What the Bohemian workers of both nationalities only *sensed* [at that time] they now *know*: that all national strife is only possible under the rule of the big landed feudal lords and capitalists; that it serves solely to perpetuate this rule; that Czech and German workers have the same common interests and that as soon as the working class attains political power all causes for national strife will be removed. For the working class is international by its very nature, and it will demonstrate this once again on the coming First of May.

London, April 8, 1893

F. E.

First published in a special publication: *První Máj 1893*, Praha

Printed according to the rough manuscript, checked with the Czech edition

Published in English in full for the first time

NONETHELESS

[GREETINGS TO THE FRENCH WORKERS ON THE OCCASION OF MAY DAY OF 1893]

I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that this year May Day will not play the dominant role in the life of the international proletariat that it has done these last three years.

Of the major European countries it is only Austria that seems to wish to keep the demonstration in the foreground. Indeed, there the workers have no other scope for action.

Certainly in France, very likely in Germany and possibly in England, this year will see the importance of May Day eclipsed by general elections, in which the proletariat will be called upon to conquer new positions and, without any doubt, it will do so.[a]

If, then, May Day should suffer a little in some respects from the approach of the elections, there will be no need to be perturbed. We will not have given way. On the contrary.

Demonstrations are excellent things, but only so long as we have nothing better to do.

Let the bourgeoisie beware of rejoicing too soon!

See you at the polls and after that at the Palais-Bourbon![364]

Frederick Engels

London, April 14

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 134, April 23, 1893

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript is the following passage: "In Belgium on the very eve of May Day the incapable government and short-sighted bourgeoisie are playing with fire as if attempting to inflame the whole of Europe."[365] — *Ed.*

[TO THE SPANISH WORKERS ON MAY DAY 1893][365]

It seems that the proletarian revolution overturns everything, even chronology. Thus, in Spain at least, May 1 comes after May 2,[366] whatever the calendar may say about it. Formerly the Spanish workers used to celebrate May 2, today they celebrate the 1st of the same month.

From May 2 to May 1, we have made a good deal of progress. What, in fact happened on May 2, 1808? The foreign invasion, on the one hand, the people of Madrid on the other.[a] It all seems simple. And yet the situation was very complicated. In order to fight the foreign invasion and the tyranny of Napoleon, the Spanish people also had to fight the French Revolution,[b] and to regain its independence the same Spanish people was forced to re-establish the despotic rule of the fanatical idiot Ferdinand VII, supported by the nobles and the priests.

And it was the same in Italy and in Germany, even in France; these two countries could only rid themselves of the Napoleonic yoke by turning themselves over, to the monarchist, feudal and clerical reactionaries.

Thus do wars between one people and another make apparently the most simple and straightforward situations complex and confused.

But it is a tremendous step forward from May the 2nd to May the 1st: May the 1st denotes a clear and transparent situation; two

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript is the following passage: "Behind the foreign army, Napoleon, the self-styled representative of the bourgeois revolution, in actual fact the domestic despot, the conqueror of neighbouring peoples. Behind the people of Madrid, the royalty of the imbecilic Bourbons, the feudal nobility, the priests. Strange confusion!"— *Ed.*

[b] The following is crossed out in the manuscript: "of which Napoleon was the son".— *Ed.*

quite distinct camps opposing each other; on the one side the international proletariat marching to victory beneath the red flag of world liberation; on the other the property-owning classes and reactionaries of all countries, united in the defence of their privileges as exploiters. The struggle is in the open, the red flag is unfurled, victory is certain—forwards!

Written in April 1893

First published in *El Socialista*, No. 373, Madrid, May 1, 1893

Printed according to the rough manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE BULGARIAN MAGAZINE *SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT*][367]

ДО РЕДАКЦИЯТА НА СБОРНИКЪ *СОЦИАЛЪ-ДЕМОКРАТЪ*

London, June 9, 1893
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Party Comrades,

I cordially thank you for sending me No. 2 of your *Социалъ-Демократъ* 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 internationalism 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 south-eastward. 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 Sea 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 socialist works written by the Russian champions of the proletariat. It has given me great pleasure to see Plekhanov's works translated into Bulgarian.[368]

Да живъе интернационалния социализмъ![a]

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in *Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 3, 1893

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the magazine

[a] Long live international socialism! (from the Bulgarian).— *Ed.*

[TO CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS][369]

I regret that my advanced age prevents me from studying Czech as well. In the history of your people there are very many social as well as democratic phenomena favourable to the development of our movement. Those in your country who seek self-determination are right, that is natural, and we must welcome it. It's a pity that they show but little knowledge of natural social movements. We firmly believe in our victory, which will also end all oppression of peoples. Give my regards to our brothers.

Written in August 1893

First published, in Czech, in *Posel lidu*, No. 15, August 19, 1893

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Czech

Published in English for the first time

[CLOSING SPEECH AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKERS' CONGRESS IN ZURICH AUGUST 12, 1893][370]

Citizens and Citizenesses,

Allow me to translate my address (which the speaker had just delivered in English and French) into my beloved German. I could not but experience deep emotion at the unexpectedly splendid reception which you have given me, accepting it not for myself personally but as a collaborator of the great man whose portrait hangs up there (Marx). Just fifty years have passed since Marx and I entered the movement by publishing our first socialist articles in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.[a] Since then socialism has developed from small sects to a mighty party which makes the whole official world quail. Marx is dead, but were he still alive there would be not one man in Europe or America who could look back with such justified pride over his life's work. There is another anniversary to commemorate. The last congress of the International was in 1872.[371] Two things happened there. First the absolute breach with the anarchists. Was this a superfluous decision or not? The Paris, the Brussels, the present Congress would have had to do the same.[372] Second, the ending of the activities of the International in its old form. This was the time when the fury of the reactionaries, intoxicated by the blood of the glorious Commune, had reached its zenith. The perpetuation of the old International would have led to sacrifices out of proportion with the results; it transferred its seat to America, i.e., it withdrew from the scene. The proletariat in the various countries was left to organise itself in its own forms. This happened, and the International is now much stronger than

[a] See this volume, pp. 335, 341.— *Ed.*

before. In accordance with this we must continue to work on common ground. We must permit discussion in order not to become a sect, but the common standpoint must be retained. The loose association, the voluntary bond which is furthered by congresses, is sufficient to win us the victory which no power in the world can snatch from us again. I am particularly glad that the English are represented here in large numbers, for they were our teachers in the organisation of the workers; but however much we learned from them, they will have seen various new things here from which they too can still learn.

I travelled through Germany, and heard regret in some respects that the Anti-Socialist Law had been repealed. The fight with the police had been much more amusing. No police force, no government in the whole world can suppress such fighters.

At the request of the Bureau, I declare the Congress closed. Long live the international proletariat!

(The meeting breaks out in stormy cheers. The acclamation lasts for quite some time. Those present rise and sing the *Marseillaise.*)

Published as a summary or verbatim report in a number of socialist and workers' papers in August-September 1893 and also in *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle Zürich vom 6. bis 12. August 1893,* Zurich, 1894

Printed according to *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle...*

[SPEECH AT A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MEETING IN VIENNA ON SEPTEMBER 14, 1893]

[NEWSPAPER REPORT][373]

Esteemed Comrades!

I cannot leave this hall without expressing my deepest, heartfelt thanks for the undeserved reception given to me this evening. I can only say that unfortunately it is my fate to reap the fame of my departed friend. It is in this spirit that I accept your ovations. If I have been able to do anything for the movement in the fifty years I have belonged to it, I ask no reward. You are the finest reward! We have our people in the prisons of Siberia, we have them in the gold mines of California—everywhere, even as far afield as Australia. There is no country, no large state, where Social Democracy is not a power to be reckoned with. Everything that happens all over the world happens with due consideration to us. We are a great power that is to be feared, on which more depends than on the other great powers. That is my pride! We have not lived in vain, and can look back on our efforts with pride and satisfaction. In Germany they tried to stifle the movement by force, and each time the Social-Democratic movement has answered in ways which the bourgeoisie least expected.[a] The repeated elections, this steady, irresistible growth of the Social Democratic vote frightens the bourgeoisie, frightens Caprivi, and frightens all the authorities. (Tumultuous applause.) The previous speaker[b] observed that the Social-Democratic movement has

[a] Instead of this sentence, the report in the *Neue Freie Presse* has: "You are currently fighting for universal suffrage; that is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the proletariat. Universal suffrage is the sole means of gauging the power, the strength of the party. The history of Germany over the past twenty years teaches us this."—*Ed.*

[b] Karl Leuthner.—*Ed.*

always been underestimated abroad. My esteemed comrades, I have walked through the streets of Vienna and seen the wonderful buildings which the bourgeoisie has been kind enough to build for the proletariat of the future (tumultuous amusement) and I was also shown the magnificent arcaded building of the town hall, of which you have so deservedly taken possession. After that takeover of power no one will ever again underestimate you. (Vigorous applause.) That day was epoch-making. I saw the terror of the English newspaper correspondents—I was in London at the time—when they reported that on July 9 the proletariat ruled Vienna,[374] ruled it better than it has ever been ruled before. (Uproarious, persistent applause and hand-clapping. Constantly renewed cries of "Long live Engels".)

First published in the *Neue Freie Presse*, No. 10440, September 15, 1893 and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 38, September 22, 1893

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Published in English in full for the first time

[TO CZECH SOCIALIST WORKERS]

[TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE *SOCIÁLNÝ DEMOKRAT* IN PRAGUE]

Berlin, September 18, 1893
Großgörschen-Straße, 22a

Dear Comrades,

I received your letter of the 13th at the moment of my departure from Vienna, so I could not answer it at once.

Unfortunately, we only saw your city briefly when passing through. Hence it was impossible for us to comply with your wish and visit the editorial offices of the *Sociálný Demokrat* and meet the comrades there. Both Bebel and myself sincerely regret this, but our travelling arrangements, once made, could not be changed. However, since a state of emergency had been introduced in Prague in the meantime,[375] other obstacles too would have prevented our complying with your desires.

With best wishes for the success of the Czech working-class movement

Yours sincerely,
Frederick[a] Engels

First published, in Czech, in the newspaper *Rudé Pravo*, March 24, 1981 and, in the language of the original (German), in the journal *Nová Mysl*, No. 4, 1981

Printed according to a photocopy of the original

Published in English for the first time

[a] Engels uses the Czech form: Bedřich.— *Ed.*

[SPEECH AT A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MEETING IN BERLIN ON SEPTEMBER 22, 1893]

[NEWSPAPER REPORT][376]

Party Comrades!

I thank you from my heart for the splendid and undeserved reception which you have given me. I can only repeat here what I already said in Zurich and Vienna[a]: I regard this reception not as a tribute to me personally but to me as collaborator and ally of a greater man, as the comrade-in-arms of Karl Marx, and in this sense I accept it gratefully. You know that I am not an orator or a parliamentarian; I work in a different field, chiefly in the study and with the pen. And yet I would like to address a few words to you. It is now almost fifty-one years to the day since I last saw Berlin.[377] Since then Berlin has been totally transformed. At that time it was a small, so-called "royal seat" of hardly 350,000 inhabitants, living off the court, the nobility, the garrison and the civil service. Today it is a great capital city with almost two million inhabitants and lives off industry; today the court, nobility, garrison and civil service could seek another home, and Berlin would still remain Berlin. And the industrial development of Berlin has brought about another revolution. In those days there was not one single Social Democrat in Berlin; people did not even know what Social Democracy was; a few months ago, the Social Democrats of Berlin were passed in review, and mustered almost 160,000 votes,[378] and Berlin has five Social-Democratic deputies out of a total of six representatives. In this respect Berlin is at the head of all the major European cities and has even outstripped Paris by far.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 404-07.— *Ed.*

Yet not only Berlin but the whole of the rest of Germany has also undergone this industrial revolution. I have not been in Germany for sixteen years.[379] As you know—for you have personal experience of it—the Anti-Socialist Law has been in force here since 1878, though happily you have now got rid of it. As long as this law was in force I avoided coming to Germany; I wished to spare the authorities the trouble of deporting me, which they certainly would have done. (Amusement; cries of "They certainly would have done!") And now, on my present journey, I have been able to see with my own eyes how splendid is the turnabout that has taken place in Germany's economic situation. One generation ago Germany was an agricultural country whose rural population comprised two-thirds of the total; today it is an industrial country of the first order, and along the entire length of the Rhine, from the Dutch border to the Swiss, I did not find a single little spot where you can look around you without seeing chimneys. Certainly, this seems at first sight to concern nobody but the capitalists. But by expanding industry the capitalists are not only creating surplus value, they are also creating proletarians; they are destroying the petty-bourgeois and small peasant middle classes; they are pushing the class antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat to the limit; and those who create proletarians also create Social Democrats. At every fresh election to the Reichstag, the bourgeoisie is dismayed at the irresistible growth of the Social-Democratic vote. They ask, "How does it come about?" Well, if they had any sense they would surely see that it is their own work! So it has come about that the German Social Democrats are the most united, the most cohesive, the strongest in the whole world, marching from victory to victory thanks to the calm, the discipline and the good humour with which they conduct their struggles. Party comrades, I am convinced that you will continue to do your duty, and so I conclude with the cry: "*Long live international Social Democracy!*"

First published in the *Vorwärts*, No. 226, September 26, 1893 (supplement), and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 40, October 6, 1893

Printed according to the *Vorwärts*, checked with the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*

[TO THE COLOGNE CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY][380]

[*Telegram*]

[London, October 24, 1893]

Heartfelt thanks and best wishes for the success of the Party Congress!

Engels

First published in the pamphlet: *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands. Abgehalten zu Köln a. Rh. vom 22. bis 28. Oktober 1893*, Berlin, 1893

Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English for the first time

[TO THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][381]

London, December 1, 1893
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade,

I ask you to convey my sincere thanks to the Committee and the members of the Communist Workers' Educational Society for their kindness in remembering my seventy-third birthday. May the Society prosper for many years to come, and always hold high the old red banner that it first unfurled here in England!

With best wishes,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIALIST STUDENTS[382]

London, December 19, 1893

Dear Citizens,

While thanking you for your kind invitation to the Congress of Socialist Students, I greatly regret that I am unable to accept, being detained by some urgent and important work. I must therefore limit myself to wishing your Congress all the success which it deserves. May your efforts succeed in developing among students the awareness that it is from their ranks that there must emerge intellectual proletariat which will be called on to play a considerable part in the approaching revolution alongside and among their brothers, the manual workers.

The bourgeois revolutions of the past asked nothing of the universities but lawyers, as the best raw material for their politicians; the emancipation of the working class needs, in addition, doctors, engineers, chemists, agronomists and other experts; for we are faced with taking over the running not only of the political machine but of all social production, and in that case what will be needed is not fine words but well-grounded knowledge.

Fraternal greetings,

F. Engels

First published in *L'Étudiant socialiste*, No. 8, March 25-April 10, 1894

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Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the first time

PREFACE
[TO THE PAMPHLET *INTERNATIONALES AUS DEM "VOLKSSTAAT" (1871-75)*][383]

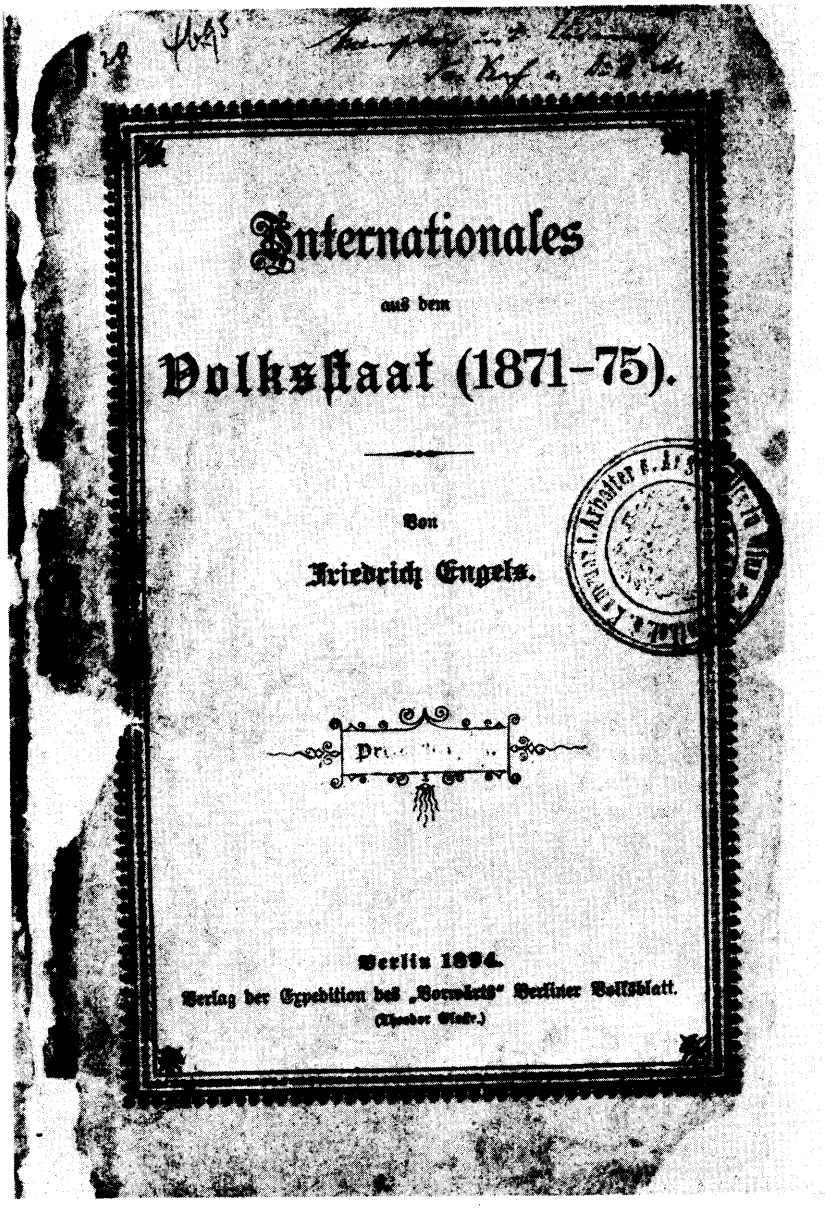
Apart from the fact that the following essays were all written for the *Volksstaat,* they have in common that they all deal with international matters outside Germany.

The first: "Once Again 'Herr Vogt'" constitutes the conclusion of the polemic on the Italian War[384] carried out in 1859-60 between this false natural scientist and Republican, but genuine vulgar-liberal Bonapartist and book manufacturer and Marx. This essay stamped the said Mr. Vogt once and for all with the character of a paid Bonapartist agent, for which Marx, in his *Herr Vogt* in 1860 could obviously only supply indirect evidence.

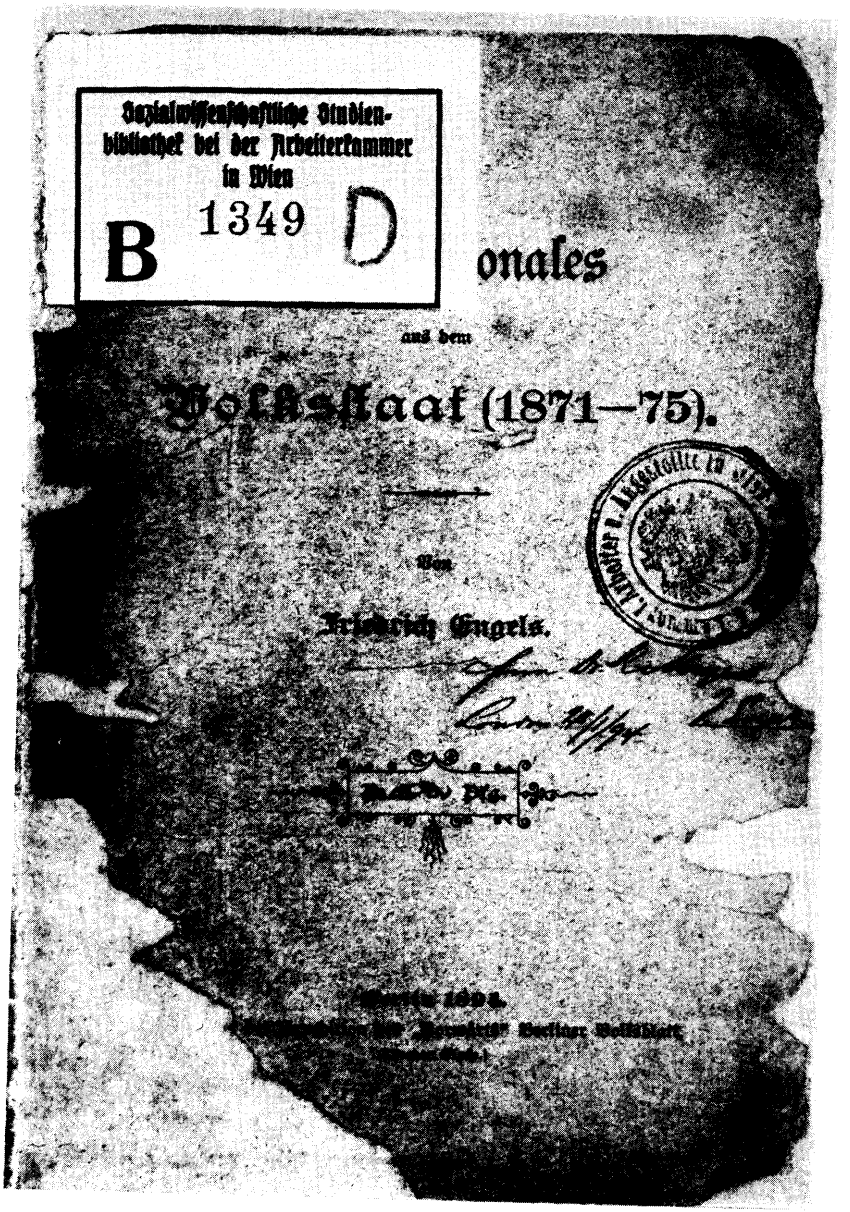
The second essay: *The Bakuninists at Work,* which describes the action of the anarchists during the rising in Spain in July 1873, appeared earlier as a separate pamphlet. Even though the anarchist caricature of the workers' movement has long passed its climax, the governments in Europe and America are much too interested in its continued existence, and spend much too much money on supporting it, for us to omit any consideration of the heroic deeds of the anarchists. The article is therefore reprinted again here.

"A Polish Proclamation" deals with an aspect of Germany's relations with Eastern Europe which is often overlooked today, but which must not be neglected if these relations are to be assessed correctly.

The critique of the "Programme of the Blanquist Commune Refugees" of 1874 is of special interest today again, now that, apart from the other socialist groups, a small group of Blanquists have entered the French Chamber of Deputies, with our friend Vaillant at their head.[385] Since their return to France in 1880,[386]



Cover of *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)*



Title page of *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)* presented by Engels to Dr. Rudolf Meyer

the Blanquists have once intervened decisively in events—namely in 1887, the day of the last presidential election following Grévy's abdication. The majority in the National Assembly favoured Jules Ferry, one of the most infamous of all the infamous suppressors of the Commune, and one of the most consummate representatives of that opportunist bourgeoisie[387] which only wants to rule France in order to bleed it and its colonies white. At that time preparations were underway for an uprising in Paris which was to be headed by the Paris municipal council with the agreement of the radical deputies; the military organisation, however, was in the hands of the Blanquists, who provided the officers' corps, and whose military leader, General of the Commune Eudes, took over command and established his general staff office in a café next to the Hotel de Ville. Faced with the threat of this uprising, the opportunists gave in and elected Carnot.

And recently too, when the Russian naval guests were in Paris, *Le Parti socialiste*, the Blanquist weekly, distinguished itself by a courageous stand, defying all chauvinist prejudices. This stand gives us the guarantee that the Blanquist group in the Chamber under Vaillant's leadership will do its utmost for the cooperation of *all* the socialist groups and their association in a strong socialist coalition party.

It will be noted that in all these essays, and particularly in the aforementioned one, I consistently do not call myself a Social Democrat, but a Communist. This is because at that time in various countries people called themselves Social Democrats who had certainly not inscribed upon their banners the taking over by society of all the means of production. In France, a Social Democrat was conceived as a democratic republican with more or less genuine but always indefinable sympathies for the working class, that is people like Ledru-Rollin in 1848, and the Proudhonist-tinged "radical socialists" of 1874. In Germany, the Lassalleans called themselves Social Democrats; but although the mass of them increasingly appreciated the necessity of socialising the means of production, the specifically Lassallean production cooperatives with state aid nevertheless remained the only publicly recognised item on their agenda. For Marx and myself it was therefore quite impossible to choose a name of such elasticity to describe our special standpoint. Today the situation is different, and the word can be allowed to pass, unfitting as it remains for a party whose economic programme is not just generally socialist, but directly communist, and whose ultimate political aim is to surpass the entire State, and thus democracy too. The names of *real*

political parties never fit exactly; the party develops, but the name stays.

The last essay "On Social Relations in Russia", which also appeared in 1875 in a special edition as a pamphlet, could not possibly be reprinted again without a more or less comprehensive epilogue.[a] The question of the future of the Russian peasant communities occupies more than ever all Russians who are concerned about the economic development of their country. The letter from Marx which I quoted[b] has been given the most diverse interpretations by the Russian socialists. More recently, too, Russians at home and abroad have repeatedly urged me to express my opinion on this question. I baulked at this for a long time, well knowing how insufficient is my knowledge of the details of the economic situation of Russia: how was I to complete the third volume of *Capital* and in addition study the truly colossal mound of literature in which old Russia, as Marx liked to say, took inventory before its death? Well now, a reprint of "On Social Relations in Russia" is urgently requested, and this circumstance forces me to undertake the attempt, in expansion of this old essay, to draw some conclusions from the historical-comparative enquiry into the economic position of Russia today. These conclusions may not have turned out unreservedly in favour of a great future for the Russian communities, but on the other hand they seek to substantiate the view that the approaching dissolution of capitalist society in the West will put Russia too in a position significantly to shorten its passage through capitalism which is now becoming inevitable.

London, January 3, 1894

F. Engels

First published in: F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)*, Berlin, 1894

Printed according to the book

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[a] See this volume, pp. 421-33.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*" (see this volume, pp. 428-30).— *Ed.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE (1894) [TO *THE BAKUNINISTS AT WORK*][388]

A few pieces of chronological information may make it easier to understand the following account.

On February 9, 1873 King Amadeo was fed up with his Spanish kingdom; he—the first king to go on strike—abdicated. On the 12th the republic was proclaimed; immediately after that a new Carlist rebellion broke out in the Basque provinces.[389]

On April 10 a constituent assembly was elected which met in early June and proclaimed the federative republic on June 8. On the 11th a new administration under Pi y Margall was formed. At the same time a committee was elected to draw up the new constitution, but the extreme republicans, the so-called Intransigents, were excluded. But when this new constitution was proclaimed on July 3, it did not go far enough for the Intransigents in breaking Spain up into "independent cantons"; so the Intransigents staged revolts in the provinces; in the days from July 5 to 11 they triumphed everywhere: in Seville, Cordoba, Granada, Malaga, Cadiz, Alcoy, Murcia, Cartagena, Valencia, etc., and in each of these towns they set up an independent cantonal government. On July 18 Pi y Margall resigned and was replaced by Salmerón, who at once embarked on a campaign against the insurgents. The latter were defeated in a few days, offering little resistance; on July 26 the rule of the government was restored throughout Andalusia by the fall of Cadiz, while Murcia and Valencia were suppressed at roughly the same time; only Valencia put up much of a fight.

Cartagena alone stood firm. This, the largest naval harbour in Spain, which had fallen into the hands of the rebels along with the fleet, possessed thirteen more detached forts on the landward side apart from the ramparts, and was thus not easy to capture. And as

the government took good care not to destroy its own naval station, the "sovereign Canton of Cartagena" survived until January 11, 1874, when it finally surrendered, because it no longer served any earthly purpose whatsoever.

In this whole disgraceful insurrection we are only concerned here with the even more disgraceful deeds of the Bakuninist anarchists; it is only they who are described in any detail here, as a warning to the rest of the world.

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AFTERWORD (1894) [TO "ON SOCIAL RELATIONS IN RUSSIA"][a 390]

First I must report that Mr. P. Tkachov was strictly speaking not a Bakuninist, i.e. an anarchist, but made himself out to be a "Blanquist". The error was an understandable one, since the said gentleman, in accordance with the Russian refugee custom of the time, expressed his solidarity with all Russian émigrés against the West, and indeed defended Bakunin and comrades against my attacks[b] in his pamphlet[c] as if they had been directed at himself.[391]

The views on the Russian communistic peasant commune which he championed vis-à-vis myself were essentially those of Herzen. This Pan-Slavist literary man, who was puffed up into a revolutionary, had discovered from Haxthausen's *Studien über Rußland*[d] that the serfs on his estates know of no private property, but redistribute the fields and meadows amongst themselves from time to time. As a literary man, he did not need to learn what soon after became common knowledge, that the common ownership of land is a form of ownership which was, in fact, common to all peoples at a certain stage of development. It prevailed among the Germans, Celts, Indians—in short, all the Indo-European peoples in primeval times; it still exists in India, was only recently suppressed by force in Ireland and Scotland,

[a] See this volume, p. 418.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to Engels' third article in the "Refugee Literature" series (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 19-28).—*Ed.*

[c] See P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels...*—*Ed.*

[d] A. Haxthausen, *Studien über innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Rußlands.*—*Ed.*

and, though it is dying out, still occurs here and there in Germany today. But as a Pan-Slavist who was at most a socialist in his rhetoric, he found in this a fresh pretext to depict his "holy" Russia and its mission to rejuvenate and regenerate the rotten and decrepit West—if necessary by force of arms—in an even more brilliant light in contrast to the same indolent West. What the worn-out French and English are unable to achieve for all their pains, the Russians have at home, ready-made.

"Maintaining the peasant commune and establishing the freedom of the individual, extending the self-management of the village to the towns and the entire state while preserving national unity—this sums up the entire question of the future of Russia, i.e. the question of the same social antinomy whose solution occupies and moves the minds of the West" (Herzen, *Letters to Linton*).[392]

So there may be a political question for Russia; but the "social question" is already solved as far as Russia is concerned.

Herzen's successor Tkachov made it just as easy for himself as his master. Although he could no longer maintain in 1875 that the "social question" in Russia had already been solved, according to him the Russian peasants—as born communists—are infinitely closer to socialism than the poor, god-forsaken West European proletarians, and are infinitely better off into the bargain. When, on the strength of a hundred-year-old revolutionary tradition, French republicans consider their people to be the chosen people from a political point of view, many Russian socialists of the day declared that Russia was socially the chosen nation; the rebirth of the old economic world would, they thought, spring not from the struggles of the West European proletariat but from the innermost interior of the Russian peasant. My attack was directed at this childish view.

But now the Russian commune had also found respect and recognition among people of infinitely greater stature than the Herzens and Tkachovs. They included Nikolai Chernyshevsky, that great thinker to whom Russia owes such a boundless debt and whose slow murder through years of exile among Siberian Yakuts will remain an eternal disgrace on the memory of Alexander II the "Liberator".

Owing to the Russian intellectual embargo Chernyshevsky never knew the works of Marx, and when *Capital* appeared he had long been captive in Sredne-Vilyuisk among the Yakuts. His entire intellectual development had to take place within the surrounding medium created by this intellectual embargo. What Russian censorship would not let in scarcely existed for Russia, if at all. If there are sporadic weaknesses, sporadic instances of a limited

outlook, then one can only feel admiration that there are not more of them.

Chernyshevsky, too, sees in the Russian peasant commune a means of progressing from the existing form of society to a new stage of development, higher than both the Russian commune on the one hand, and West European capitalist society with its class antagonisms on the other. And he sees a mark of superiority in the fact that Russia possesses this means, whereas the West does not.

"The introduction of a better order of things is greatly hindered in Western Europe by the boundless extension of the rights of the individual ... it is not easy to renounce even a negligible portion of what one is used to enjoying, and in the West the individual is used to unlimited private rights. The usefulness and necessity of mutual concessions can be learned only by bitter experience and prolonged thought. In the West, a better system of economic relations is bound up with sacrifices, and that is why it is difficult to establish. It runs counter to the habits of the English and French peasants." But "what seems a utopia in one country exists as a fact in another ... habits which the Englishman and the Frenchman find immensely difficult to introduce into their national life exist in fact in the national life of the Russians.... The order of things for which the West is now striving by such a difficult and long road still exists in our country in the mighty national customs of our village life...: We see what deplorable consequences resulted in the West from the loss of communal land tenure and how difficult it is to give back to the Western peoples what they have lost. The example of the West must not be lost on us" (Chernyshevsky, *Works*, Geneva edition, Vol. V, pp. 16-19, quoted by Plekhanov, "Naši raznoglasija",[a] Geneva, 1885, [16-17])[393]

And of the Ural Cossacks, who still retained communal tilling of the soil and subsequent distribution of the produce among individual families, he says:

"If the people of the Urals live under their present system to see machines introduced into corn-growing, they will be very glad of having retained a system which allows the use of machines that require big-scale farming embracing hundreds of dessiatines" (ibid., p. 131).

It should not be forgotten, however, that the people of the Urals with their communal tilling—saved from extinction by military considerations (we also have barrack-room communism)—stand alone in Russia, more or less like the farmstead communities on the Mosel back home with their periodic redistributions. And if they adhere to their present system until they are ready for the introduction of machinery, it will not be they who profit from it, but the Russian military exchequer whose slaves they are.

At any rate, it was a fact: at the same time as capitalist society was disintegrating and threatening to founder on the necessary

[a] Г. Плехановъ, *Наши разногласія.—Ed.*

contradictions of its own development, half of the entire cultivated land in Russia was still the common property of the peasant communes. Now, if in the West the resolution of the contradictions by a reorganisation of society is conditional on the conversion of all the means of production, hence of the land too, into the common property of society, how does the already, or rather still, existing common property in Russia relate to this common property in the West, which still has to be created? Can it not serve as a point of departure for a national campaign which, skipping the entire capitalist period, will convert Russian peasant communism straight into modern socialist common ownership of the means of production by enriching it with all the technical achievements of the capitalist era? Or, to use the words with which Marx sums up the views of Chernyshevsky in a letter to be quoted below: "Should Russia first destroy the rural commune, as demanded by the liberals, in order to go over to the capitalist system, or can it on the contrary acquire all the fruits of this system, without suffering its torments, by developing its own historical conditions?" [a]

The very way in which the question is posed indicates the direction in which the answer should be sought. The Russian commune has existed for hundreds of years without ever providing the impetus for the development of a higher form of common ownership out of itself; no more so than in the case of the German Mark system, the Celtic clans, the Indian and other communes with primitive, communistic institutions. In the course of time, under the influence of commodity production surrounding them, or arising in their own midst and gradually pervading them, and of the exchange between individual families and individual persons, they all lost more and more of their communistic character and dissolved into communities of mutually independent landowners. So if the question of whether the Russian commune will enjoy a different and better fate may be raised at all, then this is not through any fault of its own, but solely due to the fact that it has survived in a European country in a relatively vigorous form into an age when not only commodity production as such, but even its highest and ultimate form, capitalist production, has come into conflict in Western Europe with the productive forces it has created itself; when it is proving incapable of continuing to direct these forces; and when it is

[a] K. Marx, "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201 and also this volume, pp. 428-30).— *Ed.*

foundering on these innate contradictions and the class conflicts that go along with them. It is quite evident from this alone that the initiative for any possible transformation of the Russian commune along these lines cannot come from the commune itself, but only from the industrial proletarians of the West. The victory of the West European proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and, linked to this, the replacement of capitalist production by socially managed production—that is the necessary precondition for raising the Russian commune to the same level.

The fact is: at no time or place has the agrarian communism that arose out of gentile society developed anything of its own accord but its own disintegration. As early as 1861 the Russian peasant commune itself was a relatively weakened form of this communism; the common tilling of the land which survived in some parts of India and in the South Slav household community (*zádruga*), the probable mother of the Russian commune, had been forced to give way to cultivation by individual families; common ownership only continued to manifest itself in the redistribution of land which took place at greatly varying intervals according to the different localities. This redistribution needs only to lapse or be abolished by decree, and the village of allotment peasants is a *fait accompli*.

But the mere fact that alongside the Russian peasant commune capitalist production in Western Europe is simultaneously approaching the point where it breaks down and where it points itself to a new form of production in which the means of production are employed in a planned manner as social property—this mere fact cannot endow the Russian commune with the power to develop this new form of society out of itself. How could it appropriate the colossal productive forces of capitalist society as social property and a social tool even before capitalist society itself has accomplished this revolution; how could the Russian commune show the world how to run large-scale industry for the common benefit, when it has already forgotten how to till its land for the common benefit?

Certainly, there are enough people in Russia who are quite familiar with Western capitalist society with all its irreconcilable antagonisms and conflicts and are also clear about the way out of this apparent dead-end. But firstly, the few thousand people who realise this do not live in the commune, and the fifty million or so in Great Russia who still live with common ownership of the land have not the faintest idea of all this. They are at least as alien and unsympathetic to these few thousand as the English proletarians

from 1800 to 1840 with regard to the plans which Robert Owen devised for their salvation. And, of the workmen whom Owen employed in his factory in New Lanark, the majority likewise consisted of people who had been raised on the institutions and customs of a decaying communistic gentile society, the Celtic-Scottish clan; but nowhere does he so much as hint that they showed a greater appreciation of his ideas. And secondly, it is an historical impossibility that a lower stage of economic development should solve the enigmas and conflicts which did not arise, and could not arise, until a far higher stage. All forms of gentile community which arose before commodity production and individual exchange have one thing in common with the future socialist society: that certain things, means of production, are subject to the common ownership and the common use of certain groups. This one shared feature does not, however, enable the lower form of society to engender out of itself the future socialist society, this final and most intrinsic product of capitalism. Any given economic formation has its own problems to solve, problems arising out of itself; to seek to solve those of another, utterly alien formation would be absolutely absurd. And this applies to the Russian commune no less than to the South Slav *zádruga,* the Indian gentile economy or any other savage or barbaric form of society characterised by the common ownership of the means of production.

On the other hand, it is not only possible but certain that after the victory of the proletariat and the transfer of the means of production into common ownership among the West European peoples, the countries which have only just succumbed to capitalist production and have salvaged gentile institutions, or remnants thereof, have in these remnants of common ownership and in the corresponding popular customs a powerful means of appreciably shortening the process of development into a socialist society and of sparing themselves most of the suffering and struggles through which we in Western Europe must work our way. But the example and the active assistance of the hitherto capitalist West is an indispensable condition for this. Only when the capitalist economy has been relegated to the history books in its homeland and in the countries where it flourished, only when the backward countries see from this example "how it's done", how the productive forces of modern industry are placed in the service of all as social property—only then can they tackle this shortened process of development. But then success will be assured. And this is true of all countries in the pre-capitalist stage, not only Russia. It will be

easiest—comparatively speaking—in Russia, however, because there a section of the indigenous population has already assimilated the intellectual results of capitalist development, thereby making it possible in revolutionary times to accomplish the social transformation more or less simultaneously with the West.

This was stated by Marx and me as long ago as January 21, 1882 in the preface to Plekhanov's Russian translation of the *Communist Manifesto*. The passage reads:

"Alongside a rapidly developing capitalist swindle and bourgeois landed property which is only just in the process of formation, in Russia we find the greater part of the land in the common ownership of the peasants. Now the question is: can the Russian commune, this form of the original common ownership of land which is actually already in a state of severe disintegration, make the direct transition into a higher communist form of landed property—or must it first undergo the same process of dissolution that characterises the historical development of the West? The only possible answer to this question today is as follows: when the Russian revolution gives the signal for a workers' revolution in the West, so that each complements the other, then Russian landed property might become the starting point for a communist development." [394]

It should not be forgotten, however, that the considerable disintegration of Russian common property mentioned above has since advanced significantly. The defeats of the Crimean War [395] had exposed Russia's need for rapid industrial development. Above all railways were needed, and these are not possible on a broad footing without large-scale domestic industry. The precondition for this was the so-called emancipation of the serfs; it marked the beginning of the capitalist era in Russia; but hence also the era of the rapid destruction of the common ownership of land. The redemption payments imposed on the peasants, together with increased taxes and the simultaneous reduction and deterioration of the land allotted to them, inevitably forced them into the hands of usurers, chiefly members of the peasant commune who had grown rich. The railways opened up for hitherto remote areas a market for their grain, but they also brought the cheap products of large-scale industry to them, thereby killing off the cottage industry of the peasants, who had previously manufactured similar goods partly for their own use and partly for sale. The traditional conditions of employment were thrown into confusion; there followed the breakdown which everywhere accompanies the transition from a subsistence economy to a money economy;

within the commune large differences in wealth appeared between the members—debt turned the poorer into the slaves of the rich. In short, the same process that had caused the Athenian gens to break down in the period before Solon, with the advent of the money economy,* now began to break down the Russian commune. Solon was able to liberate the slaves of debt, it is true, by means of a revolutionary intervention in the then still fairly recent law of private property by simply annulling the debts. But he could not revitalise the old Athenian gens, any more than any power in the world will be able to restore the Russian commune once its breakdown has reached a certain point. And to cap it all the Russian Government has forbidden redistribution of land among the members of the commune more frequently than every twelve years, so that the peasant should grow increasingly unaccustomed to it and start to think of himself as the private owner of his share.

This was the tenor of Marx's comments in a letter to Russia which he wrote back in 1877.[b] A certain Mr. Zhukovsky, the same man who as head cashier of the State Bank now lends his signature to Russian credit notes, had written something about Marx in the *European Herald* (*Vestnik Yevropy*), to which another writer had replied in the *National Records* (*Otechestvenniye Zapiski*).[396] In order to correct this article Marx wrote a letter to the editor of the *Records*,[c] which, after copies of the French original had long been circulating in Russia, appeared in Russian translation in the *Herald of the People's Will* (*Vestnik Narodnoi Voli*) in 1886 in Geneva and later in Russia itself.[397] Like everything that emanated from Marx, this letter attracted a good deal of attention and varying interpretations in Russian circles, and I therefore present its gist here.

First, Marx repudiates the view attributed to him in the *Records* that he shared the opinion of the Russian liberals, according to which nothing was more urgent for Russia than to destroy the communal property of the peasants and plunge headlong into capitalism. His short note on Herzen in the appendix to the first edition of *Capital* proves nothing. This note reads: "If the

* Cf. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie etc.*, 5th edition, Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 109-113.[a]

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[a] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26). Pages refer to the 4th German edition.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*".—*Ed.*

[c] M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin.—*Ed.*

influence of capitalist production, which is undermining the human race ... continues to develop on the continent of Europe as hitherto, hand in hand with competition in the size of national soldiery, national debts, taxes, elegant means of warfare, etc., the rejuvenation of Europe by the knout and the obligatory infusion of Kalmuck blood so earnestly prophesied by the half-Russian and whole-Muscovite Herzen (this literary man did not, incidentally, make his discoveries in the field of "Russian communism" in Russia but in the work of the Prussian privy councillor Haxthausen) might eventually become inevitable" (*Capital,* I, first edition, p. 763).[a] Marx then continues[b]: This passage "can under no circumstances provide the key to my opinion of the efforts" (the following is quoted in Russian in the original) "'of Russian men to find a course of development for their native country which differs from that which Western Europe has followed and is still following', etc.—In the Afterword to the second German edition of *Capital,* I speak of a 'great Russian scholar and critic'" (Chernyshevsky) "with the high esteem which he deserves.[c] In his noteworthy articles the latter dealt with the question whether Russia should start, as its liberal economists demand, by destroying the rural commune in order to go over to a capitalist system, or whether, on the contrary, it can acquire all the fruits of this system, without suffering its torments, by developing its own historical conditions. He comes out in favour of the second solution.

"Be that as it may, as I do not like to leave anything to 'guesswork', I will speak straight out. In order to be able to assess Russia's economic development from the position of an expert, I learned Russian and then spent several long years studying official publications and others with a bearing on this subject. I have arrived at this result: *if Russia continues along the path it has followed since 1861, it will miss the finest chance that history has ever offered a nation, only to undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist system.*[d]"

Marx goes on to clear up a number of other misunderstandings on the part of his critic; the only passage relating to the matter in question reads:

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie,* Bd. I. Hamburg, 1867. This appendix was omitted by Marx in all subsequent editions of the first volume of *Capital.*—*Ed.*

[b] Here follow excerpts from Marx's "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*". See present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201.—*Ed.*

[c] See present edition, Vol. 35.—*Ed.*

[d] Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

"Now, in what way was my critic able to apply this historical sketch to Russia?" (The account of primitive accumulation in *Capital.*) "Only this: if Russia is tending to become a capitalist nation, on the model of the countries of Western Europe,—and in recent years it has gone to great pains to move in this direction—it will not succeed without having first transformed a large proportion of its peasants into proletarians; and after that, once it has been placed in the bosom of the capitalist system, it will be subjected to its pitiless laws, like other profane peoples. That is all."

Thus wrote Marx in 1877. At that time there were two governments in Russia: the Tsar's and that of the secret executive committee (ispolnitel'nyj komitet[a]) of the terrorist conspirators.[398] The power of this secret second government grew daily. The fall of tsardom seemed imminent; a revolution in Russia was bound to deprive the entire forces of European reaction of its mainstay, its great reserve army, and thus give the political movement of the West a mighty new impulse and, what is more, infinitely more favourable conditions in which to operate. No wonder that Marx advises the Russians to be in less of a hurry to make the leap into capitalism.

The Russian revolution did not come. Tsardom got the better of terrorism, which even managed to drive all the propertied, "law-abiding" classes back into its arms for the time being. And in the seventeen years which have elapsed since that letter was written both capitalism and the dissolution of the peasant commune have made tremendous headway in Russia. So how do matters stand today, in 1894?

When the old tsarist despotism continued unchanged after the defeats of the Crimean War and the suicide of Tsar Nicholas, only one road was open: the swiftest transition possible to capitalist industry. The army had been destroyed by the gigantic dimensions of the empire, on the long marches to the theatre of war; the distances had to be nullified by a strategic railway network. But railways mean capitalist industry and the revolutionising of primitive agriculture. For one thing, the agricultural produce of even the remotest areas is brought into direct contact with the world market; for another, an extensive railway system cannot be constructed and kept working without domestic industry to supply rails, locomotives, rolling stock, etc. But it is not possible to introduce *one* branch of large-scale industry without accepting the entire system; the textile

[a] Engels' transliteration of the Russian words.— *Ed.*

industry on a relatively modern footing, which had already taken root both in the region of Moscow and Vladimir and on the Baltic coasts, received fresh impetus. The railways and factories were accompanied by the expansion of existing banks and the establishment of new ones; the emancipation of the peasants from serfdom instituted freedom of movement, in anticipation of the ensuing automatic emancipation of a large proportion of these peasants from landownership too. Thus in a short while all the foundations of the capitalist mode of production were laid in Russia. But the axe had also been taken to the root of the Russian peasant commune.

To lament this fact now is futile. Had the despotism of the tsars been replaced after the Crimean War by the direct parliamentary rule of nobles and bureaucrats, the process might have been slowed down somewhat; if the burgeoning bourgeoisie had taken the helm, it would certainly have been accelerated even more. As things were, there was no alternative. Alongside the Second Empire in France and the most brilliant rise of capitalist industry in England, it could really not be demanded of Russia that it plunge headlong into state-socialist experiments on account of the peasant commune. Something had to happen. What was possible under the circumstances did happen, as everywhere and always in countries engaged in commodity production, in most cases only semi-consciously or quite mechanically, and without knowing what was being done.

Now came the new age of revolution from above initiated by Germany, and hence the age of the rapid growth of socialism in all European countries. Russia took part in the general movement. There it took the form—as if it went without saying—of an assault aimed to bring about the fall of tsarist despotism, to attain intellectual and political freedom of action for the nation. A faith in the miraculous power of the peasant commune to bring about a social renaissance—a faith for which Chernyshevsky, as we have seen, was not entirely blameless—this faith played its part in heightening the enthusiasm and energy of the heroic Russian pioneers. We do not blame the people, scarcely more than a few hundred in number, who through their selfless devotion and heroism brought tsarist absolutism to the point where it was forced to consider the possibility and the conditions of surrender—we do not blame them for regarding their Russian compatriots as the chosen people of the social revolution. But this does not mean we need to share their illusion. The age of chosen peoples is gone for ever.

But during this struggle capitalism went from strength to strength in Russia and increasingly achieved what terrorism was unable to do: to force tsardom to surrender.

Tsardom needed money. Not merely for the luxury of its court, its bureaucracy, above all for its army and its foreign policy based on bribery, but notably also for its miserable finance system and the idiotic railway policy that went hand in hand with it. Foreign countries would not and could not any longer find the money for all the Tsar's deficits; help had to come from home. A proportion of the railways shares had to be disposed of at home, as had a proportion of the loans. The Russian bourgeoisie's first victory lay in the railway concessions, which guaranteed the share-holders all future profits while loading all future losses on the state. Then came the subsidies and premiums for industrial enterprises, and the protective tariffs favouring domestic industry which eventually made it virtually impossible to import many articles. With its colossal indebtedness and its credit in almost total ruins abroad, the Russian state has a direct fiscal interest in forcing the development of domestic industry. It constantly needs gold to pay off the interest on its foreign debts. But there is no gold in Russia; all that circulates there is paper. Part of it is provided by the prescribed payment of tariffs in gold, which also incidentally raises these tariffs by fifty per cent. But the greater part of it is supposed to come from the surplus in the export of Russian raw materials over the import of foreign industrial products; the bills of exchange drawn on foreign banks for this surplus are bought by the government at home for paper money and in return it receives gold. So if the government wishes to meet the payment of interest to foreign countries by some other method than new foreign loans, it must ensure that Russian industry rapidly expands to the point where it is able to meet domestic demand in full. Hence the requirement that Russia must become an industrial nation that is self-sufficient and independent of other countries; hence the frantic efforts of the government to bring the capitalist development of Russia to a peak in the space of a few years. For if this does not take place, there will be no options but to draw on the metallic war funds accumulated in the State Bank and the State Exchequer, or else state bankruptcy. In either case Russian foreign policy would be finished.

One thing is clear: in these circumstances the fledgling Russian bourgeoisie has the state completely in its power. In all economic matters of importance the state must do its bidding. If for the time being the bourgeoisie continues to put up with the despotic

autocracy of the Tsar and his officials, it is only because this autocracy, mitigated as it is by the venality of the bureaucracy, offers it more guarantees than would changes even of a bourgeois-liberal nature, whose consequences no one could foresee, given the present internal situation in Russia. And so the transformation of the country into a capitalist industrial nation, the proletarianisation of a large proportion of the peasantry and the decay of the old communistic commune proceeds at an ever quickening pace.

Whether enough of this commune has been saved so that, if the occasion arises, as Marx and I still hoped in 1882, it could become the point of departure for communist development in harmony with a sudden change of direction in Western Europe,[a] I do not presume to say. But this much is certain: if a remnant of this commune is to be preserved, the first condition is the fall of tsarist despotism—revolution in Russia. This will not only tear the great mass of the nation, the peasants, away from the isolation of their villages, which comprise their "mir",[b 399] their "world", and lead them out onto the great stage, where they will get to know the outside world and thus themselves, their own situation and the means of salvation from their present distress; it will also give the labour movement of the West fresh impetus and create new, better conditions in which to carry on the struggle, thus hastening the victory of the modern industrial proletariat, without which present-day Russia can never achieve a socialist transformation, whether proceeding from the commune or from capitalism.

Written during first half of January 1894

Printed according to the book

First published in: F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)*, Berlin, 1894

[a] Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Preface to the Second Russian Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 425-26); see also this volume, p. 57.—*Ed.*

[b] The original has the Russian word in Latin transliteration.—*Ed.*

[THE THIRD VOLUME OF KARL MARX'S *CAPITAL*][400]

The third book of Marx's *Capital* is now being printed and will, we hope, appear not later than this September. The contents of this long-awaited third book will conclude the theoretical part of the work, leaving only the fourth and final book, which will contain a critical historical survey of the theories of surplus value.[401] The first book shows how the capitalist's surplus value is wrung out of the worker, and the second how this surplus value, which initially is contained in product, is realised in the form of money. These first two books are thus concerned only with surplus value so long as it is still in the hands of its first appropriator, the industrial capitalist. But it remains only partially in the hands of this first appropriator; it is later distributed to various interested parties in the form of commercial profit, profit of enterprise, interest and ground rent; and it is the laws of this distribution that are set out in the third book. With the production, circulation and distribution of surplus value, however, its entire life-cycle is concluded and there is nothing more to say about it. Apart from the laws of the profit rate in general, the third book examines commercial capital, interest-bearing capital, credit and banks, ground rent and landed property, which in conjunction with the themes dealt with in the first two books complete the "Critique of Political Economy" promised in the title.

Written about January 9, 1894

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Published in English for the first time

[ON THE CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME OF *CAPITAL*]

The third book of *Capital*, by *Marx*, "The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole", will now appear this coming autumn,[402] as already announced in the *Vorwärts*.[a] It will be recalled that the first book was concerned with "the process of capitalist production", while the second examined the "process of circulation of capital". The third book will deal with "the process of capitalist production as a whole". Thus the separate processes of production and circulation are no longer examined each in isolation but in their interconnection, as preconditions of, and mere links in, the uniform overall process of the movement of capital. As each of the first two books only concerned itself with *one* of the two main aspects of this process, the contents turned out to be in need of supplementing and the form grew one-sided and abstract. This was particularly apparent in the fact that in both books surplus value could only be investigated in so far and so long as it remained in the hands of its first appropriator, the industrial capitalist; it could only be indicated in general terms that this first appropriator was not necessarily—or even usually—its last appropriator. But it is precisely in the distribution of surplus value among its various interested parties—businessmen, moneylenders, landowners, etc.—that the overall movement of capital takes place most conspicuously and on the surface of society, so to speak. The distribution of surplus value, after it has undergone the processes analysed in the first two books, thus forms the leitmotif running through the third book. The laws governing this distribution are demonstrated in detail: the relation

[a] See this volume, p. 434.—*Ed.*

of the rate of surplus value to the rate of profit; the formation of average rate of profit; the tendency of this average rate of profit to fall progressively in the course of economic development; the diversion of commercial profit; the intervention of loan capital and the division of profit into interest and profit of enterprise; the credit system erected on the basis of loan capital with its mainstays, the banks, and the fraudulent blossom, the stock exchange; the genesis of surplus profit and the transformation of this surplus profit, in certain cases, into ground rent; the landed property which receives this rent; as a result the overall distribution of the product value newly created by labour among the three kinds of revenue: wages, profit (including interest), ground rent; finally, the recipients of these three kinds of income: workers, capitalists, landowners—the classes of present-day society. Unfortunately this final section—the classes—was not elaborated by Marx.

This brief survey of the contents should, however, suffice to show that all the relevant questions which, of necessity, had to be left unanswered in the first two volumes of the work are given exhaustive treatment here.

Written about January 9, 1894

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Signed:—*fe.*

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Published in English for the first time

[THE FUTURE ITALIAN REVOLUTION AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY][403]

The situation in Italy is, in my opinion, as follows.

Having come to power during and after national emancipation, the bourgeoisie was neither able nor willing to complete its victory. It did not sweep away the remains of feudalism, nor did it reorganise national production on modern bourgeois lines. Incapable of enabling the country to share in the relative and temporary benefits of the capitalist regime, the bourgeoisie imposed on it all this regime's burdens and disadvantages. Not content with that, it has rendered itself intolerable and contemptible in the extreme and for ever through its disgraceful financial swindles.

Working people—peasants, tradesmen, agricultural and industrial workers—thus find themselves crushed, on the one hand, by old-fashioned corrupt practices, not merely the legacy of feudal times but also dating from antiquity (*mezzadria*,[a] the latifundia of the south, where cattle are replacing men) and, on the other, by the most voracious fiscal policy which the bourgeois system has ever devised. We might well say, with Marx, that 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 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!*"[b]

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[a] Roman sharecropping.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Preface to the First German Edition of *Capital*" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

This situation is heading towards a crisis. Everywhere the productive mass is in a state of ferment; in places it is rebelling. Where will this crisis lead us?

Obviously the socialist party is too young and, because of the economic situation, too weak to hope for the immediate victory of socialism. Nationwide, the rural population far outnumbers that of the towns; in the towns there is little large-scale developed industry, and consequently few *typical* proletarians; the majority are made up of tradesmen, small shopkeepers and *déclassés*, a mass floating between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is the small and middle bourgeoisie of the Middle Ages in decline and disintegration; for the most part they are future, but not yet actual, proletarians. Only this class, constantly facing economic ruin and now provoked to despair, will be able to supply both the mass of fighters and the leaders of a revolutionary movement. It will be backed by the peasants, whose geographical dispersal and illiteracy prevent them from taking any effective initiative, but who will nonetheless make powerful and indispensable auxiliaries.

In the event of more or less peaceful success, there will be a change of government: the "converted" republicans,[404] Cavallotti & Co., would take the rudder; in the event of revolution there will be a bourgeois republic.

What part should be played by the socialist party with regard to these eventualities?

Since 1848 the tactics which have most often ensured success for the socialists have been those of the *Communist Manifesto*: in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, the socialists[a] always represent the interests of the movement as a whole..., they fight for the attainment of the immediate aims in the interest of the working class, but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.[b]—Thus they take an active part in each of the evolutionary phases through which the struggle of the two classes passes, without ever losing sight of the fact that these phases are only so many stages leading to the great goal: the conquest of political power by the proletariat as a means of social reorganisation. They have their place among the combatants for any immediate advantage which can be obtained in the interest of the working class; they accept all these

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[a] "Communists" in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 497 and 518).—*Ed.*

political and social advantages, but only *as advance payments*. Therefore they consider every revolutionary or progressive movement to be heading in the same direction as their own; their special mission is to drive the other revolutionary parties forwards and, should one of these parties be victorious, to safeguard the interests of the proletariat. These tactics, which never lose sight of the great goal, spare the socialists the bouts of disillusionment to which the less clear-sighted parties are invariably subject—whether pure republicans, or sentimental socialists who mistake a mere stage for the final outcome of the march forwards.

Let us apply this to Italy.

The victory of the disintegrating petty bourgeoisie and the peasants may thus lead to a government of "converted" republicans. That would give us universal suffrage and much greater freedom of action (freedom of the press, assembly, association, abolition of the *ammonizione*,[a] etc.)—new weapons which are not to be despised.

Or a bourgeois republic with the same people and a few Mazzini supporters. That would widen our freedom of action and field of action even more, at least for the moment. And the bourgeois republic, said Marx, is the sole political form in which the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be decided.[b] Not to mention the repercussions this would have in Europe.

The victory of the present revolutionary movement cannot, therefore, be achieved without strengthening us and placing us in a more favourable environment. Thus we would be committing the greatest of errors should we wish to abstain, if in our attitude to "akin" parties we sought to limit ourselves to purely negative criticism. The time may come when we shall have to co-operate with them in a positive fashion. When will this time come?

Obviously it is not up to us to prepare directly a movement which is not exactly that of the class which we represent. If the radicals and republicans believe that the time has come to take to the streets, let them give free rein to their impetuosity! But we have been deceived all too often by the grandiose promises of these gentlemen to let ourselves fall into the trap once again. Neither their proclamations nor their conspiracies should affect us. If we are obliged to support every *real* popular movement, we are also obliged not to sacrifice in vain the scarcely formed core of

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[a] Police surveillance.—*Ed.*

[b] Cf. K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 111).—*Ed.*

our proletarian party or to allow the proletariat to be decimated in sterile local riots.

If, on the contrary, the movement is truly national, our men will be there before the order can be given, and it goes without saying that we shall take part. But it must be understood, and we should proclaim it aloud, that we are taking part *as an independent party,* allied for the moment with the radicals and the republicans, but entirely distinct from them; that we have no illusions about the result of the struggle, in the event of victory; that for us this result, far from satisfying us, will only be a stage that has been won, a new base of operations for further conquests; that on the very day of victory our paths will diverge; that from that day hence we shall form the *new opposition* vis-à-vis the new government, not a reactionary opposition but a progressive one, an opposition of the extreme left which will be pressing for new conquests beyond the territory already gained.

After the joint victory we might be offered a few seats in the new government, but always *in a minority.* This is the greatest danger. After February 1848 the French socialist democrats (of the *Réforme,* Ledru-Rollin, L. Blanc, Flocon, etc.) made the mistake of occupying such seats.[405] As a minority in the government they voluntarily shared the blame for all the foul deeds and betrayals perpetrated by the majority of pure republicans against the workers[406]; whilst the presence of these gentlemen in the government completely paralysed the revolutionary action of the working class which they claimed to represent.

