

FREDERICK ENGELS
PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE

CORRESPONDENCE

V O L U M E

3

1891-1895

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

M o s c o w

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This edition is an English translation from French of Friedrich Engels. Paul et Laura Lafargue. *Correspondance*. Tome troisième (1891-1895), compiled and supplied with footnotes by Emile Bottigelli and published in 1959 by Éditions sociales, Paris.

Editorial notes follow the French edition except for certain notes found unnecessary for the English reader.

Footnotes by the translator are marked *Tr.*

Letters, passages or words originally written in English are marked*.

Letters written by Engels and Lafargue between 1868 and 1890, which were found after volumes I and II of *Correspondence* had appeared, are appended to this volume.

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1891

411. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 11. 1. 91

My dear Engels,

The papers announce the arrest of Padlewski,¹ some say that the arrested man is insane. Indeed, one must be insane to get oneself nabbed on the Spanish frontier. But P[adlewski] does seem to be not altogether right in the head: instead of staying with the people who had saved him and were arranging his flight to England, he put his trust, against Madame Duc's advice, in Labruyère, who, there is no longer a shadow of doubt, was acting under government orders. The Russian embassy was furious when it learnt that it was Labruyère, whose police connections nobody suspects, who had pulled this off. They say that Kotzebue, the deputy for the ambassador who was out of Paris at the time, was so enraged that he regarded this escape made with

¹ Padlewski who, on November 18th, 1890, had assassinated the Russian detective Seliverstov in Paris, had succeeded in escaping from the French police thanks to Mme Duc-Quercy. The journalist Labruyère got him over the Italian frontier, and later recounted his journey in an article for the *Eclair*, whereupon he was convicted. On January 11th, 1891, reports appeared in the press to the effect that the Spanish police had arrested near the French frontier an individual who had admitted that he was Padlewski. The police throughout Europe, in particular the Prussian police, in March, were to claim that they had arrested the Pole.

Labruyère's help as an insult and talked at first of presenting his letters of recall. It was to appease him that publicly they have been so severe with Labruyère, whilst behind the scenes they shower favours on him. He is allowed out of prison every day. Russia is so furious that they have got Madame Séverine dismissed from the *Gaulois* and *Gil Blas* for which she was writing; those papers are quite openly in Russian pay. Popov's idiotic words say enough about the Russians' anger.

Last year you wrote to me about a congress of English seamen¹; they were asking you to put them in touch with the French seamen. It was impossible at that time. But things are different now. From the 15th to the 22nd of March a seamen's congress is to be held in Marseilles; the Marseilles Trade Union has joined the Workers' Party; we are doing all we can to make this congress a success. Could you not put me in touch with the *sailors' trade union*?

Until recently the Marseilles dockers constituted a powerful organisation, going back to before 1789: so far they have been able to hold their own with the employers, limit the number of dockers, determine wages, stop the use of elevators, etc. But they feel that their power is tottering, so they want to improve and extend their organisation. They are organising a Mediterranean congress to set up an international *trade union**. Labriola and Iglesias are arranging for the Spanish and Italian ports to be represented at the congress.

Whom should I write to in London?

The cold continues here. The Marne is completely frozen; you can cross it on foot; they have sanded paths on the ice to prevent people falling. Yesterday, to her great joy, Mémé went sliding on it.

Is there any theory on cold weather to explain these hard winters and the annual variations in temperature?

¹ See Letter 396 of October 3, 1890. Vol. II, pp. 405-06.

We have begun publication of the *Eighteenth Brumaire*,¹ which will come out in book form, after revision.

Despite the irregularity of its publication and its *countless printing errors*, the paper is going very well. Not only does *Le Socialiste* begin to have a respectable number of subscribers, but it serves to make up a large number of provincial papers which reprint its articles.

Our regards to Mrs. Kautsky, Pumps and family and good wishes to you,

P. LAFARGUE

My dear General,

Paul has asked me to add a word, but I am so stupefied by lack of water outside and by Pilsener inside that I think it more prudent to keep quiet. Meanwhile, until better times, I kiss you.

KAKADOU

412. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 30. 1. 91

My dear Engels,

The papers bring strange tidings: they say that the leading German Party Committee is going to write to the other parties asking them to change the date of May 1st and to hold the celebration on the first Sunday in May. If the Germans do this it will have a deplorable effect in France, where they are actively engaged in preparing for this demonstration. May the 1st is a fixed date which the French workmen, even the most indifferent, begin to look forward to as something special. The importance of May 1st is its international character, that is the aspect which appeals most to

¹ *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, translated by Fortin, appeared as a supplement to *Le Socialiste* from No. 15 onwards (January 7, 1891).

our working population: they will be bitterly disappointed if it turns out that the strongest party, the one that we cite as an example, asks for the day to be changed. Last year we were able to cover up and find excuses for the rather flabby conduct of the Germans; but this year, we shall be told: "Your German Socialists are the first to break international agreements, the first to show hesitation."

Let me know about this, I did not want to ask Liebknecht or Bebel anything; I prefer to address myself to you, so that you can give advice if you think it useful. If you write to them about this matter, you can tell them that we are absolutely opposed to any change of date.

The anti-Broussist Possibilists are beginning to hover round us; several of them came to see me and as I gave them a good reception they made overtures to me and told me, almost officially, that they have dropped Allemane, the anti-Broussist leader, who is as scoundrelly as Brousse. I replied that it was still too early to talk about uniting, but that we should try and find common ground for action where we could temporarily combine and come to terms. May Day was the ready-made ground. They replied that they were in favour of the demonstration and that they asked nothing better than to co-operate with us. Through the Labour Exchange¹ we have sent them an invitation so that they can send delegates to form an organising committee for the demonstration. We are meeting to-night. We may have to fight Vaillant and his friends who are still ferocious anti-Boulangists.

Laura, who is feeling slightly unwell, sends you and Mme Louise and Pumps and family her love.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

Thanks for the addresses.

¹ *Bourse du Travail*: an institution controlled by the Trade Unions.—
Tr.

413. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, January 31st¹, 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Like nine-tenths of the news published in Paris about Germany, that which alarmed you is nothing but a false report.

The leading Committee of the German Party has not budged where May 1st is concerned. The parliamentary *group* (the soc[ialist] members of the Reichstag), passed a resolution, unanimous save for one vote, that *in Germany* (and nowhere else) it would be desirable to celebrate May Day on Sunday, May 3rd, and not on May 1st. That is all. As the Party constitution does not give the "group" any official standing, there is nothing more to it than the simple expression of a desire, which, however, will probably receive general sanction.

As for the idea of suggesting to other nationalities that they should similarly change the date of the demonstration, our papers do not say a word. Nevertheless, it may be that *individually* this or that deputy thought of it; as Bebel is in Zürich for his daughter's wedding I shall write to Fischer to stop any such foolishness should anyone still have it in mind.

You and Bonnier, from whom I have a long letter on the matter in my pocket, can say whatever you please; the English will probably do like the Germans and celebrate on the Sunday. As for the Germans, it is pretty well an absolute necessity. Last year you found their behaviour "flabby". Very well, but in Hamburg, the town where we are best organised and have the greatest strength relative to the rest of the population, and where we had very considerable funds (Party as well as trade union)—in Hamburg May 1st was celebrated in defiance of the employers. But business was rather

¹ The original is dated the 30th, which is probably a mistake.

poor, so the latter took advantage of the one-day stoppage to close their factories and to announce that they would re-open them only to workers who should have left their trade unions and who promised never to rejoin a union. The fight lasted throughout the summer and until the autumn; in the end, the employers gave up their demands; but our trade union organisation in Hamburg was badly shaken, funds were exhausted there and elsewhere, owing to contributions to the *lock-outs**, and there is not the smallest desire to go through all this again in the spring, the industrial situation having grown worse.

It's all very well for you to talk about hesitations and flabbiness. You have a republic, and the bourgeois republicans, to defeat the royalists, have been forced to grant you political rights which we are far from having in Germany. Moreover, for the time being, split as you are with the Broussists in tow to the government, you are not too dangerous; on the contrary, Constans would like to see you "demonstrate" and frighten the Radicals a bit. In Germany, our people are a genuine force, one and a half to two million voters, the only disciplined and growing party. If the government wishes the Socialists to hold demonstrations, it is because it wants to draw them into a riot so that they could crush them and be done with them for a decade. The German Soc[ialist]s' best demonstration is their existence and their slow, steady, irresistible progress. We are still far from being able to withstand an open fight, and we have the duty, in relation to the whole of Europe and America, of not suffering a defeat, but of winning, when the time comes, the first great battle. To that consideration I subordinate every other.

Naturally it would be very fine to see all the socialist workmen in the Old and the New World down tools on the same day, May 1st. But it would not be a simultaneous and uniform stoppage. You in Paris would strike, let us say from 8 a.m. until 8 p.m.; when the New Yorkers start at 8 a.m. it will be 1 p.m. in Paris, and the Californians will start three hours later still. The demonstration lost nothing last

year by being spread over two days, and that will be still less the case this year. The Austrians are in a totally different situation: regular agitation and organisation are made so difficult for them that a one-day stoppage is their only means of making a demonstration, as Adler has shown very clearly.

So console yourself. The movement will not suffer from this lack of "unity", and such purely formal unity would not be worth the price we should have to pay for it in Germany and possibly in England too.

I find your behaviour in relation to the anti-Broussists capital. To conclude a treaty of practical co-operation, to put aside any attempt at merging for the moment, to leave everything until the fit and proper time of the International Congress¹—there is no better way of benefiting from the situation than you have done. It is what Marx proposed to Liebk[necht] at the time of the fusion with the Lassalleans, but our friend was in too much of a hurry.

Guesde has played a fine trick on him in his reports for *Vorwärts*. L[ie]bk[necht] has always defended the bourgeois republic to annoy the Prussians; people like Constans, Rouvier, etc., were almost perfect according to him. And now Guesde comes and destroys this illusion. It's delightful; and also very good for Germany.

Kiss Laura for me. My compliments to Doctor Z. on his article on the Toulon affair.² Louise is particularly grateful for it. She wishes to be remembered kindly to you and to Laura.

Ever yours,

F.E.

¹ The Second International Congress was to be held in Brussels in August.

² This refers to an abortion scandal in which the radical mayor of Toulon, Fouroux, and his mistress, Mme de Jonquières, were involved and as a result of which he was removed from office and sentenced. We have not had access to the *Socialiste* containing the article.

414. **FREDERICK ENGELS**
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

5/2/91

My dear Laura,

Louise and I are going up to Highgate to take a copy of the inscription on the grave so as to be able to propose an additional one for Nimmy.¹ In the meantime will you please sign the enclosed, as you and Tussy are the joint owners registered and will both have to sign. We shall then let you know what we propose doing.

The Socialists of Northampton have proposed to Edward to stand in place of Bradlaugh deceased. E [dward] and Tussy went over to reconnoitre on Wednesday but I have not heard since. I advised him to accept only in case all expenses were forthcoming. To-day they say they want £100 to £150 before they can nominate him, and nomination is on Monday next already!

Love from Louise and yours

F.E.

415. **FREDERICK ENGELS**
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, Feb. 6th, 91

My dear Lafargue,

Here is what Fischer writes to me on the matter of the alleged German intervention in favour of May 3rd:

"You are perfectly right. None of us was so demented as to try to impose anything whatsoever on the parties of the other countries. The parliamentary group's resolution re-

¹ Hélène Demuth was buried in the same grave as Karl Marx and his wife in Highgate cemetery.

ferred *exclusively* to the German workers. It arose from the simple recognition of the fact that, in the present situation and the state of high political and economic tension where we find ourselves, celebrating the Friday, May 1st, would be a sheer impossibility. Unhappily there will be only too many who, on May 1st, will not be working despite themselves. Our capitalists are furious about the course of political events in Germany¹; they ask nothing better than to meet with an opportunity for a general attack on us; the crisis which has hit the iron, textile and building industries provides this opportunity for a general assault which at the moment we should not be able to ward off. Look at the business of the Hamburg cigar-makers, that will show you who holds the trumps to-day.² They are our picked troops; there are no *blacklegs** and yet the battle was lost weeks ago. In the end it will be the small manufacturers who will foot the bill. But it is costing the workmen a hundred thousand marks of their own funds—not counting the contributions from other towns who are sending money to support the strike. So May 1st is financially out of the question.”

That, I think, should be enough for you. Nor must you be surprised if, as I have already hinted, the English follow the Germans' example. Tussy thinks it highly probable. You French are enamoured of uniformity, and it's a splendid thing if one doesn't have to pay too dearly for it. But to ruin our chances in Germany and make any real success impossible in England for the sake of uniformity would be a mockery.

Ever yours,

F.E.

¹ Fall of Bismarck, state socialism, danger of losing the prohibitive import duties in force since 1878, etc., etc. (*Note by F. Engels.*)

² Lock-out of these workers to compel them to renounce their trade union. (*Note by F. Engels.*)

416. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 7. 2. 91

My dear Engels,

Your arguments and those of Fischer are excellent; so excellent that we could use them should we want to postpone the May Day celebration till the Sunday. The employers in France are scarcely more accommodating than the German ones; they eagerly seize on the smallest excuse to kick out their workmen; and there is great poverty in France. You say that a Sunday demonstration deprives the police of any pretext for intervening; Constans is less obliging than the German police, he recognises neither Sundays nor holidays when it comes to opposing any working-class agitation.

It is a pity that Bebel had not considered the dangers of this demonstration when, before putting the resolution to the Paris Congress,¹ I asked him his opinion. We knew that the Germans, as also the Austrians, were under emergency regulations and we did not want to ask of them anything impossible or dangerous. Bebel gave his full support and that was how the May Day resolution was put to the Congress and voted for by the 82 German delegates. They were full of enthusiasm: now that the Bismarck régime is no more, they cool off. They should be encouraged to be a little more consistent in their international relations; they need your advice; it is thanks to your energetic intervention and that of Bernstein that they did not compromise themselves with Brousse & Co. and did not postpone the Paris Congress until September.²

May Day presents an unrivalled opportunity for agitation. The Socialist Party in England has not enough influence to offset that of the *trade unions** and affect the masses, so it

¹ This refers to the 1889 International Congress.

² See the letters in early 1889, Vol. II, p. 180 and foll.

has to tack. The Socialist Party in Germany is so strong that it has no need for this type of agitation, which presents various kinds of dangers; it copies the English. In France, in Austria and in other countries the Socialists, though not well organised, constitute the only party active on a national scale; they will seize this as one of the most effective means of shaking up the masses and stirring them out of their apathy. In France where the working class is too idealistic, what attracted them most about May Day was its international character; they will be very disappointed when they learn that the Germans are postponing the celebration; the bourgeois papers will cast the Germans' behaviour in our teeth; they have already begun saying that "in order not to upset the industrialists, the Socialist Party has decided to postpone the May Day celebration till the following Sunday".

Our position in Paris is improving now that the Boulangist crisis is over. The preliminary interview on organising May Day went off very well. The anti-Broussists were represented by five delegates. The success of *Le Socialiste* continues, in spite of the many provincial socialist journals—a dozen of them—which reproduce it.¹ We started out not worth a penny; all costs are covered, we have money in hand and have been able to pay Guesde 90 francs. The paper is not put on sale; it only has subscriptions and every day the number of subscribers increases.

You will have learnt of the death of Longuet's mother. He has been to see us once since that event; he is busy setting up a family council, for his mother left a quarter of her fortune to Jenny's children; Longuet and his married sister, Mme Francourt, will have the interest on the capital.

¹ Here are the titles of a few provincial papers, according to advertisements in *Le Socialiste* and our own researches: *Le Cri du travailleur* (Lille), *Le Réveil social* (Commentry), *La Défense des travailleurs* (Saint-Quentin), *L'Action* (Lyons), *La Question sociale* (Bordeaux), *Le Peuple picard* (Amiens).

Marx's article on the Gotha programme¹ is splendid; it must have made a lot of people smile on the wrong side of their mouth. You will find an article on the Russian alliance in the last *Neue Zeit*,² I signed it X, so as not to upset Mme Adam, from whom I learn a great many things.

The *Nouvelle Revue* is publishing my article on feudal ownership³; it will not be paid for until the following month; I would ask you to send me a cheque so that I can wait for payment.

Next week I shall probably have to go to Allier to try and bring about some reconciliation between the three sections of the Party⁴: having nothing to do, the Allier Socialists squabble like fishwives. They appealed to the National Council to settle their differences and I have been delegated. It's a very unpleasant task; but peace must be established at all costs because of the miners' congress which is to be held at Commentry, one of the mining towns in Allier.

For the past week we have been without a maid; Laura does all the work and there is plenty of it.

Give our regards to Mme Louise, Pumps and family.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

What a pity that election expenses in England are so enormous; Aveling could have had a shot if he did not have to start by putting down £100 or £150.

*Das Mutterrecht*⁵ was published in 1861. *Stuttgart*.

¹ Engels had published Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* in No. 18 of *Neue Zeit* (IX. Jahrgang, pp. 561-75), which was to raise a protest from the Party leadership.

² This refers to the article: "Padlewski's Shot" (*Der Schuß Padlewskis*), which appeared in *Neue Zeit*, No. 19 (IX. Jahrgang, pp. 593-99).

³ *La Nouvelle Revue* of February 1, 1891 (pp. 557-80): "Feudal Ownership", by Fergus.

⁴ This refers to a quarrel between Dormoy and Courtignon at Montluçon.

⁵ This refers to Bachofen's book.

417. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, February 10, 91

My dear Lafargue,

Enclosed you will find cheque for £20. I hope it reaches you before you leave for Allier; I did not think of that while writing it, otherwise I should have made it out to Laura so that it would be easier to cash in the event of your absence.

As for what happened at the Congress about May Day, I know nothing; but you can say what you please, at this juncture the Germans would be utterly insane if they insisted on celebrating the 1st and not Sunday, the 3rd. The quarrel is, however, natural; it is the antagonism of South and North. You Southerners sacrifice everything to form, the Northerners are too sceptical of it, setting store only by fundamentals. You enjoy a theatrical effect; they, possibly, are too careless of it. But for them May Day means the Hamburg *lock-outs** of last year repeated throughout the country, and that under still less favourable conditions; it means an expenditure of from 2 to 300,000 marks, the swallowing up of all the funds raised directly or indirectly by the Party, the disorganisation of all our trade unions and, as a result, general discouragement. You must admit that this would be buying the theatrical effect of a simultaneous demonstration rather dearly.

The success of *Le Socialiste* gives me great pleasure. It shows that your workmen have started reading again and acquiring a taste for something other than the sensational and pornographic press. You can be proud of that success; it is a very good omen. This is the first weekly paper for many a year to cover its expenses. And it is very well produced into the bargain. Do you send it to Sorge?

Marx's article¹ has excited great anger in the Central

¹ *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see. p. 28, note 1).

Committee of the Party and much praise in the Party itself. There was an attempt to suppress that whole edition of *Neue Zeit*, but it was too late, so they put a good face on it and boldly reprinted the article in the official organ. When they have calmed down, they will thank me for having prevented them from having another equally outrageous programme drawn up by Liebk[necht], the begetter of this one. In the meantime I am not receiving news of them directly, they boycott me a bit.¹

Your article on the Russian alliance² is very good; it will correct Liebk[necht]'s everlasting assertions that nobody in France has ever dreamt of a Russian alliance, that the whole thing is a pure Bismarck invention, etc. The good fellow thinks it his duty to shower praise on everything that goes on in France (or else to hide shameful facts) because *it has a Republic!*

I have not yet had a chance to read your article on feudal ownership.

It was the Northampton *local section of the Soc[ial] Dem[ocratic] Federation* which invited Aveling to stand and informed Hyndman who wanted to forbid them to make this nomination, but they *insisted*, and so H[yndman] had to call the faithful together last Saturday here in London to pass a resolution that they had nothing to do with Aveling's nomination. As nobody was holding them responsible, it amounted to a public recognition of that act of insubordination within the *Federation*. H[yndman]'s star is waning even in the eyes of his own people. The vigour infused into the movement during the past 18 months drew a good number of recruits into the Federation, stronger now than ever before. But those recruits know absolutely nothing about the scandalous past of this crew and are very far from wanting to accept responsibility for it. They leave the foreign policy

¹ See Engels' letter to Kautsky of February 3, 1891, and Kautsky's reply of February 6.

² See previous letter.

of the Fed[eration] to H[yndman] & Co. because they understand nothing of it. But if H[yndman] tried to start his old personal quarrels again, or if he were forced to do so, he would no longer have the former obedient body of followers behind him. A good few *Gasworkers**¹ are also in the Federation and, for them, being in touch with Aveling and Tussy means war.

However, Aveling's nomination must annoy H[yndman] the more since A[veling], who did not have the £100 *deposit** for the expenses of the *poll**, ostentatiously refused the offer of a *Tory** to provide it.² Whereupon, high praise from the Liberal press (see the *Daily News* which I am sending you).³ And you know that in a similar situation Hyndman and Champion *accepted* money from the *Tories**.⁴

The matter is only deferred. The N[orthampton] workers will certainly have the necessary money for the general election. They would have had it now if they had had a week to collect it. And they counted on 900 to 1,000 votes.

So you have no maid. And yesterday Annie gave us notice for March 21. She is going to marry her *bloke** at last.

What strange people the Roshers are! Percy's little boy had to be circumcised owing to some children's illness or other—now the son of his brother Howard is having the same thing! Old Rosher does not know where to turn: is this a divine judgement for the 19 children (*Including carriages**) he has put into the world? I submit that it is a case of religious atavism. They are such hereditary Christians! Now, since Christianity is the natural child of Judaism, it is a *reversion to the original ancestral type**, such a prodigious

¹ The Gasworkers' Union, recently formed, was deeply attached to Eleanor Marx-Aveling.

² Twenty Northampton workers had undertaken to guarantee £5 each. One individual advanced the £100 thus guaranteed. But an investigation revealed that the man was a Tory agent. (See Engels' letter to Sorge of February 11, 1891.)

³ The *Daily News* of February 10, 1891 (p. 5/II).

⁴ In the 1885 elections. (See Letter 175 of December 21, 1885, Vol. 1, pp. 321-22.)

prepuce that it requires the operation instituted as a sign of the bond between Jehovah and his chosen people.

Kovalevsky has published his Oxford Lectures. Prehistoric part, weak; historical, on Russia, interesting.

We shall make a draft of the inscription on Helen's grave for Laura's approval.

Kiss her for me. Ever yours,

F. E.

418. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 12. II. 91

My dear Engels,

You have played a nasty trick on the leaders of the German Party by the publication of Marx's manuscript, but you have rendered a noble service to the Socialist Party. The leaders are a bit flown with their success; they are proud of and pleased with themselves and inclined to lull themselves in a blissful calm: Marx's whip-crack will wake them up a bit. Hitherto they have manoeuvred very skilfully, they have avoided many pitfalls and displayed much energy; now there is a relaxation and it is understandable. But let them beware. They have crushed the opposition of the petty bourgeois who tried to raise the banner of revolt¹; but it is quite on the cards that a genuinely revolutionary opposition might be formed outside the official leadership; in which case their behaviour over May Day will be used against them. But that's their business.

You are quite right in saying that the French are melodramatic; the 1789 Revolution is nothing but a vast melodrama, often concealing the real drama going on behind the scenes; and that is why we set such store by May 1st and not the first Sunday in May. You could not believe the effect May

¹ At the Halle Congress in October 1890.

1st has; already a great many towns are getting ready to send delegates to Paris to make the desires of the working class known to both Chambers. On all sides, in Paris as well as in the provinces, people are busy and are talking about May 1st. It has captured popular imagination. May 1st and the Eight-Hour Day will enable us to snatch the workers out of the clutches of radicalism and other political parties. That is why we set such store by it.

What a sensational failure Koch's lymph has been. The French doctors were in ecstasies, they are beginning to come to themselves again: they have reported to the Academy of Medicine¹ that Koch's lymph produces tuberculosis in guinea-pigs inoculated with it, and does not cure those who are already tubercular. It was, in my view, madness to suppose that it would cure a constitutional disease stemming from a general physiological weakness, without modifying the general condition of the organism. The doctors are blinded by the bacillus: they hold it responsible for everything, whereas it may well be that it was nothing but an effect. The bacillus is perhaps a very gentle and very pleasant little creature in itself which becomes evil and harmful only in certain organisms; and so long as the organism is not modified there will always be a danger of the bacilli becoming enraged and causing terrible havoc.

Aveling has taken up a capital attitude in refusing the Tories' £100; it's a lesson for the Hyndmans, Keir Hardies and others who are determined to succeed *per fas et nefas*. Even if it had no other result, Bradlaugh's death will have been useful; it is a great pity he could not be put up as a candidate, for, even defeated, it would have meant capturing Northampton.

The Broussist and Allemanist Possibilists engage in terrible fights at election meetings, knifings and blows with

¹ *Le Temps* of February 12, 1891, reported a communication by several professors to the Academy of Medicine on the action of Koch's lymph on a healthy guinea-pig, proving the harmfulness of the lymph.

loaded sticks are freely exchanged every night; two or three people have to be taken to hospital, and the police let it go on.

Thanks for the cheque.

Regards to Mme Louise and good wishes to you,

P. LAFARGUE

I shall not leave for Allier until Saturday morning, that is, if I get instructions to go, for the parties in dispute have to set up a jury over which I shall preside, and agree among themselves upon the points to be discussed; and that seems to be difficult.

419. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 5. III. 91

My dear Engels,

Now that the fiery Wilhelm's anger has subsided, one has to thank the Empress for the indiscretions she committed and her blundering courtesies in connection with the painters.¹ The patriots' detonations must have cured Wilhelm of any inclination to come to Paris, and a very good thing too, for nothing would have been easier than to have him booed, which could have led to trouble and even to war, with a madman like that. On the other hand, the patriots vastly displeased the population which submitted to their ascendancy, fuming; now they are being attacked on all sides.

¹ The Empress Friedrich, widow of Friedrich III and mother of Wilhelm II, had visited Paris from February 20 to 26, 1891. She had called on various painters, including Bonnat and Detaille, to persuade them to send canvases to the Berlin international exhibition of paintings. The Empress's presence in Paris, her visit to St.-Cloud, burnt by the Prussians in 1871, stirred up a campaign conducted by Déroulède and a controversy over French participation in the Berlin exhibition, facts which were considered outrageous in Germany. Wilhelm II, by way of retort, rigorously applied the Alsace-Lorraine passport regulations.

May Day promises well; our poster has had tremendous success. From all four corners of France we are receiving requests to come and organise the agitation, which is going very well everywhere. In a week or two I shall do a lecture tour in the North. In Paris the tide is running so strongly that even the Broussists have had to let themselves be carried along by it; last night their groups were represented on the Organising Commission.¹ The Allemanists had demanded their exclusion; I opposed this, and we had some difficulty in putting a stop to their recriminations which would have ended in fisticuffs. We benefit by these quarrels; the Allemanists realise that we were right and regret not having followed our example earlier, while the Broussists look to us for protection.

The electoral victories which our people in the provinces are beginning to win are encouraging for us and very disquieting to the bourgeois. In Rouen² it was our candidate who made the running in the election, although with a minority: we were approached in Paris and asked to get him to stand down in favour of a candidate who offered, in return, his party's support in the municipal council elections. We refused to compromise.

The begetters of the Gotha programme ought to start recovering from the drubbing Marx has given them; it was a good lesson. The Emperor is preparing to give them another; the papers here report that he is going to drop his socialist disguise.

Didn't they pester Kautsky for the publication of Marx's manuscript?

At Lavrov's I saw a copy of *Justice*³ which had been spe-

¹ The Broussist Possibilists sent delegates to the Organising Commission's plenary session on March 4th.

² In the Rouen (2nd) constituency, the Socialist Gahineau polled 3,010 votes in the by-election of February 22nd, against 5,881 for Julien Goujon and 4,576 for Dautresme.

³ The February 28, 1891 issue of *Justice* carried a paragraph threatening to make certain disclosures concerning Aveling if he continued his Northampton campaign (p. 2/IV), and an article, "The Marxist Clique" (p. 1/III), launching a violent attack on Engels.

cially sent to him, containing vile attacks on Aveling. Hyndman thinks he has insulted him personally by turning down the Tory gold.

Regards to Pumps, Mme. Louise and everyone else.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

420. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, March 6, 91

My dear Lafargue,

Old mother Victoria¹ behaved like a complete imbecile. She ought to have known that in France, where they have fought for the republic for 100 years, her royal person would not make the smallest impression and that no one gives a damn for it in Paris. But these personages cannot rid themselves of the idea that their mere presence in any place whatsoever is an honour for which one and all should render thanks.

Like your Broussists, the S[ocial] D[emocratic] here has had to knuckle under to the May demonstration. They sent three delegates to the Eight-Hour committee, of which Aveling is chairman. To-night he will submit the articles in *Justice* to the committee members and force their hand. He has written a letter to *Justice* in which he challenges Hyndman to a public debate, and the latter has not merely refused to publish the letter, but has refused to answer the challenge: he will be put up against A[veling] as soon as he appeals for the workers' votes.

In the meantime it is a great victory for you to have forced the Broussists to support May Day; you must handle these delegates in the best and most honeyed manner to

¹ The Empress Friedrich, whom the Parisians had named "M^{me} Frédéric", was an English princess called Victoria.

*put in the thin end of the wedge**. You wait and see, the demonstration will not lose very much if anything at all for being spread over two days instead of one. Perhaps you are right to complain that in Paris the Germans were all ardently in favour of the 1st and that now they seem to be drawing back, but that aside (and Tussy says that indeed nobody seeing them in Paris could have foretold their present action)—that aside, you will never persuade the Teutonic nations to sacrifice or even to jeopardise the whole future of their movement for the sake of a demonstration.

Now for something else. Kautsky wrote to me a few weeks ago¹ saying that he had an article from you on Marx and the bourgeois economists which he felt was not quite suited to the German public. But he was reluctant to return it to you. What was to be done? I asked him to send me the article, which he did. I have read it and, yes, I also feel that K[autsky] could not publish the article in German, and this is why.

In the first place, no one among the German economists has ever accused Marx of having put forward theories unrelated to those of Smith and Ricardo. On the contrary. They blame Smith and R[icardo] for having produced Marx, who is supposed to have done no more than draw conclusions from his forerunners' theory of value, profit and rent, and the division of the end product of labour. That is why they have become *vulgar* economists, who don't give a damn for the classical economists. You name Brentano who would reply that all your shots are wide of the mark.

Further, everything you say about and quote from these two economists, and much more, has already been said and quoted by us in Germany:

(1) Theory of Value: in *Zur Kritik der polit[ischen] Oekonomie*, 1859, at the end of each chapter, Marx gives a brief outline of the history of the theory which is expounded there. After the theory of value, you will find on p. 29 an histori-

¹ Letter from Kautsky to Engels of February 6, 1891.

cal outline concerning the analysis of commodities, according to Petty and Boisguillebert, Franklin and Steuart, the physiocrats and Galiani and their ideas on value, he discusses A. Smith on p. 37 and Ricardo on pp. 38-39. Hence all this is known in Germany. I note also that you cite a passage from Smith which is by no means the best; there are others where he is very much nearer the truth; in your passage he attributes the value of a commodity not to the quantity of labour *embodied in it*, but to what one can *buy* with this commodity. A definition which contains all the contradiction of the earlier theory.

(2) Surplus-Value. Everything bearing on this was said in my preface to the 2nd vol. of *Capital*, in the passages pointed out to Laura, who will translate them for you if you are very good.

(3) *Say* no longer plays any part at all in Germany and, what is more, you rehabilitate him by discovering, beneath his vulgarity, a basis of classicism, which is more than he deserves.

The post is going. I have the article at your disposal.

Ever yours,

F.E.

421. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 30 March, 1891

My dear Laura,

Very many thanks for your kind offer to revise Ravé qui en sera ravi¹—but am afraid *you* will not be ravie. I have made him do me a sample—two passages from the last chapter p. 121 and 140—which I have looked over and now submit to you with my notes and suggested alterations. Please

¹ (Who will be enchanted by it.—*Tr.*) This refers to the French translation of *The Origin of the Family*.

look it over and then decide for yourself, whether you will undertake the job. Like all professional translators he is the slave of his original and forgets that a phrase to be done from French into German and vice versa, has to be turned topsy turvy. Moreover, he does not understand the synonymic *nuance* expressed by many German words; he knows what genus it belongs to, but not what species, much less what variety. But that, I am afraid, most translators will fail in.

I shall write to R[avé] that I have sent the Ms. to Monsieur Lafargue (whom he suggests as revisor) and that I cannot give him a definite answer until I hear from him. As he mentioned Paul, I thought it best not to mix *you* up with the matter at the present stage.

Jollymeier is coming to-night at last. At Christmas he had a cold and seems to have kept it until now. He intended coming last Thursday but his cold got worse, and as the weather was bad, delayed from day to day. Yesterday it was nice and warm but he did not turn up; to-day at last he writes announcing his arrival to-night "aber sicher".¹ His deafness seems to bother him awfully.

Sam arrived at L'pool last Thursday week, and is with his parents at Damford, will be here about end of this or beginning of next week. Had himself thoroughly examined on arrival by Gumpert who reports him perfectly sound with only a small enlargement of the spleen, which is expected to be soon curable.

Pumps and Percy are now staying at the old Roshers', they have given up their house and stored the furniture until their removal to Ryde, I[sle] of W[ight], whither Percy will go this week with his brothers to make the commercial arrangements for the new agency for Rosher's cement, artificial stone and builders' and gardeners' materials generally. After that, he will take Pumps to select a house and then the transfer will take place. I do hope Percy will at last

¹ But definitely.—*Tr.*

learn how to earn his own living; it's a pretty penny they have cost me and the worst of it is there is no return in the shape of benefit to the Party. Of course I shall have to go on subsidising for a year or two until the new business can be expected to begin paying.

Annie has left us and is going to be married this week. We have taken two girls as I want Louise to help me in my work and not to waste her time in the kitchen. The devil's trouble it was to get girls but I believe we have been lucky; so far—that is the first week—we are satisfied. They are two girls who have been together and prefer to be again at one and the same place.

The May demonstration will be a severe letting down to the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] and Hyndman. Their overcleverness, in trying to play off the Trades Council against the Legal Eight Hours League, has landed them between two stools; they quite forgot that this year the Trades Council has a quite different majority to that of last years. They wanted again two platforms for themselves, but will not get them, as they are represented neither on the Tr[ades] Council nor on the Legal 8 Hours Committee (they sent three delegates but these soon stayed away and their names were consequently struck off the roll). Moreover, Edward, in return for the slanderous attacks of Hyndman, now takes the offensive and will have the matter brought before the East End branch of the S.D.F. Indeed H[yndman] seems already to show the white feather.

Bernstein says he saw in *La Justice* that on the 1 May Committee in Paris the Broussists applied for admission, that the Blanquists and Allemanists were against, but that on Guesde's motion they were admitted by a majority of 5. Can you give me any details? as contradiction or confirmation? I hear nothing at all about Brousse and Co. now; are they merely lying in wait, or are they so completely down that they dare not stir? I should like to be well *au courant*¹

¹ Posted.—Tr.

of these matters, as the Brussels Congress will very likely bring about a change in the relations of the S.D.F. and the Possibilists with the Germans. If these two sets of intriguers go to Brussels and thereby publicly renounce their pretensions of being the only to be acknowledged parties in England and France, then the Germans will not be able to refuse entering into communication with them. And from L[ie]bk[necht]'s way of acting at present, I should not wonder if he were to try to play the Poss[ibilists] off against you, and the S.D.F. against us here, as a means of making you and us more pliant towards himself. I do not know if you read the *Vorwärts* but here we are all disgusted with it. Never had a large party such a miserable organ. Anyhow, to be able to guard against possibilities, I have a particular interest just now in the doings and sayings and position of Brousse and Co.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,

F.E.

422. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 30. III. 91

My dear Engels,

I am replying to the questions in your letter.

In no journal other than *Neue Zeit* have I seen any articles on Mme Kovalevsky¹; but I shall go and see Lavrov, he will know better than I if the French press has written about that remarkable woman.

I do not know whether Liebknecht is in touch with the Possibilists; I think not: our relations are excellent. In the

¹ *Neue Zeit* (Jahrgang IX/1, No. 26, pp. 841-45): "Sonia Kowalewski", by G. Vollmar. Sonia Kovalevsky, a distinguished Russian mathematician, the first woman in Europe to occupy a University Chair, died on February 10, 1891.

address he sent us for our banquet, he regards us as the sole representatives of the French socialist movement.

This is what has happened concerning the Broussists: the Allemanist Possibilists, the majority of that crew, immediately supported the May demonstration; the Broussists, of whom there are few, turned up only at the third session of the Organising Commission: they sent 12 delegates. The Allemanists wanted to eject them on the spot; I opposed this; they demanded that the admission of the Broussists be referred for investigation to the Executive Committee, instructed to make a report. They played a trick on them; the meeting, believing that this was a way of shelving the question, agreed to it.

The Possibilist organisation was known in Paris under the name of *Union fédérative*; the Allemanists in splitting off have kept the name, which was only fair since they were the majority; but the Broussists re-formed themselves under the title of *Union fédérative* and it was as delegates from the *Union fédérative* that they attended the May Day Commission. The Allemanists gave the Executive Committee to understand that it was they who were the genuine *U.F.* representatives and that the Broussists had no right to the name. The Committee did not want to enter into the question of rights to the name; but it decided that, as the Allemanists had been the first to support the demonstration, this priority gave them certain rights. It resolved therefore to ask the Broussists to change their name in order to be admitted.

The Allemanists made arrangements to change the day of the Commission's meeting so that there should be as few members as possible present; thus I, being engaged elsewhere, could not attend; others, not knowing of the change of date, did not turn up. The dodges Brousse has used against others are now turned against him.

When the Broussists saw the composition of the meeting, knowing what had happened in the Executive Committee, and realised that they were going to be beaten, they pre-

ferred to withdraw, resorting to a parliamentary manoeuvre. They demanded that the meeting declare itself at once on their admission, without waiting for the report of the committee instructed to look into the question of their admission. The meeting refusing to accede to their demand, they left the hall,¹ to the great delight of the Allemanists, who had wanted to eject them. It was then that Guesde moved his resolution, which was passed with a majority of only 5 votes, asking the Broussists to come back and to adopt a name distinguishing them from the Allemanists by incorporating the address of their headquarters, and to call themselves *Union fédérative de la rue de Lancry*, whilst the Allemanists would be the *U.F.* of a different street. I don't know what they are going to do.

But the Allemanists are furious with Guesde and me; they realise that it is we who benefit by their fights, and they accuse us of protecting the Broussists in order to create enemies and difficulties for them; there's some truth in it; we want Brousse to rid us of Allemane and Co. and Allemane to rid us of Brousse and his little crew; it's six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. By throwing Brousse overboard, the Allemanists thought they had won a title to the gratitude of the Socialists and expect in return the leadership of the Party to-day, and to-morrow they would call for the expulsion of Guesde, Vaillant, etc. They have tried to take some of the provincial groups away from us: Dumay and Faillet went lecturing in several towns; in Rouen they tried to claim credit for the electoral victories gained; it did not come off, they received a very stiff letter from our Rouen people which we have published in *Le Socialiste* and which they have had to publish in their *Parti ouvrier*.² They are furious with us; they are doing their best to belittle our part

¹ At the Commission's meeting on March 26 at the salle Léger, rue du Temple.

² Letter from certain Marxist socialist groups in Caudebec and Sotteville which appeared in *Le Parti ouvrier* of March 10/11, 1891 (p. 3/IV).

in May Day, for which they would like to claim the credit, but they only succeed in displaying their pettiness and their dirty intrigues. It is our proposals that the Commission adopts and we who have the upper hand in it; it is we who are recognised by everyone as the promoters of May Day: in the provinces it is only we who count.

Laura is busy with Ravé's translation.

Regards to everyone and good wishes to you,

P. LAFARGUE

423. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, April 3, 91

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for your letter, this interests me very much. In the first place because we should be kept well posted about this sort of thing in order to be armed against Hyndman; secondly, because the tactics you are pursuing are precisely those recommended to the Germans by Marx in 1875 in relation to the Lassalleans, and I shall be able to make use of this if need be to show that in 1875 the Germans could have pursued a different line of conduct from that which they did at the time; and (3) for the reason pointed out to Laura. But this one you misunderstand. If you will be so good as to re-read my letter you will find that I only refer in it to the chances of a possible future *after* the Brussels Congress. Never mind the letters L [iebknecht] is now writing you, you ought to be well enough acquainted with him to know how he twists and turns about in a jiffy. For 20 years his policy has always been to maintain relations abroad independent of those which Marx and I were able to obtain for him. As at home, he likes to form a personal party abroad, with men whom he *himself* has put under obligation. And he doesn't look too closely. Do you remember the Baffenoir business[?] He will behave in the same way as

soon as new connections are open to him. And as in all probability the last reasons which have kept him aloof from the Poss[ibilists] and Hyndman will disappear at Brussels, you will not be surprised if he makes advances to these gentlemen to use some of them as a counterpoise to you, and others as a "balance" to us here. Should this happen, it may be of the utmost importance that I should be able to intervene at a given juncture, and in order to do so I must be prepared in advance. If it does not happen, so much the better.

The £50 from the Calais net-makers created a great impression, but you know that the English are *matter of fact** people, and to maintain international goodwill it would be better not to confine the donations of French workmen to this. What would make a very good impression here would be if a French trade union *which has never yet had an English subvention* should send a contribution. Such French initiative would be much appreciated here.

Sam Moore has arrived in good health, he was examined by Gumpert who pronounced him *perfectly sound**, save for a slightly swollen spleen which he hopes to cure fairly quickly. Unfortunately Sam arrived at his parents' place in Derbyshire, in the peak district, just in time for the snow, which is none too good for someone arriving from the tropics. He will be here next week.

The Sofia assassination¹ is undoubtedly a Russian exploit, but as they missed Stambulov who was the real target, it will probably not lead to anything very much. Otherwise we might have seen a little *excitement** and I am much relieved that this has not occurred. For I am very dubious of the

¹ On March 27th, 1891, Belchev, the Finance Minister, who was accompanied by Stambulov, was killed by revolver shots. The papers were unanimous in believing that the assassin had really aimed at Stambulov. The German press, and in particular the *Gazette de Cologne*, established a connection between the assassination and the date—April 6th—which was to mark the end of Prince Ferdinand's sultanate over eastern Rumelia and accused Russia point-blank of having instigated the murder.

strength of the Paris public's resistance to chauvinist appeals at a moment of crisis, just as I am dubious of my Berliners in similar circumstances. Neither Bismarck nor Boulanger has been snuffed out so completely that a war which had come to seem more or less inevitable could not lead to their resurrection.

Your tactics in relation to the two Possib[ilist] rumps are the best to pursue in the circumstances. As you are in a minority in Paris, you must balance the one against the other and gradually attract the masses to you. However, there are divergencies of principle which give you the right to reject outright fusion.