In all this I am merely giving my personal opinion, because I have been asked for it, and also with the greatest diffidence. As for the general tactics; I have experienced their effectiveness throughout my life; they have never let me down. But as for applying them to the state of affairs in Italy, that is quite a different matter; that must be decided on the spot and by those who are in the midst of events.

Written on January 26, 1894

First published, in Italian, in the *Critica Sociale,* No. 3, February 1, 1894

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the *Critica Sociale*

Translated from the French

[TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY ON THE OCCASION OF THE 23RD ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE][407]

London, March 18, 1894

I drink with you to the coming of an international March 18th which, by ensuring the triumph of the proletariat, will abolish class antagonisms and strife between nations, and bring peace and happiness in the civilised countries.

Engels

First published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 183, March 25, 1894

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

[TO THE FOURTH AUSTRIAN PARTY CONGRESS][408]

London, March 22, 1894

I sincerely thank the Austrian Party Congress for the invitation card most kindly sent to me, which I am sadly prevented from using in person. Nevertheless I convey to the assembled delegates of the Party my ardent and cordial wishes for success in their work.

This year's Party Congress has particularly important tasks to fulfil. What matters most in Austria is the campaign for universal suffrage, that weapon which, in the hands of class-conscious workers, has a longer range and a surer aim than a small-calibre magazine rifle in the hands of a trained soldier. The ruling classes—feudal aristocracy and bourgeoisie alike—are doing their utmost to prevent the delivery of this weapon into the hands of the workers. The struggle will be long and fierce. But if the workers show the political judgment, the patience and perseverance, the unanimity and discipline with which they have already won so many fine victories, then the ultimate victory will surely be theirs. The whole of historical necessity, both economic and political, is on their side. And although full and equal suffrage may not be achieved at the first blow, we can even today give three cheers for the future representatives of the proletariat in the Austrian Reichs Council.

F. Engels

First published in the pamphlet *Verhandlungen des vierten österreichischen sozialdemokratischen Parteitages,* Vienna, 1894

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Nr. 20. Budapest, den 18. Mai 1894. 22. Jahrgang.

Arbeiterpresse.

Zentral-Organ der ungarländischen sozialdemokratischen Partei.

[TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY ON THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS][409]

London, May 15, 1894

Dear Comrades,

Your kind invitation to your Party Congress reached me on the 8. inst. Unfortunately a passing indisposition prevented me from replying immediately, and thus today I can only express my thanks retrospectively, and wish the greatest success in your work.

I too have followed with utmost interest the recent developments in Hungary.[a] In Hungary, as elsewhere, capital is increasingly taking over the whole of national production. Not satisfied with creating a new industrial sector, it subjugates agriculture too, transforms its traditional methods, destroys the individual peasant, divides the rural population into large estate owners[b] and capitalist *faiseurs*[c] on the one hand and a host of propertyless proletarians on the other. The headway this revolution of capital has already made in Hungary we saw recently in Hódmezövásárhely.[410] But we shall have to endure this capitalist revolution. It brings with it unspeakable misery for the great mass of the people, but it alone also creates the conditions which make

[a] Crossed out in the manuscript is the following paragraph: "They show the irresistible power with which capital everywhere sets itself up as owner of national production, and this not only in the field of industry but also in agriculture, and this is by far the most important sector for the east of Europe.".— *Ed.*

[b] The manuscript has: "a few large estate owners".— *Ed.*

[c] Middlemen.— *Ed.*

possible a new social order, and the men and women who alone will have the strength and the will to bring into existence this new and better society.

With sincere greetings,

F. Engels

First published in the *Arbeiterpresse*, No. 20, May 18, 1894 and, in Hungarian, in *Népszava*, No. 20, May 18, 1894

Printed according to the *Arbeiterpresse*, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

ON THE HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY[411]

Written between June 19 and July 16, 1894

Published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2, 1894-1895

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the journal

I

The history of early Christianity has notable points of resemblance with the modern working-class movement. Like the latter, Christianity was originally a movement of oppressed people: it first appeared as the religion of slaves and freedmen, of poor people deprived of all rights, of peoples subjugated or dispersed by Rome. Both Christianity and the workers' socialism preach forthcoming salvation from bondage and misery; Christianity places this salvation in a life beyond, after death, in heaven; socialism places it in this world, in a transformation of society. Both are persecuted and subjected to harassment, their adherents are ostracised and made the objects of exceptional laws, the ones as enemies of the human race, the others as enemies of the state, enemies of religion, the family, the social order. And in spite of all persecution, nay, even spurred on by it, they forge victoriously, irresistibly ahead. Three hundred years after its appearance Christianity was the recognised state religion in the Roman World Empire, and in barely sixty years socialism has won itself a position which makes its victory absolutely certain.

If, therefore, Prof. Anton Menger wonders in his *Right to the Full Product of Labour* why, with the enormous concentration of landownership under the Roman emperors and the boundless sufferings of the working class of the time, which was composed almost exclusively of slaves, "the fall of the Western Roman Empire was not followed by socialism",[a] it is because he cannot see that this "socialism" did in fact, as far as it was possible at the time, exist and

[a] A. Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung*, p. 108. For criticism of this book see F. Engels, *Lawyers' Socialism* (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 597-616).— *Ed.*

even became dominant—in Christianity. Only this Christianity, as was bound to be the case in the historical conditions, did not seek to accomplish the social transformation in this world, but in the hereafter, in heaven, in eternal life after death, in the impending "millennium".

The parallel between the two historic phenomena becomes perfectly obvious as early as the Middle Ages in the first risings of the oppressed peasants and particularly of the town plebeians. These risings, like all mass movements of the Middle Ages, were bound to wear the mask of religion and appeared as the restoration of early Christianity from spreading degeneration*; but behind the religious exaltation there were every time extremely tangible worldly interests. This was demonstrated most splendidly in the organisation of the Bohemian Taborites under Jan Žižka,[413] of glorious memory; but this trait pervades the whole of the Middle Ages until it gradually fades away after the German Peasant War[414] to revive again with the worker communists after 1830. The French revolutionary communists, as also in particular Weitling and his supporters, referred to early Christianity long before Ernest Renan said:

When you want to get an idea of the early Christian communities, look at a local section of the International Working Men's Association.

This French man of letters, who by mutilating German criticism of the Bible in a manner unprecedented even in modern

* A peculiar counterpart to this was the religious risings in the Mohammedan world, particularly in Africa. Islam is a religion adapted to Orientals, especially Arabs, i.e., on the one hand to townsmen engaged in trade and industry, on the other to nomadic Bedouins. Therein lies, however, the embryo of a periodically recurring collision. The townspeople grow rich, luxurious and lax in observing the "law". The Bedouins, poor and hence of strict morals, contemplate with envy and covetousness these riches and pleasures. Then they unite under a prophet, a Mahdi, to chastise the apostates and restore the observation of the ritual and the true faith and to appropriate in recompense the treasures of the renegades. In a hundred years they are naturally in the same position as the renegades were: a new purge of the faith is required, a new Mahdi arises and the game starts again from the beginning. That is what happened from the campaigns of conquest by the African Almoravids and Almohads in Spain to the last Mahdi of Khartoum[412] who so successfully thwarted the English. It happened in the same way or similarly with the risings in Persia and other Mohammedan countries. All these movements are couched in religion but they have their source in economic causes; and yet, even when they are victorious, they allow the old economic conditions to persist untouched. So the old situation remains unchanged and the collision recurs periodically. In the popular risings of the Christian West, on the contrary, the religious disguise is only a flag and a mask for attacks on an economic order which is becoming antiquated. This is finally overthrown, a new one arises and the world progresses.

journalism composed the novel on church history *Origines du christianisme,*[a] did not know himself how much truth there was in the words just quoted. I should like to see the old "International" who can read, for example, what goes under the name of the Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians without old wounds re-opening, at least in one respect. The whole epistle, from chapter eight onwards, echoes the eternal, and oh so well-known complaint: *les cotisations ne rentrent pas*—contributions are not coming in! How many of the most zealous propagandists of the sixties would sympathisingly squeeze the hand of the author of that epistle, whoever he may be, and whisper: "So it was like that with you too!" We too—Corinthians were legion in our Association—can tell you a tale about contributions not coming in but tantalising us as they floated elusively before our eyes. They were the famous "millions of the International"!

One of our best sources on the first Christians is Lucian of Samosata, the Voltaire of classic antiquity, who was equally sceptical towards every kind of religious superstition and therefore had neither pagan-religious nor political grounds to treat the Christians otherwise than as some other kind of religious community. On the contrary, he mocked them all for their superstition, those who worshipped Jupiter no less than those who worshipped Christ; from his shallow rationalistic point of view one sort of superstition was as stupid as the other. This in any case impartial witness relates among other things the life story of a certain adventurer Peregrinus, who called himself Proteus, from Parium in Hellespontus. When a youth, this Peregrinus made his *début* in Armenia by committing adultery. He was caught in the act and lynched according to the custom of the country. He was fortunate enough to escape and, after strangling his father in Parium, he had to flee.

"And so it happened"—I quote from Schott's translation[415]—"that he also came to hear of the astonishing learning of the Christians, with whose priests and scribes he had cultivated intercourse in Palestine. He made such progress in a short time that his teachers were like children compared with him. He became a prophet, an elder, a master of the synagogue, in a word, all in everything. He interpreted their writings and himself wrote a great number of works, so that finally people saw in him a superior being, let him lay down laws for them and made him their overseer (bishop).... On that ground" (i.e., because he was a Christian) "Proteus was at length arrested by the authorities and thrown into prison.... As he thus lay in chains, the Christians, who saw in his capture a great misfortune, made all possible attempts to free him. But they did not succeed. Then they administered to him in all possible ways with the greatest solicitude. As early as daybreak one could

[a] E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du christianisme.—Ed.*

see aged mothers, widows and young orphans crowding at the door of his prison; the most prominent among the Christians even bribed the warders and spent whole nights with him; they took their meals with them and read their holy books in his presence; briefly, the beloved Peregrinus (he still went by that name) was no less to them than a new Socrates. Envoys of Christian communities came to him even from towns in Asia Minor to lend him a helping hand, to console him and to testify in his favour in court. It is unbelievable how quick these people are to act whenever it is a question of their community; they immediately spare neither exertion nor expense. And thus from all sides money then poured in to Peregrinus so that his imprisonment became for him a source of great income. For the poor people persuaded themselves that they were immortal in body and in soul and that they would live for all eternity; that was why they scorned death and many of them even voluntarily sacrificed their lives. Then their most prominent lawgiver convinced them that they would all be brothers one to another once they were converted, i.e., renounced the Greek gods, professed faith in the crucified sophist and lived according to his prescriptions. That is why they despise all material goods without distinction and own them in common—doctrines which they have accepted in good faith, without demonstration or proof. And when a skilful impostor who knows how to make clever use of circumstances comes to them he can manage to get rich in a short time and laugh up his sleeve over these simpletons. For the rest, Peregrinus was set free by the then prefect of Syria."

Then, after a few more adventures,

"Our worthy set forth a second time" (from Parium) "on his peregrinations, the Christians' good disposition standing him in lieu of money for his journey: they administered to his needs everywhere and never let him suffer want. He was fed for a time in this way. But then, when he violated the laws of the Christians too—I think he was caught eating of some forbidden food—they excommunicated him from their community."[a]

What memories of youth come to my mind as I read this passage from Lucian! First of all the "prophet Albrecht" who from about 1840 literally plundered the Weitling communist communities in Switzerland[416] for several years—a tall powerful man with a long beard who wandered on foot through Switzerland and gathered audiences for his mysterious new Gospel of world emancipation, but who, after all, seems to have been a tolerably harmless hoaxer and soon died. Then his not so harmless successor, "Dr." Georg Kuhlmann from Holstein, who put to profit the time when Weitling was in prison to convert the communities of French Switzerland to *his* Gospel, and for a time with such success that he even caught August Becker, by far the cleverest but also the biggest ne'er-do-well among them. This Kuhlmann used to deliver lectures to them which were published in Geneva in 1845 under the title *Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden. Verkündigung.*[417] In the introduction [pp. VIII

[a] Lucian, *On the Death of Peregrinus,* Chapters 11-14 and 16.—*Ed.*

and IX], written by his supporters (probably August Becker) we read:

"A man was needed who would give utterance to all our sorrows, all our longings and all our hopes, to everything, in a word, which moves our age most deeply... This man, whom our age was awaiting, has appeared. He is Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein. He has come forward with the doctrine of the new world or the kingdom of the spirit in reality."

I hardly need to add that this doctrine of the new world is nothing more than the most vulgar sentimental nonsense rendered in half-biblical expressions *à la* Lamennais and declaimed with prophet-like arrogance. But this did not prevent the good Weitlingers from carrying the swindler shoulder-high as the Asian Christians once did Peregrinus. They who were otherwise arch-democrats and extreme equalitarians to the extent of fostering ineradicable suspicion against any schoolmaster, journalist, and any man generally who was not a manual worker as being an "erudite" who was out to exploit them, let themselves be persuaded by the melodramatically arrayed Kuhlmann that in the "New World" it would be the wisest of all, *id est*, Kuhlmann, who would regulate the distribution of pleasures and that therefore, even then, in the Old World, the disciples ought to bring pleasures by the bushel to that same wisest of all while they themselves should be content with crumbs. So Peregrinus Kuhlmann lived a splendid life of pleasure at the expense of the community—as long as it lasted. It did not last very long, of course; the growing murmurs of doubters and unbelievers and the threat of persecution by the Vaudois Government put an end to the "Kingdom of the Spirit" in Lausanne—Kuhlmann disappeared.

Everybody who has known by experience the European working-class movement in its beginnings will remember dozens of similar examples. Today such extreme cases, at least in the larger centres, have become impossible; but in remote districts where the movement has won new ground a small Peregrinus of this kind can still count on temporary limited success. And just as all those who can expect no favours from the official world or are finished with it—opponents of inoculation, supporters of abstemiousness, vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists, nature-healers, free-community preachers[418] whose communities have fallen to pieces, authors of new theories on the origin of the universe, unsuccessful or unfortunate inventors, silent sufferers of real or imaginary injustices who are termed "good-for-nothing pettifoggers" by the bureaucracy, honest fools and dishonest swindlers—all throng to the working-class parties in all countries—so it was with the first

Christians. All the elements which had been set free, i.e., shown the door by the dissolution of the old world came one after the other into the orbit of Christianity as the only element that resisted this process of dissolution—for the very reason that it was the necessary product of the process—and that therefore persisted and grew while the other elements were but nine-day wonders. There was no fanaticism, no foolishness, no scheming that did not attach itself to the young Christian communities and did not at least for a time and in isolated places find attentive ears and willing believers. And like our first communist workers' associations the early Christians too took with such unprecedented gullibility to anything which suited their purpose that we are not even sure that some fragment or other of the "great number of works" Peregrinus wrote for Christianity did not find its way into our New Testament.

II

German criticism of the Bible, so far the only scientific basis of our knowledge of the history of early Christianity, went in two directions.

The first was that of the *Tübingen school,*[419] in which, in the broad sense, D. F. Strauss must also be included. In critical inquiry it goes as far as a *theological* school can go. It admits that the four Gospels are not eyewitness accounts but only later adaptations of writings that have been lost; that no more than four of the Epistles attributed to the apostle Paul are authentic, etc. It strikes out of the historical narrations all miracles and contradictions, considering them unacceptable; but from the rest it tries "to salvage what can be salvaged" and then its nature, that of a theological school, is very evident. Thus it enabled Renan, who bases himself mostly on it, to "salvage" still more by applying the same method and, moreover, to try to impose upon us as historically authenticated many New Testament accounts that are more than doubtful and, on top of that, a multitude of other legends about martyrs. In any case, all that the Tübingen school rejects in the New Testament as unhistorical or apocryphal can be considered as definitively eliminated for scientific purposes.

The other direction has but one representative—*Bruno Bauer.*[420] His greatest service consists not merely in having given a pitiless criticism of the Gospels and the Epistles of the apostles, but in having for the first time seriously undertaken an inquiry into not only the Jewish and Greco-Alexandrian elements but the purely

Greek and Greco-Roman elements that first opened for Christianity the career of a world religion. The legend that Christianity arose ready-made from Judaism and, starting from Palestine, conquered the world with its dogma already defined in the main and its morals, has been untenable since Bruno Bauer; it can continue to vegetate only in the theological faculties and among those people who wish "to keep religion alive for the people" even at the expense of science. The enormous influence which the Philonic school[421] of Alexandria and Greco-Roman vulgar philosophy—Platonic and especially Stoic[422]—had on Christianity, which became the state religion under Constantine, is far from having been ascertained in detail, but its existence has been proved and that is primarily the achievement of Bruno Bauer: he laid the foundation of the proof that Christianity was not imported from outside—from Judea—into the Romano-Greek world and imposed on it, but that, at least in its world-religion form, it is the very own product of that world. Bauer, of course, like all those who are fighting against deep-rooted prejudices, overshot the mark by far in this work. In order to define also through literary sources Philo's and particularly Seneca's influence on emerging Christianity and actually to show up the authors of the New Testament formally as downright plagiarists of those philosophers he had to place the appearance of the new religion about half a century later, to reject the opposing accounts of Roman historians and take extensive liberties with historiography as such. According to him Christianity as such appears only under the Flavians, the literature of the New Testament only under Hadrian, Antonius and Marcus Aurelius. As a result the New Testament accounts of Jesus and his disciples are deprived for Bauer of any historical background: they are diluted into legends in which the phases of interior development and the moral struggles of the first communities are transferred to more or less fictitious persons. Not Galilee and Jerusalem, but Alexandria and Rome, according to Bauer, are the birthplaces of the new religion.

If, therefore, the Tübingen school presents to us in the remains of the New Testament stories and literature that it left untouched the absolute maximum of what science today can still accept as disputable, Bruno Bauer presents to us the maximum of what can be contested. The actual truth lies between these two boundaries. Whether that truth can be defined with the means at our disposal today is very doubtful. New discoveries, particularly in Rome, in the Orient, and above all in Egypt, will contribute more to this than any criticism.

But we have in the New Testament a single book whose time of writing can be defined within a few months, which must have been written between June 67 and January or April 68[a]; a book, consequently, which belongs to the very beginning of the Christian era and reflects with the most naïve fidelity and in the corresponding idiomatic language the ideas of the beginning of that era. This book, therefore, in my opinion, is a far more important source from which to define what early Christianity really was than all the rest of the New Testament, which, in its present form, is of a far later date. This book is called the Revelation of John. And as this, apparently the most obscure book in the whole Bible, is moreover today, thanks to German criticism, the most comprehensible and the clearest, I shall give my readers an account of it.

One needs but to look into this book in order to be convinced of the state of great exaltation not only of the author, but also of the "surrounding medium" in which he moved. Our "Revelation" is not the only one of its kind and time. From the year 164 B.C., when the first which has reached us, the Book of Daniel,[423] was written, up to about 250 A.D., the approximate date of Commodian's *Carmen,*[b] Renan counted no fewer than fifteen extant classical "Apocalypses", not counting subsequent imitations. (I quote Renan because his book is the best known by non-specialists too, and the most accessible.) That was a time when even in Rome and Greece and still more in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt an absolutely uncritical mixture of the crassest superstitions of the most varying peoples was indiscriminately accepted and complemented by pious deception and downright charlatanism; a time in which miracles, ecstasies, visions, apparitions, divining, gold-making, cabbala[424] and other secret magic played the leading role. It was in that atmosphere, and, moreover, among a class of people who were more inclined than any other to listen to these supernatural fantasies, that Christianity arose. For did not the Christian gnostics[425] in Egypt during the second century A.D. engage extensively in alchemy and introduce alchemistic notions into their teachings, as the Leyden papyrus documents, among others, prove. And the Chaldean and Judean *mathematici,*[c] who, according to Tacitus, were twice expelled from Rome for

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[a] A misprint in *Die Neue Zeit*; it should read "between June 68 and January or April 69"; cf. p. 465 and also pp. 457, 460.—*Ed.*

[b] Commodianus, *Carmen apologeticum adversus Judaeos et gentes.*—*Ed.*

[c] Mathematicians.—*Ed.*

witchcraft, once under Claudius and again under Vitellius,[a] practised no other kind of geometry than the kind we shall find at the basis of John's Revelation.

To this we must add another thing. All the apocalypses attribute to themselves the right to deceive their readers. Not only were they written as a rule by quite different people than their alleged authors, and mostly by people who lived much later, for example the Book of Daniel, the Book of Henoch, the Apocalypses of Ezra, Baruch, Juda, etc., and the Sibylline books,[426] but, as far as their main substance is concerned, they prophesy only things that had already happened long before and were perfectly well known to the real author. Thus in 164, shortly before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author of the Book of Daniel has Daniel, who is supposed to have lived in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, prophesy the rise and fall of the Persian and Macedonian empires and the beginning of the Roman Empire, in order by this proof of his gift of prophecy to prepare the reader to accept the final prophecy that the people of Israel will overcome all hardships and finally be victorious. If therefore the Revelation of John were really the work of its alleged author it would be the only exception among the whole body of apocalyptic literature.

The John who claims to be the author was, in any case, a man of great distinction among the Christians of Asia Minor. This is borne out by the tone of the message to the seven churches. Possibly he was the apostle John, whose historical existence, however, is not completely authenticated but is very probable. If this apostle was really the author, so much the better for our point of view. That would be the best confirmation that the Christianity of this book is real genuine early Christianity. Let it be noted in passing that, demonstrably, the Revelation was not written by the same author as the Gospel or the three Epistles which are also attributed to John.

The Revelation consists of a series of visions. In the first Christ appears clothed with a garment of a high priest, goes in the midst of seven candlesticks representing the seven churches of Asia and dictates to "John" messages to the seven "angels" of those churches. Here at the very beginning we see plainly the difference between *this* Christianity and Constantine's world religion formulated by the Council of Nicaea.[427] The Trinity is not only unknown, it is even impossible here. Instead of the *one* Holy Ghost of subsequent times we here have the "*seven* spirits of God"

[a] Tacitus, *Annales*, XII, 52 and *Historiae*, II, 62.—*Ed.*

construed by the Rabbis from Isaiah 11:2. Christ is the son of God, the first and the last, the *alpha* and the *omega,* by no means God himself or equal to God, but on the contrary, "the beginning of the *creation* of God", hence an emanation of God, existing from all eternity but subordinate to God, like the above-mentioned seven spirits. In Chapter 15:3, the martyrs in heaven sing "the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb" glorifying God. Hence Christ here appears not only as subordinate to God but even, in a certain respect, on an equal footing with Moses. Christ is crucified in Jerusalem (11:8) but rises again (1:5, 18); he is "the Lamb" that has been sacrificed for the sins of the world and with whose blood the faithful of all tongues and nations have been redeemed to God. Here we find the basic idea which enabled early Christianity to develop into a world religion. All Semitic and European religions of that time shared the view that the gods offended by the actions of man could be propitiated by sacrifice; the first revolutionary basic idea (borrowed from the Philonic school) in Christianity was that by the one great voluntary sacrifice of a mediator the sins of all times and all men were atoned for once and for all—in respect of the faithful. Thus the necessity of any further sacrifices was removed and with it the basis for a multitude of religious rites: but freedom from rites that made difficult or forbade intercourse with people of other confessions was the first condition of a world religion. In spite of this the habit of sacrifice was so deeply rooted in national customs that Catholicism—which borrowed so much from paganism—found it appropriate to accommodate itself to this fact by the introduction of at least the symbolical sacrifice of the mass. On the other hand there is no trace whatever of the dogma of original sin in our book.

But what is most characteristic in these messages, as in the whole book, is that it never and nowhere occurs to the author to refer to himself and his co-believers by any other name than that of *Jews.* He reproaches the members of the sects in Smyrna and Philadelphia against whom he fulminates with the fact that they

> "say they are Jews, and are not but are the synagogue of Satan";

of those in Pergamos he says: they hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block *before the children of Israel,* so that they ate things sacrificed unto idols, and committed fornication. Here it is therefore not a case of conscious Christians but of people who make out they are Jews. Granted, their Judaism is a new stage in the development of the earlier one, but for that

very reason it is the only true one. Hence, when the saints appeared before the throne of God there came first 144,000 Jews, 12,000 from each tribe, and only after them the countless masses of heathens who had been converted to this renovated Judaism. That was how little our author was aware in the year 69 of the Christian era that he represented quite a new phase in the development of a religion which was to become one of the most revolutionary elements in the history of human thought.

We therefore see that the Christianity of that time, which was still unaware of itself, was as different as heaven from earth from the later dogmatically fixed world religion of the Nicene Council; the one cannot be discerned in the other. Here we have neither the dogma nor the morals of later Christianity, but instead a feeling that one is struggling against the whole world and that the struggle will be a victorious one; an eagerness for struggle and a certainty of victory which are totally lacking in the Christians of today and which are to be found in our time only at the other pole of society, among the socialists.

In fact, the struggle against an initially overpowering world, and at the same time among the novators themselves, is common to the early Christians and the socialists. Neither of these two great movements were made by leaders or prophets—although there are prophets in plenty in both of them—they are mass movements. And mass movements are bound to be confused at the beginning; confused because the thinking of the masses at first moves among contradictions, uncertainties and incoherencies and also because of the role that prophets still play in them at the beginning. This confusion is to be seen in the formation of numerous sects which fight against one another with at least the same zeal as against the common external enemy. So it was with early Christianity, so it was in the beginning of the socialist movement, no matter how much that worried the well-meaning worthies who preached unity where no unity was possible.

So was the International held together by a uniform dogma? Quite the opposite. There were communists of the French pre-1848 tradition, these in turn being themselves of varying complexion: communists of Weitling's school and others of the regenerated Communist League, Proudhonists dominant in France and Belgium, Blanquists, the German Workers' Party, and finally the Bakuninist anarchists, who for a while had the upper hand in Spain and Italy, to mention only the principal groups. It took a whole quarter of a century from the foundation of the International before the separation from the anarchists was final and

complete everywhere and unity could be established at least in respect of most general economic viewpoints. And that with our means of communication—railways, telegraph, giant industrial cities, the press, organised people's assemblies.

There was among the early Christians the same division into countless sects, which was the very means by which discussion and thereby, at a later date, unity was achieved. We already find it in this book, which is beyond doubt the oldest Christian document, and our author fights it with the same irreconcilable ardour as the great sinful world outside. There were first of all the Nicolaitans, in Ephesus and Pergamos; those that said they were Jews but were the synagogue of Satan, in Smyrna and Philadelphia; the supporters of Balaam, who is called a false prophet, in Pergamos; those who said they were apostles and were not, in Ephesus; and finally, in Thyatira, the supporters of the false prophetess known as Jezebel. We are given no more details about these sects, it being only said about the followers of Balaam and Jezebel that they ate things sacrificed to idols and committed fornication. Attempts have been made to conceive these five sects as Pauline Christians and all the messages as directed against Paul, the false apostle, the alleged Balaam and "Nicolaos". Arguments to this effect, hardly tenable, are to be found collected in Renan's *Saint Paul* (Paris 1869, pp. 303-05 and 367-70). They all amount to explaining the messages by the Acts of the Apostles and the so-called Epistles of Paul, writings which, at least in their present form, are no less than 60 years younger than the Revelation and the relevant factual data of which, therefore, are not only extremely doubtful but also totally contradictory. But the decisive thing is that it could not occur to the author to give five different names to one and the same sect and even two to Ephesus alone (false apostles and Nicolaitans) and two also to Pergamos (Balaamites and Nicolaitans), and each time refer to them explicitly as two different sects. At the same time one cannot deny the probability that there were also elements among these sects that would be termed Pauline today.

In both cases where further details are given the accusation amounts to eating meats offered to idols and to fornication, two points on which the Jews—the old ones as well as the Christian ones—were in continual dispute with converted heathens. The meat from heathen sacrifices was not only served at banquets where refusal of the food offered would have seemed improper and could even have been dangerous; it was also sold on the public markets, where it was not always possible to ascertain

whether it was kosher or not. By fornication the Jews understood not only extra-nuptial sexual relations but also marriage within the degrees of kinship prohibited by Jewish law or between a Jew and a gentile, and it is in this sense that the word is generally understood in the Acts of the Apostles 15:20 and 29. But our John has his own views on the sexual relations allowed to orthodox Jews. He says, 14:4, of the 144,000 heavenly Jews:

"These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins."

And in fact, in our John's heaven there is not a single woman. He therefore belongs to the trend, which also often appears in other early Christian writings, that considers sexual relations generally as sinful. And if we moreover take into consideration that he calls Rome the Great Whore with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication and have become drunk with the wine of fornication and the merchants of the earth have waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies, it becomes impossible for us to take the word in the messages in the narrow sense that theological apologists would like to attribute to it in order thus to pick up some corroboration for other passages in the New Testament. On the contrary. These passages in the messages are an obvious indication of a phenomenon common to all tempestuous times, that the traditional bonds of sexual relations, like all other fetters, are shaken off. In the first centuries of Christianity, too, there appeared often enough, side by side with asceticism which mortified the flesh, the tendency to extend Christian freedom to more or less unrestrained intercourse between man and woman. The same thing was observed in the modern socialist movement. What unspeakable horror was felt in the then "pious nursery"[a] of Germany at Saint-Simon's *réhabilitation de la chair*[b] in the thirties, which was rendered in German as "*Wiedereinsetzung des Fleisches*" [reinstatement of the flesh]! And the most horrified of all were the then ruling distinguished estates (there were as yet no classes in our country) who could not live in Berlin any more than on their country estates without constant reinstatement of their flesh! If only those good people had known Fourier, who contemplated quite different pranks for the flesh! When utopianism was superseded these extravagances yielded to a more rational and actually far more radical conception, and since Germany grew out of Heine's pious nursery and developed into

[a] H. Heine, "Zur Beruhigung".—*Ed.*
[b] "Regeneration of the flesh".—*Ed.*

the centre of the socialist movement, scorn has been poured upon the hypocritical indignation of the distinguished pious world.

That is the entire content of the messages. The rest consists in exhorting the faithful to be zealous in propaganda, to courageous and proud confession of their faith in the face of the foe, to unrelenting struggle against the enemy both within and without—and as far as this goes they could just as well have been written by one of the prophetically minded enthusiasts of the International.

III

The messages are but the introduction to the theme proper of John's communication to the seven churches of Asia Minor and through them to what remained of reformed Judaism in the year 69, out of which Christianity later developed. And herewith we enter the innermost holy of holies of early Christianity.

What kind of people were the first Christians recruited from? Mainly from the "labouring and burdened", the members of the lowest strata, as becomes a revolutionary element. And what did they consist of? In the towns of impoverished free men, all sorts of people, like the MEAN WHITES of the southern slave states and the European beachcombers and adventurers in colonial and Chinese seaports, then of freedmen and, above all, slaves; on the large estates in Italy, Sicily, and Africa of slaves, and in the rural districts of the provinces of small peasants who had fallen more and more into bondage through debt. There was absolutely no common road to emancipation for all these elements. For all of them paradise lay lost behind them; for the ruined free men it was the former *polis,* the town and the state at the same time, of which their forefathers had been free citizens; for the war-captive slaves the time of freedom before their subjugation and captivity; for the small peasants the abolished gentile social system and communal landownership. All that had been smitten down by the levelling iron fist of conquering Rome. The largest social group that antiquity had attained was the tribe and the union of kindred tribes; among the barbarians grouping was based on alliances of families and among the town-founding Greeks and Italians on the *polis,* which consisted of one or more kindred tribes. Philip and Alexander gave the Hellenic peninsula political unity but that did not lead to the formation of a Greek nation. Nations became possible only through the downfall of Roman world domination.

This domination had put an end once and for all to the smaller groups; military might, Roman jurisdiction and the tax-collecting machinery completely dissolved the traditional inner organisation. To the loss of independence and distinctive organisation was added the forcible plunder by military and civil authorities who first took the treasures of the subjugated away from them and then lent them back at usurious rates in order to extort still more out of them. The pressure of taxation and the need for money which it caused in regions with a purely or predominant natural economy plunged the peasants into ever deeper bondage to the usurers, gave rise to great differences in fortune, making the rich richer and the poor completely destitute. Any resistance by isolated small tribes or towns to the gigantic Roman world power was without prospect. Where was the way out, salvation, for the enslaved, oppressed and impoverished, a way out common to all these diverse groups of people whose interests were mutually alien or even opposed? And yet it had to be found if a great revolutionary movement was to embrace them all.

This way out was found. But not in this world. As things were, it could only be a religious way out. Then a new world was embraced. The continued life of the soul after the death of the body had gradually become a recognised article of faith throughout the Roman world. A kind of recompense or punishment of the deceased souls for their actions while on earth also received more and more general recognition. As far as recompense was concerned, admittedly, the prospects were not so good: antiquity was too primitively materialistic not to attribute infinitely greater value to life on earth than to life in the shades; to live on after death was considered by the Greeks rather as a misfortune. Then came Christianity, which took seriously recompense and punishment in the world beyond and created heaven and hell, and a way out was found which would lead the labouring and burdened from this vale of woe to eternal paradise. And in fact only with the prospect of a reward in the world beyond could the stoico-philonic renunciation of the world and ascetics be exalted to the basic moral principle of a new world religion which would enthuse the oppressed masses.

But this heavenly paradise does not open itself to the faithful by the mere fact of their death. We shall see that the kingdom of God, the capital of which is the New Jerusalem, can only be conquered and opened up after arduous struggles with the powers of hell. But the early Christians believed these struggles lay in the immediate future ahead. Our John describes his book at the very

beginning as the revelation of "things which must *shortly* come to pass"; and then immediately, 1:3, declares

"Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this prophecy ... for *the time is at hand.*"

To the church in Philadelphia Christ sends the message: "Behold, I come *quickly.*" And in the last chapter the angel says he has shown John "things which must *shortly* be done" and gives him the order:

"Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is *at hand.*"

And Christ himself twice says ([22:]12, 20): "I come *quickly.*" The sequel will show us how soon this coming was expected.

The visions of the Apocalypse which the author now shows us are copied throughout, and mostly literally, from earlier models, partly from the classical prophets of the Old Testament, particularly Ezekiel, partly from later Jewish apocalypses written after the fashion of the Book of Daniel and in particular from the Book of Henoch which had already been written at least in part. Criticism has shown to the smallest details where our John got every picture, every menacing omen, every plague poured down upon unbelieving humanity, in a word, the whole of the material for his book; so that he not only shows great poverty of mind but actually proves himself that he never experienced even in the imagination the alleged ecstasies and visions he describes.

The order of these visions is briefly as follows: First John sees God sitting on his throne holding in his hand a book with seven seals and before him the Lamb that has been slain and has risen from the dead (Christ) and is found worthy to open the seals of the book. The opening of the seals is accompanied by all sorts of miraculous menacing signs. When the fifth seal is opened John sees under the altar of God the souls of the martyrs of Christ that were slain for the word of God and who cry with a loud voice saying:

"How long, O Lord, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

And then white robes are given to them and they are told that they must rest for a little while yet, for more martyrs must be slain.

So here there is no mention of a "religion of love", of "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you", etc. Here undiluted revenge is preached, sound, honest revenge on the persecutors of the Christians. So it continues throughout the book. The nearer the crisis comes, the heavier the plagues and punishments rain

from the heavens and with all the more satisfaction John announces that the mass of humanity will still not atone for their sins, that new scourges of God must lash them, that Christ must rule them with a rod of iron and tread the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God, but that the impious still remain obdurate in their hearts. It is the natural feeling, free of all hypocrisy, that a fight is going on and that — *à la guerre comme à la guerre.*[a]

When the seventh seal is opened there come seven angels with seven trumpets and each time one of them sounds his trumpet new horrors occur. After the seventh blast seven more angels come on to the scene with the seven vials of the wrath of God which they pour out upon the earth; still more plagues and punishments, mainly tedious repetitions of what has already happened several times. Then comes the woman, Babylon the Great Whore, sitting arrayed in scarlet over the waters, drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus, the great city of the seven hills that rules over all the kings of the earth. She is sitting on a beast with seven heads and ten horns. The seven heads represent the seven hills, and also seven "kings". Of those kings five are fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come, and after him comes again one of the first five; he was wounded to death but was healed. He will reign over the world for 42 months or $3^1/_2$ years (half of a week of seven years) and will persecute the faithful to death and bring the rule of godlessness. But then follows the great final fight, the saints and the martyrs are avenged by the destruction of the Great Whore Babylon and all her followers, i.e., the great mass of mankind; the devil is cast into the bottomless pit and shut up there for a thousand years during which Christ reigns with the martyrs risen from the dead. But after a thousand years the devil is freed again and there is another great battle of the spirits in which he is finally defeated. Then follows the second resurrection, when the other dead also arise and appear before the throne of judgment of God (*not* of Christ, be it noted) and the faithful will enter a new heaven, a new earth, and a new Jerusalem for life eternal.

As this whole monument is made up of exclusively pre-Christian Jewish material it presents almost exclusively Jewish ideas. Since things started to go badly in this world for the people of Israel, from the time of the tribute to the Assyrians and Babylonians, from the destruction of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judea to

[a] In war as in war.— *Ed.*

the bondage under Seleucids, that is from Isaiah to Daniel, in every dark period there were prophecies of a saviour. In Daniel, 12 : 1-3, there is even a prophecy about Michael, the guardian angel of the Jews, coming down on earth to deliver them from great trouble; many dead will awake again, there will be a kind of last judgment and the teachers who have taught the people justice will shine like stars for all eternity. The only Christian point is the great stress laid on the imminent reign of Christ and the glory of the faithful, particularly the martyrs, who have risen from the dead.

For the interpretation of these prophecies, as far as they refer to events of that time, we are indebted to German criticism, particularly Ewald, Lücke and Ferdinand Benary. It has been made accessible to non-theologians by Renan. We have already seen that Babylon the Great Whore, stands for Rome, the city of seven hills. We are told in 17 : 9-11 about the beast on which she sits:

"The seven heads" of the beast "are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition."

According to this the beast is Roman world domination, represented by seven caesars in succession, one of them having been mortally wounded and no longer reigning, but he will be healed and will return. It will be given unto him as the eighth to establish the kingdom of blasphemy and defiance of God. It will be given unto him

"to make war with the saints and to overcome them.... And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb.... And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six" (13 : 7-18).

We merely note that boycott is mentioned here as one of the measures to be applied against the Christians by the Roman Empire—and is therefore patently an invention of the devil—and pass on to the question who this Roman emperor is who has reigned once before, was wounded to death and eliminated but will return as the eighth in the series in the role of the Antichrist.

Taking Augustus as the first we have: 2. Tiberius, 3. Caligula, 4. Claudius, 5. Nero, 6. Galba. "Five are fallen, and one is." Hence, Nero is already fallen and Galba is. Galba ruled from

June 9, 68 to January 15, 69. But immediately after he ascended the throne the legions of the Rhine revolted under Vitellius while other generals prepared for military risings in other provinces. In Rome itself the praetorians rose, killed Galba and proclaimed Otho emperor.

From this we see that our Revelation was written under Galba. Probably towards the end of his rule. Or, at the latest, during the three months (up to April 15, 69) of the rule of Otho, "the seventh". But who is the eighth, who was and is not? That we learn from the number 666.

Among the Semites—Chaldeans and Jews—there was at the time a kind of magic based on the double meaning of letters. From about 300 years B.C. Hebrew letters were also used as symbols for numbers: a=1, b=2, g=3, d=4, etc. The cabbala diviners added up the value of each letter of a name like a sum of digits and sought from the sum to prophesy the future of the one who bore the name, e.g., by forming words or combinations of words of equal value. Secret words and the like were also expressed in this language of numbers. This art was given the Greek name *gematriah*, geometry; the Chaldeans, who pursued this as a business and were called *mathematici* by Tacitus, were later expelled from Rome[a] under Claudius and again under Vitellius, presumably for "serious disorders".

It was by means of this mathematics that our number 666 appeared. Behind it stands the name of one of the first five Roman emperors. But besides the number 666, Irenaeus, at the end of the second century, knew another version—616, which, at all events, appeared, at a time when the number puzzle was still widely known.[b] The proof of the solution will be if it holds good for both numbers.

This solution was provided by Ferdinand Benary of Berlin. The name is Nero. The number is based on נרון קסר, *Neron Kesar*, the Hebrew spelling of the Greek Nerôn Kaisar, Emperor Nero, authenticated by means of the Talmud and Palmyrian inscriptions. This inscription was found on coins of Nero's time minted in the eastern half of the empire. And so—n (*nun*)=50; r (*resh*)=200; v (*vav*) for o=6; n (*nun*)=50; k (*kof*)=100; s (*samekh*)=60; r (*resh*)=200. Total 666. If we take as a basis the Latin spelling Nero Caesar the second *nun*=50 disappears and we get 666−50=616, which is Irenaeus' reading.

[a] See this volume, pp. 454-55.—*Ed.*

[b] Irenaeus, *Libri V adversus Haeresis*, V, 28-30.—*Ed.*

In fact the whole Roman Empire suddenly broke into confusion in Galba's time. Galba himself marched on Rome at the head of the Spanish and Gallic legions to overthrow Nero, who fled and ordered a freedman to kill him. But not only the praetorians in Rome plotted against Galba, the supreme commanders in the provinces did too; new pretenders to the throne appeared everywhere and prepared to march on Rome with their legions. The empire seemed doomed to civil war, its dissolution appeared imminent. Over and above all this the rumour spread, especially in the East, that Nero had not been killed but only wounded, that he had fled to the Parthians and was about to advance with an army over the Euphrates to begin another and more bloody rule of terror. Achaia and Asia in particular were terrified by such reports. And at the very time at which the Revelation must have been written there appeared a false Nero who settled with a fairly considerable number of supporters not far from Patmos and Asia Minor on the island of Kythnos in the Aegean Sea (now called Thermia), until he was killed while Otho still reigned. Little wonder that among the Christians, against whom Nero had launched the first great persecution, the view spread that he would return as the Antichrist and that his return and the intensified attempt at a bloody suppression of the new sect that it would involve would be the sign and prelude of the return of Christ, of the great victorious struggle against the powers of hell, of the thousand-year kingdom "shortly" to be established, the confident expectation of which inspired the martyrs to go joyfully to their deaths.

Christian and Christian-influenced literature in the first two centuries gives sufficient indication that the secret of the number 666 was then known to many. Irenaeus no longer knew it, but on the other hand he and many others up to the end of the third century also knew that the returning Nero was meant by the beast of the Apocalypse. This trace is then lost and the work which interests us is fantastically interpreted by religious-minded future-tellers; I myself as a child knew old people who, following the example of old Johann Albrecht Bengel, expected the end of the world and the last judgment in the year 1836. The prophecy was fulfilled, and to the very year. The victim of the last judgment, however, was not the sinful world, but the pious interpreters of the Revelation themselves. For in 1836 F. Benary provided the key to the number 666 and thus put a torturous end to all the prophetical calculations, that new *gematriah*.

Our John can only give a very superficial description of the

kingdom of heaven that is reserved for the faithful. The new Jerusalem occupies a fairly large area, at least according to the conceptions of the time: it is 12,000 furlongs, or 2,227 kilometres broad, so that its area is about five million square kilometres, more than half the size of the United States of America. And it is built entirely of gold and precious stones. There God lives with his people, lightening them instead of the sun, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, neither shall there be any more pain. And a pure river of water of life flows through the city, and on either side of the river are trees of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits and yielding fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree "serve for the healing of the heathens". (A kind of medicinal beverage, Renan thinks—*L'Antechrist,* p. 542.) Here the saints shall live for ever.

Such, as far as we know, was Christianity in Asia Minor, its main seat, around the year 68. No trace of any Trinity but, on the contrary, the old single and indivisible Jehovah of later Judaism which had exalted him from the national god of the Jews to the one and supreme God of heaven and earth, where he claims to rule over all nations, promising mercy to the converted and mercilessly smiting down the obdurate in accordance with the ancient *parcere subjectis ac debellare superbos.*[a] Hence, this God, in person, not Christ as in the later accounts of the Gospels and the Epistles, will preside at the last judgment. According to the Persian doctrine of emanation which was current in later Judaism, Christ the Lamb proceeds eternally from him as do also, but on a lower footing, the "seven spirits of God" who owe their existence to a misunderstanding of a poetical passage (Isaiah, 11 : 2). All of them are subordinate to God, not God themselves or equal to him. The Lamb sacrifices itself to atone for the sins of the world and for that its status is considerably enhanced in heaven, for its voluntary martyrdom is credited as an extraordinary feat throughout the book, not as something which proceeds necessarily from its intrinsic nature. Naturally the whole heavenly court of elders, cherubim, angels and saints is there. In order to become a religion monotheism has always had to make concessions to polytheism—since the time of the Zend-Avesta.[428] With the Jews the decline to the sensuous gods of the heathens continued chronically until, after the exile,[429] the heavenly court according to the Persian model adapted religion somewhat better to the imagination of the masses, and Christianity itself, even after it had replaced the

[a] Pardon the humble and make war on the proud.—*Ed.*

eternally self-equal immutable god of the Jews by the mysterious self-differentiating god of the Trinity, could find nothing to supplant the worship of the old gods but that of the saints; thus, according to Fallmerayer, the worship of Jupiter in Peloponnesus, Maina and Arcadia died out only about the ninth century (*Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea,* I, p. 227). Only the modern bourgeois period and its Protestantism did away with the saints again and at last took differentiated monotheism seriously.

In the book there is just as little mention of original sin and justification by faith. The faith of these early pugnacious communities is quite different from that of the later victorious church: side by side with the sacrifice of the Lamb, the imminent return of Christ and the thousand-year kingdom which is shortly to dawn form its essential content; this faith survives only through active propaganda, unrelenting struggle against the internal and external enemy, the proud profession of the revolutionary standpoint before the heathen judges and martyrdom, confident in victory.

We have seen that the author is not yet aware that he is something else than a Jew. Accordingly there is no mention of baptism in the whole book, just as many more facts indicate that baptism was instituted in the second period of Christianity. The 144,000 believing Jews are "sealed", not baptised. It is said of the saints in heaven and the faithful upon earth that they had washed themselves of their sins and washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; there is no mention of the water of baptism. The two prophets who precede the coming of the Antichrist in Chapter 11 do not baptise; and according to 19:10, the testimony of Jesus is not baptism but the spirit of prophecy. Baptism should naturally have been mentioned in all these cases if it had already been in vigour; we may therefore conclude with almost absolute certainty that the author did not know of it, that it first appeared when the Christians definitively separated from the Jews.

Neither does our author know any more about the second sacrament, Communion. If in the Lutheran text Christ promises every Thyatiran who remains firm in the faith to take Communion with him, this creates a false impression. The Greek text has *deipnêsô*—I shall eat supper (with him), and the English bible translates this correctly: I SHALL *SUP* WITH HIM. There is no question here of Communion even as a mere commemoration meal.

There can be no doubt that this book, with its date so originally

authenticated as the year 68 or 69, is the oldest of all Christian literature. No other is written in such barbaric language, so full of Hebraisms, awful constructions and grammatical errors. Chapter 1, verse 4, for example, says literally:

"Grace be unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come."

Only professional theologians and other historians who have a stake in it now deny that the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles are but later adaptations of writings which are now lost and whose feeble historical core is now unrecognisable in the maze of legend, that even the few Epistles supposed by Bruno Bauer to be "authentic" are either writings of a later date[a] or at best adaptations of old works of unknown authors altered by additions and insertions. It is all the more important since we are here in possession of a book whose date of writing has been determined to the nearest month, a book that displays Christianity to us in its most primitive form. This form stands in the same relation to the fourth-century state religion with its fully evolved dogma and mythology as Tacitus' still vacillating mythology of the Germans does to the developed teaching of the gods of Edda[430] as influenced by Christian and ancient elements. The germ of the world religion is there, but it includes without discrimination the thousand possibilities for development which became realities in the countless subsequent sects. And the reason why this oldest writing of the time when Christianity was coming into being is especially valuable for us is that it shows without any dilution what Judaism, strongly influenced by Alexandria, contributed to Christianity. All that comes later is western, Greco-Roman appendage. It was only by the intermediary of the monotheistic Jewish religion that the cultured monotheism of later Greek vulgar philosophy could clothe itself in the religious form in which alone it could grip the masses. But once this intermediary was found, it could become a world religion only in the Greco-Roman world, and that by further development in and merger with the ideas of that world.

[a] In the French authorised translation, published in *Le Devenir social*, the part of this sentence "that even the few Epistles ... of a later date" reads: "that even three of four Epistles still considered authentic by the Tübingen school are, as Bruno Bauer showed in his penetrating analysis, nothing more than later writings."—*Ed.*

[TO THE ENGLISH SOCIALIST AND WORKING MEN'S ORGANISATIONS][431]

Dear Comrades,[a]

I am instructed by the Executive Council of the Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party to inform the English Working Men's [and] Socialist Organisations that the said Spanish Socialist Party will hold their 4th annual Congress at Madrid on the 29 August and following days, and that they would be happy to receive on that occasion a few lines of congratulation—in Spanish or French—from English friends, directed to the address at foot.

The Belfast Trades Union Congress [of] 1893[432] having adhered to the International Socialist Movement by voting a resolution demanding the socialisation of all means of production and exchange, I feel bound to include its organ the Parliamentary Committee [of the Trades Union Congress][433] in the list of those to whom this invitation is sent.[b]

This invitation is sent to

The Legal Eight Hours League
The Social Democratic Federation
" Independent Labour Party
" Fabian Society
" Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress

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[a] The version addressed to the Secretary of the Fabian Society opens with the words: "Dear Sir".— *Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript this paragraph is enclosed in square brackets; in the version addressed to the Secretary of the Fabian Society it is omitted.— *Ed.*

" Gas Workers and General Labourers Union.[434]

I am yours respectfully

F. E.

Pablo Iglesias
H. Cortés 8 principal. Madrid.

Written on August 6, 1894

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Reproduced from the rough manuscript, checked with the version addressed to the Secretary of the Fabian Society

Published in English for the first time

[TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE ITALIAN WORKING PEOPLE]

[LETTER TO CARLO DELL'AVALLE][435]

Eastbourne, 6 September

Dear Citizen,[a]

....Although I cannot be at your Congress in person, I nevertheless send you my best wishes for its success in the interests of international socialism.

An unprecedented exceptional law has fallen upon the Italian socialists[436] which will without doubt cost them several years of severe suffering. So be it! Others had to pass through similar trials.

When the Paris Commune fell, the bourgeois reaction in France got drunk on proletarian blood. The result is before your eyes: the French Chamber has 50 socialist deputies.

In Germany Bismarck put the socialists outside the law for 12 long years; they ended by trampling on the Anti-Socialist Law[437] and then driving Bismarck from power; and now they have become the strongest party in the empire.

What the French and German workers have done the Italian workers will also do. A Crispi will certainly not succeed where Thiers, MacMahon and Bismarck have failed. Victory is yours.[b]

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[a] In the manuscript there follows the passage omitted in the newspaper: "Your letter of August 30 did not reach me in London and was sent down here—that explains the delay in my reply which I deeply regret. I thank you personally and the Italian socialists whom you represent for your kind invitation. Unfortunately, I am not able to accept it."—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "Victory is ours".—*Ed.*

Long live international revolutionary socialism!
Fraternal greetings.

Frederick Engels

First published in the *Lotta di classe*, No. 38, September 22-23, 1894

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the French manuscript

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

[GREETINGS TO THE SOCIALISTS OF SICILY][438]

Greetings and a long life to your newspaper, organ of the Sicilian workers, good health to your party in its reorganisation![a]

Nature has made Sicily an earthly paradise; this was a sufficient reason for human society, divided into opposing classes, to turn it into a hell.

Greco-Roman antiquity endowed Sicily with slavery in order to produce the great estates and the mines.

The middle ages replaced slavery with serfdom and the feudal order.

The modern age, although it claimed to have broken these chains, has merely changed their form. Not only has it retained these ancient forms of servitude; it has also added a new form of exploitation, the cruellest, the most merciless of all: capitalist exploitation.

The ancient Sicilian[b] poets, Theocritus and Moschus, sang the idyllic life of their slave-shepherd contemporaries. These were, without doubt, poetic dreams. But is there a modern poet so bold as to sing the idyllic life of the "free" workers of present-day Sicily? Would not the peasants of this island be happy if they could work their fields even under the harsh conditions of Roman sharecropping? This is where the capitalist system has led us: free men pining for the slavery of the past!...

But let them take heart. The dawn of a new and better society sheds its light for the oppressed classes of all countries. And

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[a] In the manuscript this paragraph reads: "Greetings and a long life to the organ of the Sicilian workers which has just come into being."—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "Greek".—*Ed.*

everywhere the oppressed are closing ranks; everywhere they understand one another across frontiers, across different languages: the army of the international proletariat is forming, and the new century which is about to begin will guide it to victory!...

(London)

F. Engels

Written on September 26, 1894

First published in *La Riscossa,* June 30, 1895 and in the *Critica Sociale,* No. 16, August 16, 1895

Printed according to the *Critica Sociale,* checked with the French manuscript

Translated from the Italian

Published in English in full for the first time

[CONDITIONS FOR A LOAN FOR THE FOUNDING OF THE DAILY *ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*][439]

The conditions laid down are as follows:

1) The loan of 5,000 Fl. will be made to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* firm, or whatever the name of the newspaper's registered firm may be; the receipt must be signed by this firm's legally authorised representatives. Payment is to be made to Dr. Victor Adler.

2) All business, negotiations, interest payments and repayments relating to the loan shall be made through Mrs. Louise Kautsky-Freyberger as the representative of the lender, and Dr. V. Adler, as the representative of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

3) The loan may be called in for two years as from January 1, 1895. As from January 1, 1897 it may be called in at any time, and is then repayable by the end of the year following the day when notice is given.

4) The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* for its part may pay back the loan at an earlier date, at its convenience.

5) The loan will incur interest at a rate of 4% per year.

6) Payment will be made gradually from January 1, 1895; the repayments, the last of which shall be due not later than June 30, 1895, shall be made as far as possible at the convenience of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

Written in September-early October 1894

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM AND ITALIAN SOCIALISM

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *CRITICA SOCIALE*[440]

At a time when the young Italian Socialist Party is suffering the blows of the most violent government reaction, it is our duty, as socialists from across the Alps, to try to come to its aid. We can do nothing against the dissolution of sections and societies. But perhaps our testimony will not be entirely useless in the face of the odious and brazen slanders of an unofficial and corrupt press.

This press reproaches the Italian socialists with having deliberately simulated Marxist propaganda,[a] in order to hide a quite different politics behind this mask, a politics which proclaims the "class struggle" (something that "would take us back to the Middle Ages") and whose aim is to form a political party aspiring to the "conquest of power in the state"; whereas the socialist parties of other countries, and the Germans in particular, "do not concern themselves with politics, do not attack the form of the government in power", indeed they are simply harmless good chaps and one can make jokes about them!

If anyone is being made a joke of here it is the Italian public. One would never dare peddle them such stupidities if one did not take them to be wholly ignorant of what goes on in the world outside. If the Italian socialists proclaim the "class struggle" as the dominant fact of the society we live in, if they form themselves into a "political party aspiring to the conquest of public power and the management of the nation's affairs", they are making Marxist propaganda in the most literal sense of the word; they are following exactly the line indicated in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* published by Marx and myself in 1848; they are

[a] The manuscript has: "...Marxist propaganda in the manner of the German socialists".— *Ed.*

doing precisely what the socialist parties of France, Belgium, Switzerland,[a] Spain and above all Germany are doing. There is not a single one of all these parties that does not aspire to the conquest of public power, just as the other parties, the conservatives, liberals, republicans, etc. etc.

As for the "class struggle", it takes us back not just to the "Middle Ages" but to the internal conflicts of the ancient republics: Athens, Sparta, Rome. All those conflicts were class struggles. Since the dissolution of primitive communities, the struggle between the different classes of which every society was composed was always the great driving force of historical progress. This struggle will not disappear except with the disappearance of these classes themselves, in other words after the victory of socialism. Until that day, the opposing classes, the proletariat, bourgeoisie and landed nobility,[b] will continue to fight amongst themselves, whatever the unofficial Italian press may say.

For the rest, Italy at this moment is undergoing the same test that Germany[c] underwent during the twelve years of the Anti-Socialist Law.[441] Germany defeated Bismarck; socialist[a] Italy will get the better of Crispi.

London, October 27, 1894

Frederick Engels

First published in the *Critica Sociale*, No. 21, November 1, 1894

Printed according to the journal, checked with the French manuscript

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

[a] The word is not in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[b] The words "the proletariat, bourgeoisie and landed nobility" are not in the manuscript.— *Ed.*

[c] The manuscript has: "socialist Germany".— *Ed.*

[LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF THE *VORWÄRTS*]

According to the Party press, in the agrarian debate of the Frankfurt Party Congress on October 25 Comrade Vollmar cited the resolutions of the French Socialist Congress at Nantes,[442] "which have met with the *explicit approval of Frederick Engels*". According to the *Vorwärts* of November 10, this is also being spread around by the hostile press.[443] I am therefore forced to declare that there is an error here, and that Vollmar must be completely misinformed with regard to me.

As far as I can recall, I have only sent two messages to France in relation to the Nantes programme. The first, *before* the Congress, in reply to an enquiry by a French comrade,[a] stated in essence: the development of capitalism irrevocably destroys the landholdings of the small peasantry. Our Party is quite clear on this point, but it has absolutely no occasion to speed up this process even more by its own intervention. There is nothing to be said in principle against properly selected measures designed to make this inevitable fate less painful for the small peasantry; if one goes further, if one wishes to maintain the small peasantry in perpetuity, I am of the opinion that one is striving for something economically impossible, sacrificing principle, becoming reactionary.

The second message, *after* the Congress, confined itself to the assumption that our French friends would stand alone in the socialist world with their attempt to perpetuate not only the small peasant proprietors but also the small tenants exploiting outside labour.

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[a] Apparently Paul Lafargue.—*Ed.*

Thus, in so far as I have voiced any opinion at all on the question, I have declared the opposite to what Vollmar was reported.

Once having become involved in this matter, I find it difficult to get out of it without expressing myself more plainly. I therefore intend to offer the *Neue Zeit* a short article outlining and explaining my viewpoint.[a]

London, November 12, 1894

F. Engels

First published in the *Vorwärts,* No. 268, November 16, 1894 and in *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 43 (supplement); November 22, 1894

Printed according to the *Vorwärts*

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 481-502.— *Ed.*

THE PEASANT QUESTION IN FRANCE AND GERMANY[444]

Written between November 15 and 22, 1894

First published in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 1, No. 10, 1894-1895

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the journal

The bourgeois and reactionary parties are feverishly wondering why everywhere among socialists the peasant question has now suddenly been placed on the agenda. What they should be wondering at, by rights, is that this was not done long ago. From Ireland to Sicily, from Andalusia to Russia and Bulgaria, the peasant is a very essential factor of the population, production and political power. Only two regions of Western Europe form an exception. In Great Britain proper big landed estates and large-scale agriculture have totally displaced the self-supporting peasant; in Prussia east of the Elbe the same process has been going on for centuries; here too peasant is being increasingly "put down" [a] or at least economically and politically forced into the background.

The peasant has so far largely manifested himself as a factor of political power only by his apathy, which has its roots in the isolation of rustic life. This apathy on the part of the great mass of the population is the strongest pillar not only of parliamentary corruption in Paris and Rome but also of Russian despotism. Yet it is by no means insuperable. Since the rise of the working-class movement in Western Europe, especially in those parts where small peasant holdings predominate, it has not been particularly difficult for the bourgeoisie to render the socialist workers suspicious and odious in the minds of the peasants as *partageux*, as people who want to "divide up", as lazy greedy city dwellers who

[a] *Wird "gelegt" Bauernlegen*—a technical term from German history meaning eviction, expropriation of peasants. [Lenin's note to his Russian translation of the beginning of Engels' work.]

have an eye on the property of the peasants. The hazy socialist aspirations of the revolution of February 1848 were rapidly disposed of by the reactionary ballots of the French peasantry; the peasant, who wanted peace of mind, dug up from his treasured memories the legend of Napoleon, the peasant emperor, and created the Second Empire. We all know what this one feat of the peasants cost the people of France; it is still suffering from its consequences.

But much has changed since then. The development of the capitalist form of production has cut the life-strings of small production in agriculture; small production is irretrievably going to rack and ruin. Competitors in North and South America and in India, too, have swamped the European market with their cheap grain, so cheap that no domestic producer can compete with it. The big landowners and small peasants alike see ruin staring them in the face. And since they are both owners of land and country folk, the big landowners assume the role of champions of the interests of the small peasants, and the small peasants by and large accept them as such.

Meanwhile a powerful socialist workers' party has sprung up and developed in the West. The obscure presentiments and feelings dating back to the February revolution have become clarified and acquired the broader and deeper scope of a programme that meets all scientific requirements and contains definite tangible demands; and a steadily growing number of socialist deputies are fighting for these demands in the German, French and Belgian parliaments. The conquest of political power by the socialist party has become a matter of the foreseeable future. But in order to conquer political power this party must first go from the towns to the country, must become a power in the countryside. This party, which has an advantage over all others in that it possesses a clear insight into the interconnections between economic causes and political effects and long ago spotted the wolf in the sheep's clothing of the big landowner, that importunate friend of the peasant—may this party calmly leave the doomed peasant in the hands of his false protectors until he has been transformed from a passive into an active opponent of the industrial workers? This brings us right into the thick of the peasant question.

I

The rural population to which we can address ourselves consists of quite different parts, which again vary greatly with the various regions.

In the West of Germany, as in France and Belgium, there prevails the small-scale cultivation of small-holding peasants, the majority of whom own and the minority of whom rent their plots of land.

In the Northwest—in Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein—we have a preponderance of big and middle peasants who cannot do without male and female farm servants and even day labourers. The same is true of part of Bavaria.

In Prussia east of the Elbe and in Mecklenburg we have the region of big landed estates and large-scale cultivation with hinds, cotters and day labourers, and in between small and middle peasants in relatively unimportant and steadily decreasing proportion.

In central Germany all these forms of production and ownership are found mixed in various proportions, depending upon the locality, without the clear prevalence of any particular form over a large area.

Besides there are localities varying in extent where the arable land owned or rented is insufficient to provide for the subsistence of the family, but can serve only as the basis for operating a domestic industry and enabling the latter to receive the otherwise incomprehensibly low wages that ensure the steady sale of its products despite all foreign competition.

Which of these subdivisions of the rural population can be won over by the Social-Democratic Party? We, of course, investigate this question only in broad outline; we single out only clear-cut forms. We lack space to give consideration to intermediate stages and mixed rural populations.

Let us begin with the small peasant. Not only is he, of all peasants, the most important for Western Europe in general, but he is also the critical case that decides the entire question. Once we have clarified in our minds our attitude to the small peasant we have all the grounds needed to determine our stand relative to the other constituent parts of the rural population.

By small peasant we mean here the owner or tenant—particularly the former—of a patch of land no bigger, as a rule, than he and his family can till, and no smaller than can sustain the family. This small peasant, just like the small handicraftsman, is

therefore a toiler who differs from the modern proletarian in that he still possesses his instruments of labour; hence a survival of a past mode of production. There is a threefold difference between him and his ancestor, the serf, bondman or, very exceptionally, the free peasant liable to rent and feudal services. First, in that the French Revolution freed him from the feudal services and dues that he owed to the landlord and in the majority of cases, at least on the left bank of the Rhine, assigned his peasant farm to him as his own free property. Second, in that he lost the protection of and the right to participate in the self-administering Mark community, and hence his share in the emoluments of the former common Mark. The common Mark was whisked away partly by the erstwhile feudal lord and partly by enlightened bureaucratic legislation modelled on Roman law. This deprives the small peasant of modern times of the possibility of feeding his draft animals without buying fodder. Economically, however, the loss of the emoluments derived from the Mark by far outweighs the benefits accruing from the abolition of feudal services. The number of peasants unable to keep draft animals of their own is steadily increasing. Third, the peasant of today has lost half of his former productive activity. Formerly he and his family produced, from raw material he had made himself, the greater part of the industrial products that he needed; the rest of what he required was supplied by village neighbours who plied a trade in addition to farming and were paid mostly in articles of exchange or in reciprocal services. The family, and still more the village, was self-sufficient, produced almost everything it needed. It was a natural economy almost unalloyed; almost no money was necessary. Capitalist production put an end to this by its money economy and large-scale industry. But if the Mark emoluments represented one of the basic conditions of his existence, his industrial sideline was another. And thus the peasant sinks ever lower. Taxes, crop failures, divisions of inheritance and litigations drive one peasant after another into the arms of the usurer; the indebtedness becomes more and more general and steadily increases in amount in each case—in brief, our small peasant, like every other survival of a past mode of production, is hopelessly doomed. He is a future proletarian.

As such he ought to lend a ready ear to socialist propaganda. But he is prevented from doing so for the time being by his deep-rooted sense of property. The more difficult it is for him to defend his endangered patch of land the more desperately he clings to it, the more he regards the Social Democrats, who speak

of transferring landed property to the whole of society, just as dangerous a foe as the usurer and lawyer. How is Social Democracy to overcome this prejudice? What can it offer to the doomed small peasant without becoming untrue to itself?

Here we find a practical point of support in the agrarian programme of the French socialists of the Marxist trend, a programme which is the more noteworthy as it comes from the classical land of small peasant economy.

The Marseilles Congress of 1892 adopted the first agrarian programme of the Party.[445] It demands for propertyless rural *workers* (that is to say, day labourers and hinds): minimum wages fixed by trade unions and community councils; rural trade courts consisting half of workers; prohibition of the sale of communal land; and the leasing of public domain land to communities which are to rent out all this land, whether owned or leased by them, to associations of propertyless families of farm labourers for common cultivation, on condition that the employment of wage labourers be prohibited and that communities exercise control; old-age and invalid pensions, to be defrayed by means of a special tax on big landed estates.

On behalf of the *small peasants,* with special consideration to tenant farmers, it demands: acquisition of farm machinery by the community to be leased at a cost price to the peasants; the formation of peasant co-operatives for the purchase of manure, drain-pipes, seed, etc., and for the sale of the produce; abolition of the real estate transfer tax if the value involved does not exceed 5,000 francs; arbitration commissions on the Irish pattern to reduce exorbitant rents and compensate quitting tenant farmers and sharecroppers (*métayers*) for the appreciation of the land due to them; repeal of Article 2102 of the Civil Code which allows a landlord to impound the crop, and the abolition of the right of creditors to levy on growing crops; exemption from levy and distraint of a definite amount of farm implements and of the crop, seed, manure, draft animals, in short, whatever is indispensable to the peasant for carrying on his business; revision of the general cadastre, which has long been out of date, and until such time a local revision in each community; lastly, free instruction in farming, and agricultural experimental stations.

As we see, the demands made in the interests of the peasants—those made in the interests of the workers do not concern us here for the time being—are not very far-reaching. Some of them have already been implemented elsewhere. The tenants' arbitration courts refer explicitly to the Irish prototype.

Peasant co-operatives already exist in the Rhine provinces. The revision of the cadastre has constantly been a pious wish of all liberals and even bureaucrats throughout Western Europe. The other points, too, could be carried into effect without any substantial impairment of the existing capitalist order. So much simply in characterisation of the programme. No reproach is intended; quite the contrary.

The Party did such good business with this programme among the peasants in the most diverse parts of France that—since appetite comes with eating—a need was felt to adapt it still more to their taste. The feeling was, however, that this would be treading on dangerous ground. How was the peasant to be helped, not the peasant as a future proletarian but as a propertied peasant of the present time, without violating the basic principles of the general socialist programme? In order to meet this objection the new practical proposals were prefaced by a theoretical preamble which seeks to prove that it is in keeping with the principles of socialism to protect small-peasant property from destruction by the capitalist mode of production although one is perfectly aware that this destruction is inevitable. Let us now examine more closely this preamble as well as the demands themselves, which were adopted by the Nantes Congress in September of this year.

The preamble begins as follows:

"Whereas according to the terms of the general programme of the Party producers can be free only in so far as they are in possession of the means of production;

"Whereas in the sphere of industry these means of production have already reached such a degree of capitalist centralisation that they can be restored to the producers only in collective or social form, but—at least in present-day France—this is by no means the case in the sphere of agriculture, the means of production, namely the land, being in very many localities still in the hands of the individual producers themselves as their individual property;

"Whereas even this state of affairs characterised by small-holding ownership is irretrievably doomed (*est fatalement appelé à disparaître*), still it is not for socialism to hasten this doom, as its task does not consist in separating property from labour but, on the contrary, in uniting both of these factors of all production by placing them in the same hands, factors whose separation entails the servitude and poverty of the workers reduced to proletarians;

"Whereas, on the one hand, it is the duty of socialism to put the agricultural proletarians again in possession—collective or social in form—of the great domains after expropriating their present idle owners, it is, on the other hand, no less its imperative duty to maintain the peasants themselves tilling their patches of land in possession of the same as against the treasury, the usurer, and the encroachments of the newly arisen big landowners;

"Whereas it is expedient to extend this protection also to the producers who as tenants or sharecroppers (*métayers*) cultivate the land owned by others and who, if

they exploit day labourers, are to a certain extent compelled to do so by the exploitation to which they themselves are subjected—

"Therefore the Workers' Party—which unlike the anarchists does not count on an increase and spread of poverty for the transformation of the social order but expects labour and society in general to be emancipated only by the organisation and concerted efforts of the workers of both country and town, by their taking possession of the government and legislation—had adopted the following agrarian programme in order to bring together all the elements of rural production, all occupations which by virtue of various rights and titles utilise the national soil, to wage an identical struggle against the common foe: the feudality of landownership."

Now for a closer examination of these "whereas".

To begin with, the statement in the French programme that freedom of the producers presupposes the possession of the means of production must be supplemented by those immediately following: that the possession of the means of production is possible only in two forms: either as individual possession, which form never and nowhere existed for the producers in general, and is daily being made more impossible by industrial progress; or else as common possession, a form the material and intellectual preconditions of which have been established by the development of capitalist society itself; that therefore taking *collective* possession of the means of production must be fought for by all means at the disposal of the proletariat.

The common possession of the means of production is thus set forth here as the sole principal goal to be striven for. Not only in industry, where the ground has already been prepared, but in general, hence also in agriculture. According to the programme individual possession never and nowhere obtained generally for all producers; for that very reason and because industrial progress removes it anyhow, socialism is not interested in maintaining, but rather in removing, it; because where it exists and in so far as it exists it makes common possession impossible. Once we cite the programme in support of our contention, we must cite the entire programme, which considerably modifies the proposition quoted in Nantes by making the universal historical truth expressed in it dependent upon the conditions under which alone it can remain a truth today in Western Europe and North America.

Possession of the means of production by the individual producers nowadays no longer grants these producers any real freedom. The handicrafts have already been ruined in the cities; in metropolises like London they have even disappeared entirely, having been replaced by large-scale industry, the sweatshop system and miserable bunglers who thrive on bankruptcy. The

self-supporting small peasant is neither in the safe possession of his tiny patch of land nor is he free. He, as well as his house, his farmstead and his few fields belong to the usurer; his livelihood is more uncertain than that of the proletarian, who at least does have tranquil days now and then, which is never the case with the tortured debt slave. Strike out Article 2102 of the Civil Code, provide by law that a definite amount of a peasant's farm implements, livestock, etc., shall be exempt from levy and distraint; yet you cannot ensure him against an emergency in which he is compelled to sell his cattle "voluntarily", in which he must sign himself away body and sole to the usurer and be glad to get a reprieve. Your attempt to protect the small peasant in his property does not protect his liberty but only the particular form of his servitude; it prolongs a situation in which he can neither live nor die. It is, therefore, entirely out of place here to cite the first paragraph of your programme.

The preamble states that in present-day France the means of production, that is, the land, is in very many localities still in the hands of individual producers as their individual possession; that, however, it is not, so it continues, the task of socialism to separate property from labour, but, on the contrary, to unite these two factors of all production by placing them in the same hands.—As has already been pointed out, the latter in this general form is by no means the task of socialism. The latter's task is rather only to transfer the means of production to the producers as their *common possession.* As soon as we lose sight of this the above statement becomes directly misleading in that it implies it is the mission of socialism to convert the present sham property of the small peasant in his fields into real property, that is to say, to convert the small tenant into an owner and the indebted owner into a debtless owner. Undoubtedly socialism is interested to see that the false semblance of peasant property should disappear, but not in this manner.

At any rate we have now got so far that the preamble can straightforwardly declare it to be the duty of socialism, indeed, its imperative duty,

> "to maintain the peasants themselves tilling their patches of land in possession of the same as against the treasury, the usurer,and the encroachments of the newly arisen big landowners".

The preamble thus imposes upon socialism the imperative duty to carry out something which it had declared to be impossible in the preceding paragraph. It charges it to "maintain" the small-holding ownership of the peasants although it itself states

that this form of ownership is "irretrievably doomed". What are the treasury, the usurer and the newly arisen big landowners if not the instruments by means of which capitalist production brings about this inevitable doom? What means "socialism" is to employ to protect the peasant against this trinity we shall see below.

But not only the small peasant is to be protected in his property. It is likewise

> "expedient to extend this protection also to the producers who as tenants or sharecroppers (*métayers*) cultivate the land owned by others and who, if they exploit day labourers, are to a certain extent compelled to do so by the exploitation to which they themselves are subjected".

Here we are entering upon peculiar ground indeed. Socialism is particularly opposed to the exploitation of wage labour. And here it is declared to be the imperative duty of socialism to protect the French tenants when they "*exploit* day labourers", to quote the text verbatim! And that because they are compelled to do so to a certain extent "by the exploitation to which they themselves are subjected"!

How easy and pleasant it is to keep on coasting once you are on the toboggan slide! When the big and middle peasants of Germany now come to ask the French socialists to intercede with the German Party Executive to get the German Social-Democratic Party to protect them in the exploitation of their male and female farm servants, citing in support of their contention the "exploitation to which they themselves are subjected" by usurers, tax collectors, grain speculators and cattle dealers, what will they answer? What guarantee have they that our agrarian big landlords will not send them Count Kanitz (as he also submitted a proposal like theirs providing for a state monopoly in grain importation) and likewise ask for socialist protection of their exploitation of the rural workers, citing in support "the exploitation to which they themselves are subjected" by stock-jobbers, money lenders and grain speculators?

Let us say here at the outset that the intentions of our French friends are not as bad as one would suppose. The above paragraph, we are told, is intended to cover only a quite special case, namely the following: In Northern France, just as in our sugar-beet districts, land is leased to the peasants obliged to cultivate beets on conditions which are extremely onerous. They must deliver the beets to a stated factory at a price fixed by it, must buy definite seed, use a fixed quantity of prescribed fertiliser and on delivery are badly cheated into the bargain. We are only too familiar with this in Germany as well. But if this sort of

peasant is to be taken under one's wing this must be said openly and explicitly. As the sentence reads now, in its unlimited general form, it is a direct violation not only of the French programme but also of the fundamental principle of socialism in general, and its authors will have no cause for complaint if this careless piece of editing is used against them in various quarters contrary to their intention.

Also capable of such misconstruction are the concluding words of the preamble according to which it is the task of the Socialist Workers' Party

"to bring together all the elements of rural production, all occupations which by virtue of various rights and titles utilise the national soil, to wage an identical struggle against the common foe: the feudality of landownership".

I flatly deny that the socialist workers' party of any country is charged with the task of taking into its fold, in addition to the rural proletarians and the small peasants, also the middle and big peasants and perhaps even the tenants of big estates, the capitalist cattle breeders and the other capitalist exploiters of the national soil. To all of them the feudality of landownership may appear to be a common foe. On certain questions we may make common cause with them and be able to fight for some time on their side for definite aims. True, we can use in our Party individuals from every class of society, but we have no use whatever for any groups representing capitalist, middle-bourgeois or middle-peasant interests. Here too what they mean is not as bad as it looks. The authors evidently never even gave all this a thought. But unfortunately they allowed themselves to be carried away by their zeal for generalisation and they must not be surprised if they are taken at their word.

After the preamble come the newly adopted addenda to the programme itself. They betray the same cursory editing as the preamble.

The article providing that the communities must acquire farm machinery and lease it at prime cost to the peasants is modified so as to provide that the communities are, in the first place, to receive state subsidies for this purpose and, secondly, that the machinery is to be placed at the disposal of the small peasants free of charge. This further concession will not be of much avail to the small peasants, whose fields and mode of production permit of but little use of machinery.

Furthermore,

"substitution of a single progressive tax on all incomes upward of 3,000 francs for all existing direct and indirect taxes".

A similar demand has been included for many years in almost every Social-Democratic programme. But that this demand is raised especially in the interests of the small peasants is something new and shows only how little its real scope has been calculated. Take England. There the state budget amounts to 90 million pounds sterling, of which $13^1/_2$ to 14 million are accounted for by income tax. The smaller part of the remaining 76 million is contributed by taxing business (post and telegraph charges, stamp tax), but by far greater part of it imposts on articles of mass consumption, by constantly repeated clipping of small, imperceptible amount totalling many millions from the incomes of all members of the population, but particularly of its poorer sections. In present-day society it is scarcely possible to defray state expenditures in any other way. Suppose the whole 90 million are saddled in England on the incomes of 120 pounds sterling=3,000 francs and in excess thereof by the imposition of a progressive direct tax. The average annual accumulation, the annual increase of the aggregate national wealth, amounted in 1865 to 1875, according to Giffen, to 240 million pounds sterling. Let us assume it now equals 300 million annually; a tax burden of 90 million would consume almost one-third of the aggregate accumulation. In other words, no government except a socialist one can undertake any such thing. When the socialists are at the helm there will be things for them to carry into execution alongside which that tax reform will figure as a mere, and quite insignificant, settlement for the moment while altogether different prospects open up to the small peasants.

There seems to be a realisation that the peasants will have to wait rather a long time for this tax reform so that "in the meantime" (*en attendant*) the following prospect is held out to them:

"abolition of taxes on land for all peasants living by their own labour, and reduction of these taxes on all mortgaged plots".

The latter half of this demand can refer only to peasant farms *too big* to be operated by the family itself; hence it is again a provision in favour of peasants who "exploit day labourers".

Again:

"freedom of hunting and fishing without restriction other than such as may be necessary for the conservation of game and fish and the protection of growing crops".

This sounds very popular, but the concluding part of the sentence wipes out the introductory part. How many hares, partridges, pikes and carp are there even today per peasant family

in all the rural localities? Would you say more than would warrant giving each peasant just *one* day a year for free hunting and fishing?

"Lowering of the legal and conventional rate of interest"—

hence renewed usury laws, a renewed attempt to introduce a police measure that has always failed everywhere for the last two thousand years. If a small peasant finds himself in a position where recourse to a usurer is the lesser evil to him, the usurer will always find ways and means of sucking him dry without falling foul of the usury laws. This measure could serve at most to soothe the small peasant but he will derive no advantage from it; on the contrary, it makes it more difficult for him to obtain credit precisely when he needs it most.

"Medical treatment free of charge and medicines at cost price"—

this at any rate is not a measure for the special protection of the peasants. The German programme goes further and demands that medicine too should be free of charge.

"Compensation for families of reservists called up for military duty for the duration of their service"—

this already exists, though most inadequately, in Germany and Austria and is likewise no special peasant demand.

"Lowering of the transport charges for fertiliser and farm machinery and produce"—

is on the whole in effect in Germany, and mainly in the interests—of the big landowners.

"Immediate preparatory work for the elaboration of a plan of public works for the amelioration of the soil and the advancement of agricultural production"—

leaves everything in the realm of uncertainty and fine-sounding promises and is also above all in the interest of the big landed estates.

In brief, after the tremendous theoretical effort exhibited in the preamble the practical proposals of the new agrarian programme are even more unrevealing as to the way in which the French Workers' Party expects to be able to maintain the small peasants in possession of their smallholdings which, on its own testimony, are irretrievably doomed.

II

In one point our French comrades are absolutely right: No lasting revolutionary transformation is possible in France *against*

the will of the small peasant. Only it seems to me they have not got the right leverage if they mean to lay hold of the peasant.

They are bent, it seems, on winning over the small peasant forthwith, possibly even for the next general elections. This they can hope to achieve only by making very risky general assurances in defence of which they are compelled to set forth even much more risky theoretical considerations. Then, upon closer examination, it appears that the general assurances are self-contradictory (promise to maintain a state of affairs which, as one declares oneself, is irretrievably doomed) and that the various measures are either wholly without effect (usury laws), or are general workers' demands or demands which also benefit the big landowners or finally are such of no great bearing at all on the interests of the small peasants. In consequence, the directly practical part of the programme of itself corrects the erroneous initial part and reduces the apparently formidable grandiloquence of the preamble to actually innocent proportions.

Let us say it outright: in view of the prejudices arising out of their entire economic position, their upbringing and their isolated mode of life, prejudices nurtured by the bourgeois press and the big landowners, we can win over the mass of the small peasants forthwith only if we make them a promise which we ourselves know we shall not be able to keep. That is, we must promise them not only to protect their property in any event against all economic forces sweeping over them but also to relieve them of the burdens which already now oppress them: to transform the tenant into a free owner and to pay the debts of the owner succumbing to the weight of his mortgage. If we could do this we should again arrive at the point from which the present situation would necessarily develop anew. We shall not have emancipated the peasant but only given him a reprieve.

But it is not in our interests to win over the peasant overnight only to lose him again on the morrow if we cannot keep our promise. We have no more use for the peasant as a Party member if he expects us to perpetuate his property in his smallholding than for the small handicraftsman who would fain be perpetuated as a boss. These people belong to the anti-Semites. Let them go to them and let them get the promise to salvage their small enterprises. Once they learn there what these glittering phrases really amount to and what melodies are fiddled down from the anti-Semitic heavens they will realise in ever-increasing measure that we who promise less and look for salvation in entirely different quarters are after all more reliable people. If the French

had the strident anti-Semitic demagogy we have they would hardly have committed the mistake at Nantes.

What, then, is our attitude towards the small peasants? How shall we have to deal with them on the day of our accession to power?

To begin with, the French programme is absolutely correct in stating: that we foresee the inevitable doom of the small peasant but that it is not our mission to hasten it by any interference on our part.

Secondly, it is just as evident that when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private undertaking, private property to a co-operative one, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose. And then of course we shall have ample means of showing to the small peasant prospective advantages that must be obvious to him even today.

Almost twenty years ago the Danish socialists, who have only one real city in their country—Copenhagen—and therefore have to rely almost exclusively on peasant propaganda outside of it, were already drawing up such plans. The peasants of a village or parish—there are many big individual homesteads in Denmark—were to pool their land to form a single big farm in order to cultivate it for common account and distribute the yield in proportion to the land, money and labour contributed. In Denmark small landed property plays only a secondary role. But if we apply this idea to a region of smallholdings we shall find that if these are pooled and the aggregate area cultivated on a large scale, part of the labour power employed hitherto is rendered superfluous. It is precisely this saving of labour that represents one of the main advantages of large-scale farming. Employment for this labour power can be found in two ways. Either additional land taken from big estates in the neighbourhood is placed at the disposal of the peasant co-operative or the peasants in question are provided with the means and opportunity to engage in industrial sidelines, primarily and as far as possible for their own use. In either case their economic position is improved and simultaneously the general social directing agency is assured the necessary influence to gradually transform the peasant co-operative to a higher form, and to balance the rights and duties of the co-operative as a whole as well as of its individual members with

those of the other departments of the entire community. How this is to be carried out in practice in each particular case will depend upon the circumstances of the case and the conditions under which we take possession of political power. We may thus possibly be in a position to offer these co-operatives yet further advantages: assumption of their entire mortgage indebtedness by the national bank with a simultaneous sharp reduction of the interest rate; advances from public funds for the establishment of large-scale production (to be made not necessarily or primarily in money but in the form of required products: machinery, artificial fertiliser, etc.), and other advantages besides.

The main point is and will be to make the peasants understand that we can save, preserve their houses and fields for them only by transforming them into co-operative property operated co-operatively. It is precisely the individual farming conditioned by individual ownership that drives the peasants to their doom. If they insist on individual operation they will inevitably be driven from house and home and their antiquated mode of production superseded by capitalist large-scale production. That is how the matter stands. Now we come along and offer the peasants the opportunity of introducing large-scale production themselves, not for account of the capitalists but for their own, common account. Should it really be impossible to make the peasants understand that this is in their own interest, that it is the sole means of their salvation?

Neither now nor at any time in the future can we promise the smallholding peasants to preserve their individual property and individual enterprise against the overwhelming power of capitalist production. We can only promise them that we shall not interfere in their property relations by force, against their will. Moreover, we can advocate that the struggle of the capitalists and big landlords against the small peasants should be waged even now with a minimum of unfair means and that direct robbery and cheating, which are practised only too often, be as far as possible prevented. In this we shall succeed only in exceptional cases. Under the developed capitalist mode of production nobody can tell where honesty ends and cheating begins. But always it will make a considerable difference whether public authority is on the side of the cheater or the cheated. We of course are decidedly on the side of the small peasant; we shall do everything at all permissible to make his lot more bearable, to facilitate his transition to the co-operative should he decide in favour of it, and even to make it possible for him to remain on his smallholding

for a protracted length of time to think the matter over, should he still be unable to bring himself to this decision. We do this not only because we consider the small peasant living by his own labour as virtually belonging to us, but also in the direct interest of the Party. The greater the number of peasants whom we can save from being actually hurled down into the proletariat, whom we can win over to our side while they are still peasants, the more quickly and easily the social transformation will be accomplished. It will serve us nought to wait with this transformation until capitalist production has developed everywhere to its utmost conseqences, until the last small handicraftsman and the last small peasant have fallen victim to capitalist large-scale production. The material sacrifice to be made for this purpose in the interest of the peasants and to be defrayed out of public funds can, from the point of view of capitalist economy, appear only as money thrown away, but it is nevertheless an excellent investment because it will effect a perhaps tenfold saving in the cost of the social reorganisation in general. In this sense we can, therefore, afford to deal very liberally with the peasants. This is not the place to go into details, to make concrete proposals to that end; here we can deal only with general principles.

Accordingly we can do no greater disservice to the Party as well as to the small peasants than to make promises that even so much as create the impression that we intend to preserve the smallholdings permanently. It would mean directly to block the way of the peasants to their emancipation and to degrade the Party to the level of rowdy anti-Semitism. On the contrary, it is the duty of our Party to make clear to the peasants again and again that their position is absolutely hopeless as long as capitalism holds sway, that it is absolutely impossible to preserve their smallholdings for them as such, that capitalist large-scale production is absolutely sure to run over their impotent antiquated system of small production as a train runs over wheelbarrow. If we do this we shall act in conformity with the inevitable trend of economic development, and this development will not fail to bring our words home to the small peasants.

Incidentally, I cannot leave this subject without expressing my conviction that the authors of the Nantes programme are also essentially of my opinion. Their insight is much too great for them not to know that areas now divided into smallholdings are also bound to become common property. They themselves admit that smallholding ownership is destined to disappear. The report of the National Council drawn up by Lafargue and delivered at the

Congress of Nantes likewise fully corroborates this view. It has been published in German in the Berlin *Sozialdemokrat* of October 18 of this year.[a] The contradictory nature of the expressions used in the Nantes programme itself betrays the fact that what the authors actually say is not what they mean to say. If they are not understood and their statements misused, as actually has already happened, that is of course their own fault. At any rate, they will have to elucidate their programme and the next French congress revise it thoroughly.

We now come to the bigger peasants. Here as a result of the divisions of inheritance as well as of indebtedness and forced sales of land we find a variegated pattern of intermediate stages, from smallholding peasant to big peasant proprietor, who has retained his old patrimony intact or even added to it. Where the middle peasant lives among smallholding peasants his interests and views will not differ greatly from theirs; he knows from his own experience how many of his kind have already sunk to the level of small peasants. But where middle and big peasants predominate and the operation of the farms requires, generally, the help of male and female servants it is quite a different matter. Of course a workers' party has to fight, in the first place, on behalf of the wage workers, that is, for the male and female servants and the day labourers. It is thus unquestionably forbidden to make any promises to the peasants which include the continuance of the wage slavery of the workers. But as long as the big and middle peasants continue to exist as such they cannot manage without wage workers. If it would, therefore, be downright folly on our part to hold out prospects to the smallholding peasants of continuing permanently to be such, it would border on treason were we to promise the same to the big and middle peasants.

We have here again the parallel case of the handicraftsmen in the cities. True, they are more ruined than the peasants but there still are some who employ journeymen in addition to apprentices or for whom apprentices do the work of journeymen. Let those of these master craftsmen who want to perpetuate their existence as such cast in their lot with the anti-Semites until they have convinced themselves that they get no help in that quarter either. The rest, who have realised that their mode of production is inevitably doomed, are coming over to us and, moreover, are ready in future to share the lot that is in store for all other

[a] P. Lafargue, "Das bauerliche Eigentum und die ökonomische Entwicklung."—*Ed.*

workers. The same applies to the big and middle peasants. It goes without saying that we are more interested in their male and female servants and day labourers than in them themselves. If these peasants want to be guaranteed the continued existence of their enterprises we are in no position whatever to assure them of that. They must then take their place among the anti-Semites, peasant leaguers and similar parties who derive pleasure from promising everything and keeping nothing. We are economically certain that the big and middle peasant must likewise inevitably succumb to the competition of capitalist production and the cheap overseas corn, as is proved by the growing indebtedness and the everywhere evident decay of these peasants as well. We can do nothing against this decay except recommend here too the pooling of farms to form co-operative enterprises, in which the exploitation of wage labour will be eliminated more and more, and their gradual transformation into branches of the great national producers' co-operatives with each branch enjoying equal rights and duties can be instituted. If these peasants realise the inevitability of the doom of their present mode of production and draw the necessary conclusions they will come to us and it will be incumbent upon us to facilitate to the best of our ability also their transition to the changed mode of production. Otherwise we shall have to abandon them to their fate and address ourselves to their wage workers, among whom we shall not fail to find sympathy. Most likely we shall be able to abstain here as well from resorting to forcible expropriation, and as for the rest to count on future economic developments making even these more stubborn characters amenable to reason.

Only the big landed estates present a perfectly simple case. Here we are dealing with undisguised capitalist production and no scruples of any sort need restrain us. Here we are confronted by rural proletarians in masses and our task is clear. As soon as our Party is in possession of political power it has simply to expropriate the big landed proprietors just like the manufacturers in industry. Whether this expropriation is to be compensated for or not will to a great extent depend not upon us but the circumstances under which we obtain power, and particularly upon the attitude adopted by these gentry, the big landowners, themselves. We by no means consider compensation as impermissible in any event; Marx told me (and how many times!) that in his opinion we would get off cheapest if we could buy out the whole lot of them. But this does not concern us here. The big estates thus restored to the community are to be turned over by us to the

rural workers who are already cultivating them and are to be organised into co-operatives. They are to be assigned to them for their use and benefit under the control of the community. Nothing can as yet be stated as to the terms of their tenure. At any rate the transformation of the capitalist enterprise into a social enterprise is here fully prepared for and can be carried into execution overnight, precisely as in Mr. Krupp's or Mr. von Stumm's factory. And the example of these agricultural co-operatives would convince even the last of the still resistant small-holding peasants, and surely also many big peasants, of the advantages of co-operative, large-scale production.

Thus we can open up prospects here before the rural proletarians as splendid as those facing the industrial workers, and it can be only a question of time, and of only a very short time, before we win over to our side the rural workers of Prussia east of the Elbe. But once we have the East-Elbe rural workers a different wind will blow at once all over Germany. The actual semi-servitude of the East-Elbe rural workers is the main basis for the domination of Prussian Junkerdom and thus for the specially Prussian overlordship in Germany. It is the Junkers east of the Elbe who have created and preserved the specifically Prussian character of the bureaucracy as well as of the body of army officers—the Junkers, who are being reduced more and more to ruin by their indebtedness, impoverishment and parasitism at state and private cost and for that very reason cling the more desperately to the dominion which they exercise; the Junkers, whose haughtiness, bigotry and arrogance have brought the German Empire of the Prussian nation within the country into such hatred—even when every allowance is made for the fact that at present this Empire is inevitable as the sole form in which national unity can now be attained—and abroad so little respect despite its brilliant victories. The power of these Junkers is grounded on the fact that within the compact territory of the seven old Prussian provinces—that is, approximately one-third of the entire territory of the Empire—they have at their disposal the landed property, which here brings with it both social and political power; and not only the landed property but, through their beet-sugar refineries and liquor distilleries, also the most important industries of this area. Neither the big landowners of the rest of Germany nor the big industrialists are in a similarly favourable position. Neither of them have a compact kingdom at their disposal. Both are scattered over a wide stretch of territory and compete among themselves and with other social elements surrounding them for economic

and political predominance. But the economic foundation of this domination of the Prussian Junkers is steadily deteriorating. Here too indebtedness and impoverishment are spreading irresistibly despite all state assistance (and since Frederick II this item has been included in every regular Junker budget). Only the actual semi-serfdom sanctioned by law and custom, and the resulting possibility of the unlimited exploitation of the rural workers, still barely keeps the drowning Junkers above water. Sow the seed of Social Democracy among these workers, give them the courage and cohesion to insist upon their rights, and the glory of the Junkers will be at an end. The great reactionary power, which to Germany represents the same barbarous, predatory element as Russian tsardom does to the whole of Europe, will collapse like a pricked bubble. The "picked regiments" of the Prussian army will become Social-Democratic, which will result in a shift in power that is pregnant with an entire upheaval. But for this reason it is of vastly greater importance to win over the rural proletariat east of the Elbe than the small peasants of Western Germany or yet the middle peasants of Southern Germany. It is here, in East-Elbe Prussia, that the decisive battle of our cause will have to be fought and for this very reason both government and Junkerdom will do their utmost to prevent our gaining access here. And should, as we are threatened, new forcible measures be resorted to in order to impede the spread of our Party their primary purpose will be to protect the East-Elbe rural proletariat from our propaganda. It's all the same to us. We shall win it nevertheless.

[ON THE FOURTH VOLUME OF KARL MARX'S *CAPITAL*][446]

An announcement of this published by the *Vorwärts* says that it would probably be necessary to forgo the publication of the fourth volume, which was to contain the history of the theory:

"apart from a few notes, no preparatory material for the concluding volume of his work has been found".

We hope that the *Vorwärts* is somewhat mistaken in this. At any rate F. Engels presents us with a rather less hopeless piece of information in the Preface to the second volume of *Capital.* According to this, a manuscript dating from the years 1861-63, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* comprising 1,472 quarto pages, contains (pp. 220-972) a section entitled "Theories of Surplus Value", of which Engels says: "This section contains a *detailed critical history* of the pith and marrow of Political Economy, the theory of surplus value... After eliminating the numerous passages covered by Books II and III, I intend *to publish* the critical part of this manuscript *as Book IV.*"[a]

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Published in English for the first time

[a] See present edition, Vol. 36, Engels' Preface.— *Ed.*

[TO THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][447]

London, December 6, 1894
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade,

I would ask you to convey to the Society my heartiest thanks for the kind message of greetings on my birthday. I hope that the Society, which has already outlived by four years its first half century, will also reach the 74 years which have been my lot, and then find enough strength and youthful vigour to complete a full century.

Sincere greetings from
Fr. Engels

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS ON THE DAILY PUBLICATION OF THE *ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*][448]

The first daily newspaper everywhere marks an epochal advance in the life of a party, and a workers' party in particular[a]! It is the first position from which it can tackle its opponents with the same weapons, at least in the field of the press. You have won this position; now the second is at stake: suffrage, parliament. And you are certain of this too, if you exploit the political situation—becoming ever more favourable to you as it is—with the same skill as [you have done] in the past fifteen months; if you are determined to act at the right time, but, as so often necessary, also determined to wait at the right time, that is to say: if you know how to let circumstances act on your behalf.

Good luck and success to the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*!

London, December 27, 1894

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 1, January 1, 1895

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the rough manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] In the letter to Victor Adler of December 27, 1894, there is a phrase opening the letter which is omitted in the printed text: "I ask you to convey my greetings to the Austrian workers on the daily publication of their newspaper."—*Ed.*

INTRODUCTION [TO KARL MARX'S *THE CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE 1848 TO 1850*] [1895][449]

The work republished here was Marx's first attempt to explain a piece of contemporary history by means of his materialist conception, on the basis of the prevailing economic situation. In the *Communist Manifesto,* the theory was applied in broad outline to the whole of modern history; in the articles by Marx and myself in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* it was constantly used to interpret political events of the day. Here, on the other hand, the question was to demonstrate the inner causal connection in the course of a development which extended over some years, a development as critical, for the whole of Europe, as it was typical; hence, in accordance with the conception of the author, to trace political events back to effects of what were, in the final analysis, economic causes.

If events and series of events are judged by current history, it will never be possible to go back to the *ultimate* economic causes. Even today, when the specialised press provides such rich material, it still remains impossible even in England to follow day by day the movement of industry and trade on the world market and the changes which take place in the methods of production in such a way as to be able to draw a general conclusion for any point in time from these manifold, complicated and ever-changing factors, the most important of which, into the bargain, generally operate a long time in realms unknown before they suddenly make themselves forcefully felt on the surface. A clear overall view of the economic history of a given period can never be obtained contemporaneously, but only subsequently, after the material has been collected and sifted. Statistics are a necessary auxiliary aid here, and they always lag behind. For this reason, it is only too

often necessary in current history to treat this, the most decisive, factor as constant, and the economic situation existing at the beginning of the period concerned as given and unalterable for the whole period, or else to take notice of only such changes in this situation as arise out of the patently manifest events themselves, and are, therefore, likewise patently manifest. So here the materialist method has quite often to limit itself to tracing political conflicts back to the struggles between the interests of the existing social classes and fractions of classes caused by economic development, and to demonstrate that the particular political parties are the more or less adequate political expression of these same classes and fractions of classes.

It is self-evident that this unavoidable neglect of contemporaneous changes in the economic situation, the very basis of all the processes to be examined, must be a source of error. But all the conditions required for a comprehensive presentation of current history inevitably include sources of error—which, however, keeps nobody from writing current history.

When Marx undertook this work, the source of error mentioned was even more unavoidable. It was simply impossible during the Revolution period of 1848-49 to follow the economic transformations taking place simultaneously or even to keep them in view. It was the same during his first months of exile in London, in the autumn and winter of 1849-50. But that was precisely the time when Marx began this work. And in spite of these unfavourable circumstances, his exact knowledge both of the economic situation in France before, and of the political history of that country after, the February Revolution made it possible for him to present a picture of events which laid bare their inner connections in a way never attained ever since, and which later passed with flying colours the double test applied by Marx himself.

The first test arose when, after the spring of 1850, Marx once again found time for economic studies, and began by applying himself to the economic history of the previous ten years. What he had hitherto deduced, half *a priori,* from sketchy material, thus became absolutely clear to him from the facts themselves, namely that the world trade crisis of 1847 had been the true mother of the February and March revolutions, and that the industrial prosperity which had been returning gradually since the middle of 1848 and attained full bloom in 1849 and 1850 was the revitalising force of a restrengthened European reaction. That was crucially important. Whereas in the first three articles (which appeared in the January, February and March issues of the *Neue Rheinische*

Zeitung Politisch-ökonomische Revue, Hamburg, 1850) there was still the expectation of an early fresh upsurge of revolutionary vigour, the historical review written by Marx and myself for the last issue, a double one (May to October), which was published in the autumn of 1850, breaks with these illusions once and for all: "A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis." [450] But that was the only major change which had to be made. There was absolutely nothing to alter in the interpretation of events given in the earlier chapters, or in the causal connections established therein, as proved by the continuation of the narrative from March 10 up to the autumn of 1850 in the said review. I have, therefore, included this continuation as the fourth article in the present new edition.

The second test was even more severe. Immediately after Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état of December 2, 1851, Marx dealt afresh with the history of France from February 1848 up to this event which concluded the revolutionary period for the time being. (*Der 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte.* Third edition, Hamburg, Meissner, 1885.[a]) In this pamphlet the period depicted in our present publication is again dealt with, albeit in briefer form. Compare this second presentation, written in the light of the decisive event which happened over a year later, with ours and it will be found that the author had very little to change.

What gives our work quite special significance is the fact that it was the first to express the formula in which, by common agreement, the workers' parties of all countries in the world briefly summarise their demand for economic transformation: the appropriation of the means of production by society. In the second chapter, in connection with the "right to work", which is described as "the first clumsy formula wherein the revolutionary demands of the proletariat are summarised", it is said: "but behind the right to work stands the power over capital; behind the power over capital, the *appropriation of the means of production,* their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour, of capital and of their mutual relations".[b] Thus, here, for the first time, the proposition is formulated by which modern workers' socialism is sharply differentiated both from all the different shades of feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., socialism and from the confused community of goods of

[a] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197.— *Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 77-78.— *Ed.*

utopian and of primitive [*naturwüchsigen*] workers' communism. If, later, Marx extended the formula to include appropriation of the means of exchange, this extension, which in any case was self-evident after the *Communist Manifesto,* only expressed a corollary to the main proposition. A few wiseacres in England have of late added that the "means of distribution" should also be handed over to society. These gentlemen would be hard put to say what these economic means of distribution, distinct from the means of production and exchange, actually are; unless *political* means of distribution are meant, taxes, poor relief, including the *Sachsenwald*[451] and other endowments. But, first, these are even now means of distribution in the possession of society as a whole, either of the state or of the community, and second, it is precisely these we want to abolish.

* * *

When the February Revolution broke out, all of us, as far as our conceptions of the conditions and the course of revolutionary movements were concerned, were under the spell of previous historical experience, particularly that of France. It was, indeed, the latter which had dominated the whole of European history since 1789, and from which now once again the signal had gone forth for general revolutionary change. It was, therefore, natural and unavoidable that our conceptions of the nature and the course of the "social" revolution proclaimed in Paris in February 1848, of the revolution of the proletariat, should be strongly coloured by memories of the prototypes of 1789 and 1830. Moreover, when the Paris uprising found its echo in the victorious insurrections in Vienna, Milan and Berlin; when the whole of Europe right up to the Russian frontier was swept into the movement; when thereupon in Paris, in June, the first great battle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was fought; when even the victory of its class so shook the bourgeoisie of all countries that it fled back into the arms of the monarchist-feudal reaction which had just been overthrown—there could be no doubt for us, under the circumstances then obtaining, that the great decisive battle had commenced, that it would have to be fought out in a single, long and vicissitudinous period of revolution, but that it could only end in the final victory of the proletariat.

After the defeats of 1849 we in no way shared the illusions of the vulgar democrats grouped around the future provisional

governments *in partibus*.[a] These vulgar democrats reckoned on a speedy and definitive victory of the "people" over the "tyrants"; we reckoned on a long struggle, after the removal of the "tyrants", among the antagonistic elements concealed within this "people" itself. The vulgar democrats expected sparks to fly again any day; we declared as early as autumn 1850 that at least the *first* chapter of the revolutionary period was closed and that nothing was to be expected until the outbreak of a new world economic crisis. For which reason we were excommunicated, as traitors to the revolution, by the very people who later, almost without exception, made their peace with Bismarck—so far as Bismarck found them worth the trouble.

But history has shown us too to have been wrong, has revealed our point of view at that time as an illusion. It has done even more; it has not merely dispelled the erroneous notions we then held; it has also completely transformed the conditions under which the proletariat has to fight. The mode of struggle of 1848 is today obsolete in every respect, and this is a point which deserves closer examination on the present occasion.

All revolutions up to the present day have resulted in the displacement of the rule of one class by the rule of another; but all ruling classes up to now have been only small minorities in relation to the ruled mass of the people. One ruling minority was thus overthrown; another minority seized the helm of state in its stead and refashioned the state institutions to suit its own interests. Thus on every occasion a minority group was enabled and called upon to rule by the given degree of economic development; and just for that reason, and only for that reason, it happened that the ruled majority either participated in the revolution for the benefit of the former or else simply acquiesced in it. But if we disregard the concrete content in each case, the common form of all these revolutions was that they were minority revolutions. Even when the majority took part, it did so—whether wittingly or not—only in the service of a minority; but because of this, or even simply because of the passive, unresisting attitude of the majority, this minority acquired the appearance of being the representative of the whole people.

As a rule, after the first great success, the victorious minority split; one half was satisfied with what had been gained, the other wanted to go still further, and put forward new demands, which,

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[a] *In partibus infidelium*—in the land of the infidels, outside reality—an addition to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

partly at least, were also in the real or apparent interest of the great mass of the people. In isolated cases these more radical demands were actually forced through, but often only for the moment; the more moderate party would regain the upper hand, and what had been won most recently would wholly or partly be lost again; the vanquished would then cry treachery or ascribe their defeat to accident. In reality, however, the truth of the matter was usually this: the achievements of the first victory were only safeguarded by the second victory of the more radical party; this having been attained, and, with it, what was necessary for the moment, the radicals and their achievements vanished once more from the stage.

All revolutions of modern times, beginning with the great English Revolution of the seventeenth century, showed these features, which appeared inseparable from every revolutionary struggle. They appeared applicable, also, to the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation; all the more applicable, since precisely in 1848 there were but a very few people who had any idea at all of the direction in which this emancipation was to be sought. The proletarian masses themselves, even in Paris, after the victory, were still absolutely in the dark as to the path to be taken. And yet the movement was there, instinctive, spontaneous, irrepressible. Was not this just the situation in which a revolution had to succeed, led, it is true, by a minority, though this time not in the interest of the minority, but in the finest interest of the majority? If, in all the longer revolutionary periods, it was so easy to win over the great masses of the people simply by the plausible false representations of the pressing minorities, why should they be less susceptible to ideas which were the truest reflection of their economic condition, which were none other than the clear, rational expression of their needs, of needs not yet understood but merely vaguely felt by them? To be sure, this revolutionary mood of the masses had almost always, and usually very speedily, given way to lassitude or even to a change to the opposite as soon as illusion evaporated and disappointment set in. But what was involved here were not false representations, but the implementation of the most vital interests of the great majority itself, interests which, it is true, were at that time by no means clear to this great majority, but which were bound to become clear to it as their practical implementation proceeded, by their convincing obviousness. And when, as Marx showed in his third article, in the spring of 1850, the development of the bourgeois republic that arose out of the "social" Revolution of 1848 had even concentrated real

power in the hands of the big bourgeoisie—monarchistically inclined as it was into the bargain—and, on the other hand, had grouped all the other social classes, peasantry as well as petty bourgeoisie, around the proletariat, so that during and after the common victory, not they but the proletariat grown wise from experience had to become the decisive factor—was there not every prospect then of turning the revolution of the minority into a revolution of the majority?

History has proved us wrong, and all who thought like us. It has made it clear that the state of economic development on the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which, since 1848, has seized the whole of the Continent, and has caused big industry to take real root in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland and, recently, in Russia, while it has made Germany positively an industrial country of the first rank—all on a capitalist basis, which in the year 1848, therefore, still had a great capacity for expansion. But it is precisely this industrial revolution which has everywhere produced clarity in class relations, has removed a number of intermediate forms handed down from the period of manufacture and in Eastern Europe even from guild handicraft, has created a genuine bourgeois and a genuine large-scale industrial proletariat and has pushed them into the foreground of social development. However, owing to this, the struggle between these two great classes, a struggle which, outside England, existed in 1848 only in Paris and, at the most, in a few big industrial centres, has spread over the whole of Europe and reached an intensity still inconceivable in 1848. At that time the many obscure gospels of the sects, with their panaceas; today the *single* generally recognised, crystal-clear theory of Marx, sharply formulating the ultimate aims of the struggle. At that time the masses, sundered and differing according to locality and nationality, linked only by the feeling of common suffering, undeveloped, helplessly tossed to and fro from enthusiasm to despair; today the *single* great international army of socialists, marching irresistibly on and growing daily in number, organisation, discipline, insight and certainty of victory. If even this mighty army of the proletariat has still not reached its goal, if, far from winning victory by *one* mighty stroke, it has slowly to press forward from position to position in a hard, tenacious struggle, this only proves, once and for all, how impossible it was in 1848 to win social transformation merely by a surprise attack.

A bourgeoisie split into two dynastic-monarchist sections,[452] a

bourgeoisie, however, which demanded, above all, peace and security for its financial operations, faced by a proletariat vanquished, indeed, but still a menace, a proletariat around which petty bourgeois and peasants grouped themselves more and more—the continual threat of a violent outbreak, which, nevertheless, offered absolutely no prospect of a final solution—such was the situation, as if made-to-measure for the coup d'état of the third, the pseudo-democratic pretender, Louis Bonaparte. On December 2, 1851, by means of the army, he put an end to the tense situation and secured Europe internal tranquillity, only to confer upon it the blessing of a new era of wars. The period of revolutions from below was concluded for the time being; there followed a period of revolutions from above.

The reversion to the empire in 1851 provided fresh proof of the immaturity of the proletarian aspirations of that time. But it was itself to create the conditions under which they were bound to grow mature. Internal tranquillity ensured the unfettered advancement of the new industrial boom; the necessity of keeping the army occupied and of diverting the revolutionary currents in an outward direction produced the wars in which Bonaparte, under the pretext of asserting the "principle of nationalities",[453] sought to secure annexations for France. His imitator, Bismarck, adopted the same policy for Prussia; he carried out his coup d'état, his revolution from above, in 1866, against the German Confederation and Austria, and no less against the Prussian *Konfliktskammer.*[454] But Europe was too small for two Bonapartes and thus the irony of history had it that Bismarck overthrew Bonaparte, and King William of Prussia not only established the little German empire, but also the French republic. The overall outcome, however, was that in Europe the independence and internal unity of the great nations, with the exception of Poland, had become a fact. Within relatively modest limits, it is true, but for all that on a scale large enough to allow the development of the working class to proceed without finding national complications any longer a serious obstacle. The grave-diggers of the Revolution of 1848 had become the executors of its will. And alongside them there already rose threateningly the heir of 1848, the proletariat, in the shape of the *International.*

After the war of 1870-71, Bonaparte vanished from the stage and Bismarck's mission was fulfilled, so that he could now sink back again to the position of an ordinary Junker. The period, however, was brought to a close by the Paris Commune. A perfidious attempt by Thiers to steal the cannon of the Paris

National Guard sparked off a victorious rising. It was shown once more that in Paris none but a proletarian revolution is any longer possible. After the victory power fell, quite of itself and quite undisputed, into the hands of the working class. And once again it was proved how impossible even then, twenty years after the time described in our work, this rule of the working class still was. On the one hand, France left Paris in the lurch, looked on while it bled to death from the bullets of MacMahon; on the other hand, the Commune was consumed in unfruitful strife between the two parties which split it, the Blanquists (the majority) and the Proudhonists (the minority), neither of which knew what was to be done. The victory which came as a gift in 1871 remained just as unfruitful as the surprise attack of 1848.

It was believed that the militant proletariat had been finally buried with the Paris Commune. But, completely to the contrary, it dates its most powerful resurgence from the Commune and the Franco-Prussian War. The recruitment of the whole of the population able to bear arms into armies that henceforth could be counted only in millions, and the introduction of fire-arms, projectiles and explosives of hitherto unprecedented yield, completely transformed all warfare. This revolution, on the one hand, put an abrupt end to the Bonapartist war period and ensured peaceful industrial development by making any war other than a world war of unprecedented cruelty and absolutely incalculable outcome an impossibility. On the other hand, it caused military expenditure to rise in geometrical progression and thereby forced up taxes to exorbitant levels and so drove the poorer classes of people into the arms of socialism. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the immediate cause of the mad competition in armaments, was able to set the French and German bourgeoisie chauvinistically at each other's throats; for the workers of the two countries it became a new bond of unity. And the anniversary of the Paris Commune became the first universal holiday of the whole proletariat.

The war of 1870-71 and the defeat of the Commune transferred the centre of gravity of the European workers' movement in the meantime from France to Germany, as Marx had foretold. In France it naturally took years to recover from the blood-letting of May 1871. In Germany, on the other hand, where industry—fostered, in addition, in positively hothouse fashion by the blessing of the French milliards[455]—developed at increasing speed, Social-Democracy experienced a still more rapid and enduring growth. Thanks to the intelligent use which the German

workers made of the universal suffrage introduced in 1866, the astonishing growth of the party is made plain to all the world by incontestable figures: 1871, 102,000; 1874, 352,000; 1877, 493,000 Social-Democratic votes. Then came recognition of this advance by high authority in the shape of the Anti-Socialist Law[456]; the party was temporarily broken up, the number of votes dropped to 312,000 in 1881. But that was quickly overcome, and then, under the pressure of the Exceptional Law, without a press, without a legal organisation and without the right of association and assembly, rapid expansion began in earnest: 1884, 550,000; 1887, 763,000; 1890, 1,427,000 votes. The hand of the state was paralysed. The Anti-Socialist Law disappeared; the socialist vote rose to 1,787,000, over a quarter of all the votes cast. The government and the ruling classes had exhausted all their expedients—uselessly, pointlessly, unsuccessfully. The tangible proofs of their impotence, which the authorities, from night watchman to the imperial chancellor had had to accept—and that from the despised workers!—these proofs were counted in millions. The state was at the end of its tether, the workers only at the beginning of theirs.

But, besides, the German workers rendered a second great service to their cause in addition to the first, a service performed by their mere existence as the strongest, most disciplined and most rapidly growing socialist party. They supplied their comrades in all countries with a new weapon, and one of the most potent, when they showed them how to make use of universal suffrage.

There had long been universal suffrage in France, but it had fallen into disrepute through the way it had been abused by the Bonapartist government. After the Commune there was no workers' party to make use of it. It had also existed in Spain since the republic,[457] but in Spain election boycotts had been the rule for all serious opposition parties from time immemorial. The experience of the Swiss with universal suffrage was also anything but encouraging for a workers' party. The revolutionary workers of the Latin countries had been wont to regard the suffrage as a snare, as an instrument of government trickery. It was different in Germany. The *Communist Manifesto* had already proclaimed the winning of universal suffrage, of democracy, as one of the first and most important tasks of the militant proletariat, and Lassalle had again taken up this point. Now that Bismarck found himself compelled to introduce this franchise as the only means of interesting the mass of the people in his plans, our workers immediately took it in earnest and sent August Bebel to the first,

constituent Reichstag. And from that day on they have used the franchise in a way which has paid them a thousandfold and has served as a model to the workers of all countries. The franchise has been, in the words of the French Marxist programme, *transformé de moyen de duperie qu'il a été jusqu'ici en instrument d'émancipation*—transformed by them from a means of deception, which it was before, into an instrument of emancipation.[458] And if universal suffrage had offered no other advantage than that it allowed us to count our numbers every three years; that by the regularly established, unexpectedly rapid rise in our vote it increased in equal measure the workers' certainty of victory and the dismay of their opponents, and so became our best means of propaganda; that it accurately informed us of our own strength and that of all opposing parties, and thereby provided us with a measure of proportion second to none for our actions, safeguarding us from untimely timidity as much as from untimely foolhardiness—if this had been the only advantage we gained from the suffrage, it would still have been much more than enough. But it did more than this by far. In election propaganda it provided us with a means, second to none, of getting in touch with the mass of the people where they still stand aloof from us; of forcing all parties to defend their views and actions against our attacks before all the people; and, further, it provided our representatives in the Reichstag with a platform from which they could speak to their opponents in parliament, and to the masses outside, with quite different authority and freedom than in the press or at meetings. Of what avail was their Anti-Socialist Law to the government and the bourgeoisie when election campaigning and socialist speeches in the Reichstag continually broke through it?

With this successful utilisation of universal suffrage, however, an entirely new method of proletarian struggle came into operation, and this method quickly took on a more tangible form. It was found that the state institutions, in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is organised, offer the working class still further levers to fight these very state institutions. The workers took part in elections to particular diets, to municipal councils and to trades courts; they contested with the bourgeoisie every post in the occupation of which a sufficient part of the proletariat had a say. And so it happened that the bourgeoisie and the government came to be much more afraid of the legal than of the illegal action of the workers' party, of the results of elections than of those of rebellion.

For here, too, the conditions of the struggle had changed fundamentally. Rebellion in the old style, street fighting with barricades, which decided the issue everywhere up to 1848, had become largely outdated.

Let us have no illusions about it: a real victory of insurrection over the military in street fighting, a victory as between two armies, is one of the rarest exceptions. And the insurgents counted on it just as rarely. For them it was solely a question of making the troops yield to moral influences which, in a fight between the armies of two warring countries, do not come into play at all or do so to a much smaller extent. If they succeed in this, the troops fail to respond, or the commanding officers lose their heads, and the insurrection wins. If they do not succeed in this, then, even where the military are in the minority, the superiority of better equipment and training, of uniform leadership, of the planned employment of the military forces and of discipline makes itself felt. The most that an insurrection can achieve in the way of actual tactical operations is the proficient construction and defence of a single barricade. Mutual support, the disposition and employment of reserves—in short, concerted and co-ordinated action of the individual detachments, indispensable even for the defence of one borough, not to speak of the whole of a large town, will be attainable only to a very limited extent, and usually not at all. Concentration of the military forces at a decisive point is, of course, out of the question here. Hence passive defence is the predominant form of struggle; an attack will be mounted here and there, by way of exception, in the form of occasional thrusts and assaults on the flanks; as a rule, however, it will be limited to the occupation of positions abandoned by retreating troops. In addition, the military have at their disposal artillery and fully equipped corps of trained engineers, means of warfare which, in nearly every case, the insurgents entirely lack. No wonder, then, that even the barricade fighting conducted with the greatest heroism—Paris, June 1848; Vienna, October 1848; Dresden, May 1849—ended in the defeat of the insurrection as soon as the leaders of the attack, unhampered by political considerations, acted according to purely military criteria, and their soldiers remained reliable.

The numerous successes of the insurgents up to 1848 were due to a great variety of causes. In Paris, in July 1830 and February 1848, as in most of the Spanish street fighting, a civic guard stood between the insurgents and the military. This guard either sided directly with the insurrection, or else by its lukewarm, indecisive

attitude caused the troops likewise to vacillate, and supplied the insurrection with arms into the bargain. Where this civic guard opposed the insurrection from the outset, as in June 1848 in Paris, the insurrection was vanquished. In Berlin in 1848, the people were victorious partly through considerable reinforcements in the shape of new fighting forces during the night and the morning of March 19th, partly as a result of the exhaustion and poor rations of the troops, and, finally, partly as a result of the paralysis engendered by the command. But in all cases the fight was won because the troops failed to respond, because the commanding officers lost the faculty to decide or because their hands were tied.

Even in the classic time of street fighting, therefore, the barricade produced more of a moral than a material effect. It was a means of shaking the steadfastness of the military. If it held out until this was attained, victory was won; if not, the outcome was defeat. This is the main point which must be kept in view, also when examining the outlook for possible future street fighting.[a]

Back in 1849 already, this outlook was pretty poor. Everywhere the bourgeoisie had thrown in its lot with the governments, "culture and property" had hailed and feasted the military moving against insurrection. The barricade had lost its magic; the soldier no longer saw behind it "the people", but rebels, subversives, plunderers, levellers, the scum of society; the officer had in the course of time become versed in the tactical forms of street fighting, he no longer marched straight ahead and without cover against the improvised breastwork, but went round it through gardens, yards and houses. And this was now successful, with a little skill, in nine cases out of ten.

But since then there have been very many more changes, and all in favour of the military. If the big towns have become considerably bigger, the armies have become bigger still. Paris and Berlin have, since 1848, grown less than fourfold, but their garrisons have grown more than that. By means of the railways, these garrisons can, in twenty-four hours, be more than doubled, and in forty-eight hours they can be increased to huge armies. The arming of this enormously increased number of troops has become incomparably more effective. In 1848 the smooth-bore, muzzle-loading percussion gun, today the small-calibre, breech-loading magazine rifle, which shoots four times as far, ten times as accurately and ten times as fast as the former. At that time the relatively ineffective round shot and grape-shot of the artillery;

[a] The last sentence is omitted in *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850.—Ed.*

today the percussion shells, of which one is sufficient to demolish the best barricade. At that time the pick-axe of the sapper for breaking through fire proof walls; today the dynamite cartridge.

On the other hand, all the conditions of the insurgents' side have grown worse. An insurrection with which all sections of the people sympathise is likely to recur; in the class struggle all the middle strata will never in all probability group themselves around the proletariat so exclusively that in comparison the party of reaction gathered round the bourgeoisie will well-nigh disappear. The "people", therefore, will always appear divided, and thus a most powerful lever, so extraordinarily effective in 1848, is gone. If more soldiers who have seen service came over to the insurrectionists, the arming of them would become so much the more difficult. The hunting and fancy guns of the munitions shops—even if not previously made unusable by the removal of part of the lock on police orders—are far from being a match for the magazine rifle of the soldier, even in close fighting. Up to 1848 it was possible to make the necessary ammunition oneself out of powder and lead; today the cartridges differ for each gun, and are everywhere alike only in one point, namely, that they are a complicated product of big industry, and therefore not to be manufactured *ex tempore,* with the result that most guns are useless as long as one does not possess the ammunition suited only to them. And, finally, since 1848 the newly built quarters of the big cities have been laid out in long, straight, broad streets, tailor-made to give full effect to the new cannons and rifles. The revolutionary would have to be mad to choose of his own accord the new working class districts in the north or east of Berlin for a barricade fight.