Where is the Rouen letter in *Le Soc[ialiste]* which you mention? I have hunted through all the issues from February 11 to April 1st and can find nothing.

Louise and Schorlemmer send their warmest greetings to you and to Laura, as does

Your
F.E.

Schorl[emmer] has more or less got over his cold, but he seems rather exhausted.

We expect you next week so that Sam can tell you all sorts of things about your Negro relations.

424. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Friday afternoon [3. Ap. 1891]

My dear General,

Ravé, I think, will do *faute de mieux*¹ if he will go on taking pains. The specimen pages forwarded are carefully done; only as they may be supposed to show Ravé at his best, one naturally feels some dread of coming across Ravé

¹ For want of anything better.—*Tr.*

at his worst. It would not, of course, be amiss if he had some knowledge of the subject-matter of the book, of which evidently he has none whatever. The passage beginning "Aber Zufall", is unequivocally bad: philosophy is not in Ravé's line.

I have copied out the beginning so as to make it easier for you to go over it. Before R[avé] goes on, he must find a proper term for "*Stufe*": *échelon* will never do. Or how will he manage *Ober-stufe, Mittelstufe*!¹

In hot haste,

YOUR LAURA

Your kind letter I will answer in a day or two.

We send you *Le Temps*²: The English are being taught manners at the Congress.

425. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

9th April/91

My dear General,

The Organising Commission of the Paris May Day demonstration is *disorganising* as fast as it can. If Constans does not come to the rescue, the workers of Paris will distinguish themselves as total abstainers from the fête. The "Agglomération"³ had proposed that on May 1 the councillors and deputies of Paris be invited by their electors to

¹ *Upper Stage, Middle Stage.—Tr.*

² This refers to the International Miners' Congress held in Paris at the Labour Exchange from March 31st to April 4th. Lively discussions took place there on the voting procedure proposed by the British which would have guaranteed them a majority in the International Miners' Federation then being set up. *Le Temps* gave a great deal of space each day to a report of the Congress proceedings.

³ (Aggregate.—*Tr.*) These proposals were made by Guesde at the Organising Commission's meeting of March 26th. and put forward again at the meeting of April 2nd.

repair to the several "mairies"¹ and there receive deputations of workers. Furthermore, to invite representatives from the provinces, who, together with those of Paris, should march to the Chamber of Deputies and the town halls and let the government know what it was the workmen wanted. By this means a considerable number of "manifestants"² would have been got together: the 20 "mairies" of Paris would have become "centres" of the demonstration and "les badauds aidant"³ and what with Constans' interference,—one way or another—May Day would have been a holiday. A make-believe holiday at best, but, at any rate, the only possible one for the moment. You know that the French require a bit of "mise en scène"⁴ and act all the better for it. They end by believing in for good what they began by playing at.

Now the majority of the Organising Commission—Possibilists and Blanquists—have been dead against this: the former for occult but doubtless excellent reasons of their own, the latter because Vaillant, ever since that split in his party, is the victim of a fixed idea: that is, to balk Granger and his followers. Now *Granger*, being a deputy, would be among the number of those whom the workmen's deputations must wait upon. Hence Vaillant's attitude. But in order to attain their ends, Blanquists and Possibilists have had recourse to a series of "perfidies" and "roueries"⁵ which says little—or much—for the end they have in view. Both Possibilists and Blanquists brag of union and pay delicate attention to the "Agglomération" whenever they are in a fix; but no sooner is the enemy dislodged whom they want to beat than Possib[ilists] and Blanq[ui]sts make common cause and fall foul of the Collectivists who have ceased to serve their turn. The Blanquists bear the Collectivists a

¹ Town halls.—*Tr.*

² Demonstrators.—*Tr.*

³ With the help of idlers.—*Tr.*

⁴ Stage setting.—*Tr.*

⁵ Sharp practices.—*Tr.*

traditional grudge and the Allemanists, a lopped branch of the Possibilist tree, "*crient à la monopolisation du mouvement par l'Agglomération*" and complain of their "*absorbing*" it. Each and all want to use the "Agglomération" as a catspaw, and having used it, to get rid of it. That's what they call *l'Union*.

Our people meantime bring an indirect but decisive influence to bear on Paris through the provinces and continue to form the one party in France that keeps time and is in tune with the international workmen's movement.

Paul is just sending a letter to Vaillant of which I subjoin a copy, so that you may jump at once into the middle of things.

My dear Vaillant,

The May Day demonstration is seriously jeopardised, if not ruined.

You told Guesde that it is no use counting on stoppages which would be fewer this year than last year: you were right. And the Organising Commission did nothing more than vote for a stoppage, without taking any steps to cause one.

The delegations to the town halls would have developed agitation in the 20 arrondissements; they would have stimulated the workers to enquire what was going on and to leave their factories to find out: once out they could be drawn into the main demonstration. In being forced to send troops and police to occupy the 20 town halls, Constans would have terrorised the whole of Paris; the demonstration would be made, even without demonstrators. But the Commission rejected these two forms of agitation; so nothing remains but the evening meetings; and you remember how the police set about taking every meeting hall from us last year. What claims on bourgeois admiration Constans will win! They will say: last year he put down the demonstration by force; this year he has used the Socialists to suppress the demonstration, what an astute fellow!

Your friends on the Central Committee and the Possi-

bilists are answerable to the Socialists of France and abroad for the probable failure of May Day.

May 1st which should have provided the basis for the unity of socialist forces will, on the contrary, emphasise their disunity.

Instead of remaining united with us as in 1890, in order to balk the Broussist type of intrigue on the part of the Possibilists, you have made common cause with them to "*pinch*" the discussion and to turn down any approach to the authorities, you who never lost an opportunity of advising the workers to harry them! I thought I was dreaming as I listened to you....

Your tactics have made the Possibilists masters of the Commission: last year they were openly opposed to the demonstration; this year they wreck it while making out that they are participating in it. They feel themselves so much the masters that they have grown insolent; they insulted us last night and do not make any bones about claiming that we represent nothing: it's our turn to-day; to-morrow it will be yours.

Your friends have displayed a strange mistrust, jealousy and hostility in relation to us. Landrin and others have accused us of wanting to monopolise May Day by bringing delegates from the provinces. If we had not bestirred ourselves, May Day would have miscarried in the provinces as it will miscarry in Paris, but we have prepared the ground by holding meetings and through the four papers which our Lille press publishes and which reprint the three first pages of our *Socialiste*. Wherever we have friends May Day will be celebrated. Though Paris may dishonour May Day, the industrial towns in the provinces will do their duty and will prove themselves equal to the international movement.

To-morrow I leave for Fourmies in order to make arrangements for the demonstration; next Wednesday I shall be out of Paris. I am anxious to put before you the situation as it appears to us; for at the moment you seem to us to

be setting your personal grievances above the unity of the Socialists and the interests of the revolutionary cause.

A word in the nick of time can sometimes prevent much harm: I hope that this letter will succeed in deflecting your steps from the path you have taken.

My dear Engels,

Laura's letter informs you of what is going on in Paris. To-morrow I leave for Fourmies: I do not know what they want to do with me, but if I can I shall come to London in the course of the week and return to Calais on Saturday. I shall write to you *en route*.

Regards to Madame Louise and good wishes to you,

P. LAFARGUE¹

Paul has left me no room for a good-bye to you. Affectionate regards to Louise.

YOUR LAURA

426. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*
(Fragment)

April 18th/91

My dear General,

Le Temps which I send you will tell you that the Allemanists have had it all their own way.² They began by turning out the Broussists; then clubbed together with the Blanquists to oust the Collectivists, and finally snubbed the Blanquists. And now the organisation of the May-Day fête

¹ Lafargue's letter to Vaillant and note to Engels were originally written in French.—*Ed.*

² *Le Temps* of April 17th, 1891 devoted a whole column to an article (p. 1/IV-V) on the resolutions of the May Day Organising Commission, now in the hands of the Allemanists. It also gave a long account (p. 2/VI-3/I) of the Commission's last session held on April 15th, at which the Guesdists' motion was rejected by 63 votes to 16.

for Paris is left to the Possibilists and while Allemane has his day, Constans may well have his *journée*.¹

The one fear of both Possibilists and Blanquists is that the Collectivists "*n'absorbent, n'accaparent, ne s'approprient le mouvement*",² and to that all-mastering fear all other considerations give way. The Blanquists and Possibilists will not hear of an appeal to the authorities because Brousse and Granger happen to be among the *élus*.³ It has been ugly work all along, this of the so-called Organising Commission.

Our group meantime is not inclined to give in: they are taking steps to know how many "*chambres syndicales*"⁴ are with them, and, if at all feasible, they mean to *demonstrate* on their own account.

Theoretically and morally our people are, as a rule, all right; but as the Parisians (and it's only "absence that lends enchantment"⁵ to the view of them) are a lot of *je m'en fichistes*,⁶ any "*chenapan*"⁷ that likes, be he Brousse or Boulanger, may lead them into a temporary fool's paradise, if he will only consent to fall in with their fit of the moment. And . . . and so our people, who are a power in the provinces, are powerless in Paris.

Talking of the provinces, Delcluze writes that he comes back "*émerveillé de la Somme et du Nord*",⁸ and Paul (who is at Calais) was delighted with the folk in and about Fourmies.

At Fourmies and Wignehies enthusiastic meetings have been held and a small commune—Fresnoy le Grand—has voted 100 frs towards getting up an open-air ball on May-Day.

¹ Battle.—Tr.

² Should not absorb, monopolise or capture the movement.—Tr.

³ Elected.—Tr.

⁴ Trade unions.—Tr.

⁵ Campbell: *Pleasures of Hope*, part I, line 7:

*'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view
And robes the mountain in its azure hue.*

⁶ Don't-give-a-damn-ists.—Tr.

⁷ Scamp.—Tr.

⁸ Amazed at the Somme and the Nord.—Tr.

At Fourmies a couple of master-spinners saw Paul and one of them took him over a factory got up regardless of expense and fitted up with the latest improvements and crowed and asked him what he thought of that for "un bagne",¹ as he, Lafargue, had stigmatised the factories. Paul told him that he fully appreciated the improvements introduced, but that, while this particular hell was indisputably somewhat less black than his fellow-manufacturers' hells, he must continue to think that to work 11 hours a day at such mournfully monotonous work, amid such deafening noise and—all improvements notwithstanding—such sickening atmosphere, was as bad as any bagnes. Another master told him that he was in favour of the 8 hours day provided the day was international.

At Anor the workmen came to Renard and Paul with a grievance. Their employer had promised *in presence of the "Maire d'Anor" and the "Président de la Chambre syndicale des Patrons"* to raise their wages in March, but when the men—after, "patientant" waiting for six weeks—had come to claim the fulfilment of the promise, they had been dismissed. At a public meeting Culine, Renard and Lafargue had a resolution passed calling upon the Mayor of Anor and the President of the Union to insist on the employers keeping the engagement they had made. A threatened strike of the men may, in this way, be prevented.

All this, anyway, has produced an excellent effect in these localities and it is consolatory to know that the provinces are going ahead.

You know that Ferroul and the Socialists have triumphed at Narbonne.²

M. Georges, our next-door neighbour, has just called to present me with cards....

¹ (Convict prison.—*Tr.*) *Le Tribune du Nord* had published a series of articles on the textile factories under the title "Survey of the Convict Prisons".

² At the municipal elections, which gave the Socialists the whole Council.

427. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 21. IV. 91

My dear Engels,

On my return from Boulogne I find the extraordinary letter Frankel wrote to you. One can understand and forgive him for doing the job of literary scullion for the *Bataille* kitchen in order to make a living, but to come to you and ask that you and self-respecting Socialists should send letters to it is coming it rather too strong; for Frankel must know the profound contempt the Socialists entertain for that organ in government pay. If I have a chance to see Frankel I shall tell him what I think of his behaviour.

I know not what went on in Paris whilst I was away; it is only to-morrow night that the National Council is to meet to take a decision on May Day. Before my departure I was in favour of the demonstration with or without the Blanquists and the Possibilists; but since having seen the provinces, I am even more so. All the industrial centres I visited were determined to celebrate May 1st by a general stoppage. Enthusiasm is at its height: this idea that all the workers of Europe and America will down tools on the same day intoxicates the simple minds of the working-class masses. The eight meetings which I held in the space of 11 days were much sought after, everywhere the halls were packed; in several places it was the first time there had ever been a socialist lecture; in one small industrial centre, consisting of 3 weaving mills and 2 spinning mills and 3,600 inhabitants, the hall was crammed with over 1,200 people, men, women and children. One of our people in Troyes, Pédron,¹

¹ Pédron, the secretary of the Central Committee at Troyes, had composed a song on the eight-hour day of which the chorus had become very popular:

*C'est huit heures, huit heures, huit heures,
C'est huit heures qu'il nous faut,
Oh! Oh! Oh! Oh!*

has composed a song on the eight-hour day which is going the rounds in France; all the meetings broke up by singing it; in one little industrial town on the Belgian frontier, Anor, 40 members of the Fourmies group sang the eight-hour song in the streets before the meeting to draw people to it. In Calais, all the factories separately took a vote and all of them declared in favour of a stoppage. It will be general in the North-East region.

Every week the National Council of Trade Unions whose headquarters is at Calais sends 6 to 700 francs to the Man-ningham strikers: the Calais net-makers subscribe about 400 francs, the rest being provided by contributions from other towns.

I shall probably be going to Nantes on Friday, but I shall try and write to you before I leave to keep you posted with what is going on in Paris.

I am sending Mme Louise a *Temps* which has something about Mme Kovalevsky. Give her my regards, as also Moore, and good wishes to you.

P. LAFARGUE

428. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

*Brasserie du Sentier,
May 1st, 1891*

My dear Engels,

I have just left the provincial delegates, 27 in all, on their way to the Chamber, accompanied by Cunninghame Graham as a mark of international solidarity.

Despite the intrigues of the Possibilists, who did their utmost to make it miscarry, the demonstration is a success. I crossed the place de la Concorde with Laura; despite police and cavalry charges, it was full of workers who had downed tools and who had come there to see the delegates and demonstrate by their presence. The Possibilists had organised

meetings in the working-class districts to keep the people away; but they do not seem to have succeeded, to judge by the working-class crowd outside the Chamber.

The provincial delegates are disgusted at the behaviour of the Possibilists: were it not for their manoeuvres there could have been 2 or 3 hundred thousand people outside the Chamber.

We have no news from the provinces, but May 1st will be celebrated everywhere by big stoppages and fêtes—at Calais, Roubaix, Lille, Cette, Bordeaux, etc., work will cease. May 1st will be far more important in the provinces than in Paris, which has certainly failed to live up to its reputation.

We are going to the meeting-place to hear the report of the delegates.

Farewell.

P. LAFARGUE

**429. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX***

London, 4 May, 1891

My dear Löhr,

Yesterday was glorious, both as to weather and demonstration. Louise, Sam M[oore] and I went there at 2, the platforms extended in an immense arc across the Park, the procession began to march in at 2.30 and had not done by 4.15; indeed fresh processions came in up to 5 o'clock. I was on Edward's platform with Sam, Louise on Tussy's. The crowd was immense, about the same or more even than last year.

Now a little gossip about the history of the affair. It has been almost exclusively Edward's and Tussy's work, and they had to fight it through from beginning to end. There was of course a deal of friction, but the Trades' Congress last Septbr at L'pool and the changed majority (in favour

of *Legal* 8 hours) had considerably smoothed the way. Shipton¹ was awfully polite to Edward, but obstructive in many small matters, and threatened to throw up everything if his right (divine?) to be Marshal in command of the procession should be ever questioned. Well, they let him; it will probably be the last time he will appear hoch zu Ross.²

The principal thing was that the resolution was passed in the form proposed by our people, and that they carried in the Joint Committee (5 from the Trades Council, 5 from the Demonstration Committee).

Now for the fun—the S.D.F. At first they sent 3 delegates to the Demonstr[ation] Committee where Edward was chairman. But after a few meetings they remained absent, and were struck off the rolls. Then the S.D.F. applied to the Trades Council for 2 platforms for themselves, as they had last year. But Shipton himself suggested to the Joint Committee that this would never do, and so it was rejected, as in the same way every Trades Union might have asked for 2 platforms. Then the S.D.F. announced in their *Moniteur* that they would hold a meeting of their own with four platforms and red flags. Unfortunately they had to join our procession from the Embankment in order to get into the Park in an orderly and showy manner, and once there, marched off about 100 yards and held there their promised meeting,—without proper platforms; we had big carts, they only chairs. They were just near enough to reckon upon some stragglers from our overflow, and just far enough to show how few of them they were able to attract.

The decisive thing had been, for them, the resolution of the Demonstr[ation] Committee: that every association affiliated to them should pay 5/—*for every branch* towards general expenses. Thus, the S.D.F. w[oul]d have had either to pay 5/—for the many bogus branches they exhibit in their *Moniteur*, or else own they were bogus. And that decided their final retreat.

¹ Shipton was at that time secretary of the T.U.C.

² On his high horse.—*Tr.*

They have been made to feel their real position, and that is: the same position which the Germans in the Socialistic Labour Party in America hold there, that of a *sect*. And that is their position, though they are real live Englishmen. It is very characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race and their peculiar mode of development, that both here and in America the people who, more or less, have the correct theory *as to the dogmatic side of it*, become a mere sect because they cannot conceive that living theory of action, of working with the working class at every possible stage of its development, otherwise than as a collection of dogmas to be learnt by heart and recited like a conjuror's formula or a Catholic prayer. Thus the real movement is going on outside the sect, and leaving it more and more. The Canning Town Branch of the Federation sticks to Edward and Tussy in spite of Hyndman and marches with our people, and that is their strongest branch. Since the Dockstrike the S.D.F. had for a time profited by the general socialist revival, but that is over now; they are fast for cash for their new Hall in the Strand, and the decline has set in again. And as their friends and allies the Possibilists are eating each other up as fast as they can, they cannot even brag with their grand foreign connexions.

Sam Moore was very much struck with the immense progress made here during the 2 years of his absence. He, by the bye, is very well, likes the climate and easy life amazingly and will, I am almost sure, be homesick for Africa after a while.

I saw Cunninghame Graham on our platform (No. 6, Edward's, see *Chronicle*¹) but he could not tell me much more about Paris than was said in Paul's letter Friday afternoon. After all, I hope the Committee's demonstration in the eve-

¹ The *Daily Chronicle* of May 4th, 1891, carried an article under the heading: "Eight Hours Day—Demonstration in Hyde Park—Enormous Gathering" (pp. 5/VIII-6/IV) which reported the demonstration, platform by platform. Aveling took the chair of platform 6, assisted by Cunninghame Graham.

ning did *not* be a failure, as, Graham says, was that of the Broussists.¹ If we cannot work together, we have all an interest in having as much of a demonstration as possible.

It's no use crying over spilt milk, but I cannot help thinking that our friends made a right mistake thanks to the usual French inclination of miscalculating the strength of the relative forces. A very heroic disposition sometimes, "mais ce n'est pas la guerre". After all we intended to work as usual with the Blanquists, and *they* were not bound by the resolutions of Calais and Lille. These resolutions could only bind our people; the Blanquists too might have passed resolutions as to the 1st of May and then said they were bound by them. Why thus determine beforehand by our own selves and without our only allies, how the demonstration was to be arranged *in Paris* where we are in a, at present, decided minority? Why thus froisser² our only allies? Froisser them still more by the plan of delegations to the mairies and summonses to all the élus to meet the delegates there, a plan which on the face of it they were sure to repudiate? I am not at all astonished that they fell into the arms of the Allemanists after this. At least that is the view I come to from the information I possess; there may be another side to the case but I do not know it.

We have very little news from Germany to-day. Hamburg had a splendid procession, 80,000 according to *D[aily] Telegraph*. From Berlin very little news; the Havas of Berlin, Wolff, has orders from Gov^t to suppress everything, and the London correspondents are all under the influence of the Freisinnigen,³ and do equally the same.

When we came home last night, we wound up with a Maibowl the Maikraut⁴ of which Percy had sent us from Ryde.

¹ The Broussists had confined themselves to organising a meeting on the evening of May 1st at the lake St. Fargeau, rue de Belleville.

² Ruffle.—*Tr.*

³ Liberals.—*Tr.*

⁴ Woodruff.—*Tr.*

We put in 4 bottles Moselle, 2 claret and champagne, and finished it—we, the Bernsteins and the Tussys. Late in the evening Cunninghame Graham came in and actually had two or three glasses of it—he seems to have left his teetotalism at Tangiers. There is a slight but rather agreeable Kater,¹ kept in proper bounds this evening by a bottle of Pilsener.

Why did not Paul turn up? Graham says he was too tired—his name figures as a speaker on platform 8, with Jack Burns.

Viele Grüsse von Louise,

Dein alter,²

F.E.

430. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 7. V. 91

My dear Engels,

It was impossible for us to pursue the tactics suggested in your letter, we should have alienated ourselves from the provincial Socialists who were disgusted by the behaviour of the Possibilists and Vaillant: I sent you the leaflet published in Calais by the National Council of Trade Unions, which will give you a fairly accurate idea of the feeling in the provinces. The delegates who came to Paris, 27 in all, took back a poor opinion of the Possibilists, who were already in very bad odour. The public meetings which the Possibilists had organised on May 1st were a wretched failure; they were deserted and invaded by anarchists; Graham, who was to have spoken that night at a meeting in the Salle Favié, refused to speak owing to the emptiness of the hall and the disorderly conduct of the anarchists.

Our demonstration on the place de la Concorde succeeded as well as it could in the circumstances: the papers I sent

¹ Hangover.—*Tr.*

² Kindest regards from Louise, your old.—*Tr.*

you will have shown you that it made an impression on the press and on public opinion. The union of Vaillant and the Possibilists will not last long; in any case the seeds of dissension in the Possibilist clan will burst forth after May 1st, and it's better to have nothing to do with these people but wait till they tear each other to pieces.

The Fourmies massacre¹ has created an appalling impression in France: the government has provided us with May-Day martyrs. Fourmies was a quiet spot where they had never heard any talk of socialism before the series of lectures I gave there with Renard, of St. Quentin; to-day the whole district has been definitely won for socialism. At one moment I was afraid I should be had up for my speeches at Fourmies, Anor and Wignehies; *Le Temps*² had hastened to point out the effect produced by my lectures, but fortunately for me the government is only concerned to bury the incident and to say no more about Fourmies.

Even if I had had the means, I could not have come to London; I was completely knocked up; for three weeks I lived like the wandering Jew, hurrying from place to place, giving lectures of an hour and a half or two hours, not to

¹ On May 1st, 1891, troops fired on demonstrators at Fourmies, killing ten people, of whom one was a child of twelve and another was a young girl, and wounding 36.

² *Le Temps* of May 5th published an article "The Situation in Fourmies" (p. 1/V-VI) in which it said: "For the past three weeks the population had been worked up about May 1st; meetings had taken place in all the industrial districts; the Paris Socialist Lafargue, Renard from St. Quentin and an individual named Culine ... made inflammatory speeches." These are some of the statements made at these meetings:

"All the governors are rotten. When an animal dies, it serves some purpose, but you can't make a glove out of a governor's hide."

"The English are better than us in their capacity to agree amongst themselves, but they are inferior in one way: they don't know how to handle a rifle." Appealing to the young men, someone else said: "When you are in the army and they give you the job of defending the strong-boxes of the pot-bellies, lay down your arms."

An article in *Le Temps* of May 8th, "The Working-Class Situation in the North" (p. 2/II-III), returned to the subject of these speeches and their effect upon the population.

mention the meetings with groups where I was obliged to speak for quite as long. I went to bed at two in the morning and they came to wake me at 7 or 8 o'clock.

The provinces are going ahead splendidly; May Day was celebrated practically everywhere either by stoppages, or by meetings, dinners and fêtes. If Paris were going half as well we should be the masters of France. All the same, if we had a daily paper we should be able to gain great influence in Paris.

I saw in the *Daily Chronicle* that *Labour Day** was celebrated in Chatham and Rochester. Did no other towns bestir themselves? What a long time it takes to move the English people; here, by contrast, it catches like gunpowder.

The French newspapers said that there were only 60,000 demonstrators in Hyde Park. It was a great victory to get Shipton to accept Aveling. Very promising.

Give my regards to Moore and to Mme Louise.

Yours cordially,

P. LAFARGUE

My dear General,

The little meeting (300 punches!) at which the *good* Parisians hobnobbed with the provincial delegates was truly magnificent, both in substance and in form. The delegates from Marseilles, from Calais, from everywhere, spoke really well and everyone agreed in passing a motion of censure on the Possibilist Blanquists who so improperly and in so disloyal a manner put a spoke in our wheel. But all goes well!

YOUR KAKADOU

431. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 18. V. 91

My dear Engels,

The Fourmies affair has profoundly stirred all strata of society; they have never been so deeply shaken. The working

class is outraged, the bourgeois are frightened and the soldiers are struck dumb by the universal reprobation with which the marvels of the Lebel rifle have been greeted. This incident will make many military leaders falter. It was thought that Clemenceau, following his speech,¹ which was fine and appropriate, was going to break with the government and reform the radical Left; the next day his indignation waned; no doubt Constans reminded him of ministerial favours large and small which he had received. And the worst of it is that, throughout the Left, there is not a single person capable of opening fire on Constans who could be brought down at this juncture, which would serve as a very good example. But the pandour has no opponents other than geese.

The Fourmies employers took advantage of the opportunity to rid themselves of Culine,² the organiser of the Workers' Party for the whole region: they have had him arrested on the charge of having incited to riot. If I am not had up it will not be the fault of the local or the Paris press, which are publishing garbled passages from my speeches³ which

¹ On May 8th, in the debate in the Chamber on an amnesty for those sentenced in connection with May Day, Clemenceau made a dramatic speech on the "Fourth Estate which is organising itself" and whose rights must needs be recognised.

² The decision to prosecute Culine was taken at a Cabinet meeting on May 8th, 1891.

³ *Le Temps* of May 14th (p. 1/IV) quoted two extracts from the *Observateur d'Avesnes* which purported to be the words spoken by Culine and Lafargue during the period of agitation preceding May Day. They attributed the following words to Lafargue:

"When I arrived at Fourmies and saw those high chimneys belching torrents of smoke, those enormous buildings with their bellowing machines, I said to myself: here's another of those prison settlements, to-day I am talking to convicts.... But though it is unfortunate, French workers, that you are inferior to the British workers in the matter of labour organisation, you have this vast superiority over them that you have all been soldiers, and know how to handle rifles. And I have no need to tell you against whom you should use those rifles: the employers, they are the enemy. As for you, young men who will soon be off to do your military service, if ever you are ordered to fire in no matter what circumstances, you will turn about and shoot the other way."

they distort, putting anarchist words in my mouth. I am just sending off a letter of protest to *Le Temps*.¹

Herewith enclosed a letter from Ravé from which you will see that you have managed to inspire him with a wholesome fear; and it was necessary too.

I have come to the end of the cheque you sent me during March; and we must turn to you again.

Regards to Mme Louise and Sam and best wishes to you.

P. LAFARGUE

Something rather entertaining: five months ago I submitted to Guillaumin the resumé of Marx's theory of value, as well as a biographical note.² It was agreed that the volume would be prefaced by a critique of Marx, written by an economist. They got in touch with two well-known economists, who refused the job, after having light-heartedly agreed to do it. They will have to ask a German, I am told. The French economists recognise that they cannot attack Marx and are forced to go to Germany to find critics!

432. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, May 19th, 1891

My dear Lafargue,

In the first place I did not advise any tactics, I said only this: If you, the Workers' Party, decide in advance at your

¹ This letter was not printed in *Le Temps*. It appeared in *Le Socialiste* of May 27th, 1891 (p. 3/III). The following is an extract:

"I am too much of a theoretician not to know that socialist speeches can never, point-blank, cause workmen or soldiers to kill their employers or their officers. I am not aware that the execution of the engineer Watrin and of generals Lecomte and Clément Thomas were prepared by socialist speeches. Such incidents occurred and will occur again, but they will always be provoked by more powerful means than words."

² This work did not appear until 1893. See Letter 543 of November 2, 1893, pp. 308-11.

congresses how you are going to celebrate May Day *in Paris*, without consulting the convenience or consent of your allies the Blanquists, you must not be surprised if they leave you in the lurch. If the provincial gentry forced your hand, then they are to blame; in either case, you miscalculated the respective forces *in Paris* and your hand was forced by matters outside the committee you yourselves set up. You can hardly call that a victory; neither do I.

It remains to be seen what will become of the Blanquists and, above all, the Allemanists to whom you have given the opportunity of posing once again as the true representatives of the Paris proletariat and, therewith, *a new lease of life**. And you complain about the English who are too slow for you, though they forced the local Possibilists, the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation], out of the main demonstration, and you say that in France it catches like gunpowder! Yes, but that gunpowder is lit so that Possibilist shots explode in your face!

There were demonstrations in the provinces here, but as I haven't kept the papers, I have not got the list.

If you want to take Reuter's report seriously, with its 60,000 people in the Park, would you like us to do the same with your Havas reports, in which your demonstration hardly figures at all? What would you say to that? There were all of 500,000 people in Hyde Park.

I read in the German papers that when the order to open fire was given at Fourmies, only the soldiers of the 145th fired, whilst the detachment of the 84th remained with their arms at the order, and that this is the reason why neither the government nor the Chamber will agree to an enquiry which would *officially* establish this fact. If it's true, it's a good sign. The Prussian system requires that soldiers be posted to regiments garrisoned in the district where the whole body of the army is recruited; thus they can no longer without tremendous mobilisation difficulties send Gascons to the North or Flemings, Walloons and Picardians to the

South. That is another danger in the system and one which will be felt in France earlier than in Germany.

You are right to protest against the ultra-stupid stupidities they attribute to you.¹ The danger in countries with a revolutionary past is that any new district invaded by socialism is tempted to make a revolution in 24 hours. There's not the slightest need to urge them on, quite the contrary, one has to hold them back. In particular the Walloons understand only riots, in which they are almost always beaten. Look at the struggles of the Belgian miners²; organisation nil, or well-nigh, irrepressible impatience, hence certain defeat.

Clemenceau had what he wanted: his moment of brilliant opposition. It reminds him of the glorious past when he made and unmade ministries. The next day he remembered that he is a nobody now and that, after all, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie Constans is a man without equal; *he out-Ferries Ferry*.*

Tussy and Aveling are in Dublin, Congress of Gasworkers and General Labourers.³ Bernstein's whole family is ill with influenza, Percy and Pumps are enjoying themselves on the Isle of Wight, as so far Percy has not much to do since the price-list he will have to use is still in the press. Here it is snowing and when it is not snowing, it is raining; it is as cold as November and we have a fire. Our whole *basement** has been upside-down for the last week for the repair of the *drains** which stink horribly, that will last another week or more. Old Harney is very ill at Richmond, he has chronic bronchitis and fears, according to what he writes to me today, that he is getting a pleurisy into the bargain. Weak as he is, and at 75 years old, that would be very serious.

¹ See p. 63, note 3.

² May 1st had been the signal for a general strike of 100,000 Belgian miners and steel workers.

³ The Gasworkers' Congress opened in Dublin on May 17th. Lafargue sent a letter to it which appeared in *Le Socialiste* of May 20th.

To-morrow, at last, I shall be able to begin to attend to my *Origin of the Family* if nothing crops up.

In view of Cunningham Graham's deportation,¹ and what with your Constans as devilishly angry as any Père Duchesne, what foreign Socialist will be safe in France? And how would it be if, as a counter-stroke to the Japanese attempt on the life of the Tsarevich² (who had committed some indecencies and caused a brawl in a *tragardin*, that is, a brothel, when the police came upon the scene), some trifling outrages or coups d'état were made in France against the Russians?

Here comes another shower. It's pouring cats and dogs. Dinner in ten minutes. So I close this epistle olla podrida,³ or as they say in Milan, *arlecchino*.

I believe you get the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung*. This week Louise has a report in it on the Hyde Park meeting.

I spend my evening studying from Louise's books the physiology of birth and everything connected with it.⁴ It's very beautiful—because it's such an exceedingly *ugly process*. I find matters of the highest importance in it from a philosophical point of view.

Kiss Laura for me. Regards from Louise.

Ever yours,

F.E.

Enclosed Ravé and cheque for £20.

¹ On May 10th Cunningham Graham had attended a protest demonstration in Calais in connection with the Fourmies massacre, and had spoken at it. In accordance with the Act of December 3rd, 1849, he was arrested and deported the same evening.

² The Tsarevich was making a world tour. On May 11th he was at Otsu and was wounded by a sword-cut on the head in circumstances concerning which the press accounts were very discreet and rather contradictory.

³ With a bit of all sorts.—*Tr.*

⁴ Louise Kautsky had qualified as a midwife.

433. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON¹

Le Perreux, 21. V. 91

My dear Engels,

The fact reported in the German papers about the 84th is absolutely correct, you will find it in the latest *Socialiste*²; Guesde used it in a speech made at Calais and *Le Temps*,³ *L'Eclair*, the local papers, etc., reported his words and there was not a single denial.

Ferroul gives us this information about Fourmies: there were detachments of the 145th and the 84th in the square; not only did the 84th not fire, but the officers who refused to transmit the order to the soldiers demanded that their men's cartridge-belts be inspected to prove that all the cartridges were intact. The cartridge-belts of the 145th were submitted to a like examination; whereupon it was discovered that private Lebon⁴ had not fired, "because", he said, "his mother might have been in the crowd". The officer who made the inspection told him to surrender his arms and ordered two men to escort him to prison; then the captain arrived, after having looked into the facts, ordered Lebon to take back his

¹ This letter is partly a more or less textual repetition of Lafargue's article which appeared in *Le Socialiste* on May 17th, 1891, under the heading: "Inquest on Fourmies" (p. 1/I-III).

² *Le Socialiste* of May 13th, 1891, stated in an article entitled "They Do Not Shoot", that the detachment of the 84th did not raise its arms despite the order to fire, which it had been given at the same time as that to the detachment of the 145th. *Le Socialiste* sent its congratulations to the 84th.

³ *Le Temps* of May 12th, 1891, in its account of the May 10th demonstration at Calais (p. 1/VI), reported Guesde's words in the following terms: "A day will come when the army itself will protest against the part it is called upon to play. Did not already private Lebon, of the 145th, refuse to fire on the crowd at Fourmies in which he had recognised his mother?" The speaker added that "according to his own investigation, the 84th line regiment received, like the 145th, the order to fire, which it did not do because several officers refused to transmit this assassins' order to their men".

⁴ Private Lebon was a native of Fourmies.

arms and said to the lieutenant: "How comes it that you did not understand this man's feelings?"

The soldiers of the 145th say that they fired in the air, and indeed a great many bullets were lodged in the houses opposite at a considerable height; and most of the wounds were caused by revolvers fired by the officers. It is reported that a captain of the 145th, who had stayed behind with his detachment at Maubeuge, is alleged to have said publicly that he would sooner have blown out his brains than have given the order to fire. A government supporter in the Chamber, following the motion rejecting an investigation, is alleged to have said in the lobbies that an investigation would have sown indiscipline in the ranks of the army and would have led to a general laying down of arms.

The soldiers of the 145th were abused by the men and women of Fourmies; when they got back to their quarters in Maubeuge, the public greeted them with the epithets: "Assassins" and "Prussians".¹ Letters from soldiers reveal that there are arguments in the regiments about how they should have behaved at Fourmies. They are discussing whether they should have fired in the air or whether they should have refused to shoot. I think it will be a long time before a minister dares to use troops against the crowd; they will have to make do with the police and the Republican Guard in Paris and with the gendarmerie in the provinces.

The people in the Nord department, so far as I can see, do not have those faults with which you quite justly reproach the Belgian miners; nothing was further from their minds than to create disturbances or riots; it needed the whole idiocy of the authorities to bring about the Fourmies slaughter. In other towns, despite the provocations of the police and the gendarmes, everything went off quietly. The

¹ The 3rd battalion of the 145th line regiment which had been at Fourmies was transferred from Maubeuge to Montmédy, according to *Le Temps* of May 20th, 1891 (p. 1/III).

thing most to be deplored is their propensity to come out on strike at a moment's notice without knowing how they will be able to eat in four days' time. A strike that fails spells disorganisation and discouragement for a long time. We dread strikes, more than the bosses.

Where may I ask did you see that the Allemanists were taken for the representatives of the Paris proletariat? Their behaviour on May 1st compromised them; so they call us *agents provocateurs*, who tried to bring about a massacre by petitioning the authorities. But this accusation is so mischievous that they voice it only in private and dare not publish it in their paper. On the contrary, the entire press and the interested public attribute the honour of May Day to the Marxist Party in Paris and the provinces. If Ferroul, instead of remaining in his Narbonne satrapy, where he has just got 37 socialist municipal councillors elected, and where he is mayor, had been in the Chamber on May 2nd, as we enjoined him by telegram, the duty would have fallen on him and not on Roche or Granger to brand Constans as an *assassin*. He is very crestfallen over his bloomer. Ferroul has a splendid blonde beard which is too pleasing to the Narbonne women: he is their pet.

Percy and Pumps are singularly lucky to be in the delightful climate of the Isle of Wight: here it is raining, windy and cold—90-91 will be an accursed year, the early fruit and vegetables are damaged by frost pretty well everywhere.

It was proper that you should look into the development of the foetus, since you have philosophised over the origin of the family.

Regards to Mme Louise, Sam and the Tussys when they return from Dublin: I have sent Tussy a speech for their congress.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

434. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, May 21st, 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for the details about Morgan's book.¹

Here is a copy of a letter from D[anielson] in St. Petersburg[urg]: "the present writer and publisher of the *Northern Review* Mrs. Evreinov, has sold it. She has tried more than once to publish the article of Mr. Laf[argue] but in vain; our censors are too severe.... Excuse me that I send you per next post the Ms.; I do not send it direct to the author since I am not sure that he receives my letters. I have written to him twice in March and in April, in answer to his kind sending."²

Have you received these letters? I shall send you the Ms. as soon as it arrives. You would do well to let him have another address in Paris, not under suspicion, where he can send letters to you, and for you not to sign letters with your own name. That is what I do and our correspondence has never been intercepted by such mishaps.

It is a good thing that your Eight-Hours Committee should remain in existence. We are doing the same thing here, the Legal Eight-Hours Day League is in process of formation, the Central Committee will remain in existence and new bodies (Beckers' branches amongst others) are affiliating. This wholly practical and elementary question may possibly win back the supporters who deserted you two years ago for the Boulanger camp. A strange irony of history! After having upset their digestion with sonorous phrases called "ideas", the Parisians are at present reduced to eating nothing but "*Dr. Ridges' food for infants*"*, the eight-hours day and other easily digestible matter!

¹ This no doubt refers to *Ancient Society*.

² This passage is taken from Danielson's letter to Engels of May 1st, 1891, which was written in English.

Boulanger's end is very comical.¹ The gallant general, having received the boot from universal suffrage, passes it on to his "committee" in order not to have any intermediary between himself and universal suffrage.

Here they are saying that his death-blow was Frank Rosher's visit. Following that, he could sink no lower.

Is Laura making preparations to come here? The month is nearing its end.

Kiss her *from** Louise and me.

Regards,

F.E.

Martignetti has been *acquitted*.

435. FREDERICK ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, May 29th, 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Thank you for the facts contained in y[our] letter of the 21st. I have passed them on to Aveling for the London press.

Whatever you may say, the fact remains that the Pos[sibilists] ousted you from your own committee and that Vaillant and Allemane and Dumay acted jointly and spoke at the Mur des Fédérés, whereas no one mentions the speeches made by you or Guesde.² You have a majority in the provinces, but it is now publicly asserted that in Paris

¹ On May 9th, 1891, *Le Figaro* published a conversation between Boulanger and G. Calmette in Brussels. The general made some very disillusioned remarks about "some of his friends in whom he had put his whole trust", and who "had not been willing to defer their cupidity". Certain Boulangists, such as Laguerre, Naquet and Le Hérissé, protested against some papers which persisted in classifying them outside the Republican Party "under an incorrect label".

² On Sunday, May 24th, the traditional procession to the Mur des Fédérés (the Confederates' Wall in the Père Lachaise cemetery—*Tr.*) took place at 1.30. According to *Le Temps*, the speakers were Dumay, Vaillant and Allemane.

you are, for the time being, *in a hopeless minority**. And you yourselves have brought about that assertion.

Now to something else. In preparing the new edition of *The Origin of the Family, Les Origines du mariage et de la famille* by Giraud-Teulon, Paris and Geneva, 1884, fell into my hands. It is a new, entirely revised edition of his book: *Les Origines de la famille*, 1874 (Geneva). In his latest work of 1884, he makes some claims to having forestalled Morgan's discoveries in his 1874 book. Unfortunately that 1874 publication is out of print. But either Lavrov or Létourneau must have it. As it is very important for me to be clear on this point, could not you obtain one of these copies for me *for a few days only* and send it to be *registered**? (the 1874 book, *Les Origines de la famille*). If by chance neither the one nor the other possesses it, could you get me a copy from some bookseller? And if that takes too long (for the thing has brought me to a dead stop) would you be so obliging as to make some researches at the Bibliothèque Nationale? (I would do it here at the B[ritish] Muse[um], but 1) I do not hold a ticket myself, 2) Louise does not know enough French, 3) Tussy is not sufficiently well informed about these matters.) This is what it concerns:

You know that McLennan has discovered *exogamous* TRIBES who are forced to find themselves wives from outside, by abduction or purchase. You know, too, that Morgan (who in his *Systems of Consanguinity* still calls the exogamous *gens* "tribe") proved in *Ancient Society* that the exogamous tribe does not exist, that exogamy is an attribute of a *fraction* or subdivision of the tribe, i.e., of the *gens* and that in the tribe they marry freely provided it is outside the *gens*.

Now here is what Giraud-T[eulon] says, p. 104, footnote: "Morgan, in his later works, recognising the necessity of not confusing the *tribe* with the *clan* any longer (clan in Giraud-T[eulon] is equivalent to Morgan's *gens*) has abandoned his definition of the tribe, without however trying to give it another." And he proceeds to give a description

of the tribe divided into *clans* (*gentes*) exactly as in Morgan, but as though this were quite independent of M[organ] and entirely due to him, G[iraud]-T[eulon].

The manner in which he sets forth his claim is so equivocal that it does not inspire me with much confidence. But as this is a matter concerning the discovery which has revolutionised the whole science of prehistory would you (should the occasion arise) have the kindness to compare the 1874 edition and tell me:

1) what he opposed to McLennan's *exogamous tribe*;

2) whether, in 1874, he had already found the splitting up of the tribe into *exogamous clans* equivalent to Morgan's *gentes*;

3) (briefly; names only) if he really did discover this, what examples does he cite? Does he recognise the identity of his *clan* with the Roman and Greek *gens*?

Re 1 and 2. If possible, the key passages in his own words.

Old Harney is pretty ill, he is suffering from chronic bronchitis—at 75!—and wants to move from Richmond to Ventnor. I hope he reaches there safe and sound and that it will do him good.