Does that mean that in the future street fighting will no longer play any role? Certainly not. It only means that the conditions since 1848 have become far more unfavourable for civilian fighters and far more favourable for the military. In future, street fighting can, therefore, be victorious only if this disadvantageous situation is compensated by other factors. Accordingly, it will occur more seldom at the beginning of a great revolution than at its later stages, and will have to be undertaken with greater forces. These, however, may then well prefer, as in the whole great French Revolution or on September 4 and October 31, 1870, in Paris,[a] the open attack to passive barricade tactics.[b]

[a] See this volume, pp. 182-83.— *Ed.*

[b] This paragraph is omitted in *Die Neue Zeit* and the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich.*—*Ed.*

Does the reader now understand why the powers-that-be positively want to get us to go where the guns shoot and the sabres slash? Why they accuse us today of cowardice, because we do not take without more ado to the streets, where we are certain of defeat in advance? Why they so earnestly implore us to play for once the part of cannon fodder?

The gentlemen pour out their petitions and their challenges for nothing, for absolutely nothing. We are not that stupid. They might just as well demand from their enemy in the next war that he should accept battle in the line formation of old Fritz,[a] or in the columns of whole divisions à la Wagram and Waterloo,[459] and with the flint-lock in his hands at that. If conditions have changed in the case of war between nations, this is no less true in the case of the class struggle. The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of masses lacking consciousness is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must also be in on it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are fighting for, body and soul.[b] The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long, persistent work is required, and it is just this work that we are now pursuing, and with a success which drives the enemy to despair.

In the Latin countries, too, it is being realised more and more that the old tactics must be revised. Everywhere the German example of utilising the suffrage, of winning all posts accessible to us, has been imitated; everywhere the unprepared launching of an attack has been relegated to the background.[c] In France, where for more than a hundred years the ground has been undermined by one revolution after another, where there is not a single party which has not done its share in conspiracies, insurrections and all other revolutionary actions; in France, where, as a result, the government is by no means sure of the army and where the conditions for an insurrectionary coup de main are altogether far more favourable than in Germany—even in France the Socialists are realising more and more that no lasting victory is possible for

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[a] Frederick II.— *Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the text reads "what they are coming out for" instead of "what they are fighting for, body and soul".— *Ed.*

[c] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the words "everywhere the unprepared launching of an attack has been relegated to the background" are omitted.— *Ed.*

them unless they first win over the great mass of the people, i.e. the peasants in this instance. Slow propaganda work and parliamentary activity are recognised here, too, as the immediate tasks of the party. Successes have not been lacking. Not only have a whole series of municipal councils been won; fifty Socialists have seats in the Chambers, and they have already overthrown three ministries and a president of the republic. In Belgium last year the workers forced the adoption of the franchise,[460] and have been victorious in a quarter of the constituencies. In Switzerland, in Italy, in Denmark, yes, even in Bulgaria and Romania the Socialists are represented in the parliaments. In Austria all parties agree that our admission to the Imperial Council can no longer be withheld. We will get in, that is certain; the only question still in dispute is: by which door? And even in Russia, when the famous *Zemsky Sobor*[461] meets—that National Assembly to which young Nicholas offers such vain resistance—even there we can reckon with certainty on being represented in it.

Of course, our foreign comrades do not in the least renounce their right to revolution. The right to revolution is, after all, the only *really* "historical right", the only right on which all modern states rest without exception, Mecklenburg included, whose aristocratic revolution was ended in 1755 by the "hereditary settlement", the glorious charter of feudalism still valid today.[462] The right to revolution is so incontestably recognised in the general consciousness that even General von Boguslawski derives the right to a coup d'état, which he vindicates for his Kaiser, solely from this popular right.

But whatever may happen in other countries, the German Social-Democrats occupy a special position and thus, at least in the immediate future, have a special task. The two million voters whom they send to the ballot box, together with the young men and women who stand behind them as non-voters, form the most numerous, most compact mass, the decisive "shock force" of the international proletarian army. This mass already supplies over a quarter of the votes cast; and as the by-elections to the Reichstag, the Diet elections in individual states, the municipal council and trades court elections demonstrate, it is constantly on the increase. Its growth proceeds as spontaneously, as steadily, as irresistibly, and at the same time as tranquilly as a natural process. All government intervention has proved powerless against it. We can count even today on two and a quarter million voters. If it continues in this fashion, by the end of the century we shall have the greater part of the middle strata of society, petty bourgeoisie

and small peasants, and we shall grow into the decisive power in the land, before which all other powers will have to bow, whether they like it or not. To keep this growth going without interruption until it gets beyond the control of the prevailing governmental system of itself, not to fritter away this daily increasing shock force in vanguard skirmishes, but to keep it intact until the decisive day,[a] that is our main task. And there is only one means by which the steady rise of the socialist fighting forces in Germany could be temporarily halted, and even thrown back for some time: a clash on a grand scale with the military, a blood-letting like that of 1871 in Paris. In the long run even that would be overcome. To shoot a party which numbers millions out of existence is too much even for all the magazine rifles of Europe and America. But the normal development would be impeded, the shock force would, perhaps, not be available at the critical moment, the decisive combat[b] would be delayed, protracted and attended by a heavier toll.

The irony of world history turns everything upside down. We, the "revolutionaries", the "overthrowers"—we are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and overthrow. The parties of order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly with Odilon Barrot: la *légalité nous tue,* legality is the death of us[463]; whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like life eternal. And if *we* are not so crazy as to let ourselves be driven to street fighting in order to please them, then in the end there is nothing left for them to do but themselves break through this dire legality.

Meanwhile they make new laws against overthrows. Again everything is turned upside down. These anti-overthrow fanatics of today, are they not themselves the overthrowers of yesterday? Have *we* perchance evoked the civil war of 1866? Have *we* driven the King of Hanover, the Elector of Hesse, and the Duke of Nassau from their hereditary lawful domains and annexed these hereditary domains?[464] And these overthrowers of the German Confederation and three crowns by the grace of God complain of

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[a] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the words "not to fritter away this daily increasing shock force in vanguard skirmishes, but to keep it intact until the decisive day" are omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the words "the shock force would, perhaps, not be available at the critical moment" are omitted and instead of "the decisive combat" the word "decision" is printed.—*Ed.*

overthrow! *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*[a] Who could allow the Bismarck worshippers to rail at overthrow?

Let them, nevertheless, put through their anti-overthrow bills, make them still worse, transform the whole penal law into india-rubber, they will gain nothing but fresh proof of their impotence. If they want to deal Social-Democracy a serious blow they will have to resort to quite other measures. They can cope with the Social-Democratic overthrow, which just now is doing so well by keeping the law, only by an overthrow on the part of the parties of Order, an overthrow which cannot live without breaking the law. Mr. Rössler, the Prussian bureaucrat, and Mr. von Boguslawski, the Prussian general, have shown them the only way perhaps still possible of getting at the workers, who simply refuse to let themselves be lured into street fighting. Breach of the constitution, dictatorship, return to absolutism, *regis voluntas suprema lex*![b] Therefore, take courage, gentlemen; here half measures will not do; here you must go the whole hog!

But do not forget that the German empire, like all small states and generally all modern states, is a *product of contract*; of the contract, first, of the princes with one another and, second, of the princes with the people. If one side breaks the contract, the whole contract falls to the ground; the other side is then also no longer bound, as Bismarck demonstrated to us so beautifully in 1866. If, therefore, you break the constitution of the Reich, Social-Democracy is free, and can do as it pleases with regard to you. But it will hardly blurt out to you today what it is going to do then.[c]

It is now, almost to the year, sixteen centuries since a dangerous party of overthrow was likewise active in the Roman empire. It undermined religion and all the foundations of the state; it flatly denied that Caesar's will was the supreme law; it was without a fatherland, was international; it spread over the whole empire, from Gaul to Asia, and beyond the frontiers of the empire. It had long carried on seditious activities underground in secret; for a considerable time, however, it had felt itself strong enough to come out into the open. This party of overthrow, which was known by the name of Christians, was also strongly represented in the army; whole legions were Christian. When they were ordered to attend the sacrificial ceremonies of the pagan established

[a] Who would suffer the Gracchi to complain of sedition? (Juvenal, Satire, II, 24).— *Ed.*

[b] The King's will is the supreme law! — *Ed.*

[c] In *Die Neue Zeit* and in the 1895 edition of *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* the end of this paragraph starting with the words "as Bismarck" is omitted.— *Ed.*

church, in order to do the honours there, the subversive soldiers had the audacity to stick peculiar emblems—crosses—on their helmets in protest. Even the customary barrack bullying of their superior officers was fruitless. The Emperor Diocletian could no longer quietly look on while order, obedience and discipline in his army were being undermined. He stepped in with vigour, while there was still time. He promulgated an anti-Socialist—I beg your pardon, I meant to say anti-Christian—law. The meetings of the overthrowers were forbidden, their meeting halls were closed or even pulled down, the Christian emblems, crosses, etc., were, like the red handkerchiefs in Saxony, prohibited. Christians were declared ineligible for holding public office; they were not to be allowed to become even corporals. Since at that time there were no judges so well trained in "respect of persons" as Mr. von Köller's anti-overthrow bill assumes, Christians were forbidden out of hand to seek justice before a court. Even this exceptional law was to no avail. The Christians tore it down from the walls with scorn; they are even supposed to have set fire to the Emperor's palace in Nicomedia in his presence. Then the latter revenged himself by the great persecution of Christians in the year 303 A.D. It was the last of its kind. And it was so effective that seventeen years later the army consisted overwhelmingly of Christians, and the succeeding autocrat of the whole Roman empire, Constantine, called the Great by the priests, proclaimed Christianity the state religion.

F. Engels

London, March 6, 1895

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Printed according to the full text of the galleys of the book, checked with the manuscript

[TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][465]

March 11, 1895
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade,

I regret that I shall not be able to participate this time in your March celebration. The recurrence of an otherwise trivial malady which afflicts me from time to time, and which can only be cured by absolute rest, has again confined me to my house for several weeks. However, I hope and wish that my absence will not diminish the success of your celebration, and remain, with best wishes,

Yours,
F. Engels

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY][466]

Best thanks to the Committee for its kind invitation, but as my medical adviser strongly objects just now to my accepting every engagement of any sort I am compelled to decline it. As the ticket may be useful for some one else I take the liberty of returning it herewith.

Written after April 16, 1895

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Reproduced from the draft manuscript

APPENDICES

AN OLD FRIEND OF LABOUR[467]

By the death during the past week[a] of Helena Demuth the Socialist party has lost a remarkable member. Born on New Year's Day, 1823,[b] of peasant parents, at St. Wendel, she came, at the age of 14, into the family of the Von Westphalens of Trier. Jenny von Westphalen in 1843 became the wife of Karl Marx. From 1837 to the death of Mrs. Marx in 1881, with the exception of the first few months of the married life, the two women were constant companions. After the death of Mrs. Marx in December 1881, and of Marx on March 14th, 1883, Helena Demuth went to keep house for Frederick Engels. The leaders of the Socialist movement bore testimony to "her strong common-sense, her absolute rectitude of character, her ceaseless thoughtfulness for others, her reliability, and the essential truthfulness of her nature". Engels at her funeral declared that Marx took counsel of Helena Demuth, not only in difficult and intricate party matters, but even in respect of his economical writings. "As for me," he said, "what work I have been able to do since the death of Marx has been largely due to the sunshine and support of her presence in the house." Helena is buried at Highgate in the same grave as Marx and his wife.

First published in *The People's Press*, November 22, 1890

Reproduced from the newspaper

[a] Helene Demuth died on November 4, 1890.— *Ed.*

[b] A misprint; Helene Demuth was born in 1820.— *Ed.*

ENGELS, FREDERICK[468]

Born in Barmen on November 28, 1820. Took up commerce and worked as an office clerk from 1837 to 1841, first in Barmen and from 1838 in Bremen. After serving for a year as an army volunteer (1841-42), he joined his father's business in Manchester in 1843, staying there until 1844. From 1845 to 1848 he lived in Brussels (with K. Marx) and, alternately, in Paris; from 1848 to May 1849 he worked for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. In June and July of that year he took part in the uprising in South Germany as an aide-de-camp in Willich's volunteer corps. Then he went to London for a short time and, in 1850, rejoined his father's concern in Manchester, working first as a clerk and, from 1864, as a joint proprietor. In 1869 he retired from business for good. He has lived in London since 1870.

Of his works we shall mention the following:

"Umrisse zu einer Kritik der National-ökonomie" (in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbucher,* published by Ruge and Marx, Paris, 1844 (Issues 1 and 2), pp. 86-114; reprinted in *Die Neue Zeit,* IX Jahrgang 1890/91, Bd. I, p. 236 et seq.).

(Jointly with Karl Marx.) *Die Heilige Familie oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten,* F. E. und K. M. Frankfurt a. M., 1845.

Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England, Leipzig, 1845 (English translation, New York, 1887).

(Jointly with Karl Marx, anonymously.) *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei,* London, 1848 (also in French, Spanish, Italian, Danish, Russian, Polish, English).

(Worked as coeditor, editor-in-chief respectively (substituting Marx) in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* 1848-1849 in Cologne and in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue,* 1850 in London.)

(Anonymously.) *Po und Rhein,* Berlin, 1859.

(Anonymously.) *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein,* Berlin, 1860.

"Die Preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei", Hamburg, 1865.

Der deutsche Bauerkrieg. (Reprinted from *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue.*) Leipzig, three editions, the latest of 1875.

Zur Wohnungsfrage. Three issues, lst edition, Leipzig, 1872, 2nd edition, Zurich, 1887.

Soziales aus Russland, Leipzig, 1875.

(Anonymously.) *Preussische Schnaps in Deutschen Reichstag,* Leipzig, 1876.

Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den Aufstand in Spanien, Leipzig, 1873.

Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft, lst edition, Leipzig, 1878, 2nd edition, Zurich, 1886.

Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft, lst, 2nd, 3rd editions, Zurich, 1883, 4th edition, prepared for publication, Berlin, 1891 (also in French, Russian, Polish, Italian, Spanish, Romanian, Dutch, Danish).

Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigenthums und des Staats. Im Anschluss an Lewis H. Morgan's Forschungen, Zurich, 1884, 3rd edition, Stuttgart, 1889 (also in Italian, Romanian, Danish; French edition under preparation).

Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie, Stuttgart, 1888.

"Die auswärtige Politik des russischen Zarenthums" (in *Die Neue Zeit,* VIII Jahrgang, 1889/90, Bd. II; also in Russian, English, French, Romanian).

Ueber den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich (in *Die Neue Zeit,* IX Jahrgang, 1890/91, Bd. II, p. 33 et seqq.).

In Sachen Brentano contra Marx wegen angeblicher Zitatsfälschung. Geschichtserzälung und Dokumente, Hamburg, 1891.

Besides he prepared for publication the following works to which he wrote introductions and prefaces;

I. In German:

K. Marx. "Das Kapital". Vol. I, 3rd edition, 1883; 4th edition, 1890 (Preface about Brentano). Also, Vol. II (Preface about Rodbertus), 1885.

K. Marx. Das Elend der Philosophie. Deutsch von Bernstein und Kautsky. Stuttgart, 1885 (Preface about Rodbertus).

K. Marx. Vor den Kölner Geschwornen. 1849, Zurich, 1885 (Preface).

K. Marx. Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln. 1852, Zurich, 1885 (Introduction: "Zur Geschichte des 'Bundes der Kommunisten'").

W. Wolf. Die Schlesische Milliarde. Zurich, 1886. (Introduction: Biography of Wolf and "Zur Geschichte der preussischen Bauern").

S. Borkheim. Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten. Zurich, 1888 (Introduction: Biography of Borkheim).

K. Marx. Lohnarbeit und Kapital (Introduction). Berlin, 1891.

II. In English:

K. Marx. Capital. Translated by S. Moore & E. Aveling, published by F. Engels, London, 1887 (edited translation and wrote a preface).

K. Marx. "Free Trade". A Speech delivered in Brussels in 1848. Translated by F. Kelly-Wischnewetzky, Boston and London, 1888 (Introduction on Free Trade, published in German in *Die Neue Zeit*).

F. Engels. The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844. Translated by F. K. Wischnewetzky. New York, 1887 (Preface and Appendix, the latter was published also as a separate edition: "The Working Class Movement in America"; in German: "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika", New York, 1887; reprinted in English, London, 1887. In German also in *Die Neue Zeit*).

First published in the encyclopaedic dictionary *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Vol. 3, Jena, 1892

Printed according to the dictionary

Published in English for the first time

[INTERVIEW OF FREDERICK ENGELS BY THE CORRESPONDENT OF *L'ÉCLAIR* ON APRIL 1, 1892][469]

...Mr. Engels, an enemy of the interview, was kind enough to make an exception for us and let us have his impressions.

"What do you think," we asked him, "of the recent outrages in Paris committed by the anarchists?"

"I can only see in them the work of agents-provocateurs who have been paid to try to dishonour the parties in which they play a part. The government has every interest in the occurrence of these explosions, as they simultaneously serve the interests of the bourgeoisie in general and the intrigues of certain political groups in particular. In fact the intention is to panic the population, organise terror and lead a reaction.

"The same procedure was employed in Germany recently at the time of the 'Berlin troubles'.[470] There again we would do well to seek out the hand of the police. It is indisputable that on the first day of these allegedly socialist demonstrations some of our people may have been involved in the movement, but our erring friends soon realised the true character of the demonstration and withdrew from it immediately.

"The proof is that several shops belonging to known socialists were looted. The trial of the detained rioters showed that the leaders were anti-Semites seeking to exploit the hunger of a few poor wretches by getting them to shout: 'Down with the Jews!'

"In Italy—again the same set-up with the proceedings instituted against Cipriani and the other anarchists. There, too, the actions of the agents-provocateurs have been exposed in open court.

"But that does not always work. In Paris there were one or two wretches willing to play the police's game, but nobody except the police themselves will be able to claim that they belong to the socialist party."

RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY

"Do you not fear that all these domestic upheavals will lead the governments to look around for a distraction in a continental war? Take your Emperor William, for example..."

"No. It is my wish that Emperor William may enjoy a long life, for the greater good of the German socialists," said Mr. Engels, laughing. "Anyway, I don't believe there will be a war in the immediate future."

"The alliance between Russia and France has not caused you any apprehension on this score?"

"Not at all. Last year, perhaps, there was a slight inclination to take the offensive. The demonstrations in Cronstadt,[471] the very visible advances which imperial Russia made to republican France may have appeared suspicious. The concentrations of troops on the border also appeared to give cause for some alarm. But today things are quite different.

"In fact, Russia would like to go to war, but it could not do so. At present it has to face an enemy more redoubtable than any other: famine.

"This scourge was not the result of a passing shortage caused by some climatic or other accident: it is the outcome of the new organisation of Russian society.

"Since the Crimean War, when entire regiments perished in the snow, the situation has changed considerably. This war marks the start of a major crisis in Russian history. When defeat was complete, when Russia's powerlessness had been demonstrated to the whole of Europe, Tsar Nicholas, in despair after ascertaining the woeful state of his empire, did not hesitate to poison himself. On ascending to the throne, Alexander II was therefore obliged to try to find a solution to the appalling situation in which his country found itself."

THE CAUSES OF THE FAMINE IN RUSSIA

"That was when the Tsar proceeded to emancipate the serfs, which provided an excuse for a new redistribution of land between the nobles and the peasants. The nobles were given the best land, as well as the lakes, rivers and forests. The peasants received only land of inferior quality, and this distribution was done in an inadequate manner and for a sum repayable in annual instalments over a period of 49 years! What was the outcome?

"The peasants were unable to meet the payments to the state and they had to borrow: they had too much to die and not enough to live on. A gang of *kulaks* (money-lenders) pounced on these tillers of the soil, who gradually became indebted to such an extent as to lose all hope of ever freeing themselves. When the usurers were no longer willing to provide advances, the peasants were forced to sell their harvests to obtain money, and they sold not only the wheat they needed to live on but also their vital seed-corn, so that future harvests were jeopardised.

"In these circumstances the first poor harvest would be sure to result in a fullblown famine. This famine, in turn, has just delivered the final blow to agricultural production in Russia. In effect, the peasant, no longer able to feed his livestock, has been forced either to slaughter them or to sell them off. Now, without farm animals, it is not possible to till or manure the land. As a result, agricultural production will be interrupted for many years to come.

"The emancipation of the serfs was only one aspect of the economic revolution which has occurred in Russia; the other aspect is the artificial creation of an industrial bourgeoisie destined to serve as an intermediary class. To fasten the process, a truly prohibitive system was established, favouring and developing Russian industry in an extraordinary fashion; but as this industry was not able to export, it needed a domestic market. Now the Russian peasant hardly buys anything, accustomed as he is to making everything himself: houses, tools, clothes, etc.; not long ago he even produced wooden, iron and leather articles which he sold at the fairs. But when the peasant was deprived of wood by giving the forests to the nobility, rural industry all but collapsed. Manufacturing industry came along to finish it off, and the peasants were obliged to resort to it. At the very moment when this industry was about to triumph, famine arrived to deal it a mortal blow: the peasants are no longer able to buy anything it produces, and the ruin of the one leads to the ruin of the other."

THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SITUATION

"So in your view the economic situation in Russia will prevent it from thinking of going to war?"

"Yes. I am not exaggerating when I say that the picture which Vauban and Boisguillebert[a] painted of the French peasant in the

[a] See this volume, p. 249.— *Ed.*

seventeenth century can be applied to the Russian peasant, today reduced to eating grass. The transition from the feudal regime to the bourgeois regime in France was not accomplished without upheavals; in Russia it has just produced a crisis which,from being acute, threatens to become chronic. For all these reasons, the Russians are more concerned at the moment with eating rather than fighting."

"The last Russian loan..."

"I was going to mention that. It is an enormous setback. The French bourgeoisie, which is much given to talking about revenge, did not push its patriotism to the point of opening its purse. The Tsar's government asked for twenty million pounds sterling; all they got was twelve..."

"It has been said that the Rothschilds contributed to the failure of this loan in order to avenge their fellow-believers who have been persecuted by the Russian government?"

"I have attacked the Rothschilds enough to be able to defend them against the charge of being so stupid. As bankers, the Rothschilds are only concerned with their own interests, interests which amounted to extracting the biggest possible commissions and exploiting as many gullible fools as possible. That's all."

"To sum up, you do not believe in the power of Russia?"

"Russia, while strong in defence, is not strong in attack either at sea or on land. I have shown you that the economic situation does not permit it to indulge in dangerous and costly ventures. If we examine its military organisation we shall see that Russia does not pose a danger from this angle either.

"In the event of war it would not put more men into the line than it currently has under arms. The reserves do not exist except on paper and, although it may have thousands and thousands of men, it has no reserve officers to command them. Where would it get them from? From what source?

"In Germany we have fifty per cent more reserve officers than we need. In this respect would not France also be in a position of relative inferiority?" our interlocutor asks us.

A STRONG FRANCE

"Not at all," we reply. "In France we do not have more officers than we need; but the officers and NCOs are at full strength."

"I am not in the slightest dismayed," says Mr. Engels. "I do not wish to see the German army strong enough to conquer all

Europe. In order to attain our goal, the liberation of the European working class may need a powerful France, the master of its own fate, as well as a Germany that enjoys the same advantages. Your compatriot Saint-Simon was the first to proclaim the necessity of an alliance between France, England and Germany as a primary condition for peace in Europe.[a] That is the true 'Triple Alliance'.[472]

"In conclusion, let us put it to you that you have painted a rather gloomy picture of the situation in Russia."

"Not at all. Look, would you like to hear an anecdote? You know that in order to aid the starving Russian peasants it was decided to send them wheat from the Caucasus, where they had a surplus. Orders were given to this effect; the wheat was gathered together in large quantities and waggons were sent to transport it. Well, what happened was that the empty waggons were grouped in such large numbers that congestion occurred: the wheat was alongside the waggons, and the waggons could not leave. On learning of this, the Tsar[b] went into a violent rage and sent a general to the scene; this military man made a lot of noise, announced that everything was proceeding normally and only managed to send off a few trains: the greater part of the wheat rotted where it was! What would have happened in the event of mobilisation? Russia does not have many railways yet, and its officers do not even know how to use them."

THE QUESTION OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

"One more question: what about Alsace-Lorraine, the cause of all the disagreements? Do you believe in a peaceful solution acceptable to both France and Germany?"

"I hope that the German socialist party will be in power in ten years or so. Its first concern will be to put the people of Alsace-Lorraine in a position to decide their own political future. Consequently the question will be settled without a single French soldier having to stir. On the contrary, a war between Germany and France would be the only means of preventing the socialists' coming to power. And if France and Russia in alliance attacked Germany, the latter would defend to the death its national existence, in which the German socialists have an even greater

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[a] See this volume, p. 87.— *Ed.*

[b] Alexander III.— *Ed.*

interest than the bourgeoisie. The socialists, then, would fight to the last man, and would not hesitate to resort to the revolutionary means employed by France in 1793."

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Printed according to *L'Éclair*, checked with *Le Socialiste*

Translated from the French

[BIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLE ON ENGELS][473]

Engels, Frederick, socialist, born in Barmen on Nov. 28, 1820, the son of a well-to-do manufacturer. Took up commerce, but already at an early age began propagating radical and socialist ideas in newspaper articles and speeches. After working for some time as a clerk in Bremen and serving for one year as an army volunteer in Berlin in 1842, he went for two years to Manchester, where his father was co-owner of a cotton mill. In 1844 he worked for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* published by Arnold Ruge and Karl Marx in Paris. In 1844 he returned to Barmen and in 1845 addressed communist meetings organised by Moses Hess and Gustav Köttgen in Elberfeld. Then, until 1848, he lived alternately in Brussels and Paris; in 1846 he joined, with Marx, the secret Communist League,[474] a predecessor of the International, and represented the Paris communities at the two League congresses in London in 1847. On the League's instructions, he wrote, jointly with Marx, the *Communist Manifesto,*[a] addressed to the "working men of all countries", which was published shortly before the February revolution[b] (a new edition appeared in Leipzig in 1872). In 1848 and 1849 E. worked in Cologne for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* edited by Marx, and after its suppression he contributed, in 1850, to the *Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*[c] He witnessed the uprisings in Elberfeld, the Palatinate and Baden and took part in the Baden-Palatinate campaign as aide-de-camp in Willich's

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519.— *Ed.*

[b] The February revolution of 1848 in France.— *Ed.*

[c] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*— *Ed.*

volunteer corps. After the suppression of the Baden uprising E. returned as a refugee to England and re-entered his father's firm in Manchester in 1850. He retired from business in 1869 and has lived in London since 1870. He assisted his friend Marx in providing support for the international labour movement, which arose in 1864, and in carrying on social-democratic propaganda. E. was Secretary for Italy, Spain and Portugal on the General Council of the International. He advocates Marxian communism in opposition to both "petty bourgeois" Proudhonist and nihilistic Bakuninist anarchism. His main work is *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (Leipzig, 1845; new edition, Stuttgart, 1892), which, although one-sided, possesses undeniable scientific value. His *Anti-Dühring* is a polemic of considerable size (2nd ed. Zurich, 1886). E.'s other published works include *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (Stuttgart, 1888), *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (4th ed. Stuttgart, 1892), *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (4th ed., Berlin, 1891). E. also published Vols 2 and 3 of Karl Marx's *Capital* and the 3rd and 4th editions of Vol. I, and contributed many articles to the *Neue Zeit.*

First published in the encyclopaedia *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 6, 14th ed., Leipzig and Vienna, 1893

Printed according to the Brockhaus encyclopaedia

Published in English for the first time

[RECORD OF FREDERICK ENGELS' SPEECH AT A MEETING TO COMMEMORATE THE PARIS COMMUNE]

The speech of Mr. Engels (Dr. Marx's right hand) at the meeting he attended was very good.

He referred to the history of the past twenty-two years and said:

At the beginning of that time, the only two Englishmen connected with the International—Lucraft and Odger—left it because of its endorsing the policy of the Communards, and because Socialism was then looked upon as an abomination. In the autumn of 1871, a conference was held, and the proposal of a political party, distinct and separate from all other political parties, was first brought forward. The next year at the Hague, the English delegates took the side of the Anarchists in deprecating parliamentary action.[475] At that time, political effort on the part of the working classes was unknown. Now, the position has completely changed. The formation of the new Trade Unions in 1888[476] was the most important event that had ever happened in working class history, and had led to the formation for the first time of an Independent Labour Party,[477] which was bound to absorb all other parties. He thought this showed that the lessons of the Paris Commune had not been lost nor forgotten."

Amongst the other speakers at this gathering were Mrs. Eleanor Marx Aveling (Dr. Marx's daughter), Mr. F. Lessner (one of the founders of the International), Mr. Edward Bernstein and Mr. J. Connell. May the memory of the Paris Commune never die!

First published in *The Labour Elector*, No. 12, March 25, 1893

Reproduced from the newspaper

[MESSAGE OF MAY DAY GREETINGS TO THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS. 1893]

London. Greetings on May Day. Long live the Austrian proletariat.

Kautsky, Engels, Freyberger

First published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 18, May 5, 1893

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[INTERVIEW OF FREDERICK ENGELS BY THE CORRESPONDENT OF *LE FIGARO* ON MAY 11, 1893][478]

...Having learnt the purpose of my visit, Engels told me the following:

"Germany is entering one of the gravest phases of its history, but let me add straightaway that we socialists have nothing to fear from the situation; on the contrary, we shall gain some major benefits from it. It is above all thanks to our efforts, that the military credits were refused.[479] It was impossible for the various parties in Parliament to ignore us, and even more so for the government, which knows full well that we are its most dangerous enemy. When the government motion to seek new military credits became known in Germany, the people were indignant, and the vote of the Centre and the Radicals[480] was certainly influenced by the pressure of public opinion.

"You see," added Engels, deliberately stressing his statement, "in Germany the people said: '*We have enough soldiers; there must be an end to it*!'"

"And the new Reichstag, Mr. Engels?"

"*As I speak to you,* it seems to me that the next Reichstag will be even less inclined to approve the credits than the old one. However, I do not shut my eyes to the possibility that we may see the newly elected deputies, with five years of legislature in front of them, negotiating with the government, which with a little *gentle arm-twisting* could force through a compromise. In the likely event of the Reichstag refusing the credits, it would be necessary to resort to a second dissolution, which I am convinced would result in the election of a Reichstag even more hostile to accepting the government's proposals. Then the conflict would move into a critical stage, and it would be a matter of finding out who is to

have power, Parliament or the emperor. It would be a repetition of the conflict between Bismarck and the Prussian Chamber in 1864, which was brought to an end by the war with Austria."[481]

By his very reply, Frederick Engels prompted me to ask him to consider the two eventualities already discussed in the European press: that of a domestic coup d'état and that of a diversion abroad.

"Today a coup d'état is no longer as easy as it used to be," replied my interlocutor briskly. "In 1864, at the time of Bismarck's clash with the Prussian Chamber, Prussia was a centralised state, whereas today the German Empire is a federal state. The central government would be taking too great a risk in attempting a coup d'état. In order to be certain of bringing it off, it would need the *unanimous* consent of these different federal governments. If *one* of these failed to accept the coup d'état, it would be released from its obligations towards the Empire, and that would mean the break-up of federal state. That is not all! The federal constitution is the only guarantee which the small states have against the domination of Prussia; in violating it themselves, they would be handing themselves over, bound hand and foot, to the mercies of the central power. Is it likely that Bavaria would capitulate to such an extent? No, and to reserve myself on this point, I tell you this: 'To carry out a coup d'état in Germany, the emperor would have to have either the people on his side—and he has not—or all the confederate governments, *and he will never have them all.*'"

Engels' last statement having failed to convince me, I insist on the possibility of a domestic coup d'état.

"Oh," he replied, "I am not saying that what I will call *the revolution from above* is not a threat for the future. Bebel and several of our friends have already said that they foresaw an attempted coup against universal suffrage."

"In that case, would you answer violence with violence?"

"We would not be mad enough to walk into the trap set by the government to catch us, because there is nothing the German government would like more than an insurrection, in order to crush us. We are all too well acquainted with the current state of our forces and those of the government to risk a game like that from sheer high spirits. Moreover, would William II dare to suppress universal suffrage *completely*? I do not think so. Perhaps he would raise the voting age and bestow upon us the *revised and corrected* suffrage" (and in uttering these words Engels started to laugh) "which Belgium is about to experience."[482]

"You do not fear the mass arrest of the opposition deputies?"

"Oh!" exclaimed Engels, "no-one in Germany considers such an event possible. There are confederate governments, such as Bavaria for example, which would never agree to sanction such a flagrant breach of the constitution. Do not lose sight of the fact that, for the small states, the imperial constitution and the Reichstag are the only weapons that can prevent their absorption by the Prussian Government."

We come to the hypothesis of a foreign diversion. Engels is far from being pessimistic.

"Obviously," he told me, "a war may occur. But who, today, would dare assume responsibility for provoking one, if not perhaps Russia, whose territory, because of its enormous area, cannot be conquered? And yet...! At the moment Russia is in such a situation that it could not keep up a war for four weeks unless it received money from abroad."

* * *

Here my interlocutor stopped for a moment, continuing with a scarcely contained note of anger:

"I really do not understand the French Government. It is Russia that needs France, not France Russia. Russia is ruined, its soil exhausted. If the French Government saw the situation as it really is, it could obtain from Russia everything it wanted... everything... except money and efficient military assistance. Without France Russia would be isolated, completely isolated. And do not speak to me of the military might of the Russians! Remember the Turkish war. Without the Roumanians, the Russians would have been powerless before Plevna.[483] No, the more I think about it, the less I believe in war. Its fortunes today are so uncertain! The armies are placed in totally new conditions which defy all calculations. There are rifles that fire ten rounds a minute, whose range approaches that of a cannon and whose bullets are endowed with unheard-of percussive force! There are melinite and roburite shells, etc.! All these terrible weapons of destruction have never been put to the test in wartime. Therefore we know nothing at all about the effect this revolution in armaments will have on tactics and on the morale of the troops.

"If William II wished to launch himself into a war he would encounter resistance from his own general staff; he would be made to *feel* the enormous risks of war. In the time of Napoleon III it was possible to have localised wars; today war

would be general, and *Europe would be at the mercy of England,* because England could starve to death at will one or other of the belligerents. Neither Germany nor France produces enough wheat within its borders; they are constrained to import it from abroad. In particular they acquire their provisions from Russia. Germany at war with Russia would not be able to obtain a single hectolitre. On the other hand, France would be cut off from supplies of Russian wheat by Central Europe entering the campaign against her. So that would leave only the sea-routes open. But the sea, in wartime, would be more than ever in the grip of the English. In return for a fee granted to the companies which run the various transoceanic services, the British Government has at its disposal vessels built *under its control*; so that once war was declared England would possess, apart from its powerful navy, fifty to sixty cruisers instructed to prevent provisions from reaching one or more of the belligerents to whom it wished to declare its opposition. If it remained neutral it would still be the supreme arbiter of the situation. While the belligerents exhausted themselves fighting, England would come along at the opportune moment to dictate the peace conditions. Anyway, you need not worry about the possibility of a war provoked by William II. The German emperor has lost a lot of his old fire...."

* * *

It remained for me to question Mr. Engels on one important matter: the chances of the German socialists at the next elections.

"I am convinced," he replied to this question, "that we will gain between 700,000 and one million votes more than in 1890. Thus we shall pick up altogether two and a quarter million, if not two and a half million votes. But the seats won will not correspond to this figure.... If the seats had been shared out equally in the last Reichstag, after the elections which gave us one and a half million votes, we would have had eighty deputies instead of thirty-six. Since the foundation of the empire, when the electoral districts were established, the distribution of the population has changed to our disadvantage. The rule which governed the formation of the electoral districts was this: one deputy per 100,000 inhabitants. Now Berlin, which still only has six deputies, currently has a population in excess of one and a half million. Nowadays Berlin should be regularly returning sixteen deputies. Another example: Cologne, which now has 250,000 inhabitants, still has only one deputy."

"Will the socialist party have candidates in all the constituencies?"

"Yes, we shall have candidates in all 400 constituencies. It is important to us that we should muster our forces."

"And what is your final goal as German socialists?" Mr. Engels looks at me for a few moments and then says:

"Why, we have no final goal. We are *evolutionaries,* we have no intention of dictating definitive laws to mankind. Prejudices instead of detailed organisation of the society of the future? You will find no trace of that amongst us. We shall be satisfied when we have placed the means of production in the hands of the community, and we fully realise that this is quite impossible with the present monarchist and federalist government."

I permit myself to observe that the day when the German socialists will be in a position to put their theories into practice still seems a long way off to me.

"Not as far as you think," replied Mr. Engels. "For me the time is approaching when our party will be called upon to take over the government. Towards the end of the century you may perhaps see this event come about.

"Indeed, take the figure of our supporters since the start of our parliamentary struggles. There is a steady progression at each election. Personally I am convinced that, if the last Reichstag had run the full legal term, that is to say if the elections had not taken place until 1895, we would have collected three and a half million votes. Now there are ten millions electors in Germany, and on average seven million who vote. With three and a half million electors out of seven million, the German empire cannot continue in its present form. And ... do not forget this fact, which is very important: the number of our electors tells us the number of our supporters in the army. With one and a half million out of ten million electors *already,* that is roughly a seventh of the population in our favour, and so we can count on one soldier out of six. When we have three and a half million votes—which is not far off—we shall have half the army."

When I express doubt as to the loyalty of the socialist troops in the army to their principles in the event of revolution, Mr. Engels makes the following statement, word-for-word:

"The day when we are in the majority, what the French army did instinctively in not firing on the people will be repeated in our country quite consciously. Yes, whatever the frightened bourgeois say, we are able to calculate the moment when we shall have the majority of the people behind us; our ideas are making headway everywhere, as much among teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc. as

among the workers. If we had to start wielding power tomorrow, we should need engineers, chemists, agronomists. Well, it is my conviction that we would have a good many of them behind us already. In five or ten years we shall have more of them than we need."

And with these extremely optimistic words from him I took my leave of Mr. Engels.

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Printed according to *Le Figaro*, checked with *Le Socialiste*

Translated from the French

[INTERVIEW OF FREDERICK ENGELS BY THE *DAILY CHRONICLE* CORRESPONDENT AT THE END OF JUNE 1893][484]

...I found Herr Engels at his house in Regent's Park Road, jubilant, of course, over the result of the elections to the German Reichstag.

"We have gained 10 seats," said he, in answer to my inquiries. "On the first ballot we obtained 24 seats, and out of 85 of our men left in the second ballots, 20 were returned. We gained 16 seats and lost 6, leaving us with a net gain of 10 seats. We hold 5 out of the 6 seats in Berlin."

"What is your gross poll?"

"That we shall not know until the Reichstag meets, when the returns will be presented, but you may take it at something over 2,000,000 votes. In 1890 we polled 1,427,000 votes. And you must remember that this is a purely socialist vote. All parties coalesced against us with the exception of a small number of the Volkspartei, which is a sort of Radical-Republican party.[485] We ran 391 candidates, and we refused to make terms with any other party. Had we cared to do so, we might have had 20 or 30 more seats, but we steadfastly set our faces against any compromise, and that is what makes our position so strong. None of our men are pledged to support any party or any measure excepting our own party programme."

"But surely your 2,000,000 votes ought to have carried more seats?"

"That is owing to the defects in the distribution of seats. When the Reichstag was first created, we were supposed to have equal electoral districts, with one member to every 100,000 inhabitants, but original inequalities and the growth and shifting of population have made the number of electors in each district very unequal. This tells heavily against us. Take the case of Liebknecht's seat in

Berlin. He polled 51,000 votes in a constituency which contains some 500,000 inhabitants."

"And how about the 6 seats you have lost?"

"Well, there are circumstances connected with each which explain their loss. Bremen was always looked upon as a fluke in 1890. In Lubeck, I have just heard from Bebel, many working people are away, and if the election had occurred in the winter we should have held the seat. Then, again, you must remember that trade depression affects us more than it does you, and we have had to fight against the bitter hostility of every employer of labour. Although voting is by ballot, interested people have found out means nullifying its secrecy. We don't vote marking a paper, as you do in England, but by means of ballot papers, which each voter brings with him. The depression of trade, besides, and the cholera epidemic of 1892, have compelled numbers of working men to accept public relief which disfranchises them for the term of a year.

"But I am more proud of our defeats than our victories," continued Herr Engels. "In Dresden (country district) we came within 100 of the votes polled for a candidate who received the suffrages of every other party, and in a total poll of 32,000. In Ottenseen our candidate came within 500 of a member who has been supported in the same way, on a gross poll of 27,000. In Stuttgart our candidate polled 13,315 votes, and he was only 128 behind the sitting member. In Lubeck we were only 154 behind on a total poll of 19,000. And, as I said before, these are all socialist votes polled against a combination of all other parties."

"Now, tell me what is your political programme?"

"Our programme is very nearly identical with that of the Social-Democratic Federation in England,[486] although our policy is very different."

"More nearly approaching that of the Fabian Society,[487] I suppose?"

"No, certainly not," replied the Herr, with great animation. "The Fabian Society, I take to be nothing but a branch of the Liberal Party. It looks for no social salvation except through the means which that party supplies. We are opposed to all the existing political parties, and we are going to fight them all. The English Social-Democratic Federation is, and acts, only like a small sect. It is an exclusive body. It has not understood how to take the lead of the working-class movement generally, and to direct it towards socialism. It has turned Marxism into an orthodoxy. Thus

it insisted upon John Burns unfurling the red flag at the dock strike, where such an act would have ruined the whole movement, and, instead of gaining over the dockers, would have driven them back into the arms of the capitalists. We don't do this. Yet our programme is a purely socialist one. Our first plank is the socialisation of all the means and instruments of production. Still, we accept anything which any government may give us, but only as a payment on account, and for which we offer no thanks. We always vote against the Budget, and against any vote for money or men for the Army. In constituencies where we have not had a candidate to vote for on the second ballot, our supporters have been instructed to vote only for those candidates who pledged to vote against the Army Bill, any increased taxation, and any restriction on popular rights."

"And what will be the effect of the election on German politics?"

"The Army Bill will be carried.[488] There is a complete breakdown of the Opposition. In fact, we are now the only real and compact Opposition. The National Liberals have joined the Conservatives. The Freisinnige party has split into two, and the elections have all but annihilated it. The Catholics and the small sections dare not risk another dissolution, and will give way sooner than face it."

"Now, coming to European politics, what do you think will be the effect of the elections on them?"

"Well, the Army Bill being voted, France and Russia will evidently do something in the same direction. France has already absorbed all her male population into her Army, even down to those who are physically unfit, but she will no doubt go in for improving her Army as a fighting machine. Russia will be met with the difficulty of obtaining officers. Austria and Germany will of course stick together."

"Then there is rather an ugly outlook for the peace of Europe?"

"Of course, any little thing may precipitate a conflict, but I don't think the rulers of these countries are anxious for war. The precision and range of the new quick-firing arms, and the introduction of smokeless powder, imply such a revolution in warfare that nobody can predict what will be the proper tactics for a battle fought under these novel conditions. It will be a leap in the dark. And the armies confronting each other in future will be so immense as to make all previous wars mere child's play in comparison with the next war."

"And what do you think will be the influence of the Social-Democratic Party in Europe?"

"For peace, undoubtedly. We have always protested against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and after Sedan Marx and I drew up an address of the International, pointing out that the German people had no quarrel with the French Republic, and demanding peace on honourable terms, and also pointing out exactly what has happened—that the annexation would drive France into the arms of Russia, and would be a standing menace to the peace of Europe.[489] Our Party in the Reichstag has always demanded that the Alsace-Lorrainers should have the opportunity given them to decide their future destiny—whether they should rejoin France, remain German, join Switzerland, or become independent."

"Then you look for a 'United States of Europe' at no distant date?"

"Certainly. Everything is making in that direction. Our ideas are spreading in every European country. Here is" (producing a thick volume) "our new review for Roumania.[a] We have a similar one for Bulgaria.[b] The workers of the world are fast learning to unite."

"Can you give me any figures to illustrate the growth of socialism in Germany?"

Herr Engels then produced an elaborate diagram illustrating the number of votes polled by each party at every election to the Reichstag as at present constituted.

"In 1877", he said, "we polled 500,000 votes; in 1881, owing to the rigour of the Socialist Law,[2] only 300,000; in 1884, 550,000, and in 1890, 1,427,000. This time we have polled over 2,000,000."

"And to what do you attribute this marvellous growth?"

"Chiefly to economic causes. We have had as great an industrial revolution in Germany since 1860, with all its attendant evils, as you had in England from 1760 to 1810. Your manufacturers know this very well. Then, again, the present commercial depression has affected ours, a new industrial country, more than yours, an old one. Hence the pressure on the workers. I mean those of all classes. The small tradesman, crushed out by the big store, the clerk, the artisan, the labourer, both in town and country, are beginning to feel the pinch of our present capitalist system. And we place a scientific remedy before them, and as they can all read and think for themselves, they soon come round and join our ranks. Our organisation is perfect—the admiration and despair of

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[a] *Contemporanul.—Ed.*

[b] *Социалъ-Демократъ.—Ed.*

our opponents. It has been made perfect owing to the Socialist laws of Bismarck, which were very much like your coercion laws for Ireland. Then, again, our military training and discipline is invaluable. The whole of the 240,000 electors of Hamburg received our election addresses and literature in a quarter of an hour. In fact, last year the government of that town appealed to us to help it in sending round instructions as to how to deal with cholera."

"Then you expect soon to see, what everybody is curious to see—a Socialist Government in power?"

"Why not? If the growth of our Party continues at its normal rate we shall have a majority between the years 1900 and 1910. And when we do, you may be assured we shall neither be short of ideas nor men to carry them out. You people, I suppose, about that time, will be having a government, in which Mr. Sidney Webb will be growing gray in an attempt to permeate the Liberal Party. We don't believe in permeating middle-class parties. We are permeating the people."

First published in *The Daily Chronicle*, July 1, 1893

Reproduced from the newspaper

NOTES AND INDEXES

NOTES

[1] This article was inspired by the major victory scored by the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in the first round of the general elections to the Reichstag on February 20, 1890. The party polled 1,427,323 votes and received 20 (21 according to initial election returns) seats in the Reichstag. On March 1, the Social Democrats were successful at the run-off (a second ballot was held in the constituencies where none of the candidates had received an absolute majority in the first round). Engels learned the outcome of the second ballot after writing this article. All in all, the Social Democrats polled 1,427,298 votes and received 35 seats in the Reichstag.

The article in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (March 3, 1890) was prefaced by the editorial introduction cited below:

"The following article has been contributed by one of the most influential members of the German Socialistic party. By his long identification with the party, his intimate acquaintance with Karl Marx and the Socialistic leaders generally, the writer is well entitled to interpret their views—perhaps better than any one else."

Following publication in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, the article was reprinted in the *Berliner Volksblatt* on April 6, 1890, under the heading "Ein Artikel Friedrich Engels". In the German translation, the edge was taken off some of Engels' phrases due, as the editors explained in the introduction, to the Anti-Socialist Law then in force in the country. p. 3

[2] This refers to the Anti-Socialist Law passed by the Reichstag on October 21, 1878 for the purpose of suppressing the socialist and the working-class movement. It banned all party organisations, mass workers' associations and the socialist and labour press, and authorised repressive actions against Social Democrats. However, the Social-Democratic Party, supported by Marx and Engels, had managed to strike a balance between underground work and legal activities, and to consolidate and expand its influence even in the years when the Anti-Socialist Law was in force. The Law's validity was extended in 1881, 1884, 1886 and 1888, and it was repealed on October 1, 1890. Engels gave an assessment of it in his essay "Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party" (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09.) p. 3

[3] Engels is apparently referring to the elections of 1878; despite the slander hurled against the party by the reactionary press, nine Social-Democratic deputies were elected, only three less than in 1877. p. 3

[4] The *National Liberals,* originally a Prussian, and from 1871 an all-German right-wing bourgeois political party that existed between 1867 and 1918, a mainstay of the Junker-bourgeois bloc. Its programme proclaimed civic equality and bourgeois-democratic freedoms, but against the background of a stronger working-class movement in Germany, it ceased campaigning for these issues and declared its satisfaction with Bismarck's half-hearted reforms. Following Germany's unification, it acquired its final shape as a party first and foremost of the big industrial bourgeoisie, and to all intents and purposes went back on the liberal programme it had previously advanced.

The *Centre,* a political party of German Catholics, came into being in June 1870 as a result of the merger between the Catholic groups in the Prussian Landtag and the German Reichstag (the seats occupied by the deputies from these groups were located in the centre of the assembly halls). The Centre usually adhered to a middle-of-the-road policy, manoeuvring between the parties supporting the government and the left-wing opposition groups in the Reichstag. It used the banner of Catholicism to bring together the Catholic clergy, the landowners, the bourgeoisie and part of the peasantry (i.e., strata of different social standing), mainly in the small and medium-sized states in Western and South-Western Germany, and encouraged their separatism and anti-Prussianism. The Centre opposed the Bismarck government, but still voted in favour of the steps it took against the working-class and socialist movement. Engels gave a detailed description of this party in his work "The Role of Force in History" (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 453-510), and also in the essay "What Now?" (see this volume, pp. 7-10).

The *Conservatives,* a Prussian Junker party encompassing the aristocracy, senior officers, and senior Lutheran clergy and civil servants, was founded in 1848 to combat the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49. In the initial years after Germany's unification, it stood in opposition to the Bismarck government, criticising it from the Right. Permeated with the spirit of Prussian hegemonism and militarism, the party resisted attempts to introduce bourgeois reforms. In 1866, the Party of Free Conservatives (or the German Imperialists) split from it. The new party represented the interests of big landowners and industrialists and extended unconditional support to Bismarck. p. 4

[5] Engels is referring to two decrees issued by William II on February 4, 1890, the eve of the elections to the Reichstag, and presenting the government's manifesto. The decrees pointed to the failure of Bismarck's punitive measures against the working-class movement and to the transition to a more flexible policy combined with stronger social demagogy.

The first decree was addressed to the Chancellor and instructed him to propose to some European governments the convention of an international conference to discuss the introduction of a single labour law. Such a conference did in fact take place in March 1890 in Berlin. Apart from Germany, taking part in it were government representatives from Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy and other countries. The conference passed resolutions banning the employment of children under 12 and reducing working hours for teenagers and women. But these resolutions were not binding on its signatories.

The second decree, addressed to the Ministers of Public Works and of Commerce and Industry voiced the Emperor's wish to revise the labour law of

the time, supposedly with a view to improving the conditions of workers employed at state and private enterprises. p. 4

[6] This article, like the previous one, was prompted by the elections to the Reichstag, the first round of which was held on February 20, 1890 (see Note 1). p. 7

[7] The *Cartel*, a bloc of the Conservatives and the Free Conservatives with the National Liberals (see Note 4), which was formed after Bismarck had dissolved the Reichstag in January 1887 and which supported his government. The Cartel was victorious at the February 1887 elections and received a majority (220) of the seats in the Reichstag. Leaning on the bloc, Bismarck managed to get a number of laws passed which promoted the interests of the Junkers and big bourgeoisie (introduction of protective tariffs, higher taxes, etc.). However, he failed to get the Anti-Socialist Law extended in 1890 (see Note 2). Growing discord between the parties incorporated in the Cartel and defeat at the 1890 elections (a mere 132 seats) brought about its collapse. p. 7

[8] The *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* was formed in 1884 as a result of the merger of the Party of Progress and the Left wing of the National Liberals. Among its leaders was Eugen Richter, a deputy to the Reichstag. The party represented the interests of the middle class and was in opposition to the Bismarck government. p. 8

[9] The *Guelphs*—a party established in 1866 after Hanover had joined Prussia. The name derives from the old House of Guelphs. The party's objective was to reinstate the rights of the Royal House of Hanover and Hanover's autonomy in the German Empire. It sided with the Centre.

The representatives of national minorities (Poles, the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine) and in addition the Hanoverian Guelphs in the Reichstag dissatisfied with the policy of national oppression, allied themselves with the major opposition parties and frequently acted in collaboration with the Party of the Centre. p. 8

[10] An ironical reference to the outcome of the *Kulturkampf*, a set of measures introduced by the Bismarck government in 1871-75 under a campaign for secular culture. The main thrust of this campaign (clergymen were forbidden to conduct political agitation and to supervise education; nearly all Catholic Orders were disbanded, the state appointed Church leaders) was directed against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre (see Note 4), which were following an anti-Prussian line. However, the persecution and the blatant interference in the internal affairs of the Church only served to consolidate clericalism. Bismarck, who in May 1872 declared in the Reichstag: "We shall not go to Canossa" was forced in the late 1870s to effect a reconciliation with the clergy and repeal nearly all anti-Catholic laws in order to unite all reactionary elements in a campaign against the working-class movement.

The phrase "to go to Canossa" derives from the humiliating pilgrimage made by the German Emperor Henry IV to the Castle of Canossa, Northern Italy, in 1077 to plead with Pope Gregory VII to revoke his decision that he be excommunicated. p. 9

[11] See Note 5. p. 9

[12] The Delphic Oracle ambiguously prophesied to Croesus that if the latter crossed the Halys River, he would bring ruin on a vast kingdom. Croesus' own kingdom perished in a war with the Persian King Cyrus. p. 9

[13] Engels was prompted to write the essay "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom" by the deteriorating situation in Europe in the late 1880s-early 1890s and the mounting threat of a world war engendered by the formation of two military-political blocs, the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy), and the Franco-Russian alliance, which was taking on definite shape as the essay was being written. In the works written over that period Engels repeatedly dealt with problems of militarism, chauvinism, competition in armaments and the predatory policies of European states (see "Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's Pamphlet *In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots. 1806-1807*", present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 407-52 and "Socialism in Germany" and "Can Europe Disarm?", this volume, pp. 235-50, 367-93). This work continues his anti-militarist campaign sustained through the press and correspondence with socialists in many countries. It was prompted by Vera Zasulich's request on behalf of the Russian Marxist *Sotsial-demokrat* magazine (preparations for its publication were underway in London) for Engels' collaboration. Engels responded by sending his essay for publication in Russian (translated from the German). He also decided to simultaneously have it published in other socialist papers and magazines (see Engels' letter to Vera Zasulich of April 3, 1890, present edition, Vol. 48).

The first chapter of the work was published in the *Sotsial-demokrat*, No. 1, February 1890, and the end, in its next issue which did not appear until August 1890. Over that period, two chapters were published in the April issue of *Die Neue Zeit* with editorial changes that Engels had not authorised (e.g., milder descriptions of the Russian and German ruling circles and representatives of the Hohenzollern dynasty, etc.). Engels learned about this editorial interference when he received the first book of the *Sotsial-demokrat* (c. April 1, 1890) and compared the Russian translation with the *Neue Zeit* version. He strongly protested against such treatment of his work and demanded that the first chapters be reprinted in conformity with the original (see his letters to Kautsky, editor of the journal, and Dietz, its publisher, of April 1, 1890, present edition, Vol. 48). In the May issue of the journal, these chapters appeared without changes together with chapter three; they were supplied with an editorial footnote by the editors: "As a result of a misunderstanding, several deviations from the original occurred in the publication of chapters I and II, which appeared in the April issue, substantially affecting the character of the article. Our readers will certainly appreciate it if, instead of correcting individual passages, we reproduce the entire article in its original form. The present issue carries it in full." The publication was dated "London, late February 1890", when the work was completed.

The article appeared in English in *Time*, April and May issues, 1890. When working on the article's translation into English, Engels somewhat revised and complemented the text. Judging by the content of some of the changes he introduced, the translation of chapters two and three for *Time* was made later than February 1890, probably in March of that year.

The work was quite widely known in Engels' lifetime. In 1893, it appeared as a separate edition in Polish and was published by the Romanian journal *Contemporanul*, No. 7, 1890, the French *Idée nouvelle*, 1890 (first two chapters), and the Bulgarian *Balkanska zora* on February 21-March 3, 1891.

The concluding part of the work dealing with the situation in Europe was published as piece in its own right in the newspapers *Nord Wacht*, No. 28, July 13, 1890 and *Wähler*, No. 113, July 1, 1890. p. 11

[14] The reference is to the assassination of Russian Emperor Paul I by palace conspirators in March 1801. p. 15

[15] Engels is referring to the introduction of universal compulsory conscription to replace recruit conscription in Russia in 1874. Under the army Rules that came into force on January 1, 1874, all males in Russia between the ages of 21 and 43, with the exception of Central Asians, Kazakhs and a number of nationalities from the Caucasus, Siberia, the Volga region and the Far North, were obliged to do military service in the regular army, the reserves or the militia. Conscription was effected by drawing lots. However, under the autocratic system of tsarist Russia, the introduction of compulsory military service on the model of bourgeois states was obstructed by the estates' privileges and numerous rights extended to the propertied classes, and by unequal conditions of service for people from various walks of life, etc. p. 16

[16] The reference is to the wars of the Sixth (1813-14) and Seventh (1815) Coalitions of European States against Napoleonic France. In the war of 1813-14, Russian troops made up over a third of the army formed by the allies (Russia, Britain, Austria, Prussia and other states) and played a major part in liberating Germany from Napoleonic rule and defeating Napoleon's troops on French territory, which eventually brought about the collapse of the First Empire. p. 17

[17] Engels is referring to *liberum veto* (literally, "freedom of prohibition"), which was in force in feudal Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries and implied the right of any member of the Sejm to revoke its decisions. Decisions had to be unanimous. The right of liberum veto was extensively used by the magnates to promote their own private ends and was one of the factors that encouraged feudal anarchy. It mirrored the incompleteness of state centralisation and the weakness of royal authority. p. 18

[18] Appraising tsarist Russia's policy towards Poland in the 18th century, Engels uses the term "Principle of Nationalities" advanced by Napoleon III and widely used by the ruling quarters of the Second Empire as an ideological smokescreen for predatory designs and political adventures abroad. Casting himself in the thoroughly hypocritical role of "protector of nationalities" Napoleon III sought to exploit the national interests of the oppressed people as a means to consolidate the positions of France in her competition with other great powers and to expand the country's frontiers. Marx exposed the "Principle of Nationalities" in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 133-83) and Engels did the same in his work "What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 152-61). p. 18

[19] The reference is to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a feudal state formed in the early 13th century. Between the mid-13th and the early 15th century, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Western Russian territories fell under the rule of the Lithuanian princes. Lithuanian feudal lords succeeded in gaining these territories because these lands were weakened by the Mongol-Tartar yoke, feudal fragmentation and strife.