Your article on Adam and Eve is very witty, there is obviously some truth in it, but perhaps you go too far in your interpretation, particularly in that of the list of Noah's ancestors. Although it is quite certain that when it comes to Noah's descendants that is a list of tribes.

Elôäh—Arab is Allah, etymologically and lexically. The *ă* is obligatory in Hebrew if there is an *o* or *u* at the end of the word, before *h* or *ch* (ruăch Elôhîm, the spirit of Elôhîm in the 2nd verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis). In the plural, the *ă* in Elôhîm disappears.

I am sending you the *Workman's Times*,¹ non-political

¹ The *Workman's Times* appeared from August 29th, 1890, until March 7th, 1894, first in Huddersfield, then in London and later in Manchester. Its editor-in-chief was Joseph Burgess.

working-class journal which announces the formation of a *workers' party*! The best of the working-class and so-called working-class papers here. As regards facts it is capital. It is a paper started by some Yorksh[ire] and Lancash[ire] workmen originally published in Huddersfield, transplanted to London.

Kiss Laura for me, Louise *sends her kindest regards*.*

Ever yours,

F.E.

436. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 13th June, 1891

My dear Laura,

I am sure I do not know how to thank you for the trouble you have taken with Ravé's blundering work. I was rather surprised at your heroism in tackling it altogether; I sent you his specimen of Bebel, and my notes, showing exactly the same class of mistakes and slovenly renderings—though not in such perfection—as in your anthology. May “la génération infâme” pursue him like the Erinnyes pursued Orestes!

Anyhow, I have just finished the introduction to the new edition which I shall send to Kautsky for the *Neue Zeit* if he likes to have it.¹ But before sending it off there is one point on which I should like to be sure. I state Bachofen's new discoveries to be these: 1) hetairism as he calls it, 2) Mutterrecht, as its necessary corollary, 3) women consequently held in high esteem in ancient times, and 4) dass der Uebergang zur Einzelehe, wo die Frau *einem* Mann ausschliesslich gehörte, eine Verletzung des altherkömmlichen

¹ The introduction to the 4th edition of *The Origin of the Family* appeared on June 29th, 1891, in No. 41 of *Neue Zeit* (IX. Jahrgang, II. Band, pp. 460-67).

Anrechts der übrigen Männer auf dieselbe Frau in sich schloss, eine Verletzung die gebüsst, oder deren Duldung erkaufte werden musste durch eine zeitlich beschränkte Preisgebung der Frau.¹

Now as to THIS POINT No. 4 I am not quite certain. You have no idea what thieves those prehistoric bookmakers are, and therefore all I recollect [is] that *somewhere* I have found Bachofen quoted as the discoverer of this fact, and, I believe, even a reference to Mutterrecht, preface p. XIX. But I cannot find it again. Now as you have my copy of Bachofen with you, would you mind (unless you remember it without looking) referring and letting me know whether I am, *generally speaking*, justified in attributing this discovery to Bachofen? It is so long since I have looked at the book, and as in defence of Morgan's claims I have to be rather severe on a lot of his exploiters, I should not like them to catch me in the wrong box. As soon as I have your answer, the Ms. can go off and then Ravé can have a proof-sheet to go on with.

I had to read the whole literature on the subject (which, *entre nous*, I had not done when I wrote the book—with a cheek worthy of my younger days), and to my great astonishment I find that I had *guessed* the contents of all these unread books pretty correctly—a good deal better luck than I had deserved. My contempt against the whole set—Bachofen and Morgan excepted—has considerably increased. There is no science where cliqueism and camaraderie are more dominant, and as the set is small, it can be carried on internationally and with success. Giraud-Teulon is as bad and as great an appropriator of other people's ideas as any Englishman amongst them. The only amusing fellow is Létour-

¹ That the change over to monogamy, where the woman belonged exclusively to *one* man, contained violation of the traditional rights of the other men to the same woman, which violation had to be expiated, or the toleration of which had to be paid for by the temporary prostitution of the woman.—*Tr.*

neau. What a charming specimen of the Parisian philistine! And with what splendid self-complacency he proves to his own most-intense satisfaction, that not only all the prehistoric tribes and present savages, in spite of all their "excès", "génésiques"¹ as he calls it, are Parisian philistines at least, but so are, too, even the animals of the brute creation! The whole animated world one immense "Marais" and boulevard du Temple, peopled by either contributors or readers of what the *Siècle* used to be under Louis-Philippe, and the greatest authority on les origines du mariage et de la famille—Paul de Kock!

De Létourneau (evidently of the breed of le petit étourneau d'Amérique—*icterus pecoris*—qui change de femelle au jour le jour, p. 33) to Ravé il n'y a guère un pas.² Ravé has a publisher, Carré, rue St. André des Arts; could not that man be got to publish the new edition of the *Misère de la philosophie*? To hear Ravé, he seems very enterprising in our line.

I send you the *Workman's Times* regularly. It is the only working-class paper *belonging to working people*. It was started by the Northern Factory hands, etc., and originally published at Huddersfield; now its headquarters are in London. It is a *non-political* paper, that is to say *it goes in for the formation of an independent working men's party* and Labour representation in all elective bodies. It is overcrowded with detail information, but gives *facts*. There is a regular crop of "Labour" papers: the *Trade Unionist*, by Tom Mann—soft like Mann himself, who, for a Mann, has one *n* too much in English and one too little in German³; nice sincere fellow as he otherwise is, as far as a man without backbone can be so. Then the *Worker's Cry*, by Frank

¹ Genetic excesses.—*Tr.*

² From Létourneau (evidently of the breed of the little American starling—*icterus pecoris*—which changes its mate from day to day, p. 33) to Ravé is but a step.—*Tr.*

³ "Man" in German means the (impersonal) "one".—*Tr.*

Smith, late Social Wing, Salvation Army. Then the *Labour World*, founded and abandoned by Michael Davitt and brought to speedy grief and extinction by Massingham, once of the *Star*. I shall send you specimens of these if they live.

Longuet's behaviour seems indeed worse than incomprehensible. At all events it is a good job for poor Mémé that she is with you again. For the rest you leave us in the dark. Si Longuet s'est refait une jeunesse auprès de Marie, Marie a-t-elle réussi à se refaire une virginité en même temps?¹ And how are the boys getting on? What's to become of them while he is gallivanting at Caen? How about the Conseil de Famille? etc., etc.?

Louise keeps rummaging up all the papers, pamphlets, newspaper cuttings, etc., etc., brought over here from Maitland Park. The letters *are* in tolerable order. Lassalle's will be published in Germany; Bernstein is now using them for an introduction to Lassalle's works to be published by the Party. The Lassalleans will not like it, but since Liebk[necht] has taken Lassalle's party so much in the *Vorwärts*, I am determined to have it out, and to use their own Lassalle-veneration as the peg whereupon to hang a criticism of the man.

Sam Moore suffers off and on from African fever here—has gone into the country. Very little news from Jollymeier. Salut à Paul.

Grüße von Louise.

Dein alter²

F.E.

¹ If Longuet has regained his youth with Marie, has Marie succeeded in regaining her virginity at the same time?—*Tr.*

² Greetings to Paul. Regards from Louise. Your old.—*Tr.*

437. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 25. VI. 91

My dear Engels,

If the jury are not determined to sentence me in any case, which could happen, I have hopes of getting off.¹ Millerand, the future Clemenceau of the Extreme Left, is to help in my defence; this is important because of his influence; Giard, the Professor of Natural History at the Paris Museum, former deputy for the Nord, the department where I shall be tried, will give evidence that he is acquainted with Marx's theories and that it is out of the question that I could have advocated murder like an anarchist; his evidence will carry great weight. The editor of the *Courrier de Fourmies*,² a Catholic paper of the Mun type, has written to me to protest at the proceedings instituted against me on a charge of incitement to murder; he was present at my Fourmies lecture and he sends me the issue which reported it. I replied by asking him if I could call him as a witness. I shall call an important local manufacturer who is wooing the workers with an eye to the elections; he saw me at Fourmies and pronounced himself delighted by my lecture and determined to let the workers make merry on May Day; which he did.

But, in any case, whether I am sentenced or acquitted, this trial will provide an electoral basis for me in Fourmies: at the last elections, a candidate of no standing polled 3,000 votes purely on the grounds that he designated himself workers' candidate. Fourmies is near enough to Paris for me to

¹ On June 20th Lafargue received a summons to appear before the Assizes Court of the Nord department on July 4th, 1891, at Douai "on the charge of having at Wignehies, on April 11th, 1891, by the speech hereinunder, delivered at a public meeting, directly incited to the crime of murder, albeit the said incitement did not produce any result".

² The *Journal de Fourmies*, a Christian social paper run by G. Delatte, had carried a long report of Lafargue's lecture on April 12th in its No. 16 of April 19th, 1891, and was the only paper to do so.

go there frequently some little time before the elections to prepare the ground. The working-class organisation is making great strides; the employers are very disunited as Catholics, Radical Republicans and Conservatives and Monarchists; the workers always take the contrary view to their employers' opinions; under the Empire the people of Fourmies were Bonapartists, because the governors were Monarchists and Republicans; they were Boulangists in opposition to the governors; and the more they prosecute me, the more they will further socialism.

On the Friday night, July 3rd, the eve of the trial, we shall hold a meeting at Douai¹ where Guesde and I will expound the theory and make it clear that there is no place for murder, loot or any act of individual violence. The meeting will predispose the public in our favour.

But this trial is going to be costly, for I shall have to pay hotel expenses for Millerand who is displacing himself for me; so I would ask you to come to my assistance and help me over this bad patch which will perhaps open the doors of Parliament to me.

Give our regards to Mme Louise,

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

The Melinite business² is not yet at an end despite the vote in the Chamber which was taken only to reassure the country; it's the start of another Wilson affair; the Ministry

¹ *Le Socialiste* of July 1st, 1891, advertised a public lecture to be given at Douai on Friday the 3rd by Guesde and Lafargue: "*Modern Socialism. Reply to a Bill of Indictment*", as well as two meetings, at Fourmies and at Wignehies, on Sunday, July 5th, with the same speakers (p. 1/1).

² Following the publication of a book by a certain Turpin called *How Melinite Was Sold*, a scandal involving national defence broke out. It was alleged that an artillery captain called Tréponé had sold various army documents concerning secret experiments and the utilisation of melinite to the British firm of Armstrong. A judicial inquiry was opened.

of War's jobberies are perfectly democratic, everyone has a hand in them; from the office boys to the generals. Constans wants the office of Prime Minister. It appears that his wife would like to be Madame la Présidente, like Mesdames Carnot and Floquet; Constans will do his best to overthrow him. It is being generally said that it is he who instigated the attack on Freycinet.

438. FREDERICK ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

Ryde, June 28th, 91

My dear Lafargue,

I have been here with Pumps since the day before yesterday and I shall stay until Tuesday July 2nd when I shall return to London. In the meantime Louise has sent me your letter of the 25th. Fortunately I have a blank cheque which I can send you herewith, made out for £20. Good luck to you. Your preparations for the defence seem very good and I hope you will get the seat in parliament without the sentence.

Now to something else. You will find enclosed a letter from FIELD (*Star*, June 23rd)¹ and a reply from Burrows,² obviously drafted by Hyndman. Is it true as Field states that *you* "authorised" him to commit the blunder he has made? We cannot believe it. But in any case, look at the consequences of a letter from you to this Field, a perfectly in-

¹ The *Star* of June 23rd, 1891, carried an article called "International Labour Congress", (p. 3/II) signed Arthur Field, who stated that he was authorised by the foreign secretary of the French Workers' Party to give the British working-class organisations all the details of the Brussels Congress. He also announced that the delegates' credentials would be validated by the congress as a whole and not by "some national clique".

² The *Star* of June 25th, 1891, contained a reply from Burrows (p. 3/III) who stated that the secretary of the French Workers' Party was in no way competent to deal with this congress convened by the Possibilists.

nocent letter in itself probably. This Field, a good chap but burning to play some sort of part—even at the cost of doing a disservice to the cause he wants to serve—pushes himself forward as acting in the name of *your* party and thereby of *ours*. He appeals, as an “authorised” agent, to the *Trades Unions**, etc., and *if he is known* at all, it is as the former colleague of *Champion*, who is more mistrusted than ever since his Australian exploits!

The ground was thus too well prepared for Mr. Hyndman not to seize upon it. Look at the reply. All of Field’s blunders, all the weak points in his letter are cleverly taken up and Mr. Field has done nothing but advertise the Possibilists.

Nobody here can take up the gauntlet. In the first place we do not know what passed between you and Field. Secondly the *Star*, if it accepted a reply from us (which is doubtful, more than doubtful) would deny us a say after having given Burrows another one. And Field has put us in such a foolish position that we can do nothing except hope that this correspondence in the *Star* will be forgotten as quickly as possible.

In any case, if you want us to go on working for the Congress here *successfully* you must at once and *absolutely forbid* Field to publish anything whatsoever *by using the authorisation of the foreign secr[etary] of the Workers’ Party*. And do not give any excuse to whomsoever it may be to publish anything whatsoever with your authorisation without having consulted us. Otherwise we should do better to withdraw and leave everything to chance. To be put under *Champion’s* protection—it only needed that!

All was going well here. We were working without fuss but without respite and in order to succeed it is not a row in the press (*when we have not got a paper*, don’t forget) that we need at the present moment. And what is more, we have a right to demand that our own people do not put a spoke in the wheel. We got all that we wanted at Brussels, not without difficulty, but we got it and we made good use of it; and that ought to be enough for you without the

French Marxist Party giving the appearance of wanting to play the convener of the Congress and arrogating to itself a rôle to which it has no right. Anyhow let us know what you wrote to Field, so that we can try, at least verbally, to soften the unfortunate effect of this blunder of Field's.

Laura's letter about Longuet is still in Tussy's hands. I shall have it back on my return. We thank Laura very much for these important tidings; anyhow, the matter will be set afoot, but after reading the legal clauses, we doubt whether the family council can do very much apart from appointing a tutor. Tussy says she has written to Laura.

We have old Harney here. He spent a month at Ventnor and lost his chronic bronchitis, but has picked up his rheumatic gout again. Yesterday we brought him here by carriage. He is full of aches and moans, poor devil, but always merry the moment he is out of pain. He will go back to Richmond in a few days.

Pumps' house is small but charming, with a garden *front and back**, heaps of fruit of all kinds, vegetables and even potatoes, greenhouse with vine full of grapes, etc. It's capital for the children, but will Percy do any business? His brothers do not seem to be in too great a hurry to provide him with the necessary materials; well, we shall see.

Pumps, Percy and Harney send their warmest greetings to Laura and you, and so do I.

Ever yours,

F. E.

439. LAURA LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

*Saturday 4/7/91*¹

My dear General,

Ravé fait ses 28 jours,² so that I have not as yet sent the rest of his work on to him.

¹ The original is mistakenly dated June.

² Ravé is doing his 28 days (military service).—*Tr.*

I cannot honestly say that Ravé improves on acquaintance. He must know German well to be able to translate your book at all, but he appears to be incapable of attention. After having got to the end of the chapters which treat of the gens, he writes: "la gens ne tarde pas à prendre son développement complet *sous l'état*."¹ After having finally adopted the term *préhistoire* for *Vorgeschichte* which he translated by *histoire primitive*,² he now speaks of la *civilisation* préhistorique. Of Markverfassung he makes *union forestière*,³ of faktisch, *factice*,⁴ of häufig, *en foule*:⁵ *presque* stands for ebenso, bereits, geradezu, gleichbedeutend⁶ and half a dozen other words of various meanings. The following are a few specimens of sentences which he makes nonsense of. . . "ihre Gentilgewohnheiten, ihre noch lebendigen Erbschaften aus der Zeit des Mutterrechts. . ."

. . . "*leur système héréditaire à réminiscence du droit maternel*."⁷ . . .

"Der endlose Streit darüber, ob die Deutschen des Tacitus das Ackerland schon endgültig aufgetheilt oder nicht."

"Les interminables discussions sur la question de savoir si *en fin de compte* les Allemands *connaissaient l'agriculture*."⁸

"Es sind dies die drei grossen Formen der Knechtschaft wie sie für die drei grossen Epochen der Civilisation charakteristisch sind; offne, und neuerdings verkleidete, Sklaverei geht stets daneben her."

¹ The gens did not take long to reach its full development *under the State*.—Tr.

² *Prehistory* . . . *primitive history*.—Tr.

³ Mark community . . . *forest community*.—Tr.

⁴ Factual . . . *factitious*.—Tr.

⁵ Frequent . . . *in quantity*.—Tr.

⁶ *Almost* . . . equally, already, outright, tantamount to.—Tr.

⁷ "Their gentle customs, their still living heritage of the time of mother-right" . . . (p. 256^a).

⁸ "The heated and ceaseless controversy as to whether or not the Germans in Tacitus' time had already finally divided up the cultivated land" . . . (p. 228^a).

"The interminable discussions on the matter of ascertaining whether, *in the last resort*, the Germans *were acquainted with agriculture*."

"Ce sont là les trois grandes formes de la servitude de même qu'elles sont caractéristiques des trois grandes époques de la civilisation; *les deux dernières cependant sont et restent toujours accompagnées de l'esclavage.*"¹

"Die Deutschen hatten Europa neu belebt und darum endete Staaten-auflösung der germanischen Periode nicht mit normännisch-sarazenischen Unterjochung, sondern mit der Fortbildung der Beneficien und der Schutzergebung, zum Feudalismus."

"Les Allemands avaient revivifié l'Europe et c'est pourquoi la composition des États de la période germanique *ne sombre pas dans la formation progressive des bénéfices et la remise à la protection de la féodalité. (Commendation)*!"²

"Demokratie in der Verwaltung, Brüderlichkeit in der Gesellschaft, Gleichheit der Rechte, werden die nächste höhere Stufe der Gesellschaft einweihen, zu der Erfahrung, Vernunft, und Wissenschaft stetig hinarbeiten."

"La *démocratie* dans l'administration, la *fraternité* dans la société, l'*égalité* des droits, consacreront la prochaine étape supérieure de la société et *travailleront* sans cesse *au progrès de l'expérience, de la science et de la raison.*"³

¹ "These are the three great forms of servitude, characteristic of the three great epochs of civilisation; open and, latterly, disguised slavery are its steady companions"... (p. 289a).

"These are the three great forms of servitude *as they are* characteristic of the three great epochs of civilisation; *the last however are and still remain accompanied by slavery.*"

² The Germans, in fact, had infused new life into Europe; and that is why the dissolution of the states in the German period ended, not in Norse-Saracen subjugation, but in the development from the royal benefices and patronage (commendation) to feudalism"... (p. 255a).

"The Germans had revived Europe and that is why the constitution of states in the German period *did not sink into the progressive development of the benefices and the resort to protection of feudalism. (Commendation)*!"

³ "Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges ... foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending..." (p. 293a. Quotation from Morgan, *Ancient Society*).

"*Democracy* in government, *brotherhood* in society, *equality*

Mais en voilà assez, je crois, et l'on peut tirer l'échelle....¹

Saturday evening 10 o'clock—I have just had a telegram from Douai. Paul says: "Ça va bien, résultat demain soir."² From this day's *Temps*³ I see that "la jonction des deux affaires est ordonnée"—"c'est-à-dire des deux délits, les faits reprochés à Culine et le discours imputé à Lafargue."⁴ That's bad for Paul.

Love to all friends,

YOUR LAURA

440. FREDERICK ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

7 July 91

My dear Laura,

That's bad for poor Paul⁵; at least, it looks bad at present. Anyhow he is not in prison yet. There is *cassation*, though that is one chance out of ten only in his favour. There *must* be some row in the Chamber about this infamous verdict,

in rights ... will hallow the next higher stage of society and will ceaselessly work for the advance of experience, knowledge and intelligence."

(In these compared texts, the German passages are rendered according to the anonymous English translation of *The Origin of the Family*, Moscow, 1948, to which the page numbers refer.—*Tr.*)

¹ But that's enough of it, I think, and let him go hang.—*Tr.*

² All going well, verdict to-morrow night.—*Tr.*

³ *Le Temps* of July 5th, 1891 (p. 4/IV).

⁴ It is ruled that the two cases shall be taken together ... that is, the two offences, the deeds of which Culine is accused and the speech ascribed to Lafargue.—*Tr.*

⁵ The Douai Assizes Court had given its verdict sentencing Culine to six years' hard labour and ten years' local banishment, and Lafargue to one year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs. The iniquity of these sentences, since the trial had established the innocence of the accused and had not brought any formal proof, outraged the non-government press. The jury had been mainly composed of representatives of the manufacturing employers and landlords.

and I hope Millerand and Co. will not fail to make that row. I think it admirable policy of Paul to at once assume the offensive, revisit the battlefield of the North, and make himself as formidable to the government as he can. That is what the French always see better and clearer than our Germans, that, in order to make up for a reverse, you must attack at another point, but always attack, never show the white feather, never give way.

At all events his seat in the Chamber seems now pretty safe, and that would bring him out of prison if the election took place while he was in. Le Nord nous appartient maintenant.¹ What fools these governments are! To think they can put such a movement as ours down by repression. But with all his insolence M. Constans shows vacillation; the 'bus strike showed him in quite a different light²; there is no telling what he may not do, if he finds the effect of the verdict to be contrary to his expectations.

Ravé est à ravir.³ I pity anyone who has to correct that man. What a work of Sisypheus it must have been for you! Anyhow it may give you an opening for translations with the publisher, and then your labour may bear fruit.

By the bye, the correct French expression for "Schutzegebung"—the technical, juridical word, is *commendation*.⁴

I am finishing the revision of the *Ursprung*⁵ for the 4th edition. There will be considerable and important additions; especially a new introduction (proof sent to Ravé, the text

¹ The Nord department is now ours.—*Tr.*

² In the course of the general bus strike, which had been decided upon during the night of 24th-25th May by 7,000 workers and employees meeting at the Tivoli Vauxhall, the Company, which had been quite uncompromising to start with, had been obliged to give way after two days, Constans having threatened to transfer its monopoly in transport to another firm.

³ Ravé is enchanting.—*Tr.*

⁴ This is also the English term.—*Tr.*

⁵ *Origin*.—*Tr.*

probably in next *Neue Zeit*¹) and then in the chapter on the family. I think you will like them; my inspiring genius to a great extent has been Louise who is full of clear, transparent and original views on the subject. She wishes to be most kindly remembered to you and Paul.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

441. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Lille, 10/7/91

Workers' Press
21, rue de Béthune,
Lille

My dear Engels,

I have just read your letter to Laura; you are quite right, one must take the offensive. For the past four days I have been giving lectures with Guesde at Wignehies, Fourmies, Beauvois and Lille, and to-night I go to Roubaix and tomorrow to Troyes.² The halls are packed, Culine is nominated honorary chairman everywhere; I have never known such enthusiastic meetings: if elections were held at the present time, we should certainly both be elected in the Nord department.

There are very interesting and weighty grounds for an annulment. I have been sentenced for *direct incitement* to murder; for *direct incitement* to be the case, the persons to be killed must be specifically named; and the indictment charges me only with having said that one must get rid of the employers as of vermin with an insecticide.

¹ See p. 75, note 1.

² *Le Socialiste* of July 8th, 1891, reported the lectures and meetings held by Lafargue and Guesde at Wignehies on July 6th, at Fourmies on the 7th and at Beauvois on the 8th (p. 4/II).

But there is another point. This phrase, the only one where the word kill is used, was in the first instance attributed to Culine by an official newspaper; the indictment puts it down to me; and on Monday, when I arrived at Fourmies station, I met Renard, who had spoken at that meeting on April 11th and he showed me a letter which he was sending to the Minister of Justice in which he stated that it was he who had spoken these words¹ and that he accepted all the consequences. I knew it was he who had spoken them, but at the preliminary investigation and before the jury I confined myself to saying that I had never said them; several of my witnesses remembered the fact perfectly well, but I forbade them to breathe a word about Renard.

I stopped Renard sending his letter to the minister; Guesde is taking it to Millerand to-day to find out what can be done. Misdemeanours committed at public meetings or in the press in the form of speeches or writings become void after 3 months: the time limit for the Wignehies speech therefore expires to-morrow, July 11th. Thus I could use Renard's self-accusation to clear myself without compromising him; that's the important thing; for it must not be said that I allowed Renard to run any danger in order to clear myself.

The press was very concerned about the trial. I believe Renard's courageous statement will make a considerable splash and force the government to quash the verdict. We shall see.

Madame Duc-Quercy came to Lille to take the chair at my lecture held to collect money for the benefit of the Culine family. She gave me the letter which I send you herewith. I think a letter from you on the points suggested by Duc would have great weight; he would present it in the form of an interview, which would enable him to publish it in *Figaro* where two articles have already appeared and caused quite a

¹ In the course of the hearing, a witness, Glineur, stated the fact and corroborated it later under examination by Millerand.

sensation, one on the danger to France of the Russian alliance, the other on the neutralisation of Alsace; they may have been inspired by the German ambassador.

My regards to Mme Louise and good wishes to you.

P. LAFARGUE

442. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 12th July, 1891

My dear Laura,

Paul sends me from Lille the enclosed.¹ As I do not know where he may be now, I return and reply to you.

First I have absolutely no time to do un vrai travail² for D[uc-] Q[uercy], in order that he may make out of it an article à sensation. I am finishing the *Ursprung*, and then I shall go and recover a bit of nervous tension, as I do feel rather unstrung. And after that—the 3rd volume and nothing else. That is settled long since and cannot and shall not be unsettled.

If I was to write on such a ticklish question and for such a ticklish public as the French, I should certainly do it myself under my name; but never allow a journalist to turn my letter into an interview and put into my mouth, French fashion, not what I did say but what in his opinion I ought to have said.

But finally I am not capable of writing on the 3 questions proposed in a style to please the French bourgeois and readers of the *Figaro*. I should have to remind them of the fact that by their submission, for 20 years, to the adventurer Louis Bonaparte they laid the foundation for all the wars that have come over us since 1850, including the Franco-

¹ This refers to Duc-Quercy's letter, mentioned in the preceding letter.

² A proper job.—*Tr.*

German War; that that war originated, en dernier lieu,¹ in their claim to interfere in German internal affairs, a claim which they even now think they have a right to; that if they lost Alsace, etc., c'était la fortune de la guerre,² and that I do most distinctly object to the whole fate of Europe and of the working class being made subordinate to the question as to who is to have that miserable bit of country. All this might be very useful to tell them, but would they even listen to it without accusing me of having stolen a *pendule*?

However that may be, I have no time and cannot submit to D[uc-] Q[uercy]'s manipulations. These are the two decisive points.

What Paul has written to me about Renard and his intended declaration, that *he* said the words attributed to Paul, he will have let you know even before me. I hope these things will help to smash up the verdict.

Edward is at St. Margaret's Bay, he suffers from the kidneys again; so we shall have only Tussy and Sam Moore here. Wednesday Louise intends going to Vienna, I expect Schorlemmer and then we will see what we may do. I have no fixed plans yet for the summer, but various nebulous projects are colliding in my brain.

Another thing, I should not like just now to speak about matters connected with the Vollmar affair³ while the thing is being thrashed out in Germany. Anything I said in France might be used, misused and abused against them in Germany, and render their position more difficult. And it is well known to them all that I have refused to do any work for anybody until after the conclusion of Vol. III.

I believe I sent you the second batch of Field-Burrows

¹ In the last analysis.—*Tr.*

² It was the fortune of war.—*Tr.*

³ The socialist deputy Vollmar had, in various speeches, asserted that the German Socialists would do their duty as patriots in the event of war. This statement was the origin of a controversy between Vollmar and Bebel which went on until the Erfurt Congress.

letters in the *Star*.¹ Anyhow the matter has blown over—thanks to the accident of the Belgian Circular of 18th June.² This complete submission of the Belgians to the Halle Resolutions so upset all Hyndman's calculations that he is now in a towering rage against them, threatens them with his vengeance, but still holds back. In the meantime he ruins his last hopes in the East End by attacking the Gasworkers (most of the leaders of whom are in the S.D.F.) and Tussy whom he calls Miss M. That's the degree of lowness he has come to.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. E.

Tussy and I have just been talking over Nimmy's inscription. After various proposals of various epithets, to all of which objections may be made, I incline to Tussy's proposal to put nothing but the name. Then the inscription would run

IN MEMORY OF
JENNY MARX
AND OF
KARL MARX
AND OF
HARRY LONGUET³
ALSO OF
HELEN DEMUTH

Born Jan. 1st 1823, Died Nov. 4th 1890.

What do you think?

¹ The *Star* of June 27th, 1891, contained a long shamefaced letter from Field (p. 3/IV) singing Lafargue's praises and declaring that the Marxist congresses of Paris (1889) and Halle (1890) had conferred on the Belgian Workers' Party the function of convening the Brussels International Congress. In the same paper on July 2nd (p. 3/VI) Burrows replied that the Paris and Halle congresses had confined themselves to accepting the decisions of the Possibilists and that the Marxists were attempting to capture the Brussels Congress. He ironically thanked Field for having made it plain that he was nothing but an agent of Lafargue and Engels.

² *Le Socialiste* of June 17th, 1891, published the convocation of the Brussels International Congress (p. 1/I), which was said to be opening on *Sunday, August 18th*. The Sunday, however, was August 16th.

³ This refers to Jenny (Marx)'s first son, born September 2nd, 1873, who died in July 1874.

443. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Bordeaux, 17/7/91

My dear Engels,

Laura has told you of the situation created for us by Culine's petition for reprieve.¹ I cannot make use of Renard's letters, for fear of being accused of backing out of prison; that must not be said. The agitation that might have been done on the basis of Millerand's interpellation has been made impossible; Millerand does not want to attack Constans, now that he knows that he has so frightful a weapon in his hands as Culine's plea for mercy. So nothing remains but for me to make the most of my last days of freedom to do propaganda. To-morrow, Saturday and Monday next, I am giving two long lectures in Bordeaux. On Wednesday I shall be at Montluçon and on Thursday at Commentry; Saturday I shall go back to Paris where there will be a big meeting with Guesde. The following week I shall start going North again, they have asked me to come to Calais; I shall take Laura with me, we shall spend a week at the seaside; that will restore me completely. However, I am in good health and I stand fatigue well.

The splendid trip you are planning is no doubt a repetition of the sea voyage round the Norwegian coast which did you so much good. It's what you need to face the work in front of you this winter. Before you set out I would ask you to let Laura have a cheque; this is the month of quarter-day and a man sentenced by the Assizes Court cannot retain his landlord's good opinion except by paying him.

¹ At the end of the Douai trial, Culine had asked to be discharged under the Béranger law. Lafargue, for his part, had said he would lodge an appeal. *Le Socialiste* of July 15th, 1891 (p. 2/II), published a letter from Lafargue written to the Bordeaux socialist journal, *La Question sociale*, in which he denied having claimed the benefit of the Béranger law.

I sent you Duc's letter to please Mme Duc, who has been very helpful to me; the reasons you give are too conclusive not to satisfy, even if they vex him: Duc likes to be taken for the mouthpiece of the Socialists.

Tussy has no need to worry about the Brussels Congress, everything will go off well despite Hyndman, Brousse, Allemane & Co. The B[russels] Congress for that matter will be of exceedingly small importance, a purely ornamental congress: its only job is to recognise May Day and to lay the foundations for a few international trade organisations: even if I am at liberty, I shall probably not go.

Regards to Chloromajor, Moore, Tussy and Edward.
Bon voyage.

Cordially yours,

P. LAFARGUE

444. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 20 July, 1891

My dear Laura,

The Culine business is very bad indeed—worthy of the fellow's name—but what's to be done? With such a weapon in Constans' hands, we can only hold our tongues.

Louise went on Wednesday and Jollymeier came on Saturday, but he is getting more and more Tristymeyer; you have to work very hard to get a smile out of him now. Anyhow I'll try my best.

Paul asks me to send you a cheque, so enclosed £ 20.—; please let me know the receipt. I send it off quick because Jollymeier is still out at his walk, so if I close this letter all of a sudden, you will know the reason why.

We are preparing a tour at sea, but have not made up our plans yet, and I have not yet finished my Ms.—but am

at the last addition as far as I can see. Hope to have done by Wednesday at latest.

Paul thinks Tussy is troubling herself more than necessary about Brussels—I don't think so. Everything *may* go well, and probably *will* go well, if everybody comes up to the scratch, but I have too much experience of such congresses, not to know how easily everything can go wrong. The Belgians have convoked for the *18th August Tuesday*, instead of *Sunday 16th*—if our people come on the 18th and the (Possibilists) Broussists and Hyndmanists on the 16th, they can play ducks and drakes with everything. Tussy has written yesterday to Volders but these fellows never even reply! As to what the English will do, that's a mere toss-up; from Germany almost certainly Vollmar will come and intrigue; what the small countries are, you know, not to be trusted across the road. And one mistake on our part, one neglected opportunity, may cause us unnecessary but unavoidable work for years to come.

And then there is that irrepressible Bonnier who point-blank informed me that Guesde and he were going to go in for a restoration of the old International with a Central Council. I told him point-blank that that was putting everything in the hands of the Belgians (the only possible central council), knowing what sort of people they were; it was ruining every chance of the movement here in England for a couple of years by a foolish attempt to precipitate matters not ripe for action; and in fact the best means of setting French, English and Germans at loggerheads one with the other. He seemed abashed, but who can guess what he and Guesde may do in their enthusiasm?

Viele Grüsse von Jollymeier und Deinem alten,¹

F. E.

¹ Best greetings from Jollymeier and your old.—*Tr.*

445. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

*The Firs, Brading Road
Ryde, 17th Aug. 91*

My dear Laura,

We are still here, Schorlemmer and I, awaiting fine weather which is very slow to come; now and then we have had a fine day and could venture on an excursion but on the whole we had our enterprising spirits damped by the glorious uncertainty which is common to the law and the climate of England; not a few times, too, damped and even wetted by but too certain rain. Anyhow we may thank our stars that our plan of circumnavigating this island (not Wight, which we have twice sailed round, but Great Britain) were nipped in the bud, for we should have caught it and well too. So we are here admiring the British Fleet which is moored opposite us and awaiting the French which is to come up the day after to-morrow.¹

So poor Paul has entered upon his term of Ste-Pélagie²—I hope he'll keep his spirits up! it's a long bout of enforced rest, but then France, c'est l'imprévu,³ and nobody knows what will turn up within a twelvemonth. I am afraid you will find Le Perreux about as solitary as he will Ste-Pélagie; well, we must have you over here in London off and on, which may be done, I hope, without very great difficulties, for surely you will not be bound by your family of pigeons, hens, etc., etc. So I hope you will arrange to come by and by after you have made Paul as comfortable as circumstances will permit.

Our Russian friend⁴ wrote to me about 3 weeks ago: "We

¹ A French naval squadron was visiting Portsmouth and Admiral Gervais' squadron, returning from Kronstadt, was due to arrive on August 19th.

² Lafargue was committed to prison on the morning of July 30th. (*Le Socialiste*, August 12th.)

³ Is full of surprises.—*Tr.*

⁴ This refers to Danielson. See Engels' letter to him of September 2nd, 1891.

are on the eve of a famine", and indeed that prophecy has been but too soon fulfilled.¹ While the French Chauvins and Russian Panslavists fraternise and hurrah at each other, this fact nullifies all their demonstrations. With a famine at home, the Czar cannot fight. The utmost he will do is to use the present mood of the French bourgeois for his own ends, by blustering and threatening, but he will not strike a blow, and if the French bourgeois should go too far, he will leave them to shift for themselves. What the Russian Government aims at, at present, is the closing of the Dardanelles *in time of war to all navies*. That he will get the French to subscribe to, and then, when Gladstone comes in here, as is hoped, at next general election, the grand old Russo-phile is to be coaxed into agreeing to it too. With the two great naval powers bound hand and foot by such an agreement, the Czar is master of Constantinople which he can surprise any day, and the Sultan is but the Czar's care-taker on the Bosphorus. That is the plan, to which the bourgeois republic at Paris is to act the part of cat's-paw, and when it has done its duty as such, it may go to the devil for aught the Czar cares. That is the reason why the Czar submitted to listen to the *Marseillaise* and to humour the representatives of a Republic.²

Anyhow, peace is assured—unless some people turn crazy—for this and the greater part of next year. That is the principal effect of the famine in Russia.

But there are others. There will be internal commotions in Russia, and they *may* lead to a change; it is even likely

¹ *Le Socialiste* of September 26th, 1891 explained in an article headed "Famine in Russia" (pp. 2/IV-3/I) that the imperial ukase prohibiting the export of rye had been made necessary by the bad rye harvest. The writer quoted figures taken from the *Journal des Economistes*: the rye crop in Russia for 1891 was a third less than that of the year 1890. Skirmishes between the armed forces and the people were reported in several places where attempts were made to prevent convoys of grain leaving in the belief that they were destined for export.

² On July 25th, on the occasion of the French Fleet's visit to Kronstadt.

they will cause *some* change, bring about some movement in that pool of stagnation; but it may be, that this is not only commencement de la fin mais la fin elle-même.¹

In Germany the failure of the crop seems certain too, and there the present and still rising famine prices will bring about the breakdown of the Bismarckian fiscal policy and the protective duties. There, too, the old system will be shaken to its very foundation and nobody can tell how far that may go. Anyhow it will again swell our ranks amazingly, and help us to conquer the country districts where we are gaining ground wonderfully. There have been two by-elections in East Prussia on the borders of Russia, in thorough country districts, where two years ago we had about 4,500 votes together; this year we had about 3,000!² And if we get the rural districts of the six eastern provinces of Prussia (where large landed property and large farming predominate), *the German army is ours.*

According to the *Standard*³ of the day, neither Hyndman, nor Brousse had turned up, and Allemane was to take charge of the Possibilists. So, as far as *that* class of opposition is concerned, it looks like a walk over for our people. That question once disposed of, there will remain but little real work for the Congress; unless the various velleities of a restoration of the "International" venture to come out, I hope they will not, for that would cause new splits and throw us back, here in England at least, for years to come. The thing is an absurdity in every respect, especially so long as neither in France nor in England there is one strong and united party. If that were the case, and both united heart and soul with the Germans, then the end would be obtained without any formal union; the moral effect of the three great western nations acting together would suffice. But so long

¹ The beginning of the end but the end itself.—*Tr.*

² It is thought that these figures have been mistakenly transposed in the original.

³ The *Standard* of August 17th, 1891, carried a Reuter report under the heading "Socialist Congress in Brussels" (p. 5/III).

as that cannot be, all attempts at restoring an International would bring one of the petty nations, probably the Belgians, into an undeserved prominence and end in quarrels. The fact is, the movement is too great, too vast to be confined by such hampering bonds. Still, there is a hankering after this restoration and Bonnier was full of it last time I saw him. Certainly he looked rather perplexed when I told him my objections and had not a word to say—but will that stop him and his friends at Brussels?

On Thursday I expect to be back in London; Adler will come from Brussels for a few days, perhaps also Bebel. As soon as I am informed about the Brussels proceedings, I shall send you a letter for Paul; in the mean time kind regards to both of you from Schorlemmer, the Pumpses and

Yours ever,

F. ENGELS

Had letter from Tussy from Brussels, but written before Sunday's meeting. Shall not know anything of what happened by the time this has to be posted, 18th Aug., 11 in the morning.

446. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS AT RYDE*

Thursday evening, Aug. 20th/91

My dear General,

Since I have been informed of your whereabouts I have not had an hour's leisure to write to you though I had been wanting to let you know how things had gone with us. Paul, I am happy to say, is safely installed at Ste-Pélagie, for to get quartered there had come to be "le comble de tous ses vœux."¹

¹ His highest ambition.—*Tr.*

It's just three weeks ago that Paul turned his back on our ark, setting out after lunch with a small bundle under his arm and expecting either to come back in the evening to the poultry of his bosom, or, in case the Court of Cassation declined to reverse the judgement of the Assise Court, to be sent right off to Ste-Pélagie, as according to the law, his lawyer had said, he must be.

It had been settled between us that, in the event of Paul's not turning up at Le Perreux in the evening, I should start next day for Ste-Pélagie with all the luggage, previously prepared for his twelvemonth's holiday and consisting of a trunk, an enormous parcel of papers and manuscripts and a bathing-tub.

Well, Paul didn't turn up and so I set out with the luggage. When I reached Ste-Pélagie, the director informed me that he had not been apprised of M. Lafargue's coming and advised me to inquire for him at the Conciergerie. Thither I bade my cabby drive. At the Conciergerie I was told that M. Lafargue was inside, right enough, but that there was no admittance for the luggage. So I made the cabby drive back to the station where I deposited the things. Early, next morning, I returned to the Conciergerie for a "permis de visite". After having tramped from bureau to bureau for a couple of hours to no purpose, I had to return to Le Perreux without having had sight or news of the prisoner.—Late in the evening a line came from Paul, stating that he was at the Conciergerie, cellule 55, and that he had no notion of the result of his "pourvoi en cassation".¹

Not before Tuesday—he had left on a Thursday—did I see Paul at Ste-Pélagie. For a few days, illegally and arbitrarily, he had been left at the Conciergerie; and having been transferred to Ste-Pélagie, would have shared the lot of the common criminals, have got his hair clipped and got tubbed in dirty water, but for the director who, while awaiting instructions, allowed him to dwell among the "dettiers".²

¹ Appeal.—*Tr.*

² Debtors.—*Tr.*

The road to heaven is proverbially rough but the road to a political prison was smooth enough in France, before Constans' time.

At present Paul is settled and comfortable. Ste-Pélagie is a very mitigated prison still, although the rules and regulations have been altered for the worse, thanks to the idiotic antics of the anarchists who have been confined there. There are at this moment four political prisoners, besides Paul and some newcomers are expected. "La liberté de la presse et de réunion", lands all those here "qui prennent la phrase à la lettre".¹ By contract with the administration, the food is provided by a small restaurant (with a signboard which says "on est mieux ici qu'en face"²) over against the prison, but the détenus³ are free to send for anything they choose to pay for. (Except spirits, but even brandy they smuggle in, thanks to the simple device of labelling the bottle *alcool à brûler*.⁴)

Formerly the prisoners saw as many people as they liked in their own rooms, but at present the number of visitors is limited and only admitted to the common room or parlour. An exception is made for wives and for near relations, sisters, cousins, etc. But of course any young woman may play the sister or the cousin, and any elderly woman the mamma. Paul is in high health and spirits. He has plenty of books and newspapers; takes a hot and cold showerbath every morning, drinks milk on the top of wine and scribbles away with a will. I go up every other day and take him letters, books and garden produce: cucumbers, strawberries and new-laid eggs and what not. He sees all the people he cares to see and saves boot-leather. For all that, I hope that this happy existence may not be indefinitely prolonged and

¹ Freedom of the press and of association ... who take the phrase literally.—*Tr.*

² You're better off here than over the way.—*Tr.*

³ Prisoners.—*Tr.*

⁴ *Methylated spirits*.—*Tr.*

that before the twelvemonth is over we may celebrate "Paradise Lost".