The first attempt to unite Poland and Lithuania was made in 1385, when the two states signed the Union of Krevo, principally for the purpose of jointly fighting the mounting aggression of the Teutonic Order. The Union provided for the incorporation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into Poland and the imposition of Catholicism on Lithuania. Up to the mid-15th century, the Union

fell apart and was revived several times. Eventually, it ceased to be a defensive alliance and turned into an association of Polish and Lithuanian feudal lords directed against the people of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. In 1569, the Union of Lublin was concluded under which Poland and Lithuania formed a single state that assumed the name of Rzecz Pospolita (Republic), with Lithuania retaining its autonomy. p. 18

[20] In the 16th century, the Jesuits vigorously fought the Reformation and the spread of Protestantism in Europe. Their Order became a leading factor in the Catholic reactionary movement widely known as the Counter-Reformation. The Polish Catholic clergy had called in the Jesuits in 1564, who as early as 1575 established the Polish Provinces of their Order. p. 18

[21] The *Uniate Greco-Catholics* were Christians belonging to the Uniate Church that emerged as a result of the union between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches. The Union was formed on the demand of the Polish feudal lords and the Catholic clergy (mainly Jesuits) voiced at the Synod in Brest in 1596. The union provided for Catholic supremacy but preserved a substantial portion of Orthodox rites. The Union was a tool in the hands of Polish magnates and the aristocracy, who sought to consolidate their rule in the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Supported by senior clergy and the local feudal nobility, it was opposed by the masses, who made the struggle against the Uniate Church one of the objects of their liberation movement at the end of the 16th-beginning of the 17th century. p. 19

[22] See Note 17. p. 19

[23] The *Peace of Westphalia* of 1648, which concluded the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), is the name given to two peace treaties, the one between the German Emperor, the German princes and Sweden signed in Osnabrück, and the other between the German Emperor and France signed in Münster (both of them Westphalian towns). Under its terms, Germany lost a significant part of its territory owing to the collusion of the victor states (Sweden and France) with the German princes. Sweden got all of Western Pomerania, including the Island of Rügen, a number of territories in Eastern Pomerania, some of the church lands, etc. France got the former Habsburg territories in Alsace, and its rights to territories captured earlier were confirmed. Some of the German principalities also added to their possessions. The Peace of Westphalia sealed the political disunity of Germany. The German princes received the right to pursue independent foreign policies and conclude alliances among themselves and with foreign states. p. 19

[24] The reference is to the counterfeit document used by West European politicians and journalists in their propaganda campaign against Russia whenever relations with that country deteriorated. The legend about a Testament of Peter the Great first emerged in the West back in 1797. The substance of the allegedly authentic document was recounted in Ch.-L. Lesur's *Des progrès de la puissance russe, depuis son origine jusqu'au commencement du XIX-e siècle* (Paris, 1812), and in 1836 the forgery was presented as an authentic document in the *Mémoires du chevalièr d'Eon* published by F. Gaillardet. In the 19th century, Western Europe was firmly convinced that the Testament was either genuine or drawn up on the instructions of Peter I's successors. That the testament was a forgery was first proved by the Riga librarian G. Berkholz in his works "Das Testament Peters des Grossen" (*Baltische Monatsschrift*, Oktober 1859, S. 61-73), and *Napoléon I—auteur du testament de Pierre-le-grand*, Brussels, 1863. p. 20

[25] The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63), the war between two coalitions of European states, Anglo-Prussian, on the one hand, and Franco-Russo-Austrian, on the other. The cause of the war was the clashing interests of the feudal-absolutist powers (Prussia, Austria, Russia and France) and colonial rivalry between France and Britain. Besides the war at sea, hostilities took place in Europe and in some of the combatants' American and Asian colonies. In 1756-57, the troops of Frederick II of Prussia scored a number of victories over the Austrian and the French armies, but the Russian successes in Prussia in 1757-60 reduced the Prussian triumph to zero, putting the country on the brink of defeat. An abrupt revision of Russia's foreign policy after the death of Empress Elizabeth on January 5, 1762 and the accession of Peter III, who concluded peace with Prussia, gave the latter a chance to end the war with Austria as well. The Seven Years' War ended with the signing of the Paris and Hubertusburg peace treaties in 1763. Under the Paris Treaty, France was to cede to Britain its major colonies, including Canada, nearly all of its possessions in the East Indies and some others, which consolidated Britain's colonial and naval might. The Peace of Hubertusburg re-established Prussia and Austria in their prewar frontiers. p. 21

[26] The *St. Petersburg Treaty* of April 11, 1764 was concluded by Russia and Prussia for a term of 8 years for defensive purposes. It was signed by N. I. Panin and Vice-Chancellor A. M. Golitsin on behalf of Russia, and by the Prussian Envoy to St. Petersburg, V. F. Solms. The parties guaranteed inviolability of territories, military and financial aid in the event of attack, and observation of commercial interests. The secret clauses stipulated that Russia and Prussia undertook to prevent changes in the Swedish and Polish constitutions. A special clause set out Prussia's obligation to support a Russian-approved successor to the Polish throne. The treaty reflected the desire of Prussia and Russia to prevent any growth of Austrian and French influence in Poland. p. 22

[27] The first partition of Poland among Prussia, Austria and Russia was effected in 1772. Under the conventions on the partition signed in St. Petersburg on August 5, 1772, Austria and Prussia received some of the West Ukrainian and old Polish territories. Galicia went to Austria, and Warmia, parts of Pomerania, Kujawia, Greater Poland to Prussia. Russia received Latgale and part of Eastern Byelorussia. p. 22

[28] The *principle of legitimacy* was proclaimed by Talleyrand at the Vienna Congress of European monarchs and their ministers held in 1814-15. To all intents and purposes, it meant the restoration of the "legitimate" dynasties and monarchies overthrown during the French Revolution of 1789-94 and the Napoleonic wars. p. 22

[29] The reference is to the *Bavarian Succession War* (1778-79) provoked by the claims of German states to various parts of Bavaria after the death of Elector Maximilian-Joseph, who had no direct heirs, and by the struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany. The war ended with the signing, in May 1779, of the Treaty of Teschen between Austria, on the one hand, and Prussia and Saxony, on the other. Under the Treaty, Prussia and Austria received some Bavarian territories, and Saxony, a sum of money by way of compensation. The Bavarian throne passed to the Elector of the Palatinate. The Treaty of Teschen confirmed a number of treaties signed by the German states at earlier dates, from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the Peace of Hubertusburg (1763) (see notes 23 and 25). Originally an intermediary between

the belligerents, Russia was declared, together with France, a guarantor of the order established by the Treaty, thus in fact gaining the right to interfere in the affairs of the German states. p. 23

[30] Engels refers to the Russo-Turkish wars of 1768-74 and 1787-92, in which Russia emerged victorious. At the time of the wars, the appearance of the Russian navy in the Archipelago gave rise to an anti-Turkish campaign: in 1770, a mass revolt in Peloponnesus, and in 1786, an uprising in Suli, Southern Albania. These poorly prepared revolts were doomed to failure. p. 23

[31] The principles of *armed neutrality* were first formulated in a declaration issued by Catherine II on February 28 (March 11), 1780. It proclaimed the right of neutral states to carry on trade with belligerent ones and the inviolability of enemy property (with the exception of war contraband) under a neutral flag. The declaration, supported by Austria, Denmark, Holland, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Portugal, Prussia and Sweden, provided the basis for the first Armed Neutrality (1780-83). In 1800, when Britain was at war with Napoleonic France, the second Armed Neutrality was formed by Denmark, Prussia, Russia and Sweden.

The principle of armed neutrality as a collective means for neutral states to resist aggression was finalised by the Paris Declaration of 1856 (*Declaration réglant divers joints du droit maritime, signée ... à Paris le 16 avril 1856*), signed by Austrian, French, British, Prussian, Russian, Sardinian and Turkish representatives. It banned privateering and protected the trade vessels of the neutral state against assault by belligerent countries. The signing of the Declaration signified diplomatic victory for Russia, which opposed the British claim to examine and requisition vessels belonging to neutral states. The Declaration was attached to the Peace of Paris signed on March 30, 1856 by the participants in the Crimean war of 1853-56. p. 24

[32] The reference is to the second and third partitions of Poland in 1793 and 1795 as a result of the aggressive policies of Austria, Prussia and Russia and which served as a means of suppressing the Polish national movement. Under the second partition, Russia received part of Byelorussia (White Russia) and the Right-bank Ukraine (Little Russia); Prussia—Gdansk, Thorun and part of Greater Poland. Austria was not involved in the second partition.

Under the third partition, Russia received Lithuania, Courland, the western regions of Byelorussia and part of Volhynia; Austria, part of Little Poland with Lublin and Cracow. The bulk of the old Polish lands went to Prussia. The third partition put an end to the existence of Poland as an independent state. p. 24

[33] The reference is to the coalition formed by the European feudal-absolutist states against revolutionary France. A significant part in its formation was performed by Britain. In February 1792, Prussia and Austria with the support of Britain and Russia concluded a military alliance and invaded France. In 1793, after the declaration of the republic (August 10, 1792) and the execution of King Louis XVI (January 1793), the anti-French coalition was openly joined by Britain, Holland, Spain, Naples, Sardinia and a number of small German and Italian states. The war between France and the first coalition lasted up to 1797. p. 24

[34] The reference is to the Polish national liberation uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in March-November 1794. Its watchword was unification of the Polish lands received by Austria, Prussia and Russia under the partitions of

1772 and 1793. It called for more extensive progressive reforms. Having engaged some of the Prussian forces, the uprising contributed to the success of the French revolutionary army and paved the way for Prussia's withdrawal from the first anti-French coalition of European powers in 1795. p. 24

[35] In the summer of 1783, the Swedish King Gustavus III and Empress Catherine II met in Frederikshamn (Finland). King Gustavus wished to ascertain the Empress' intentions with respect to Turkey and the Crimea, and her attitude to Sweden's plans to annex Norway. For her part, Catherine II was seeking rapprochement with Sweden in connection with the preparations for a war with Turkey. p. 24

[36] The *Peace of Lunéville* was signed by Austria and France on February 9, 1801 following the defeat of the second anti-French coalition of European states (Russia, Britain, Austria, Turkey and the Kingdom of Naples) (1798-1801). Under the terms of the peace treaty, Austria ceded large territories in Germany and Italy to France, and recognised the republics dependent on France in Holland, Switzerland and Northern Italy. p. 25

[37] See Note 29. p. 26

[38] The *Reichs-Deputations-Hauptschluss* (decision of the Imperial Deputation, a commission made up of the representatives of German states appointed by the German Reichstag in October 1801) was taken on February 25, 1803; it liquidated a large number of small states in West Germany. Their territories were incorporated into larger German states as compensation for the territories on the left bank of the Rhine that went over to France under the Peace of Lunéville. As a result, 112 German states with a total population of three million ceased to exist (most of them, ecclesiastical estates and imperial cities). The main beneficiaries were Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, all of them totally dependent on Napoleonic France, and also Prussia. The Imperial Deputation's decision gave a legal and official form to the provisions of the secret convention concluded between France and Russia in October 1801, which provided for territorial compensation in Rhenish Germany in the interests of Napoleonic France. p. 26

[39] The *Battle of Austerlitz* (Moravia) that took place on December 2, 1805 between the Russo-Austrian and the French armies was won by Napoleon I. After this defeat, Austria withdrew from the third anti-French coalition and concluded a peace treaty with Napoleon. Russia and Britain formed a new, fourth coalition in 1806 and continued the war.

The *Confederation (Confederacy) of the Rhine,* an alliance of Southern and Western German states founded under Napoleon I's protectorate in July 1806. The establishment of this military and political alliance in Germany was made possible by the Austrian defeat of 1805. When the Confederation of the Rhine was formed, the medieval Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation ceased to exist. Originally, the Confederation of the Rhine embraced 16 states including Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, and later five more (Saxony and Westphalia among them) which to all intents and purposes became vassals of Napoleonic France. Their troops took part in Napoleonic wars of conquest, including the Russian campaign of 1812. The Confederation fell apart in 1813 when the French army was defeated. p. 27

[40] Engels is referring to some of the battles against Napoleonic France fought in 1806-07 by the fourth coalition (Britain, Russia, and Prussia, which in July 1806 concluded a secret treaty with Russia against Napoleon, and Sweden).

In the *Battle of Jena* (Thuringia) on October 14, 1806 the Prussian troops were defeated by Napoleon's army, which brought about Prussia's capitulation.

The *Battle of Preussisch-Eylau* (East Prussia) on February 7-8, 1807 between the French and the Russian troops was one of the bloodiest in the war of the fourth coalition against France. The battle was indecisive.

The *Battle of Friedland* (East Prussia) between French and Russian troops on June 14, 1807 was won by Napoleon's army.

The *Treaty of Tilsit*—the peace treaties concluded on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France with Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition, which was defeated in the campaigns of 1806 and 1807. In an attempt to divide the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even managed to have part of Prussia's eastern possessions (the Bialystok region) transferred to it. At the same time, harsh terms were imposed on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France. It was also obliged to pay an indemnity, had limits imposed on the strength of its army, etc. However, Russia, along with Prussia, had to sever its alliance with Britain and, to its own disadvantage, join the Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal Grand Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland in the late 18th century, and planned to use it as a bridgehead in the event of war with Russia. The further aggravation of Russo-French differences led to Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812. p. 27

[41] This refers to the Russian army crossing the Gulf of Bothnia in the winter of 1809 during the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09. The Russian troops' entry into Sweden hastened the coup d'état effected in the interests of the aristocratic oligarchy. In March 1809, Gustavus IV was deposed and his uncle declared king under the name of Charles XIII shortly afterwards. In September of the same year, Sweden was forced to conclude the Frederikshamn Peace Treaty with Russia and to cede Finland to it. p. 27

[42] In August 1812, Abo (Turku) hosted a meeting between Alexander I and Marshal Bernadotte, heir to the Swedish throne. The outcome of the meeting was a convention signed by Sweden and Russia on August 30, 1812, which formalised what was in fact a military alliance between these two states spearheaded against Napoleonic France. Under the convention Russia also assumed an obligation to render Sweden military aid against Denmark should the latter refuse to cede Norway to the King of Sweden. In its turn, Sweden undertook to support the territorial claims of the Russian government, specifically with respect to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was dependent on Napoleon.

In October 1813, Sweden opened hostilities against Denmark in which Russian units took part. Denmark was defeated and a peace treaty signed in Kiel on January 14, 1814. Under its terms, Norway was given over to Sweden. In November of that year, it was declared that Norway was joining Sweden on the basis of a personal union.

On Catherine's plan see pp. 24-25 of this volume. p. 27

[43] When Alexander I and Napoleon I met in Tilsit in June and July 1807, the latter promised to support the plan to annex the Danubian principalities to Russia.

Napoleon I and Alexander I met for a second time in Erfurt on September 27-October 14, 1808. Napoleon, who was concerned about the growing national liberation movement in the countries he had conquered, particularly in Spain,

and fearing that Austria might rise against him, hoped to secure a promise of assistance from Alexander in the event of war with Austria, promising, in return, his support for Russia's claim to Moldavia and Wallachia. The talks ended in the signing of a secret convention which provided for a formal renewal of the Franco-Russian alliance signed in 1807 in Tilsit. However, Alexander refused to give Napoleon direct support in his campaign against Austria. At the time of the Franco-Austrian war of 1809, Russia confined its actions to the occupation of Galicia but declined to engage in active hostilities against Austria. p. 27

[44] The *Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12* was caused by the attempts of Turkey to win back supremacy in the Black Sea area which had been undermined by defeats in the wars with Russia, the efforts of Napoleon's diplomats to make Russia direct its forces away from the struggle against France, and Russia's plans to consolidate its position in Moldavia and Wallachia. In the course of the war, Russian troops dealt the Turkish army crippling blows on the European and Caucasian theatres of war, and in 1811 smashed the principal forces of the Turkish army on the Danube. Under the Bucharest Treaty signed on May 28, 1812, Russia received Bessarabia as far as the River Prut and the right of commercial navigation on the Danube, as well as a number of territories in Transcaucasia. The Treaty confirmed the earlier agreements between Russia and Turkey concerning the recognition of Moldavia's and Wallachia's autonomous rights.

Russia's victory in the war objectively facilitated the emancipation of the peoples of the Caucasus and the Balkans from the Turkish rule. Successful action by the Russian troops in the Balkans was of substantial help to the popular uprising in Serbia in 1804-13, which was a major landmark in the long history of the Serbian people's national liberation struggle against the rule of the Turkish feudal lords. In the course of the uprising, the Serbs drove away the Turkish invaders and in 1805-11 achieved domestic autonomy. Under the Bucharest Treaty of 1812, Turkey was to grant Serbia autonomy in matters of domestic administration. However, capitalising on the French army's invasion of Russia, the Sultan broke the agreement and in 1813 launched a punitive campaign against Serbia and temporarily reinstated his own dominion there. A further victorious Serbian uprising in 1815, together with Russia's diplomatic aid, overthrew the Turkish yoke; after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, the Sultan's special firman of 1830 recognised the autonomy (actual independence) of Serbia from Turkey. p. 27

[45] The *Continental System*, or the *Continental Blockade*, declared by Napoleon in 1806 and maintained up to 1814, banned the continental European countries from trading with Britain. Russia's enforced participation in it was an outcome of the Peace of Tilsit of 1807. p. 28

[46] A reference to the *battle of Leipzig* on October 16-19, 1813 between the armies of the sixth European coalition (Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Sweden, Spain and some other states) and Napoleonic France. This "battle of the nations" ended in victory for the anti-French coalition and led to Germany's liberation from Napoleonic rule. p. 28

[47] See Note 39. p. 28

[48] The *Treaty of Bucharest of 1812*—see Note 44.

By decision of the Vienna Congress of European monarchs and their ministers which sat, with some intervals, between 1814 and 1815 following the

defeat of Napoleonic France, the map of Europe was redrawn with a view to restoring the legitimate monarchies and in total disregard for the interests of national unification and the independence of nations. Poland was once more divided between Austria, Prussia and Russia, with the bulk of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (see Note 40) going to Russia under the name of the Kingdom of Poland. p. 29

[49] Sweden received Norway as a result of the war of 1807-14 between Denmark, an ally of France, on the one hand, and Britain and Sweden, on the other. This formed part of the Napoleonic wars. Under the Swedish-Danish peace treaty of 1814, Denmark exchanged Norway for Swedish Pomerania. The Norwegian-Swedish personal union (see Note 42) was formalised by the decision of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15 (see Note 48). p. 29

[50] The *Holy Alliance,* an association of European monarchs founded in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. The Holy Alliance, in which the main role was played by Russia, Austria and Prussia, was dissolved in the late 1820s, but after the 1830 and 1848-49 revolutions attempts were made to resurrect it. p. 29

[51] Engels is referring to the Greek revolt which began in the spring of 1821 and soon assumed a massive scale. In January 1822, the National Congress convened in Epidaurus proclaimed Greek independence and adopted a constitution. The Sultan of Turkey, who was unable to suppress the insurgent Greeks relying solely on his own forces, called in his vassal, the Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali, whose troops invaded Morea in 1825, severely putting down the Greek revolt. At the outset of the uprising, the Holy Alliance, notably Russia, took a very negative stand towards it. However, the tremendous sympathy that the Greeks' struggle aroused everywhere, and, most important, a chance to use it to consolidate their position in the south of the Balkans prompted Britain, Russia and France to recognise Greece as a country at war and render it military aid. Of decisive significance was the victory of Russia in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, which meant that Turkey was forced to recognise Greece as an independent state. However, a decision was taken by the European powers to establish monarchy in Greece in 1832, with the throne going to Otto, second son of King Louis of Bavaria. p. 30

[52] The reference is to the bourgeois revolutions in Spain (1820-23), the Kingdom of Naples (1820-21) and Piedmont (1821). The revolutionary movement in these countries was suppressed as a result of intervention by the Holy Alliance which sent French troops to Spain and Austrian troops to Italy. p. 30

[53] These congresses of the Holy Alliance took place in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) in 1818, Troppau (Opava) in 1820, Laibach (Ljubljana) in 1821, and Verona in 1822. Their decisions were aimed at suppressing bourgeois-democratic revolutions and the national liberation movements in European countries. p. 31

[54] At *Navarino* (now Pylos, a sea port in Greece), the Turko-Egyptian fleet clashed with the British, French and Russian squadrons sent into Greek waters for armed mediation in the war between Turkey and the Greek insurgents. The battle was fought after the Turkish command had refused to end the massacre of the Greek population. The forces of the three European powers, commanded by the British Vice-Admiral Edward Codrington, routed the Turko-Egyptian fleet. This promoted the Greek national liberation struggle and Russia's success in its war against Turkey in 1828 and 1829. p. 32

[55] The *Treaty of Adrianople* was concluded by Turkey and Russia in September 1829 following the war of 1828-29. Under the Treaty, Russia obtained the Danube delta, including the islands and a considerable part of the eastern Black Sea coast south of the Kuban estuary. Turkey was to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, granting them the right to elect their own hospodars (rulers). Their autonomy was to be guaranteed by Russia. The Turkish government also undertook to recognise the independence of Greece, whose only obligation to Turkey was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan, and to abide by all the previous treaties relating to the autonomy of Serbia, which was to be formalised by a special firman. p. 33

[56] The July bourgeois revolution of 1830 in France. p. 33

[57] The reference is to the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, which was caused by the national and police oppression orchestrated by the autocracy. It began on November 29, 1830 in Warsaw as a military coup d'état but soon assumed a popular character and led to the withdrawal of Russian troops. However, the aristocracy at the helm of the Polish government and in the army remained passive and obstructed the involvement of the masses in the national liberation movement. Representatives of bourgeois-democratic quarters failed to get serfdom abolished, which deprived the insurrection of peasant support. The hostilities, which began in February 1831, eventually forced the Polish government to capitulate on September 8 and surrender Warsaw to the tsarist forces. Although the Polish insurrection was smashed, it nevertheless made a great contribution to the national liberation struggle of the Polish people and was of major international significance. It foiled the plans for a campaign against the French revolution of 1830 and promoted the advance of the revolutionary movement in many European countries. p. 33

[58] The *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi* (Hunkiar Iskelessi) was signed by Russia and Turkey on July 8, 1833. Prior to that, in the spring of the same year, Russian troops had landed in Unkiar-Skelessi, on the Bosphorus, to help protect the Turkish capital from the army of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, the ruler of Egypt who had rebelled against the Sultan of Turkey. In May 1833, the Porte concluded peace with Mehemet Ali through the mediation of Britain and France, ceding Syria and Palestine to Egypt. However, the Russian government, taking advantage of the tense situation and the presence of Russian troops in Turkey, induced the Porte to conclude a defence treaty with Russia which contained a secret clause obliging Turkey to close the Straits to all foreign warships except Russian ones. This clause remained in force until the Turko-Egyptian war of 1839-41, when Nicholas I was compelled to agree to the closure of the Straits to non-Turkish warships in peacetime. p. 34

[59] The start of the new Turko-Egyptian war (1839-41) led to the mounting controversy between Britain and France, with the latter extending secret assistance to Egyptian ruler Mehemet Ali. Fearing Russia's unilateral intervention in the conflict on the side of the Sultan, Britain managed to persuade the Western powers to offer the Porte collective military assistance. On July 15, 1840, Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria and Turkey, leaving out France, signed a convention in London on assistance to the Sultan of Turkey. A threat of war between France and the coalition of European states arose; however, France thought better of it and agreed not to support Mehemet Ali. As a result of British and Austrian military intervention, Mehemet Ali was forced to give up his possessions outside Egypt and submit to the Sultan's supreme rule. p. 34

[60] *Règlement organique* (1831-32), constitutional acts laying down the socio-political system of the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia) after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The *Règlement*, based on a draft framed by P. D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration, was adopted by an assembly of boyars and clergymen. Legislative power in each of the Principalities was vested in an assembly elected by the big landowners. Executive power was in the hands of the hospodars, rulers elected for life by representatives of the landowners, the clergy and the towns. The *Règlement* envisaged a number of bourgeois reforms: abolition of internal customs duties, introduction of free trade and the right of peasants to move from one owner to another. However, in view of the preservation of serfdom and concentration of political power in the hands of the big landowners and the boyars, the progressive forces in the Principalities regarded the *Règlement* as a symbol of feudal stagnation. It was repealed during the 1848 revolution. For Marx's comments on the *Réglement*, see *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter X, Section 2, "The Greed for Surplus-Labour. Manufacturer and Boyard" (present edition, Vol. 35). p. 34

[61] A reference to the bourgeois revolution of 1848 in Moldavia and Wallachia, in which the population campaigned for complete independence from Turkey, the abolition of serfdom and other obstacles in the way of capitalist development. The revolution was suppressed by the combined effort of domestic reaction and armed intervention on the part of Turkey and Russia. p. 35

[62] A reference to the talks between Prussian and Austrian representatives that took place in Warsaw in May and October 1850 with the mediation of Nicholas I. Their purpose was to settle relations between the two countries whose competition for hegemony in Germany grew fiercer after the revolution of 1848-49. Austria sought to restore the German Confederation, the association of German states established by the Vienna Congress, which to all intents and purposes had fallen apart at the time of the revolution, while Prussia was hoping to consolidate its supremacy by forming a union of German states under its own domination, a plan that was opposed by Austria and provoked the irritation of Russia and France.

On November 29, 1850, a treaty was signed in Olmütz (Olomouc), Moravia, under which Prussia gave up the idea of a unilateral revision of the situation in Germany. The Treaty of Olmütz was the last victory for Austrian diplomacy in the struggle with Prussia. It was abrogated as a result of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 which led to the formation of the North German Confederation under Prussian domination. p. 35

[63] Engels is referring to the following. On July 4, 1850, Russia, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia and Sweden, together with representatives of Denmark, signed a protocol in London which established the integrity of the Danish Crown possessions, including the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, thus hampering the efforts of these duchies' German population to separate from Denmark and join Germany. This protocol formed the basis of the London Convention on the integrity of the Danish monarchy signed by representatives of the same states on May 8, 1852. Whilst recognising the duchies' right to self-government, the Convention still legalised the Danish Crown's supreme authority over them. As King Frederick VII of Denmark was childless, Christian of Glücksburg (subsequently King Christian IX) was recognised as his heir. p. 35

[64] The circumstances of Tsar Nicholas I's death on March 2, 1855, gave reason to believe that he died, not of a virus infection, but took his own life unable to face the Russian army's imminent defeat in the Crimean war (1853-56).

The reference below is to the Peace of Paris concluded on March 30, 1856 at the end of the Crimean war of 1853-56 between France, Britain, Austria, Sardinia, Prussia and Turkey, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other. Russia, which lost the war, was to cede the Danube delta and part of Southern Bessarabia, to renounce its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities and rights of protection over Turkish Christian subjects, and agree to the neutrality of the Black Sea, which meant that the Straits were to be closed for foreign warships and that Russia and Turkey would be forbidden to keep naval forces there; Russia also returned Kars to Turkey in exchange for Sebastopol and other towns captured by the allies in the Crimea. p. 37

[65] A phrase from Gorchakov's circular despatch of August 21, 1856 to Russian diplomatic representatives abroad, in which, as the newly appointed foreign minister, he set out the thrust of Russia's foreign policy. p. 38

[66] Engels is referring to the *Declaration réglant divers joints du droit maritime...* (see Note 31).

The rapprochement between Bonapartist France and tsarist Russia, which first made itself felt at the Paris Congress, led to a secret Franco-Russian treaty signed on March 3, 1859 on Napoleon III's initiative. Tsar Alexander II undertook to render Napoleon III diplomatic assistance in the latter's preparations for the military rout of Austria, and to move Russian troops to the Austrian border in the event of war so as to immobilise part of the Austrian army in the east. In return, Napoleon III, acting in the spirit of the treaty, committed himself to continued support for Russia's policy in the Balkans. p. 39

[67] Having enlisted Alexander II's support, Napoleon III unleashed a war between France and Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia), on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, seeking to capture new territories and consolidate the Bonapartist regime in France by a successful military campaign. His true intentions were exposed at the time by Mazzini in his manifesto "The War" which Marx quoted at length in his article "Mazzini's Manifesto" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 354-59).

The big bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility in Italy were hoping to use the war to effect the country's unification under the Savoy dynasty then ruling in Piedmont. Having defeated the Austrian army at Magenta and Solferino, Napoleon III, who was frightened by the advance of the national liberation movement in Italy and unwilling to see the latter's unification, concluded an armistice with Austria (Villafranca, July 11, 1859). France obtained Savoy and Nice, and Lombardy was annexed to Piedmont.

However, throughout 1860, the struggle for unification continued to mount. The heroic armed actions of Garibaldi's volunteers supported by the populace overthrew the Bourbon dynasty in Sicily and Naples, and the south of Italy was united with Piedmont in a single Kingdom of Italy. Venetia remained under the Austrians until 1866. The final unification of Italy was accomplished when Italian troops entered Rome and the Papal States in 1870. p. 39

[68] At the time of the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1863-64, the Prussian government headed by Bismarck offered the tsarist government military assistance in its suppression, wishing to stop it spreading to the Polish territories captured by Prussia and hoping to obtain Russian support for Germany's unification under Prussian hegemony. On Bismarck's initiative a convention was signed between Russia and Prussia in February 1863 on joint police action against the insurgents. p. 39

[69] In 1864, as a result of Austria's and Prussia's war against Denmark, which ended in the latter's defeat, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were declared a joint possession of Austria and Prussia. After the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 they were annexed by Prussia. p. 39

[70] During their meeting in Biarritz in October 1865, Bismarck won Napoleon III's consent to an alliance between Prussia and Italy and to a war by Prussia against Austria; Napoleon III agreed to this in the expectation that he would be able to intervene in the conflict to his own benefit should Prussia suffer defeat.

At the outset of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov declared during his negotiations with Bismarck in Berlin that in the war Russia would maintain a neutrality favourable to Prussia, and would exert diplomatic pressure on Austria; for its part, the Prussian government undertook not to impede Russia in her policy in the East. p. 40

[71] Alsace and Eastern Lorraine, as well as an indemnity of 5,000 million francs, were handed by France to the German Empire (proclaimed on January 18, 1871) under the preliminary peace treaty concluded on February 26, 1871 in Versailles after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. Its terms were confirmed by the peace treaty signed in Frankfurt-am-Main on May 10, 1871. p. 41

[72] A preliminary peace treaty between Russia and Turkey was concluded on March 3, 1878 in San Stefano (near Constantinople) at the end of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. It entailed a growth of Russian influence in the Balkans, provoked sharp opposition on the part of Britain and Austria-Hungary and won Germany's tacit approval. Under pressure from these powers, the Russian government was forced to submit the treaty for revision to an international congress, held in Berlin between June 13 and July 13, 1878 and comprising representatives of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Britain, Italy and Turkey. On the eve of the congress, Britain signed a secret convention with Turkey under which it received a major strategic point, Cyprus, in exchange for an undertaking to protect the Turkish possessions in Asia. Britain also signed an agreement with Austria on pursuing a joint anti-Russian line at the congress. The congress led to the Treaty of Berlin under which the terms of the Peace of San Stefano were significantly changed to the detriment of Russia and the Slavic peoples of the Balkans. The self-governing territory of Bulgaria was halved; Bulgarian territories to the south of the Balkans were united to form the autonomous province of Eastern Roumelia, which remained under the Sultan; and the territory of Montenegro was substantially curtailed. The Treaty of Berlin confirmed that Russia was to be returned part of Bessarabia (a clause of the Peace of San-Stefano) cut off from it in 1856 but also sanctioned occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. p. 41

[73] Engels is referring to the quadrangle formed by the fortresses of Silistria, Rustchuk, Shumla and Varna in Bulgaria, the area in which the main forces of the Turkish army were concentrated at the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. p. 41

[74] In 1857-59, a large-scale popular uprising against British rule took place in India. It flared up in the spring of 1857 among the Sepoy units of the Bengalese army recruited from among the local population, spread throughout Northern and Central India, and ended in April 1859 with the defeat of the

insurgents. Taking part in it were peasants, craftsmen and a significant part of the feudal nobility. Among the reasons for its failure were the British military superiority, differences among the insurgents as to the goals of the uprising (especially the peasants and the nobility, with the latter receiving some concessions from the British), and significant feudal, religious and caste distinctions, which were deliberately played up by the colonialists, who isolated the centre of the uprising. Marx and Engels devoted numerous essays and letters to the event making an in-depth analysis of the causes, motive forces and the reasons for the failure of the uprising, tracing the course of the hostilities in detail, and examining the principal battles and other events (see present edition, Vol. 15). p. 42

[75] In November 1839, an expeditionary corps headed by the Orenburg military governor-general Perovsky set out on a campaign against the Khiva Khanate. However, the 5,000-strong corps with several guns and a food transport proved ill-prepared for the harsh conditions of a winter march across the arid steppe. Having lost over a half of the men to epidemics and exposure to an unusually harsh winter, Perovsky was forced to return to Orenburg in the summer of 1840, failing to even reach Khiva. p. 42

[76] Russian Tsarina Maria Fyodorovna was a daughter of the Danish King Christian IX; her brother Valdemar was married to Louis Philippe's granddaughter Maria, Princess of Orleans. p. 43

[77] Engels is referring to the chauvinistic anti-German movement in France in 1886-89 associated with the name of General Boulanger. Exploiting popular discontent with the policies of the bourgeois republicans, the Boulangists launched a propaganda campaign with a view to carrying out a coup d'état and restoring the monarchy in France. Engels considered Boulangism a version of Bonapartism and pointed to the dangers it presented, demanding that the French socialists expose the demagogic revanchist slogans advanced by Boulanger and his followers. p. 43

[78] *Plevna* (now Pleven, a town in Northern Bulgaria) was captured by the allied Russo-Romanian army on December 10, 1877 after prolonged fighting with the Turkish troops in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. p. 44

[79] After the transformation (in 1867) of the Austrian Empire into the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, the river Leitha was recognised as the frontier between the two parts of the monarchy, with Cisleithania (incorporating Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Galicia, etc.) lying to the north and west of it, and Transleithania (Hungary, Slovakia, Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, etc.) to the east of it. p. 44

[80] A reference to the series of essays entitled *Siberia and the Exile System* which were written by the American reporter George Kennan after his trip to Siberia in 1885-86 and printed by *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, New York, in 1888-90. In 1889-91, they were published several times as a separate edition in English, German and Russian. p. 44

[81] Engels is referring to Russia's introduction in 1864 of limited local self-administration, the *zemstvos*, in an attempt to adapt the autocracy to the requirements of capitalist development. However, as early as 1866, the government, which viewed the zemstvos as sources of liberal opposition, began systematic reprisals against them, which were sharply escalated in the 1880s, at the time of reaction and bloody repressions against the revolutionary movement. p. 45

[82] See Note 1. p. 49

[83] Engels wrote the letter in reply to the Austrian bank clerk, member of the Bank and Credit Establishment Employees' Club Isidor Ehrenfreund. In his letter to Engels of March 21, 1890, Ehrenfreund wrote that anti-semitism was rampant among the Club members, as it was among some sections of the Viennese population, and took the form of campaign against Jewish capital. Engels' reply to Ehrenfreund was carried by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 19, May 9, 1890 under the heading "Friedrich Engels über den Antisemitismus". It was supplied with the following editorial footnote: "It need hardly be said that we have published this letter with the consent of both the writer and the recipient." The addressee's name was not mentioned.

Engels' letter was reprinted under the same heading in the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 109, May 13, 1890, the German social and political weekly *Das Recht auf Arbeit,* No. 315, May 28, 1890, the *Londoner Freie Presse,* No. 21, May 24, 1890, *Die Nord-Wacht* (Bant), No. 21, May 25, 1890, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* No. 21, May 25, 1890 (Sunday issue).

The Romanian translation was carried by the *Munca,* No. 16, June 10, 1890, and the French one, by *Le Socialiste,* No. 93, July 3, 1892.

The letter was published in English for the first time (with the opening phrase left out) in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895,* Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. p. 50

[84] Engels is referring to the strikes of Jewish workmen in London: clothiers and furriers in August and September 1889, bakers in November 1889, and shoemakers in March-April 1890. The clothiers, furriers and bakers managed to get their working day reduced to ten hours from 14-16, and the shoemakers won the right to work in workshops instead of at home and the introduction of labour arbitration. p. 51

[85] Engels wrote this preface to the fourth authorised German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519), which appeared in May 1890 as the last (XXXII) instalment of the *Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek* series published by the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in Zurich from 1885 and in London from October 1888. The pamphlet also included Marx's and Engels' preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75) and Engels' preface to the 1883 German edition of the *Manifesto* (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 118-19). Part of the present preface (beginning with the sentence "The Manifesto has had a history of its own") was reproduced in the editorial printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 33, August 16, 1890 under the title "Eine Neu-Auflage des Kommunistischen Manifestes", and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 48, November 28, 1890 in the editorial dedicated to Engels' 70th birthday. The fourth edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was the last authorised one, with the subsequent ones mostly reprinted from this edition. The prefaces were usually included in every edition.

Published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* Glasgow, Socialist Labour Party, 1909. p. 53

[86] In his Afterword to the article "On Social Relations in Russia" (this volume, p. 427), Engels says that the translation was the work of Plekhanov; in the 1900 edition of the *Manifesto,* Plekhanov also states that the translation was his.

The lost German original of Marx's and Engels' preface to the Russian edition of the *Manifesto* mentioned by Engels has been found and is kept in the

Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The preface published in the present edition is based on it. p. 53

87 The printing office of the *Kolokol* or the Free Russian Press was founded by Alexander Herzen in London for the purpose of printing literature banned in Russia. In 1865, it was transferred to Geneva. The above-mentioned translation was printed in Geneva at Chernetsky's press, where the *Kolokol* was printed. This edition did not become widely known as nearly all the copies were confiscated when an attempt was made to smuggle them across the Russian border. p. 53

88 A reference to Tsar Alexander III, who succeeded to the throne on March 1, 1881 after his father, Alexander II, had been assassinated by members of the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) revolutionary-democratic organisation. Fearing a revolutionary outburst and further terrorist acts, Alexander III stayed in Gatchina near St. Petersburg. p. 54

89 The Cologne Communist Trial (October 4-November 12, 1852) was a trial of a group of the Communist League members charged with "treasonable conspiracy". The trial was rigged by the Prussian police on the basis of forged documents and fabricated evidence, which were used not only against the accused but also to discredit the whole proletarian organisation. The evidence included, for instance, the so-called Original Minute-Book of the Communist League Central Authority meetings and other documents forged by police agents, and also genuine documents of the Willich-Schapper adventurist faction, which was responsible for the split in the Communist League. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of three to six years. Marx guided the defence from London by sending materials exposing the provocative methods of the prosecution; after the trial he showed up its organisers for what they really were (see Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, and also Engels' article "The Late Trial at Cologne", present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 395-457 and 388-93).

At the trial and in the prosecution's summing-up, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* figured as evidence against the defendants. p. 58

90 Marx and Engels set forth this idea in a number of works starting from the 1840s; this definition is to be found in the Rules of the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14, and Vol. 23, p. 3). p. 60

91 The *Geneva Congress of the First International*, the first congress of the International Working Men's Association, was held on September 3-8, 1866. Taking part in it were 60 delegates from the General Council and sections and workers' societies from Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. The congress was chaired by Hermann Jung. The official report of the General Council was Marx's *Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions* (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 185-94). The Proudhonists, who had one-third of the votes, set against the *Instructions* their own programme covering all items on the agenda. However, the General Council supporters outvoted them on most issues. Six out of nine points in the *Instructions* (on the international combination of effort, on limitation of the working day to 8 hours, on juvenile and women's labour, on co-operative labour, on trades' unions, and on standing armies) were approved as congress resolutions. The Geneva congress also endorsed the *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.*

On July 14-20, 1889, an *International Socialist Workers' Congress* took place in Paris, which in point of fact was the inaugural congress of the Second International. Preparations for the congress had been made against the background of persistent struggles between the Marxists, led by Engels, and the French opportunists (Possibilists) together with their followers in the British Social Democratic Federation, who tried to take over the preparations for the congress. However, it became evident at the congress that the Marxist parties were in the majority. The congress opened on July 14, 1889, the centenary of the storming of the Bastille. It was attended by 393 delegates representing nearly all the workers' and socialist parties and organisations of the time from 20 European and American countries. The Possibilists convened their own, parallel congress, which opened in Paris on the same day. However, it had very little success, and the reformists eventually had to give up the idea of establishing an international association.

The congress pointed out that the emancipation of labour could be attained only by the proletariat capturing political power with a view to expropriating capitalists and socialising the means of production.

The congress heard reports from representatives of the socialist parties on the working-class movement in their countries and worked out the foundations of international labour law, calling for the 8-hour working day and made a number of other improvements in industrial working conditions through international legislation. The congress advocated the disbandment of standing armies and the armament of the people. It passed a decision to mark May 1, 1890 in all countries by demonstrations and meetings in defence of the demand for the 8-hour day and other demands put forward by the congress for labour legislation. p. 60

92 The article "May 4 in London" was devoted to the first celebration of May Day, the day of international solidarity among the working people, held by the socialist parties and workers' organisations in conformity with the decision of the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 in Paris (see Note 91). Mass demonstrations and meetings, which were best organised in Austria, were held under the banner of the campaign for the legalised 8-hour working day.

A high level of organisation also characterised the May Day demonstration staged by London workers on the first Sunday of the month, May 4. Notwithstanding the attempts of reformist trade-union leaders and the British opportunist socialist Henry Hyndman to stage-manage the demonstration and make it advance conciliatory slogans, it testified to the readiness of London workers to fight for a socialist programme. The bulk of the participants, about 200,000 in number, supported the demands advanced by the British Marxists. Unskilled workers employed at gas works and the London docks played the principal part in the demonstration, they were the first to launch a campaign for the formation of new mass trade unions in the 1880s (see Note 93) and the 8-hour day. Engels attended the meeting in Hyde Park that concluded the demonstration, with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Paul Lafargue and Sergei Kravchinsky (Stepnyak), the representative of the Russian revolutionary émigrés, giving speeches.

Besides the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the article appeared in *Der Wähler* (Leipzig), No. 85, May 29, 1890, and the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* (Budapest), No. 22, June 1, 1890. With the exception of the opening part dealing with May Day celebrations in Austria, it was carried by the *Berliner Volksblatt*, No. 123, May 31, 1890.

It appeared in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 521-28. p. 61

[93] The *Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union* was the first union of unskilled workers in the history of the British labour movement. It was formed in late March-early April 1889 against the background of a mounting strike movement. A major contribution to the foundation and work of the union was made by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling. The Union campaigned for the 8-hour day. Within a short time, it became very influential: it was joined by up to 100,000 gasworks employees in the space of a year. The union was actively involved in organising the London docks strike of 1889.

The *London docks strike*, which lasted from August 12 to September 14, 1889, was one of the major events in the British labour movement of the late 19th century. It involved 30,000 dockers and over 30,000 workers in other trades, the bulk of them unskilled and not belonging to any union. The strikers' persistence and organisation were instrumental in obtaining wage rises, and improved working conditions. The docks strike strengthened proletarian solidarity (about £50,000 was donated to the strike fund) and organisation; dockers' and other unskilled workers "new" unions were set up, recruiting 200,000 members within a year. In the next year, the number of trade unions more than doubled. p. 62

[94] The *Radical clubs* began to emerge in London and other cities in the 1870s. They united bourgeois radicals and workers. In the poorer sections of London, like the East End, the clubs were predominantly proletarian. They criticised the Irish policy pursued by Gladstone's Liberal government, demanded greater democracy (broader suffrage and other reforms). In the early 1880s the Radical clubs began to popularise socialist ideas. In 1885, the Radical clubs of London merged to form the Metropolitan Radical Federation. p. 62

[95] An allusion to Henry Hyndman's absence at the demonstration of November 13, 1887 in Trafalgar Square. The demonstration had been called by the Metropolitan Radical Federation (see Note 94) in protest against the arrest of the Irish M.P. William O'Brien. Taking part in the demonstration were about 80,000-100,000 people. Since on November 8, the London police had prohibited meetings in Trafalgar Square, declaring it crown property, 4,000 policemen tried to disperse the demonstration using truncheons. Several hundred people were injured, three beaten to death, and some of the organisers arrested. These events went down in the history of the British labour movement as the Bloody Sunday. p. 62

[96] The *Silvertown strike* (named after a district in the East End) was mounted in September-December 1889 by employees of the Indiarubber Company's works. The strikers, about 3,000 people in all, demanded higher hourly and piece-rate wages, more money for work on holidays and overtime, and higher wages for children and women. Eleanor Marx-Aveling helped organise the strike and in the course of it founded a young working women's union. The strike, which lasted for nearly three months, was unsuccessful, mainly because it was not supported by other trade unions. p. 62

[97] Engels is referring to the gas workers' strike in the south of London, which lasted from December 1889 to February 1890. It was triggered off by the company owners' failure to honour their promise to introduce the 8-hour day,

raise wages and give employment only to members of the Gas Workers' Union, as well as by the sacking of three Union activists. p. 62

[98] The *Social Democratic Federation*, a British socialist organisation set up in August 1884 as a result of the reorganisation of the Democratic Federation which had existed since 1881. It united socialist elements of varying complexion, predominantly intellectuals and some politically active workers. Its programme set forth the demand for collectivisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The leadership of the Federation was dominated by H. Hyndman and his followers who tended towards authoritarianism and denied the need to carry on work in the trade unions. A group of revolutionary Marxists within it, including Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris and Tom Mann, advocated closer contacts with the mass working-class movement. In December 1884, the differences in the Federation on tactics and international cooperation resulted in its split and the founding of an independent organisation, the Socialist League.

The *Possibilists* belonged to a trend in the French socialist movement whose leaders declared the principle of the transformation of the capitalist system into a socialist one through gradual reforms and advocated a "policy of possibilities". On the Possibilists' divisive activities during preparations for the International Socialist Workers' Congress, see Note 91. p. 63

[99] The Manchester School, a trend in political economy reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its followers, known as Free Traders, advocated the removal of protective tariffs and non-intervention by the state in the economy. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was led by Richard Cobden and John Bright. In the 1860s, the Free Traders formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party.

By "the Manchesterism of the old Trades Unions", Engels means the bourgeois-reformist character of their activities. Seeking to confine the proletariat's goals to economic action for shorter working hours, higher wages, and changes in labour law for the workers' benefit, the leaders of these trade unions diverted the proletariat from the struggle for the class goals of the labour movement, opposed the workers' political action and preached class harmony with the bourgeoisie. p. 65

[100] A reference to the Baden-Palatinate uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution in May-July 1849, in which Engels took part. See his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239). p. 66

[101] Engels wrote the "Draft of a Reply to the Editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*" following the attempt of the editorial board, which was made up of members of the "Young" opposition group, to present his work as supporting the newspaper's campaign against the policies pursued by the German Social-Democratic leadership. In late August 1890 the materials carried by the newspaper, which had an independent status, placed it under the party and resulted in the resignation of its editorial board which tried, in its farewell article, to present this as a consequence of a build-up of "petty-bourgeois parliamentary socialism" in the party and to take advantage of Engels' authority to promote its own ends. The indignant Engels felt compelled to deal a public rebuff to the "Young".

This version of the reply to the editors of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* was not completed and exists as a rough draft. The final version (see the following item) was printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the *Berliner Volksblatt* and the *Sächsische*

Arbeiter-Zeitung and went a long way towards exposing the "Young's" true colours. Engels' reply was also carried by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 38, September 19, 1890.

The "Young"—a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist opposition group in German Social Democracy, which finally took shape in 1890. At that time, its leadership was made up of students and aspiring writers (hence the name of the opposition), who claimed the role of party theorists and leaders for themselves. Among the "Young's" leaders were Paul Ernst, Paul Kampffmeyer, Hans Müller, and Bruno Wille. Failing to realise that the conditions of party work had changed following the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, the "Young" refused to employ legal methods of struggle, opposed the Social Democrats' participation in parliamentary elections and the use of parliamentary methods, and accused the party and its leadership of defending the interests of petty-bourgeoisie, opportunism, and a departure from democratic principles. In October 1891, the Erfurt congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany expelled some of the opposition leaders from the party. p. 67

[102] Engels is referring to the address to the German workers issued by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on April 13, 1890, in connection with the celebration of May Day resolved by the Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 (see Note 91). The address was published in the *Berliner Volksblatt* on April 15, 1890. It was the party leadership's reply to the demand by the "Young" opposition for a general strike on May 1 which had been made public on March 23. It pointed out the dangers of such a course while the Anti-Socialist Law was still in force and in the situation created by the elections of February 20, 1890, with its feasibility of provocation from the reactionary authorities which were eager for any excuse to smash the Social-Democratic Party. The address warned the German workers not to give any excuse for provocations, to abandon the idea of a general strike, stop work only when a serious conflict was clearly impossible and confine themselves elsewhere to demonstrations and meetings. On May 1, strikes involving over 10-per cent of the workforce took place in a number of cities.

On May 1, Hamburg construction workers launched a strike that lasted into July. The strikers demanded a 9-hour working day and a pay rise. The employers carried out their threat of a lockout and the strike failed, the trade union funds having run out. However, the employers failed to introduce a ban on workers joining the trade unions. p. 68

[103] In the years when the Anti-Socialist Law was in force (see Note 2), the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag was the only legal body that could assume leadership of the party. An attempt was made to have the group's supremacy over the party's elective bodies perpetuated in the Rules even after the repeal of the Law. p. 68

[104] The *London Conference of the First International* was held from September 17 to 23, 1871. Convened against the background of harsh reprisals against the International's members following the defeat of the Paris Commune, this Conference was held behind closed doors and was not very representative: taking part in it were 22 voting delegates and 10 without the right to vote. The countries that were unable to send a delegate were represented by corresponding secretaries. Marx represented Germany, and Engels Italy. All in all, nine closed sessions were held. The reports were not intended for publication. The Conference resolutions were made public in November and December 1871. For the Conference's materials, see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 409-31.

The London Conference was a landmark in Marx's and Engels' efforts to found a proletarian party. It adopted a resolution "On the Political Action of the Working Class", which described the need to establish an independent workers' Party as a fundamental principle of the international working-class movement. The Hague Congress of the International (1872) decided to incorporate the main part of the resolution into the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Other Conference resolutions set out major tactical and organisational principles of a proletarian party. Approval of these resolutions signified a victory for Marxism in the International.

At its congress in Sonvillier held on November 12, 1871, the Bakuninist Jura Federation adopted the *Circulaire à toutes les Fédérations de l'Association internationale des travailleurs,* which demanded immediate convocation of a congress of the International in view of the fact that the Conference was not entitled to pass decisions pertaining to the rules and organisational principles of the Association. In actual fact, the Sonvillier Circular was designed to undermine the authority of the General Council in the International Working Men's Association. For more details, see: Frederick Engels, "The Congress of Sonvillier and the International" (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 64-70). p. 68

105 The reference is to the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* (L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste) founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868. Its petty-bourgeois anarchist programme demanded recognition of the equality of classes and abolition of the state. Members of the Alliance denied the need for political action by the working class. Organisationally, the Alliance was based on the unconditional subordination of the rank-and-file members to a tiny group of "initiated". Having been denied admittance to the International in March 1869, the Bakuninists declared the dissolution of the Alliance while in fact preserving it and working their way into the International under the guise of the Geneva section. The Alliance, with Bakunin at its head, plotted and campaigned against Marx and Engels seeking to gain control over the General Council.

The Alliance stepped up its activities against the International after the defeat of the Paris Commune, when Bakunin and his followers attacked the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the consolidation of an independent working-class political party. The Hague Congress of September 1872 expelled Bakunin and Guillaume, the leaders of the Alliance, from the International by a majority vote. Soon after the Hague Congress, the Alliance disintegrated. p. 68

106 Late in 1884, seeking to boost Germany's colonial policy, Bismarck demanded that the Reichstag institute annual subsidies to shipping companies for the purpose of establishing regular communication with Eastern Asia, Australia and Africa. This government demand provoked a controversy within the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag. The Left wing headed by Bebel and Liebknecht took Engels' advice and opposed it. The opportunist majority in the group, including Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz, F. Frohme and C. Grillenberger, intended to vote for the subsidies under the false pretext of wishing to promote international contacts. Under pressure from the majority, the group passed a decision which stated that the issue of subsidies was of no great importance, and gave each member of the group a right to vote as he saw fit. It declared the intention of the majority of Social-Democratic deputies to vote for the subsidies.

The stand taken by the Right wing was unequivocally censured by the bulk of party members and its central organ, *Der Sozialdemokrat,* whose struggle

against the opportunists was warmly supported by Engels. Sharp criticism forced the majority to somewhat modify their attitude to the government plan at the time it was debated in the Reichstag in March 1885, making support by the group conditional on the Reichstag's acceptance of a number of its proposals (e.g., that the ships to be used on such routes be built at German shipyards). When the Reichstag rejected them, the entire Social-Democratic group voted against the project, which, however, was passed by a majority vote. p. 68

[107] See Note 101. p. 69

[108] Engels first mentioned Marx's words, addressed to Lafargue, in a letter to Eduard Bernstein of November 2-3, 1882. He also wrote about this in a letter to Conrad Schmidt of August 5, 1890 (see present edition, Vols 46 and 50). p. 70

[109] The essay "The International Workers' Congress of 1891" is Engels' reply to the letter from the French socialist Charles Bonnier of September 9, 1890 in which he sets out the Marxists' tactics during the run-up to this international socialist forum. Representatives of the Belgian Workers' Party, whose stand had lacked consistency even during the Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 (see Note 91), were instructed by it to convene the next congress together with the Swiss socialists. They received the same instructions from the parallel congress of the Possibilists (see Note 98) who, by acting through the Belgians, again sought to seize the initiative in convening international socialist workers' congresses.

Engels also set down the main ideas of his reply to Bonnier in his letters to Lafargue of September 15, 1890 and to Sorge of September 27, 1890 (see present edition, Vol. 49). Engels' advice helped the French and other Marxists to convene and conduct the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891 in Brussels along Marxist principles. p. 72

[110] The congress of the British Trades Unions was held in Liverpool from September 1 to 6, 1890. Taking part in it were about 460 delegates representing over 1.4 mln workers organised in trade unions. For the first time, the congress attracted a substantial number of representatives of the new trade unions, strongly influenced by the British socialists.

Despite the resistance of the old trade-union leaders, the congress passed a resolution demanding the legal introduction of the 8-hour day and declared it expedient for the trade unions to take part in the activities of international workers' associations. The congress resolved to send delegates to the international socialist workers' congress to be held in Brussels. p. 72

[111] The reference is to two pamphlets, *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to "Justice"*, which appeared in London as a separate edition in English in March 1889 and in German in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos 13 and 14, March 30 and April 6, 1889, and *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to the "Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation"* published as a pamphlet in English in June 1889 in London. A passage from it was carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 24, June 15, 1889. The pamphlets, written by Eduard Bernstein, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, on Engels' suggestion and edited by him, dealt with the actions of the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation leaders during the preparations for the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris (see Note 91). p. 72

[112] The International Socialist Conference at The Hague, at which participants in the socialist movement in Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland were present, was held on February 28, 1889. It was convened on Engels' suggestion by the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag to work out the terms for convening the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris (see Note 91). The Possibilists were invited but refused to take part in the conference, and later declined to recognise its resolutions. The Conference defined the rights, the time and the agenda of the congress. p. 73

[113] In the French socialist movement of the 1870-80s, the *Collectivists* were the followers of Marxism who advocated socialisation of the means of production and active involvement in the political struggle on the part of the working class. The trend was headed by Paul Lafargue and Jules Guesde (hence the Guesdists, another and more common name for the French Marxists). In 1879, they and some other socialist groups formed the Workers' Party (Parti ouvrier), which, however, immediately succumbed to ideological dissent. In 1882 it split into the Marxists (Guesdists) and the Possibilists (see Note 98). The Marxist trend retained the original name. p. 74

[114] See Note 77. p. 74

[115] The *"revolutionary" Danes,* the revolutionary minority in the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark who grouped around the *Arbeideren* (Workers) newspaper and opposed the party's reformist course. Expelled from the party, they founded their own organisation in 1889, which, however, failed to grow into a strong proletarian party owing to the sectarian line followed by its leadership. p. 74

[116] Engels wrote his "Farewell Letter to the Readers of the *Sozialdemokrat*" on the occasion of its closure. Following publication in the said newspaper, it was reprinted by the Austrian magazine *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift,* No. 9, September 30, 1890. It was also included in English translation and slightly abridged, in Edward Aveling's article "The New Era in German Socialism", which appeared in *The Daily Chronicle,* No. 8903, September 25, 1890, and in Italian translation in *La Giustizia* in October 1890. The letter was also printed (with the last phrase omitted) in the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 119, October 2, and (without the first two paragraphs) in the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 230, October 3, 1890. p. 76

[117] The daily *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie* appeared in Cologne under Marx's editorship between June 1, 1848 and May 19, 1849. The editorial board also included Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Georg Weerth, Ferdinand Wolff, Ernst Dronke, Ferdinand Freiligrath and Heinrich Bürgers. A militant organ of the proletarian wing of the democrats, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* educated the masses and awakened them to the struggle against counter-revolution. The editorials, which set out the paper's attitude to the issues associated with the German and the European revolution, were usually written by Marx and Engels.

Notwithstanding reprisals and police obstruction, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* staunchly defended revolutionary democracy and the interests of the proletariat. In May 1849, with the counter-revolutionary elements in the midst of a massive offensive, the Prussian government used the fact that Marx was not a citizen of that state to issue a deportation order against him. Marx's deportation, as well as repressive measures against other editors, eventually led

to the paper's closure. The last issue, No. 301, was printed in red and appeared on May 19, 1849. The editors' farewell address to the workers read in part: "Their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class!*" (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 467). p. 76

[118] The congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in Wyden (Switzerland) was held from August 20 to 23, 1880, with 56 delegates present. That was the first illegal congress of the German Social Democrats following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law. The convocation showed that the party leadership had surmounted the uncertainty and confusion caused by the dramatic changes in the conditions of its work. The congress criticised the anarchist stand of Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann, who rejected all legal means of struggle, advocated individual terror and launched an open campaign against the party leadership, and expelled them from the party. The congress unanimously decided to strike out the word "legal" from the statement, contained in Part II of the programme adopted in 1875 in Gotha, that the party was working to attain its goals "with all legal means". The congress confirmed *Der Sozialdemokrat* as the party's official organ. p. 77

[119] Engels is referring to the statement [*Erklärung*] issued by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 14, April 2, 1885) in connection with the disagreements between the majority of the parliamentary group and the paper's editorial board over the stance to be adopted on the government bill on subsidies to shipping companies (see Note 106). The group questioned the right of the party organ to criticise its actions, calling the position occupied by it an unjustified attack. After this statement was published in the newspaper, its editorial board began to receive numerous letters of protest from party members both in Germany and abroad, as well as resolutions of protest of local party branches. The majority in the parliamentary group was forced to retreat. A joint statement by the editorial board and the Social-Democratic group, printed by the paper on April 23, 1885, said that any attempt to restrict criticism constituted a departure from the party's principles and a blow at its foundations. p. 77

[120] In April 1888 the Swiss federal council (Bundesrat) yielded to the pressure of the German authorities and deported four leading figures from the editorial board and printing house of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. Its offices were transferred to London, where publication was resumed on October 1, 1888. p. 78

[121] Under the impact of the French revolutionary events of 1830 the movement for a revision of the Federal Pact of 1815, which declared Switzerland a federation of 22 autonomous cantons, began to gain strength. The campaign went on until 1848, when, against the background of a general revolutionary uprising in Europe, a new constitution declaring the country a unitary federal state was adopted. p. 78

[122] See Note 1. p. 79

[123] See Note 101. p. 79

[124] See Note 101. p. 80

[125] The reference is to the charter imposed by Louis XVIII (La Charte octroyée) in 1814 which established a constitutional monarchy and forced the higher nobility to share power with the big commercial and financial bourgeoisie. p. 81

[126] A reference to the constitution promulgated in 1814 by the Norwegian Representative Assembly in Eidsvoll, which was modelled on the constitution adopted in 1791, during the French Revolution. p. 81

[127] Emperor William II referred to the Social Democrats as flagrantly "unpatriotic" ("*vaterlandslosen* Gesellen"). He probably referred to the idea proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto* that "the working men have no country" (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 502),which later on used to be repeated by Social Democrats. p. 82

[128] Engels ironically paraphrases the expression "a vigorous joyful war" first used by the reactionary historian and journalist Heinrich Leo in *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land,* No. 61, June 1853, and which gained wide currency in chauvinist and militarist quarters. p. 84

[129] Engels wrote this letter as a reply to the message he received from the National Council of the French Workers' Party on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The message appeared in *Le Socialiste,* No. 14, December 25, 1890, signed by Paul Lafargue, and read: "Dear citizen! We wish you, a man who together with Marx has developed the theory of the international social movement, which will soon attain its goals, a man who has retained the warmth of his heart and his youthful enthusiasm, a long life, so that you, like a new Moses, could watch the proletariat enter the promised land of communism."

Apart from *Le Socialiste,* Engels' letter was published, in German, in the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 303, December 30, 1890, and in Italian, in *La Giustizia,* January 4, 1891, and in the *Arbeiterpresse* (Budapest), No. 20, January 9, 1891 (in German).

First published in English in: F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence,* Vol. 2, 1887-1890, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, pp. 423-24. p. 87

[130] This is Engels' reply to the congratulations he received on November 26, 1890 from the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* and the *Népszava* on the occasion of his 70th birthday, and simultaneously to the invitation to take part in the congress of the Hungarian Social Democrats scheduled for December 7 and 8, 1890. Read out at the opening of the congress, Engels' letter was printed, apart from the newspapers mentioned above, in *Protokoll des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratie Ungarns in Budapest vom 7. und 8. Dezember,* Budapest, 1891, and, simultaneously, in the Hungarian edition of these minutes, as well as in the *Berliner Volksblatt,* No. 292, December 14, 1890.

A passage from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 163. p. 89

[131] The congress of representatives of Hungarian workers' organisations held on December 7 and 8, 1890 in Budapest was an important event in the history of the Hungarian working-class and socialist movement. It was attended by 121 delegates (87 from Budapest and 34 from provincial branches). The congress discussed the state of the working-class movement in Hungary, the political position and the rights of workers, their attitude to social reforms, the condition of the rural proletariat, the trade unions, etc. It adopted a declaration of principles (party programme) based on the main provisions of the programme of the Austrian Social Democrats approved by the Hainfeld Congress of 1888 (see Note 181). The congress decided to call the workers' party founded in Hungary the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary. p. 89

[132] Engels expressed his gratitude for the letter sent to him on November 28, 1890 on the occasion of his 70th birthday by the members of the executive of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.