You will have noted the state of things at Fourmies, Wignehies and neighbourhood.¹ The asses who fancied that a couple of speeches by a couple of men—strangers to the place—could stir up the effervescence that has existed in the North for years, know better by this time. And they'll learn that the clapping into prison of a Socialist or two will not avail to lay the spirit of revolt that capitalism has conjured up.

The ignominious and ludicrous conduct of the French with respect to Russia is another symptom of the "détrangement général"² of which Boulangism was an ominous sign; Paul and I have read with great interest your observations on the subject.

Lainé, a French delegate to the Brussels Congress, tells us that the "Belges" are awfully *important*: Guesde writes to me: "Malon que les Belges ont essayé de transformer en père du *socialisme français*, n'a pas trouvé une voix pour l'installer au bureau qui est composé pour la France par Delcluze, Vaillant, Prudent-Dervillers, Allemane et votre serviteur."³ The anarchists have been kicked out nicely and the Possibilists will be kicking themselves out.

Good-night, my dear General, and more next time.

Love to Schorlemmer.

Your affectionate,

KAKADOU

¹ *Le Socialiste* of August 26th, 1891 (p. 4/I) reported that Wignehies, where the workers were on strike, had been occupied by troops. The municipal council had rejected by eleven votes to one a grant to the weavers' families and the mill-owners had announced their intention of closing their factories after the fortnightly pay-day. There was not a sign of defection or wavering among the workers.

² General derangement.—*Tr.*

³ "Malon, whom the Belgians tried to turn into the *father of French socialism*, did not get a single vote to put him on the committee where France is represented by Delcluze, Vaillant, Prudent-Dervillers, Allemane and your humble servant."—*Tr.*

447. FREDERICK ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE IN PARIS¹

(Extract)

London, September 2nd, 1891

We have every reason to be satisfied with the Brussels Congress.

They did well to vote for the exclusion of the anarchists²: with this the old International came to an end, with this the new one begins again. It is purely and simply the ratification, nineteen years later, of the Hague Congress resolutions.

No less important was the move to leave the door wide open to the British *Trade-Unions**. It shows how well the situation has been understood. And the resolutions which pledged the *Trade-Unions** to the "class struggle and the abolition of wages" means that this was not a concession on our part.

The Domela Nieuwenhuis incident³ has shown that the European workmen have definitely outgrown the stage of being swayed by the high-sounding phrase and that they are conscious of the responsibilities which fall on them: it means a class organised in a "fighting" party, a party which

¹ This letter is reproduced from the text published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 51, of September 12th, 1891.

² In *Le Socialiste's* editorial of August 26th, 1891 (p. 1/I-II) Guesde emphasised the positive character of the Congress, stressing in particular the exclusion of the representatives of the anarchist groups, which was unanimously voted, and on the "universal acceptance of the class struggle as the common and sole ground on which not only the Socialist parties, but the industrial organisations everywhere, take their stand and will henceforth act" (including the British Trade Unions, whose delegates enthusiastically adopted the resolution concerning the "necessity to fight for the emancipation of labour").

³ Domela Nieuwenhuis had moved, on behalf of the Dutch, the launching of a general strike in the event of war. This motion was rejected by the Congress. Guesde wrote in a second article which appeared in the same issue of *Le Socialiste* (p. 2/II-III) "... It was rejected as a deception by all those who, in Liebknecht's words, have 'liberated themselves from the bondage of words'."

reckons with "deeds". And the deeds take a more and more revolutionary turn.

In Russia there is already famine; in Germany there will be famine in a few months' time; the other countries will suffer less, and for this reason: the deficit in the 1891 harvest is estimated at 11 million and a half hectolitres of wheat and at 87 to 100 million hectolitres of rye: this latter deficit will thus mainly affect the two rye-consuming countries, Russia and Germany.

That will guarantee peace until spring 1892. Russia will not make a move before that time; unless some inconceivable folly is committed in Paris or Berlin, there will thus be no war.

On the other hand, will tsarism survive this crisis? I have my doubts. There are too many mutinous elements in the large towns and particularly in Petersburg for them not to seize this opportunity to dethrone the alcoholic Alexander III, or at least to place him under the control of a national assembly: possibly he himself will be compelled to take the initiative to convene one. Russia has been at the most enormous pains—that is, the government and the young bourgeoisie—to create a great national industry (see Plekhanov's article in *Neue Zeit*¹). The advance of this industry will come to a dead stop because the famine will close its only market—the home market. The tsar will find out what it means to have made Russia a self-sufficient country, independent of foreign countries: he will have an agricultural crisis combined with a manufacturing crisis.

In Germany the government will resolve too late, as usual, on the abolition or suspension of the duty on corn. That will split the protectionist majority in the Reichstag. The big landowners, the "rurals", will no longer support the duty on manufactured goods, they will want to buy as cheaply as possible. So that we shall probably see a repetition of what

¹ *Neue Zeit* (IX. Jahrgang, II. Band) published a series of articles in its Nos. 47 to 52 by Plekhanov: "The Social and Political Situation in Russia".

happened at the time of the vote on the Anti-Socialist Law: a protectionist majority itself divided by opposing interests, created by the new situation, finding itself incapable of coming to agreement over the details of the protective system. Every possible motion will be supported only by minorities; there will be either a return to the free-trade system, which is also impossible, or dissolution, with the displacement of the former parties and the former majority, and with a new free-trade majority, opposed to the present government. That means the real and final end of the Bismarck era and of internal political stagnation—I am not speaking here of our Party but of the potential governmental parties—there will be a struggle between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie and between the manufacturing bourgeoisie which is protectionist and the merchants, and a section of the manufacturing bourgeoisie who are free-traders; the stability of government and internal policy will break down, in short, there will be movement, struggle, life and our Party will reap all the fruits of it: and should events take this turn our Party could come to power by about 1898.

There you are! I say nothing of other countries because the agricultural crisis does not affect them so gravely. But should this agricultural crisis cause the industrial crisis in England that we have been awaiting for 25 years to break out.... Well!

F. ENGELS

448. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Wednesday morning, 3/9/91

My dear General,

We were under the impression that you were far away, and if not on Himalay, anyhow out of pen-shot. Had we known that you were at home, Paul would have written before this in answer to your letter and I should have written

to thank you for your cheque. This morning I have to acknowledge receipt of another cheque. Very thankfully received.

I have but a few minutes to jot down a couple of lines to you as I must get my lunch before starting for Ste-Pélagie.

Oh, dear, no, Mrs. Crawford never saw poor Liebknecht who looked tired and jaded enough when he visited Paul in prison.¹ Mrs. Crawford interviews "de chic", in the way that our cousin Emma paints her roses and her pansies for the shop-windows. Our bourgeois demand that sort of article and get it. A propos of bourgeois taste, Jules Simon is paid 25,000 francs a year for his "petit journal" in the *Temps*.²

Love from both of us to all of you.

Always

YOUR LÖHR

By the bye, Mrs. Crawford called with her son at Ste-Pélagie, but was refused admittance.

449. LAURA LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

[23 Sept. 1891]
Wednesday morning

My dear General,

The news is that Werquin, the Lille deputy, died on Sunday³ and that Paul in consequence has a chance of a change of air. Either Paul or Culine will be put up as candidates by our Party, and probably Paul, Culine having lost his civil rights.

I am not in a position to know if Lille can return a Socialist, but, anyhow, it will be a fine thing to Paul to go

¹ Wilhelm Liebknecht had visited Lafargue at Ste-Pélagie on August 24th. He wrote about this visit in an article which appeared in *Neue Zeit*, No. 50 (pp. 763-65).

² Each day the *Temps* published an article by Jules Simon under the heading: "*Petit Journal*".

³ The Radical Deputy Werquin, representing Lille (1st constituency), died on September 20th, 1891, following pneumonia.

knocking about the Nord for a month or so and to make propaganda there while the Fourmies massacre is still fresh in the people's memory.

We've had another farcical performance here. Rochefort, *qui s'ennuie*,¹ et l'innocent Déroulède with a handful of sham patriots and paid Russophiles have been trying to make capital of the music of the future.² They did their best to kick up a row. You should have heard the "carnelots"³ howling "la capitulation", "la France insultée par Guillaume", "Mine Wagner à Paris!", "la revanche! la patrie et vive la Russie!"⁴ The worst of it is that this grotesque business has allowed Constans' agents to *taper dur*⁵ and to be thanked for it, and our friends fear that this may be a precedent for future authorised brutality on the part of the sergots.⁶ Hundreds of inoffensive *badauds*⁷ were arrested and terribly maltreated.

And now for business.—I am commissioned to ask you, my dear General, if you will send us a paper for an *Almanach socialiste* which our people intend publishing. Anything you like; Guesde and Paul propose "the Progress of Socialism in Germany", but it's for you to "dispose". While undertaking to write to you on the subject, I pointed out to our friends that your hands were already too full of work.

And now I must see to the provisions for Paul, grapes and pears and plenty of cucumbers!

Please give my love to Pumps and to Louise, and I hope you're the better for your excursion. Your

LAURA

¹ *Who is bored.*—Tr.

² This refers to anti-German demonstrations organised on the occasion of the first performance of *Lohengrin* at the Paris Opera on September 16th, 1891.

³ Cheapjacks.—Tr.

⁴ It's surrender! Wilhelm has insulted France! Bring Madame Wagner to Paris! Revenge! Up with the country and long live Russia!—Tr.

⁵ *Strike hard.*—Tr.

⁶ Cops.—Tr.

⁷ *Bystanders.*—Tr.

450. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 2 Oct. 1891

My dear Laura,

To-day I sent to you and to Ravé the sheets 7 to 12 (end) of *Ursprung* with the alterations marked in red. I hope this will be the end of your trouble for which I do not know how to thank you. May the effect be such as to reward you to some extent for your work.

I hope Paul is out by this time, the furlough will be very useful to him and to the cause; "le Nord" is hot, and ought to be forged while it is so.

Boulanger was so dead that he evidently could no longer bear life.¹ He died as he lived—en homme entretenu.² The loss of his beloved Mme de Bonnemains he might have borne, but the loss of her fortune (which, the English papers say, was *not* left to him)—ah, c'était autre chose!³

Nobody will be more glad of this comical event than Rochefort; le brav' général had gradually become a veritable nightmare to him.

Now, my dear Laura, what in the name of all that used to be sacred am I to write to that Almanach where, if the advertisements speak true, there is to be more than a Sammelsurium⁴ of men, principles and things? The progress of socialism in Germany, why, that's a book! And other interesting subjects? The most interesting and most important are such that in the mouth of a *foreigner* they would appear an insult to French readers. Besides, you leave me in ignorance of when the thing is wanted, and how much space it is expected to occupy. However I am fully occupied with

¹ On September 30th General Boulanger committed suicide on the grave of his mistress, Mme de Bonnemains, who had died of tuberculosis on July 16th.

² A kept man.—*Tr.*

³ That's another matter.—*Tr.*

⁴ Hodge-podge.—*Tr.*

work, urgent work so far and could not have written a scratch. So there is no time lost.

Last Monday Percy brought the children over and since then we have had the whole family here. Lily has had a fall and hurt her back a little, so she is going to have a support made as a matter of precaution, and that will last a few days yet. Percy is leaving to-day.

Louise's *Hyaena-paper*¹ will not appear before 15th instant; your, Tussy's and Louise's articles will create a sensation among the women's rights women in Germany and Austria, as the real question has never been put and answered so plainly as you three do it. And both Louise and Tussy tell me they have a *heiligen Schrecken vor den deutschen (Berliner) Frauenrechtsweibern*.² But the reign of these is not to last much longer. Bebel writes quite enthusiastically about the ardour with which the working women in Germany now rush into the movement, and if that is the case, the antiquated semi-bourgeois women's right *ânesses*³ will soon be ordered to the rear.

Gilles⁴ continues issuing flysheets against Edward. More in a day or two. We are trying to bring the slanders home to Hyndman who is using Gilles as his tool—and who, we hope, will not be able to wash off the dirt which the dirty Gilles has spattered involuntarily on the man who uses such a tool.

Love from Pumps and Louise and the children.

Ever yours,

F.E.

¹ This refers to the Vienna *Arbeiterinnenzeitung* which Engels usually called the "*A-innenzeitung*". The expression "*Hyaena paper*" comes from Schiller's line in the *Lied von der Glocke*: "Then women will be turned into hyaenas", where the poet alludes to revolutionary women.

² Holy terror of the German (Berlin) feminists.—*Tr.*

³ *She-asses*.—*Tr.*

⁴ This refers to Ferdinand Gilles, a German living in London and a member of the German Communist Workingmen's Club from which he was expelled in 1892 (see Letter 480).

My dear Laura,

Many thanks for your letter; as the General has already told you, our "epoch-making" paper will not come out until October 15th, probably owing to Victor's¹ lawsuit in Bohemia. When shall I receive something from you again, for I take it, dear Laura, that having made a start you will go on. Anything will be welcome. With warm greeting to you and the M.P. for Lille.

Yours,

LOUISE²

451. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Ste-Pélagie, 4/10/91

My dear Engels,

The Lille elections will take place on October 25th³; the government is uncommonly eager to open the electioneering campaign, usually things don't go so fast as that: no doubt it wants to hasten polling day to prevent us getting ready for it. It's a treacherous move: there was very active propaganda in the factories and they were busy collecting funds to cover the election expenses; and now the committee faces the electioneering campaign without much money in hand. Fortunately one can count on the loyalty and energy of many Lille Socialists.

The electoral outlook is very promising. At the last elections in '89, our friend Delory had a majority in two polling districts out of the four which make up the constituency. Had it not been for a Boulangist candidate, who deprived him of a part of the working-class vote, he might have got

¹ Victor Adler.

² Louise Kautsky's note was originally written in German.—*Ed.*

³ The *Journal officiel* of October 3rd, 1891, published the writ for the by-elections in the Lille 1st constituency on October 25th.

in. Boulanger's death will relieve us of the Boulangist candidate or at any rate greatly reduce his strength. The opportunists are more reduced and discredited than ever; that leaves only the Radicals; the deputy who has just died was a Radical. If the Radicals do not put up a candidate, victory will be assured; so far they have not shown any intention of standing one; and it may well be that in the circumstances they will not stand one. For this reason: the Radical Party wants to clear out the opportunists on the municipal council and get control of it; it knows that it can only win an election with the help of the Socialists, to whom it has made advances in view of the next municipal elections in May 1892. If they were to put up a candidate and I polled a higher vote in the first ballot, which might happen, he would withdraw to let me be returned.

The important thing at the moment is for me to be temporarily released so that I can go and defend my candidature. There are precedents for this: under the Empire, Rochefort, who had fled to Belgium, was given a safe-conduct to come to Paris and uphold his candidature. Roche was released after the Decazeville strike. However, Constans is quite capable of keeping me locked up; but that would be a trump card in my hand which Guesde, who is going to run the electioneering campaign, will know how to play. Well, we shall see what happens.

Boulanger's death could alter Constans' position from top to bottom; so long as Boulanger was alive, he was a menace which gave a certain importance to Constans' presence, as his conqueror, in the government. Ever since Boulanger's pistol shot there has been talk of attacks on Constans; the Radicals whom he tamed look as though they are in revolt. At the same time, Carnot takes a very unfavourable view of Constans, ever since he has known that Constans is aiming at the Presidency of the Republic; Freycinet and Bourgeois will league themselves with Carnot and the Radicals to kick

Rouvier and Constans out of the Cabinet. Ferry, who is getting back into the saddle, might lend them his covert support. Constans will play up the socialist peril to make himself needed as the deliverer; so that if the campaign against him shapes well, he would be capable of putting up too much opposition to my election, which would be very useful to him. Perhaps this is the reason why he has started the election campaign so early. Who knows?

It is glorious weather; it makes me want to go for a walk in the wood; but it enlivens that old jade Ste-Pélagie, who so far has not been too unpleasant to me. All the same I shall be happy to get a divorce, for she will be devilishly disagreeable in bad weather.

Did the voyage you made have the same beneficial effect as the previous ones? Has Moore left? Has Schorlemmer gone back to Manchester?

Give my regards to Mme Louise, to Tussy and Pumps.

Cordially yours,

P. LAFARGUE

452. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Ste-Pélagie, 10/X/91

My dear Engels,

The election is going well to judge by the conduct of the other side. My opponent who is an opportunist, knowing that Constans was not at all keen on giving me a temporary release, as they did in the case of Rochefort and Roche, hastened to ask him for my release so that I could go and defend my candidature¹; Constans replied to him in a letter

¹ On October 5th, 1891, Depasse went to the Ministry of the Interior to ask for Lafargue's release.

which was made public¹ saying that this would not be legally possible since my sentence was definitive. To cut short this comedy I have sent a note to the papers, you will find it in *Le Socialiste*,² in which I call my opponent Depasse the official candidate and the firing squad's candidate.

Constans has given orders to the papers in his pay—and the whole republican press lives on secret funds—not to breathe a word about my candidature. Thus *L'Éclair*, of which Duc-Quercy is one of the editors, had accepted an article on my candidature and as it was not published, Duc went to see the chief who told him that he would not print anything in my favour. The same reply was made by other papers.

This morning the prison governor sends for me and, after showing me my note which only *L'Intransigeant*³ had printed, tells me that it is forbidden for me to write anything in the press. I replied that being an officially recognised candidate, I would not submit to this regulation which did not provide for my case and that I should write to the Minister about the matter. I shall put him in a sorry plight; if disciplinary measures are taken against me, it will only help my candidature. Following his success at Marseilles⁴ Con-

¹ This letter was published in *Le Temps* of October 9th (p. 2/V).

² In a note printed in *Le Socialiste* of October 10th, 1891, Lafargue commented in these terms on the move made by his opponent, Depasse: "I do not acknowledge his right to ask for anything on my behalf. It is for the electors alone to demand my release." And further on: "The Workers' Party ... wants the electorate to hear, after the candidate of the firing squad, the candidate of those fired on..."

³ *L'Intransigeant* of October 11th, 1891, printed Lafargue's letter under the title "A Well-Deserved Lesson" (p. 1/III).

⁴ On October 8th five Ministers, including Constans, the Minister of the Interior, went to Marseilles for the celebrations inaugurating the town's sanitation works. Hostile demonstrations took place as soon as they arrived at the station, directed in particular against Constans. Despite a cavalry charge and several arrests, more violent demonstrations started up again in the afternoon outside the prefecture and along the Ministers' route. Constans was greeted with shouts of "Down with Constans ... duffer ...". Constans, greatly displeased, had a lively altercation with the mayor and demanded severe repressive measures. (*Le Soleil*, October 10th, 1891, p. 2/IV-VI.)

stans can hardly want to make people rail against him. Millerand, who was out of Paris, will have arrived to-day; I have written asking him to come and see me; I shall see what can be done.

Guesde left for Lille yesterday with authority to deputise for me at meetings: no one will be the loser by the change. They can do what they please, everything they do will turn to my advantage.

Regards to Mme Louise.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

My dear Engels, my rent is due on the 15th and since I went to prison my landlady has lost all faith in me; she has already paid Laura several visits to remind her to pay the rent. Please send me a cheque to keep her quiet and stop her bothering Laura.

**453. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE IN PARIS**

London, October 13th, 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Why did you not ask me for the cheque as soon as you needed it? Why expose Laura to affronts when you know that a word from you—or from her—is enough to prevent them?

It looks as though the good Constans is determined to make you deputy for Lille at all costs. So much the better; let's hope he succeeds. If you have only one opportunist against you, you should have every chance of winning. It would be of the utmost importance to have you in the Chamber—the other socialist deputies don't seem to be *up to snuff**, they're soft, soft, soft!

Undoubtedly Constans will do his best to foil you—but in that case he will be working for you as Bismarck in

Germany worked for us. For in our country it is not the Socialists who work for the king of Prussia,¹ it's the king of Prussia who works for the Socialists. And it may well be that the rage into which the hissing and booing in Marseilles threw Constans will prove a powerful means of getting you elected. Above all, "not too much zeal", Mr. Constans!

I must write a long letter to Bebel to-day² about the Erfurt Congress, there are several important matters to discuss. That is why I am cutting short this letter. Keep up your spirits, always try to laugh at your opponents, *put your trust in the historical luck of our Party and keep your powder dry*.*.

A thousand greetings from Louise and from your old,

F. E.

Also from Pumps and her children who are still here, the little girl still needs a steel support for her back (she is growing too fast) and the maker drags the things out day after day.

454. **FREDERICK ENGELS**
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 13/10/91

My dear Laura,

Herewith the cheque £20.—to turn your landlady out of your domicile.

Now as to your Almanach. I am writing you an article but as it will have a practical turn toward the end of it, I can hardly send it off, or give it its final shape, until a short time before publication. Therefore I *must* know when your Almanach is to appear. Otherwise the thing may turn

¹ *Travaillent pour le roi de Prusse* also means to have one's trouble for one's pains.—*Tr.*

² This refers to the letter to Bebel of October 13th, 1891.

stale, or even be completely upset by events. It won't be more than 2 or 3 pages, 4 at utmost [?],¹ so there will be no necessity to send it early—as far as *technical* matters are in question. But you will see that it is impossible to write an article d'actualité unless it be printed or published at once. So please let me know and I shall gladly do my best to oblige nos amis de là-bas.²

Thanks for the papers. That *Action* de Lyon seems a splendid specimen of the present state of fusion and confusion amongst the French Socialists, out of the midst of which arises, erect, unavoidable, zudringlich, unausbleiblich,³ the everlasting Adrien Veber,⁴ bathing in his own conceit, in which he is hardly second to his worthy master Benoît Malon. How does this new harmony of all the disharmonies work? I see in the Secrétariat du travail there are all sorts, Possibilists A and B, aside of our people and a lot of others, and so far they seem to have respect of each other's carcasses without coming to blows. I cannot imagine how it is done and what may be the upshot of it.

How much was the fine inflicted on Paul?⁵

I cannot find it in the *Socialiste* and have not any other papers ready at hand—and [?]⁶ what chances have you to evade it?

Love from Louise, Pumps, the children and your old ever thirsty (going to have a beer with Pumps)

F. ENGELS

¹ Illegible.

² Our friends over there.—*Tr.*

³ Importunate, inevitable.—*Tr.*

⁴ *L'Action* of October 11th, 1891, published an article by Adrien Veber "Integral Socialism" (p. 1/II-IV). This refers to the republication of a book by Benoît Malon of this title. Veber praises the author to the skies, "the best furnished, most conscientious mind of contemporary socialism". "Thanks to this book, socialism is no longer a dry economic doctrine based on necessity. It is the normal flowering of humanity on the march towards future justice."

⁵ See p. 86, note 5.

⁶ Illegible.

455. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Ste-Pélagie, 15/X/91

My dear Engels,

Laura has just brought me your letter; I thank you for your cheque which will appease my female Cerberus.

A new radical candidate has put up¹; but everyone thinks that I shall do better than he and the Radical Party will be obliged to add his votes to mine. Millerand who came to see me, has promised to go to Lille to give me a hand during the second ballot to secure me the radical votes. It is still Depasse the opportunist who remains the danger; not personally but because of the contribution he may receive from the Conservative Party. This party is not putting up a candidate, but it is sitting on the fence till the last minute to choose the candidate which seems least threatening to its cause. Up to now the conservative papers have been attacking us indiscriminately and it is a toss up which way they will vote. Millerand fears that Constans, regarding my election, after his reception in Marseilles, as a serious rebuff to his policy, will come to an understanding with the conservative deputies in the Nord department, in which case they will intervene in the fight. Anyway, we shall see.

In any case, things are going well in Lille: Delcluze and Guesde have elected residence in Lille for the electioneering period; all the meetings are a success for us. Next Monday the *Lille Travailleur* will come out daily in order to support my candidature.

I am well and cheerful. Not only do I keep my powder dry, but I keep my rheumatism at bay, which at the moment is more important.

Poor little Lily is going to be very miserable in her iron cage. She won't be able to skip and jump as she used to do:

¹ The Radical Party put up Eugène Roche, but his Lille paper, *Le Réveil du Nord*, refrained from attacking Lafargue.

I think sea air would do her more good than all the supports in the world.

Regards to Mme Louise and to Pumps and her children.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

456. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Oct. 16/91
Friday evening

My dear General,

I had hoped to be able to write to you this morning,—Friday being, as a rule, a home-staying day with me. But I am blown hither and thither according as the wind blows from Lille, and a letter from Guesde, this morning, made me set out again for Pélagie.

Guesde is as full of fight and full of hope as ever; and but for this fine capacity of hoping against hope where would poor Guesde be by this time?

C'est... l'espoir

Qui, comme un élixir, le monte et qui l'enivre

Et lui donne le coeur de marcher jusqu'au soir.¹

He writes that Millerand is all wrong as regards the relative strength of Depasse, the opportunist, and Roche, the Radical. It is the latter, he says, whom the Lille reactionists will vote for.

This putting up of a candidate by the Radicals is a pretty piece of infamy, by the way. When taxed with this, they say that they present a candidate because a Socialist hasn't a ghost of a chance.

¹ *It is... hope*

*Which, like an elixir, fires and intoxicates him
And gives him heart to go on till nightfall.—Tr.*

Now, it appears that this Radical is a "Clérical" and that he has been chosen by his party on that account. Radicalism "pur et simple" would be nowhere. The government—and the government is looking up just now, taking credit to itself for Boulanger's suicide—backs Depasse, opportunist No. I. Now it's a toss up whether the Jesuit, Roche, or the opportunist Depasse will win over the Catholic Conservatives: Anyway Roche, Depasse and Bère (opportunist No. II) s'entre-déchirent et s'entre-dévorent.¹

Paul is, I will not say out of the race, but, at any rate, out of this mess. Bearing in mind how all-important it is for the *Saucissonier*² to conquer in this very contested election and the number of votes polled by Delory a few years back, Paul's return would be nothing short of a miracle. But, whatever the issue may be, this election is one of the most interesting that have taken place this long while. You know how much and how long and how vainly one has been talking of and hoping for and praying for and proclaiming "la concentration socialiste" in France. Here, for the first time, this concentration has actually been effected, spontaneously and almost unconsciously. No one fraction of the Socialist Party in France has thus far stood aloof from or objected to the socialist candidate. The "révisionnistes ouvriers", the frères ennemis³—*Blanquistes-Granger* and *Blanquistes-Vaillant*—Possibilists A and B and Indépendants have one and all agreed to agree in this matter and appear to be smoking the pipe of peace.

The workers' votes will be Paul's, but I don't know whether these votes will go a long way.

I have very particular reasons for desiring that Paul may be successful, but I do not think that the fact of his not being returned can affect the very remarkable character of this candidature.—

¹ Mutually rend and devour each other.—*Tr.*

² (Sausage-maker—*Tr.*) Nickname for Constans, the Minister of the Interior.

³ Working-class revisionists ... brother enemies.—*Tr.*

Our Almanach, in consequence of this election, cannot appear before next month. I will write to let you know the date of publication as soon as it is fixed.

Paul's fine amounts to 1,200 francs; but, oh Lord, my dear General, we don't mean to pay it.—If the worst comes to the worst, Paul will stop at Ste-Pélagie a month or two over and above his legitimate twelvemonth and then will be quit of his debt. But I trust that between this and then we may teach Constans that there's many a slip between his cup and his lip and that we Socialists may be drinking to his discomfiture!—

Meantime we are going to send him “un saucisson d'honneur”.¹

Will you give my love to Louise and tell her that *M.P.*, with us,—does not stand for *Member of Parliament* but for *Member of Pélagie*.—

My landlady came in the first thing this morning—it's the early bird that finds the worm,—and departed in peace soon after. And, now, good riddance of Madame Vautour for the next three months!—

Good-bye, my dearest General, and give my love to Pumps and to her little ones.

Your

LÖHR

457. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

22 Oct. 91

My dear Laura,

Herewith my article.² Please look it over and say what you think of it. If you think that it won't do, or not without essential alterations, please say so. If you think it will do, let it

¹ “A sausage of honour”—*Tr.*

² This refers to the article “Socialism in Germany” which appeared in the *Almanach du Parti ouvrier pour 1892* (pp. 93-105).

be judged by others, quant aufond.¹ Le fond once agreed upon, please tell me where that particular lady la langue française² wants alterations. I could not, in a matter of this sort, where I should be held answerable for every word published, allow the Frenchies to make changes without seeing them myself first. If only formal changes are required, will you send me the Ms. back with your proposed changes and then we can settle.

Kind regards to our prisoner.
In great haste--Postschluss³!
Love from Louise and yours ever

F.E.

458. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Ste-Pélagie, 24/X/91

My dear Engels,

Laura has brought me your article on the German Socialist Party; we read it carefully together; it is splendid. Far from finding any fault with it, our people will think it comes at exactly the right time, that it is the clearest and most intelligent exposition of the present situation and that it is of the utmost importance to speak the truth at this juncture. After the elections I shall show it to Guesde and shall let you know his opinion; I am sure he will think as I do.

I believe that in a short while the entente between Russia and France will no longer be so cordial; the Chauvins will begin to realise that the tsar is bomboozling them and extracting hundreds of millions from them while giving them nothing but fine words. The success of the 500 million loan perhaps conceals a gigantic failure. It was not subscribed by

¹ As to the substance.—*Tr.*

² The French language.—*Tr.*

³ Post-time.—*Tr.*

the public, but by a dozen or so big banks: the Crédit Foncier alone took over two and a half million shares. As the Russian Government granted a so-called “*counter*” commission for every share subscribed, the banks had an interest in swelling the number of their subscriptions in order to draw a higher bonus and inspire confidence in their credit: all their brokers and agents who share with them in the discount have subscribed far beyond the needs of their clients. The day after the loan they began selling in order to unload their holdings. The number of shares thrown on the market was so great that they lost $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, according to the financial report in *Le Temps*.¹ If public confidence is shaken the banks may only be able to dispose of their shares at a loss; and as the money will have to be given to Russia things will become very intricate; the more so since the Rothschilds are playing the market for a fall in the value of Russian bonds. A month before the loan it was estimated that there were 4,500 million Russian bills in France; this figure must have increased, for Germany and England have unloaded part of their Russian loans in Paris. If the patriots lose their money over Russia, their ardent love for the tsar will not last long and they would soon start calling him hangman and flogger of women, as they did a few years ago. And in that case the political situation could take a new turn.

By the time you read this letter you will know, as shall I, the results of the elections. The Lille *Travailleur*² which from being a weekly became a daily for one week, will have kept

¹ Lafargue took his information from the “Financial Week” in *Le Temps* of October 19th, 1891 (p. 4/I-III), of which the first part is devoted to the Russian loan, criticising the practice of the credit banks who shared the discount with their brokers, a practice which had the immediate effect of bringing down the price of the Russian bonds.

² *Le Travailleur*, the organ of the Workers’ Party in the Nord, appeared every day from October 20th to 24th.

you posted with the election fight. The campaign was energetically conducted by Guesde, Delcluze and Delory.

The Radical Party in the Chamber and all the malcontents of Constans' making attach great importance to my election; they regard it as a blow to Constans, whom they want to bring down; that is the reason why, violating republican discipline, they intervened at the last minute to make the Radicals vote for me, although a radical candidate, Roche, had entered the lists.

Should we win the election, it would mean the whole Nord region definitely conquered; the Radicals would be obliged to combine with us at the next municipal elections in May 1892. The municipalities of Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing, Armentières, Fourmies, Calais, etc., would adhere to us; I could be mayor of Lille, if that were useful. If we don't make a blunder, we would have victories at the next general elections.

What is more, with me going into Parliament, a group could be formed, with the Radicals round Millerand, Hovelacque, Moreau, etc., a group of 60 to 80 socialist and radical deputies who, with the addition of the Boulangists, could play a certain part. The group would help to bring down Constans, which it would put forward at once.

As events move fast in France, the party would in a very short time have great influence in the country and would grow visibly.

But all this is only possible on condition that I am elected. Guesde writes to say that I shall get in on the first ballot: he always sees everything through rose-coloured spectacles. It would perhaps be better if I got in only on the second ballot, in order to involve the radical deputies and papers and give some publicity to the Lille election. Constans who controls the entire press by means of subsidies, has succeeded in silencing Paris, but in the second ballot that will be impossible.—Duc-Quercy writes to me this morning saying that despite all his efforts, he has been unable to get a single

word printed in my favour but some promises for the second ballot.

Well, we shall see.

Love to Mme Louise, Tussy, Pumps and family

P. LAFARGUE

The commission on the Russian loan was 5 francs per share.¹

459. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

24/10/91

Saturday evening

My dear General,

I read your article last night and this morning read it to Paul at Pélagie. Ça ira! Ça ira!² It is really fine. Paul shares my admiration, but he'll be writing to you at the same time as myself about the Emprunt Russe³ and what not.

On Guesde's return we will show him your article and get his opinion of it. Meantime your Ms. is in my keeping. I consider that a distinct and uncompromising utterance of the kind is exactly what has been wanted here by our people. Nothing so categorical has been published on the subject in France. I do not speak of our besotted bourgeois; their eyes are sealed and neither logic nor rhetoric will avail to open them; the truth is more wasted on them than pearls on pigs. The few verbal changes which I would suggest I will submit to you when Guesde shall have seen the article.

Excellent news from Lille but it's no use forecasting at this time of the night; you will know the result before these lines reach you.

Paul has done me the kindness to give me letters to write

¹ Added in pencil.

² That's the thing!—*Tr.*

³ Russian loan.—*Tr.*

and to translate for him, which I must do to-night. Tomorrow I have some friends coming and on Monday I shall be busy in the morning with a lesson to a young woman who is learning English *in extremis* (employment is promised her provided she knows a little English) and in the afternoon I shall be pilgriming to Pélagie to congratulate or to condole with Paul.

So good-bye, my dear General, with a kiss from your

LÖHR

Kind remembrances to Louise.

460. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 27 Octbr., 1891

Mein liebes Löhr,

Das ist ja ein ganz famoses Resultat,¹ Paul heading the Poll—pretty Poll—you see enthusiasm makes me half mad and drives me into Pantomime puns, but when I came to “pretty Poll” and remembered your name was Kakadou, that brought me to a dead stop: I might be accused of blasphemy and what not! Au, au, sagt der Jud in Berlin, wenn der Christliche Germane auch einmal versucht einen Witz zu machen.²

Well, if I only knew le nombre des électeurs inscrits,³ I should make a shrewd guess. The *Défense* de Lille bragged with 6,000 Monarchist and Clerical votes⁴; that I doubt very much, and so think Paul almost safe. We drank success to

¹ (My dear Laura, this is a truly fabulous result.—*Tr.*) In the first ballot, Lafargue pooled 5,005 votes against 2,928 for Depasse, 2,272 for Roche and 1,246 for Bère.

² Ow, ow, as the Berlin Jew says, when the Christian Teuton tries for once in a way to make a joke too.—*Tr.*

³ The number of electors on the register.—*Tr.*

⁴ *La Défense*, conservative Lille newspaper, in its issue of October 27th.

him last Sunday in 1868 Port, and I am sure at least the 5 votes over the 5,000 are due to our efforts. Never mind, next Sunday week we'll try another and more successful sort and that is sure to smash up all his opponents. What a fine country France is to be looked up! You attack the government, the government makes you M.P. (Pélagie) but Pélagie makes you M.P. (Parliament). In Germany it's the other way about. You get elected into Parliament and then you may well write behind your name M.P. because that means Member of *Plötzensee*—the new monster prison near Berlin.

But trêve de bêtises.¹ I am very glad indeed you and Paul like my article. But will the Kuddelmuddel² people of the *Almanac* be of the same mind? *Never* mind [another Pantomime effort, I shall soon be M.P. (Pantomime)]: it can then go in the *Socialiste*.

Old Sorge who does not want to have the *Socialiste* without paying for it asks me to send 10/ for his subscription. I send a postal order; they sell readily in Vienna, as Louise tells me, so no doubt they will be legal tender in Paris.

Postmark

1. 525,490,10/—Regent's Park Road
38 24 Sept. 91

Things in Erfurt went very well. The execution of the insolent young student and commis-voyageur³ lot was very necessary.⁴ They will soon disappear now, and the next lot of the same sort will be less cheeky.

But now it's post-time and dinner-time too. Give Paul a hearty cheer in our name when you come into Pélagie, and take a hearty embrace yourself from Louise and your old incorrigible

GENERAL

¹ A truce to this joking.—*Tr.*

² Hotchpotch.—*Tr.*

³ Commercial traveller.—*Tr.*

⁴ At the Erfurt Congress the motion expelling Werner and Wildberger was unanimously passed at the October 16th session.

461. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Nov. 3/91

My dear General,

Your puns are disgraceful and you deserve hanging for them.

Thanks for drinking to Paul's success, but if your united efforts in 68 Port are only worth 5 votes, why, I'm sure Péroline and I did better in our last year's Claret. Better luck to you next time and I hope you'll make the scale dip in favour of our candidate whose portrait in the *Lillois*¹ I hope you admire: he looks almost as young and sheepish as when he came a-wooing Kakadou.

Yesterday he was looking rather seedy, and no wonder, considering that at the Lille Brasserie du Parti, 1,000 litres of beer (let alone "le velours"²) had been drunk to his health on Sunday evening!

Here's such a hubbub as you never saw in our press and political world, and all along of this election. Says the *Soleil*: "Un coup de foudre dans un ciel serein! Les 5,000 voix données à M. Lafargue sont venues troubler les républicains du gouvernement au milieu de leur quiétude."³ *L'Es-*

¹ The *Lillois*, No. 360 of October 25th, 1891, published a drawing on the front page with the caption: "Guesde and Delcluze to the electors of the first constituency". It showed Delcluze and Guesde holding up Lafargue's portrait against a background depicting the Fourmies massacre and another of the Nord prefect being turned out of the prefecture. Listing the candidates, the paper said: "Lafargue's candidature is the only absolutely straightforward one. He stands for the Workers' Party and for nothing but the Workers' Party." In No. 362 of November 6th the paper called for votes for Lafargue, the protest candidate. And in its following issue, it congratulates itself on the victory won by the "radico-socialo-conservative coalition".

² Red wine.—*Tr.*

³ (A thunderbolt from the blue! The 5,000 votes cast for Mr. Lafargue have come to disturb the government Republicans in the midst of their repose.—*Tr.*) *Le Soleil* of October 30th, 1891 (p. 1/I-II), in the editorial by Edouard Hervé.

*tafette*¹, *La République Française*² and *Le Temps* are boiling over ("il a tout pour lui, cet excellent M. Lafargue",³ says Emmanuel Arène, un pilier de la majorité républicaine⁴); *Le Gaulois* predicts "la chute du ministère dès le début de l'année prochaine".⁵—Lafargue's success has stirred up Millerand and Millerand's stirring has led to the resurrection of Clemenceau. "M. Millerand ne veut pas être débordé par M. Lafargue et M. Clemenceau ne veut pas être débordé par M. Millerand",⁶ writes the *République*.

The fact is that the Radicals have long been in a bad way and this election gave them a chance of a revival. They began by setting up a candidate of their own and their press systematically and rigorously excluded all letters and communications from the socialist candidate and his committee. But before the day of the elections had dawned, the Radicals, Millerand-Moreau, had found out which way the wind was blowing and *lâchèrent*⁷ their own candidate for his socialist opponent. In l'Yonne the opportunist retires in favour of the radical candidate⁸ and at Lille the Radicals are nothing if not "bienveillants"⁹ towards socialism. (See Millerand's speech.¹⁰)

Our own people are beside themselves with joy. They had not in the least expected so favourable an issue, having been

¹ In its issues of October 28th and November 1st.

² Editorial by Emmanuel Arène in *La République Française* of November 1st.

³ "This admirable Mr. Lafargue has everything in his favour."—*Tr.*

⁴ A pillar of the republican majority.—*Tr.*

⁵ (The fall of the ministry at the beginning of next year.—*Tr.*) Editorial by J. Cornély in *Le Gaulois* of October 27th, 1891.

⁶ "M. Millerand does not want to be overtaken by M. Lafargue, and M. Clemenceau does not want to be overtaken by M. Millerand."—*Tr.*

⁷ *Dropped*.—*Tr.*

⁸ A by-election had also taken place on October 25th at Auxerre. The Radical Paul Doumer was returned in the second ballot.

⁹ Well-disposed.—*Tr.*

¹⁰ This refers to a speech by Millerand at the Lille hippodrome calling upon the radical electors to cast their votes for Lafargue in the second ballot.

so long used to fortune's cruelty, though they had never come to like it. But our party in and out of Palais Bourbons and Pélagie Prisons will have to keep on the alert, for they are surrounded by enemies disguised and undisguised. Guesde writes to Paul: "On nous fait une guerre de Peaux-Rouges!"¹ But all this excitement of the modérés, the opportunists and the Radicals shows that our party is looking up and will, at last, have to be counted with. And it is the Radicals who have had to make the overtures and who come knocking at the gate of the *Parti Ouvrier* and accept the socialist candidature—*la seule nette!*²—

Good-bye, my dear General, I have two or three letters to write before post-time and, as Péroline is at Paris, I shall have to run round to the post and be back in time to feed my beasts and birds.

YOUR KAKADOU

462. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 9 Novbr. 91

My dear Laura,

Victoire!³ Though hidden in one of its most desolate corners, amongst the paragraphs that help to make up columns, the *Daily News*⁴ did inform us that Paul had beaten Depasse (who now would do well to change the *a* of his name, source of so many calembours,⁵ into *e*) by 1,400 or thereabout. So the two toasts, in Port and Claret, offered up yesterday by us, were not without effect. Well, that's so much gained. And what is worth more than the victory itself

¹ They are waging a Redskins' war on us.—*Tr.*

² The only straightforward one.—*Tr.*

³ In the second ballot Lafargue was elected with 6,470 votes to 5,175 for Depasse.

⁴ The *Daily News* of November 9th, 1891, published a paragraph "A Socialist Elected Deputy at Lille" (p. 6/III).

⁵ Puns. Depasse to exceed, outdo, overshoot.—*Tr.*

almost, is the way in which it was won and which turns a common by-election into a great political action, a cause of incalculable effects. Paul may well back his Constans against the roi de Prusse as an involuntary promoter of socialism; but the real likeness lies between Constans and Bismarck, as it lay between Bismarck and Louis Bonaparte—they all partake of that short-sighted cleverness and Dummschlaueit¹ of the ordinary merchant and speculator who aims at one thing, and, by miscalculating causes and effects, arrives at effecting the very opposite.

Anyhow Constans' stupidity has resulted not only in Paul's election, which gives a tremendous *élan* to socialism all over France, but also is loosing the coalition for the maintenance of the ministry which was formed against Boulangism at the Rue Cadet. I don't think the mass of the *Clemencist* Radicals will as yet fall away from the ministry, they are held too tightly. But the old feeling of security does no longer exist since the *Roche*-debate.² And some, the more consistent elements like Millerand, can hardly keep within the ministerial alliance. That, and the personal ambitions and intrigues *within* the ministry will be sufficient to bring on a change—and every change loosens the bonds between the Czar and French Chauvinists, and thus is in favour of peace. By the bye, what an irony of history that the Russian Government, after having spent millions on Boulanger, must now spend fresh millions on the very people who upset Boulanger!

It was a nice exciting time and I have to thank you very much for enabling me to follow all the *péripéties*³ of it in

¹ Stupid cunning.—*Tr.*

² On October 31st the Chamber had been drawn into a debate following Roche's question on Lafargue's continued imprisonment. Millerand and Clemenceau intervened and the latter made one of those speeches "which were already the signal and, as it were, the tocsin of crises" (*Le Temps* of November 2nd). The Radicals voted against the government motion and the Right-wing opposition abstained. In the end Freycinet moved next business which was passed by only 228 votes to 148.

³ Ups and downs.—*Tr.*

the Paris press. What a miserable helpless political ass that Ranc has become.¹ Il doit être en train de s'enrichir, celui-là!²

I have sent a few lines of humorous congratulations to Paul direct, so that M. le directeur de la prison might have the perusal of them. If he should confiscate them I will send you a copy. But I hope and trust there will be more respect shown to M. le député.

I am curious to see what Constans and the Chamber will do now. If they try to keep Paul in Ste-Pélagie it will be all the worse for them.³

It strikes me Mother Crawford⁴ is not far wrong in saying the strength of the present ministry is its having brought about outward signs of the French and Russian *entente*; and that this makes the Radicals fear a dissolution. But if, as is probable, *internal* discussions break up the ministry, taking advantage of another such doubtful victory as that on Saturday week,⁵ then everything changes. First, the Russian *entente* becomes very vapoury as soon as the instability of governments is evidenced again, and secondly, if the Cabinet splits up, either fragment will claim the merit

¹ Engels is no doubt alluding to Ranc's attitude in the Lille election, in which he supported Depasse. This led him to say of Constans: "Whatever the real responsibilities involved in that ever-to-be-lamented incident (the Fourmies massacre)... no one was more distressed by it than the Minister of the Interior." He also wrote: "The election of M. Lafargue would be the victory of a doubtful coalition." (*Paris*, November 7th, 1891: "The Nord Election".)

² That's a chap who must be busy getting rich!—*Tr.*

³ From November 9th a motion was tabled in the Chamber by Ferroul and another by Millerand asking it to give orders for the suspension of Lafargue's detention. It was passed on a show of hands. The Ministers of the Interior and of Justice gave the order of release, while letting it be understood that this was a suspension of the sentence for the duration of the parliamentary session and that the length of the prison sentence he had received would not be reduced by the period during which he took his seat. (*Le Temps*, November 10th.)

⁴ *Daily News* of November 9th, 1891, in an unsigned article: "The French Ministry".

⁵ This refers to Roche's interpellation. See above.

of that entente. And thirdly, after a split nobody can tell either what the reconstruction may turn out to be, or how long it may last.

I have looked at the *Justice* of Clemenceau lately again more often, and it strikes me that at the bottom of the anti-Boulangist Alliance must have been the idea that there was only one way of taking the wind out of the sails of any present or future Boulanger, and that is: to close with Russia at any price and *then hasten on the guerre de revanche*.¹ That is the only conclusion I can draw from the tone of the *Justice*: *soyons plus patriotes que Boulanger*!² And no doubt that plan would suit them all: settle the account with Germany, raise France again to a position of supremacy (which Russia *might* allow them the show of, provided France gave her the reality) and then, but not before, settle our internal Republican Party quarrels. Unless that is the fact, I cannot make out either the language or the action of the Radicals. They may be fools but there is a limit to all folly, outside the madhouse at least.

Louise is going to write a few lines, so I close with love.

Ever yours,

F. E.

My dear Laura,

I am very proud that my definition of the letters M. P. turned out right at last though you have been right before and are right as long as things last.³ The notice about M.P. (in your sense) election was underneath a paragraph "The murder of a wealthy widow"; General found it out, as I did not know, that the election of a Socialist ranges itself under the impression of a bourgeois.

[LOUISE]

¹ *The war of revenge.—Tr.*

² Let's be more patriotic than Boulanger.—*Tr.*

³ Lafargue was still in prison on November 9th.

463. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Ste-Pélagie, 9/XI/91

My dear Engels,

There we are. Everything was put in motion to wreck me. They mustered every accusation: I was a Prussian, a man without a country, a free-trader, a civil war candidate, impious, etc.... And so not a single reactionist voted for me. In fact, Constans entered into negotiations with their leaders. They poured out money. The government and the refiners provided Depasse with funds.

It's impossible for me to go on, people are talking round me. I was anxious to write to you to thank you for all you have done for me. Laura sends you her love.

Regards to Mme Louise and the Avelings.

Cordially yours,

P. LAFARGUE

464. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 18/XI/91

My dear Engels,

Thank you for the cheque. We have received your two letters. Constans only stops my telegrams.

Yesterday I came home with Laura at 2 a.m. from the dance and meeting held to celebrate my election.¹ We leave at midday for Lille, for a meeting; we shall return to Paris to-morrow in time for me to go to the Chamber. I am beginning to feel worn out by the rush in which I am living.

¹ On November 17th a dance and meeting was organised by the Paris Aggregate at the Tivoli Vauxhall to celebrate Lafargue's election.

The business of my nationality¹ is going very well. Ranc has written an article in my favour²; my election has this much strange about it that it has forced the Radicals and even the opportunists to support it.

Regards to Mme Louise and good wishes to you,

P. LAFARGUE

465. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Chambre des Députés

Paris, le 22 novembre 1891

My dear General,

You will have read the reports of the Lille papers, but, good and accurate as far as they go, they do not give the faintest idea of the extraordinary reception of the new deputy.

We reached Lille (myself suffering from cold and incipient influenza and Paul from extreme fatigue, and no wonder) at half past five p.m. No sooner had his electors caught sight of Paul than they took possession of him, crowding round him and carrying him off in triumph. Me a lot of "citoyennes" had seized upon, one on either side of me, taking hold of me and I don't know how many more following behind and very nearly lifting me off my feet. Having got to Lagrange's house, where Paul has his legal domicile, we were told that a few hundred men had invaded the hall attached to the house and were clamouring for their

¹ The Depasse committee had sent a letter to the Election Disqualifications Committee accusing Lafargue of not having French nationality and of being in reality called Pablo Fonseca, known as Lafargue. Naturally the whole government press hastened to print this letter and to raise the question of Lafargue's nationality.

² In *Paris* of November 17th, 1891, Ranc wrote an article: "M. Paul Lafargue" (p. 1/IV-V), in which he said, referring to Lafargue's conduct in 1870: "He behaved and spoke like a patriot, like a Frenchman. Although M. Lafargue has not asked me to bear this witness, I owe it to him."

deputy. We took refuge in a small room followed by some twenty persons—a good dozen of whom were women—and citizen Legrand was deputed to inform the poor fellows assembled below that Lafargue would meet them by and bye at la Scala.

We then dined, our hostess having prepared an excellent dinner and our host having ransacked his cellar for his best and most cobwebbed wines. At 8 o'clock we started for la Scala where the meeting was to take place. We managed to get in by a side-door, and once inside the hall I saw a sight such as I had never seen before. The body of the hall was crowded to suffocation, the gallery was stuffed and hundreds of men and women were making superhuman efforts to get in. The doors which had been closed were forced open and a second gallery (*fermée pour cause de réparation*¹) was taken by storm and in a few seconds was as choke-full as the other. And still the people outside clamoured for admittance. "Serrez les rangs",² shouted Delory, and instantly there was a move forward effected with a precision and rapidity that would have caused your general's heart to beat. A few benches broke down under the weight of the masses. A couple of windows were smashed. Nearly all the people were on their feet throughout the evening and packed so closely that, as one of the reporters said, if we had wanted to turn anybody out, it couldn't have been done.

The tenor of Paul's speech you know. But at the end of his speech the meeting was by no means at an end. The people would not leave the hall before their deputy had left, so that we had to make our way through the crowd and I thought we should never get through. The perspiration ran down Paul's face, he had an enormous bouquet on one arm and gave his other arm to his wife. I rather think he thought we should be crushed for he looked intensely unhappy as we

¹ Closed for repairs.—*Tr.*

² Close your ranks.—*Tr.*

moved on jammed and wedged in by his too enthusiastic electors. We got out however safe enough and once in the streets of Lille it was all smooth sailing. I don't know how many hundreds or thousands brought up the rear, but we were escorted right and left and in front by a body-guard of friends and citizens who cleared the way for us. Men and boys and girls and women shouted Vive Lafargue and sang a variety of popular and revolutionary songs:

*C'est bien vrai ce qu'on a dit;
Au sortir de Ste-Pélagie
Il va siéger à Paris.¹*

On reaching our destination, Paul had again to address the people before they would consent to go home and it was to the cry of "A bas Constans" that they finally dispersed. A large number of the men, Delory had informed us, would inevitably be fined on the morrow for having abandoned their workshops too early in the day. The women told me: "Si Lafargue est invalidé il y aura une révolution à Lille, et rien n'empêchera cela."² It is impossible to see a more ardent population than these Lillois, but these men who smash windows and break open doors to get a glimpse of their deputy and who look ready to tear Constans to pieces, took off their hats and caps to me when I shook hands with them. It was a grand sight and I wish you had been there to see it.

Good-bye, my dear General, for it's time to shut up. I will write to Louise as soon as may be.

Your affectionate

LAURA

¹ What they say is very true:
On coming out of Sainte-Pélagie
He will have a seat in Paris.—Tr.

² If Lafargue is unseated there'll be a revolution in Lille, and nothing will stop it.—Tr.

466. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Wednesday evening 25/XI/91

My dear General,

Your letter to hand I have sent off so hastily to Paul after running over the contents of it that you must forgive me if I reply to the spirit rather than to the letter of it. And forgive me for saying that I consider the spirit of it most unjustifiable. It is on the strength of a *Reuter's telegram*¹ that you fall foul of Paul in a way that I trust and believe to be wholly undeserved.—

I think that Paul and I have *done* and *suffered* enough ever since we came over here to further and indeed to *invent* the cause of internationalism—which primarily means the union of France and Germany—to be quit of charges of the kind.—

If Paul were not the soul of honour in all things public and political, I should not now be here and living with him, for he has faults enough and to spare of his own!—

Forgive me for saying that your letter has spoilt the short-lived pleasure I have had in Paul's election.

YOUR LAURA

¹ Here is part of the *Reuter's* message which appeared in the *Evening Standard* of November 23rd, 1891 (p. 1/II), and provoked Engels' letter here answered by Laura:

"The Lille Election.

Bordeaux, Nov. 23rd

"Mr. Paul Lafargue, the socialist deputy recently elected in Lille, spoke here yesterday at a meeting of 200 Socialists. He was at pains to prove to his audience that he was a French subject and explained that he had not fought in the French army in 1870 because he was at that time serving France in his own way by communicating to the members of the National Defence Government the plans he had obtained from the colleagues of the International living in Germany and among whom were several German officers...."

467. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON¹

Lyons, 26/XI/91

My dear Engels,

I cannot be held responsible for everything the papers have put into my mouth for weeks past; I have not protested against anything, because I should have to be protesting continually. But this is what I said at Bordeaux and elsewhere. I did not take up arms in 1870-71 because I had to re-form the International, decapitated by the siege of Paris; and that the Internationalists of France no less than of Germany and of other countries regarded it as their duty to prevent the smashing of the French Republic by Bismarck's troops; and that, whilst those in France and other countries enlisted under Garibaldi to defend the Republic, the German Internationalists protested against the continuation of the war and, later, against the theft of Alsace-Lorraine.

I am writing in haste; I will write at greater length when I have a little peace; but I am hurrying from town to town; at the moment I am at Lyons where our Congress is being held²; on Friday evening I have to leave for Paris again to attend a meeting of the Election Disqualifications Committee, and I have to take the train back to Lyons the same night in order to be present at the Sunday conference.

I am very glad to know that you are well and in capital working condition.

Kind regards,

P. LAFARGUE

¹ Engels quoted a part of this letter in his own to Bebel of December 1st, 1891.

² The National Congress of the French Workers' Party was held at Lyons from November 26th to 29th, 1891. It worked out the socialist municipal programme for the elections of May 1st, 1892.

468. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 27 Nov., 1891

My dear Laura,

You need not be afraid that it ever entered my mind to think Paul capable of a wilfully mean and dishonourable action. That is entirely out of the question. But a man may be the very soul of honour, and yet commit an *étourderie*,¹ the consequences of which may be incalculable. And my letters contain no charge against Paul except the expression of the possibility that he *may* have been led into such an *étourderie*, and, besides, the attempt, supposing that to be the case, to help him out of it as much as lay in my power. To do which, it was absolutely necessary to make clear to him the full *portée*² of the words put into his mouth.

Now you yourself admit that it is just possible he *may* have been led to commit such a blunder.

To recall the facts. On Monday evening the *Ev[enin]g Standard* contains the *Reuter*³ which showed to me the necessity of immediate action, 1) to obtain authentic information, 2) to prevent further blunders, in case one had been committed. Hence my letter to you which I hope you will, on re-reading, find less unjustifiable than when you had read it first. Well, the same night, or next morning at latest, I receive from you 1) the enclosed cutting from a paper not named—from which report *Reuter* had evidently abridged,⁴

¹ *Folly*.—Tr.

² *Significance*.—Tr.

³ See p. 137, note 1.

⁴ This clearly refers to the report of the Bordeaux meeting published in *Le Temps* of November 24th, 1891 (p. 3/1). The following is the passage which corresponds with the *Reuter*'s message:

"At the meeting held in the *salle des Chats*, M. Lafargue was at special pains to prove that he was a Frenchman. To the criticism that he had not taken up arms in 1870, he replied that he had served his country in his own fashion by communicating to M. Ranc plans which, had they been taken into account, might have completely changed the face of things. These plans had been communicated to him by his brothers of the International in Germany, among whom were several German army officers."

2) an *Intransigeant* 25. Novembre,¹ where under the heading: "Le cit[oyen] Laf[argue] à Bordeaux", it is equally stated that on Nov. 22 Paul, *before a meeting of cinq ou six cents personnes ... dans la salle des Chats*, said "qu'à différentes reprises il avait (en 1870) remis à M. Ranc, alors Directeur de la Sûreté Générale, divers plans et documents importants *sur la situation des armées allemandes* qui lui avaient été communiqués *par des socialistes allemands* et qui auraient pu changer la face des choses", etc., etc.²

From that I was forced to conclude that *you knew* the contents of these two reports, and that the very fact of your sending them to me *without a word of comment*, implied a tacit acknowledgement that they were in substance correct. On that conclusion, and moreover remembering certain expressions in the Lille speech, equally sent by you, and which expressions I considered at least uncalled for, I could not act otherwise than write to Paul my letter of Wednesday 25th.

Now of course I see that you had never read a report of Paul's speech, and that my letters to you and to Paul gave you the first intimation of what had been put into his mouth. But now you will also see that this is a matter which must be attended to; that the statement about the action of some German Socialists during the war of 1870-71—whether substantially true or substantially false—ought never under any circumstances to have been made, *if it was made*, and ought to be clearly and unmistakeably disavowed, *at once*, if it was not made; that so long as this report is not completely and absolutely disposed of, it will be absurd to expect our German friends to place any confidence in our French friends; and that the government and bourgeois in

¹ The *Intransigeant* of November 25th. 1891, reported the Bordeaux meeting addressed by Lafargue (p. 2/II).

² *Five or six hundred people ... in the salle des Chats ...* "that on various occasions (in 1870) he had passed on to M. Ranc, at that time Head of the Sûreté Générale, various important plans and documents *on the situation of the German armies* which had been communicated to him *by German socialists* and which might have changed the course of events".—Tr.

Germany will at once exploit this report against our German party in a way which is absolutely incalculable; if it leads to nothing more than a renewal of the old socialist law, *it will be lucky!*

So if Paul has been slandered, if he is prepared to declare publicly that he never said a word implying in any way the assertion that German Socialists, *either in or out of Germany*, provided him with military statements, plans, news or anything of the kind for the use of the French Government during the war 1870-71—then let him send me that declaration *at once* and in a registered letter. But it must be plain, without reservation or qualification of any kind, or it will be useless and *may* turn out worse than useless.

If that plain declaration cannot, for one reason or another, be made, then I see no other way out of the mess but that you and Paul come over here at once and discuss by word of mouth such matters as will evidently be fitted for that mode of settlement alone. Your presence will be almost as necessary as his, to moderate our hot heads and to give us the views of your cool head on the situation in France; and also to help us in finding “the way out” by your feminine sagacity and souplesse,¹ in cases where we male clumsy stick-in-the-muds are left in the dark. You see I am anxious, as anxious can be, to help Paul out of the difficulty if he has got himself into one; but the very first thing is to prevent the commission of fresh mistakes in case *one* has already been committed. To-morrow his election will be settled, on Monday at latest I shall have the first reports from Germany on the effect of this thunderbolt from a clear sky; so if you come on Sunday, to be here in the evening, we might succeed in dispersing at least the worst of the clouds on Monday. A telegram “coming to-night” would be agreeable, as we receive no letters on Sunday. And under all and any circumstances I do hope, Paul will not take any public steps in a matter deeply concerning other people without first consulting these people; the slightest blunder might be fatal

¹ Flexibility.—*Tr.*

to himself, and he will see, I hope too, that this is no joking matter and must be got out of the world as soon as possible.

Ever yours affectionately,

F.E.

469. FREDERICK ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE*

London, 1 Dec. 91

My dear Laura,

Your letter of the 28th, postmark Le Perreux 30th, arrived to-day and took an awful weight off my mind. I have at once sent a translation to Bebel¹ and authorised him to use it whenever necessary.

Fortunately the stupidity of our enemies in Germany has been so colossal that they have, so far at least, seemingly overlooked the whole affair. What I was most afraid of, was that they should raise a storm in Germany before we had been able to ascertain the facts and to be armed with the materials for a crushing reply. Hesitation on the part of the German leaders, or random assertions that might be contradicted, would have been equally dangerous. Now the first danger is over, and although it is quite on the cards that the German Embassy in Paris may have sent reports which in consequence of the usual bureaucratic delays get into the press a week too late, we have a strong position and can meet the charge if it should come.

Still for that purpose it would be important to have Ranc's article.² If it was possible to *broder*³ such stuff upon it, it must form a peculiar canvas, and not only the false report

¹ Laura's letter is translated in part in the first paragraph of Engels' letter to Bebel of December 1st. Paul had mandated her to corroborate his letter of November 26th, to stress the private nature of the Bordeaux meeting, to underline that the incriminating expressions had in fact been taken by the journalist from Ranc's article, and to deny that he had spoken of plans provided by the Germans or through their mediation.

² This refers again to the article in *Paris* of November 17th, 1891. Concerning the communication of military plans, Ranc in fact did no more than explicitly repeat the words used in an interview Lafargue had given to a reporter of *Le Matin*.

³ *Embroider*.—Tr.

of Paul's speech, but also Ranc's words may be quoted; and we ought to know what they are. Paul merely wrote, Ranc had written in his favour with regard to Bordeaux 1870. Could you procure us the number, and if not, at least say what paper it appeared in, that we may try to hunt it up here?

Now as to other matters.

1) Some time ago I sent you 10/ for account of Sorge for the *Socialiste*; please say whether you have received it, you know how particular old Sorge is.

2) Have you received the copy of 4th edition *Ursprung der Familie* I sent rather more than 3 weeks ago? I sent a lot of copies to the Continent and not one has been acknowledged. As the English Post simply confiscates book-post matter for abroad if a halfpenny is short on the postage, I begin to feel rather anxious.

3) Tussy is bothered to death by Greenwood, the sec[re]tary of the Glassworkers, who has sent a lot of money for the French Glassworkers on strike and cannot get a single acknowledgement of receipt. He says in a letter to Tussy, Nov. 28th that he has sent to Paul same day £49 for that purpose—will you please do your best to get Paul to acknowledge all sums sent through him and also to get Pierre Morrier of Lyons, who has had several sums, to do the same? The Castleford Glass Bottle Makers have behaved very well to their French comrades, and the least these latter can do is to acknowledge receipt, so as to enable the senders to *account* for the money to their constituents. Unless this simple act is complied with, it will be doubtful whether the English Trades Unions will not get tired of supporting Continental strikers, and certainly nobody could blame them.

Bebel's speech on the budget was very good. As soon as I get a pretty full report, I shall send it you.

Last night a letter from Sam Moore: had arrived at Lagos in the Niger delta, and would be back in the arms of his black wife in about a week or ten days.

Yours ever,

F. ENGELS

470. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, Dec. 3, 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Following your formal repudiation¹ of all the passages in the Bordeaux report of which I had a right to complain, it only remains for me to retract all the wounding words I used towards you, and formally to ask your pardon.

As my only excuse, I will describe the situation in which I found myself. That evening, arrives the *Reuter* report from the *Evening Standard* of which you know. The next evening a bundle of newspapers from Laura containing the *Intransigeant* with the report in question; also a cutting from another paper with another version of the same report. The three versions are in agreement on the main issue. How, then, could I conclude other than this: Laura has read these reports, if she sends them without a word of comment, it means that basically they are true. Hence, Paul must have said something of the sort.

Further: there were things in it—whether true or not—which could only have been said either by you or by Ranc. If Ranc said them, you would certainly not have delayed to inform me of a fact whose effects on the position of the German Soc[ialists] could be of the utmost gravity—well then?

Quite so. As far as our people in Germany are concerned, it was a matter, at best, of the re-introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law, frenziedly acclaimed by all the Chauvins of our ruling classes; the banning of our papers and meetings, and all our literature; and, in the event of war, the arrest of all the *leaders**, at the very hour when we should have the greatest need of them to seize the revolutionary moment

¹ Lafargue's letter has not come to light. It appears, indeed, that this repudiation is contained in Laura's letter of November 28th, referred to in the previous letter whose contents are known only by what appears in Engels' letter to Bebel of December 1st, 1891.

(32)

Lettres de J. Béc. 1891

Mon cher Lafargue

Après votre amicale formal de tous les passages du compte tant à de Bordaux dont j'ai vainement de me plaindre, il ne me reste que de me retracer de toutes les paroles blessantes dont j'ai pu faire usage envers vous, et de vous en demander formellement pardon.

Pour toute excuse, je vous peins la situation où je me trouvais. Le soir, après le Rentier du Evangelisme que vous connaissiez, l'abbé Renan m'a fait de jolis propos où Lama n'a rien dit. L'abbé, étant avec le compte par la gestion; puis une autre version de ce même compte. L'abbé Renan et un autre journal. Les trois versions d'accord sur le point principal. Alors, pour moi, je conclus autre chose que ceci: Lama a lu ces comptes par lui, et il les a lus, adressés à un ami de commentaire, c'est qu'ils sont égaux quant au fond. Donc, quel doit être d'un quelque chose de semblable.

Puis: il y avait des choses à dire qui étaient des oracles ou non, se posaient et se défont que, ou par vous, ou par Renan. Si Renan les avait dites, certainement vous n'auriez pas tant à me communiquer, ne fût-ce que les effets de

Facsimile of the beginning of Letter 470 from Frederick Engels to Paul Lafargue
(see over for the end of the letter)

doublement limitée au milieu des passions humaines
et humaines. Alors votre tâche sera de le corriger
par la loi, le vice, le purgatoire.

Vous devez que le rapport à l'acte de son sentiment
trahisse l'âme. c'est cette probité faite qu'elle
est, mais importante à moins que le lecteur n'ait
été au moins ébranlé par le Censeur de l'âme.
Ce Censeur je l'ai fini ou. Nulley donc
contingence ou l'artifice lui-même, ou copie
du moins des passages concernants; ou bien de
dire le nom du journal et le date du moment
où il a paru, pour chercher ici, alors sans
raison au moins contre quelques allégues
il faudra nous défendre.

Bien à vous

J. L. L.

drawing near. Besides that, it was a matter of an element of mistrust and discord being sown between the French and German workers just when their union was more essential than ever.

Thanks to the stupidity of our enemies, these articles have not so far been taken up in the German press. But it is certain that the Embassy will have used them in its reports. And, although your disavowal, immediately transmitted to Berlin, has taken a tremendous load off my mind, there is always the danger that the German Government will hold this charge in reserve, in order, when there is war, to imprison our best people and smash them with an accusation doubly frightful at a time of chauvinist passions let loose. In those circumstances your disavowal would only half protect them, and this is why.

You say that the reporter has embroidered an article by Ranc. But this embroidery, such as it is, would have been impossible unless the design had been at least *outlined* on Ranc's canvas. That canvas I have never seen. Therefore please send me either the article itself or at least a copy of the relevant passages; or else let me know the name of the paper and the date of the issue when it appeared, so that I can look it up here. Then we shall at least know against what attacks we shall have to defend ourselves.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

471. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 9/XII/91

My dear Engels,

Well, they've swallowed me at last,¹ not without difficulty; it made poor Constans ill, as also Emmanuel Arène, who

¹ The debate ratifying Lafargue's election took place on Monday, December 7th and the findings of the committee were adopted by 355 votes to 27.

has absented himself from the Chamber since Monday owing to opportunist illness.

Yesterday, Tuesday, I made my *maiden speech**,¹ it was a dynamite bomb, which caused a general explosion; the Centre and the Left united to cut me short with interruptions and noises; from time to time the Right joined in the uproar. Despite everything I held my own against them all, even against Floquet, who annoyed me frightfully with remarks which he shot at me behind my back from the presidential chair. I was determined to put the matter on a genuine socialist basis for my opening, which is what infuriated all the deputies and particularly the good Radicals, whom I called representatives of the owning classes, although the product of universal suffrage.

The speech went home; it only remains to agitate outside to reinforce my position in parliament. On Saturday I start a series of meetings at Lille, Roubaix and Armentières; the following week I shall be in the Rhône, at Givors, Lyons, Thizy, Tarare and Roanne.

As I am a bit tired, I shall spend two days in Bordeaux and in Calais to breathe some sea air and eat fish. If the weather were not so wet and if, above all, I could devote a few more days to resting, Laura would have come with me, for she, too, needs to rest after the period of excitement we have been through.

Regards to Mme Louise,

Cordially yours,

P. LAFARGUE

¹ At the parliamentary session of December 8th Lafargue tabled a motion for a complete amnesty, for which he claimed urgency. This being adopted, Lafargue made a general statement on socialism which provoked violent interruptions. In passing, Lafargue alluded to Comte de Mun's speech and the Pope's encyclical to show that the socialist idea was present everywhere and proposed an alliance with all those who wanted to combine in the defence of the working class. *Le Temps* of the following day (December 10th, p. 1/IV) described the speech as "apocalyptic" and stressed that Lafargue had spread confusion by not playing the parliamentary game and by holding out his hand to all those with social interests.

I am sending you the two articles by Ranc¹ and *Le Socialiste* containing the resolution on the Russian alliance, which has made the whole press howl at us.

472. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 19. Decbr. 91

My dear Laura,

To-day I have just the time to inform you that the box with the usual pudding, cake, etc., has been safely forwarded by the usual instrumentality yesterday and hope will reach you safely and in time.

20th Dec. You see I had *not* "just the time" yesterday, for the dinner-bell called me off, it being 5.20 and only ten minutes to spare before closing of mail—so I thought it better to wait till to-day.

Schorlemmer cannot come this Christmas, and Pumps and family, whom I saw at Ryde for a few days last week, are in the same position. So then it struck me: would it not be a bit of a change and rest for you and Paul to come over and take possession of the top front bedroom for a week or so? Surely you must want some interruption of that restless sort of life which Paul's election and its consequences have thrown you both into. And the bright skies of Paris must make you long for a good old-fashioned London fog such as is now overhanging me. So I do hope you will make up your minds, and if Paul should have engagements up to Christmas, you might come first, and he follow next week to spend at least the passage from 91 to 92 with us.

In the meantime I must not forget "the compliments of the season" and the old established form in which I ought to present them to you, namely the enclosed bit of

¹ This no doubt refers to the article of November 17th mentioned above. Ranc had also published an article in *Paris* of November 10th: "Yesterday's Elections".

pink paper which I hope you will do me the kindness to accept.

I am glad Paul has deposed a motion on the separation of Church and State.¹ In his first speech, it appears to me as if the violent interruptions from all sides had prevented him from developing clearly and unmistakeably what he intended to say, and that the Dumays and Radicals and even Floquet tried to use that as a peg to hang on their cheap criticisms. This motion will re-establish clearness.

My dear Laura, the fog is getting so perfect that I must give up writing in order not to ruin my eyes—writing by gas-light being still strictly prohibited. So in the hope of soon learning that you are getting ready for the road, and with kind regards from Louise, I remain

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

473. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Chambre des Députés

Paris, 26. XII. 1891

*My intelligent Péroline forgot to stamp my card to you.
Pray forgive me and her*

Laura*²

My dear Engels,

It is with the greatest pleasure that we should have accepted your proposition to come and take a rest from the bright skies of France in the fogs of Lyons³ London; (I wrote Lyons without thinking, I have just come from there, where there are plenty of fogs!) but our friends in France

¹ This motion, which took up the main point of the famous Commune decree, was published in *Le Socialiste* on December 26th, 1891 (p. 1/I-II).

² These two lines were written by Laura across the top left-hand corner of the letter.

³ *Lyons* is crossed out in the original.

do not want to let me go, they feel that I belong to them and that I ought to devote all my Saturdays, Sundays and eve of holidays to giving lectures. Since I came out of prison I have visited 18 towns and given 23 lectures and it will go on like this until May Day. On December 31st I have to go to Boulogne and every Saturday, Sunday and Monday throughout January are already booked by Nantes, Saint-Nazaire, Bordeaux and Toulouse. This agitation is as vital as it can be to prepare for the municipal elections of May 1st: we are counting on victory in the main centres, which will be a good augury for the future. At the Lyons Congress we drafted a municipal programme which we intend to adopt everywhere: it will be a master-stroke, it will give some idea of the positive influence that we exert on the working-class masses. That influence increases daily; we shall soon be the most powerful party in France, as the Social-Democrats are in Germany.

You are absolutely right, the furious heckling of the Left and the Extreme Left pushed me into making some ill-judged statements,¹ which the opportunist and radical press tried to use to undo me; but fortunately I parried the blow with my motion for a Bill on the separation of Church and State, which you will have read in *Le Socialiste*: it is the most far-reaching and radical to have been tabled, it was pretty stiff for a "Clerical", as the Radicals, the Possibilists, and the opportunists vied with each other in calling me. They are all a bit sheepish to-day about their blunder, and would like to have a conspiracy of silence; but I shall force them to speak willy-nilly. As for my clumsiness, it is pardonable; as I appeared at the tribune of the Chamber I was greeted with mutterings, the moment I opened my mouth the heckling started: deputies who never speak found their

¹ Lafargue's speech was given *in full* in *Le Socialiste* of December 29th (pp. 1/III-3/1). His speech included among other things the phrase: "I would remind you that one of the finest socialist speeches ever pronounced here is that made by M. de Mun." He also cited the Pope's encyclical on working-class conditions.

tongues to interrupt me idiotically and to shout me down. I had to hold my own against this pack and follow the thread of my speech, it was pretty difficult, which accounts for the sallies which were not in keeping with the whole, the temptations to retort, as when I mention the name of M. de Mun and the curtailment of the general thesis which, reduced to the proportions of the *Officiel*, is indeed unfinished and unclear at certain points. I am jolly lucky as it is that I did not talk more nonsense: they've won this round; I must wait for the first opportunity for the scene to start again, but I shall be on my guard.

My bad reception in the Chamber is equalled by the enthusiasm with which I am acclaimed among the working-class masses. All the attacks only increase the popularity which Constans and the opportunists have created out of nothing. I take advantage of it to agitate on social question, to deride the radical monkey-tricks (separation of Church and State, abolition of the Senate, etc.) and to get ready for the municipal elections which will take place next May 1st. If all goes as at present, we count on many victories.

A merry Christmas and a happy New Year is what we wish you who have been so kind and so generous to us, to you who have been our providence for so long.

Regards to Mme Louise and cordial greetings to you,

PAUL LAFARGUE

474. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Monday night 28 Dec. 91
Le Perreux

My dear General,

Our wandering Jew came home on Wednesday night, after speechifying at Lille, Armentières, Roubaix, Tourcoing, Boulogne and Calais, and started again on Friday for Lyons, Givors, Tarare, Thizy, Cours and Roanne. I'm eternally packing and unpacking and cannot honestly say that the

“métier de député socialiste”¹ is all play, though the Chamber of Deputies may be full of *farceurs*.²

We had hoped to be able to run over to London for a week or so, but there was no time. Paul wanted me to accompany him and I was expected at Lille and elsewhere, but as I have no pass, I did not care to spend 50 or 60 francs for a day at Calais. For we are overwhelmed with begging letters, and the worst and the saddest of it is that the poor folks who come a-begging are desperately in want of help. But Paul is paying his fine by monthly instalments; he gives 80 frs a month to the Lille Imprimerie—that has run into debt in consequence of the election—and about the same sum to Guesde. Let alone innumerable and unavoidable contributions for fines, meetings, tombolas and what not!

I send you specimens of barkings at Paul’s maiden speech by a touchingly united chorus of Possibilists, Anarchists and Blanquists, knowing that you will not attribute greater importance to this baying than it is worth. Daily, I may say hourly, we get letters from all parts of France encouraging and approving Paul.—A phrase or two of Paul’s speech are to be regretted, inasmuch as they are liable to misconstruction. That political opponents should take unfair advantage thereof is fair enough, but that our so-called allies should set up this false howl of indignation is another matter. Vaillant, to whom Paul had written anent Chauvière’s imbecile article, says: “Des *ennemis intimes* ont essayé de donner le change sur votre discours”.³ As for Brousse, who declares that “jamais le Marxisme ne prendra en France”,⁴ he resembles the women *qui tout en accouchant jurent qu’elles ne sont pas enceintes*.⁵

Paul has been to see Culine (rather too faint-hearted for a leader of the people!) and will go again as soon as possible. Madame Culine has just written to say that “les

¹ “Trade of socialist deputy.”—Tr.

² *Buffoons*.—Tr.

³ “Some *close enemies* tried to side-track your speech.”—Tr.

⁴ “Marxism will never catch on in France.”—Tr.

⁵ *Who while giving birth swear they are not pregnant*.—Tr.

citoyens et les citoyennes de Fourmies s'ennuient du citoyen Lafargue"¹ and ask to know when he's coming. You have no idea how great a favourite Paul is with the people, men and women, who everywhere welcome him with songs and flowers and kisses. Thus far I have known nothing at all like this enthusiasm of the Nord and if I rejoice therein it is because I have every reason to think that the Lillois are more reliable than the "Gascons du Midi"² and the "je-m'enfichistes" de Paris.³

We have suddenly dropped from an Indian summer into a Siberian winter and I feel quite stultified by the cold. All day yesterday, though I kept piling up the coals, my girl informed me that we had never got above "4° au-dessus de zéro". And if it hadn't been for our dear Mohr's great coat that for the nonce I turned into a blanket, I'm sure I should have been found frozen in my bed this morning. That's the worst of Paul's absence. ("Voilà, dit Deville, Mme Lafargue n'a gagné un député que pour perdre un mari!") Mais non, mais non, seulement c'est un député et un mari intermittent.⁴ Socialisme oblige.

Good-bye, my dear General, and love to you.

LÖHR

475. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Paris, 29. XII. 91

My dear Engels,

We are sending you a box of pears that we kept for you from our autumn crop. They are perfectly ripe and should

¹ "The men and women citizens of Fourmies long for citizen Lafargue's return."—*Tr.*

² "Braggarts of the South."—*Tr.*

³ "Don't-give-a-damn-ists" of Paris.—*Tr.*

⁴ "There you are," says Deville, "Madame Lafargue has gained a deputy only to lose a husband!" No, no, only he's a deputy and an intermittent husband.—*Tr.*

not be kept much longer: put those that you are not going to eat at once into bran. Let's hope that the box will reach you at the same time as this letter.

Regards to Mme Louise and cordial greetings to you.

P. LAFARGUE

476. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 31. XII. 91

My dear Engels,

Could you obtain details for me on the constitution of the London *Board of Health**: I shall probably be tabling a motion asking for something similar to be set up in France.

I leave this morning for Boulogne-sur-Mer, where I have to give a lecture. In all haste, regards,

P. LAFARGUE

1892

477. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 6th Jan. 1892

My dear Laura,

The pears have arrived in very good condition; the few that were urgently in want of being devoured, have been at once attended to, and the rest is being gradually, thankfully and pleasurably consumed. That the old Fry's Cocoa box should return to us with such agreeable contents, and, as they say of expired directors in joint-stock companies, "offer itself for re-election" next Christmas, was a pleasant surprise indeed.

Paul wants to know about the constitution of the Board of Health.¹ I will try to find it out, but am afraid I shall have to ask Tussy or Edward to hunt it up at the B[ritish] M[useum]. If I only knew the year when the B[oard] of H[ealth] was instituted, I might get the original Act of P[arliament]—if Sam was here, we s[hould] have it in a jiffy.

Your intermittent husband seems to be indeed seized with the fever of the wandering Jew—perhaps he wants to supersede him by the wandering Nigger? Anyhow the proposition about separation of Church and State in the sense of the

¹ See Letter 476 of December 31, 1891.

Commune was the best thing he could do¹; it stops their mouths at once. Especially now when the French Clergy begin to face the eventuality and try to make it out that they ought to be, in that case, disestablished as the Church of Ireland was, that is to say not only keep all their property, but have the salaries capitalised and bought off in a lump sum—les milliards de l'Église! après ceux de M. Bismarck!² The priests are too much in a hurry, for to pronounce this is to make it impossible. If the thing was kept quiet, and sprung upon the people all at once in the shape of a government proposition, the surprise might pass, and the Radicals w[ould] only be too glad to swallow it—but to have it discussed in public beforehand, is to ensure its failure. The French Republic, with its revolutionary principles of civil law, cannot *buy off* the Church in the way the English semi-feudal monarchy did. Here the system developed by Lassalle in vol. 1st of his *System der erworbenen Rechte*³ is alone applicable, as it was exclusively applied by the great Revolution. See Bernstein's Introduction to Lassalle's Works⁴; if you have not got it, I'll try to get it. It is Lassalle's *only* juridical *Leistung*,⁵ and not a great one, but quite correct *juridically*. We ought to start it in France, and *then* set Longuet to work the Radicals in that sense.

¹ See Letter 472 of December 19, 1891 and Letter 473 of December 26, 1891.

² The Church's thousands of millions! Like those of Mr. Bismarck!—*Tr.*

³ *System of Acquired Rights*. This book by Lassalle had appeared in 1861. In the section Engels recalls here Lassalle developed the thesis that there must be harmony between acquired right and popular feeling. Thus, during the French Revolution, the decrees of the night of August 4th did not give rights to compensation, for the content of such rights had already been rejected by popular feeling.

⁴ Ed. Bernstein had written a long introduction to the three-volume edition of *Ferdinand Lassalle's Reden und Schriften (Speeches and Writings)* published by *Vorwärts* in 1892-93. In it he examines (pp. 69-88) the *System of Acquired Rights*.

⁵ *Achievement*.—*Tr.*

I have to interrupt again. Old Harney is laid up with bronchitis in Richmond—same complaint which last spring brought him to the grave's edge. I must go and see him but hope to be back in time to finish this letter. I am crushed with work: there are 1. proof-sheets and new preface of new English edition of *Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*,¹ 2. revision of Edward's translation of *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*²—with another new preface—3. German translation of my article in the Almanac *before* anybody else seizes upon it³—4. a lot of letters to answer. And then *possibly* I may return to Vol. III⁴ where just the very difficultest chapters of all await me.

4.30 p.m. Just returned from Rich[mon]d where I found old Harney much better—hope it will last.

I suppose you have got Louise's *Arbeiterinnenzeitung* with the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung* direct from Vienna. Your article reads uncommonly well—Tussy's article will be in next number, and as the paper is by its nature insatiable, I can only say that all further contributions will be thankfully received; in the meantime I send you Louise's thanks which like all thanks are double-edged, viz. 1. thanks for favours received; 2. "a sense of favours to come", as the bourgeois said.

Poor Adler is sadly overworked, and moreover, the momentary rest he gets, he only gets as the nurse of his wife who is seriously ill. They are at Salo, Lago di Garda, for

¹ *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. This refers to the edition published in London in 1892 (Swan Sonnenschein & Co.) which reprinted the text of the New York edition published in 1885. The preface was revised and adapted for the English reader.

² *Development of Socialism*. This work appeared in London under the title *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. The introduction, one part of which is known as "On Historical Materialism" (See Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 395-416, Lawrence & Wishart, 1942), is dated April 20th, 1892.

³ This refers to the article "Socialism in Germany" published in the French Workers' Party Almanac for 1892 and later in *Neue Zeit* (X. Jahrgang, No. 19 pp. 580-89).

⁴ Of *Capital*.

the present. And as Victor is responsible for the filling of the paper, you do an indirect kindness to him and the Austrian Party by helping to fill the women's paper with *good* matter; the bourgeois *émancipées* would only be too glad of an opportunity of deposing their crotchets and nostrums in the working women's organ.

Pumps has been out of sorts a bit, so that she could not come during the holidays, but we shall have her and the children here in the course of this month.

What in the world made Vaillant fight that fool Gégout—égout?¹

Love from Louise and myself to both of you. And do keep in mind the obligation you are under to come over with Paul before long. It will do some of our workingmen good to see a live French député socialiste.

A vous de cœur,²

F. E.

478. FREDERICK ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 3 Febr. 1892

My dear Laura,

Can you get me from the *Intransigent* the London address of *Rocheport*? Wroblewski³ all of a sudden sends me a letter for that distinguished foreigner and supposes I know his address, but I will be hanged if I know anybody who can procure it me here—everybody advises me to write to Paris as the shortest and safest way to get it—so I suppose I must follow their advice and submit the case to you, especially as I have a slight suspicion that the poor devil of

¹ Sewer.—*Tr.*

² Yours affectionately.—*Tr.*

³ Wroblewski, a Polish democrat who had fought for the Commune, was living in Nice in great poverty.

W[roblewski] applies to R[ochefort] for cash, and would not have it said for the world that I was the cause of delaying even for one hour the—undoubtedly negative—answer he is sure (if any) to get from le grand boulevardier.¹

Here we have suffered from influenza right and left—I have been spared so far, but Louise and my servants have had a touch. Percy has had a pretty severe attack followed by pneumonia and is not yet on his legs again, Bernstein has been down, and E. Aveling is not quite himself. Our street and neighbourhood has suffered severely, cases right and left.

The latest scandal: all over London goes the rumour that the Duke of Clarence on his death-bed called his mother and told her that “May” was in the family way by him.² If true, it is the only action for which I respect the boy. They say he was after her for a good time past; but the old queen did not approve of the match at first. And if they did take the law into their own hands, it’s more than I should have expected from “Cuffs and Coats” and shows that after all he was good for something.