The *(Communist) German Workers' Educational Society* in London was founded in 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll together with other leaders of the League of the Just. Marx and Engels were actively involved in its work in 1847 and 1849-50. On September 17, 1850, they and some of their followers left the Society which had come to be dominated by the sectarian and adventurist Willich-Schapper group who were responsible for the split in the Communist League. From the late 1850s, Marx and Engels once again contributed to the work of the Society. When the First International was founded, the Society, with Friedrich Lessner among its leaders, became one of its sections. The London Educational Society existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British government. p. 91

[133] Engels wrote this preface to the first edition of Marx's work *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 75-99) and had it printed in *Die Neue Zeit* in connection with the forthcoming discussion in the party press of a new party programme [*Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei*] to be adopted at the next congress of the German Social Democrats. Engels hoped that the publication of this work would safeguard the party against repeating the mistakes of the Gotha programme and dispel the reformist illusions associated with the still persisting cult of Lassalle. Given the pressure of censorship, Engels considered it necessary to make certain omissions and to take the edge off the most pointed phrases (see MEGA, I/25, S. 540-44). In undertaking the publication of this most important programme document of scientific communism, which was exemplary in the way it combatted opportunism, Engels sought to deal a blow at the opportunist elements among the German Social Democrats, which were becoming more active at that time. That was all the more important as at the Erfurt congress the party was going to discuss and adopt a new programme to replace that endorsed at Gotha (see Note 183).

The work was frowned upon by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and the *Vorwärts* editorial board, but, as Engels had expected, the party itself and socialists in other countries welcomed it.

The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Engels' preface were not reprinted in his lifetime. In its original version, without Engels' deletions, the text of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was first published in 1932 in the USSR in the Russian translation from a copy of Marx's manuscript made by Louise Kautsky. The publication in the present edition (Vol. 24) is based on Marx's original manuscript.

The Preface first appeared in English, with the opening phrase slightly abridged, and under the title "Introductory Note by Engels" in: *The Socialist Series*, No. 1, 1918, pp. 3-4, published by The Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow. p. 92

[134] The Unity Congress in Gotha held on May 22-27, 1875, effected a merger of the two trends in the German working-class movement, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. Prior to the congress, there had been a long struggle between the Eisenachers, who on the whole adhered to scientific communism, and the Lassalleans, who advocated a kind of petty-bourgeois socialism and refused to recognise the need for economic action and the establishment of trade unions. Up to 1890,

the united party was called the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. This healed the rift in the German working class. When in February 1875 the common platform (the draft Rules and especially the Programme) was worked out, the Eisenachers' leadership agreed to an ideological compromise with the Lassalleans submitting to the German workers' quest for unity and seeking to attain it at any price. Welcoming the establishment of a united socialist party, Marx and Engels nevertheless opposed the ideological compromise with the Lassalleans and subjected the erroneous provisions of the programme to sharp criticism. This, however, did not prevent the congress from approving it with only very minor changes. p. 92

135 The congress of the German Social Democrats held on October 12-18, 1890 in Halle was the first one following the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. Taking part in it were 413 delegates and 17 guests from abroad. The congress adopted new Rules measuring up to the task of turning the party into a mass organisation of the working class under conditions of legality. It rejected the Lassallean party programme in force at the time and, on Wilhelm Liebknecht's suggestion, passed a decision on the preparation of a new draft programme for the next party congress in Erfurt. This was to be published three months before the congress for the purpose of discussing it in local party branches and the press. The congress recognised the *Berliner Volksblatt* as the new party organ and the party assumed a new name, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. p. 92

136 The *Hague Congress of the International Working Men's Association* took place on September 2-7, 1872. Its task was to reach decisions that would consolidate the resolutions passed by the London Conference of 1871 (see Note 104) on the political activity of the working class and against the sectarian sections. Marx and Engels did a tremendous amount of work in preparation for the congress. The General Council meetings, in which they took a most active part, discussed and approved proposals to the congress on the changes to be introduced into the Rules and Regulations of the International, above all, the suggestion that the Rules should incorporate the resolutions on political activity of the working class and on the extension of the powers vested in the General Council.

The Hague Congress was the most representative one in the history of the First International being attended by 65 delegates from 15 national organisations. It took stock of the many years Marx, Engels and their followers devoted to the struggle against all brands of petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the working-class movement, above all Bakuninism. The anarchist leaders were expelled from the International. The decisions of the Hague Congress laid the groundwork for the establishment in various countries of independent political parties of the working class. p. 93

137 Engels' work "In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx" was an immediate response to the publication in the press of the pamphlet *Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx* by Lujo Brentano, a prominent representative of armchair socialism. Simultaneously with the publication, the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* carried Brentano's preface, and somewhat later, a note in which an attempt was made to substantiate Brentano's stand by passages from Gladstone's letters to him regarding the phrase from his speech in the House of Commons on April 16, 1863 that Marx had supposedly misquoted.

Brentano's purpose was to continue the campaign of slander against Marx, which he had begun anonymously back in 1872 and which was later supported by the British economist Sedley Taylor. To foil the attempts to cast

aspersions on Marx as a scholar and undermine confidence in his doctrine, Engels decided to give another rebuff to Brentano and his followers in the press, and at the same time to deal a blow to the armchair socialists' dogmas concerning an alleged improvement in the condition of the working class.

Immediately following the appearance in the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* of the note containing passages from Gladstone's letters to Brentano (see this volume, p. 175), Engels published in December 1890 a reply in *Die Neue Zeit* (included as a supplement in Engels' pamphlet and featured on pp. 175-76 of this volume), to be followed by the entire work in April 1891.

Under the heading "Documents" Engels published all materials relevant to Marx's polemic with Brentano and Eleanor Marx's with Taylor, as well as his own writings on the subject. The documents featured in this section have been included in the pertinent volumes of the present edition. In this volume, they are reproduced again in conformity with the plan and the arrangement of the material in Engels' pamphlet.

Armchair socialism, a trend in bourgeois ideology in the 1870s-90s, whose advocates, notably, liberal professors, preached bourgeois reformism from university lecterns passing it off as socialism. The trend emerged out of the fear engendered in the exploiting classes by the spread of Marxist ideas and the growing working-class movement, and was an attempt by bourgeois ideologists to find new ways of diverting the working masses from the class struggle. Prominent armchair socialists, including Adolph Wagner, Gustave Schmoller, Lujo Brentano and Werner Sombart, insisted that the state was an institution above classes, and one capable of reconciling the hostile classes and gradually introducing "socialism" without violating the interests of the capitalists. The programme of armchair socialism was merely to set up bodies that would insure workers against illness and accidents, improve factory legislation etc. Armchair socialism was one of the ideological sources of revisionism.

An excerpt from this work was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 113-14. p. 95

[138] See Note 135. p. 117

[139] The *Registrar-General*, the officer presiding over the General Register Office established in London under the Birth and Death Registration Act of 1836. p. 133

[140] This quotation (see also pp. 141, 146, 153, 172, 174 of this volume) belongs not to Molière but to his contemporary Nicolas Boileau (*Satires*, VIII). p. 134

[141] Marx is referring to the incident that occurred at the Reichstag session of November 8, 1871. The National Liberal deputy Lasker stated in a polemic with Bebel that, should the German Social-Democratic workers dare to follow the example of Paris Communards, "the respectable and propertied citizens would club them to death". However, the speaker did not dare to preserve the words "would club them to death" in the printed text, and the stenographic report substituted it with "would keep them in hand". Bebel exposed this falsification, making Lasker an object of ridicule among the workers. Being very short, Lasker was nicknamed "Laskerchen", little Lasker. p. 139

[142] See Note 140. p. 146

[143] *Blue Books*, a series of British parliamentary and foreign policy documents published in blue bindings since the 17th century. p. 147

144 This refers to the words of the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow. In his letter of January 15, 1838 addressed to the citizens of Elbin, who expressed their dissatisfaction at the expulsion of seven oppositional professors from the Hanover Diet, von Rochow wrote: "Loyal subjects are expected to exhibit due obedience to their King and sovereign, but their limited thinking should keep them from interfering in affairs of heads of state." p. 151

145 Eleanor Marx's reply, published in the column "Record of the International Popular Movement" under the heading "England", was accompanied by the following note in which she wrote about Sedley Taylor's renewed slanderous attack on Marx and the refusal of *The Times* and *The Daily News* to print her reply to him: "There is so much to record concerning this socialist movement in England that I rather hesitate to take up these columns for speaking of a personal matter. As, however, I have no other means of refuting a very serious charge brought against my father, I hope the readers of *To-Day* will forgive my touching on the matter here. On the 29th of last November a letter from Mr. Sedley Taylor appeared in *The Times*, which repeated the old calumny that my father had knowingly misquoted a passage from one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches to suit his own purpose.

"There has never been a better calumniated man than my father, but his calumniators were, as a rule, too contemptible to be worth answering. In this particular case my father did answer his anonymous accuser, because the alleged misquotation appeared in the inaugural address of the International Workingmen's Association.

"On reading Mr. Taylor's letter, which is only a *rechauffé* of the old story, I at once wrote to *The Times*. So often had I read of the English press that I never doubted my answer would be given the same publicity as that accorded to Mr. Taylor's accusations.

"Days passed, and my letter did not appear. Still impressed with the idea that even *The Times* might be honest in a personal matter, I again wrote to the editor. With no result. Then I addressed myself to *The Daily News*, which I had so far found very fair. But apparently a dead lion may be kicked with impunity by living professors, and the Liberal *Daily News* could not stretch its liberality to the length of publishing my letter. I therefore publish both Mr. Taylor's letter and my own reply" (*To-Day*, No. 2, February 1884, pp. 150-53). p. 156

146 Eleanor Marx's second reply, as well as "Sedley Taylor's Retort" was printed by *To-Day* in the "Correspondence" column under the heading "Dr. Marx and Mr. Gladstone's Budget Speech of 1863" (*To-Day*, No. 3, March 1884, pp. 228-35). p. 159

147 On the "invention of little Lasker", see Note 141. p. 166

148 See Note 135. p. 170

149 See Note 140. p. 172

150 Engels wrote this piece between December 4 and 13, 1890, soon after he had received the relevant issue of the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* from Wilhelm Liebknecht. On December 13, Engels sent the piece to Kautsky, requesting him to print it in the next issue of *Die Neue Zeit*. p. 175

151 During the presidential elections in France in early December 1887, Paris witnessed mass demonstrations and meetings staged by workers and other democratic forces in opposition to the candidature of the former Prime Minister Jules Ferry (nicknamed Ferry the Tonkinois because of the

expeditions he undertook in the 1880s to conquer Tonkin—Northern Vietnam—as well as Tunisia and Madagascar). He had been nominated by moderate bourgeois republicans, the so-called opportunists, and enjoyed the support of the monarchists. Having received an insignificant number of votes in the first round, Ferry was forced to withdraw his candidature before the second round. In his letter to Paul Lafargue of December 5, 1887, (present edition, Vol. 48) Engels described Ferry's failure as the people's victory over allied monarchists and opportunists.

On February 27 and 28, 1891, the German Reichstag debated the issue of bonuses to non-commissioned officers. Chancellor Caprivi substantiated his request for funds for this purpose by the need to build up this section of the army to counteract the Social-Democratic influence among the men which began to mount after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. With the Centre, the conservatives and the National Liberals voting in favour, the Reichstag approved the allocations at a level corresponding to 80 per cent of that requested by the government. p. 178

152 Engels wrote this Introduction for the third German edition of Marx's work *The Civil War in France* (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 307-59), which was issued in 1891 by the *Vorwärts* newspaper publishing house in Berlin to mark the 20th anniversary of the Paris Commune. Engels also included in this edition the First and Second Addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War, written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 3-8 and 263-70). Subsequent separate editions of *The Civil War in France* in various languages have usually included Engels' Introduction.

Originally, Engels' Introduction was printed, with his consent, in *Die Neue Zeit,* Vol. 2, No. 28, 1890-91, under the heading "Über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich".

First published in English in: K. Marx, *The Civil War in France,* Chicago, Kerr, [1901], pp. 3-11 (abridged) and in full in: K. Marx, *The Paris Commune,* New York, Labor News Comp., 1917, pp. 1-20. p. 179

153 A reference to the national liberation war of the German people against Napoleonic rule in 1813-14. p. 179

154 The *demagogues* in Germany were participants in the opposition movement of the intellectuals after the liberation of the country from Napoleonic rule. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision on the persecution of the demagogues. p. 180

155 See Note 2. p. 180

156 A reference to the political receptions organised by the bourgeois opposition on the eve of the February 1848 revolution in France. The ban on the Paris reception of February 22 triggered off the revolutionary events of February 23-24 which eventually resulted in the collapse of the monarchy. p. 181

157 The three dynastic parties—the Legitimists, the Orleanists and the Bonapartists.

The *Legitimists,* the party of supporters of the Bourbon dynasty, which was overthrown in France in 1792, represented the interests of big landed aristocracy and the senior clergy; it became a party and assumed its name in 1830, after the dynasty was overthrown for a second time. During the Second Republic, the Legitimists, together with the other monarchist parties, formed

the Party of Order. Under the Second Empire, failing to win any support from the people, they confined themselves to marking time and issuing critical pamphlets, and were galvanised into action only in 1871, when they joined the general counter-revolutionary onslaught against the Paris Commune.

The *Orleanists* supported the Orleans dynasty, which ruled in France during the July monarchy (1830-48). They upheld the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie.

The *Bonapartists* advocated the restoration of the Bonaparte dynasty. p. 182

158 On December 2, 1851, President of the French Republic Louis Napoleon Bonaparte launched a coup d'état, disbanded the Legislative Assembly and arrested the leaders of political parties, thus establishing a military-bourgeois dictatorship and a regime of police terror. On December 2, 1852 an empire was declared, with Louis Bonaparte becoming emperor under the name of Napoleon III. For details see: K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197). p. 182

159 The *Austro-Prussian war of 1866* concluded the long struggle for supremacy in Germany and was a major step towards the country's unification "from above". One consequence of the war was the formation of the North German Confederation under the leadership of Prussia, which substantially augmented its territory by incorporating petty principalities and concluded secret treaties with South German states. Austria remained outside the Confederation and thus outside Germany. p. 182

160 On September 1-2, 1870, one of the decisive battles of the Franco-Prussian War was fought at Sedan. The French army was defeated. On September 2, the French command surrendered over 80,000 men, officers and generals. Among them was Napoleon III himself, who from September 5, 1870 to March 19, 1871 was detained in Wilhelmshöhe (near Kassel), a residence of the Prussian kings. p. 182

161 According to the terms of the preliminary peace treaty signed on February 26, 1871 at Versailles, France ceded Alsace and East Lorraine to Germany and paid it an indemnity of 5,000-million francs; until it was paid, part of the French territory continued to be occupied by the German troops. The final peace treaty was signed in Frankfurt am Main on May 10, 1871. p. 183

162 The "*Wall of the Federals*"—a wall at the Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris at which 200 "federal" Communards fought heroically against the numerically superior Versailles units during the last days of the Paris Commune, and where they were shot on May 27, 1871; now usually called the Wall of the Communards. p. 186

163 A reference to Proudhon's *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX siècle*, Paris, 1851. A critique of this work is to be found in some of Marx's and Engels' letters written in August 1851 (present edition, Vol. 38) and in Engels' manuscript *A Critical Analysis of Proudhon's Book "Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX siècle"* (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 44, Moscow, 1977, pp. 150-77, in Russian). p. 188

164 See Note 98. p. 188

165 When printing Engels' Introduction, the editors of *Die Neue Zeit* substituted his phrase "the Social-Democratic philistine" by "the German philistine". The same was done in the book, most probably with Engels' consent. p. 191

166 This is Engels' reply to the letter sent by Jose Mesa, one of the leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, on March 2, 1891, in which he requested Engels' consent to the publication by the Party's National Council of his Spanish translation of Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212). Mesa had begun work on the translation back in 1872. Excerpts from it were published in Spanish for the first time in the organ of the Madrid Sections of the First International *La Emancipacion*, No. 44, April 13, and Nos 68 and 69, October 5 and 13, 1872. Mesa continued work on the translation in the 1870s and 1880s, although an opportunity to publish the book in Spain did not appear until the early 1890s.

Engels' letter was published as a preface to the Spanish edition of Marx's work, which came out in Madrid in the summer of 1891.

The supplement carried the party programme adopted at its first congress in Barcelona in 1888. p. 192

167 This is Engels' reply to the letter from the Committee for the International Meeting for the Claims of Labour to be convened on April 12, 1891 in Milan. The Committee was formed by Milan's democratic organisations and comprised prominent members of the Italian working-class and socialist movement. Seeking to give the forthcoming meeting a broad international character, the Committee sent out invitations to take part in it, or to express solidarity with it in writing, to workers' and socialist organisations of different countries, including the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the French Workers' Party, as well as to many prominent socialists. Besides the official invitation, Engels was also sent a special letter (on April 2, 1891), which read: "You are one of the most known warriors in this battle between liberty and oppression. You are one of the most prominent men—as regards socialism—both in Germany and in England; and your letter of adhesion to our Meeting will have a great influence upon all working people.

"But your presence in Milan, on the 12th of April and—we hope—your speaking in favour of freedom and independence of workmen would have a greater influence both upon your countrymen and upon our comrades of other nations." p. 193

168 Engels was the General Council's corresponding secretary for Italy in 1871-72 and the representative of the General Council for Italy in 1873. p. 193

169 Engels wrote this Introduction for the new separate edition of Marx's work *Wage Labour and Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 197-228), which appeared in Berlin in 1891 and which he edited. In the opening part of the Introduction Engels reproduced an introductory note he had written for an earlier edition of this work, one that appeared in 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 277).

The Introduction became widely known thanks to the workers' and socialist press, and was also printed as a separate article. Prior to the pamphlet's publication, it was carried by the supplement to *Vorwärts*, No. 109, May 13, 1891 under the title "Lohnarbeit und Kapital". In a somewhat abridged form, it was published by the *Freiheit* of New York, No. 22, May 30, 1891, the Italian journal *Critica Sociale*, No. 10, July 10, 1891, *Le Socialiste*, No. 44, July 22, 1891 and in the socialist annual *Almanach de la question sociale et du centenaire de la République* in 1892, as well as in Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian and Russian translations.

The Introduction was included in all subsequent editions of Marx's work, which were translated into many languages from the 1891 edition.

First published in English in: K. Marx. *Wage-Labor and Capital*, Chicago, Kerr, [1902], pp. 3-13. p. 194

170 The *German Workers' Society in Brussels* was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847, its aim being to provide a political education for German workers living in Belgium, and to spread the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying the German revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium and maintained direct contacts with Flemish and Walloon workers' clubs. Its most active members belonged to the Brussels Democratic Association. Its activities ceased soon after the February 1848 revolution in France, when some of its members were arrested and many German workers left Belgium. p. 194

171 Russian troops entered Hungary in June 1849 to help suppress the Hungarian bourgeois revolution and the war of national liberation against Austrian rule.

The uprisings in defence of the Imperial Constitution passed by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 28, 1849 but rejected by most German governments were the last stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. p. 194

172 Subsequently found among Marx's manuscripts was a rough draft of the last, or the last series, of lectures about wage labour and capital. It was entitled "Arbeitslohn" and had a note on the cover: "Brüssel, Dezember 1847" (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 415-37). As far as its content is concerned, it partially complemented Marx's unfinished work *Wage Labour and Capital*. It was published for the first time in Russian in the *Sotsialisticheskoye khozyaistvo* (Socialist Economy), No. 1, 1924, pp. 19-36, and in 1925 in the language of the original in the magazine *Unter dem Banner des Marxismus*, No. 1, pp. 141-59. p. 194

173 Engels is referring to May Day festivities of 1891. In some countries, including Britain and Germany, May Day was celebrated on the first Sunday of the month, which in 1891 fell on May 3. In 1891, May Day meetings and demonstrations took place in Britain, Austria, Germany, France, and Italy, to name but a few countries. That year, the international day of workers' solidarity was celebrated for the first time in Russia despite the authorities' persecution of its participants. p. 201

174 Engels wrote this preface for the fourth German edition of his work "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 281-325), which was issued by the *Vorwärts* printing house in Berlin in 1891. The first German edition of this work, which was first published in French in *La Revue socialiste* in 1880, appeared in Hottingen-Zurich at the printing house of *Der Sozialdemokrat* in March 1883 (the date on the title page was 1882). In the preface, Engels voiced his certainty that the German working-class readership would not find the work too difficult (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 458). The second and third German editions of Engels' work were issued by the same printing house in 1883. The fourth edition was the last to appear in German in Engels' lifetime. The supplement to this edition, like those to the earlier German editions, contained Engels' work "The Mark" (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 439-56).

First published in English in: K. Marx, *Selected Works*. In two volumes, Vol. I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1946, pp. 145-46. p. 202

[175] See Note 2. p. 202

[176] The additions to the original text of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* mentioned by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 281-325), which is based on the corresponding chapters of *Anti-Dühring*, are also reproduced in Vol. 25, in the section "Additions to the Text of Anti-Dühring", pp. 636-37 (on Saint-Simon) and 639-40 (on trusts). p. 202

[177] This preface to the fourth edition of the book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 129-276) was published on Engels' suggestion, before the actual book came out, in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, No. 41, 1890-91 under the heading "Zur Urgeschichte der Familie (Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan)", and in Romanian translation in the Social-Democratic weekly *Munca*, No. 26, August 18, 1891.

The fourth, revised and enlarged edition of the book appeared in Stuttgart in late 1891; no changes were made in any of the subsequent editions. This preface was included into them all, both the German one and the others.

First published in English in: F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Kerr, Chicago, [1902], pp. 12-26. p. 203

[178] The *Magars*, a nationality inhabiting the western regions of Nepal. p. 208

[179] Engels travelled to the United States and Canada in the company of Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Carl Schorlemmer in August-September 1888. For his impressions of the trip, see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 581-83. p. 213

[180] Engels wrote this message of greetings in response to an invitation to take part in the second congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria, which was enclosed in Victor Adler's letter of June 22, 1891.

The second congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria was held in Vienna on June 28-30, 1891 and attended by 193 delegates. The congress discussed the state and the work of the party, the campaign for universal, equal and direct suffrage, the May Day celebrations, the party's participation in the international socialist workers' congress of 1891 in Brussels (see Note 109), the trade unions, social reform in Austria, and some other issues. Summing up the results of the congress, *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the party's central organ, wrote on July 3, in the editorial "Unser Parteitag zu Wien" that the Austrian Social Democrats could be satisfied with their congress which testified to the internationalist character of the party and its clarity and unity on tactical questions. p. 215

[181] Between December 30, 1888 and January 1, 1889, Hainfeld (Lower Austria) hosted a unity congress attended by 73 socialist delegates from nearly all Austrian provinces. The congress founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria and adopted a programme labelled "Declaration of Principles" and based on the main tenets of Marxism. The Declaration named as its objectives the political organisation of the proletariat and the advancement of its class-consciousness, campaign to turn the means of production into public property, emancipation of all working people from economic dependence, the attainment of political rights and enhancement of their cultural level. The Declaration proclaimed proletarian internationalism an organisational principle and the foundation of practical work. But it failed to mention the issues of seizure of political power by the proletariat, the forms of its political rule and its attitude to the peasantry. p. 215

[182] Engels is referring to the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Laws introduced by the reactionary governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary to combat the socialist and the working-class movement.

On the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany see Note 2.

Austria passed Anti-Socialist and Anti-Anarchist laws in 1884. They were used to subject socialist and trade-union organisations and their press to police persecution or ban them, and to deport their leaders. However, in June 1891, the government was forced to repeal them under pressure from the mounting strike movement and the mass actions of the Austrian workers on May Day 1890 and 1891. p. 215

[183] This work contains critical remarks about the new draft programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. By decision of the party congress held in 1890 in Halle, it was to replace the Gotha programme (adopted in 1875), which contained serious theoretical errors. This version of the draft, drawn up mainly by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, was not made public; the new draft, carried by the *Vorwärts* on July 4, 1891, was worked out with due consideration to many of Engels' remarks and suggestions, especially with regard to its Preamble and the economic demands it contained.

The publication was followed by a discussion in the course of which new drafts were proposed, notably by *Die Neue Zeit* editorial board. This draft was drawn up by Karl Kautsky, substantially endorsed by Engels and published in the said magazine. It became the foundation of the final version worked out by a commission headed by Liebknecht. The draft was submitted to the party congress held in Erfurt on October 14-21, 1891.

The programme adopted by the congress was Marxist in character and testified to the ideological victory of Marxism over other trends of socialism and over petty-bourgeois distortions. "The last vestiges of Lassalleanism have been removed," wrote Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge on October 24, 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 49).

The programme scientifically substantiated the ultimate goals and the short-term objectives set by the party (direct legislation, self-government by the people, the replacement of standing armies by an armed populace, freedom of speech, association, meetings and the press, equality for women, free education and medical care, etc., with all the points on the programme based on a Marxist analysis). A separate section defined what had to be done to promote the interests of the working class (the 8-hour day, a ban on child labour, the introduction of factory inspection and a state-run system of social insurance, etc.).

But the programme was not without its faults. It lacked some essential theoretical provisions and demands, including a definition of the ways and means for the proletariat to take over political power, the establishment of a democratic republic or, as Engels suggested with regard to the political situation in Germany, "concentration of all political power in the hands of the people's representatives", and a plan of work among the peasantry. However, the significance of these drawbacks became clear only much later.

By and large, the programme was on a par with Marxist theory and made a strong impact on the new programmes of other socialist parties.

At the time, Engels did not intend his work to be published. It appeared for the first time in 1901 in *Die Neue Zeit*. The editorial preface stated that Engels' manuscript had been found among Liebknecht's papers.

First published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*. In three volumes, Vol. III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, pp. 429-39. p. 217

184 The manuscript of the draft programme sent to Engels and a number of other German Social-Democratic leaders on June 18, 1891 by the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and subjected to critical analysis by Engels was believed lost for a long time. It was found and published for the first time in the journal *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* (Berlin), 1968, special issue, pp. 173-74.

The paragraphs have been numbered in square brackets for the sake of comparison with Engels' critical remarks in the Preamble.

"*Strictly confidential*

"Esteemed Comrades! Please find enclosed the draft programme of our party to be considered at the next congress. We beg you to express your opinion and add any proposals you may have for amendments. But we ask you to treat this draft as *strictly confidential* since it should be made known to the comrades and therefore to the general public only after the reservations and objections which may arise have been considered. We shall deal with your replies by *Saturday, June 27th* at the latest since, according to the Halle Congress decision, the draft programme is to be submitted for public discussion not later than 3 months before the next party congress.

With Social-Democratic greetings,
the Party Executive"

[Draft Programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany

[Paragraph 1] The separation of the workingman from the means of labour—land, mines, pits, quarries, machinery and tools, the means of communication, and their transfer into exclusive possession of part of the members of society have split the society into two classes, the toiling and the propertied.

[Paragraph 2] Concentrated in the hands of exclusive owners (monopolists), the means of labour necessary for the existence of society have turned into means of exploitation. The workers' dependence on individual owners of the means of labour ensuing from this is the foundation of slavery in all its forms, denial of political rights, social misery, physical degradation and mental denigration.

[Paragraph 3] Under the domination of the exclusive owners—capitalists, big landowners, the bourgeoisie—the accumulation of the means of labour and of the wealth that has been created by the exploited increases in the hands of the capitalists with growing speed, the distribution of the product of labour becomes more and more uneven, the number and the misery of the proletariat increase continuously, the army of superfluous labour assumes an increasingly mass character, class antagonisms and the class struggle are mounting, splitting society into two armed hostile camps and becoming a characteristic feature of all industrially developed countries.

[Paragraph 4] The planlessness rooted in the nature of capitalist private production breeds increasingly lengthy crises and unevenness of production, which further deteriorate the condition of the workingmen, ruin broad strata of the population, give rise to universal economic and political instability and plunge society at large into turbulence and confusion.

[Paragraph 5] To put an end to this state, which is growing more intolerable day by day, by removing the causes, and to bring about the emancipation of the working class—this is the goal and the task of Social Democracy.

[Paragraph 6] The Social-Democratic Party of Germany therefore strives to bring about the transformation of the means of labour—land, mines, pits, quarries, machinery, and tools, the means of communication—into common property, and capitalist private production, into social socialist production, a transformation for which capitalist society itself creates the material and spiritual conditions.

[Paragraph 7] The emancipation of the working class can be the work only of the working class itself, for all the other classes and parties base themselves on capitalism and, despite their conflicting interests, have a common goal, to preserve and consolidate capitalism.

[Paragraph 8] Realising that the emancipation of the working class is not a national but a social task in which the workers of all civilised countries are equally involved and which can be resolved only through international co-operation, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself to be *at one* with the class-conscious workers in all other countries.

[Paragraph 9] The Social-Democratic Party had nothing in common with so-called state socialism: a system of fiscal nationalisation which places the state in place of the private entrepreneur and imposes the double yoke of economic exploitation and political oppression upon the worker.

[Paragraph 10] The Social-Democratic Party is fighting not for new class privileges and prerogatives, but for the abolition of class domination and for equal rights for all, without discrimination on the basis of sex or origin. In its struggle for the emancipation of the working class, the struggle for the emancipation of mankind, Social Democracy fights for all demands, measures and arrangements which are capable of improving the position of the people in general and the working class in particular.

With these ends in view, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany advances the following demands:

1. Universal equal and direct election and voting rights and secret ballot for all citizens of the empire over 21 without distinction on the basis of sex at all stages of the elections and voting. Introduction of a system of proportional representation. The elections and voting are to be scheduled for Sundays or public holidays.
2. Direct legislation by the people, i.e., the right of the people to propose and reject laws.
3. Settlement of the issues of war and peace by elected representatives of the people. Establishment of an international court of arbitration.
4. Repeal of all laws restricting or suppressing freedom of opinion and the right of association and meetings.
5. Abolition of all allocations from public funds to the Church and for religious purposes. Church and religious communities are to be regarded as private associations.
6. Secular character of the school. Compulsory attendance of state schools. Free education and supply of teaching aids at all state educational establishments.
7. The fostering in all citizens of a readiness to defend the country. Replacement of the standing armies by a people's militia.
8. Legal proceedings and legal aid free of charge. All legal proceedings to be conducted by judges elected by the people.
9. Free medical care and medicines.
10. Progressive income, capital and inheritance taxes to cover all expenditure by the state since the latter is subject to payment out of the monies

provided by the taxes. Abolition of all indirect taxes, duties and other economic and political measures that subjugate the interests of the community to those of the privileged minority.

For the purpose of protecting the rights of the working class, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany advances the following demands:

1. Effective national and international labour protection legislation drawn up on the following basis:

a) Introduction of a normal working day not exceeding eight hours.

b) A ban on industrial labour for children under 14.

c) A ban on night work, except in the industries where such work is required due to their specific features, for technical reasons, or in the interests of the public weal.

d) A ban on female labour in the industries where the mode of production is harmful to the woman's organism.

e) A ban on night work for all women and young men under 18.

f) An unbroken period of rest for each worker lasting at least 36 hours a week.

g) Prohibition of the truck system.

h) Surveillance by public service inspectors of all workshops and industrial enterprises, including the home crafts.

2. Protection of the right of association from infringement by entrepreneurs.

3. Assumption of responsibility for all workers' insurance by the empire, with the decisive say in the administration of insurance belonging to the persons concerned.

For the regulation and supervision of labour relations, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany demands an imperial labour department, regional labour bureaus and labour chambers, with half of their members to be elected by the workers, and the other half by the entrepreneurs.] p. 219

185 The reference is to the programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany adopted at the unity congress in Gotha in 1875. Marx critically analysed its draft, which was later approved by the congress with only minor alterations, in his work *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, and Engels did the same in a letter to Bebel of March 18-28, 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 67-73, 75-99 and Vol. 45.) p. 219

186 See Note 2. p. 220

187 The *Constitution of 1850* was promulgated in Prussia following a revision of the constitution granted by Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848 in the wake of the counter-revolutionary putsch and the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly. In April 1849, the king dissolved the chamber of representatives, and on May 30 passed a new electoral law establishing a three-class electoral system based on property qualifications and unequal representation of the various strata. The majority in the new chamber, elected on the basis of the new law, approved a new and more reactionary constitution proposed by the king. Prussia retained the upper chamber consisting mainly of the feudal nobility; the powers of the Landtag were severely curtailed and it was deprived of the right to initiate legislation. Ministers were to be appointed by the king and made accountable to him alone. The constitution granted the government the right to set up special courts to deal with cases of high treason. The 1850 constitution remained in force in Prussia even after the formation of the German Empire in 1871.

The so-called *constitutional conflict* arose in the early 1860s between the Prussian government and the bourgeois-liberal majority in the Landtag. In February 1860, the majority refused to approve a plan for reorganising the army submitted by War Minister von Roon. However, the government soon managed to secure allocations for "maintenance of the army's combat readiness and enhancement of its firepower", which meant, to all intents and purposes, that the reorganisation could proceed. When in March 1862 the liberal majority refused to approve the military budget and demanded that the war ministry be made accountable to the Landtag, the government dissolved the latter and called new elections. In late September 1862 an administration was formed under Bismarck, which again dissolved the Landtag that October and embarked on the military reform without it approving the necessary funds. The conflict was not resolved until 1866, when, following the Prussian victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie capitulated before Bismarck.

The *Constitution of the German Empire* promulgated on April 16, 1871 was based on the constitution of the North German Confederation approved on April 17, 1867, with the changes introduced into it in November 1870 by the treaties on the entry of South German states (Baden, Hesse, Bavaria and Württemberg) into the Confederation. The Constitution of 1871 consolidated Prussian supremacy in Germany and the reactionary foundations of the German Empire's state structure. The Reichstag's legislative powers were substantially curtailed, and the laws passed by it made subject to approval by the Federal Council and the Emperor. The prerogatives of the latter, and of the Chancellor, who enjoyed independence from the Reichstag, were very broad. The constitution perpetuated the vestiges of particularism and the privileges of some small German states. p. 226

188 An ironical reference to the two dwarf states that were incorporated into the German Empire in 1871, Reuss-Greiz and Reuss-Gera-Schleiz-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf, ruled by the elder and the younger lines of the Reuss princes. p. 226

189 Engels is referring to the action launched by the Social-Democratic deputy M. Kayser with the consent of the Reichstag group in defence of the plan to introduce protective tariffs in 1879. In a series of letters to members of the German party, e.g., in the circular of September 17-18, 1879 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 253-69, and Vol. 45), Marx and Engels were deeply critical of Kayser's efforts to defend a plan that was clearly aimed at promoting the interests of big industrialists and landowners to the detriment of the bulk of the people, and also the easy-going attitude to Kayser demonstrated by some of the German Social-Democratic leaders.

Manchesterism—see Note 99. p. 227

190 The *reservation rights*—the rights of South German states, principally Bavaria and Württemberg, confirmed by the treaties on their accession to the North German Confederation (in November 1870) and the Constitution of the German Empire (April 1871). Among other things, Bavaria and Württemberg retained a special tax on beer and spirits and independent administration of posts and telegraphic communications. Bavaria further retained control over its army and the railways. Representatives of Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony formed a special committee in the Federal Council for dealing with foreign policy issues. The commission enjoyed the right of veto. p. 227

191 Thuringia was a striking example of the fragmentation still persisting in the German Empire. It incorporated the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach,

the duchies of Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and the principalities Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, Reuss-Greiz and Reuss-Gera. p. 227

192 The reference is to the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte, who proclaimed himself First Consul as a result of the coup d'état of the Eighteenth Brumaire (November 9), 1799 and in actual fact instituted his own one-man rule. This lasted until 1804, when an empire was officially declared in France. p. 228

193 Engels is referring to the programme of the French Workers' Party adopted at the congress in Le Havre in November 1880. In May 1880, Jules Guesde, one of the French socialist leaders, arrived in London, where he worked together with Marx, Engels and Lafargue on the draft programme. The preamble was dictated to Guesde by Marx.

The preamble and the text proper of the programme are included in Vol. 24 of the present edition (pp. 340-42). p. 230

194 The programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, to which Engels refers here, was adopted by the congress in Barcelona in 1888 and published in the supplement to the Spanish edition of Marx' work *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212), which appeared in 1891 in Madrid. p. 230

195 This essay is an extract from Engels' letter to Lafargue of 2 September 1891 (for the full text of the letter see present edition, Vol. 49). This essay was published in *Le Socialiste*, in a slightly abridged form and with editorial changes. Its German translation appeared in the *Vorwärts*, No. 216, September 16, 1891 in the "Politische Übersicht" column. In a letter to Bebel of October 1, 1891, Engels voiced his displeasure at the quality of the German translation.

The *Second International Socialist Workers' Congress* took place in Brussels on August 16-22, 1891. It was preceded by bitter struggle between the Marxists and the opportunists, with the latter attempting to take over preparations for the congress (see Note 109). Thanks to the Marxists' and Engels' personal efforts, the attempt failed. The congress, at which over 350 delegates from European countries and the USA were present, was mostly Marxist. The majority resolved against admitting the anarchists. Also taking part in its work were representatives of the British trade unions.

Among the points on the agenda were the labour law, the strike and the boycott, and the attitude to militarism.

Of the decisions reached by the congress, Engels commented in his essay on the resolution on labour law (borrowing phrases from the introduction to, and the conclusion of, the resolution), and the resolution on the strike and the boycott. The former urged the workers of the world to pool their efforts in the struggle against the rule of capitalism and to use their political rights (wherever they existed) to emancipate themselves from wage slavery. In the resolution on the strike and the boycott, the congress recommended the workers to employ these means of struggle. It emphasised the absolute necessity of trades associations for the working people.

The key issue at the congress was the attitude of the working class to militarism. Wilhelm Liebknecht's and Édouard Vaillant's reports on the subject, as well as the resolution submitted by Liebknecht, stated that militarism was an inevitable product of the capitalist system, that only the establishment of a socialist society could put an end to it and secure peace among nations, and that the socialists were the real party of peace. However, the resolution did not

say what could be done to remove the threat of war in practical terms. It ended with an appeal to the workers of all countries to launch vigorous protest actions against war preparations and military alliances, and to do their best to bring the triumph of socialism nearer by strengthening the international organisation of the proletariat.

Liebknecht's resolution was opposed by the Dutch delegate Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuys, who inclined towards anarchism. The resolution he submitted, calling on the socialists of all countries to exhort their peoples to stage a general strike in the event of war, was defeated by the congress.

The delegates adopted the resolution proposed by Liebknecht. Engels described the outcome of the congress as a tactical and theoretical victory for Marxism.

The first part of the essay ("The Brussels Congress") was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 180. p. 233

196 See Note 136. p. 233

197 The "Rurals", the Assembly of the "Rurals", a derisive nickname for the National Assembly that met on February 12, 1871 in Bordeaux (France) and consisted mostly of reactionary monarchists, such as provincial landowners, civil servants, rentiers and merchants elected from rural constituencies. Engels scornfully applied the name to the German Junkers. p. 234

198 See Note 2. p. 234

199 Engels wrote the article "Socialism in Germany" between 13 and 22 October 1891 for the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892* on the request of the leadership of the Workers' Party. The article was included in the issue that came out in early December 1891.

In early January 1892, Engels translated the work into German for *Die Neue Zeit* and supplied it with a short introduction and a conclusion.

The first two parts in the Italian translation made from the French by Pasquale Martignetti were published in the magazine *Critica Sociale,* Nos 2 and 3, January 16 and February 1, 1892, the first under the editorial title "The Imminent Triumph of Socialism in Germany", and the second, under the heading "The German Socialist Party and Peace". The last part of the work was printed in that magazine in translation from the German and in a slightly abridged form (No. 7, April 1, 1892) under the heading "The Famine in Russia, Its Causes and Significance". A separate Italian edition appeared in the same year.

In Polish translation, the article was carried by the London-based journal *Przedświt,* Nos 33 and 34, February 13 and 20, 1892, and in Romanian (minus the introduction), in the magazine *Critica Sociale* (Jassy), Nos 2 and 3, January and February 1892. In the same year, the work appeared in the USA in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* Nos 8 and 9, and in English translation, in *The People,* New York, February 28, March 6. p. 235

200 By the "pure" (or tricolour) *republicans* are meant members of the party of moderate republicans headed by Armand Marrast, which formed around the newspaper *Le National* in the 1840s; it was supported by the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of the liberal intellectuals connected with it.

Organisation of Labour (*Organisation du travail*) is the title of Louis Blanc's

book in which he expounded his petty-bourgeois socialist programme; the first edition appeared in Paris in 1840. p. 238

201 The reference is to the General Association of German Workers, the country's first nationwide organisation of the kind, founded in 1863 at a meeting of workers' unions in Leipzig. The Association was dominated by Lassalle, one of its founding fathers and first president. The Association campaigned for universal suffrage. Considering the workers' daily economic struggle unnecessary, its members believed that the social contradictions should be dealt with by setting up production associations financed by the state. At its congress in Gotha in 1875 (see Note 134) the Association merged with the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. p. 238

202 A reference to the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany founded at the general congress of Social Democrats of Germany, Austria and Switzerland held on August 7-9, 1869 in Eisenach. Later, it also became known as the party of Eisenachers. The programme adopted by the congress contained ill-considered and erroneous ideas but was generally based on Marxist principles. p. 238

203 Out of the nine socialist deputies elected to the Reichstag in 1847, six were members of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (August Bebel, Wilhelm Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Johann Joseph Most, Julius Motteler and Carl Julius Vahlteich), and three members of the General Association of German Workers (Wilhelm Hasenclever, Wilhelm Hasselmann and Otto Reimer).
On the Gotha merger, see Note 134. p. 239

204 See Note 2. p. 239

205 Engels is referring to the decision passed by the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in 1891 to publish the complete works of Ferdinand Lassalle. The project was carried through in 1892-93 (*Ferdinand Lassalle's Reden und Schriften*. Hg. v. Eduard Bernstein. 3 Bände. Verlag der Expedition des "Vorwärts"-Berliner Volksblatt, Berlin, 1892-93). p. 239

206 A reference to the unanimous approval of the new programme completely free from Lassallean ideas at the Erfurt congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (October 1891). p. 239

207 On the 1890 elections, see Note 1, and pp. 3-10 of this volume. Referring to the Reichstag of 1866, Engels means the Reichstag of the North German Confederation that existed up to the formation of the German Empire in 1871. p. 239

208 See Notes 4 and 8. p. 240

209 Engels quotes Odilon Barrot, a conservative politician of the Second Republic in France, who said: "Legality is the death of us" ("*la légalité nous tue*") when repressions were instituted against democratic organisations in late 1848-early 1849. p. 241

210 Engels is paraphrasing the words uttered by the commander of the French guards Count d'Anterroche during the Battle of Fontenoy on May 11, 1745, won by the French in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-46). As legend has it, when the hostile Anglo-Dutch-Hanoverian troops had drawn up to the French army, he exclaimed: "You shoot first, English gentlemen! ["Messieurs les Anglais, tirez les premiers!"]. p. 241

211 See Note 160. p. 242

[212] In the 19th century, the issue of the statehood of Schleswig-Holstein whose population was largely German figured prominently among the contradictions plaguing the European states. Remaining, since the 15th century, under the Danish administration, as a result of the German-Danish war of 1864 and the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 159) it became Prussia's province.
On Alsace and Lorraine, see Note 161. p. 243

[213] Under the secret agreement on joint steps against the Paris Commune signed in Frankfurt am Main simultaneously with the official peace treaty on the termination of the Franco-Prussian war (see Note 161), the German command was obliged to let the counter-revolutionary Versailles troops pass through the German lines, which allowed the former to approach Paris from the north and significantly worsened the position of the Communards. p. 244

[214] The reference is to the rebuff given by the troops of the French republic to the coalition of European states (Austria, Prussia, Britain, etc.), in 1793, at the time of the French Revolution. p. 245

[215] The reference is to the welcoming ceremony in honour of the French squadron's arrival at Kronstadt in July 1891, which was meant to demonstrate the rapprochement between Russia and France. Negotiations were under way between the two countries at the time; in August 1892 they led to the signing of the Franco-Russian accords under which France and Russia were to consult each other on international issues and to take joint action should either of them find itself facing the threat of aggression. The accords were a major step towards the eventual formation of a Franco-Russian alliance in 1893. p. 246

[216] The reference is to the 3 per cent loan for the sum of 125 mln rbs (500 mln francs) in gold which Russia took out in France in September 1891. Initially, the loan was a great success, the designated sum being oversubscribed seven and a half times. Eventually, however, as the price of Russian securities on European stock markets began to drop due to the worsening economic situation there and the famine of 1891, some subscribers refused to accept the bonds. In an effort to ward off a total failure of the loan, the Russian government was forced to buy up part of the bonds. As a result, the loan yielded only about 96 mln rbs. p. 246

[217] See Note 64. p. 247

[218] To protect domestic industry from foreign competition and increase government revenues, from the 1870s Russia repeatedly raised protective import tariffs. In 1877-80, they amounted to 16 per cent of the cost of the imported goods, in 1881-84, 19 per cent, in 1885-90, 28 per cent, and from 1891, 33 per cent. As a consequence of the government's protectionist policies, the prices of manufactured goods in Russia were significantly higher than those on the world market. Considering the country's backwardness as compared to the more advanced capitalist states, this policy was of great assistance to Russia's industrial advance, but also a major burden on the populace; it also narrowed down the home market and held up technological progress. p. 247

[219] In the 19th century the term *Pan-Slavism* was used to describe differing phenomena: the ideas of Slavic mutuality and cultural proximity, plans for federations of the Slavic peoples, plans of tsarist Russia to utilise national liberation movements in its own purposes, etc. Pan-Slavism made the greatest political impact in the 1860s-70s, especially at the time of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, which resulted from the upsurge of the national liberation

movement in the Balkans and the exacerbation of international strife in the Middle East. p. 247

220 Engels dealt with the agrarian reforms in the 19th century and the abolition of serfdom "from above" in Prussia, in the course of which the landowners virtually plundered the peasants, in his work "On the History of the Prussian Peasants" (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 341-51). p. 247

221 Engels received an invitation to take part in the tenth anniversary celebrations of the *Volksfreund* newspaper to be held in Brünn (now Brno) on November 22, 1891 in a letter from the editorial board despatched in early November. The celebrations, which were to be in the nature of a political demonstration against the reactionary Austrian press laws, were banned by the police authorities. p. 251

222 The *Young Czechs,* the Czech bourgeois-liberal party which championed the interests of industrial bourgeoisie. It initially formed the liberal wing of the National Party; in 1874, the Young Czechs established an independent "free-thinking" party, which in the 1890s became the Czech leading bourgeois party. They demanded that Austria-Hungary become a triune Austro-Hungarian-Czech monarchy and campaigned to strengthen the economic and political position of the Czech bourgeoisie by weakening that of the Austrian bourgeoisie. The Young Czechs were hostile towards Social Democracy and sought to undermine its influence among the workers. p. 251

223 Marx wrote about the persecution of Lafargue and his own daughters by the French authorities during their stay, in August 1871, in the resort town of Bagnères-de-Luchon in the Pyrénées in his letter of August 25, 1871 to Dana, editor of the American newspaper *The Sun.* Marx's daughter Jenny commented on the same in a letter to the editor of the American *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* in September 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 396-99 and 622-32). p. 253

224 See Note 132.

The text beginning with the words "Both Marx and I..." was first published in English in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality,* Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974, p. 66. p. 254

225 See Note 132. p. 256

226 Engels wrote this Preface for the English edition of his work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 295-583), which appeared in London in 1892. It was the second edition of the authorised English translation,which first appeared in New York in 1887. The major part of the Preface, with minor editorial changes and omissions, is formed by the Appendix to the American edition written by Engels in 1886 (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 399-405) and his article "England in 1845 and in 1885" included into the Appendix (ibid., pp. 295-301). The concluding part of the Preface was written specifically for the English edition of 1892. p. 257

227 This refers to the repeal of the Corn Laws introduced in the interests of the English landed aristocracy. The maintenance of high protective tariffs for corn to keep prices high on the home market hampered the growth of capitalist profits.

The campaign for the repeal of the Corn Laws was conducted within the framework of the Anti-Corn Law League founded in 1838 by the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright. It demanded lower corn tariffs and free

trade. The satisfaction of these demands would have undermined the economic and political might of the landed aristocracy but also resulted in lower wages for agricultural labourers. The campaign ended with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. p. 258

[228] Engels described the *truck system* in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 470-71). A law banning this system (the Truck-Act) was passed in 1831; many factory owners, however, refused to comply with it.

The *Ten Hours' Bill,* which applied to women and children only, was passed by the British Parliament on June 8, 1847. p. 259

[229] *Little Ireland,* a working-class suburb populated mostly by the Irish on the southern edge of Manchester. Engels described it in detail in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4. pp. 360-62).

Seven Dials, seven radial streets in the centre of London mainly populated by workers at the time. p. 260

[230] The *cottage system,* the leasing of dwellings to workers by factory owners at exorbitant rents, these being deducted from their wages (for more details, see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 471-72). p. 261

[231] A reference to the strike in Pennsylvania, involving over 10,000 miners, which lasted from January 22 to February 26, 1886. Workers servicing blast furnaces and coke ovens managed to secure some of their demands for higher wages and better conditions.

On the 1844 colliers' strike in the north of England, see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 541-47. p. 261

[232] The first English translation of Volume One of *Capital,* made by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, and edited by Engels, appeared in 1887. p. 261

[233] Engels wrote the article "England in 1845 and in 1885" for *The Commonweal.* Later, he translated it into German and had it published by *Die Neue Zeit* (June 1885). Subsequently, Engels included it in full in the Appendix to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* which appeared in 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 399-405). p. 262

[234] A reference to the drive for the repeal of the Corn Laws (see Note 227). p. 262

[235] The *People's Charter* containing the demands of the Chartists was published on May 8, 1838 in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It listed six points: universal manhood suffrage, annual elections to Parliament, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualifications for M.P.s, and payment of M.P.s. In 1839 and 1842, petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament. p. 263

[236] A reference to the peaceful Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848, which intended to head for the Houses of Parliament to present a third Petition demanding the promulgation of the People's Charter. The demonstration was prohibited by the government which flooded the capital with troops and formed a body of "special constables" recruited from among the middle class to thwart it. Chartist leaders, many of whom were too hesitant, gave up the idea and persuaded the would-be participants to disperse. p. 263

[237] The reference is to the *Reform Bill of 1831* which was finally passed by the British Parliament in June 1832. The Reform Act of 1832 consisted of three

acts adopted accordingly for England and Wales on June 7, for Scotland on July 17, and for Ireland on August 17, 1832. It was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and finance aristocracy and enabled the industrial bourgeoisie to be duly represented in Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, remained disfranchised. p. 263

238 The phrase "workshop of the world", which gained wide currency in the 19th century, was first used by Benjamin Disraeli with reference to Britain in his speech in the House of Commons on March 15, 1838. p. 263

239 A reference to the factory legislation shaped in Britain in the first half of the 19th century as a result of the establishment of the capitalist factory system, and the proletariat's campaign for legislative regulation of working conditions. The first factory laws (1802, 1819, 1833 and 1844) introduced age restrictions for child labour in the textile industry. The law of 1833 provided for factory inspectors to supervise compliance with the factory law and also impose penalties on employers who broke it. A major landmark was the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847 which limited the working hours of women and children. p. 264

240 This refers to the second and third electoral reforms in Britain.

Under the reform of 1867, suffrage was granted in urban areas to landlords and tenants and to tenants of flats with a term of residence of not less than twelve months and paying at least £10 in rent annually. In the counties, property qualifications for voters were established at £12 a year in rent. The reform extended suffrage to a section of industrial workers. Secret ballots were introduced in 1872. The reform of 1884 extended the terms of the 1867 reform to rural districts, granting suffrage to a proportion of rural dwellers. But even then, 87 per cent of the country's population remained disfranchised, including the less affluent sections of the urban and rural population and all women. Here and below, Engels quotes the People's Charter. p. 264

241 Marx voiced the idea that after 1848, the reactionaries became a sort of "testamentary executors" of the revolution fulfilling as they did part of its programme, even if in a grotesquely distorted way, in a number of works, specifically, in the essay "Erfurtery in the Year 1859" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 404-06).

Below, the reference is to the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1867 as a result of the transformation of the Austrian Empire. p. 265

242 The *British Association for the Advancement of Science* was founded in 1831 and exists to this day. The documents of its annual meetings are published in the form of reports. The Association has a printed organ, *The Advancement of Science*, which appears quarterly. p. 267

243 This is a reply to the critique by the Italian bourgeois philosopher and politician Giovanni Bovio of the first part of Engels' article "Socialism in Germany" (see pp. 237-41 of this volume) carried by the *Critica Sociale*, No. 2, January 16, 1892 (in the Italian translation made from the French version featured by the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*). On February 2, 1892, Filippo Turati, editor of the *Critica Sociale*, sent Engels Bovio's article, which had been published in *La Tribuna*, asking him for a reply. Engels wrote his reply in French and sent it to Turati on February 6, 1892, as well as a letter.

Turati's Italian translation of the article, approved by Engels, was carried by *Critica Sociale,* No. 4, February 16, 1892 under the heading "Federico Engels a Giovann. Bovio".

First published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Socialist Revolution,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 286-88. p. 270

244 Engels wrote this Preface on the request of the Polish socialist Stanisław Mendelson, editor of the London-based magazine *Przedświt,* for the new Polish edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* planned by the magazine (for the text of the *Manifesto,* see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519). The edition was designated as the second, the first one having been put out by the same publishers in 1883. The first Polish translation, which Marx and Engels mentioned in the preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75), appeared in 1848 and has not been found.

First published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* Lawrence, London, 1930, pp. 269-70 and International Publishers, New York, 1930, pp. 269-70. p. 273

245 *Congress Poland,* the part of Poland which, under the official name of the Kingdom of Poland, passed over to Russia by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15. p. 273

246 Engels is apparently referring to the campaign waged by M. N. Katkov, editor of the reactionary Russian newspaper *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (Moscow News) for the introduction of protective tariffs on the goods produced in the Kingdom of Poland. Engels was informed of this by S. M. Kravchinsky's (Stepnyak) essay "The Russian Storm-cloud; or, Russia in Her Relations to Neighbouring Countries", which was printed by *Time* in September and October 1885 and was later included in a volume of his essays under the same name which appeared in London in 1886. p. 273

247 *On July 14, 1789,* Bastille was stormed by the people of Paris, and the French Revolution began.

September 22, 1792, the first day of the French Republic, declared by the Convent on September 21. It was recognised as the first day on the revolutionary calendar approved by the Convent in 1793.

The article was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On the Paris Commune,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 275-76. p. 275

248 The second German edition (1892) of Marx's work *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212) was reprinted from the first German edition (1885) and contained the corrections which Engels had specified in this Preface. The 1892 edition reproduced Engels' preface to the first German edition (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 278-91), as well as Marx's work "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" and his essay "On Proudhon" included in the Supplement (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 450-65, and Vol. 20, pp. 26-33).

For the passage mentioned in the Preface see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 138. The minor inaccuracies which occurred in the text of the 1847 French edition and were reproduced in the 1885 German edition were used by the Austrian bourgeois sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger in his book *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung,* Stuttgart, 1886 to cast aspersions on Marx and Engels. Their unsoundness was exposed in the work "Lawyers' Socialism" written by Engels in collaboration with Kautsky (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 597-616).

First published in English in: K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, International Publishers, New York, 1934, p. 23. p. 277

249 Engels wrote this Introduction for the English edition of his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 281-325), which appeared in London in 1892 in Edward Aveling's translation. The appendix to this edition also contained Engels' essay "The Mark" written in 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 439-56).

In June 1892, Engels translated the Introduction into German, and in July sent it to *Die Neue Zeit*, which printed it in its first and second issues for 1892 under the heading "Ueber historischen Materialismus". The editorial board omitted the first seven paragraphs, alleging that their substance was well known in Germany and was of no interest to the German readership.

Parts of the Introduction under the headings "Les trois batailles de la bourgeoisie contre le féodalisme" and "Le Parti ouvrier" were published in French by *Le Socialiste*, Nos 115, 116 and 118 on December 4, 11 and 25, 1892, and Nos 119 and 120 on January 1 and 9, 1893. The Introduction, minus the first eight paragraphs, was also published in Bulgarian in the *Социалъ-демократъ* magazine, No. 3, 1892. p. 278

250 See Note 134. p. 278

251 *Bimetallism*—a monetary system based on two metals (e.g., gold and silver) with a fixed ratio to each other as legal tender. p. 281

252 Engels compiled his pamphlet from Section I of the Introduction to *Anti-Dühring* and chapters I and II of Part III of this work, making a number of additions and changes. p. 281

253 See Note 232. p. 282

254 The *nominalists* (from Latin *nominalis*—of or relating to a name) were adherents of a trend in medieval scholasticism, generally considered heretical and dangerous, which maintained that universal terms such as indicate genus or species and all general collective words or terms have no objective real existence corresponding to them but are mere words. They criticised the traditional "realist" doctrine, derived from Plato, that universals or "ideas" have real existence above and independent of individual things, and likewise the "conceptualist" view that while universals do not exist outside the mind they do exist in the mind as general conceptions. The doctrine of Nominalism was later forcefully taken up and developed by the English materialist philosopher Thomas Hobbes. p. 283

255 *Homoiomeriae*, according to the teaching of the ancient Greek philosopher Anaxagoras, are tiny qualitatively determined material particles which are infinite in number and variety and constitute through their combination and separation everything in the world. p. 283

256 Marx and Engels used the term "theism" although the context indicates that what they actually mean is "deism". The most probable explanation is that, as dictionaries and encyclopaedias of the second half of the 19th century testify, at that time the terms could be used interchangeably. p. 285

257 The reference is to the Great Exhibition, the first world industrial exhibition held in May-October 1851 in London. p. 286

258 Engels dealt with the uprising of the German nobility in 1522-23 and the Peasant War of 1524-25 in Germany in his work *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 397-482). p. 290

259 The "*Glorious Revolution*" of 1688 in England established a constitutional monarchy based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the finance bourgeoisie. p. 292

260 The *Wars of the Roses* (1455-85) for the English throne were fought between two dynasties, the Yorks, whose coat of arms features a white rose, and the Lancasters, with a red rose on their coat of arms. Rallying round the Yorks was a section of big feudal nobility residing in the more economically developed south, the lesser nobility (the knights) and the cities; the Lancasters were supported by the feudal nobility of the northern counties. The bloody wars nearly wiped out both dynasties and ended in the enthronement of the Tudors, who introduced absolutism throughout the country. p. 292

261 "A robust and malicious man"—a phrase from Thomas Hobbes' preface to his book *De Cive* written in Paris in 1642. Initially, the book was circulated as a manuscript; it was published in Amsterdam in 1647. p. 293

262 *Cartesianism*, a doctrine upheld by the followers of René Descartes (Cartesius in Latin), a 17th-century French philosopher. They derived materialist conclusions from his teaching. p. 294

263 This refers to the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen) adopted by the French Constituent Assembly on August 26, 1789 during the French Revolution. It proclaimed the main principles of the revolution: sovereignty of the people and the natural rights of man (the right to freedom, property, security and resistance to oppression). p. 294

264 *Code Civil*, one of the five codes drawn up in France in 1804-10 under Napoleon I (hence the term *Code Napoléon* used interchangeably with *Code civil*), which represented a systematisation of bourgeois law. Engels referred to the *Code Civil* passed in 1804 as "a classic legal code of bourgeois society" (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 392). p. 294

265 The reference is to the members of the London Corresponding Society and corresponding societies in other English cities. Their adherents demanded universal suffrage and other democratic reforms (alongside representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, their organisers and members included people drawn from the working class). Corresponding societies were harassed by the British authorities. p. 295

266 See Note 237. p. 296

267 In 1824, under mass pressure, the British Parliament lifted the ban on the trade unions. In 1825, however, it passed a Bill on workers' combinations which, while confirming the earlier decision, greatly restricted the unions' activity. In particular, any agitation among workers to join unions and take part in strikes was regarded as compulsion and violence and punished as a crime. p. 296

268 See Note 235. p. 296

269 See Note 227. p. 296

270 *Brother Jonathan*, the ironic nickname given by the English to North Americans at the time of the American War of Independence (1775-83).