Paul’s migrations are very interesting but won’t he soon get tired of it? It’s very useful and very good work, but if he carries it on till May 1st, he will lose a deal of weight and come back, maybe, to his Parliamentary duties with the “lean and hungry look”³ which, as a Cassius, might become him in the eyes of the épicier.⁴ At all events he has silenced the Brousses and other Neidhämme!⁵ who came down upon him for a slip of the tongue or two in his first speech. The

¹ The great man-about-town.—*Tr.*

² The Duke of Clarence, eldest son of the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), died on January 14th, 1892, his engagement to Princess Victoria Mary (May) of Teck (later Queen Mary, wife of George V) having been announced on December 5th, 1891.

³ Shakespeare: *Julius Caesar*, Act. I, Scene 2, verse 193.

⁴ Grocer.—*Tr.*

⁵ Dogs in the manger.—*Tr.*

statistics about Notre Dame de la Fabrique¹ etc. are the best reply.

My article from the Almanac has come out in Italian in the *Critica Sociale* di Milano and will appear in German in the *Neue Zeit* next No. with additions.² Bebel has sent me some Alsatian papers with reports of his speech in Mülhausen³; one in French; I want to send it to you if I can find it (Louise says she forwarded it to you), to show you what horrid French these "patriots" of the *Industriel Alsacien* do perpetrate.

An awful row will be caused by the publication of the order of Prince George of Saxony to the 12th German (Saxon) Army Corps in yesterday's *Vorwärts*.⁴ That shows how far our connexions in the army reach, and William will be awfully vexed. It is sure to cause a deal of sensation in France, and if you can forward me Paris *papers* with comments on it, to be forwarded to Bebel and to be used in the Reichstag, it will be very very useful.⁵

In great haste—kind regards from Louise and

Ever yours,

F. E.

¹ Our Lady of the Factory.—*Tr.*

² The article appeared in *Critica Sociale* on January 16th and February 1st, 1892. The additions consisted of an appendix on the famine in Russia which was published in the issue of April 1st (No. 7). For *Neue Zeit* see p. 156, note 3.

³ On January 6th Bebel had given a lecture at Mülhausen which was reported in *Le Temps* of January 8th, 1892 (p. 1/II).

⁴ *Vorwärts* of January 31st reported under the heading "Contribution to the Forthcoming Parliamentary Debate on the Army Estimates" (No. 26, p. 3/I-III), Prince George of Saxony's order at Dresden on January 8, 1892 when he denounced the bad treatment inflicted on the soldiers by their officers.

⁵ Prince George's order did not pass unnoticed by the French press, which commented extensively on it. For example: *Le Temps* of February 3 (p. 2/I-II) and of February 7, 1892 (p. 1/I), *L'Intransigeant* of February 4, 1892 (pp. 1/II-2/I), *L'Eclair* of February 6, 1892 (p. 2/I).

479. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 5. March 1892

My dear Laura,

To-day I can do no more than fulfil my promise to Paul and send you the enclosed cheque for the rent—£15.—made out in your name, so that Paul's absence need not cause any delay. I have rec[eiv]ed your letter and shall reply in a few days—I am overwhelmed with work—Sonnenschein has by some blunder sent the rough draft of Edward's translation of my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus to press*¹ and now all the work of revising that rough draft falls upon me, and of course has to be done quick. Then Percy was here all week, left yesterday, then other interferences with work—to-day Tussy has gone on *Union* work to Plymouth and Edward will be all day with us; so I must get this letter closed and off before he comes.

I am glad of the news about the "Daily" and this time it may turn out a success, if our friends take the proper precautions not to be turned out again the very moment the paper begins to pay. But things are better now, there is a power behind them now and that makes a difference—only they ought to take care to secure their position in the paper for all that.

I should be glad if Paul w[oul]d let me know something of the position of the various socialist and "Auch-Sozialisten"² groups in the Chamber—the Blanquists, Possibilists, Millerand lot, and the ex-Boulangists. I see in yesterday's *Intransigeant*³ that Paul and Ferroul attended a meeting

¹ See Letter 477 of January 6th, 1892.

² Would-be socialist.—*Tr.*

³ *L'Intransigeant* of March 5th, 1892, published the following statement (p. 1/IV) to which no doubt Engels alludes:

DECLARATION OF SOCIALIST AND REVISIONIST DEPUTIES

A declaration was to be made yesterday in the Chamber on the part of the socialist and revisionist deputies who had decided upon its terms at their Wednesday's meeting; the business of the session prevented the reading of it. The following is the text:

composed chiefly of the *Blanquist Boulangists* and, if he works together with them, it's 100 to 1 that Hyndman will attack them in *Justice*, and anyhow the subject is sure to be discussed here and interpellations to come to me—so I ought to be prepared!

In my next you will also very probably receive a dunning letter from Louise for more contributions to the *A[rbeiter]-innen Zeitung*.

Love to all your numerous family.

Ever yours,

F. E.

480. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

14 March 1892

My dear Laura,

I have a whole heap of your letters before me, such a heap that I hardly dare look at it without being ashamed of myself—but you have no idea how I have been worked, interrupted, tracassé, embêté,¹ etc., etc., by all sorts of people. My best working time—Jan[uar]y to April—has been frittered away and I have not had a moment to even look at the

The undersigned socialist-republican deputies, in the belief that it is necessary to waste no time on parliamentary intrigues; that their attitude on religious questions is known by the way they have voted in the past, particularly on the separation of Church and State; that various draft Bills affecting the workers have been considered, reported on and are ready to be debated, make it known that they will not allow themselves to be misled and put off by constructionist discussions which can only tend to postpone indefinitely an examination of working-class legislation, and they move next business.

Aimel, Borie, Castelin, Cluseret, Couturier, Dumonteil, Farcy, Ferroul, Gabriel, Girodet, Goussot, Granger, Jourde, Lafargue, Laisant, Laporte, Moreau, Paulin-Méry, Revest, Saint-Martin, Théron, Pierre Richard, Le Hérissé.

Messrs. Maurice Barrès and Argeliès, in their absence, have notified their support of this declaration.

¹ Pestered, bothered.—*Tr.*

3rd Vol.¹ which I was determined to advance a good bit—and over the critical point—by Easter. All vanity of vanities. Now, my time up to a week after Easter is already engaged (by 10th April I shall have Bebel here for a fortnight or so; before that time I must go to Ryde to see Pumps who has had a sore time of it; Percy had 1) influenza, 2) pneumonia and, 3) and last, is now laid up with pleurisy) and it will cost a damned effort of energy and a determination to reply to no letters whatever and do no work for no matter whom if I want to use May and June for the 3rd Vol.

But damn all this, you don't want to hear my grumbling. I am glad there are prospects of a daily paper for Paris; that will make up for many a mishap in other parts of the world. Though mishaps to our Party are getting few and far between, unless we provoke them ourselves. We have such capital allies. Young William brags about his ally God who so arranged all things from the creati[on of the]² world that they must turn out to the greatest glory of the Prussian monarchy in general and young William in particular. But the poor boy does not see that all the time he is a better ally *to us* than God ever was or will be to him; and even if he was to see it, he could not help it, it's the nature of the beast!

My article of the Almanac and *Neue Zeit* has now been translated into Italian (*Critica Sociale*—got me into a row with that confusionario l'illustre Bovio), Roumanian (*Revista Socială*) Polish (*Przedświt*) and English (N[ew] Y[ork] *People*).

We have just come back (3.30 p.m.) from Highgate; the cemetery is in a disgusting state of soft clay; we had half a hundred weight sticking to each foot. On the grave Tussy (I suppose) had planted a small cypress, and one of the old crocus bulbs has come out in flower. The spring of ivy which Motteler had brought from Ulrich von Hutten's grave

¹ Of *Capital*.—Tr.

² Paper torn.—Tr.

on Ufnau island in the lake of Zürich, and which we planted after poor Nimmy's burial, having trained it on our balcony, had already been robbed of its best part last Summer, but what is left, now grows well and is rooted deeply in the soil so that no further desecration is possible.

Here we are also busy about the 1st of May. It is a beautiful play of intrigues woven and cut to pieces and woven afresh, Penelopeia-fashion. The 8 Hours Committee (Edward, Tussy and their friends) tried to be first in the field but the Trades' Council, that reactionary rel[ict]¹ of the Old Trades Unions, was o[ut before]¹ them. Now the Trades Council and the S.D.F. are for the nonce friends, as against all the rest; at present they do not compete one with the other, and have common interests in putting down all "outsiders". So when the 8 Hours Com[mittee] proposed to act with the T[rades] C[ouncil], in the same way as last year, they got a complete rebuff. But then the 8 H[ours] C[ommittee] *secured the Park for themselves* before the T[rades] C[ouncil] had thought of it, and then again offered co-operation with the T[rades] C[ouncil] which was again haughtily declined. Then *both* bodies addressed the Metropolitan Radical Federation (of Radical Clubs) to co-operate with them; and the M[etropolitan] R[adical] F[ederation] decided to *mediate*, but under all circumstances *to act with the 8 H[ours] C[ommittee]* to whom the whole movement from the origin was due. So that the T[rades] C[ouncil] and the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation], as usual over-estimating their strength, have put themselves in an awkward position: either they must knuckle under, or have a separate demonstration, and bear the responsibility of the split. At all events *our* demonstration is now an assured success, whatever the others may do.

Hyndman gets more foolish every day. His blind hatred of the Germans makes him support the Berlin "Unabhängige"² and keep as his German chief of staff that outrageous

¹ Paper torn.

² Independents.

scamp Gilles who is evidently in the pay of the German Embassy and has been, with a lot of malcontents, turned out of the German Communist Club here (our old "Verein"). So that he has now lost even the little foreign support he had; in Germany they used to have some little regard to his position as leader of at least a *Section* of English Socialists, but he has forfeited that; in France his friends Brousse and Co. are so down, that even H [yndman] himself had to protest against their "hygiene" programme for their next congress.¹ One does long for a good strong breath of revolutionary air to sweep away all these pettifogging Jammerkerle²—but it is coming, slowly, slowly as everything does come among these "verdammten Schleswig-Holsteiner"³ (as Marx called the English), but when it comes it is *safe*.

I intended to enclose a line to Pau [1]⁴ I had a letter from him from Marseille—but it's getting dinner-time, and I'm afraid of being stopped in the midst of it. I am afraid their new alliance with Granger and Co. will not turn out to their satisfaction. First of all, these men have shown that they are absolutely unreliable when they passed over to Boulanger, and we can only expect being betrayed by them on the first occasion. Secondly, Paul says we must reap where Boulanger has sown. Exactly so, but *reap the masses* and *discard the leaders*, as the plan was with the Possibilists; but these leaders have no masses behind them, and are themselves highly undesirable bedfellows. Thirdly, they have crept into the Chambre *under false pretences* and are sure to be kicked out next election, so that it seems to me our friends are leaning upon an already broken reed. And as to *foreign policy*, fourthly, these men are *pledged Chauvinists*—otherwise they would not have got elected—and if

¹ The Paris Congress of the Possibilists (July 3rd to 10th, 1892) concerned itself in the main with questions of a municipal character and with social hygiene.

² Snivellers.—*Tr.*

³ Cursed Schleswig-Holsteiners.—*Tr.*

⁴ Paper torn.

Paul and friends form a party with them, they may be out-voted, kicked out, or driven to a split on the first occasion. I hope I may be wrong, but I am afraid I am not. The passage to Boulanger of these fellows was an unpardonable treason, and I'd rather have Vaillant than the whole lot of them—indeed I thought it a blessing that they made themselves impossible.

Louise will write to you [as] soon as possible. She has been rather out of sorts for the last 8 days and is only just coming round again. To-morrow I must go to see old Harney at Richmond where he is ill with his windpipe and his rheumatic gout. And then you want me to say something to the Parisians about 18th March. I'll be hanged if I know what!¹ Mais nous verrons!² Ever yours affectionately,

F. E.

Kind regards from Louise.

481. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 4 April 92

My dear Laura,

To-day but two words to ask you to look after the *Éclair*.³ On Friday morning all of a sudden Émile Massard came down upon me with a demand for an interview for that iridescent paper. As he promised to submit the Ms. to my correction, and as I thought to be thereby able to put a flea in the ear of the Parisian gogo,⁴ I consented. Yesterday I looked over the Ms. and *almost entirely recast it*. Would you

¹ Engels did in fact send a letter, dated March 17th, 1892, which was published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 79, of March 26th, 1892.

² But we'll see.—*Tr.*

³ *L'Éclair* of April 6th, 1892 (p. 1/III-IV), did indeed publish a long article by Émile Massard under the title: "Anarchy, an Interview with the German Socialist Engels". The text of the interview with Engels, which he completely re-wrote, is given in an appendix to this volume, pp. 381-93.

⁴ Juggins.—*Tr.*

be good enough to send me about 4-6 copies of the paper as soon as it appears? If correct, I shall want them for various regions; if incorrect, I shall at once protest against the breach of faith.

Anyhow this new experience with the eternal interviewing nuisance will help me to refuse in future, as I always have to do the real work (from 11 to 3 yesterday, instead of being out this warm weather) and even then it's not what I want and does not bring out my ideas. Damn the lot of them.

I was in Ryde for a week, has done me good. Pumps and the children are well, Percy has had influenza, pneumonia, pleurisy, inflamed throat, etc., one after the other and is only just recovering.

I am busy with an infernal preface¹ for the never to be satisfied Swan Sonnenschein and Co. and that, as it will be long, will take me all week. As soon as finished you get a long letter.

Salut to the travelling parliamentarian who is not only a peripatetic grass widower but also a grasshopper. And love from Louise and your

Everlasting old

GENERAL

Next week we expect Bebel here unless stopped by ill health—he seems a deal out of sorts by overwork and over-excitement.

482. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

April 19th 92

My dear Laura,

At last—ouf, je respire!² When Sonnenschein saw that Edward's translation of *Soc[ialisme] utopique*, etc., after all possible leading of type did look awfully meagre for a 2/6

¹ See p. 167, note 1.

² I breathe again!—*Tr.*

book (what I told him from the beginning) he insisted on my writing a lengthy preface. And as I *had* promised to write a preface, and had various matters on my mind which I felt a liking to explain to the British philistine, I set to work, and at last, it is done.¹ It's, I dare say, about half as long as the whole book, and had to be done carefully, for the British philistine hates being made fun of by foreigners, yet I could not help it.

By the bye, have you heard anything of Ravé and his translation?² The thing ought to be out by this time.

Now to your last letter. I think that these two things ought to be kept separate: 1) our relations to the Blanquists' old school, and 2) those to the Boulangeo-Blanquists.

First, I cannot help thinking that our differences with Vaillant began last April,³ and that our people are not quite blameless. At that time Vaillant and we pulled together, the Allemanists being third party, and wanting a full recognition by us. Then, our processions to mairies and Palais Bourbon with deputations to interview the élus. To that the Blanquists naturally objected as they would not meet their *trâtres*.⁴ But our people insisted, and thus, as far as I can see, *drove* the Blanquists into the alliance with the Allemanists. It strikes me our people in that case did a bit of rather sharp practice which after all availed them nothing, for the whole plan fell through.

What happened since, I know very little of, but do doubt, this first cause of mistrust between the Blanquists and our people once established, it would be easy for the tag-rag and bobtail of the B[lanquists], the Allemanists helping, to widen the breach and to fortify the alliance between Bl[anquists] and All[emanists] which again set us down in a

¹ The preface to the English edition is in point of fact dated April 20th, 1892.

² This refers to the translation of *The Origin of the Family*.

³ Engels is here referring to the period of preparation for May Day 1891 and to the differences which arose over it between the Guesdists and Blanquists. See letters 422, 425, 427.

⁴ *Betrayers*.—Tr.

hopeless minority in Paris. Now, that would be no great misfortune provided we conquered in the provinces, and for that purpose Paul and Guesde have worked splendidly and we may expect, I hope, great successes on 1st May and let Blanquists and Allemanists cuire dans leur jus.¹

But then comes this alliance with the ex-Boulangists of the Chamber. As I said before, when the masses have been led into such a glaring mistake as that was with Boulanger, the break-up of the delusion makes them all the fitter for listening to sense, and coming round to us: *that* inheritance of Boulangism we were entitled to. But it appears to me, that it is a very different thing to accept, at the same time, the leaders of that movement, and not as private individuals but at their own valuation and with the rank they held in the Boulangist crew. I cannot help holding in considerable contempt the men that allowed themselves to fall into that trap—on no matter what pretext. There is nothing that has damaged the reputation of the French abroad so much as this infatuation for a new saviour of society, and such a one! And had it been the bourgeois alone—but the great mass of the working class too went down on their knees before this windbag! What reliance can any one in his senses place on the men that cast in their lot with this jouisseur² who intrigued with extreme Republicans, Clericals, Monarchists all at once and must have been quite as much of a “constitutional liar”, as S. Sonnenschein said to Bax he, Sonnenschein, was! These men must be either deficient in character or in intellect or both, and certainly not worth having. What possible good can they be to us?

1) We cannot rely on them for a day.

2) If we form a party with them in the Chamber, they *outnumber us* and can pass the most absurd resolutions over our heads which we must either be bound by, or else secede again from them—which leaves us in a worse position than

¹ Stew in their own juice.—*Tr.*

² Rake.—*Tr.*

before. If I am to knuckle under to a majority, after all I'd rather do so to one commanded by Vaillant than to one led by Granger & Co.

3) As all these men got into Parliament on false pretences, they are almost sure to be kicked out next election—so was it worth while for us to identify ourselves with them?

And if Argyriades raves against the Germans, how about Rochefort and his paper which evidently receives Russian money (at least some of the rédacteurs¹) and Russian articles?

The breach with the Blanquists' old school may have been unavoidable, and may be swallowed; but I do fail to see the slightest real advantage that can accrue to us from an alliance with the ex-Boulangist Radicals in the Chamber. Have we not, for the mere show of a group of some 25 men in Parliament, sacrificed very serious future chances?

However, the thing is done and cannot be helped. I only hope our friends will not place too much confidence in their new allies. And I believe our Party in France is now strong enough to bear without serious damage the consequences of a mistake or two.

That our new allies do not bring us any real strength in Paris, is shown by the fact that Paul and Guesde both go to the North on May 1st, which seems tantamount to our leaving the 1st of May in Paris entirely to the Blanquists and Possibilists. As I said before, there would be no great harm in that, if we can beat them in the provinces; but if our new allies are not strong in Paris, where in the name of Dickens *are* they strong?

Your article on the religious interference in factories seems to have too much for the Austrian press law practice. Your last one on nightwork has appeared—Louise requests you not to blame her for one or two blunders they have put in in Vienna.

¹ Editorial staff.—*Tr.*

We expected Bebel here for Easter, but he fell ill (catarrh of the stomach and intestine) and was stopped by the doctor. He expects to come about middle of May. This is the third attack within a year and he has received a serious warning from the doctor—a specialist. He wants him to go to Karlsbad, which, I think, would set him up again.

John Bull showed himself yesterday again in all his brutality at Hampstead Heath station, about 5 o'clock, rain threatening, a crowd rushed down the steps, and crushed eight people to death, mostly women and children, injuring a dozen more. Imagine a French crowd being guilty of that!

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

Love from Louise.

How about a delegate or two to May 1st here? *The Possibilists will have two men here* (see *Chronicle* we sent you with Adolphe Smith's letter to Shipton¹). Edward wrote to you about it; if you cannot send a man, try to delegate Bonnier from the Conseil National of the Party and to send a letter. Don't allow the Poss[ibilists] to walk over the course as the representatives of France. But let it be done *officially*.

483. FREDERICK ENGELS

TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 3 May 92

My dear Laura,

A few lines in a hurry. What was intended as a defeat for us here, has ended in a veritable triumph. We had only

¹ This refers to the *Daily Chronicle* of April 11th, 1892, which published in its item "The Labour Movement", (p. 7/II), the contents of a letter to Shipton, Secretary of the London Trades Council, from Adolphe Smith mentioning the approach he has made to the Possibilists in Paris who, on learning that the Trades Unions were planning a May Day separate from the Eight-Hours League, decided to send one or two delegates to London.

two platforms on Sunday, but they were the only ones that drew both public and press. You will have seen our involuntary caricatures in the *D[aily] Graphic* I sent you.¹ Platform No. 14, the international platform, was the great success of the day. By a conspicuous piece of good luck, Roussel of the Bourse du Travail² was, it seems, sent out of the way of Prudent Dervillers and Argyriades by them and Adolphe Smith and came on our platform, so that we had two Frenchmen, two Russians, a German, Bernstein, an Austrian, Louise, a Pole, Mendelson, and a Jew, besides la Española Mrs. C. Graham and the Britishers.

The demonstration itself was immense, even compared with the two previous ones and showed that things *are* moving here, though they move in that peculiar roundabout way in which the English delight.

In the evening we had the Mendelsons, Bernsteins, Tussy and Edward of course, and Bonnier brought Roussel; we were very jolly, had a Maibowle, and fat Roussel was effusively delighted, while Argyriades and Co. owned next morning to him they had been bored to death in the company where they had, or rather had been, moved (*sans calembour*!³).

I am very anxiously awaiting the *Socialiste* to learn something about our electoral successes on May 1st in France;⁴ the papers you sent me do not contain anything to go by, and surely if we have not secured majorities, we must have got in at least some minorities.

Anyhow I am glad the thing passed off quietly everywhere.

¹ The *Daily Graphic* of May 2nd published a drawing, signed illegibly, with the caption "Labour Day in London: Yesterday's Demonstration in Hyde Park. Platform No. 14." Only Mrs. Cunningham Graham, Dr. Aveling and Stepniak were named.

² Labour Bureau, or Exchange (a French institution under the control of the organised workers).—*Tr.*

³ No pun intended!—*Tr.*

⁴ On May 1st, 1892, the first ballot in the municipal elections took place throughout France, excluding Paris. The Socialists polled 160,000 votes and won important municipalities such as Roubaix, Marseilles, Montluçon, Narbonne, etc.

The idea that the 1st of May is to be a day of rows and riots is a mere trap set by the bourgeois and we have no interest whatever to fall into that trap. We want to show our strength, that's all; as to when we are to use that strength, that's our business, not that of our opponents, if we can help it.

Thanks for the papers. Dinner bell! I have Pumps, Percy and family here, so cannot write much, must take them out to see some of the sights they have missed so long in the I[sle] of W[ight]. They send their kindest regards to you and Paul. Ditto from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

484. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Friday afternoon
[6 mai 1892]

My dear General,

Paul, after spending a day at Le Perreux, left again yesterday for Armentières. The definite results of the elections will not be known before next week. Up to date our friends have been successful at Narbonne, La Ciotat, Caudry, Carmaux, Commentry, Montvicq, Bézenet, Cours, Thizy, Loos, Burbure (Nord), Montluçon and Roubaix. We have good news from Marseille, Armentières, etc., but are still in the dark as to Rouen, Cette, Montpellier and Toulouse.

At Bordeaux the Radicals refused to act with the Socialists: at Lille the two parties have come to an understanding.

The demonstration at Fourmies, Paul tells me, was very grand and impressive, with from 5 to 6,000 "manifestants".

The Parisians demonstrated "en dedans"¹: the meeting

¹ Indoors.—Tr.

at Belleville was fairly well attended; for the rest it was an *English* Sunday, dreary, dull and puritanical.

On the whole I think our people will have good reason to be satisfied with the elections, but there can be no doubt that the latest anarchist humbug has done us considerable damage.

In haste, my dear General, I bid you good-bye with love to you and to Louise.

YOUR LAURA

485. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, May 19th, 92

My dear Lafargue,

How poorly organised your statistical service is! In Germany, we should have had all the results within 3-4 days after the 2nd ballot, and *Le Socialiste* of the 15th gives only very haphazard and incomplete information. But it will come, you will see that nothing strikes the imagination of the masses so forcibly as a good array of figures of electoral victories, well set out. It is of capital importance above all when it's a matter of making the workers realise the strength of action that universal suffrage gives them. Don't forget to complete your statistical results of May 1st, 1892—for comparison with the figures which the '93 parliamentary elections will show; should there be an advance, of which I am sure, you will see the effect this will have when friends and enemies can ascertain the progress, the ground won in a year, by incontestable figures.

After all, 22 councils and 600 seats won, that's fine! And *Le Soleil*¹ which you sent me and which, after being read

¹ *Le Soleil* of May 16th, 1892, published an editorial over the name H. de Kérouant entitled "The Workers' Party" (p. 1/I-II), in which, amongst other things, it says: "This legal taking over of the municipal councils of important towns by advanced socialism is an event whose importance cannot be denied.... We could call it a kind

here by Bebel, is on its way to Adler in Vienna, admits as much in a somewhat peevish tone. Well done!

Now, what did the others get, the Broussists, Allemanists, Blanquists? The first must have had some success, or lack of success, at Châtellerault, etc., etc., the second in the Ardennes, the Blanquists in the Cher. Or have you included them in your list?

What I congratulate you on most of all is that in France, too, Lassalle's "one single, compact reactionary mass", the coalition of all the anti-socialist parties, is beginning to form. In Germany we have had that for years; and in the big industrial centres this anti-socialist mass organises itself already for the first ballot to prevent us getting in. The whole of official history in Germany, apart from the behaviour of the very heterogeneous camarilla which surrounds young Wilhelm and leads him a dance, is made, on the one hand, by socialist action which causes all the bourgeois parties to merge into one large party of straightforward resistance and, on the other, by the play of the divergent interests within these parties themselves, which drives them apart from each other. Reichstag legislation is nothing but the product, the outcome of the conflict of these two opposing trends of which the second, the tendency to split up, grows weaker and weaker.

Well, the same game is starting in France. It's the best sign of progress, it's proof that they are afraid of you, not as a riot mob liable to adventitious action, but as a steady, organised, *political* force.

I had the same fear as you express concerning the inexperience of the new councoillors. The complete renewal of an administrative council puts the power for at least 6-10

of revolution. Let us rather say that the working-class masses are at the present time accomplishing one of the most interesting evolutions..." "Socialist or social, it is certainly the Workers' Party, it is the *Fourth Estate*, that is entering the arena, that has leapt into the deliberative Assemblies, with a programme of demands offering small reassurance to the *Third Estate*, the holder of power, of public office and of capital for the past century."

months into the hands of the permanent officials of that council, who will let their new masters burn their fingers in more or less dangerous experiences. This is more particularly the case when it is Socialists who take over. They should be advised caution until they begin to find their feet and feel themselves firmly on the new ground; otherwise the old reactionary employees will wreck everything, and the blame will fall on our people.

As for the daily paper, it must be re-started. Better luck *next time**. In any case, you will be able to organise your General Staff of editors—shall you have a “political editor”—Guesde?

Have you actually formed a group in the Chamber, or is that still all in the air?

Much love from Louise and Bebel to Laura and you. Kiss her for me and tell her that as soon as the telephone is properly organised I shall use this means to send her a barrel of Pilsener.

Ever yours,

F. E.

Singer is here too; he is stopping at the Bernsteins.

*Louise says she wishes Laura would telephone her an article for Vienna.**

I have just this moment received a letter from Gumpert about Schorlemmer. You know that he has been physically and mentally ill for 4 years now, for the past 2 years he could not come here either at Christmas or Easter; last year when we had planned a sea-voyage round the British Isles, he was put out of action in the first 24 hours; recently he wrote, to me and to his brother, telling us not to write as he could not reply. Gumpert, upon my asking, told me that he had found him extremely weak after a quite slight influenza; to-day he writes to say that this weakness—physical and intellectual—increases daily, that it is in fact simply senile marasmus, that he got him to make his will and he fears that in a very short while his mental faculties will go and

that the end is near. Poor fellow! A first-class talent is coming to an end. But you would not have known him if you had seen him these last years—all his vivacity, his jolliness had gone, he was no longer interested in anything. I am writing to his brother who will be in despair—just think, here is Sch[orlemmer] dying of senile marasmus whilst his mother is still alive and in perfect health!

486. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, May 27th, 92

My dear Lafargue,

I congratulate you on your success. With the daily paper¹ thus started (unless you get yourself chucked out again which, this time, would be entirely *your* fault) and with the provinces *to back you**, you will conquer Paris in the face of the Possibilo-Blanquists.

Bebel and Singer are here. I discussed the matter of a German correspondence with B[ebel] this morning. *If you have not yet written to Berlin about this*, we would ask you not to do so for the moment, but to let us know in the meantime what sort of article you will want—a report on the general situation or that of the party in particular?

For my part I would say that if you could get Bebel as the correspondent you would have reports of the utmost value. During the Anti-Soc[ialist] Law Bebel wrote a weekly letter for Adler's *Arbeiterzeitung* in Vienna. Those articles were of such a nature that before [I] reached a definite opinion on any important event, or an important matter concerning Germany during that time, I always tried to read what B[ebel] had to say in his articles. It was clear, straightforward, *to the point** and always accurate.

¹ *Le Socialiste* was planned as a daily paper of large format, priced at one sou.

B[ebel] would write in German and Laura would translate, I hope. You would have *facts* whereas from L[iebknecht] you would only get phrases. And L[iebknecht] would plume himself on writing for you in French; you would correct his style and he would say that you had mangled his facts and his ideas.

I shall write to Ravé as soon as I have received and read Roy's translation. But it's a tricky matter and I should not like Laura's work to be wasted. What I have read of it is decidedly better than Roy's translation.¹ And then there's the question of a publisher. Has he got one? As for Ravé's promises which he has not kept, he has the excuse of having been held up by the additions to the 4th edition; all in all, it's a rather unpleasant business about which I'm not quite clear yet. But we'll see.

Now my dear Löhr a few words with you. In that new daily paper you are an absolutely necessary factor. If the thing is to be superior to the usual run of Parisian dailies, there must be somebody who follows closely from day to day, and reports on, from time to time, the English and German movement. And you are the only person in toute la belle France who can do this. I have no doubt that you are perfectly ready to undertake this work, which fortunately can be done very comfortably at Le Perreux, as it will not matter a bit whether *these* news, generally, are published a day sooner or a day later. But what I want to drive into you, poking your ribs with both my forefingers, is that you must be a regular member of the rédaction and paid accordingly. Paul is too much of an hidalgo to think of, or to press, such matters, but "it mun be done" as they say in Lancashire, and I think it is my duty to call your and Paul's attention to it. The subject is too important to be neglected, and it will not be properly treated unless you are rédactrice

¹ It appears that Roy had also translated *The Origin of the Family*. In any case, some passages translated by him appeared in the *Ère nouvelle*.

du *Socialiste* quotidien and charged with that special branch.

Bebel and Louise send their kindest regards.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS¹

487. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 9 June 92

My dear Löhr,

Your silence and Paul's is ominous—no news of any agreement signed on June 1st; are your intelligent capitalists after all recalcitrant? In the meantime Bax who is editor of *Justice* for 2 months, heard of your paper at Moteler's, where he met Bebel, Singer and our lot, and in spite of our precautions, cautions and remonstrances has blabbed it out in last N^o.²

Well, I am likely to wait until I get news from you; fortunately the weather is so hot that waiting is not so very difficult, and rather less so than any more active proceeding—in the meantime I am in the agreeable position to hand you a little cash, viz. £ 2.18.4, one third of £ 8.15.—proceeds of 180 Marks sent by Dietz as share of honorarium, for Marx's heirs, of the German edition of the *Misère de la Phil[osophie]*. The translators have all at once come to the consciousness that, for the first edition of that work, Mohr's heirs were not paid anything; so I was called upon to say what they were to have for both editions now on the coming out of the 2nd ed. After some correspondence, we agreed that of the 300 Marks paid for the second, the two translators were to have $\frac{2}{5}$ = 120 Marks and the heirs 180

¹ The last two paragraphs were originally written in English.—Ed.

² There was a paragraph in *Justice* of June 4th, 1892 (p. 2/IV), announcing the publication of a new daily paper run by Guesde and Lafargue.

Marks= $\frac{3}{5}$, which I believe is fair enough. So herewith your cheque.

Tussy is in Plymouth for Gasworkers Annual Conference, and Edward goes from there to Aberdeen on an invitation to preach.

I was in Manchester last week. Poor Schorlemmer is dying. You know how changed he has been ever since that fall on board the Flushing steamer which prevented his coming to Paris with Nimmy and Pumps. For the last two Xmas he could not come here. Even [at] Easter he stopped at home and at last sent a letter: don't write, as I cannot reply! Then I wrote to Gumpert and learnt that he was getting weaker and that percussion brought out a dulness over the upper third of the right lung which, all other possibilities being excluded by the other symptoms, indicated the formation of a tumour. This diagnosis has turned out only too correct. Partial paralysis, œdema and low temperature of the right arm have set in in consequence of the pressure of the tumour on the vena cava and the plexus brachialis, while the left arm is relatively and the lower extremities perfectly free from these symptoms. His brain, too, is not quite clear and sometimes very confused. At the same time he suffers no pain, hardly any uneasiness, and is gradually getting weaker. Gumpert thinks he may last some weeks yet, but may go off quite suddenly if any complication arises. It was impossible to converse with him more than 5-8 minutes; he wants rest, peace and quietness, and does not take any interest in anything. I hope he will be spared any sufferings. His mother is still alive, she is 81 years old.

Well, my dear girl, do give us news, even if they are not exactly what you would like them to be; we want to know what is going on.

Vaillant called here on Monday morning—but evaded all further invitations or occasions for meeting me; I shall try to find out what brought him here.

We had Bebel and Singer here for a fortnight and were

very jolly. You will have received the *Pall Mall* interview¹ we sent you.

We else send you the *Elend der Philosophie*² 2nd edition.

Love from Louise, who would be thankful for an article, and yours

Affectionately,
F. ENGELS

Ditto to M. le Député!

488. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Friday afternoon, 10 June 92

My dearest General,

Your letter, just come, comes—I was going to say like sunlight in a slum, but the sun's a nuisance, so let me say like water in the wilderness, or your own good Pilsener on a dry and dusty Summer afternoon.—

I had begun a letter to you in reply to your own kind letter and was about to finish it when—*miséricorde!* rien n'é-tant signé³—there came a jolly slip between the cup and the lip!—

Some other time I will write and tell you all about the ups and downs of the heart, the high and low tides of our spirits during this last blessed fortnight; to-day I'm pressed for time and am wanting to send off this as soon as may be.

All's well that ends well, and our *Daily* will see the light for a' that and a' that. It has been a hard matter to bring the babe into the world, but that's no wonder, seeing it's a socialist brat, born into a damned bourgeois world, with bourgeois midwifery.—

¹ The *Pall Mall Gazette* of May 28th, 1892, carried an interview with Bebel and Singer under the heading "The Prospects of Socialism" (pp. 1/III, 2/I).

² *The Poverty of Philosophy*.—Tr.

³ Bless me! Nothing being signed.—Tr.

I could not write to you, for from day to day, or rather from hour to hour, things took a different turn. So that what we had hoped for and expected in the morning we came to despair of in the evening. But, no more of that.—

Pray tell Louise that I have been without a servant for some time and that I'm so bewildered what with the housework, cooking, marketing, watering the garden and who knows what, that I haven't been able to write *to* or *for* her. Of two articles that I had purposed sending her, one has found an untimely grave in our kitchen fire (thanks to my new girl) and another is waiting to be finished and shall be forwarded as soon as ever I can set pen to paper.

To your letter of—I forget the date—I will reply as soon as possible. Meantime I can but thank you.

YOUR LÖHR

489. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 7 July 1892

My dear Laura,

I went at once to Manchester on the telegram of Schorlemmer's death; on Friday last week, 1st July, we buried him and on Saturday I returned. The last weeks of his life he remained in the same half-conscious and very oblivious, but absolutely painless state in which I had found him when there in the beginning of June, and on Monday morning 27th June he expired quietly and without any struggle. A *post mortem* entirely confirmed the diagnosis of Gumpert: a carcinomatous tumour in the right lung, of the size of a small orange, sufficient, by its pressure on the vena cava and the plexus brachialis to account for the deficient action of the brain and the partial paralysis and oedema of the right arm. The large vein of that arm contained a considerable thrombus, there were distinct though small carcinomatous places in the brain, and the heart was beginning to show fat-

ty degeneration. Under these circumstances we may congratulate ourselves that he was spared longer and perhaps acute sufferings.

Gumpert had got him in May already to make a will; he left everything to his mother. The manuscripts he left may cause some trouble. The most interesting one is on the history of chemistry, 1. the Ancients, 2. Alchemy, 3. Iatrochemistry, up to the 17th century; a fragment, and the 3rd part not completed, but still full of new views and discoveries. Then a lot of work on organic chemistry. But as he has *two* works in the press at the same time: 1. his own organic chemistry, 2. his and Roscoe's big book;—it will be pretty hard to distinguish which belongs to which. One of his executors is a chemist (Siebold) but hardly knows enough about the theory of the science to distinguish. And Roscoe is red hot after the Ms., as he knows too well that *he* cannot finish the book. I have told the ex[ecut]ors in my opinion they might let Roscoe have what belongs to the Roscoe-Schörl[emmer] book on binding himself to let the heirs participate in the profits of the pending volume (German and English) in the same way as Sch[örl]emmer himself would have done. As R[oscoe] was elected yesterday for Manchester, he will no doubt pounce upon the ex[ecut]ors at once, so I wrote them yesterday giving a full account of what I considered ought to be done in the matter.

A short notice I wrote in the *Vorwärts* I send you to-day.¹

Here we are in the midst of the elections.² They go remarkably well for us—under the circumstances. First, the immense liberal wave which was to carry Gladstone triumphantly to power, is all bosh. He will probably get a small

¹ An obituary on Karl Schorlemmer appeared in *Vorwärts*, No. 153 of July 3rd, 1892 (*1. Beilage*, p. 1/1), dated London, July 1st, 1892, and signed Friedrich Engels.

² The elections lasted from July 7th to 24th. They were marked by 9 working-class representatives being returned to Parliament, amongst whom were John Burns, Wilson, Keir Hardie, etc. Engels comments at length on these elections in more or less the same vein in his letter to Bebel of July 7th, 1892.

majority, and it is not even certain whether there will be a majority for anybody. This will make *both* official parties dependent, for the next election, which may come *very* soon, upon the working men. Secondly the *new* working-class movement enters Parliament triumphantly. On Monday Keir Hardie was elected with 1,200 majority in the East End (West Ham)—last member a Tory with 300 majority! Yesterday John Burns at Battersea with 1,600 maj[ority]—last member a bourgeois Liberal with only 186 majority. And then at Middlesbrough in Yorkshire J. H. Wilson, se[cretary] of the Sailors and Firemen's Union (a *Streber*¹ but deeply engaged and mortgaged to *New Unionism*) beat *both* a Liberal *and* a Tory²! These are the *only* *éclatant*³ victories in the whole election, and all gained by working men: in two cases the Liberals *dared* not oppose one of their own, and in the third where they did, they were battus à plate couture.⁴ And third: wherever a working man's candidature had been well selected and prepared, it either considerably diminished the liberal majority, so as to warn them to be more careful and not to risk losing the seat next time, or it *made* the Liberals lose the seat. Thus in 2 divisions of Glasgow, C. Graham was beaten,⁵ *but so was his liberal competitor*. Thus in Salford, Hall, a S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] man, but said to be good, had only 554 votes, but these deprived the Liberal of his seat. And thus, 3 liberal seats lost merely because they would thrust bourgeois members upon working class constituencies.

The election has done already what I maintained was all we had a right to expect from it: give fair and unmistakable warning to the Liberals that the *Independent Working Men's Party* was approaching, that it cast its shadow before

¹ *Careerist*.—*Tr.*

² Wilson polled 4,091 votes against the Liberal's 4,062 and the Tory's 3,333.

³ *Dazzling*.—*Tr.*

⁴ *Beaten hollow*.—*Tr.*

⁵ Cunninghame Graham polled 906 votes, while the Liberal *failed* by 371 votes to get a majority.

it, and that this was to be the last general election carried on between two parties only, the Ins and the Outs. And therefore I am quite satisfied; especially so, as we shall get a parliament with which no stable government is possible.

From your silence I conclude that Bonnier is right when he writes to Tussy: le journal pend toujours à un fil.¹ Let us hope the fil will not snap but on the contrary grow into a rope and even a hawser.

Love from Louise. Prosperity and eloquence to M. le Député.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

490. FREDERICK ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, July 22nd, 92

My dear Lafargue,

Let's hope that this time the battle of *Eylau*² will not, like the first one, be a *drawn battle** and that what Mr. *Weinschenk*³ pours out will be good wine. I begin to understand French anti-Semitism when I see how many Jews of Polish origin and with German names intrude themselves everywhere, arrogate everything to themselves and push themselves forward everywhere to the point of creating public opinion in the ville lumière, of which the Parisian philistine is so proud and which he believes to be the supreme power in the universe.

However, it's a symptom not to be ignored if these gentlemen find that a socialist journal is good business. We are quoted on the Stock Exchange! There's progress for you.

I think Millerand is right in advising you to have 25. or

¹ The paper still hangs by a thread.—*Tr.*

² Eylau was the name of the financier with whom the Socialists were in negotiation to set up their daily paper.

³ The name *Weinschenk* means butler (literally wine-pourer).

still better 50 th[ousand] fr[ancs] deposited to your credit in a decent bank. It's the only safeguard; but make sure that it is put to your credit *without any conditions whatsoever*, so far as the bank is concerned; they should send you a formal letter stating that the sum of . . . stands to your credit and that you are free to use it as you please. Further, Weinschenk, in the contract with you and Guesde, should empower you to draw this sum *in the event of the contract being broken on his side*. For otherwise the private contract between him and you two would not bind the Company that is to be formed—unless that Company explicitly accepts it. But these are legal precautions and Millerand will no doubt advise you well.

As for the cholera, it is almost bound to reach us; in the meantime it is finishing off the work of peace begun by the 1891 famine in Russia. What I cannot understand is the stupidity of the French bourgeois who seems to believe that Russia is a power capable of doing something or other for France. If he had a spark of common sense, he ought to realise that at the present time the French alliance is absolutely indispensable to Russia and that whatever France asked of her, Russia would have to grant it. But in relation to Russia, the official politicians of all the Western countries are incredibly stupid. France has all she needs as a safeguard in her army. I read an article by a British officer—not one of those generals of the old school promoted for his ignorance, but a colonel who knows what's what and who talks of the French army with heartfelt envy—he envies it because he knows that its advantages are unattainable in England owing to the fundamental difference between the two military systems. He says that the French army is genuinely democratic—in the regiments, that is in its main organisation—that officers and men co-operate to the same end and are mutually well-disposed, that all ranks know their job, that even the territorials have turned out better soldiers than could have been expected, that the real discipline is capital and based on the goodwill of all concerned, that the

military training is good, a matter which is really necessary for (),¹ and that, within its limits, it is perfectly adequate, and that all superfluous parades are severely eschewed. In short, save for the better military training of the French, *it is a description of the Prussian army reorganised after 1807* under Scharnhorst, and it's the biggest compliment one could pay to the French army. I am beginning to think that battalion for battalion, it's every bit as good as the German army, if not better. The superiority of the Germans lies in the large number of reservist officers; the French superiority in the good understanding between the men and their officers; in ours, the men are shamefully ill-treated.

You are right, next week I am going to Ryde. Louise will be leaving next Sunday for Vienna, I shall probably go on Wednesday. So if you write to me after Tuesday, send to The Iris, Brading Road, Ryde.

I hope that Laura is keeping well, never a word from her. Since distance prevents me from kissing her, do so for me.

Good wishes to you, Mr. Wandering Jew.

F. ENGELS

I shall reply to E. this evening, the ear is better. I have received the money.

L. L.²

491. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS AT RYDE*

Many thanks for cheque.

Friday, 29th July, 92

My dear General,

On Thursday, the 21st, Paul started for Lille via le grand U. Le grand U is a café in the rue Richelieu, Paris, where Guesde, Paul, Weinschenk and Eylau[†] have been meeting to settle about *le Socialiste*. The contract was to have been

¹ The word is illegible on the photostat copy of the original from which this letter is taken.

² In Laura Lafargue's handwriting.

signed on Thursday morning and Paul was to telegraph to me in case of success so that I might at last be able to write to you. *But no telegram came!* Two days later Paul wrote to inform me that Eylau's relative had at the last moment backed out and that the agreement had only been "*partiellement signé*".

On Sunday our friend Vignaud calls on me and tells me that Luce (a friend of his and a capitalist) is to replace Eylau's relative and that "*tout marche bien*". On Tuesday Paul came up from Lille and on Wednesday evening the contract was definitely signed. The Lord be praised! Heartily sick we had all grown of the numberless "*combinaisons*" of which the greater part were still-born and such of them as saw the light were buried before their births could be registered.

Paul gives me the following particulars.

A company has been formed with a capital of one million, divided into 2,000 shares of 500 francs each.¹

On August 20th Weinschenk and Eylau are to put up 100,000 francs.

Luce is to put up 150,000 francs.

A mechanical engineer, Luce's friend, is to undertake to provide the company with 3 rotary presses, 2 gas engines, a stereotype and the type and other necessary equipment, representing altogether 125,000 francs.

Thus on August 20th we shall have all the gear plus 250,000 francs in cash.

Weinschenk and Eylau undertake to put up another 100,000 francs on September 1st.

Thus on September 1st the Company will have assets of 125,000 francs' worth of equipment and 350,000 francs in cash.

That will leave 125,000 francs to be raised to make up the 500,000 francs, recognised as necessary. The 500,000 francs will represent 1,000 shares at 500 francs each.

¹ This and the following paragraphs were originally written in French.—*Ed.*

The other 1,000 shares will be divided between the founders as follows: Guesde, Lafargue, Weinschenk and Eylau will each have 185 shares. Luce will have 235 and the business manager 25. These 1,000 shares may not be put on the market until the paper is making a profit of 200,000 francs a year.

The political and literary direction is entrusted to Guesde and Lafargue. A reserve of 25,000 francs will be deposited in their names at the Crédit Lyonnais. They will receive 16,000 francs each month for editorial expenses. When the paper reaches a circulation of 100,000, they will get 20,000 francs, and for every ten thousand, an increment up to the maximum figure of 30,000 francs a month for the editors.

The Company's business manager is Vignaud: he was selected by Lafargue and Guesde and he will act as administrator for the political directors and the managers who are Weinschenk and Luce, and who will be paid at the rate of 1,250 a month. The paper comes out on October 1st.¹

There, my dear General! It almost seems too good to be true.

The Franco-Russe *Intransigeant*, the only paper I have read of late, has been so infamously stupid that I have not dared to send it you.

If you can spare a copy of your *Ursprung*, pray send me one for a charming young Russian girl-doctor whom I am reclaiming from Malonism and to whom I have *lent* but cannot *give* my copy, in which you have inscribed your name.

Good-bye, my dear General, and remember me to Pumps, Percy and the little ones.

Your affectionate,

LAURA

P.S. I should like to know Louise Kautsky's address.

¹ From here the original English letter continues.—Ed.

492. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

The Iris, Brading Road, Ryde
22 Aug. 1892

My dear Laura,

I had hoped to hear from you how the preparations for the great event are progressing, as the day of Oct. 1 is drawing near; and especially would it interest me to learn that the Fr. 25,000.—the guarantee-fund that business is meant—have been paid in to the Crédit Lyonnais. But perhaps I shall now hear in a few days, the sacramental date of the 20 août, with its Fr. 250,000 en espèces et tout l'outillage,¹ having passed.

I have had an attack of my old complaint which from 1883 to 1887 laid me up lame from time to time, and had left me pretty well undisturbed for five years. Unfortunately at the wrong time it returned. I was to have left about 10 days ago, gone to Zürich to see the Beusts, thence with Bebel who is at St. Gallen, to Stuttgart, Munich, Vienna, where we were to take up Louise and go to Berlin and thence return to London. All this ist ins Wasser gefallen,² Bebel will have to do the Vienna trip alone, but wants me to come at least to Berlin if possible. Now as I am gradually mending, it is not quite impossible that I should be in a condition to undertake that bit of a journey. But so far I cannot tell; I want at the very least another fortnight's rest. Fortunately the fine weather allows me to spend all my lame time in the garden, and the splendid air here does me a deal of good.

Tussy, just before she was off for Norway, had a letter from Greulich, in the name of the Zürich Congress Committee, asking her to send them a draft invitation, for the Int[ernational] Congress, to the Glasgow Trades Unions

¹ In cash and the gear.—*Tr.*

² Has fallen through.—*Tr.*

Congress, and to do all their English translation work. I suppose you know that some months ago Seidel intrigued to have the job given to one who was not connected with the damned Marxists. Louise in Berlin on her road to Vienna told Bebel, and B[e]bel at once wrote to Zürich and this is the result.

I have to shut up. It's dinner-time and the cloth must be laid where I write. Immediately after dinner the mail boxes are cleared (3 p.m.). So gehab dich wohl!¹ When shall we see you again here in England? I hope this autumn, even if you cannot bring the député-directeur politique with you.

Pumps, Percy and the little ones send their love.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

Hope you had my last with L[ouise] K[autsky]'s Vienna address.

**493. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX***

London, 11 Sept. 92

My dear Laura,

I am here again since last Tuesday, still housebound, but mending. Louise I expect back on Wednesday, Bebel fetched her from Vienna to Berlin and there she is now.

Thanks for the news about the paper. Then Luce being out of it, I take it that the old agreement has lost its binding power over the other signatories too, unless expressly renewed by them. With Luce, too, his friend Vignaud has, I suppose, also gone out (the man is unknown to me). Anyhow it looks as if a new combination was being tried—let us hope it will be successful and the last of its race.

Here we have had a very important event which will

¹ Look after yourself.—*Tr.*

occupy *all* the Socialist parties of the Continent. As you will see from enclosed report, the Trades Unions Congress deliberately rejected the invitation to the Zürich Congress and resolved to call together "*immediately*" an Eight Hours Congress of its own—and an International one too!¹ This requires action on our part, and if possible, *concerted action of the whole Continent*.

The English workmen are so deeply infected with the Parliamentary spirit of compromise that they cannot do a step in advance without at the same time taking $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{7}{8}$ of a step backwards. Thus the sudden awakening of the Eight Hours' enthusiasm (3 years ago considered an impossibility, you know, by the very people who now clamour loudest after it) has almost succeeded in giving a reactionary character to that cry. It is to be the universal panacea, the one thing to be thought of. In their exultation at having secured so soon such a large and unexpected majority, the mass of the 8 hours' men now sacrifice everything that goes further, to the newly-converted "Old" Unionists. This massacre of the Socialist Innocents is submitted to all the easier as the "New" elements are divided, without general organisation, personally unknown to each other, and have not as yet had the time to develop men enjoying the confidence of all; as you know, this can only be obtained here in Britain by what Ruge called die Kraft der wiederholten Erscheinung,² the effect of hawking your own person constantly for years before the public, *teste* Shipton, Cremer, Howell, etc.

Anyhow the fact is there. The T[rades] U[nions] C[ongress] by a deliberate vote of 189 to 97, nearly 2 to 1, has placed itself outside the universal working men's movement and resolved to march apart. With every pos-

¹ *Le Temps* of September 10th, 1892, reported that the T.U.C., meeting at Glasgow from September 5th to 10th, "has passed a resolution in principle for an international congress to reach common understanding on the Eight Hours question" (p. 2/II).

² The force of constant appearance.—*Tr.*

494. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, Sept. 17th, 1892

My dear Lafargue,

Your view that one should profit by the occasion to teach the old English *Trades Unions** a lesson is also Bebel's. If Liebknecht goes to Marseilles, you will have an excellent opportunity to come to an agreement with him. At the same time you can ask him why *Vorwärts* is full of news about the doings of the Broussists, Allemanists and Blanquists and hardly says a word about ours. But in Berlin they are saying that cholera rages in Marseilles and that might stop him coming.

As the British *Tr[ades] Unions** recognise only *bona fide working men**, and then only those who are organised in unions, it is of the utmost importance that not only the Workers' Party Congress, but also and more particularly that of the French Trades Unions,¹ sitting a few days before ours, should express themselves roundly on the attempt of the British to ignore the *existing* continental movement with a view to inaugurating a different one under their leadership and of their opinions. Undoubtedly the French trade unionists will protest against what was said at Glasgow about them and the other continental workmen.

(Woods, M. P.) "that the organisations on the continent of Europe² were very ineffective but he felt sure that if the powerful organisation in England would *only extend the hand of fellowship and sympathy* and brotherhood (excusez du peu!³) to their friends on the Continent, they could minimise the difficulties, etc.

¹ The Fifth Congress of Trades Unions and industrial groups was held in Marseilles from September 19th to 22nd.

² Here begins the passage which is in English in the original.—Ed.

³ What modesty!—Tr.

Foster of Durham, mines: He was struck with the remarks of Mr. Woods, that their efforts in this country were to a certain extent *neutralised* by their fellow-workmen in other countries who were not so well organised as those in this country; *their social position was not equal to ours* (!!!) . . . if they could get their fellow-workmen on the Continent to *show the same consensus of opinion as those in this country* when they made up their mind to a particular action¹ (he means the 8 hours, and you know how the British fought against it when the Continent was already unanimous—those same British individuals who now shout so loudly!) *they would then know that the power of labour could achieve the object, etc.**

Holmes, Burnley, cotton weaver, newly converted to the 8 hours and anxious to prove that this change of front has not turned him into a socialist cannibal:

Were there some advanced, or as they called them, socialist movements on the Continent, that they wanted to drag them into (à Zürich). He asked those gentlemen, if they wanted to go to that Congress in the name of this body to advocate many of the wild schemes which they knew were going on on the Continent?

Conner, London: Though there were two international Congresses already arranged for (Zürich and Chicago) neither of them *were arranged by, or under authority of, the Trades Congress* (!!)².

There you are. That should be insulting enough to quicken the pulse of the French trades unionists.

I repeat: *for the moral effect here in England*, a resolution from the *Congress of Unions* rejecting the attempt to create divisions represented by the Glasgow resolution would be very much more important than one from the *Socialist Congress*. So try your best. Tussy has sent a newspaper report to Delcluze.

¹ Here the English passage ends.—*Ed.*

² This paragraph is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

Give the comrades my greetings. Do good work, as at Lille, where Tussy says it was the most *business-like** workers' congress in her whole experience.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

495. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON
(Fragment)

Paris, 5. X. 1892

My dear Engels,

Forgive me for not having written to you sooner about the Marseilles Congress.¹ Guesde and I were overwhelmed with work: the sessions opened at 9 a.m. and finished at midnight with two intervals for meals. We had to draft resolutions and take part in all the debates; and on top of that to attend the disciplinary commission to settle differences between groups and individuals, which was the most tiresome of all. The general strike took up two sessions, we think we have finally settled the matter, which won only 24 votes in Congress.

By holding the Congress in the South and opening it to groups not yet affiliated to the Party, but who accept its programme, we had feared we might be invaded by southern windbags who are revolutionaries only in words; but we were agreeably mistaken; on the contrary we recruited new elements who astonished us by their intelligence and their judicious way of examining the situation: several of them represented agricultural districts. The Congress was the most important one ever held in France for the number and character of its delegates and for the importance of the resolutions adopted. Anseele and Liebknecht were surprised by the assiduity of the delegates,

¹ The Tenth National Congress of the French Workers' Party was held from September 24th to 28th and was attended by delegates from working-class groups and trade unions from more than a hundred towns.

who did not miss a single session, and by the seriousness of the discussions. The agricultural question was studied exhaustively, as you can see from the programme which resulted from it¹; Anseele declared that the Belgians would be forced to borrow various points from it.

The agricultural question and Liebknecht's presence were the two chief *attractions* of the Congress. The 1889 Congress escaped attention amid the hullabaloo of the Exhibition and no one among the Chauvinists noticed that 80 German Socialists attended it. It was different this year; Liebknecht had been announced long beforehand, the reporters besieged him and vied with each other to quote his slightest word. He spoke capitally and the impression made on our people and on the public could not have been better; too good for the Russian intriguers, who fancy they have conquered France and cannot permit their domination to be so much as discussed, which is what the Congress did in its first statement. They attacked L[iebknecht] ferociously in the name of patriotism: it is the Russian adventurers who represent chauvinism. *La France* which is in the embassy's pay, as in Girardin's time, started the ball rolling,² to be taken up by the Boulangist *Cocarde*³

¹ The Marseilles Congress had been preceded by an exhaustive investigation into the situation of the rural areas. The agrarian programme which emerged from it, the first produced by the Workers' Party, was later taken up and revised by the Nantes Congress in 1894.

² Liebknecht forcefully recalled in his speech the internationalism of the German Social-Democratic Party, demonstrated as far back as 1870-71. Concerning the question of Alsace-Lorraine, he said that the matter would be settled without any trouble once the social and democratic Republic was established on both sides of the Rhine. On September 28th, *La France* demanded the expulsion of this "humbug" in a short article entitled: "Herr Liebknecht".

³ *La Cocarde* of September 30th, 1892, on the strength of a report in *Figaro*, announced the expulsion of Liebknecht, which was denied by Police Headquarters. On October 1st the same paper said that Liebknecht had been obliged to leave Lyons hurriedly under police pressure, which was tantamount to being expelled. On October 2nd it suggested to the German Government that it should charge Liebknecht with high treason for his speech at Marseilles.

and all the papers in Russia's pay: there are plenty of them; you should know that, unlike the former practice, a paper is no longer bought by the year, but is paid for the articles it prints, piece-work has been substituted for time-work. We have reason to believe that the Prussian embassy was not well pleased by L [iebknicht]'s enthusiastic reception and his statements on the Army Act; it, too, joined in the patriotic chorus. The papers kicked up and are still kicking up a big rumpus; it may deceive some people, but it won't last and if we had had our daily paper we should have been able to reverse public opinion by exposing the intrigues which lurk behind the patriotic phrasemongering.

The paper¹ is hanging fire: there are intrigues against us. They are frightened of seeing us at the head of a completely independent daily socialist paper. We should not take long, at the pace things are going, to become a political power.

The Carmaux strike² is exciting great feeling; Loubet would be all in favour of siding with the miners; but Freycinet on the other hand, who longs to be President of the Republic, is trying to nurse the votes of the Right and the Centre; it is he who is preventing Loubet and Viette, the Minister of Public Works, taking action. So much the better, for this strike, which is political, since it is definitely universal suffrage that is at stake, does us a powerful service: it has forced the Radical Party to take a stand against the Company. When the Chamber reassembles the Radicals will call upon the Minister and will even demand the. . .

¹ This again refers to *Le Socialiste*, the large 5-centime daily, which had been under discussion since May and which, in the event, never materialised.

² On August 15th the Carmaux Mining Company dismissed Calvignac, the socialist mayor of the town and a local Councillor. The workers decided to go on strike until Calvignac was reinstated. The government put the area under military occupation. But public opinion supported the strikers and, following the parliamentary debate at the October reassembly, the Company was forced to accept the arbitration which it had until then rejected.

496. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Thursday evening, 13 Oct. 92

My dear General,

You will have learnt from the *Intransigent* the state of things at Carmaux.¹ It is a marvel that the men on strike have not lost their heads and their tempers yet, for they are being shamefully provoked. A man standing near his house-door, or passing two or three times through the same street, or a couple of women walking abreast, are brutalised and roughly ordered to "disperse". The government by its stupid conduct is preparing fresh trouble for itself and there will be a smash one of these days.

Paul is at Bordeaux after a flying visit to Carmaux² and Toulouse. I expect him home to-morrow as he has some work to prepare for Parliament. Liebknecht in a letter just to hand promises to furnish data and documents anent the Alsace-Lorraine question.

The Congress has been a very great success and has delighted all those who attended it. The practical character of the Lyons Programme,³ as pointed out by some of the members of the Congress and proved by the fact that it is beginning to be carried into effect by several municipal councils; the proposed campaign in favour of the rural population, together with the unanimity with which all the resolutions were carried, rejoiced everybody present.

I saw Paul Arndt for the first time just before he started for Marseilles. He gave me your card and we talked for

¹ *L'Intransigent* followed the Carmaux strike very closely. The board of directors, under its chairman Baron Reille, feeling that it had the support of the Ministry of Public Works, had rejected the strikers' proposals at the beginning of October and refused to reinstate Calvignac.

² Lafargue was in Carmaux on October 8th.

³ The 1891 Lyons Congress of the French Workers' Party had hammered out the municipal programme which had led to the success of the Guesdists in the elections of May 1st, 1892.

half and hour or thereabouts. He is very young and confused, but there is no reason to suppose that he blunders from malice prepense. It is necessarily confusing to an outsider who wakes up one fine morning in Paris to find himself confronted by Marxists, different sets of Blanquists and of Possibilists, a certain number of "independent" thinkers or non-thinkers and revisionists. And when such an outsider, with no settled convictions of his own, happens to belong to that superior class of students who pride themselves on being altogether unbiassed and on their critical attitude of mind and who eternally suspend their judgement, he is bound to be always out. Arndt intends leaving Paris in a few months; meantime Paul has lectured him. And when *the* Paper comes out, it will be their own fault if the Germans publish nonsense on French affairs.

The men of Roubaix have decided on asking Paul to stand for Roubaix, in the ward that elected Carette general councillor.

We are suffering from a spell of the worst kind of London weather and it is extremely cold. Our hens have ceased to lay and our cocks to crow. As for Novo, our dog, his appetite is outrageous.

Good-bye, my dear General,

FROM YOUR LAURA

497. **FREDERICK ENGELS**
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 14. Octbr. 92

My dear Löhr,

Thanks from Louise and myself for your letters this morning. Had one from Paul from Bordeaux last night.

Business first. Enclosed you find:

1. Manifest des soz[ial] dem[okratischen] Ausschusses (Executive) Braunschweig 5. Sept. 1870 with a letter from Mohr and myself, but which Paul better quote as

from *Mohr*, who, I believe, signed it. *This is referred to in the Ms. extracts under No. III* (on page 2).

2. First and Second Address of the G[eneral] C[ouncil] of the International on the war, July 23rd 1870 and Sept. 9th 1870—with French translation *made, I believe, in Geneva*; it very likely requires revision both as to correctness and style.¹

3. A series of Ms. extracts received from *Bebel* who with his wife set to work at once to supply us with what we wanted.

I think this will be sufficient for *Paul's* speech, though I don't envy you for the task of translating all these things, especially the rather lax style of our Reichstag orators.

Anyhow, now *Paul* is armed and need not depend upon *Liebkn[echt]*'s promises which are sooner made than kept, as a rule.

I am glad *Paul* is going to take part again in the debates of the *Chambre*, and if he is wise, he will attend the *Palais Bourbon* assiduously during this last session of the present Parliament. I have some notion that electors want to see and hear something of the parliamentary activity of their deputy, and if they do not, there may be a risk not only of losing his seat, but also of not so easily securing another. After all, as things are now, both in France and Germany, electoral success in many places at least, depends on the votes of a number of *hangers-on* of the

¹ All these documents have a bearing on the internationalist viewpoint of the German Social-Democrats during the war of 1870-71. The Manifesto of September 5th, 1870, which hailed the Republic proclaimed in Paris, called for an end to the war. It reprinted Marx's letter of the end of August 1870. The two Addresses are well known and appear in *The Civil War in France* (Appendix I, pp. 67-78, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1933). *Lafargue* was collecting these documents in order to reply to the speech of *Millevoeye*, the reactionary deputy for the Nord. *Le Socialiste*, No. 108 of October 16th, 1892, reported (p. 1/II-III) that *M. Millevoeye* was to put the following question to the Premier: "Does the government of the Republic intend to tolerate in the future that foreigners, following the example of *Mr. Liebknecht*, should come to France in order to arouse hatred and contempt for the French nation?"

party, men that are influenced by petty considerations, and whose simple abstention may lose the seat. Then, too, Paul's first speech showed evident signs of *embarras*,¹ caused by his not being used to the new atmosphere where he had to live, move and have his being; and the sooner and the more he gets used to that and to the parliamentary forms, standing orders, and business habits of the *Chambre*, the better. This time he will have to show them that their howlings and interruptions will not intimidate him, and if he only tries, I am sure he can do it. I don't know French Chambers, but it seems to me, in a similar case I should take no notice of interruptions, reply to none of them, and in the last extremity call upon the president to ensure to me my right of being heard (capital advice on the part of one who notoriously cannot keep his own temper!).

Arndt you describe quite correctly. I see from Liebk[necht]'s report on his journey that he gives A[rndt] a mild slap but a slap anyhow, and probably he will have been told, at Marseilles, of the proceedings of Blanquists and Allemanists. Liebk[necht] seems quite intoxicated with his triumph and, for the moment, *plus français que les Français eux-mêmes*.² Unfortunately he always deals in extremes, and I can only hope that he will not be goaded by patriotic bullies in the Reichstag into tumbling head over heels into the opposite extreme. So far, his attitude in his speeches in Mannheim³ etc. has been all that could be desired.

I understand your news about Roubaix to this effect that the people there will ask Paul to stand for the Chamber next autumn. That would be very good, R[oubaix] would be a pretty safe seat, while Lille seems rather shaky, to

¹ Discomposure.—*Tr.*

² More French than the French themselves.—*Tr.*

³ At a meeting held in Mannheim Liebknecht gave a report on his attendance at the Marseilles Congress. *Vorwärts*, No. 237 of October 9th, carried the text of Liebknecht's speech (2. Beilage, p. 1/III). Amongst other things it gave the lie to words a French reporter attributed to him: that he would be ready to shed his blood to the last drop to defend *French* territory.

be carried at a period of extra local excitement, but very uncertain, so far, at ordinary periods.

Anyhow, ça marche en France (everything but the *journal quotidien*!) and Carmaux shows not only the progress of our ideas among the working class, but also the fact of the bourgeois and the government knowing it. The self-contained attitude of the people there—et encore des méridionaux, des Gascons gasconnants!²—and the quiet but determined way in which the socialist town councils proceed without any Possibilist weakness or concessions, show an immense progress. The more the French are coming to the front, the more I shall be glad. The continental movement, to be victorious, must be neither all French nor all German, but franco-allemand. If the Germans taught the French how to use the suffrage and how to organise strongly, the French will have to penetrate the Germans with that revolutionary spirit which the history of a century has made traditional with them. The time has passed for ever when one nation can claim to lead all the rest.

The *Socialiste* does not contain, in its report, the resolution of the Congrès *syndical*³ of Marseilles with regard to the *Glasgow* affair,⁴ nor any allusion to it. How is it that this business is enveloped in such mystery?

Aveling's article, or the *Pall Mall Gazette*,⁵ is also published in the *Workman's Times*.⁶ *Do you still receive that paper?*

Love from Louise and
Yours affectionately,

F. ENGELS

¹ *Daily paper*.—Tr.

² And Southerners into the bargain, bragging braggarts!—Tr.

³ *Trade Union Congress*.—Tr.

⁴ See letters 493 and 494.

⁵ This refers to an article published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of October 11th, 1892 (pp. 1/III-2/I), entitled "Discord in the 'International', Continental Opinion on the British Trades-Unionists".

⁶ The *Workman's Times* of October 15th, 1892 (p. 1/I-II), printed an article "The Proposed Eight Hours Congress—Boycott by Foreign Workers", signed by Aveling.

498. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 21. X. 92

My dear Engels,

Thank you for the documents you sent me: please thank Mme Louise for her kindness, I am extremely sorry to have imposed such a dreary job on her. Liebknecht has sent me *Volksstaat*¹ to show the protest against annexation published on the front page of its issues to the deputies. Now I am armed; but I fear that I shall not be able to give battle, as Millevoye is ill and has announced that he will postpone his question to some later date, perhaps until doomsday. But the work is not wasted, for we shall publish the documents in *Le Socialiste*² and combine them in a pamphlet³; all the same, I shall be sorry not to bring them out from the rostrum, because of the repercussions that the debate would have.

You are right, I was too busy on propaganda work outside the Chamber and did not take the rostrum often enough. I have started to put your advice into practice; to-day I spoke twice on the motion for setting up arbitration committees to settle disputes between labour and capital. Mundella was much cried up as a philanthropist and the founder of conciliation boards in England. Wasn't Mun-

¹ This refers to an issue of *Volksstaat* in 1870 which expressed the German Social-Democrats' hostility to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Almost every day, from September 21st to December 14th, 1870, the paper carried in large type the words: "A just peace with the French Republic. No annexations! Punish Bonaparte and his accomplices." By mistake Lafargue writes *Volksblatt*.

² *Le Socialiste*, No. 109 of October 23rd, 1892 (p. 2/I-III), published the Brunswick Manifesto of September 5th, 1870. No. 111 of November 7th, 1892 (p. 2/I), published congratulations from the Government of National Defence to Messrs. Bebel and Liebknecht which had appeared in the *Volksstaat* of December 17th, 1870.

³ This pamphlet appeared in 1893 under the title *German Social-Democracy at the Bar of History*. (Lille Workers' Press, 1893, 32 pp.)

della accused of having transferred his capital and machinery to Saxony, in order to get cheaper workmen than in England?

Baron Reille, the director of the Carmaux Company, has extricated the government and the Radicals from a terrible dilemma by capitulating, by accepting Loubet's arbitration, after having haughtily refused any conciliation.¹ The miners are disappointed; they had hoped for something better, with good reason considering the uproar over their strike and all the well-disposed interest shown them. They wanted to refuse arbitration, but when they consulted us we advised them to accept. We intend to ask the Chamber for 500,000 francs to compensate them for their sacrifices on behalf of universal suffrage.

Nevertheless we have won an important victory; we have created a dangerous precedent for the capitalist system. On Monday Basly will speak on the Lens strike.² The mining Co., defeated in the electoral field last May, wanted to punish the electors and the elected by kicking them out of the pits and replacing them by Belgians, who have no vote. I intend to intervene in the debate. I shall expose the whole campaign against universal suffrage and assert the need for international understanding between workers.

I am writing to Labriola to tell him that I received his letter and postcard, but not the 20 francs mentioned.

Love to Mme Louise.

Cordially yours,

P. LAFARGUE

¹ Following Millerand's interpellation on October 18th, 1892, Baron Reille, at the end of the parliamentary session, had accepted government arbitration in the Carmaux dispute.

² A strike had broken out in August in the mining area of Lens. On Monday, October 24th, Basly called the Government to account. The *Journal Officiel* of October 28th published P. Lafargue's speech at the session of October 26th, which *Le Socialiste*, No. 110 (pp. 1/III-3/I) printed in full.

499. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 1. XI. 92

My dear Engels,

I am sending you *La Petite République*¹ which publishes my letter on the subject of the debate concerning Liebknecht. M. Millevoye was quick to take advantage of my absence from the Chamber to deposit his filth. But now we shall take our revenge; we are going to publish all the documents with a commentary and accusations. But it is a great pity that I could not start the attack in the Chamber; I say start, because, as Pelletan said, the Chamber would not have allowed me to turn the *question* put to the Minister into a *speech*, as in the former case no one but the *questioner* and the Minister have the right to speak; but

¹ *La Petite République française* of November 2nd, 1892, published under the title "The Liebknecht Question" (p. 1/IV-V) a letter from Lafargue dated October 30th, 1892, and the translation of a letter from the French consul in Vienna, M. Lefavre, written to Bebel and Liebknecht, and published in the *Volksstaat* of December 17th, 1870.

Lafargue exposed the fact that Millevoye had promised him to wait until his return from Carmaux to challenge Loubet on the subject of Liebknecht's words at the Marseilles Congress, which he did not do.

Lafargue wrote: "I had a number of authentic documents which I intended to impart to the Chamber, proving that, immediately following Sedan, the leading committee of the German Socialist Party enjoined the Prussian Government in a manifesto to stop the war, to conclude an honourable peace with the French Republic and not to annex Alsace-Lorraine; that on November 26th, 1870, Bebel and Liebknecht refused to vote for the credits proposed in the Reichstag for the continuation of the war; that the courageous manifesto of the leading committee meant mass arrests and sentences of years of imprisonment for members of the Party; that the government of National Defence, through the intermediary of the Vienna consul, M. Lefavre, in a letter that was made public, congratulated Bebel and Liebknecht on their fine international conduct.

"I should also have demonstrated that the German Socialists today are what they were in 1870-71; that they have never ceased to protest against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine; that recently again, in the Reichstag Liebknecht openly, called it 'a crime and one of the greatest political mistakes committed for a very long time'."

by intervening, even violently if necessary, I should have drawn public attention to the matter. And that was what Millevoye and Loubet wanted to avoid at all costs.

Liebknacht, who thinks we wanted to get out of the debate, accuses us of being afraid of the Chauvinists, and asks me if we are not going to send any representative to their Berlin Congress; unfortunately we are out of funds at present, but we shall send a cordial message instead.¹

The Carmaux strike is over²; the miners won the day; we forced the radical leaders to follow in our wake; it's a victory which demonstrates the power we are daily acquiring in the country.

Love to Mme Louise.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

You will find in *Le Socialiste* my speech on the struggles between Belgian and French workingmen.³ You will see how much I am heckled when I appear at the rostrum. It isn't easy to speak in a French Chamber.

500. FREDERICK ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, Nov. 3, 1892

My dear Lafargue,

I am plunged up to the eyes in the 3rd Volume of *Capital* which must be completed once and for all. I am working on the least edited and most difficult part: banks, credit,

¹ *Le Socialiste*, No. 112 of November 14th, 1892, published this message: "To the German Social-Democratic Party meeting in Congress in Berlin", dated Paris, November 8th, 1892, and signed J. Guesde and P. Lafargue (p. 1/I-II).

² On October 31st the Carmaux strike ended with the capitulation of the Company. The miners returned to work on November 4th.

³ See Letter 498, p. 205, note 2.

etc. I cannot interrupt the work for anything whatsoever, otherwise I should have to start from the beginning all over again. Hence all my correspondence is interrupted and I can drop you only a few words.

It is most unfortunate that you believed in Millevoye's promises, who then flouted you like a good politician—in future you will know that in politics such people pass for *gentlemen**. I get letter after letter from Germany in which they complain about your absence at the critical moment and I warn you that it will be difficult to have our people undertake work for debates from which the principal speaker for whom the work is done absents himself. Publication in pamphlet form will not have a hundredth part of the effect of a parliamentary speech; that's a matter on which our Berlin people are well qualified by experience to pronounce.

The least you might do would be to send a delegate to Berlin on the 14th, that would enable you to have it out with our people over there. So do try to send someone; it's an excursion that will pay.

You will have seen the reports in the papers of the ghastly effects, in Dahomey, of the new projectiles.¹ A young Viennese doctor who has just arrived here (ex-assistant to Nothnagel) saw the wounds made by the Austrian projectiles in the Nürmitz strike, and he tells us the same thing. There's no doubt that people in danger of being shot to bits in this manner will want to know why. It's a capital thing for maintaining peace, but also for curbing the inclinations of so-called revolutionaries, on whose outbursts our governments count. The era of barricades and street fighting has gone for good; *if the military fight*, resistance becomes madness. Hence the necessity to find new revolutionary tactics. I have pondered over this for some time and am not yet settled in my mind.

¹ This refers to the first melinite bullets and shells.

I am beginning to go out again a bit. I had nearly three months as a prisoner at home; now I am starting to walk, but little and slowly; but at least I realise that it will soon be over. And about time, as I feel that the lack of exercise in the open air must come to an end. And when I am completely restored, we can, I hope, arrange things so that you and Laura give us the pleasure of spending a few weeks with us. We have so many things to discuss, and it is time Laura saw London again.

Love from Mme Kautsky.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

501. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 4 Nov. 92

My dear Löhrr,

This morning Meissner sends a remittance for £38.—one third of which £12.13.4d, covers your share and is settled by enclosed cheque which please acknowledge. There are about 400 copies left of Vol. II and the second edition is in preparation. Fourth edition of Vol. I is out, and 460 copies sold, which wipe off the greater part of the printing etc. cost; only 886 Marks remain to be covered and all the receipts beyond that will be profits to be divided with Meissner.

Third Vol. well in hand and will not leave off until finished. This cannot be done unless I neglect correspondence, so you must excuse my brevity.

Now you ought to take seriously into consideration your impending visit to London; we have talked so much about it that at last it ought to be put into execution. We all should be so glad to see you here again once more.

I am in daily expectation of news that Pumps has had another baby. It's fully due if not overdue, she herself

expected it a month ago, but she is always out of her reckoning.

I wonder whether Jack Burns did say the nonsense about the foreign workingmen, Huret puts into his mouth in the *Figaro*.¹

Now then, to work again! The day I finish that section on Banks and Credit, which has been my stumbling block for 4-5 years (because under 3 months of *absolutely free* time it can't be done and these 3 months I could not get) — the day I finish that, there will be some consumption of alcohol—you bet!

Love from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

¹ This refers to an interview with John Burns which appeared in *Le Figaro* of November 2nd, 1892 (p. 1/I-III), which, since August 1st, had been publishing a series of interviews by J. Huret under the title: "The Social Question—Theoreticians and Party Leaders."

The journalist attributed reformist opinions to Burns. Thus he made him say, in speaking of British Socialists: "We are for progressive reforms."

To the question: "You do not in any way favour violent revolution?" Burns replied: "No, I am in complete disagreement on this point with my friends on the Continent, the Socialists of France and Germany. All the small reforms which we claim and accept enable us to demand other more far-reaching ones. . . ."

After praising the progressive outlook of the Trades Unions, described as "the horses drawing socialism", Burns insisted again on the importance of "individual reforms" and enumerated those won by the 12 Socialists (out of 139 members) on the London County Council.

When the journalist asked him if he thought there was any likelihood of a "transformation of the social system in the near future", he replied that an immediate revolution would not last; the people must first be educated.

Finally, the journalist put a last question to him: "Are you not of the opinion that a political change must precede, in England as in other monarchic countries, the economic transformation which you want?"

Burns replied: "Not at all. The form of government has nothing to do with the advance of egalitarian ideas. In France, for example, you have theoretical rather than real equality; in England, on the other hand, we have a *natural* conception of equality. And there is far less antagonism here than in France between the bourgeois class and the working class. . . ."

502. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, Nov. 12, 1892

My dear Lafargue,

You don't tell me where to send my reply, so I am sending it to Le Perreux.

I enclose herewith the cheque for £20 for which you ask me, but I give you notice that in future it will be *absolutely impossible* for me to meet the lack of funds and even more the defalcations which may crop up in the French Party. It is essential that every national party should provide for its own expenses and that, above all from France, one should no longer hear the eternal grouse that "dues aren't paid". With a little method, such things could never occur; a treasurer must be put under some sort of control, and, if he falls ill, he is replaced and produces an account of receipts and disbursements. If it were an unavoidable mishap that had befallen you, that would be one thing; but to pay for the remissness of *responsible officers* of the Party is a bit thick.

Anyhow, it's done now—let's talk of something else.

I explained the whole Millevoeye affair to Bebel; it seems they are reassured about it; your success at Carmaux and elsewhere will have contributed towards this. The fruits of your peregrinations through France begin to ripen, and all of us are pleased to see the progress made in France. Do you realise now what a splendid weapon you in France have had in your hands for forty years in universal suffrage; if only people had known how to use it! It's slower and more boring than the call to revolution, but it's ten times more sure, and what is even better, it indicates with the most perfect accuracy the day when a call to armed revolution has to be made; it's even ten to one that universal suffrage, intelligently used by the workers, will drive the rulers to overthrow legality, that is, to put us in the most favourable position to make the revolution. We

should reach a new stage in the 1893 elections, and then there will be that union between Socialists of different shades of opinions of which Liebknecht never stops talking. That union will come about as soon as there is a score of Socialists in the Chamber; if our people have—as I hope—a majority, they will be able to dictate terms. In the meantime, go on with your “victories and conquests”, and you will find that it is the Germans who will applaud you the most warmly.

Have you received the report of the German Executive Committee to the Berlin Congress?¹ It's magnificent—and it's war.

The paper—oh the paper! If the French bourgeois makes the same amount of difficulty before it lends money to the Russian tsar, that would, at least to some extent, make up for the cheated hopes this journal has aroused in us.

Kiss Laura.

*Kind regards from Mrs. Kautsky.**

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

503. FREDERICK ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, 22 Nov. 92

My dear Lafargue,

Thanks for the papers. The Panama business,² circumstances aiding and abetting, could well become for the

¹ *Vorwärts*, No. 259 of November 4th, 1892 (1. Beilage), published the report of the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party under the heading: “Bericht des Partei-Vorstandes an den Parteitag zu Berlin 1892.”

² The Panama scandal had broken out a few days before. On November 16th, 1892, *Le Temps* reported that the Attorney General had sent his report advising prosecution to the Ministry of Justice. The first questions were asked in the Chamber on November 21st, 1892. In point of fact, the Panama Company had been in difficulties for several years.

bourgeois republic the Pandora's box that Emile de Girardin's file of dossiers, from which issued "a scandal a day", was for the July Monarchy. As long as this goes on, I think your place is in Paris, in the Chamber, at the centre of the news, to put yourself, and keep yourself, in touch with what is happening and in particular with what emerges from one day to the next. Every fresh piece of scandal which is brought to light will be a weapon for us. It's time I was done with the 3rd volume, the close of the century is more and more charged with electricity. I'm glad to say it's going passably well (I mean the work on the 3rd vol.) and I hope to finish it during the winter. The greatest difficulty has been overcome.

Sam Moore has just left us. He is going to spend the greater part of his leave in the country with his parents and will be back in January. We shall see him again next Sunday.

If I am not mistaken I have already told you that Pumps had a little girl on the 13th—both are doing well.

For the last few days I have been well enough again to go out for a quarter of an hour; I hope this will help to restore me altogether.

The Germans have committed a fine blunder over May Day; not in Berlin, but in Brussels. They ought to have reserved the right, at the International Congress, to celebrate the day *in their own way* and according to circumstances. Their withdrawal creates a deplorable impression and should you give them a good wiggling, you'll be doing no more than your duty. Any other party could have allowed itself this retrogressive move; they, in their position as the main body of the European army, could not make it without great prejudice to the movement as a whole. I entirely approve the reasons which decided them in Berlin: the harm, to them, of a stoppage of work would have been out of all proportion to the advantages *to them*; but that should have been foreseen, and they should

have had the courage at Brussels *not to vote for a stop-page*.

And what of Laura? When do we see her? Kiss her for me.

Kindest regards from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. E.

Please keep me posted about the Panama affair with newspapers, it's so important. We shall find that Wilson¹ was only a tiny bit of a rouge compared with Reinach & Co.

504. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Monday, Novbr. 28th, 92

My dear General,

Paul is at Lille since the 19th. And high time it was for him to go there, however desirable might have been his presence in the Chamber. The scene in Parliament, the other day, I am told, baffles description.² A few hundred men gesticulating, gibbering and howling like wild beasts, and all at once: worse than Charenton or Bicêtre or la Ville-Evrard!³—Wilson's a baby of course by the side of these colossal filibusters, who are like, most people think, to come off scot-free. I doubt that. There are too many somebodies and nobodies whose interest it is to dishonour their "honourable" colleagues. And now that the murder's

¹ Wilson, Grévy's son-in-law, had been the key man in the decorations scandal of 1887.

² On November 21st the debate on the questions asked about the Panama affair opened in the Chamber. The deputy Delahaye, who called for the appointment of a commission of enquiry, created a great stir by stating that 3 million had been distributed to 150 members of Parliament. The session ended in an uproar.

³ Charenton, Bicêtre, Ville-Evrard—mental hospitals in France.—
Ed.

out it will be next to impossible to hush up the matter.— After having been becalmed for long years, our belle France is once again becoming tempestuous. And even the Magnards of the *Figaro*, etc., guess in whose favour the wind blows.¹

I had put off writing to you from day to day, in the hope of being able, at last, to say something definite about our crossing the Channel. But I don't know yet *when* and *whether* the locomotive Paul will be able to get away. For my part, I have a new servant coming to-morrow (they all "détestent la campagne"² and won't live there all the year round) and I could not possibly leave the house and my livestock in charge of a new comer. I wish I were a snail and could carry my house on my back.—You see we are not quite *gueux*³ enough yet to be altogether *heureux*.⁴ And if, "taking one consideration with another", a policeman's lot is not wholly a happy one, neither is that of a socialist deputy, let alone his wife's.

That I am wanting to see you and to shake off the mud of Le Perreux for a while, I need not say. Anyhow, if we cannot manage to run over for a week or ten days this year, we shall certainly do so next April and celebrate *our silver wedding*⁵ with you and yours *at home*: Twenty-

¹ In *Le Figaro* of November 23rd, 1892, Magnard wrote (p. 1/III-IV): "Who will benefit by this rift in the political world which, for good or ill, has governed us for thirteen years?... I fear it will be socialism, whose supporters will find in it powerful arguments to demonstrate that the present social system, the maintenance of which is considered essential, gives no protection to the things it claims to defend and safeguard.... Thus capitalism is contributing to its own suicide, its own evaporation. The parliamentary jobberies have at the same time allowed a glimpse at the fact that the Third Estate is pretty tainted and even a bit high. This means opening the door to the Fourth Estate and justifying the hatred which is stirred up against the owning class, by casting doubt on the validity of their claims to ownership. I wish it were otherwise, but I fear that the real victor in the Panama affair will be not so much legislative virtue as socialism."

² Loathe the country.—*Tr.*

³ *Slatternly*.—*Tr.*

⁴ *Happy-go-lucky*.—*Tr.*

⁵ The Lafargues were married in London on April 2nd, 1868.

five years! If the days are long at times, the years are terribly short.—

L'étonnant Ravé¹ has at last sent me his translation of your book²—all but two chapters. I have been unable as yet to look at it. Do you wish me to send you the Ms.?

Has Paul written to you from Lille? If not, let me know, when you send me a postcard about the *Ursprung*, and I will give you what news I have had from him.

Louise is a shockingly bad correspondent and a good deal worse than I am.

Good-bye, my dearest General, and I wish I were giving you a warm kiss or two instead of sending you this cold black and white stuff.