Revivalism, a trend in the Protestant Church that emerged in England in the first half of the 18th century and spread to North America. Its followers

sought to consolidate and expand the influence of Christianity by preaching and setting up new congregations. p. 297

271 A reference to the Reform Bill of 1867 introduced by the Derby-Disraeli Tory government (see also Note 240). p. 298

272 See Note 240. p. 299

273 See Note 137. p. 299

274 *Ritualism*—a trend in the Anglican Church from the 1830s to the 1860s, also named Puseyism after one of its founders, Edward Bouverie Pusey, an Oxford University theologian, who advocated the restoration of Catholic rites and dogma in the Anglican Church. p. 300

275 The opening of the third congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria was scheduled for April 17, 1892 in Linz. However, the authorities did not allow the congress to be held there. Late in May, the Austrian government lifted the ban, and the congress took place in Vienna between June 5 and 9. It considered tactical and organisational questions of the Austrian socialist movement, adopted party rules and made additions to the party programme. p. 303

276 The obituary "Carl Schorlemmer" was published, besides the *Vorwärts*, by the *Hessische Volksstimme* (Darmstadt), No. 158, July 7, 1892, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), No. 29, July 15, 1892, and the Bulgarian magazine *Ден* (Day), Book 7, 1892. p. 304

277 *Owens College*, a higher educational establishment in Manchester founded in 1851 with the means bequeathed by the Manchester merchant John Owens specifically for the purpose. p. 304

278 See Note 179. p. 306

279 Engels took a trip to Norway and the North Cape together with Schorlemmer on July 1-26, 1890. They spent late July and the August of 1891 in the Isle of Wight, from where they intended to travel to Scotland and Ireland. However, Schorlemmer did not feel up to the trip due to failing health, and Engels made it with his wife's niece Mary Ellen Rosher and his secretary Louise Kautsky in September 1891. p. 306

280 See Note 2. p. 306

281 Engels wrote this Preface for the second German edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 295-583), which appeared in Stuttgart in 1892. For the main part, it is Engels' own translation (with minor changes) of the Preface to the 1892 English edition (see this volume, pp. 257-69 and Notes 226 and 233). Engels wrote the concluding part of the Preface specifically for the German edition.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 112. p. 307

282 Engels is referring to the Appendix to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 399-405) which was originally conceived as a preface. Later, he replaced it by another one describing the condition of the working-class movement in America (ibid., pp. 434-42). p. 307

283 The Sixth World Industrial Fair opened in Philadelphia on May 10, 1876 to mark the centenary of the founding of the USA (July 4, 1776). Professor Franz Reuleaux, director of the Berlin Industrial Academy appointed by the German government as chairman of the German panel of judges, had to admit that German-made goods were far inferior to those from other countries and that German industry's guiding principle was "cheap and nasty". Referring to this incident as the "industrial Jena" Engels alludes to the defeat of the Prussian Army in the Battle of Jena in October 1806 during the war with Napoleonic France. p. 308

284 See Note 227. p. 308

285 See Note 228. p. 311

286 See Note 229. p. 312

287 See Note 230. p. 313

288 See Note 231. p. 313

289 See Note 233. p. 315

290 See Note 227. p. 315

291 See Note 235. p. 315

292 See Note 236. p. 315

293 See Note 237. p. 315

294 See Note 238. p. 316

295 See Note 239. p. 316

296 See Note 240. p. 317

297 See Note 241. p. 317

298 See Note 242. p. 319

299 This draft, the first part of which was dated September 12, 1892 by Engels himself, echoes, in substance, the "Preface to the Second German Edition (1892) of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*" (see this volume, pp. 307-23).

It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, p. 483. p. 324

300 Engels is referring to the financial crisis which hit Argentina in 1889-90 and produced a panic on the money market, severe inflation, mass bankruptcies and the termination of national debt repayments. It was part of the world economic crisis of 1890 and served to aggravate the latter, especially in England, which had large investments in Argentina. The crisis of 1889-90 exacerbated Argentina's economic enslavement to European finance capital. p. 325

301 Engels wrote the letter to the National Council of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (in Engels' translation—the Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party—see Note 431) in response to the decision of the British trade union congress, which opened in Glasgow on September 5, 1892, to decline its invitation to the third International Socialist Workers' Congress to be held in Zurich.

In a reply to Engels of October 2, 1892, the National Council of the

Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party stated that it intended to protest against the actions of the British trade unions, and confirmed its approval of the decisions passed by the Paris and Brussels congresses of the Second International (see Notes 91 and 195).

Resolutely opposing the divisive policy pursued by the British trade union leaders, Engels exposed the prejudicial nature of their stand in letters to working-class movement leaders in France, Germany and some other European countries. p. 326

302 The *Parliamentary Committee*, the executive body of the association of Britain's trade unions, which was formed in the late 1860s and became known as the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. Beginning with 1871, the Committee was elected annually at trade union congresses. Among its duties was nomination of trade union candidates to Parliament, support for bills promoting the interests of trade unions and preparatory work for congresses. In 1921, the Parliamentary Committee was superseded by the Trades Union Congress General Council. p. 326

303 For the congress in Zurich see Note 370. The congress held in Chicago in December 1893 was that of the American Federation of Labor. It recognised the need for political action on the part of the working class and adopted a programme demanding the introduction by law of the 8-hour day. p. 326

304 On September 19-23, 1892, Marseilles was the venue for the congress of the National Federation of Trade Unions. Among other issues (May Day celebrations, women's and child labour in industry, etc.), the congress discussed the resolution of the British Trades Union Congress in Glasgow. It decided to decline the invitation to the international congress convened by the trade unions to discuss the 8-hour day and to invite trade union representatives to the International Socialist Workers' Congress to be held in Zurich.

The congress of the French Workers' Party, which took place on September 24-28 of the same year in Marseilles (see Note 445) passed a similar resolution. p. 327

305 Engels made this addenda to the text of his biography intended for publication in the sixth volume of the 14th edition of *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon* (see this volume, pp. 539-40). The addenda was written on F. A. Brockhaus' letter of October 7, 1892 in which the publisher, on behalf of the editorial board, requested Engels to look through the text and to make such changes and additions as he saw fit. p. 328

306 Engels wrote the article "The American Presidential Election" after the Democratic candidate Stephen Grover Cleveland had been elected President of the USA on November 8, 1892. He hoped that the new government would abolish the protectionist tariff introduced by MacKinley in 1890. In 1894, the Democrats, who during the election campaign professed to oppose the tariff, introduced a new tariff, which, although it reduced the rates of the 1890 one, was also protectionist.

The article was also printed by the *Wähler* newspaper, No. 270, November 21, 1892, and by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 48, November 25, 1892.

It was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, pp. 300-01. p. 329

307 The *Civil War in America* started in April 1861 with the open revolt of the slave-owning South against the American Union. The main cause of the war

was the struggle between two social systems, the capitalist system of wage labour in the North and the slave system in the South. The war, which was in fact a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed through two stages: a constitutional war for the preservation of the Union and a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveowners and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers and farmers. p. 329

308 Engels is referring to the piece entitled "Die amerikanische Textilindustrie auf dem chinesischen Markt" featured by *Die Neue Zeit,* No. 2, Stuttgart, 1892. p. 330

309 See Note 7. p. 331

310 Engels wrote this version of Marx's biography for the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Jena) at the request of one of its publishers. It was reprinted, in part, in the *Vorwärts,* Berlin, on January 29, 1893, second supplement. On the tenth anniversary of Marx's death, it was reprinted by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* No. 11, March 17, 1893 under the heading "Karl Marx' Lebensgang" and by the Bulgarian magazine *Социалъ-демократъ,* No. 3, 1893. p. 332

311 The translation of the list of Marx's works drawn up by Engels when writing the present essay is given below (wrong dates have been corrected).

Marx's Works

1. Marx's Doctoral Dissertation on Epicurus' philosophy.
2. Articles on the debate by the Rhine Province Assembly on the law on Thefts of Wood and on the Mosel peasants in the *Rheinische Zeitung,* 1842.
3. The same in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher:* "Einl[eitung] zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie" and "Judenfrage", 1844.
4. In collaboration with Engels. "Die heilige Familie". F[rank]furt a. M., 1845.
5. Short articles in the Paris newspaper *Vorwärts!,* 1844.
6. Articles in the *Deutsche-Brüss[eler]-Zeitung,* 1846-47 [a slip of the pen, the date should be 1847-48].
7. "Misère de la philosophie, réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon". Brussels and Paris, 1847.
8. "Discours sur le libre échange", Brussels, 1848.
9. In collaboration with Engels. "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei". London, 1848. Translated into all languages.
10. Essays in the *N[eue] Rh[einische] Z[ei]t[un]g.* Editorials, etc. "Wage Labour and Capital".
11. Two speeches for the defence in the pamphlet "Zwei polit[ische] Prozesse", Cologne, 1849.
12. In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue,* Hamburg, 1850: "1848-1849" (on the February revolution in France), and, in collaboration with Engels, critical essays and monthly revues.
13. "Der 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte". New York, 1852 (3rd edition, Hamburg 18[85]), French translation 1891.
14. "Enthüllungen über den Kölner Komm[unisten-] Prozeß". Boston, 1853 (Hott[ingen]—Zurich, 1885).
15. Articles in the *N[ew-] Y[ork Daily] Tribune,* 1852-61. Some of them about Palmerston (printed and distributed in London in the form of pamphlet in [1853-54] 1856-57).

16. "Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18[t]h Century" in *Free Press* (Sheffield, June 28, 1856—London, April 1, 1857).
17. Essays on the diplomatic negotiations prior to and during the war of 1859 in *Das Volk,* London, 1859.
18. *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.* Part One, Berlin, 1859.
19. *Herr Vogt,* London 1860.
20. Inaugural Address of the International, 1864, and all the publications of the General Council, including *The Civil War in France,* 1871. Translated into nearly all European languages.
21. *Das Kapital.* Kritik der pol[itischen] Oek[onomie], Book 1, Hamburg 1867. 4th edition 1890. Translated into Russian, French and English.
22. (posthumously) *Das Kapital.* Vol II (Book II). Published by F. Engels, Hamburg 1885, 2nd edition 1893 has gone to press.
23. (posthumously) *Das Kapital.* Vol. III (Book III), the same, will appear in 1893. p. 333

312 Marx announced his resignation from the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* on March 17, 1843. His statement appeared in the paper on March 18 (see present edition, Vol. 1, p. 376). p. 335

313 The *Communist League* was the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that emerged in the 1830s and had branches in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. In 1848-49, the League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe. In 1849-50, after the defeat of the revolution, the Communist League was reorganised. In the summer of 1850, differences arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which led to a split within the League. Owing to police persecution and the arrest of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism, as a school for proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association. p. 336

314 The trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see Note 117) began on February 7, 1849. Marx, editor-in-chief, Engels, co-editor, and Hermann Korff, responsible publisher, were tried by the Cologne jury court. They were accused of insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and calumniating police officers in the article "Arrests" carried by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 35, July 5, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79).

The next day, Marx, together with Karl Schapper and the lawyer Karl Schneider II, was brought to trial as the leader of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats. In both cases, Marx and his associates proved their innocence and were acquitted thanks to skilful defence. p. 336

315 On June 13, 1849, the petty-bourgeois Mountain party organised a peaceful demonstration in Paris in protest against a violation of the Constitution—the dispatch of French troops against the Roman Republic. The demonstration was dispersed by troops. The events of June 13 testified to the bankruptcy of the

tactics used by petty-bourgeois democrats and dealt a severe blow to the revolutionary movement in Europe. p. 336

316 This list was compiled by Engels after July 1890. Written at the top of it was "Meine unsterblichen Werke" (My immortal works). The list runs as follows:

1. (In collaboration with K. Marx). "Die heilige Familie. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten". By Frederick Engels and Karl Marx, Frankfurt a.M. 1845.
2. "Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England. Nach eigner Anschauung und authentischen Quellen", Leipzig, 1845. English translation, N[ew] York, 1887.
3. (In collaboration with K. Marx, anonymously) "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei", London, 1848. Translated into all languages.

Work as co-editor, correspondingly, editor-in-chief (in Marx's absence) on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* Cologne, June 1, 1848-May 19, 1849.

The same on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue.* Hamburg, 1850.

6. "Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei", Hamburg, 1865.
7. "Der deutsche Bauernkrieg". A reprint from Nos 5 [-6 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*], Leipzig. Genossenschaftsbuchdr[uckerei]. 1st edition [1850], 2nd edition [1870], 3rd edition 1875.
8. "Zur Wohnungsfrage", 3 issues. A reprint from the *Volksstaat.* 1st edition, Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]b[uch]dr[uckerei] 1872. 2nd edition, Zurich, The Popular Press, 1887.
9. "Soziales aus Rußland". Reprinted from the *Volksstaat,* Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]buchdr[uckerei] 1875.
10. "Preußischer Schnaps im Deutschen Reichstag", Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]buchdr[uckerei] 1876.
11. "Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den [letzten] Aufstand in Spanien". Reprinted from the *Volksstaat.* Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]buchdr[uckerei] [1874].
12. "Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft". Reprinted from the *Volksstaat,* after *Vorwärts.* 1st edition, Leipzig. G[enossenschafts]buchdr[uckerei] 1878. 2nd edition. Zurich. Volksbuchh[an]dl[un]g, 1886.
13. "Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft". 1st, 2nd and 3rd editions all in 1883, Zurich, Volksbuchh[an]dl[un]g, (there are French, Russian, Polish, Italian, Spanish, Romanian, Danish and Dutch translations).
14. "Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats. Im Anschluß an Lewis H. Morgans Forschungen". Zurich, V[olks]-b[uch]h[an]dl[un]g 1884. 2nd edition, Stuttgart. Dietz [1886]. 3rd edition is being prepared (work is under way on the Italian, Romanian, Danish and French translations).
15. "Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie". Reprinted from *Die Neue Zeit,* Dietz, Stuttgart, 1888.
4. (Anonymously) "Po und Rhein". F. Duncker, Berlin, 1859.
5. (Anonymously) "Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein". Behrend, Berlin, 1860.
16. "In Sachen Brentano c[ontra] Marx wegen angebl[icher] Zitatsfälschung". Hamburg 1891.

Prefaces and Introductions to:

3. K. Marx. "Das Elend der Philos[ophie]. Antwort auf Proudhons Philosophie des Elends". Translated into German by E. Bernstein and K. Kautsky, Dietz, Stuttgart, [18]85 (a preface against Rodbertus).

1. K. Marx, "Das Kapital", 1st, 3rd edition 1883 and 4th edition 1890 (against L. Brentano).
1. K. Marx. "Das Kapital", II, Preface (against Rodbertus), [18]85.
4. "Karl Marx von den Kölner Geschwornen", 1849. A new reprint from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, [18]49. Zurich, V[erlag] Hott[ingen], 1885. (Preface.)
5. K. Marx. "Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozeß zu Köln". A new reprint. Zurich, V[olks]b[uchhandlung] 1885 (Introduction "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten".)
6. W. Wolff. "Die schlesische Milliarde". Reprinted from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. 1849. Zurich, V[olks]b[uchhand]l[ung] [18]90 (Introduction: W. Wolff's Biography and "Zur Geschichte der preußischen Bauern"), [1886].
7. S. Borkheim. "Zur Erinnerung an die d[eutschen] Mordspatrioten [...]. Zurich, V[olks]b[uch]h[an]dlung 1888 (Introduction: S. Borkheim's biography).
1. K. Marx. "Capital. A critical analysis of capitalist production". Translated from the 3[r]d German edition by S. Moore and E. Aveling, edited by F. Engels, Sonnenschein, London, 1887 (Editing the translation and the preface).
2. K. Marx. "Free Trade. A speech deliv[ered] in Brussels 1848". Translated by F. K.-Wischnewetzky. Boston and London, 1888 (Preface on free trade, in German, in *Die Neue Zeit*).
3. Engels. "The condition of the working class in England in 1844". Translated by F. K.-Wischnewetzky, New York, Lorell 1887 (Preface and supplement) (The latter also appeared as a separate publication: "The Working class movement in America", in German: "Die arb[eiter]-bewegung in Amerika" 1887, New York; reprinted Reeves, London, 1887. In German also in *Die Neue Zeit*). 2nd edition, Sonnenschein, London, 1892 (partially new text of the preface).

   In *Die Neue Zeit* only:

   "Die auswärtige Politik des russ[ischen] Zarentums", May 1890. (In Russian in the *Социалъ-демократъ*, London, 1890, I and II, in English in *The Times*, April and May 1890, in French in the *Idée nouvelle*, in Romanian in the *Contemporanul*, May-July 1890).
4. "Socialism utopian and scientific", L[ondon], 2 E. ... p. 339

317 Engels is referring to Marx's Economic Manuscript of 1861-63. See present edition, Vols 30-34. p. 339

318 On October 8, 1864, when drafting the programme of the International Working Men's Association (set up on September 28 at the inaugural meeting in St. Martin's Hall), Mazzini, acting through his follower Luigi Wolff, a member of the Central Council of the Association, suggested adoption of the "Fraternal Bond between the Italian Working Men's Association", a document published in *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie* in July 1864. However, its provisions were substantially bourgeois-democratic and did not measure up to the goals set by the newly established organisation of the international proletariat. The final editing of the programme was entrusted to Marx. In November 1864, the Central Council (later General Council) unanimously approved the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and the "Provisional Rules of the Association" written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 5-16). p. 340

319 See Note 136. p. 340

[320] Engels wrote the statement for the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* after it had started to publish a series of essays by Louis Héritier "Die Juraföderation und Michael Bakunin". The essays vindicated the divisive activities of the Bakuninists and especially the anarchist Jura Federation formed after the split in the sections of the First International in Romance Switzerland (provoked by the Bakuninists at the congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds of April 4-6, 1870). On November 15, 1892, without waiting for the series to be concluded, Engels despatched his statement to Bebel in Berlin to be taken to the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*. He requested Bebel to make sure that the statement appeared in the next issue of the paper, for, as he put it, "we must not allow this web of lies to pass unchallenged" (see present edition, Vol. 50).

Engels' statement was printed by the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* on November 19, 1892, and on December 24, the paper featured Héritier's reply, as well as his thirteenth essay. Héritier tried to justify himself, in the newspaper reply and in his personal letter to Engels of December 25. On January 20, 1893, Engels wrote him a letter, in which, using the information contained in Héritier's thirteenth essay, he again resolutely opposed the distortion of the International's history along Bakuninist lines (see present edition, Vol. 50). p. 344

[321] See Note 104. p. 344

[322] Engels draws a comparison between the definition of this major point in the Provisional Rules (1864) and the General Rules (1871) of the International Working Men's Association (for more details see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14, and Vol. 23, p. 3), and the distorted French translation of this point, in the Rules (1866) (made by the right-wing Proudhonist Henri Louis Tolain) quoted by Engels from memory. p. 345

[323] See Note 91. p. 345

[324] See Note 105. p. 346

[325] See Note 136. p. 346

[326] See Note 131. p. 347

[327] In this essay, Engels uses the report (carried by the newspaper *Русскія Вѣдомости* (Russian News), No. 284, October 14, 1892) on the results of the study made by the Russian ethnographer L. Ja. Sternberg into the customs and social order of the Giliaki (the old name of the Nivkhi), a people inhabiting the area in the lower reaches of the Amur and the northern and middle section of the Island of Sakhalin. The German translation of the report included into Engels' essay almost in full was made by him. Minor inaccuracies are pointed out in the footnotes.

It was first published in English in: F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940, pp. 151-54. p. 348

[328] The *Twelve Tables (lex duodecim tabularum)*, the oldest legislative document of the Roman slave-owning state. These laws were enacted as a result of the struggle which the plebeians waged against the patricians during the republican period in the mid-5th century B.C. They formed the point of departure for the further development of Roman civil law. p. 350

[329] Engels wrote this message of greetings in response to the invitation to take part in the 25th anniversary celebrations of the Vienna Workers' Educational

Association (founded on December 15, 1867) sent by the Association's board in November 1892. The German original of Engels' letter has been found in the Vienna State Archive.

A report on the celebrations was carried in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 51, December 16, 1892. p. 352

330 Engels wrote this letter in response to an invitation (received in late December 1892) to the second congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary, which took place in Budapest on January 6-8, 1893. Before the congress and during it, a conflict arose between the party's opportunist wing and its Left wing led by Paul Engelmann. The opportunists managed to get the decision (which they had reached in December) on Engelmann's and his followers' expulsion from the party confirmed. Engels' letter, in which he advocated a peaceful settlement of the conflict, was not read out at the congress or published in the party press. p. 353

331 Engels wrote this article in connection with the arrests of Polish émigrés in France on a charge of plotting to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. He had been informed about the arrests by the Polish socialist Maria Mendelson. The article was printed anonymously in the *Vorwärts*, No. 11, January 13, 1893 in the "Politische Übersicht" column. The editorial board supplied it with the following introductory note: "On the latest Paris police outrage, which we mentioned in passing yesterday, we are informed from most competent sources." p. 354

332 Engels is referring to two press agencies: the French press agency set up in 1835 in Paris by the businessman and journalist Charles Havas, and the British one founded in 1849 in London by Paul Julius Reuter. p. 354

333 The *Panama scandal* involved the bribery of French statesmen, officials and the press by the Panama Canal joint-stock company founded in France in 1879 on the suggestion of the engineer and businessman Fernand de Lesseps for the purpose of construction a canal across the isthmus of Panama. Late in 1888, the company collapsed, causing the ruin of small shareholders and numerous bankruptcies. Involvement in the Panama Canal affair by some high-ranking officials in France became public knowledge in 1892.

Engels describes France as an "opportunist-radical bourgeois republic", alluding to the two principal bourgeois ruling parties, the moderate bourgeois republicans (the so-called opportunists), who stood for the interests of big bourgeoisie, and the radicals, a parliamentary group that had split off from the opportunists; in 1901, the radicals formed a party which above all defended the interests of the middle classes. p. 354

334 Engels is referring to the visit of the French squadron commanded by Admiral Gervais to Kronstadt in July 1891 (see Note 215). p. 355

335 The article "The Italian Panama" was prompted by the debate in the Italian parliament in December 1892-January 1893 on the transgressions at the Banca Romana. The debate was triggered off by a speech made by deputy Colajanni. The shady transactions which came to light and which involved statesmen, quite a few members of parliament, lawyers, journalists and private persons, were labelled "Panamino" ("Little Panama"). When working on the article, Engels used the materials (parliamentary reports, the press) sent to him by Antonio Labriola, the Italian socialist philosopher, with whom he was corresponding at the time. Knowing that the correspondence was monitored by the Italian

authorities, Engels published the article anonymously since, as he wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht on January 29, 1893, the signature could have "put the chaps in Rome onto the track of my Italian source" (see present edition, Vol. 50).

On the Panama affair see Note 333. p. 356

336 The *Guelph fund*, money at the personal disposal of Bismarck used for bribing the press. p. 356

337 Engels wrote this Preface in French on Filippo Turati's request for a separate Italian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. The *Manifesto* was published in 1893 in Milan (in Pompeo Bettini's translation; the Preface was translated by Turati) by the *Critica Sociale* press. The book also included Engels' Preface to the fourth authorised German edition of the *Manifesto* (1890), which Engels likewise sent to Turati on his request in January 1893.

It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, International Publishers, New York, 1930, pp. 270-72; Idem. Lawrence, London, 1930, pp. 270-72. p. 365

338 See Note 241. p. 365

339 Engels wrote his work "Can Europe Disarm?" in February 1893 in response to Bebel's request to help the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag to work out a sound position in the debate on the Military Bill submitted by the government. The Bill provided for a significant numerical increase in the army and additional allocations for military purposes, which provoked widespread discontent. Even some of the bourgeois parties opposed the Bill, and in May 1893 it was defeated by the majority in the Reichstag. However, in July 1893, after the dissolution of the Reichstag and new elections, a similar bill was approved by the new Reichstag.

The manuscript was sent to Berlin on February 23, 1893 and, in conformity with Engels' wishes (see his letter to Bebel of February 24 of the same year, present edition, Vol. 50), printed by the *Vorwärts* as a series of eight articles. Late in March, it appeared as a separate pamphlet for which Engels had written a preface.

The series was also reprinted by the Social-Democratic paper *Wähler*, Nos 65, 66 and 68, and the supplements to Nos 69-72 and 74, March 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28 and 30, 1893. The editorial introductory note stated that Engels' work was of universal interest. p. 367

340 The *Prussian Landwehr system* provided for the formation of army units from among members of the older age groups who were liable to military service and had served in the regular army and the reserve for the established period. The Landwehr was first formed in Prussia in 1813-14 as a people's militia to combat Napoleon. p. 372

341 See Notes 161 and 40. p. 373

342 The *territorial army*—from 1872, the section of the French armed forces that were to be formed in wartime to keep rear, garrison and guard duty. Those recruited to the territorial army and to its reserve (for six years in both cases) were men in the older age groups subject to military service who had done their service in the standing army and its reserve.

The *Landsturm*, an armed force, a second-rate militia, originally organised in Prussia in 1813. In the 19th century the Landsturm existed in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Switzerland and Sweden. It was called out in the event of a national emergency. p. 373

[343] The *Battle of Wörth* (Alsace) was one of the first major battles of the Franco-Prussian War. It took place on August 6, 1870 and ended in the defeat of the French troops commanded by Marshal MacMahon.

The *Battle of Sedan*—see Note 160.

In the *Battle of Spichern,* sometimes referred to as the Battle of Forbach (Lorraine), on August 6, 1870 the Prussian troops routed the 2nd corps of the French army commanded by General Frossard. p. 374

[344] The reference is to Bebel's speech on the principles of a future state delivered in the Reichstag on February 3, 1893.

Ersatzreserve, the section of the reserve in the Prussian, and later German, army made up of men of the draftable age who in peacetime had had their active military service postponed. The term of service in the Ersatzreserve was established at 12 years in 1874; it was used to reinforce the army during mobilisation. p. 375

[345] This refers to the adoption of the Prussian military system by Hesse-Darmstadt after the formation, in 1867, of the North German Confederation under the Prussian aegis. The Confederation included part of the duchy's territory. p. 375

[346] *Kupfergraben,* a canal in Berlin beside which stood the barracks of the artillery brigade where Engels did his military service between September 1841 and October 1842 as a volunteer. p. 377

[347] Engels is referring to his trip to Barmen in late March-early April 1860 to attend his father's funeral. p. 379

[348] Engels is referring to the editorial "Ein alter Kunstgriff" carried by the *Freisinnige Zeitung* on November 26, 1892. The editorial criticised the new Military Bill. p. 382

[349] *Artel,* an association of small producers in pre-revolutionary Russia for the purpose of joint commercial activities (carpenters', fishermen's, masons', woodcutters', agricultural and other types of artels). p. 384

[350] See Note 216. p. 388

[351] When publishing this work, the *Vorwärts* (No. 58, March 9, 1893) omitted this paragraph. Instead, the editors inserted the following passage (in brackets): "Here Engels refers to the consequences frequently produced by the despair of ill-treated soldiers in times past. Notwithstanding their objectivity, we are not reproducing these details, being aware of the judicial practice by which the objective statement of facts as a warning betrayed the *intent* to reproduce such facts." In the pamphlet, the paragraph was reinstated and the editorial comment left out. p. 389

[352] See Note 40. p. 390

[353] The *Triple Alliance,* an aggressive military and political bloc formed by Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy against France and Russia. It acquired its final shape in 1882 when Italy joined the Austro-German military alliance concluded in 1879. The Triple Alliance was originally signed for a term of five years and was extended in 1887, 1891, 1902 and 1912. The formation of the Triple Alliance paved the way for the division of Europe into two major hostile camps, and in the long run led to the First World War of 1914-18. p. 391

[354] The *Prague Peace Treaty,* which concluded the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, was signed on August 23, 1866. Under it, Austria, the vanquished party, agreed to

the formation of the North German Confederation headed by Prussia. In conformity with Art. V it also ceded to Prussia its right to Schleswig-Holstein, which, since the two countries' victory over Denmark in the war of 1864, had been their joint possession. The population of Northern Schleswig was to be allowed to reunite with Denmark through a plebiscite. However, Prussia went back on this treaty provision and retained Northern Schleswig. In 1878, Art. V of the Peace of Prague was annulled. p. 392

355 This refers to the famine in Paris during its siege by the German army in September 1870-January 1871 at the time of the Franco-Prussian War. p. 393

356 On the *Military Bill* see Note 339.

This work was published in English for the first time in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 112. p. 394

357 Having come to office in 1892, Gladstone's Liberal government submitted bills proposing that M. P.s be paid salaries and that electors be entitled to one vote each instead of several (one in each of several constituencies: at the place of residence, location of property, etc.), as was specified by the existing electoral qualification system. The House of Lords, however, voted both bills down. p. 395

358 Engels sent the message of greetings to the Austrian workers for the special May Day issue of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* having written it at the request of the Austrian Social Democrat Michael Schacherl made in his letter of January 14, 1893.

It was published under the heading "Ein Brief von Friedrich Engels". The same issue carried May Day greetings to the Austrian workers and articles on the day of proletarian solidarity sent by Marx's daughters Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, as well as by Paul Lafargue, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Georgy Plekhanov and some other prominent members of the working-class and socialist movement. p. 396

359 At the municipal elections of 1892, the French Workers' Party scored a major victory, polling over 100,000 votes. p. 396

360 At the sitting of the Austrian Reichs Council of January 17, 1893 von Czapka answered the questions of Social-Democratic deputies and admitted the illegal character of actions by local authorities which had violated the right of association and assembly in some parts of Austria. p. 396

361 Engels wrote this note at the request of the editors of the Czech newspaper *Soziálny Demokrat* for a special May Day issue (*Prvni Máj 1893, Praha*), which also featured greetings to the Czech workers from Paul Lafargue, August Bebel and some other prominent socialists.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 374. p. 398

362 Marx visited Vienna in late August-early September 1848 to strengthen contacts with the Austrian democratic and workers' organisations and urge them to show greater resolve in their opposition to the counter-revolution in Austria. He was also hoping to collect enough money to continue the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* p. 398

[363] Engels is referring to the campaign for universal suffrage that developed in Belgium in 1890-93. On April 18, 1893, mass action and strikes led by the Workers' Party compelled the Chamber of Deputies to pass a law on universal suffrage which was approved by the Senate on April 29. The law introduced voting rights for all men of over 25 years of age, who had a term of residence of not less than 12 months. It further granted one or two additional votes to certain categories of people, depending on their property status, educational standard and employment in the civil service. p. 399

[364] The *Palais-Bourbon* in Paris houses the country's Chamber of Deputies. p. 399

[365] Engels wrote the May Day greeting to the Spanish workers at the request of Pablo Iglesias, a prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement. In April 1893, Iglesias sent Engels a letter asking for an article for the May Day issue of the newspaper *El Socialista*. p. 400

[366] On May 2, 1808, a popular uprising against the Napoleonic troops occupying Spain took place in Madrid. It was the opening event in the Spanish people's national liberation campaign. May 2 is a national holiday in Spain in tribute to those who fell fighting for its liberation. p. 400

[367] The intermediary between Engels and the editorial board of the Bulgarian magazine *Социалъ-демократъ* was Stoyan Nokov, an organiser of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic students' group in Geneva. It was through him that Engels sent this letter, which the magazine carried under the title «Письмо отъ Фридрихъ Энгельсъ».

It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955, p. 539. p. 402

[368] Engels is referring to Georgy Plekhanov's works "The Hegelian Philosophy of History" and "The Socialists' Tasks in the Fight Against Famine in Russia", which appeared in the Bulgarian magazine *Социалъ-демократъ*, No. 2, 1892. p. 402

[369] Engels' message to the Czech Social Democrats has survived in the Czech translation which appeared in the Social-Democratic newspaper *Posel lidu*, No. 15, August 19, 1893.

The publication opened with the following introductory note supplied by the editorial board: "In connection with the congress the aged sociologist and scholar Engels questioned the Editor about the position of political parties in Bohemia and said:" (see the text of the message). p. 403

[370] Engels made a speech at the last meeting of the Third International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (August 12, 1893). He arrived in Zurich in the course of his tour of Europe, having visited Germany. At the last meeting, the congress Bureau requested Engels as its honorary chairman to close the congress.

At the time, Engels' speech was extensively reproduced in the workers' and socialist press of various countries. It appeared, for instance, in the supplement to the *Vorwärts*, No. 190, August 15, and, with minor omissions, in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 35, September 1, 1893.

The *Third International Socialist Workers' Congress* took place in Zurich on August 6-12, 1893. Taking part in it were 411 delegates from 18 countries. The key issue discussed at the congress was the political tactics of the Social

Democrats. The resolution passed on this issue urged workers in all countries to fight for political rights so as to win political power and turn it, from an instrument of capital's rule, into one for the emancipation of the working class. The congress condemned anarchist tactics and resolved that the right to remain in the International's ranks belonged only to the parties that recognised the need for political action, after which the anarchists were forced to leave the congress.

Major importance at the congress attached to the Social Democrats' attitude to war. On the basis of Georgy Plekhanov's report, the delegates endorsed the main provisions of the resolution passed by the Brussels congress and rejected Nieuwenhuis' anarchist proposal to declare a general strike if war broke out. The congress made it incumbent on socialist members of parliament to vote against war credits.

In the discussion of the May Day celebrations, the delegates criticised the position of the German Social Democrats, who suggested that they be postponed until the first Sunday of May. The Congress stressed the particular importance of holding demonstrations on May 1 as the day of proletarian solidarity. p. 404

371 Engels is referring to the Hague Congress of the First International (see Note 136). p. 404

372 See Notes 91 and 195. p. 404

373 On his way back from Switzerland (in the company of August Bebel) after the Zurich congress, Engels stopped off for a few days in Vienna. On September 11, the Austrian Social Democrats held a reception in their honour, at which, according to the report in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (September 15, 1893) about 600 guests were present. On September 14, a meeting was held to discuss the results of the Zurich congress, with about 2,000 people taking part. Engels made the concluding speech.

Apart from the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Neue Freie Presse,* the speech was reproduced in the *Vorwärts,* No. 219, September 17, 1893.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality,* Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974, p. 68. p. 406

374 Engels is referring to the mass demonstration of Viennese workers demanding universal suffrage, which was organised by the Austrian Social Democrats and held on July 9, 1893. In the course of the demonstration, in which over 40,000 people took part, a number of workers' meetings were held, including one in Vienna city hall. p. 407

375 The Austrian authorities declared a state of emergency in Prague and its suburbs on September 12, 1893 following demonstrations by radically minded Czech youth. The demonstrations provided an excuse for police reprisals against the Social-Democratic movement. p. 408

376 Having visited Vienna (see Note 373), Engels travelled to Berlin, where he stayed from September 16 to 28, 1893. He was warmly received there, as he had been in Vienna. But the police authorities were watching his every step, as is clear from the extant reports of Viennese and Berlin police agents.

Engels made this speech at the meeting held in his honour in Berlin on September 22, 1893, at which up to 4,000 people were present. On

September 26, Engels attended a reception at which Wilhelm Liebknecht made a speech emphasising his outstanding contribution to the German working-class movement.

Engels' speech was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 112. p. 409

377 Engels is referring to the time he spent in Berlin between September 1841 and October 1842 when doing his term of military service as a volunteer. p. 409

378 A reference to the elections to the Reichstag in June 1893, on which Engels commented in an interview to the *Daily Chronicle* correspondent (see this volume, pp. 549-53). p. 409

379 Engels is referring to his trip to Heidelberg on family business in the second half of June 1876. p. 410

380 Engels sent this telegram to the presidium of the Cologne congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in response to the greeting sent to him, at August Bebel's suggestion, on the opening day of the congress, October 22, 1893. The greeting read: "The representatives of the German Social Democrats attending the party congress at the birthplace of German socialism send their sincere greetings and grateful acknowledgements to the co-founder of socialism and their indefatigable champion." p. 411

381 See Note 132. p. 412

382 The *International Congress of Socialist Students* was held in Geneva on December 22-25, 1893. Present at it were 26 delegates from Armenian, Belgian, Bulgarian, French, German, Italian, Polish, Romanian, Russian and Swiss student organisations. The congress resolutions were drawn up in the spirit of the decisions of the Brussels and Zurich congresses of the Second International. The congress recommended that more vigorous socialist propaganda be conducted among students and decided to set up an International Secretariat in Geneva for the purpose of establishing and strengthening contacts among the socialist students in different countries.

Apart from the newspaper *L'Etudiant socialiste,* Engels' greeting was printed by the Bulgarian Social-Democratic magazine *День* (Day), books 4-5, 1894.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On Scientific Communism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, pp. 82-83. p. 413

383 Engels wrote this Preface for the selection from his works entitled *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)* published in Berlin in 1894.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 123. p. 414

384 The reference is to the Franco-Sardinian war against Austria, which lasted from April 29 to July 8, 1859. p. 414

385 At the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies held on August 20 and September 3, 1893, five Blanquists were successful: Édouard Vaillant, Eugène Baudin, Emmanuel Chauvière, Marcel Sembat and Walter. p. 414

[386] On July 11, 1880, under the impact of the working-class and democratic movement, an amnesty for the Communards was announced in France making it possible for many refugees and exiles to return home. p. 414

[387] Engels means the moderate bourgeois republicans, the so-called opportunists (see Note 333). p. 417

[388] Minor inaccuracies in the dating of individual events occur in the text of the Introductory Note. The republic in Spain was proclaimed on February 11, 1873, and the elections to the Cortes were held on May 10, 1873.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, pp. 125-27. p. 419

[389] The *Carlists*, the clerical absolutist group in Spain that from the 1830s supported Don Carlos (1788-1855), pretender to the Spanish throne, and later his descendants. In 1872-76, it was responsible for the so-called Second Carlist War (the First Carlist War lasted from 1833 to 1840 and ended in their defeat). p. 419

[390] The Afterword was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1953, pp. 229-41. p. 421

[391] Engels replied to Tkachov with his articles IV and V in the *Refugee Literature* series (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 3-50). p. 421

[392] Alexander Herzen's three letters to W. J. Linton, editor of *The English Republic* magazine were written in January and February 1854 and first published in 1854 in English in the third volume of the magazine. Engels quotes Herzen's third letter to Linton dealing with Russia from the book: [Г. Плехановъ] *Наши разногласія* (Our Differences), Geneva, 1885, p. 9. p. 422

[393] Quoted here is Nikolai Chernyshevsky's critical essay "Notes about Magazines" («Замѣтки о журналахъ») first published in the fifth issue of the *Современникъ* magazine for 1857. Quoted below is another essay by the same author, "Studies of the Inner Correlations of Popular Life and Especially Rural Institutions in Russia. By Baron A. Haxthausen" («Изслѣдованіе о внутреннихъ отношеній народной жизни и въ особенности сельскихъ учрежденій Россіи. Барона А. Гакстгаузена».) which first appeared in the seventh issue of *Современникъ*, 1857. Both essays were included in Volume Five of Nikolai Chernyshevsky's *Works*, which appeared under the general heading *On the Commune Ownership of Land* (Объ общинномъ владѣніи землею), Geneva, 1879. In Plekhanov's book *Наши разногласія* (Geneva, 1885), this quotation can be found on pp. 16-17, and the one used below, on p. 15. Engels clearly quoted Chernyshevsky from Plekhanov's book, which is why the text of the quotations corresponds to that edition. p. 423

[394] Engels quotes his Preface to the 1882 Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* translating it back from the Russian translation made by Plekhanov (see Note 86). Cf. pp. 53-57 of this volume. p. 427

[395] The *Crimean War* (1853-56) was waged by Russia against the allied forces of Britain, France and Turkey for supremacy in the Middle East and ended with the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty (1856). p. 427

[396] Marx wrote his "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*" probably in November 1877, soon after the magazine had printed (in October 1877) an article by the

ideologist of Russian Narodism (populism) Nikolai Mikhailovsky "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky" («Карлъ Марксъ передъ судомъ г. Ю. Жуковскаго») (*Отечественныя Записки*, No. 10, pp. 321-56). Mikhailovsky's article was a reply to the review of the first volume of *Capital* written by the Russian bourgeois vulgar economist Yuly Zhukovsky and printed in the journal *Вѣстникъ Европы*, No. IX, 1877. p. 428

397 The "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapisky*" had not been posted and was found by Engels among Marx' papers after his death. Engels made several copies from it and sent one to Vera Zasulich, a member of the Emancipation of Labour group in Geneva, which he enclosed with a letter of March 6, 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 47).

Marx's letter was published in Russia legally in *Юридический Вѣстникъ*, October 1888. p. 428

398 This is probably a reference to the leaders of the Narodnik (populist) organisations Land and Freedom (autumn of 1867-autumn of 1879) and the People's Will (August 1879-March 1881). The latter declared terror to be the main means of political action. p. 430

399 *Mir*—the name of the Russian village community from the 13th and until the early 20th century. p. 433

400 The third volume of *Capital* prepared for publication by Engels appeared in the autumn of 1894. Engels signed the preface to it on October 4, 1894.

Besides *Vorwärts*, this note was printed by the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, No. 16, January 14, 1894. p. 434

401 Engels did not carry through his intention to publish, as the fourth volume of *Capital*, Marx's *Theories of Surplus-Value* (present edition, Vols 30-32) from the Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vols 30-34).

In an abridged form, the *Theories of Surplus-Value* were first published in English in: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*. A selection from the volumes published between 1905 and 1910 as *Theorien über den Mehrwert*, edited by Karl Kautsky, taken from Karl Marx's preliminary manuscript for the projected fourth volume of *Capital*. Transl. from the German by G. A. Bonner and Emile Burns. London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1951. This work was published in English in full for the first time in: K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value* (Vol. IV of *Capital*). Part 1, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963; Part 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968; Part 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 434

402 See Note 400. p. 435

403 Engels wrote this essay at the request of the leaders of the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People, Anna Kulishowa and Filippo Turati, to state his views on the revolutionary crisis brewing in Italy at that time. They had requested this in their letter to Engels of January 19, 1894. The essay was translated by Turati from French into Italian and featured by the *Critica Sociale*, No. 3, February 1, 1894 as a letter from Engels to Turati under the editorial heading "La futura rivoluzione italiana e il Partito socialista". Turati's translation somewhat deviated from the original.

The essay was also published in the German newspaper *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 24, July 12, 1894 under the heading "Friedrich Engels über die Lage in Italien".

In the present edition, the essay is printed according to the manuscript that first appeared in the publication of the Feltrinelli Institute in Milan; *Annali*, Anno primo, 1958. It was first published in English in: Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence 1864-1895*, Lawrence, London, 1934, pp. 519-23. p. 437

404 The "converted" republicans was the name given to the Italian radicals led by Felice Cavallotti. Seeking to promote the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, the radicals took a democratic stand and were willing, in a number of instances, to reach a compromise with the socialists. p. 438

405 The reference is to the French Provisional Government formed on February 24, 1848. p. 440

406 See Note 200. p. 440

407 It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 473. p. 441

408 The fourth Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria was held in Vienna on March 25-31, 1894. The congress passed a resolution stating that the Austrian workers intended to campaign for universal suffrage using all available means, including a general strike. The congress also adopted new Party Rules and resolved to continue with the annual May Day celebrations by holding demonstrations demanding an 8-hour day, universal suffrage and in support of international brotherhood among all working people. p. 442

409 Engels wrote this letter in response to the invitation (sent to him on April 30, 1894) to take part in the work of the third congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary. The invitation was enclosed with the letter from Franz Reisch, editor of the *Arbeiterpresse* newspaper. Engels was late with the answer which therefore was printed by the paper after the congress had closed.

The *third congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary* took place in Budapest on May 13-15, 1894 against the background of an upsurge of the working-class movement there. The congress decided in favour of a merger between the Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party founded in January 1894 by the revolutionary wing of the Social-Democratic Party, which was expelled from it at the second congress in 1893 (see Note 330). The merger was effected on the basis of revolutionary principles; the opportunists—officials of the General Workers' Hospital and Invalids' Fund—who previously dominated the Board of the Social-Democratic Party, were ousted from their position of leadership. Half of the seats on the Board of the united party were filled by representatives of the old Social-Democratic Party.

The congress approved the Party Rules. It described the campaign for universal suffrage as the immediate political goal, and stressed the place of trade unions in workers' political education and the importance of Party work in them, as well as the need for an alliance of agricultural and industrial workers. p. 443

410 In Hódmezövásárhely and its suburbs, the Hungarian Social Democrats conducted vigorous propaganda in defence of the political and economic rights of agricultural workers and peasants, who lived and worked in extremely harsh conditions and suffered chronic unemployment. They organised a union of agricultural workers and poor peasants with up to 2,000 members. On April 21, 1894, the police confiscated the union's literature, and on April 22, arrested workers' leaders, János Szántó-Kovács among them. On the same day, police and

troops shot at a workers' demonstration in Hódmezövásárhely demanding the release of Szántó-Kovács. The union was disbanded, and Szántó-Kovács and many of his followers received prison sentences. p. 443

411 Engels' work *On the History of Early Christianity* is one of the fundamental writings on scientific atheism. It resulted from years of research into the emergence and the essence of Christianity, a subject which, as he himself said, had interested him since 1841 (see Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky, July 28, 1894, present edition, Vol. 50). Engels set forth some of his views and ideas in the articles "Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity" and "The Book of Revelation" (see present edition, Vols 24 and 26).

Written for *Die Neue Zeit,* this work was also published, in Engels' lifetime, in French in the *Devenir social,* Nos 1 and 2, April and May 1895, the translation having been made by Marx's daughter Laura Lafargue.

It was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1957, pp. 313-43. p. 445

412 Engels is referring to the national liberation uprising of the Nubians, Arabs and other peoples of the Sudan headed by the Moslem preacher Mahommed Ahmed, who called himself *Mahdi,* the saviour. The uprising broke out in 1881 and was particularly successful in 1883-84, when nearly all of the country's territory was liberated from the British colonialists and an independent Mahdi state declared. It was not until 1899 that British troops reconquered the Sudan, capitalising on the weakening of the new state by incessant wars and tribal strife and relying on an overwhelming military superiority. p. 448

413 The *Taborites* (so-called from their camp in the town of Tabor in Bohemia), a radical trend in the Hussite movement (first half of the 15th century). They formed a revolutionary, democratic wing of the Hussites, their programme conveying the desire of the peasantry and the urban poor to end all feudal oppression and social and political despotism. The Taborites were the core of the Hussite army. The betrayal of the Taborites by the Calixtines (the burgher wing of the movement) led to the suppression of the Hussite movement. p. 448

414 The *Peasant War of 1524-26,* the biggest insurrection of German peasants supported by townspeople against the feudal oppression in South-Western and Middle Germany. See also Note 258. p. 448

415 The passages from Lucian's satire *On the Death of Peregrinus* conform to the German translation of this work made by August Pauly (see *Lucian's Werke,* Vol. 13, Stuttgart, 1831, pp. 1618-20 and 1622). p. 449

416 Engels is referring to the communities of the secret German workers' and artisans' organisation, the League of the Just, founded in Switzerland by Wilhelm Weitling in the early 1840s. The history of the organisation is presented in Engels' work "On the History of the Communist League" (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 312-30). p. 450

417 Marx and Engels exposed George Kuhlmann's views in their work *The German Ideology. Critique of Modern German Philosophy According to Its Representatives Feuerbach, B. Bauer and Stirner, and of German Socialism According to Its Various Prophets* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 531-39). p. 450

418 The *free communities* broke away from the official Protestant Church in 1846 under the influence of the so-called Friends of Light, who were against Pietism,

a mystical and self-righteous trend which dominated the Protestant Church. These two forms of religious opposition reflected the discontent of the bourgeoisie in the 1840s with the reactionary order in Germany. p. 451

419 The *Tübingen school* of students and critics of the Bible emerged in the first half of the 19th century. p. 452

420 Critique of the New Testament is contained in the following works by Bruno Bauer: *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes,* Bremen, 1840, and *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker,* Vol. I-II, Leipzig, 1841; the third volume of this work entitled *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker und des Johannes* came out in Brunswick in 1842. The first three Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke, are known as the Synoptic Gospels. p. 452

421 The *Philonic school*—followers of the Judaist and Hellenic philosopher Philo of Alexandria (last quarter of the lst century B.C.—mid-lst century A.D.). Philo's ideas were close to those of Christianity. p. 453

422 *Stoicism,* one of the basic trends in the philosophy of Antiquity emerged in Ancient Creece in the late 4th century B.C. and survived until the 6th century A.D. p. 453

423 The *Book of Daniel* was written between 168 and 164 B.C. p. 454

424 *Cabbala* signifies "reception" or "doctrines received by tradition". It is a mystic trend in Judaism interpreting the Bible as a myth of symbols. It emerged in the 3rd century A.D. but took its proper shape by the beginning of the 13th century among the Jews living in Spain and Provence. From the 15th century Christian scholars also began to display an interest in it. p. 454

425 The *gnostics,* adherents of gnosticism, a religious and philosophical doctrine that emerged in the 1st century A.D. and existed in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Gnosticism sought to achieve a synthesis of the various Oriental beliefs (Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Babylonian and Egyptian religions), Christianity, Greek philosophy and the mysterial cults. The core of gnosticism is the concept of knowledge, gnosis. Orthodox Christian quarters regarded it as heresy. p. 454

426 The *Sibylline books,* a collection of prophecies attributed to a legendary prophetess Sibyl. They were used in ancient Rome for official fortune-telling when the state was in danger. At the time of the Roman Empire, the Jews and the Christians also had Sibylline books. p. 455

427 The *Council of Nicaea*—the first Ecumenical Council of the bishops of the Christian Church of the Roman Empire called in 325 by Constantine the Great in Nicaea, Asia Minor. The Council formulated the creed obligatory to all Christians (the basic dogmas of the Orthodox Christian Church). Refusal to recognise it was punishable as a crime against the state. p. 455

428 *Zend-Avesta,* the name given in the 18th and 19th centuries to the Avesta, the holy book of Zoroastrianism, a religion that was widespread in ancient Persia, Azerbaijan and Central Asia. It was based on the dualist idea of the battle between good and evil. It is believed that the Avesta was compiled between the 9th century B.C. and the 3rd-4th century A.D. p. 467

429 A reference to the so-called *Babylonian exile* (*Babylonian Captivity*) of the Jews in the 6th century B.C., enforced migration of the nobility, officials, merchants and artisans to Babylon after the conquest of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. and the

final routing of Judea by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. In the 530s B.C., the Persian king Cyrus II, who had conquered Babylonia, allowed most deported Jews to return home. p. 467

430 The *Edda,* a collection of Scandinavian mythological and heroic sagas and lays; two versions dating back to the 13th century are extant. The *Elder Edda* is a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives and deeds of Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic Bishop Sveinsson. The *Younger Edda* is a treatise on pagan mythology and the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early 13th century by Snorri Sturlusson. p. 469

431 Engels wrote this address at the request of Pablo Iglesias, a leader of the Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party, set forth in his letter to Engels of July 27, 1894. Besides the rough draft addressed to the trade union congress, Engels mailed copies to the British socialist and workers' organisations listed below in the letter. The letter sent to the Fabian Society is extant. Engels also sent similar greetings to the Social Democrats of Austria and Germany.

The fourth congress of the Spanish Working Men's Socialist Party took place in Madrid on August 29-September 1, 1894. It heard the reports of the Party's National Council and the delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (see Note 370), discussed the question of the party press and approved new Party Rules. p. 470

432 On September 4-9, 1893, the 26th annual British Trade Union Congress was held in Belfast. The mounting revolutionary mood among the rank-and-file members of unions compelled the congress to recognise the principle of collective ownership of the means of production, as well as the demand for the legislative introduction of the 8-hour working day. p. 470

433 See Note 302. p. 470

434 The *Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League* was founded in 1890 by a group of British socialists with Engels' participation. Its starting point was the Committee that organised the first May Day demonstration in Britain (1890) (see this volume, pp. 61-66). The League set as its goal the emancipation of the working class, implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Paris Congress of the Second International, etc. (see Note 91). In 1893, the League's representatives contributed to the foundation of the Independent Labour Party.

The *Social Democratic Federation,* see Note 98.

The *Independent Labour Party* was founded in Bradford in January 1893 by the leaders of the new trade unions against the background of a growing strike movement and a stronger campaign for an independent policy on the part of the British working class. It was headed by Keir Hardie. The party programme called for collective ownership of the means of production, introduction of the 8-hour working day, a ban on child labour and introduction of social insurance and unemployment benefit. In his letters to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of January 18 and March 18, 1893, Engels welcomed the foundation of the party, hoping that it would become a truly mass workers' organisation (see present edition, Vol. 50). However, right from the start, the Independent Labour Party's leadership concentrated on parliamentary methods and was not averse to reaching compromises with the Liberals. In 1900, the Independent Labour Party was incorporated into the Labour Party.

The *Fabian Society,* a British reformist organisation founded by bourgeois intellectuals in 1884. Its recognised leaders were Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

The Society got its name from the 3rd-century Roman military leader Quintus Fabius Maximus, nicknamed Cunctator (the Delayer) because of his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal. The Fabian Society embraced mostly intellectuals, who insisted on the possibility of transition from capitalism to socialism through piecemeal reforms and gradual changes, combined with municipal (i.e. locally-organised) socialism. In 1900, the Society was incorporated into the Labour Party.

The *Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union*—see Note 93. p. 471

435 Engels wrote this greeting in response to the invitation to take part in the third congress of the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People. The invitation was sent by a prominent member of the party Carlo Dell'Avalle in a letter of August 30, 1894. The congress, scheduled for September 7-9, 1894 in Imola, was prohibited by the police.

Engels' greeting, as well as the greetings addressed to the congress by other leaders of the socialist movement, including Paul Lafargue and Pablo Iglesias, were read out at the meeting of the Party's Central Committee on September 10, 1894, and then printed by the *Lotta di classe* newspaper, No. 38, September 22-23, 1894.

The *Socialist Party of the Italian Working People* was founded in 1892 at a congress in Genoa (it assumed that name in 1893, and from 1895 was called the Italian Socialist Party). It resolutely broke with the anarchists and in the 1890s was a vigorous leader of the Italian mass working-class movement, despite certain reformist errors. p. 472

436 Engels is referring to the law on extraordinary measures aimed at protecting public safety passed by the Italian Parliament on July 14, 1894. Allegedly a step only against the anarchists, it was used by Crispi's government to fight the working-class movement and the mounting influence of the socialists. It provided the grounds for banning the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People, workers' organisations and press organs; arrests, police raids and court trials became common occurrences. p. 472

437 See Note 2. p. 472

438 Engels wrote this greeting at the request of F. Colnago, a prominent member of the Sicilian Socialist Party, expressed in a letter of September 18, 1894. Informing Engels that despite harsh repression the party would be reorganised and in early October 1894 resume publication of its journal *Giustizia sociale*, Colnago wrote: "Would you, our revered teacher, send us a word of encouragement and support; would you send the Sicilian Socialist Party a greeting which we shall publish in the first issue of our journal? Your testimony of solidarity will give us great strength in the face of the bourgeoisie."

The Italian translation of Engels' greeting was published, most probably due to censorship considerations, only on June 30, 1895 in the weekly newspaper *La Riscossa*, and in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 208, August 1, 1895 in the slightly abridged German translation from the Italian.

It was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 200-01. p. 474

439 Engels wrote down this note having learnt about the intention of the Austrian Social Democrats to turn their weekly *Arbeiter-Zeitung* into a daily. Engels approved this plan and did his best to help carry it through. On December 14, 1894 he wrote to Victor Adler that in London a group of people standing

outside the party were ready to let the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* have about 5,000 florins on condition that Adler would have been "given the leading position" (see present edition, Vol. 50). Engels also arranged for the royalties for his works published by the Dietz Verlag in Stuttgart to be transferred to Victor Adler to cover the needs of the Austrian Social Democrats. Engels tried to get prominent members of the working-class movement in other countries to contribute to the paper and himself wrote a number of articles for it. He wrote a special greeting to the Austrian workers on the publication of the first issue of the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung* on January 1, 1895 (see this volume, p. 505) p. 476

440 Engels wrote this letter when, on behalf of the leadership of the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People, Filippo Turati asked him (in a letter of October 24, 1894) to contribute a piece to the *Critica Sociale* journal exposing the slanderous fabrications spread by the Italian bourgeois press about the activities of the Italian socialists in an effort to vindicate government repressions instituted against them (see Note 436).

Engels' letter to the journal under the editorial heading "Il socialismo internationale e il socialismo italiano" was supplied with the following editorial note: "This letter sent to us by the oldest leader of all the socialist parties of the world we dedicate to ignorant tricks of the Italian press which has been, or is being, corrupted." Following in the steps of the *Critica Sociale*, Engels' letter (translated from the Italian) was published by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 89, November 6, 1894 in the newspaper report entitled "Die kläglichen Ausflüchte und Lügen", and in the *Vorwärts*, No. 263, November 10, 1894, in the report "Italien". p. 477

441 See Note 2. p. 478

442 The reference is to the speech on the agrarian question made by Georg Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian Social Democrats, at the congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in Frankfurt am Main (October 21-27, 1894). Vollmar insisted that the Party's agrarian programme that was being drawn up should incorporate provisions advancing the interests, not only of the toiling peasantry, but also of the wealthier rural strata, the village bourgeoisie. To boost his stand, he referred to the decision passed by the congress of the French Workers' Party held on September 14-16, 1894 in Nantes that Engels had supposedly approved. The Nantes congress both approved the preamble of the Party's agrarian programme and introduced into it a number of concrete demands; some of the provisions it contained were incompatible with the Marxist stand on the agrarian issue. For a critique of the Nantes agrarian programme, see Engels' work "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" (this volume, pp. 481-502). p. 479

443 Engels is referring to the article "Nochmals der Parteitag" featured by the *Vorwärts*, No. 263, November 10, 1894. It gave a rebuff to the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, which used Georg Vollmar's opportunist stand on the agrarian question at the Frankfurt am Main congress to slanderously attack the German Social Democrats. p. 479

444 Engels wrote "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", this fundamental Marxist work on the agrarian question, for *Die Neue Zeit*. The immediate reason for its appearance was Georg Vollmar's opportunist speeches and especially his report on the agrarian question at the Frankfurt congress of the German Social Democracy on October 25, 1894 (see Notes 442 and 443). Engels

considered it necessary to set forth the fundamentals of the revolutionary proletarian policy on this matter (see this volume, pp. 479-80) and to level criticism against Vollmar's opportunist ideas, as well as against the deviations from the Marxist theory in the French socialists' agrarian programme adopted at the Marseilles congress (see Note 445) and further developed at the Nantes congress (September 1894).

In Engels' lifetime, the article was reprinted by the Polish magazine *Przedświt*, No. 12, 1894 under the heading "Kwestya włościańska".

In February 1903, the first part of Engels' article (see this volume, pp. 483-86) was translated into Russian by Lenin, who intended to use it in his lectures on the agrarian question, at the Russian Social Sciences College in Paris (this translation, the manuscript of which is kept at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archive, was published in *Lenin Miscellany XIX*, pp. 295-300).

The article was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1949, pp. 381-89. p. 481

445 The reference is to the tenth congress of the French Workers' Party held in Marseilles on September 24-28, 1892. p. 487

446 As follows from Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky of November 22, 1894 (see present edition, Vol. 50) this note was deliberately written as an anonymous reply to a publication in the *Vorwärts*, No. 266 on November 14, 1894.

On the manuscript of Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* (the fourth volume of *Capital*), see Note 401. p. 503

447 See Note 132. p. 504

448 Engels wrote this greeting on the occasion of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* becoming a daily (on January 1, 1895; since 1894, it appeared twice weekly). Enclosed with a letter to Victor Adler, the greeting was printed in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 1, January 1, 1895 in "Die tägliche *Arbeiter-Zeitung*" report, and opened with the following editorial introduction: "Our faithful friend Comrade Frederick Engels in London asks us to pass his congratulations to the Austrian workers on their daily paper, and continues" (there followed the text of the greeting). p. 505

449 Engels wrote this Introduction to Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 45-145) between February 14 and March 6, 1895 for the separate edition that appeared in Berlin in 1895.

When publishing the Introduction, the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany urgently requested Engels to tone down the excessively revolutionary (or so they believed) tenor of the work by couching his ideas in more cautious terms due to the Reichstag's debate of the bill on "preventing a coup d'état" submitted by the government in December 1894 and discussed throughout January-April 1895.

In a letter to Richard Fischer of March 8, 1895, Engels criticised the irresolute stand by the Party leadership and their attempts to act strictly within the bounds of legality. However, forced to reckon with the opinion of the Executive, he agreed to omit a number of passages and modify some of the definitions (see present edition, Vol. 50). The galley proofs where these changes were made and the manuscript of the Introduction allow us to completely reconstruct the original text. In the present edition, the deletions and the changes are pointed out in the footnotes.

Some Social-Democratic leaders used this work to try and present Engels as a supporter of a strictly peaceful transfer of power to the working class. With this end in view, on March 30, 1895 *Vorwärts*, the central printed organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, featured an editorial entitled "Wie man heute Revolutionen macht", which contained a biassed selection from the Introduction made without Engels' knowledge. Profoundly indignant, Engels lodged a resolute protest against the distortion of his views, addressing it to Wilhelm Liebknecht, editor of the *Vorwärts* (see present edition, Vol. 50). In a letter to Karl Kautsky of April 1, 1895 Engels emphasised that with the publication of the Introduction in *Die Neue Zeit* "this disgraceful impression may be erased" (see present edition, Vol. 50). However, both in the separate edition of Marx's work and in *Die Neue Zeit* (Nos 27 and 28, 1895), the Introduction appeared with the same omissions. The full text was not published even after the threat of a new anti-socialist law in Germany had failed to materialise (in May 1895, the bill was voted down).

First published in English in an abridged form under the heading "Revolutionary Tactics" in *The Plebs*, London, 1921, Vol. 13, No. 1, January, pp. 12-15; No. 2, February, pp. 48-50; No. 3, March, pp. 71-74; No. 4, April, pp. 112-14. Published in full in English for the first time in: *The Revolutionary Act*, New York city, New York Labor News Company, 1922. p. 506

[450] When publishing Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France* as a separate edition in 1895, Engels included in it (as the first three chapters) Marx's articles from the series "1848 to 1849" originally carried by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Nos 1 and 2, 1850 (Engels is referring to them here), and (as the fourth article or chapter) Marx's section on France from the "Review, May to October [1850]" compiled in collaboration with Engels for the double, fifth-sixth issue of the journal for 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 490-532). The passage quoted by Engels has been borrowed from the section figuring in the edition of Marx's work as the fourth chapter (ibid., p. 510). p. 508

[451] *Sachsenwald*, an estate near Hamburg, which Emperor William I gave to Bismarck in 1871. p. 509

[452] A reference to the monarchist parties of the Legitimists and the Orleanists. See Note 157. p. 512

[453] See Note 18. p. 513

[454] A reference to the so-called *constitutional conflict*. See Note 187. p. 513

[455] A reference to the 5,000-million-franc indemnity paid by France to the German Empire under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace of 1871 (see Note 161) after the former's defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 514

[456] See Note 2. p. 515

[457] Universal suffrage was introduced in Spain in 1868, at the time of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74, and constitutionally confirmed in 1869. Having been declared in 1873, the republic in Spain existed up to 1874, when it was abolished as a result of a monarchist coup d'état. p. 515

[458] Engels quotes the theoretical Preamble to the French Workers' Party's programme adopted at the 1880 congress in Le Havre. The Preamble was written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340). p. 516

459 At the *Battle of Wagram* on July 5-6, 1809, Napoleon I defeated the Austrian army commanded by Archduke Charles.

In the *Battle at Waterloo* (Belgium) on June 18, 1815, Napoleon's army was routed by the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian armies under Wellington and Blücher, an event that decided the final victory of the anti-French coalition. p. 520

460 See Note 363. p. 521

461 *Zemsky Sobor*, the central representative bodies in Russia between the mid-16th and 17th centuries. Engels obviously refers to local self-government bodies (*zemstvos*) which appeared in 1864 (see also Note 81). p. 521

462 Engels is referring to the prolonged struggle between the princes and the nobility in the duchies of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, which ended in the constitutional agreement on hereditary rights signed in 1755 in Rostock. Under the agreement, the Mecklenburg nobility had its former freedoms and privileges confirmed and consolidated its leading position in the Landtags and their standing bodies. p. 521

463 See Note 209. p. 522

464 An allusion to the incorporation into Prussia of the Kingdom of Hanover, the electorate of Hesse-Cassel and the Grand Duchy of Nassau in 1866 as a result of Prussia's victory in the war against Austria in 1866. p. 522

465 See Note 132. p. 525

466 The Committee of the Independent Labour Party (see Note 434) invited Engels to the May Day Socialist Carnival in a letter of April 16, 1895. p. 526

467 This is a transcript of Engels' speech at the funeral of Helene Demuth who died on November 4, 1890. p. 529

468 As is clear from the letter sent to Engels on May 22, 1891 by Ludwig Elster, editor of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, which carried Engels' biography and a list of his works (Vol. 3, 1892), Engels had himself looked through the text of the biography.

In the preparation of the bibliography of this volume, some of the publication dates of Engels' works have been corrected. p. 530

469 Engels was interviewed by Émile Massard, a reporter on the French newspaper *L'Éclair*, on April 1, 1892. On April 3, Engels read through the reporter's notes and wrote an almost entirely new text. On April 4, he wrote to Laura Lafargue that should the editors make arbitrary changes in the text he had corrected, he would disavow the reporter's actions. Considering that the interview was reprinted (on April 16) in the organ of the Workers' Party, *Le Socialiste*, Engels had obviously found the publication in *L'Eclair* faithful enough. That newspaper published the interview under the title "L'Anarchie. Entrevue avec le socialiste allemand Engels", and *Le Socialiste*, "La paix à cause de la famine" (the last two sections being omitted).

The present edition does not reproduce the reporter's remarks.

First published in English in: F. Engels and P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, pp. 382-88. p. 533

470 The reference is to the action of the unemployed in Berlin on February 25-27, 1892. p. 533

[471] See Note 215. p. 534

[472] See Note 353. p. 537

[473] Engels had himself looked through his concise biography that appeared in the *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon,* Vol. 6, 1893. This is evident from its editor F. Brockhaus' letter to Engels of October 7, 1892. p. 539

[474] See Note 313. p. 539

[475] A reference to the *London Conference of the International Working Men's Association* held on September 17-23, 1871 (see Note 104), and the *Hague Congress of the First International* (see Note 136). p. 541

[476] On the new trade unions, see this volume, pp. 61-63 and Notes 92 and 93. p. 541

[477] See Note 434. p. 541

[478] Engels was interviewed by a reporter from *Le Figaro* on May 11, 1893. On May 17, Engels informed Sorge that his views on the situation in Germany had been stated in the interview to that newspaper, but with one reservation, "that, as with all interviews, something has been omitted here and there, that the context is sometimes lacking, but otherwise presented correctly" (see present edition, Vol. 50).

Le Figaro featured the interview under the heading "Conversation avec Frédéric Engels", which was also used by *Le Socialiste,* No. 140 when it printed Engels' interview on May 20, 1893.

First published in English in: F. Engels and P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence,* Vol. 3, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, pp. 388-94. p. 543

[479] A reference to the Reichstag's rejection of the Military Bill (see Note 339) that provided for building up the army over the peaceful years of 1893-99 by more than 80,000 men, and for additional military allocations. On the same day, May 6, 1893, the government dissolved the Reichstag and called new elections for June 1893. p. 543

[480] A reference to a section of the Deutsche Freisinnige Partei (see Note 8). p. 543

[481] An allusion to the so-called constitutional conflict in Prussia, which broke out in the early 1860s (see Note 187). p. 544

[482] See Note 363. p. 544

[483] See Note 78. p. 545

[484] Engels was interviewed by a correspondent from the *Daily Chronicle* in connection with the June elections to the Reichstag and the German Social Democrats' success in them. Apart from the British newspaper, the interview, in a somewhat abridged form, was carried by *Le Socialiste,* No. 148, July 15, 1893 and in full, by the *Critica Sociale,* No. 14, July 16, 1893. p. 549

[485] The reference is to the *Freisinnige Volkspartei* formed in May 1893 as a result of the split in the *Freisinnige Partei* (see Note 8). The split occurred on May 6, 1893, the day when the Reichstag was dissolved following a difference of opinion on the Military Bill. Part of the parliamentary group led by Heinrich Rickert and Theodor Barth, which supported the government, formed the *Freisinnige Vereinigung*; the other part, headed by Eugen Richter, which

opposed an increase in military expenditure and reflected the mood of the radical elements, called itself the *Freisinnige Volkspartei.* p. 549

[486] See Note 98. p. 550

[487] See Note 434. p. 550

[488] The Military Bill rejected in May 1893 was, in a somewhat modified form, again submitted by the government for approval by the Reichstag and passed by the latter on July 15, 1893.

The new military law gave the government an opportunity to increase allocations to the army and to revise the war budget (actually to raise it) not every 7 years (as had occurred under the septennial laws of 1874, 1880 and 1887), but every 5 years. For this reason it became known as the quinquennium. p. 551

[489] Engels is referring to the "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 263-70).

The "Address" was written by Marx but also contained material by Engels that exposed as unfounded the claims of the Prussian Junkers and the German bourgeoisie to Alsace and Lorraine and refuted the military-strategic arguments used to boost them. p. 552

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Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915)—British historian and radical politician; positivist philosopher; professor at London University; chaired at the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864; defended the International and the Paris Commune in the English press in 1870-71.—100, 101, 103, 116, 137, 138, 141, 146, 147, 152

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Napoleon I in 1813; King of Sweden and Norway as Charles XIV John (1818-44).—27

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Börne, Ludwig (1786-1837)—German critic and writer; advocated Christian socialism towards the end of his life.—51

Borrosch, Alois (1797-1869)—Austrian politician, bourgeois liberal; bookseller in Prague; participant in the 1848 revolution in Austria; leader of the German-Bohemian group in the Austrian Reichstag.—398

Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie (1837-1891)—French general, War Minister (1886-87); strove to establish his military dictatorship in France.—43, 74

Bourbons—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30), in Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975), and some of the Italian states.—29, 33, 400

Bovio, Giovanni (1841-1903)—Italian idealist philosopher and politician, republican, took an anti-clerical stand; deputy to the Parliament from 1876; professor at Naples University.—270-72

Bracke, Wilhelm (1842-1880)—German Social Democrat; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); deputy to the Reichstag (1877-79); was close to Marx and Engels.—92, 341, 346

Bremer, Julius—German Social Democrat, cigar-maker; a leader of the working-class movement in Magdeburg.—83

Brentano, Lujo (*Ludwig Joseph*) (1844-1931)—German economist, professor; one of the major representatives of armchair socialism.—95, 97-127, 131, 135-37, 140-46, 148, 149, 151-58, 160-61, 164-76, 301, 318

Bright, John (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a Free Trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843); an organiser of the Liberal Party.—224, 263, 298, 315

Broadhurst, Henry (1840-1911)—British politician and a trade union leader, bricklayer, secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress (1875-90), Liberal M. P., Under Secretary for Home Affairs (1886).—322

Buckland, William (1784-1856)—English geologist and priest, in his works tried to combine geological data and biblical legends.—285

Burns, John (1858-1943)—activist of the English working-class movement, a leader of the new trade unions in the 1880s, leader of the London dock strike (1889); M.P. (from 1892).—322, 395, 551

C

Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—60

Caesar (*Gaius Julius Caesar*) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—210, 523

Caligula (A.D. 12-41)—Roman Emperor (37-41).—464

Calvin, John (real name *Jean Chauvin*) (1509-1564)—Swiss theologian, Protestant Reformer.—291

Camphausen, Ludolf (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Prime Minister (March-June 1848).—332

Caprivi de Caprera de Montecuccoli, Georg Leo von, Count (1831-1899)—German statesman and general, Chancellor of the German Empire (1890-94).—178, 230, 244, 406

Carnot, Márie Fránçois Sadi (1837-1894)—French statesman, held several ministerial posts, President of the Republic (1887-94).—417

Cartwright, Edmund (1743-1823)—English inventor.—296

Catherine II (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—15, 20-25, 27, 29, 39

Cavallotti, Felice (1842-1898)—Italian politician and journalist, participant in the Italian national liberation movement, leader of the Radicals; deputy to the Parliament from 1873.—438

Charles I (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); executed during the English Revolution.—291

Charles X (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—31

Charles XII (1682-1718)—King of Sweden (1697-1718).—17

Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte—see *Napoleon III*

Châteaubriand, François René, vicomte de (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1822-24), represented France at the Congress of Verona (1822).—31

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat; socialist; materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic; one of the precursors of Russian Social Democracy.—422-23, 424, 429, 431

Christian IX (1818-1906)—Prince of Glücksburg, King of Denmark (1863-1906).—35

Cipriani, Amilcare (1845-1918)—Italian revolutionary, socialist; supported Garibaldi in the 1860s; member of the Paris Commune.—533

Claudius (10 B.C.—A.D. 54)—Roman Emperor (41-51).—455, 464

Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin (1841-1929)—French politician and journalist, leader of the Radicals from the 1880s; Prime Minister (1906-09 and 1917-20).—244

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, a Free Trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—227, 298

Colajanni, Napoleone (1847-1921)—Italian politician and journalist, Republican; participant in the Italian national liberation movement; was close to socialists in the 1880s-90s; deputy to the Parliament from 1890.—357-59

Collins, Anthony (1676-1729)—English philosopher.—285

Commodian(us) (1st half of the 3rd cent.)—Latin poet and churchman of the early Christianity.—454

Connell, J.—541

Consiglio—director general of the Naples Bank, Senator.—356

Constans, Jean Antoine Ernest (1833-1913)—French statesman; Minister of the Interior (1880-81, 1889-92), severely suppressed working-class movement.—244, 245

Constantine I (the Great) (274-337)—Roman Emperor (306-337).—453, 455, 524

Constantine, Grand Duke—see *Konstantin Pavlovich*

Courier, Paul Louis (1772-1825)—French philologist and writer, democrat; opposed the aristocratic and clerical reactionaries in France.—115

Coward, William (c. 1656-1725)—English physician and philosopher.—285

Crispi, Francesco (1818-1901)—Italian statesman, republican, took part in the 1848-49 Italian revolution and in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); championed constitutional monarchy after the final unification of Italy (the late 1860s).—356-58, 362, 472, 478

Croesus—King of Lydia (560-546 B.C.).—9

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—one of the leaders of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—291

Czapka, Baron von—Austrian government counsellor.—396

D

Dante, Alighieri (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—366

Darboy, Georges (1813-1871)—French theologian, Archbishop of Paris from 1863; shot by the Commune as a hostage in May 1871.—186

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the

theory of evolution by natural selection.—212

Dell'Avalle, Carlo—participant in the Italian socialist movement, a leader of the Socialist Party of the Italian Working People in 1894.—422

Democritus (c. 460-c. 370 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, one of the founders of the atomistic theory.—283

Demuth, Helene (*Lenchen*) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—529

Dickens, Charles John Huffam (1812-1870)—English novelist.—150

Diebitsch, Ivan Ivanovich, Count (1785-1831)—Russian Field-Marshal General, German by birth; Commander-in-Chief in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29; commanded the troops which put down the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—33

Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm (1843-1922)—German Social Democrat, founder of the Social-Democratic publishing house, deputy to the Reichstag from 1881.—203

Diocletian (*Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus*) (c. 245-313)—Roman Emperor (284-305).—524

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68) and Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—299

Dodwell, Henry, the younger (d. 1784)—English philosopher.—285

Drumont, Édouard Adolphe (1844-1917)—French reactionary journalist, author of anti-semitic articles and books.—50

Dühring, Eugen Karl (1833-1921)—German eclectic philosopher and vulgar economist; lecturer at Berlin University from 1863 to 1877.—84, 278, 281

Duke of Westminster—see *Grosvenor, Hugh Lupus, Count*

Duns Scotus, John (c. 1265-1308)—Scottish scholastic philosopher and theologian.—283

E

Engelmann, Paul (1854-1916)—participant in the Hungarian working-class movement, tinsmith; a founder (1890) of the Social-Democratic Party; was expelled from it by the opportunists in 1893; organiser and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Hungary (1894), which merged with the Social-Democratic Party (May 1894).—353

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895)—13, 21, 29, 33, 50-61, 67-73, 76, 77, 79-81, 83-84, 97-99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 113, 115, 118, 164, 165, 169, 171-73, 175, 178-80, 191-93, 195, 201-03, 213-15, 220, 223-24, 229-30, 234, 237-38, 246, 251-57, 260-74, 276, 277, 281-85, 288-90, 300, 302, 303, 305-07, 312-20, 321, 323, 327-29, 335, 336, 339, 341, 342, 344-47, 353, 365, 366, 371-72, 374-80, 386, 389, 394-96, 398, 399, 402-19, 421, 427-28, 433, 438, 440-44, 449-51, 454, 466, 470-73, 475, 478-80, 492, 498, 500, 503-06, 508-09, 524-26, 529-52

Engels, Friedrich (1796-1860)—father of Frederick Engels, co-founder with Ermen of a cotton firm in Manchester (1837) and later in Engelskirchen.—530, 540

Epicurus (c. 341-c. 270 B.C.)—Greek materialist philosopher, atheist.—332

Ernst, Paul (1866-1933)—German journalist, critic and playwright; sided with the Social Democrats in the late 1880s; a leader of the "Young"; abandoned Social Democrats in 1891; later took Right, anti-Marxist stand.—80, 81, 83-85

Eudes, Émile François Désiré (1843-1888)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, General of the National Guard and member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; amnestied in 1880, he returned to France and was among the organisers of the Blanquist Central Revolutionary Committee.—185, 417

Ewald, Georg Heinrich August (1803-1875)—German orientalist; Bible scholar.—464

F

Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller; author of works on the history of Greece and Byzantium.—468

Fawcett, Henry (1833-1884)—English economist, Liberal M.P. from 1865.—134

Ferdinand VII (1784-1833)—King of Spain (1808 and 1814-33).—400

Ferry, Jules François Camille (1832-1893)—French lawyer, journalist and politician; member of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), suppressed revolutionary movement, as Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85) conducted an active colonial policy.—177, 417

Flavians—dynasty of Roman emperors (A.D. 69-96).—453

Flocon, Ferdinand (1800-1866)—French politician and journalist, democrat, an editor of *La Réforme*.—440

Floquet, Charles Thomas (1828-1896)—French statesman, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1876-93), Prime Minister (1888-89); abandoned politics in 1892 after his involvement in the Panama affair had been exposed.—360

Fontane, Marius (1838-1914)—French writer; held an administrative post in the Panama Canal Co.; was sentenced in 1893 to two years' imprisonment for his involvement in the Panama affair, but later acquitted.—360

Forster, William Edward (1818-1886)—British manufacturer and statesman, Liberal M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland (1880-82).—298

Fortis, Alessandro (1842-1909)—Italian lawyer and politician, deputy to the Parliament from 1880.—359

Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—59, 202, 213, 459

Frederick II (the Great) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—5, 19, 21-22, 24, 378, 502, 520

Frederick William (1831-1888)—Crown Prince of Prussia and the German Empire; son of William I; general, commanded the 2nd Prussian Army during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866; King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany as Frederick III (1888).—8

Frederick William II (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—24

Frederick William III (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—28

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—35

Freyberger, Ludwig (1863-1934)—Austrian physician; Louise Kautsky's husband (from 1894).—542

Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saules de (1828-1923)—French statesman and diplomat, held ministerial posts several times, Prime Minister (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92); compromised himself in the Panama affair in 1892 and resigned, abandoned politics for some time.—360

G

Galba Servius Sulpicius (5 B.C.—A.D. 69)—Roman statesman, was proclaimed Emperor in June 68; mur-

dered by conspiring Praetorians in January 69.—464, 466

Garibaldi, Menotti (1840-1903)—Giuseppe Garibaldi's son, took part in the Italian national liberation movement, fought in the Franco-Prussian war on the French side; entrepreneur from the early 1870s, deputy to the Italian Parliament (1876-1900).—358

Gavazzi—Italian politician, deputy to the Parliament in the early 1890s.—357

Geib, August (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg; Social Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869); a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; Treasurer of the party (1872-78); deputy to the Reichstag (1874-77).—92

Gervais, Alfred Albert (1837-1921)—French admiral, took part in the Crimean war, Franco-Prussian war and colonial expedition to China (1860); commanded the French squadron which visited Kronstadt (1891).—355

Giers, Nikolai Karlovich (1820-1895)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Teheran (from 1863), Berne (from 1869), Stockholm (from 1872); Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs (1875-82) and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1882-95).—15

Giffen, Sir Robert (1837-1910)—English economist and statistician, head of the statistical department at the Board of Trade (1876-97).—266, 318, 493

Giolitti, Giovanni (1842-1928)—Italian statesman, Treasurer (1889-90), Prime Minister (1892-93); following the disclosure of abuses in the Banca Romana had to resign; later head of government several times.—357, 360, 362

Giraud-Teulon, Alexis (b. 1839)—professor of history in Geneva.—211, 213

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—22, 44, 98-112, 114-15, 117, 119-28, 131-63, 165-76, 323, 393

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German poet and playwright.—167, 287

Gort(s)chakoff (Gorchakov), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat, envoy to Vienna (1854-56); Foreign Minister (1856-82); State Chancellor (1867-82).—15, 38, 40

Gracchus Gaius Sempronius (c. 153-121 B.C.)—people's tribune in Rome (123-122 B.C.); campaigned for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants; brother of Gracchus Tiberius.—523

Gracchus Tiberius Sempronius (c. 163-133 B.C.)—people's tribune in Rome (133 B.C.); campaigned for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants.—523

Grévy, François Paul Jules (1807-1891)—French statesman, President of the Republic (1879-87).—417

Grimaldi, Bernardino (1841-1897)—Italian statesman, deputy to the Parliament (from 1876), Finance Minister (1879, 1888-89, 1890-91), Treasurer (1892-93).—358-60

Grosvenor, Hugh Lupus, Count (1825-1899)—British Liberal politician, took part in the Volunteer movement.—51

Guillaume, James (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist; member of the International; participant in all its congresses; an organiser of the Al-

liance of Socialist Democracy; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—346

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman, who actually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—335

Gülich, Gustav von (1791-1847)—German historian and economist.—19

Gustavus III (1746-1792)—King of Sweden (1771-92).—24

H

Hadrian (*Publius Aelius Hadrianus*) (A.D. 76-138)—Roman Emperor (117-138).—453

Hansemann, David Justus (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (from March to September 1848).—332

Hardie, James Keir (1856-1915)—British Labour leader, miner, later journalist; founder and leader of the Scottish Labour Party (from 1888) and Independent Labour Party (from 1893).—322, 395

Hartley, David (1705-1757)—English physician and philosopher.—285

Haxthausen, August Franz Maria, Baron von (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—421, 429

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—190, 287, 305

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—51, 361, 394, 459

Henry IV (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—355

Henry VII (1457-1509)—King of England (1485-1509).—292

Henry VIII (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47).—292

Héritier, Louis (1863-1898)—Swiss socialist, author of works on the history of the revolutionary and socialist movement.—344-46

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer.—421, 422, 428

Hess, Moses (1812-1875)—German radical journalist; "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; sided with the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split in the League; member of the International.—539

Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—284, 285, 293

Hodgskin, Thomas (1787-1869)—English economist and journalist, utopian socialist, drew socialist conclusions from the Ricardian theory.—277

Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich (1798-1874)—German poet and philologist.—392

Hopkins, Thomas—English economist of the early 19th century.—277

Hunter, Henry Julian—English physician; author of reports on the workers' dire living conditions.—127

Hyndman, Henry Mayers (1842-1921)—English socialist, founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation which became Social-Democratic Federation in 1884; later a leader of the British Socialist Party.—62, 63

I

Ibsen, Henrik (1828-1906)—Norwegian playwright.—83

Iglesias, Posse Pablo (1850-1925)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1871-72) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); combated the anarchist influence; a founder (1879) and later a leader of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain.—471

Irenaeus (c. 130-c. 202)—Christian theologian; became Bishop of Lyons in 177; criticised the tenets of various heretical sects and vindicated the doctrines of Christianity.—465, 466

J

Jekaterina II—see *Catherine II*

Jones, Richard (1790-1855)—one of the last English classical political economists.—165

Joseph II (1741-1790)—co-regent of his mother Maria Theresa (1765-80), Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90).—20, 22, 24

Juvenal (*Decimus Junius Juvenalis*) (born c. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—523

K

Kanitz, Hans Wilhelm Alexander, Count von (1841-1913)—German politician, a leader of the Conservatives, deputy to the Prussian Landtag and German Reichstag.—491

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—288

Kautsky, Karl Johann (1854-1938)—German Social Democrat, journalist, economist and historian, editor of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917); author of theoretical works on Marxism; later became an ideologist of Centrism among the German Social Democrats and in the Second International.—21

Kautsky, Louise—Austrian socialist, Karl Kautsky's first wife; Engels' secretary from 1890.—254, 476, 542

Kelly-Wischnewetzky, Florence (1859-1932)—American socialist; translated Engels' book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* into English.—257, 307

Kennan, George (1845-1924)—American journalist, travelled through Siberia in 1885-86 and described his impressions in a series of essays, *Siberia and the Exile System*.—44

Kokosky, Samuel (1838-1899)—German journalist, Social Democrat from 1872, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers.—346

Köller, Ernst Matthias von (1841-1928)—German statesman, a Conservative, deputy to the Reichstag (1881-88), Prussian Minister of the Interior (1894-95); conducted the policy of persecution of the Social-Democratic Party.—524

Konstantin Pavlovich (1779-1831)—Russian Grand Duke, brother of Emperor Nicholas I, army commander-in-chief in Warsaw and actually Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland from 1814.—34

Köttgen, Gustav Adolf (1805-1882)—German artist and poet; took part in the working-class movement in the 1840s, was close to the "true socialists".—539

Kovalevsky, Maxim Maximovich (1851-1916)—Russian sociologist, historian, ethnographer and lawyer; political figure.—282

Krupp, Friedrich Alfred (1854-1902)—one of the biggest manufacturers of cast steel and armaments in Germany.—501

Kuhlmann, Georg (b. 1812)—secret informer of the Austrian government, in the 1840s preached "true socialism" among the German artisans, followers of Weitling in Switzerland, using

religious phraseology to pose as a prophet.—450, 451

L

Lafargue, Laura (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter, Paul Lafargue's wife from 1868, participant in the French working-class movement.—253

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International; a founder of the Workers' Party in France; author of a few works on the history of Marxism; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.—233, 253, 281, 479, 498, 499

Lamennais, Félicité Robert de (1782-1854)—French abbot, writer, one of the ideologists of Christian socialism.—451

Laplace, Pierre Simon (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist.—286

Lasker, Eduard (1829-1884)—German politician, deputy to the Reichstag, member of the Party of Progress till 1866, later a founder and leader of the National Liberal Party in Germany.—139, 166

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; socialist; reformist; participant in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); a founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863).—51, 58, 67, 69, 92, 117, 219, 238-39, 278, 304, 417, 515

Latham, Robert Gordon (1812-1888)—English philologist and ethnologist, professor at London University.—208

Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, baron de (1822-1892)—Belgian economist and journalist.—111, 155

Lazzaroni, Cesare, baron (b. 1825)—chief cashier in the Banca Romana.—358, 359, 361

Lazzaroni, Michele, baron—Italian aristocrat, Cesare Lazzaroni's nephew.—359

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician; a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government in 1848, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); fled to England following the events of June 13, 1849.—417, 440

Leopold II (1747-1792)—Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1790-92).—24

Lesseps, Charles Aimée Marie (1849-1923)—French businessman, Ferdinand de Lesseps' son, an administrator in the Panama Canal Co.; following the Panama Canal scandal was sentenced in 1893 to one year in prison.—360

Lesseps, Ferdinand Marie, vicomte de (1805-1894)—French engineer and businessman; founded an international company which constructed the Suez Canal (1859-69); headed the Panama Canal Co., was sentenced in 1893 to the five-year imprisonment following the disclosure of the Panama affair.—360

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—German tailor; member of the Communist League, where he was known as Karstens; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); member of the General Council of the International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—254, 541

Leuthner, Karl (b. 1869)—Austrian Social Democrat, member of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* editorial board; deputy to the Reichsrat from 1911.—406

Levi, Leone (1821-1888)—English economist, statistician and lawyer.—266, 318

Liebig, Justus, Baron von (1803-1873)—German scientist, agrochemist.—304

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the First International; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party; deputy to the Reichstag from 1874; editor of *Der Volksstaat*; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—67, 92, 117, 136, 226, 238, 239, 549

Lieven, Christophor Andreyevich, Prince (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), ambassador to London (1812-34).—15, 31-32

Linton, William James (1812-1897)—English engraver, poet and journalist; democrat; republican; publisher of *The Leader*; sympathised with the Right-wing Chartists, contributed under the pen-name Spartacus to Chartist publications; lived in the USA from 1866.—422

Locke, John (1632-1704)—English philosopher and economist.—285

Louis XIV (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—19, 249

Louis XVI (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), guillotined during the French Revolution.—185

Louis Philippe I (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—181, 182, 227, 292, 297

Lubbock, Sir John Lord Avebury (1834-1913)—English biologist, adherent of Darwinism, ethnographer and archaeologist, financier and politician.—210, 211

Lucian (c. 120-c. 180)—Greek satirist.—449-51

Lücke, Gottfried Christian Friedrich (1791-1855)—German theologian of Protestantism, professor at Bonn and later at Göttingen universities.—464

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897)—a leader of the British trade unions, furniture-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71) and of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; left the International in 1871.—541

Luther, Martin (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, leader of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—290, 291

M

MacKinley, William (1843-1901)—American statesman, a leader of the Republicans; was elected to the Congress several times (from 1877), introduced the tariff bill which provided for higher customs duties (1890); twenty-fifth President of the USA (1897-1901).—330

McLennan, John Ferguson (1827-1881)—Scottish lawyer and historian.—203, 209-13

MacMahon, Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta (1808-1893)—Marshal of France, reactionary politician; senator, Bonapartist; fought in the wars of the Second Empire; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—472, 514

Mahdi, the—see *Mahommed Ahmed ibn Seyyid Abdullah*

Mahommed Ahmed ibn Seyyid Abdullah (the Mahdi) (1843-1885)—Moslem preacher, leader of the national liberation uprising against the British colonialists which began in the Sudan in 1881.—448

Manners, John James Robert, Duke of Rutland (1818-1906)—British statesman, Tory, subsequently Conservative; member of the Young England group in the 1840s, M.P., held ministerial posts.—299

Mantell, Gideon Algernon (1790-1852)—English geologist and paleontologist, in his works tried to combine scientific data with biblical legends.—285

Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—49

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (121-180)—Roman Emperor (161-180), Stoic philosopher.—453

Maria Theresa (1717-1780)—Archduchess of Austria (1740-80); wife of Holy Roman Emperor Francis I (1745-80).—22

Marrast, Armand (1801-1852)—French journalist and politician, leader of moderate republicans, editor of *Le National*; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris (1848); President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—238

Martignetti, Pasquale—Italian socialist; translated Marx's and Engels' works into Italian.—202

Martini, Ferdinando (1841-1928)—Italian playwright, journalist and politician, Minister of Education (1892-93).—358

Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884.—62, 64, 98, 112-13, 115, 155-64, 168, 169, 171, 253, 254, 541

Marx, Heinrich (1777-1838)—Karl Marx's father, lawyer, Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—332

Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—253, 335, 341, 529

Marx, Jenny (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's daughter, journalist, active in the international working-class movement; married Charles Longuet in 1872.—253, 341

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—14, 34, 40, 51-60, 70, 78, 80, 81, 84, 86, 89, 91-93, 95, 97-127, 131-76, 179, 180, 187, 188, 190, 192, 194-96, 198, 212, 213, 238, 241, 242, 248, 253, 254, 261, 265, 271, 273, 274, 277, 278, 281-85, 294, 305, 306, 313, 317, 332, 335-42, 344, 346, 365, 366, 398, 402, 404, 406, 409, 414-18, 422, 424, 427-30, 433-39, 477, 500, 503, 506-14, 516, 529, 552

Matkin, William—participant in the English trade union movement, headed the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.—326

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); opposed Bonapartism.—39, 340, 439

Mehemet (Mohammed) Ali (1769-1849)—Viceroy of Egypt (1805-49), introduced a series of progressive reforms.—33

Mehring, Franz (1846-1919)—German philosopher, historian and journalist; Social Democrat from 1891; author of works on the history of Germany and German Social Democracy, wrote Karl Marx's biography; subsequently a leader of the Left-wing German Social Democrats.—171

Meissner, Otto Karl (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher; published *Capital* and some other works by Marx and Engels.—508

Menger, Anton (1841-1906)—Austrian lawyer, professor at Vienna University.—277, 447

Mesa y Leompart, José (1840-1904)—took part in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer;

an organiser of the Spanish sections of the First International, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72) and New Madrid Federation (1872-73); an active opponent of anarchism; a founder of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (1879); translated a number of works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.—192

Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48), an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—35

Miceli, Luigi (1824-1906)—Italian politician, took part in the 1848-49 revolution and national liberation movement in Italy; deputy to the Parliament from 1861, Minister of Agriculture (1879-81, 1888-91).—357

Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic; ideologist of the liberal Narodniks, an editor of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* and *Russkoye Bogatstvo*.—428

Miklošič, František (Miklosich, Franz von) (1813-1891)—professor of Slavonic philology at Vienna University (1849-86); founder of the comparative grammar of Slavonic languages; Slovenian by birth.—19

Miquel, Johannes (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician, banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later National Liberal.—227

Molière (Jean Baptiste Poquelin) (1622-1673)—French playwright.—134, 142, 146, 153, 172, 174

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von (1800-1891)—Prussian army officer, subsequently Field-Marshal-General, military writer and strategist; served in the Turkish army (1835-39).—5, 9, 33, 46

Moody, Dwight Lyman (Ryther) (1837-1899)—American evangelist and preacher.—297

Moore, Samuel (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the First International; translated Volume I of Karl Marx's *Capital* into English (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—58

More, Sir Thomas (1478-1535)—English politician, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist.—21

Morgan—American colonel, brother of Lewis Henry Morgan.—213

Morgan, Lewis Henry (1818-1881)—American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—203, 208, 210-13

Moschus (mid-2nd cent. B.C.)—Greek pastoral poet.—474

Mundella, Anthony John (1825-1897)—British statesman and manufacturer, M. P. (from 1868), held ministerial posts several times.—139, 151

N

Nădejde, Joan (1854-1928)—Romanian journalist, Social Democrat; translated Engels' works into Romanian.—207

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—25-29, 32, 81, 184, 189, 244, 286, 384, 400, 484

Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—nephew of the above; President of the Second Republic (1848-51); Emperor of the French (1852-70).—36, 40, 179, 182, 265, 274, 297, 317, 339, 342, 373, 508, 513, 545

Nebuchadnezzar (c. 604-c. 562 B.C.)—King of Babylon.—455

Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) (A.D. 37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—464-66

Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and

diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56), State Chancellor from 1845.—15, 32, 34

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—32, 35-37, 54, 247, 365, 430, 534

Nicholas II (1868-1918)—Emperor of Russia (1894-1917).—521

Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the working-class movement of Holland, a founder of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party, deputy to the Parliament (from 1888); later sided with the anarchists.—233

O

Odger, George (1820-1877)—a leader of the British trade unions, shoemaker, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1862-72); member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67); left the Council in 1871.—541

Orleans—French royal dynasty (1830-48).—43

Orlow (Orlov), Alexei Fyodorovich, Count, from 1856 Prince (1786-1861)—Russian general and statesman, diplomat; signed the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) with Turkey; headed the Russian delegation at the Paris Congress (1856).—39

Otho Marcus Salvius (A.D. 32-69)—Roman statesman; in January 69 organised Praetorians' plot against Emperor Galba, had him murdered and proclaimed himself Emperor; committed suicide in April 69.—465, 466

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—426

Owens, John (1790-1846)—English merchant, founder of a college in Manchester.—304, 305

P

Palgrave, Sir Robert Harry Inglis (1827-1919)—British banker and economist, publisher of *The Economist* (1877-83).—267, 319

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman, a Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards a Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—34, 36, 339, 342

Parnell, William—British trade union leader, joiner, headed the union of cabinet-makers.—326

Paul I (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—15, 25, 32

Pease, Edward Reynolds (1857-1955)—secretary of the Fabian Society.—470

Peter I (the Great) (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721), Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—18-20, 23

Peter III (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—21

Philip II of Macedon (c. 382-336 B.C.)—King of Macedon (359-336 B.C.), father of Alexander the Great.—460

Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 B.C.-A.D. c. 50)—main representative of the Judaistic Alexandrian philosophy who exerted great influence on the shaping of Christian theology.—453, 456, 461

Pindar (c. 522-c. 442 B.C.)—Greek lyric poet, famous for his odes.—134

Pi y Margall, Francisco (1824-1901)—Spanish politician, leader of the Left federalist republicans, was influenced by the ideas of utopian socialism;

lawyer and man of letters; took part in the bourgeois revolutions (1854-56 and 1868-74); Minister of the Interior (February 13-June 11, 1873), President pro tem (June 11-July 18, 1873) of the Republican Government.—419

Plato (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—453

Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich (1856-1918)—prominent figure in the Russian and international working-class movement, theoretician of Marxism, founder of the Emancipation of Labour group (first Russian Marxist organisation) in 1883.—234, 402, 423, 427

Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count (1764-1842)—Russian diplomat, Corsican by birth, envoy (1814-21) and ambassador (1821-35) to Paris and then to London (1835-39).—15, 32

Priestley, Joseph (1733-1804)—English chemist and philosopher, public figure.—285

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; petty-bourgeois socialist.—58, 187, 192, 336, 342, 345, 457, 514

Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich (1799-1837)—Russian poet.—28

Q

Quelch, Harry (1858-1913)—participant in the British working-class movement, a leader of the new trade unions and Left-wing socialists.—326

R

Ravé, Henri—French journalist, translated Engels' works into French.—203

Reinach, Jacques, baron de (d. 1892)—French banker, conducted financial matters of the Panama Canal Co.; committed suicide after the disclosure of the Panama affair.—361

Renan, Joseph Ernest (1823-1892)—French philologist and historian of Christianity, idealist philosopher.—448, 449, 452, 454, 458, 464, 467

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—English economist.—196, 198

Richter, Eugen (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the Party of Progress, deputy to the Reichstag.—382

Robin, Paul Charles Louis Jean (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (from 1869), member of the General Council of the International (1870-71), delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—344

Rogers, James Edwin Thorold (1823-1890)—English economist.—128

Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield (1833-1915)—English chemist.—304

Rössler, Constantin (1820-1896)—German writer, professor at Jena University.—523

Rothschilds—dynasty of bankers with branches in many European countries.—51, 259, 312, 536

Rouget de Lisle, Claude Joseph (1760-1836)—French soldier and composer of songs, widely known as the author of the *Marseillaise*.—245

Rouvier, Maurice (1842-1911)—French statesman, was minister and Prime Minister several times; when his involvement in the Panama affair had been disclosed (1892) he had to resign and withdraw from politics for a time.—244, 360, 362

Roy, Henry—English physician and economist.—100, 101, 103, 116, 118-19, 122, 134, 137, 138, 141, 144-46, 152, 153, 170-72, 174

Rudini, Antonio Starrabba, marchese di (1839-1908)—Italian statesman, big

landlord; Prime Minister (1891-92 and 1896-98).—357, 362

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—335, 341, 539

S

Saint-Paul, Wilhelm (c. 1815-1852)—Prussian army officer, later an official in the Ministry of the Interior; censor of the *Rheinishe Zeitung* in 1843.—335

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—87, 202, 459, 537

Salmerón y Alonso, Nicolás (1838-1908)—Spanish politician, professor of history and philosophy at Madrid University; President pro tem of the Spanish Republic (July 18-September 7, 1873).—419

Saltykov-Shchedrin, Mikhail Yevgrafovich (1826-1889)—Russian satirical writer; in the 1840s took a great interest in the ideas of Saint-Simon and Fourier and was exiled to Vyatka "for harmful thoughts" (1848); Vice-Governor of Ryazan, then of Tver (1858-62); member of the editorial board of *Sovremennik* (1862-64); co-editor and shareholder of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (1868-84). Thanks to him these journals became the main tribune of the Russian democrats.—428

Sankey, Ira David (1840-1908)—American Protestant preacher.—297

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German poet, playwright, historian and philosopher.—139

Schorlemmer, Carl (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, dialectical materialist; professor at Owens College in Manchester; member of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—304-06

Schwarzenberg, Felix Ludwig Johann Friedrich, Prince (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; envoy to Turin (1838-46) and to Naples (1846-48); after the suppression of the Vienna uprising in October 1848 Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs (November 1848-1852).—36

Seleucids—royal dynasty of the Hellenistic state formed in Asia Minor after the collapse of Alexander of Macedon's empire; ruled from 312 to 64 B.C.—464

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (c. 4 B.C.-A.D. 65)—Roman Stoic philosopher.—453

Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of (1671-1713)—English moral philosopher, politician, Whig.—293

Shipton, George—activist in the British trade union movement, secretary of the painters' trade union, President of the London Trades Council (1871-96).—64

Sickingen, Franz von (1481-1523)—German knight who joined the Reformation, leader of the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—290

Sihida (Malaksiano), Nadezhda Konstantinovna (1862-1889)—Russian revolutionary, member of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) party; could not endure corporal punishment she was subjected to in prison and committed suicide.—44

Singer, Paul (1844-1911)—participant in the German working-class movement, member of the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1887) and its Chairman (from 1890); deputy to the Reichstag (from 1884) and head of its Social-Democratic group (from 1885).—52, 67

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish classical economist.—28, 145

Smith, Robert Angus (1817-1884)—English chemist.—304

Socrates (c. 469-c. 399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—450

Solon (c. 638-c. 558 B.C.)—Athenian politician and legislator.—428

Sophia Augusta of Anhalt—see *Catherine II*

Stephan, Heinrich von (1831-1897)—German statesman, the first postmaster general of the German Empire.—77

Sternberg, Lev Yakovlevich (1861-1927)—Russian ethnographer; for his activity in the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organisations was exiled to Sakhalin (1889-97) where he carried ethnographic studies of the local population.—348-54

Steuart, Sir James, afterwards *Denham* (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last Mercantilists.—164

Strauss, David Friedrich (1808-1874)—German Young Hegelian, philosopher and writer.—452

Stuart (Stewart)—royal dynasty which ruled in Scotland (from 1371) and in England (1603-49 and 1660-1714).—294

Stumm-Halberg, Karl Ferdinand, Baron von (1836-1901)—German manufacturer and conservative politician.—501

T

Tacitus (Publius Cornelius) (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian, orator and politician.—210, 455, 465, 469

Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de (1754-1838)—French diplomat and statesman; Bishop of Autun (1788-91); Minister for Foreign Affairs (1797-99, 1799-1807 and 1814-15), represented France at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15).—29

Tanlongo, Bernardo (born c. 1820)—big Italian businessman, governor of the Banca Romana (from 1882).—357, 358, 359-61

Taylor, Sedley (second half of the 19th-beginning of the 20th cent.)—participant in the co-operative movement in Britain, favoured a share of capitalist profits for workers.—97, 98, 111-13, 118, 123, 125, 155-63, 167-69, 171

Teistler, Hermann—German Social Democrat, a leader of "The Young", editor of the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* (1890).—85

Theocritus (c. 315-250 B.C.)—Greek pastoral poet.—474

Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); Deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative assemblies (1849-51); head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—177, 183, 186, 244, 472, 513

Thompson, William (c. 1785-1833)—Irish economist, follower of Owen.—277

Thorne, William James (1857-1946)—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the Social-Democratic Federation, an organiser of the unskilled workers' mass movement (late 1880s-early 1890s), secretary of the Gas-Workers' and General Labourers' Union.—326

Tiberius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar) (42 B.C.-A.D. 37)—Roman Emperor (A.D. 14-37).—464

Tichomiroff (Tikhomirov), Lev Alexandrovich (1852-1923)—Russian journalist, member of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) party; abandoned revolutionary movement (in the late 1880s) and became a monarchist.—15

Tkachov (Tkatschoff), Pyotr Nikitich (1844-1885)—Russian revolutionary, journalist and an ideologist of Narodism.—421, 422

Torlonia, Giulio Borghese, principe (1847-1914)—Italian aristocrat, chairman of the board of directors of the Banca Romana.—357, 359

Trier, Gerson (b. 1851)—Danish Social Democrat, a leader of the revolutionary minority in the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, teacher; translated Engels' works into Danish.—203

Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett (1832-1917)—English anthropologist and historian of primitive culture, supporter of the evolution doctrine.—204

U

Umberto I (1844-1900)—King of Italy (1878-1900).—359

Ure, Andrew (1778-1857)—Scottish chemist and economist, Free Trader.—164

Urquhart, David (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile, carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s, exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs, M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of *The Free Press* newspaper.—13, 14, 34

V

Vaillant, Marie Édouard (1840-1915)—French socialist, Blanquist, member of the Paris Commune and of the General Council of the International (1871-72); a founder of the Socialist Party of France (1901).—187, 414, 417

Vanderbilts—family of big financial and industrial magnates in the USA.—259, 312

Vauban, Sébastien Le Prétre (Prestre) de (1633-1707)—Marshal of France and military engineer.—248, 535

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—139

Vitellius, Aulus (A.D. 15-69)—Roman statesman; legate in Germany in the 60s; was proclaimed emperor in January 69; at the end of that year his army was defeated in the civil war and he was put to death.—455, 465

Vogt, Karl (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; was Louis Bonaparte's paid agent; libelled Marx and Engels.—339, 342, 414

Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von (1850-1922)—a leader of the German Social Democrats; deputy to the German Reichstag and the Bavarian Landtag.—479, 480

Voltaire, François Marie Arouet (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—115, 449

W

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796-1862)—English writer, statesman and economist; author of a colonisation theory.—138, 148, 153

Watt, James (1736-1819)—Scottish engineer, inventor of the steam-engine.—296

Watts, John (1818-1887)—English utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen, a liberal.—129

Webb, Sidney James (1859-1947)—English politician, a founder of the Fabian Society; together with his wife Beatrice wrote a number of works on the history and theory of the British working-class movement.—553

Weitling, Wilhelm Christian (1808-1871)—German tailor; one of the

early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism.—60, 238, 270, 271, 448, 450, 457

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of (1769-1852)—British general and Tory statesman; fought against Napoleon; commander-in-chief of the British army (1827-28 and 1842-52); Prime Minister (1828-30).—29

Westphalen, Jenny von—see *Marx, Jenny*

Wille, Bruno (1860-1928)—German writer on the theatre, associated with the Social Democrats in the late 1880s; a leader of "The Young" group.—85

William I (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—5, 9, 39, 513

William II (1859-1941)—King of Prussia and German Emperor (1888-1918).—4-5, 9, 46, 48, 521, 534, 544-46

William IV (1765-1837)—King of England (1830-37).—34

Willich, August (1810-1878)—Prussian army officer; retired on account of his political views; member of the Communist League; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); a leader of the sectarian group which split from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—530, 539

Wilson, John Havelock (1858-1929)—activist in the British trade union movement, organised and headed (from 1887) the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland; M. P. from 1892.—322, 340, 395

Y

Yanchuk, Nikolai Andreyevich (1859-1921)—Russian ethnographer and collector of folk-songs; secretary of the Anthropological Section of the Friends of Natural History Society in the 1880s-90s.—349

Young, Arthur (1741-1820)—English economist and writer on agriculture, supporter of the quantity theory of money.—128

Z

Zamoiski (Zamoyski), Ladislas (Władysław), Count (1803-1868)—Polish magnate, participated in the 1830-31 insurrection, leader of the Polish conservative-monarchist emigrants in Paris after its suppression, tried to form a Polish Legion to fight against Russia during the Crimean War.—34

Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna (1851-1919)—a prominent figure in the Narodnik and later Social-Democratic movement in Russia, a founder of the Emancipation of Labour group in 1883.—53

Zhukovsky, Yuli Galaktionovich (1833-1907)—Russian economist and journalist; manager of the State Bank.—428, 429

Žižka, Jan (c. 1360-1424)—Bohemian general and a Hussite leader.—448

INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

Achilles (Gr. Myth.)—the bravest Greek warrior in the Trojan War, a character in Homer's *Iliad*.—267

Aegisthus (Gr. Myth.)—lover of Agamemnon's wife Clytemnestra, and murderer of Agamemnon; a character in *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe*, the first and second parts of Aeschylus' trilogy *Oresteia*.—205

Agamemnon (Gr. Myth.)—legendary king of Argos, leader of the Greeks in the Trojan War; his quarrel with Achilles is the main subject of Homer's *Iliad*; on his return home he was killed by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus.—205, 206

Apollo (Gr. Myth.)—god of the arts.—206, 207

Athena (*Pallas Athene*) (Gr. Myth.)—goddess of war, the personification of wisdom.—206

Balaam (Bib.)—a prophet; Balac, King of Moab, sent for him to curse the children of Israel.—456, 458

Balac (Bib.)—King of Moab.—456

Baruch (Bib.)—author of one of the books of the Old Testament.—455

Christ, Jesus (Bib.)—449, 453, 455, 456, 462-64, 466-68

Clytemnestra (Gr. Myth.)—Agamemnon's wife who killed him upon his return from the Trojan War; a character in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.—205, 206

Daniel (Bib.)—a prophet in the Old Testament.—454, 455, 462, 464

Dogberry—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *Much Ado About Nothing*.—163

Eckart—a hero of German medieval legends, the prototype of a staunch friend and trustworthy guardian.—84

Erinyes (Gr. Myth.)—the spirits of vengeance often known by the euphemistic name of Eumenides ("kindly ones"), characters in *Choephoroe* and *Eumenides*, the second and third parts of Aeschylus' trilogy *Oresteia*.—205-06

Eugene Onegin—title character of Pushkin's poem.—28

Ezekiel (Bib.)—a prophet.—462

Ezra (Bib.)—author of the five books of the Bible.—455

George, Saint—mythological dragon-killer.—160, 168

Henoch (Bib.)—author of the apocryphal *Book of Henoch* not included in the Bible.—455, 462

Isaiah (Bib.)—a prophet, author of the *Book of Isaiah*.—456, 464, 467

Jehovah (Bib.)—principal name of God in the Old Testament.—467

Jezebel (Bib.)—according to the Old Testament, despotic and cruel Queen of Israel. The name is used in *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (*Apocalypse*) to personify depravity and blasphemy.—458

John (Bib.)—one of the apostles of Christ; the author of *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (*Apocalypse*), a book of the New Testament.—454-68

Judas (*Jude*) (Bib.)—the author of an epistle of the New Testament.—454

Jupiter (Rom. Myth.)—supreme god of the Romans, identified with the Greek Zeus.—449, 468

Michael (Bib.)—one of the seven archangels.—464

Moses (Bib.)—Hebrew prophet and lawgiver, led the people of Israel out of Egypt.—204, 456

Nicolaos (Bib.)—deacon in Jerusalem, founder of a heretic sect.—458

Orestes (Gr. Myth.)—the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra who killed his mother's lover Aegisthus in revenge for murdering his father; a character in Aeschylus' tragedies *Choephoroe* and *Eumenides*, the second and third parts of the trilogy *Oresteia*.—205, 206

Paul (Bib.)—one of Christ's twelve apostles.—449, 452, 458

Proteus (*Peregrinus*)—title character of Lucian's satire *On the Death of Peregrinus.*—449-51

Semiramis (Myth.)—Queen of Assyria.—21

Sibyl(la)—in ancient history an inspired prophetess whose oracles were collected in the Sibylline books.—455

Thersites—the only non-heroic character in Homer's *Iliad,* Greek soldier who took part in the Trojan War.—170

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Marx, Karl

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— Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band. Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals. Hamburg, 1867.—34, 97, 98, 103, 108, 117, 118, 120, 124, 126, 139, 145, 146, 164, 167, 170, 172, 173, 196, 199, 238, 281, 339, 342, 422, 428, 434-37

— Idem. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Hamburg, 1872.—119, 152, 158-59, 161, 163, 164, 167, 428

— Idem. Dritte vermehrte Auflage. Hamburg, 1883.—98, 119, 133, 164, 165, 169, 248, 531, 540

— Idem. Vierte, durchgesehene Auflage. Hrsg. von Friedrich Engels. Hamburg, 1890.—97, 98, 113, 118, 164, 165, 171, 175, 342, 531, 540

— Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production. Translated from the third German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling and edited by Frederick Engels. Vol. I. London, 1887.—164, 261, 532

Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Volume II, Book Two: *The Process of Circulation of Capital.* Edited by Frederick Engels (present edition, Vol. 36)

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The Daily News—a liberal newspaper of the British industrial bourgeoisie, published under this title in London (1846-1930).—105, 122, 155, 175

The Daily Telegraph—a liberal and, from the 1880s, conservative daily published in London from 1855 to 1937, when it merged with *The Morning Post* and has ever since appeared as *The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*.—105, 122, 174

Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung—a newspaper founded by German political refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to it and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—336, 342

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—335, 341, 404

Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst—a Young Hegelian literary and philosophical journal published in Leipzig from July 1841 under the editorship of Arnold Ruge. Earlier (1838-41) it appeared under the title *Hallische Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*. In January 1843 it was closed down by the government.—335

Deutsches Wochenblatt—a German journal published in Berlin (March 1888-September 1900), merged with the *Deutsche Zeitschrift* journal.—175, 176

Le Devenir social—a socialist monthly published in Paris (1895-98).—469

L'Éclair—a daily published in Paris (1888-1939).—533

Le Figaro—a conservative daily published in Paris from 1854.—543

The Fortnightly Review—a literary, philosophical and historical magazine published in London (1865-1934).—100, 137, 141, 146, 152

The Free Press. Journal of the Foreign Affairs Committees—a journal on questions of foreign policy, opposed to the Palmerston government; it was published by David Urquhart and his supporters in London from 1855 to 1865 (weekly until April 1858 and then monthly); in 1866 it was renamed *Diplomatic Review*.—342

Freie Bühne für modernes Leben—a literary journal published in Berlin (1890-93).—80, 83

Freisinnige Zeitung—a daily, organ of the Deutsche Freisinnige Partei, published in Berlin (1885-1918).—382

Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt—a literary weekly published in Leipzig (1853-1903) and in Berlin (1903-43).—52

Journal officiel de la République française—the official organ of the Paris Commune (during the Commune, the Thiers government issued a newspaper of the same name in Versailles).—184

The Morning Advertiser—a London daily published from 1794 to 1934.—103-05, 112, 122-23, 151, 154, 156, 166

The Morning Herald—a London conservative daily published from 1780 to 1869.—105, 122, 174

The Morning Post—a London conservative daily published from 1772 to 1937.—105, 122, 174

The Morning Star—a daily of the English Free Traders published in London from 1856 to 1869.—103-05, 112, 118-20, 122-23, 125, 150, 154, 156, 166, 171, 173, 174

Le National—a Paris daily published from 1830 to 1851, organ of the moderate republicans in the 1840s.—238

Népszava—a socialist weekly founded in Budapest in 1873, from 1891 an organ of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party.—89

Neue Freie Presse—a liberal daily published in Vienna from 1864 to 1939.—406

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie—a daily, organ of the proletarian revolutionary democrats during the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany; it was published in Cologne under Marx's editorship from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval from September 27 to October 12, 1848).—76, 194, 336, 342, 506

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue—a theoretical journal of the Communist League published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850.—339, 342, 507-08

Die Neue Zeit—a theoretical journal of the German Social Democrats, published in Stuttgart (1883-1923) under the editorship of Karl Kautsky.—12, 175, 234, 236, 315, 330, 387, 480

New-York Daily Tribune—a daily published from 1841 to 1924, organ of the Left-wing American Whigs till the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; expressed progressive views, and denounced slavery; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—339, 342

Il Parlamento—an Italian paper published in Turin from 1853.—361

Le Parti socialiste. Organ du Comité Révolutionnaire Central—a Blanquist weekly published in Paris from 1890 to 1898.—417

The Portfolio—a collection of diplomatic papers and documents published by David Urquhart in London. The series *The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers* was published in 1835-37 and another, *The Portfolio Diplomatic Review,* in 1843-45.—34

La Réforme—a daily, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois Socialists, published in Paris from 1843 to 1850.—440

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe—a daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition, and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. When edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece of revolutionary-democratic ideas,which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—332, 341

Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung—a German social-democratic daily published in Dresden from 1890 to 1908, in the early 1890s organ of the "Young" group.—67, 69, 84

Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art—a conservative weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—147

Il Secolo—an Italian weekly published in Milan from 1866.—359

The Sheffield Free Press—an English newspaper published in Sheffield from 1851 to 1857 by David Urquhart and his supporters.—342

El Socialista—a weekly central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain published in Madrid from 1885.—57

Le Socialiste—a French weekly published in Paris from 1885; up to 1902, organ of the Workers' Party; Engels contributed to it in the 1880s and 90s.—57, 178, 276

Der Sozialdemokrat—a weekly central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, was published during the Anti-Socialist Law, in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to September 1890; its editors were Georg von Vollmar (1879-80) and Eduard Bernstein (1880-90).—3, 52, 68, 69, 72, 76-79, 306

Der Sozialdemokrat—a weekly organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany published in Berlin in 1894-95.—499

The Standard—an English conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—105, 122, 175

The Times—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—97, 100-07, 109, 111-13, 115, 116, 118, 120, 122-23, 138, 139, 143, 147-50, 153-56, 158, 159, 161, 162, 165-68, 171, 173, 174

To-Day—a socialist monthly published in London from April 1883 to June 1889.—156-59, 161, 168, 171

La Tribuna—a daily published in Rome from 1883.—270

Das Volk—a German-language weekly published in London from May 7 to August 20, 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he virtually became its editor and manager.—342

Volksfreund—a socialist newspaper founded in Brünn in 1881, from 1889 organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria.—251

Volks-Kalender—a social-democratic literary miscellany published in Brunswick from 1875 to 1879; Wilhelm Bracke was its editor-in-chief and publisher.—341

Der Volksstaat—a central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876, first twice a week and, from 1873, three times a week; Wilhelm Liebknecht was its editor-in-chief.—100, 102, 103, 113, 136, 140-41, 143-45, 147, 148, 152-54, 156, 163, 165, 166, 170, 414

Volksstimme—a social-democratic daily published in Magdeburg from 1890 to 1933.—80, 83

Volks-Tribüne—see *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*

Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt—a German social-democratic daily founded in 1884; from 1891, by the decision of the Halle party congress, it became a central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party and was published under the title

Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt; its editor-in-chief was Wilhelm Liebknecht.—371, 435, 479, 503

Vorwärts. Centralorgan der Social-demokratie Deutschlands—a paper founded after the merger of the *Neuer Sozialdemokrat* and the *Volksstaat*. It was published in Leipzig from October 1876 to October 1878 and ceased publication because of the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law.—281

Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift—a German-language newspaper published in Paris from January to December 1844 twice a week. Marx and Engels contributed to it.—335, 342

Вѣстникъ Европы. Журналъ историко-политическихъ наукъ (European Herald. A historical and political journal)—a Russian monthly on history, politics and literature published in St. Petersburg from 1866 to 1918.—428

Вѣстникъ Народной Воли. Революціонное соціально-политическое обозрѣніе (Herald of the People's Will. Revolutionary socio-political review)—a Russian journal published in Geneva by the Executive of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organisation under the editorship of Lev Tikhomirov and Pyotr Lavrov (1883-86).—428

Колоколъ (The Bell)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French (*La Cloche*) with Russian supplements; it was published in London until 1865, then in Geneva.—53

Отечественныя Записки (Fatherland's Notes)—a Russian journal on literary and political questions published in St. Petersburg from 1839, it was closed down by the tsarist government in 1884.—428

Русскія Вѣдомости (Russian Gazette)—a Russian newspaper published in Moscow from 1863 to 1918 by liberal professors of Moscow University and by Zemstvo public figures.—348-51

Социалъ-Демократъ (Social-Democrat)—a Bulgarian magazine on social and literary questions published once in three months in the town of Sevlievo in 1892-93.—402, 552

Этнографическое Обозрѣніе (Ethnographical Review)—a Russian journal published by the ethnographical section of the Society of Lovers of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography of Moscow University from 1889 to 1916.—351

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GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES[a]

Abo	Turku
Adrianople	Edirne
Aix-la-Chapelle	Aachen
Austerlitz	Slavkov
Breslau	Wrocław
Brünn	Brno
Constantinople (Tsaregrad)	Stambul
Kythnos	Thermia
Elberfeld	Wuppertal
Friedland	Pravdinsk
Jaxartes	Syr Darya
Halys	Kizil-Irmak
Hellespontus	Dardanelles
Kaminiets	Kamenets-Podolski
Kovno	Kaunas
Laibach	Ljubljana
Little Russia	Ukraine
Memel	Niemen
Merv	Mary
Navarino	Pylos
Nicomedia	Ismid
Oxus	Amu Darya
Persia	Iran
Philadelphia	Ala-Shehr
Eylau	Bagrationovsk
Samosata	Samsat
San Stefano	Yeşilköy
Smyrna	Izmir
St. Petersburg	Leningrad
Thyatira	Ak-Hissar or Ek-Hissar
Tilsit	Sovetsk
Troppau	Opava
Wilhelmshöne	Cassel

[a] This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Engels' articles in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original; the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.— *Ed.*