YOUR LÖHR

Nos bourgeois sont enchantés des braves et prudents socialistes allemands. L'article de Basly fait florès, article, ainsi que je viens de l'écrire à Paul, *prévu* par Engels.³

I cannot help thinking that for all their rare and fine qualities there is something *provincial* in some of our people in Germany.

Love to Louise. I have not seen her paper these many weeks although I get the *Arbeiter Zeitung* regularly.—

¹ The amazing Ravé.—*Tr.*

² *The Origin of the Family.*

³ (Our bourgeois are delighted by the wise and cautious German Socialists. Basly's article cuts quite a dash—an article, as I have just written to Paul, *foreseen* by Engels.—*Tr.*) This refers to an article called "The Cowards" which appeared as an editorial in *La Petite République française* of November 25th, 1892 (p. 1/I-II). Basly called the German Socialists cowards because the Berlin Congress decided against a stoppage of work on May 1st. Guesde replied to him and sent a correction to the paper, which appeared on November 27th, 1892 (pp. 1/VI-2/I), emphasising the flagrant *errors* with which the article teemed.

505. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 Dec. 1892

My dear Lafargue,

Your remarks, concerning Bebel compel me to refer back to your letter from Lille. What you say about him is unfair in the extreme. Far from L[ieb]knecht correcting B[ebel] on any matter whatsoever (an amusing idea to anyone who understands the situation), it's precisely the contrary that is taking place. It is L[ie]bk[necht] who is promising miracles, and if the whole thing doesn't collapse and dissolve, it's thanks to the work Bebel is doing. If L[ie]bk[necht] said only agreeable things to you at Marseilles, don't forget that this is how he behaves with everyone; that he always acts on the impulse of the moment and that consequently he says white here to-day, but to-morrow somewhere else he will say black, and he will maintain in all good faith that he has not contradicted himself. You complain about the Berlin resolution concerning May 1st, well and good, according to our German press, L[ie]bk[necht] is reported to have said that at Marseilles he explained the position to you, including the impossibility for the Germans to stop work on May 1st¹; and that "the French" had fully acknowledged the force of his arguments. If that is true, by what right do you complain of the Berlin resolution? If L[ie]bk[necht] is making a mistake (for he believes what he says), what have you to say of the man who, according to you, "corrects" Bebel?

I fear that behind all this lies the dissatisfaction of our Oxford hermit.² If his impulsive nature makes him unjust

¹ In the reports of the Marseilles Congress in *Le Socialiste*, and in particular in the report of Liebknecht's contribution, there was no reference to the attitude of the German Social-Democratic Party on the subject of May Day.

² This refers to Charles Bonnier, a socialist writer and a member of the French Workers' Party, who lived in England.

to Bebel, who is an ironic and *business-like** character, the heat he is generating during his compulsory activity in the heart of the only city in the world where the Middle Ages continue in full swing, will drive this aversion to the point of hatred. As it is I never get a letter from him which does not teem with abuse of Bebel. I grant all that, I give full recognition to the hermit's good faith and goodwill, but firstly an enthusiast of that kind is a dangerous guide in matters of practical life, particularly when he lives in the isolation of Oxford, consumed by the desire to do something for the movement. And it's not just something to do that he needs, but positively something important and decisive. You know how he pestered us over the paper. The day before yesterday he sent me a veritable ultimatum in the name of the French Party (he always speaks in its collective name) addressed to the German Party: if the Germans at Zürich propose the postponing of the May celebrations to the first Sunday, the French will withdraw from the demonstration altogether, and there will be, if not war, at least something like the breaking off of diplomatic relations—and goodness knows what else. Anyhow he warns the Germans "that they are playing with fire". However, his French logic allows him to add that if the *English* insist on demonstrating on the Sunday, the French would see no harm in it!

I answered him fairly ironically that I would communicate his ultimatum to Bebel, but only as his personal opinion.

Naturally I don't take B[onnier]'s explosions for the attitude of the French Party; on the contrary, even if you authorised him I should not do so; I know him to be quite incapable—with the best will in the world—of expressing other people's ideas and words without putting in his own. He can't help it; like L[ie]bk[necht], he only knows two shades, black and white; he either hates or loves; and as he cannot love Bebel, he needs must hate him. But you would be monstrously wrong to form your view of the

German movement according to his. Laura being in the country cannot gainsay all the gossip about the Germans, and it's a great pity that he is the only one of you all who understands German.

Have you seen his "moment"? There are poems in it (Heine's *Poesiemusik, die Instrumental- und Vokalpoesie, die keine Musik ist*), poems on Germany; that "unfathomable" and extremely chaotic Germany which has never existed outside Victor Hugo's imagination. The Germany which was supposed to be interested only in music, dreams and clouds, and which left the care of matters here below to the French bourgeois and journalists. The good fellow speaks only of oak-trees, forests, students with sabre-cuts, Gretchens and other rubbish—and that after having lived in the country which is to-day the most prosaic and down-to-earth in the world. Just read it, and if after that you can believe a single word of what he has to say about Germany, it will be your own fault.

What is more, you may remember that the other day when you needed documents concerning L[ie]bk[necht],¹ it was Bebel who immediately set to work for you, whilst L[ie]bk[necht], whom it closely affected, merely sent you a few newspapers.²

Enough. Had this not been a question of demolishing a false view of the most far-seeing, the most sensible and the most active man in the German Party, I should not have written to you at such length. I had intended to write to you about Panama, but here I am at the bottom of the 4th page—so I shall write about that to Laura.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

¹ See Letter 497 of October 14th, 1892.

² See Letter 498 of October 21st, 1892.

506. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 5 Dec. 92

My dear Löhrr,

It's a long time yet till April, but if it cannot be managed otherwise, well then we must submit and only consider the matter finally settled, affaire bâclée, that you celebrate, both of you, your silver wedding here. And maybe you may manage a few days with us in the mean time; at all events we will consider that an open question still.

If you do not receive this week the *Arbeiterinnenzeitung* please let us know; Louise will write again. The paper having been handed over to the women altogether has probably caused some irregularities which will soon be set right.

Ah le Panama! I can tell you I am 45 years younger again, and living through a second 47. Then *La Presse* (Girardin's) brought every day a fresh revelation about some scandal, or some other paper brought a reply to some charge of his; and this went on till it killed Louis Philippe. But those scandals and even those of the Second Empire dwindle into nothingness compared with this grand National Steeplechase of Scandals. Louis Bonaparte took jolly good care, when he coaxed the peasants' money out of their buried hoards, to do so for the benefit of his State loans which were safe; but here the savings of the small tradesman, the peasant, the domestic servant and above all of the *petit rentier*, the loudest howler of all, have gone into irretrievable ruin, and the miracle has been performed of transforming a canal which has *not* been dug out, into an unfathomable abyss. 1,500 million francs, 60 million pound sterling, all gone, gone for ever, except what has found its way into the pockets of swindlers, politicians, and journalists; and the money got together by swindles and corrupt dodges unequalled even in America. What a base of operations for a socialistic campaign!

The thing has evidently been based upon its own immensity. Everybody considered himself safe because everybody else was as deeply in it. But that is just what now makes hushing up impossible; partial disclosures having set in, the innumerable receivers of "boodle" (for here American is the only possible language) are by their very numbers debarred from common and concerted action, everybody fights on his own hook and as best he can, and no talking and preaching can prevent a general *saue-qui-peut*. That the *police* have placed themselves at the disposal of the Committee after the strike of the courts of law, shows that confidence in the stability of swindle is broken, and that it is considered safe to keep well with the "financial purity" side.

To my mind *c'est le commencement de la fin*. The bourgeois republic and its politicians can hardly outlive this unparalleled exposure. There are but three possibilities: an attempt at monarchy, another Boulanger, or socialism. The first and the second, if attempted, could only lead to the third, and thus we may be called upon, long before we in consequence of our own action had a right to expect it, to enter upon a career of immense responsibility. I should be glad of it, if it does not come too soon and too suddenly. It will do our Germans good to see that the French have not lost their historical initiative. A country cannot pass through 200 years like what 1648-1848 were for Germany without leaving a small impression of the philistine even on the working class. Our revolution of 48/49 was too short and too incomplete to wipe that out altogether. Of course, the next revolution which is preparing in Germany with a consistency and steadiness unequalled anywhere else, would come of itself in time, say 1898-1904; but revolutionary times, preparing a thorough-going crisis, in France, would hasten that process, and moreover, if the thing breaks out in France first, say 1894, then Germany follows suit at once and then the Franco-German Proletarian Alliance forces the hand of England

and smashes up in one blow both the triple and the Franco-Russian conspiracies; then we have a revolutionary war against Russia—if not even a revolutionary echo from Russia—vogue la galère!¹

Love from Louise who is at a meeting of actors and dramatists for the foundation of a *freie Bühne* or *théâtre libre*² or what not.

My respectful salutes as well as those of our tomcat Felix to your animals.

Ever yours,

F. E.

Mendelsons were here last night, spoke a good deal of their visit to Le Perreux.

507. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 20 Dec. 1892

My dear Löhr,

Yesterday we forwarded by Van Oppen and Co's Express (they have an office in Paris too, but I did unfortunately not note the address) the box with pudding and cake, and hope it will arrive safe (directed to you, Le Perr[eux]). The pudding is not quite boiled out, our copper would not heat last Saturday and so, instead of twelve hours' boiling, the unfortunate pudding only got about nine or ten. But if you give it two to three hours' boiling before serving, it will be all right.

Before crossing the Channel, the Oxford sage³ gave us a call here, I hope I quietened his anxiety about the first of May to some extent. The attempt, in 1890, to chômer⁴ at

¹ And let it rip!—*Tr.*

² Free theatre—*Tr.*

³ See Letter 505, p. 217, note 2.

⁴ Stop work.—*Tr.*

Hamburg alone cost the Party above 100,000 Marks, and in my opinion it would never do to allow the bourgeois to bleed the German Party's cash and credit "à blanc"¹ just at the moment when a dissolution of the Reichstag is in the air, and when every farthing would be wanted.

Panama is delightful. The papers you so kindly send me, and old Mother Crawford's letters²—though awfully cut down by the respectable people of the *D[aily] News*—form already a pretty comprehensive dossier which I intend to complete up to the—I hope—*bitter* end. Respectability here, of course, triumphs. Wenn sich das französische Laster erbricht, setzt sich die englische Tugend zu Tisch³—and I'll be damned if I do not prefer a thousand times that plain open outright French vice to this hypocritical British virtue. Here corruption has been brought into a system and has been endowed with a complete code of etiquette which you have only to keep within, in order to be perfectly bullet-proof against all charges of *undue* corruption. In France no man would stand a chance in a popular constituency, a town especially, who openly wanted to get into Parliament for the purpose of furthering his own interests; here, anybody who wanted to get in for any other purpose would be considered a fool and a Don Quixote. The English Panama is called Building Society*⁴ and has more than one head—the savings of the small people have been eaten up in these societies by wholesale, and no great fuss about it. One M. P. is in here too, Spencer Balfour—he will take the Chiltern Hundreds and retire into private life—while lots of M. P.'s make money by selling their names as directors of all sorts of swindling

¹ White.—*Tr.*

² From November 16th the *Daily News* began publishing regular articles from its Paris correspondent, Mrs. Crawford, which articles, from mid-December, appeared daily.

³ When French vice vomits, British virtue comes to table.—*Tr.*

⁴ This refers to the failure of the Liberator Building Society, one of whose directors, Jabez-Spencer Balfour, was suspected of having left England after selling his property.

companies, which is considered perfectly fair so long as it is not pushed to excess.

On Friday we expect Pumps and her family here; as we have not room enough in the house we have taken lodgings next door but one—the old Marquis's house is now a lodging-house!—I think I wrote to you that on Nov. 13th Pumps had a little girl.

Shall write to Paul after the first rush of the Holidays is over.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

Dearest Laura,

Shall I do penance, put on sackcloth and ashes, better not, I am sorry for all my misdeeds; it is chiefly I and not you, after all, who suffer if I don't write. The G[eneral] has not been his old self since my return and I had practically no time to call my own and when I had, I was not in the mood. Sometimes it was too much of a good thing. But to make up for it, we'll chatter in the spring, how I look forward to it! Kindest regards to the M.P. and Merry Christmas.

With love and kisses,

YOUR LOUISE¹

¹ Louise Kautsky's note was originally written in German.—*Ed.*

(32)

CHAMBRE
DES DÉPUTÉS

Lafargue

Mon cher Général,

Merci du chèque, bien
qu'il faille du danger à prononcer
le mot par les temps qui courent.

Il fait un froid noir ici,
mais les pauvres Camarades doivent
avoir chaud quand même.

Paul a quelques jours de

Facsimile of the beginning of Letter 508 from Laura Lafargue
to Frederick Engels

(see over for the end of the letter)

vacances; et j'en profite pour lui
faire faire quelques menues
besognes à la maison.

Le Pudding et le cake sont
excellents et notre dispute
a retrouvé ses dents de bois
pour y mordre.

Pour moi, mon cher Général,
vous savez qu'il suffit d'être
Marxiste et Engeliste
pour rester long temps jeune! —

Reste votre fidèle qui vous

Amable

1893

508. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Tuesday [January 2nd, 93]*

My dear General,

Thank you for the cheque, although it's dangerous to pronounce that word in these days.

It is bitterly cold here, but the wretched Panamites must be unpleasantly hot all the same.

Paul has a few days' holiday; and I am taking advantage of it to make him do a few odd jobs about the house.

The *pudding** and the *cake** are capital and our deputy recovered his appetite of 30 years ago to get his teeth into them.

As for me, my dear General, you know that it's enough to be a Marxist and Engelsist to stay young forever!

Your Laura, with kisses.

509. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 3/1/93

My dear Engels,

If our people in Germany cannot understand our non-intervention in the Chamber,¹ it means that they do not

¹ Ever since the parliamentary debates on the Panama scandal had started, the Socialists had refrained from taking part.

appreciate the false position in which we find ourselves. It was the Monarchists-Boulangists who started the denunciations and who kept them up and, so far, all the deputies and senators found with Panama cheques are Republicans and we could not appear to be making common cause with the Right. At the same time, I could not intervene without showing the Panama affair in its true light, without demonstrating that it was no accident, but the daily bread of capitalist society, not only in France, but in all the countries of Europe and America; by enlarging in this way on the matter I should have been accused of trying to whitewash the guilty. It was thus necessary to wait for the plot to thicken and, above all, for some of the Right-wingers to be compromised, for then one could strike at the Left and the Right, without discriminating. Everyone hoped that, in the Lesseps & Co. documents seized, Bourgeois in due course would have found a means of denouncing some of the Monarchists; but he seems to have a quite different plan; he wants to hush up the matter at all cost and he intends to use the evidence he must have secured against the Right-wing people to put a stop to the denunciations and clear the Republicans implicated. Thus there is talk of non-suiting the 10 senators and deputies accused of corruption.

One would have to be an imbecile to believe that Paris is in an uproar and on the eve of revolution. I have already told you that the population is unconcerned; there has not yet been a single popular demonstration; six years ago, during the Wilson affair, 100,000 people surrounded the Chambers demanding Grévy's resignation.¹ The police have had to bring out their anarchists to simulate some sort of agitation; that didn't come off; the police had to arrest their Pemjean² sentenced to 8 months' imprison-

¹ See letters 240, 242 (Vol. II, pp. 72-75, 77-79).

² Lucien Pemjean, an anarchist, had called the revolutionaries to action. The police, remembering that he was under sentence, arrested him.

ment, but let him off this time. The population in other industrial centres is equally unconcerned; the Panama swindles don't interest them, they have not been robbed of anything. It is only the small bourgeois who have lost, and all they care about is getting their money back; the financiers are busy starting another Panama. Thiébaud,¹ Boulanger's adviser and bear-leader, made a speech explaining that it only requires a few millions to buy a canal and that it would be "a national crime" if the Americans were allowed to take possession. All the Paris newspapers published the speech.

This all goes to show that the population is anything but revolutionary.

Like you, I think the German Socialists should be accurately apprised of the situation, so yesterday I wrote a letter to *Vorwärts*² and I have told Liebknecht that from time to time I shall send him a letter which I shall sign with the initial O.

It is frightfully cold, 9 and 11 degrees below zero. The weather is fantastically fine, light and sunny during the day and starry at night; no wind; if this goes on, the Seine, which is full of drift-ice, will be frozen. The year is starting well.

We wish you good health. You need to be well to finish your work, so that you can devote yourself to events as they crop up; for, although the Panama affair has not yet roused popular anger, it is causing unrest and I believe that interesting complications will arise soon.

Give our New Year greetings to Mme Louise, to Pumps and all her family.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

¹ Georges Thiébaud had given a lecture justifying the Company's expenditure and saying that the subscribers were ready to make fresh sacrifices to finish the canal, which would not cost more than 500 millions.

² The report on the Panama affair, which repeats almost verbatim passages from this letter, was published unsigned in *Vorwärts* of January 6th, 1893 (pp. 1/1-2/1).

510. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Paris, 26. I. 1893

My dear Engels,

Before replying to your last letter which I received in Lille, I was anxious to get back to Paris and to consult the deputies returning from their constituencies, in order to give you a collective picture of the situation.

The Panama scandal which is creating such strong feeling in the press and in parliamentary circles is not having anything like so powerful an effect on the man in the street. People are interested in all these scandalous disclosures insofar as the papers talk about them every morning, but they are far from stirring public opinion, as one had every reason to expect. There is talk about it, insults are hurled at the bribed promoters and the directors, and that's all; nowhere has there been any public demonstration; nobody dreams of holding the Republic responsible for these malpractices, or even of accusing the republican members of the government; the accusations have been personalised. If elections were held at the present time, the individuals implicated would be eliminated on some pretext or other by universal suffrage, but the Republicans and even the opportunists would be elected in all the constituencies they hold. Since the Panama scandal there have been a few departmental and parliamentary elections, and the Republicans have in every case defeated the Monarchists, even those who declared themselves supporters of the Republic.

So you see, at present there is no immediate Orléanist danger, despite the monkey-tricks of the reactionaries who have turned everything to their own disadvantage. When it was learnt that the ex-Minister Baïhaut¹ had received 375,000 francs to table a draft Bill in favour of issuing lot-

¹ Baïhaut was the Minister of Public Works in Freycinet's third cabinet (January-October 1886), in which Sadi Carnot was the Minister of Finance.

tery bonds, and that this Bill had been countersigned by Carnot, the then Minister of Finance, the Orléanist papers started a campaign against the President, calling for his resignation; they proposed that Saussier should replace him. But they produced such a bad impression that they were compelled to stop their attacks. *Le Figaro* spoke at one moment about a monarchist restoration¹; but some ten days later, d'Haussonville, the Comte de Paris' factotum, felt obliged to retrieve the blunder in an open letter, in which he advised the Monarchists not to dangle the subject of the monarchy before the electorate.² Republican sentiment is so predominant in the country that whatever the Monarchists do is used against them, and if there has not been a public outcry the fact must be attributed to fear of attacking the republican principle.

But the Socialists have not remained inactive. From the start of the Panama campaign the reactionaries have tried to exploit the scandal and take the lead in a protest movement. They organised a big meeting in the avenue Wagram, where they probably intended to adopt resolutions claiming all the credit for this parliamentary clean-up. No one was allowed into the meeting without presenting a letter of invitation. We got wind of the plot; we were able to get hold of a letter of invitation; and we had 500 facsimiles made, which we distributed to our people. They invaded the hall, captured the platform; there was a fight;

¹ Lafargue is here alluding to an editorial in *Le Figaro* of January 14th, 1893, called: "If the Monarchy Were Restored", signed by "Le Témoin" (The Witness). The writer relied upon a conversation with one of the most important figures in the Royalist Party who criticised the Republic and openly envisaged the possibility of the Pretender, the Comte de Paris, coming to power.

² *Le Figaro* of January 20th, 1893, published a letter from the Comte d'Haussonville to Edouard Hervé (p. 3/IV-VI). The writer answered the questions concerning the intentions of the Monarchist Party with which he had been besieged for some weeks past. His letter said in particular: "It would be premature to lay down the electoral platform at this point.... But, since the Conservatives are not, unfortunately, in agreement on the form of government, my present feeling is that, barring unforeseen events, the Monarchists would do better not to raise the matter at all with the electorate...."

the reactionaries were beaten; since then they haven't tried to start anything again. They then put on their anti-Semitic turn, but they fared hardly any better with that. At the Paris Tivoli-Vauxhall meeting, Morès, to win applause, had to use socialist language¹; at the two meetings he held in Lyons² it was our people who had the upper hand. The anti-Semites seem to have had enough of popular meetings, where they always get the worst of it; so at the meeting which they are to hold in Bordeaux on the 29th inst., they are charging 2 and 4 francs for seats. Our people in Bordeaux had intended to disturb the meeting by socialist resolutions, but I have advised them to be careful and not find themselves beaten at this essentially bourgeois gathering.

Guesde and I have been working to unite the socialist groups³; you would hardly believe how difficult it is; we have to deal with fanatics like Vaillant and scum who have had a taste of Panama. We have succeeded in botching up something like unity and we think it will limp along; Guesde and I made an approach to Vaillant last week; we parleyed for two hours but all we achieved was that he would drop his personal grudges; nevertheless, we think we made enough impression on his mind for him to put too many spokes in the wheel. We are trying to act as a link between hostile groups and antagonistic personalities, and that is why we signed the manifesto of the *Union*

¹ On January 6th, 1893, at a meeting organised by the anti-Semitic journal *La Libre Parole* at the Tivoli-Vauxhall, the Marquis de Morès said amongst other things: "As a sworn enemy of domination by finance, I fight for the destruction of its overriding power and for the organisation of credit to pass from the hands of the bankers to those of the people."

² Morès held a meeting at Lyons on January 14th at the Folies Gauloises and another on the 15th at the Salle des Ambassadeurs. His speeches followed the same lines as at the Tivoli-Vauxhall meeting.

³ From the beginning of the year there was a move towards unity. Meetings had been held in which Guesde and Lafargue took part and in an interview with *La Petite République* (reprinted by *Le Socialiste* of January 9th, 1893), Guesde emphasised the need for working-class unity in the public crisis created by the Panama scandal, and defined the French Workers' Party's attitude.

des socialistes of the deputies which combines Radicals like Millerand, revolutionists like Cluseret, and Boulangists.¹ The Tivoli-Vauxhall meeting, organised by the *Union socialiste* on the 14th, was an enormous success. Over six thousand people in the hall and thousands more outside.² The manifesto, which calls for a constituent assembly to revise the political and economic constitution, was greeted with cheers. In the near future we are to hold a meeting in Lille with Millerand to set the movement on this path.

Many of our people, particularly those in the South, believe that the apathy of the people is more apparent than real and that the day of wrath is at hand.

Ask Bebel to send me, through you for greater safety, the names of the two French newspapers who have drawn money from Guelph funds, with evidence to substantiate it. I will undertake to expose them in the press and make it the subject of a question in the Chamber. Here they are saying that these two papers are *Le Temps* and *Le Siècle*.³

Kind regards to Mme Louise.

Cordially yours,

P. LAFARGUE

¹ On January 13th a meeting took place in the Salle Léger of the "League of Revolutionary Action for the Winning of the Social Republic", composed of representatives of all the socialist groups. The assembly resolved to issue a manifesto to the workers in which it said: "Let the people's judgement be passed on these traffickers in electoral mandates in replacing them by an assembly of delegates elected not only to make an exclusively republican revision of a monarchist Constitution, but also to establish a popular Republic in which the worker's rights will be safeguarded, his emancipation secured in the near future, and the peaceful Republic, the People's Republic, governed by the people, the Social Republic, finally won."

² This meeting, on January 14th, was chaired by Cluseret. Millerand, Ferroul, E. Roche, Granger, etc., all spoke at it. Even *Le Figaro* reported the meeting in its issue of January 15th (p. 2/III-IV).

³ The German Social-Democratic Party denounced the scandal of "Guelph funds", namely, money intended to indemnify the King of Hanover which was in Bismarck's hands. In an article signed B., published by *Le Socialiste* on January 9th, 1893 (p. 2/II), the matter of receipts signed by the payees was raised. The writer said: "We find important dignitaries included: generals, judges, commanders, journalists, spies and deputies. Amongst others, we would cite the editors of two French pre-war newspapers."

511. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Friday [10th] Febr'y 93

My dear General,

Just as I sit down to write to you, your newspapers reach me and afford a glimpse of the handwriting I had not seen for such a long time. Since I wrote to you we have been having strange times of it in France, and Siberian weather. At Le Perreux we dropped to I don't know how many degrees below freezing point; and when, at last, the thaw set in, there came a deluge. All our cellars were flooded, and two men had to work away for the better part of a day before the waters would subside. There was no great damage in the end, though of course a good many empty bottles were broken, and a goodish number of full ones emptied by the men, who naturally wanted to "rougir l'eau".¹—I saw Paul off last night, accompanying him to Paris, whence he started for St-Étienne, Thizy and Cours. On my return journey I was apprised of the sentence condemning the Lesseps,² by the conversation of my fellow-travellers. They were thoroughly excited, and "navrés"³ by the verdict.

Nearly the whole of the bourgeois press this morning expresses much the same feeling. And the *Figaro*⁴ is their mouth-piece when it says: "Les faits reprochés n'étaient-ils pas en somme des usages constants, publiquement pratiqués sous les yeux bienveillants du gouvernement? Les pouvoirs publics n'avaient-ils pas leur responsabilité dans les fautes commises et dans les lois violées? Les

¹ Colour the water.—*Tr.*

² The verdict pronounced on February 9th, 1893, sentenced Lesseps to the maximum term of imprisonment for fraud (5 years) and Eiffel to the maximum for misappropriation of funds (2 years).

³ Distressed.—*Tr.*

⁴ *Le Figaro* of February 10th, 1893, commented on the verdict under the heading "The Impression in Paris".

chambres n'avaient-elles pas leur part dans les dilapidations?...

"On était surpris de la gravité de la peine infligée à des ingénieurs ou à un entrepreneur, tandis que les magistrats relâchent avec tant d'empressement tous les personnages politiques influents qui ont été accusés de marchandage et de corruption. Le monde politique est sauvé par ceux-là mêmes qui frappent le monde des finances et des affaires."¹—And the *Figaro* goes on to speak of Eiffel and his "concourse *loyal*"² It might as well have said *désintéressé*,³ for, after all, *l'homme de tous les tours*⁴ only pocketed the trifle of 27 millions for his pains.—It is indisputable that the "gogos" make lighter of the 1,300 millions of francs gulped down by the Lesseps and Co. than of the few millions gobbled up by the ministers and members of Parliament with votes and consciences to sell.

"Business is business", they say, but *the government!* they believed in the *government*. And they cannot understand why "la Justice", with such an assortment of weights and measures at her command, should make no distinction between the ex- "grand français" and the small fry of the Cottus and the Fontanes.⁵—They had taken such pride in the glory of Suez-Lesseps—"une gloire française!"

And the extreme old age of the man is likely to move to compassion more than one amongst the workers!—the poor

¹ "When all is said and done are not the deeds of which they are accused common usage, openly practised under the benevolent eye of the government? Did not the authorities have some responsibility for the mistakes committed and for the laws violated? Did not the Chambers have some part in the misappropriations?... There has been some surprise at the severity of the sentences imposed on engineers and on a contractor, whilst the judges acquitted with such eagerness the influential political figures who were accused of bribery and corruption. The political world has been saved by the very people who attack the world of finance and business."—*Tr.*

² *Loyal co-operation.*—*Tr.*

³ *Disinterested.*—*Tr.*

⁴ *The man of many towers.*—*Tr.*

⁵ Cottu and Fontane had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

wretches who have been swindled out of their all are sure not to live long enough to excite pity on the score of old age!—

But our France is in a state of ferment and we are on the eve of other and vaster events.

You have read Cavaignac's speech?¹ Paul wanted to speak, but the socialist group would not let him. They said it would be creating a diversion in favour of Rouvier and his fellow-culprits who were being "sat upon". Paul was greatly put out thereby and I confess I cannot see why he should not have spoken, seeing that Jaurès-Millerand had put in a word of mild socialism² and remonstrance.

There may be another ministerial crisis prior to the dissolution, but it is impossible to forecast what will happen.

Ravé has forwarded the rest of his Ms.³ and Paul, on his return, will call on Carré, the publisher.

Paul is not at all well; indeed ever since that beast of a taenia got inside him, he has never been quite well. And I am all the more anxious that bowel-complaints are hereditary in his family; that he is being tired out by these constant journeyings to and fro, and that he is bound to visit all sorts of unhealthy places. Marseilles, notably, which is as filthy as it is beautiful. I wish it were clean and ugly!—

I received the latest number of the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* (the one before must have got lost again on the way) and I was delighted to find that the "Kleine, little" girl had grown up to be so fine a young woman.—

¹ Cavaignac had intervened in the debate in the Chamber on February 9th, 1893, calling upon the government to show more energy and dispatch in the conduct of the Panama affair.

² Jaurès had also intervened, submitting that only the determined and systematic application of a socialist policy would put an end to scandals which were the natural and necessary outcome of the economic system. Together with Millerand he had tabled a motion to this effect.

³ This refers to the translation of *The Origin of the Family*.

I am unable to write to Louise by this post, though I had meant to do so. The letter she has been promising to send me I shall receive very thankfully when it comes and I suppose that, in the fullness of time, it *will* come.

YOUR LÖHR.

512. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London 12 febr. 93

My dear Löhr,

Glad indeed I was to see your handwriting otherwise than outside an *Intransigent* or a *Figaro*, and I reply at once, as to-day Sunday I have a few minutes free and to-morrow I shall have to rush off again into the jungle of Banks, Credit, moneyed capital, rate of interest, in order to finish off *Das Kapital* Book III Chapters 30-36. It is—this section V—as good as finished as far as real difficulties are concerned, but it wants a good deal of “finishing” in the literary sense: arranging, weeding out repetitions, etc. This I hope to settle in 8-10 days, then come Sections VI and VII, and then—the end. My correspondence in the mean time is suspended and my rack is full, cram-full of unanswered letters from all quarters, reaching from Rome to New York and from Petersburg to Texas; so if I snatch a moment to write to you, it's only because *it's you* and no one else.

Louise sent you a letter of *seven pages* rather more than a week ago—have you really never received that? Please inquire, we will do the same here.

Yes, the *Arbeiterinnen Zeitung* you will like. It has a healthy proletarian character in it—including the literary imperfections—which contrasts very agreeably with all the rest of the women's papers. And you may well be proud of it, for you too are one of its Mammās!

I am sorry to hear about Paul's continued unsatisfactory health—has he not yet got rid of that infernal taenia? Surely there is plenty of Filix Mas or Koussou to be had in Paris to drive it out, even without a regular siege. Of course as long as he nurses it, he will not get well, the beast will eat him up. And why in the name of goodness *does* he travel thus? Nobody out of France can make it out that he and others allow this splendid opportunity¹ to slip out of their hands. I can very well understand that the harum scarum lot of so-called socialist deputies does not want him to speak, they all pull in different directions and play each his own game, and they know that Paul, once in the tribune, would be unaccountable and incontrollable by them, but from our point of view that is the very reason why he *should* speak. Are the Socialists, just before the elections, by their silence to create the suspicion that they are no better than the Panamitards and have reasons of their own to screen them and to hush the whole thing up? In Italy that is the case, the couple of men elected in the Romagna as Socialists are in the hands of the government through the *subventions paid by the latter to the so-called co-operative societies directed by the former*, and which subventions as likely as not come out of the coffers of the Banca Romana.² That accounts for their silence. But in France!—? I can assure you, this unaccountable silence has not raised the respect in which the French Socialists are held abroad. Of course Brousse and Co. have had their share out of the secret funds furnished by Panama—but is not that a *reason more* for our people to speak out? Formerly à la guerre comme à la guerre was a *French* proverb; is it still so?

¹ Engels is reproaching Lafargue again for his silence in the debates on the Panama affair.

² On December 2nd, 1892, the Italian Member of Parliament, Colayannis, denounced the scandal of the Banca Romana which had issued Letters of Credit for 133 millions when it had been authorised to issue only up to 70 millions. A hundred and fifty deputies and senators were involved and had accepted cheques.

According to Mother Crawford,¹ the severe sentences on the Lesseps and Co. are mere dust thrown into the eyes of the gogos. The Court of Cassation will quash them, on the ground that the Prinet instruction did not interrupt prescription, and that therefore the délits en question sont prescrits.² If that turns out to be the case, then it means that the “knowing ones”, ceux qui ont touché,³ are bold enough to tell all France that she is a gogo all over. That would be se moquer du monde⁴ with a vengeance.

Well, I hope the popular wrath will be roused at last, and vengeance taken. It's getting time.

Bebel shall send you his speech of the 3rd Febr[uary]⁵ in the stenogram. It is really splendid, and you may find it very useful for the *Socialiste*.⁶ Our people have had the Reichstag all to themselves for a fortnight. First the Nothstandsdebatte,⁷ 3 days, and all parties, from the government downwards, imploring our men to use their power to smooth matters down with the striking colliers, etc. Then the colossal blunder of the bourgeois to provoke our people to a debate on the future organisation of society—this lasted *five* days!—the first time the subject has been discussed in *any* parliament. And only three speakers on our side at all—Bebel spoke twice, Frohme

¹ Engels is referring here to the last article by the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* on the Panama scandal: “The Sentence on the Panama Directors. Sympathy for Mr. de Lesseps”, which appeared on February 11th, 1893 (p. 5/VII).

² (Misdemeanours in question are prescribed.—*Tr.*) In the event, at the beginning of June, the Court of Cassation (Appeal) quashed the sentences and the Lesseps and their co-defendants were released.

³ Those who made something out of it.—*Tr.*

⁴ To cock a snook at public opinion.—*Tr.*

⁵ *Vorwärts* of February 4th, 1893 (I. Beilage) devoted four columns to Bebel's speech of February 3rd in the Reichstag on the organisation of socialist society.

⁶ *Le Socialiste* of February 19th, 1893, did in fact publish long extracts from Bebel's speeches of February 3rd and 7th and from Liebknecht's intervention (pp. 3/III-4/I), whilst a lengthy article (p. 3/I-II) commented on the debate.

⁷ Emergency debate.—*Tr.*

and Liebknecht—and the bourgeois had to leave us the *last word* and give it up in despair (for we could stop the clôtur¹ by a simple count out, there never being the quorum of 201 present).

While you were flooded I was “dying”—according to the papers. Last Tuesday week a telegr[am] from Vienna: was I actually off? Then one from Dresden; at 5 in the morning, knock up, one from New York. This went on for a couple of days more until we found out that almost all Berlin papers had a paragraph, I was in einem so hochgradigen Kräfteverlust dass mein Ableben stündlich erwartet wurde.² Who invented this rubbish I can’t make out. Anyhow, he be damned.

Love from Louise, and from ever yours,

F. ENGELS

To Paul: Exeat taenia!

Sam Moore left again for the Niger 28th Jan.

513. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 23. II. 93

My dear Engels,

You will have seen that I seized the first opportunity to have my say on Panama³; however, my intervention in the debates was judged ill-timed by the Chamber and the press: they want to confine themselves to personal matters, and to attacks on or defence of the government and the corrupt; thus the deputies calmly allowed me to say things which

¹ Closure.—*Tr.*

² In such an extreme state of failing strength that my demise was hourly awaited.—*Tr.*

³ Lafargue intervened in the debate in the Chamber on February 16th, during the discussion of the deputy Leydet’s question. His speech on the Panama scandal was reprinted in *Le Socialiste* of February 19th, 1893 (pp. 1/IV-2/III).

in quite different circumstances would have made them explode; one might think they had begun to grow used to what are called my enormities; all the papers ignored my speech.

Millerand and Jaurès who are trying to form a party of State Socialists, with public services, were a little put out. But for the time being they need us and we on our side need them; so we get on very well together. Except in Paris and Lyons, our people in the Workers' Party have the upper hand at all public meetings; they can wreck any meeting which they don't like. Goblet,¹ Millerand's *leader**, could tell you something about that. At Bordeaux, where anti-Semitism is after all fairly strong, Morès had to ask for the protection of our people at his meeting. Millerand recognises our strength; and, as he understands that, to get support for the party he is trying to start, he will have to conduct an agitational campaign, he is forced to turn to us for the organisation of meetings in a dozen of the main towns of France; and we for our part need him in order not to frighten off the radical section of the working class which we still have to win. We have always been represented as bogeys and our alliance with Millerand reassures the timid. On March 5 we shall begin a lecture tour; we shall start with Roubaix and Lille² where we are bound to have a great success. These meetings are capable of exercising much influence on public opinion, we may perhaps fire the workers' imagination. All the parties are beginning to go to the country in view of the next elections³: last Thursday's session was nothing more than a

¹ Goblet was the editor of *La Petite République*, Millerand's paper.

² Millerand, Jaurès, Lafargue and Guesde held a whole series of joint meetings. On March 4th, on the eve of the municipal elections, they spoke in Roubaix. On March 5th a meeting was held in Calais with Millerand and Lafargue, and on March 9th in Lille, where all four spoke.

³ Parliamentary elections were due to take place on August 20th and September 3rd, 1893.

hawking of electoral programmes¹: the speeches were made to the country and not to the Chamber. The anti-Semites and the Catholics already are getting busy. De Mun has visited St. Étienne where there are many Catholics; our people asked me to come in order to undo the effect made by his speech: in the same hall, before an audience of 2,000, I criticised the Panama affair and showed how the Catholics had taken part in lapping it up to the full, quite like the opportunists.² Some people tried to interrupt me, but they were turned out. From there I went to Cours and to Thizy, two little industrial towns on the Rhône, where I had the same success: the government which was no doubt anxious to find out how we intended to conduct our electoral campaign, had me followed by agents who took down my words in shorthand. These meetings are a good augury for those we are going to undertake.

There is a lull in the Chamber, but that is no reason to think that the matter has blown over: following Panama, of which we have not yet heard the last, there are other scandals. The Monarchists want to run their election campaign on the slogan "*Down with the robbers!*" and therefore are promising to make disclosures between now and the last day of the present parliament. Are the Republicans really so stupid that they can find nothing to bring against the Right-wingers? The political ineptitude of the present day defies the imagination.

One personal word: I did get rid of my taenia years ago, but unhappily it damaged my alimentary canal which is not yet restored.

Kind regards to Mme Louise,

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

¹ This was particularly the case with Millerand's speech at the session of February 16th (cf. *La Petite République* of February 18th, 1893, p. 2).

² The St. Étienne meeting was held on February 10th, that at Cours on the 11th.

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CHAMBRE
DES DÉPUTÉS

Le Temps 23. II. 93

Mon cher Engels

Voilà avec ce que j'ai saisi la
première occasion pour dire mes vœux sur le
Panama: cependant mon intervention dans le
débat a été jugée interrompue par la Chambre
et la presse: on s'occupe que de questions
personnelles, et que Loucheur ou le Doyen du
ministère et des comités; aussi les députés
n'ont-ils laissé tranquillement dire ce qu'ils
en toute autre circonstance le auraient fait bondir,
ou au moins dit qu'il commençait à s'habituer à
ce qu'on appelle ses énormités; mais les journaux
ont ignoré mes discours.

Milliers et Jouan, qui veulent
constituer un parti de socialistes d'Etat,
avec services publics, ont été un peu umbelés.
Mais en ce moment ils ont besoin de nous.

Facsimile of the beginning of Letter 513 from Paul Lafargue
to Frederick Engels
(see over for the end of the letter)

petites villes industrielles, M. Ribot, j'en
obtiens le même succès : le gouvernement qui tenait
son double à venir de quelle façon nous orga-
nisons la campagne électorale nous fait
venir par ses agents qui sténographient nos
paroles, les révisions sont d'un bon usage pour
celle que nous voulons entreprendre.

Il y a occasion dans la Chambre,
mais il ne faut pas croire qu'elle soit
fini : après le Panama, qui a été pour nous
et son terrain seul, il y a d'autres scandales.
Les mandataires veulent faire la sélection au vi-
de Où les colonies ! et pour cela il promettrait
de faire des mutations, d'ici au terrain pour de
la Chambre actuelle. Faut-il qu'il soient bêtes
ce républicains qui visent rien trouvé à l'ancien
contre la doctrine ? - L'impuissance politique de
l'heure présente dépasse l'imagination.

Un mot personnel : j'ai bien regretté
mon terrain depuis de années, mais malheureu-
sement il n'avait obtenu le tout. Regret que
est pas encore réparé.

Amities à M^{lle} Louise et
cordialement Paul Béraud

514. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, February 25, 1893

My dear Lafargue,

How time passes! Old Harney¹ reminds me this morning that yesterday was the anniversary of the February revolution. "Long Live the Republic!" Lord, we have so many other anniversaries to celebrate now that one forgets these semi-bourgeois occasions. And to think that in five years it will be a half century since that one took place. At the time we were all enthusiasm for the republic—with a small *r*; since it has been written with a capital *R*, it seems worthless, save as an almost obsolete historical stage.

Your speech² was very good and I regret only one thing: that it was not delivered two months ago. But better late than never. It doesn't surprise me that the Chamber and the press found it ill-timed; if we were to wait upon their *placet* we should never open our mouths. As for the Mille-
rand & Co. Rad[ical] Soc[ialists], it is absolutely essential that the alliance with them should be based on the fact that our Party is a separate party, and that they recognise that. Which in no way rules out joint action in the forthcoming elections, provided that the distribution of seats to be jointly contested is made in accordance with the actual state of the respective forces; those gentlemen are in the habit of claiming the lion's share.

Do not let the fact that your speeches do not create as much stir as formerly discourage you. Look at our people in Germany: they were booed for years on end, and now the 36 dominate the Reichstag. Bebel writes saying: if we were eighty or a hundred (out of 400 members), the Reich-

¹ The old Chartist militant Harney, who had emigrated to America and had returned to England for good in 1890.

² This refers to Lafargue's speech in the Chamber. See Letter 513.

stag would become an impossibility. There is not a debate, no matter what the subject, in which we do not intervene and we are listened to by all the parties. The debate on the socialist organisation of the future lasted five days, and Bebel's speech¹ was wanted in *three and a half million copies*. Now they are having the whole debate published in pamphlets at five sous, and the effect, already tremendous, will be doubled!

You are absolutely right to plan for the elections. We ought to capture at least 20 seats. You have the immense advantage of knowing, from the municipal elections,² the *minimum* extent of your strength in each locality; for I am sure that, since last May, you have appreciably increased it. That will help you greatly in apportioning candidatures between yourselves and the Rad[ical] Soc[ialists]. But possibly you would prefer to put up your candidates wherever you stand a chance, with the proviso to withdraw them, if necessary, in favour of the Radicals, for the second ballot, in the event of the latter having polled more votes.

The most important thing in the elections is to establish once and for all that it is our Party which represents socialism in France, and that all the other more or less socialist fractions—Broussists, Allemanists, and pure or impure Blanquists—have been able to play a part beside us only by virtue of the dissensions incidental to the more or less infantile phase of the proletarian movement; but that now the stage of infantile disorders is over, and the French proletariat has reached full consciousness of its historic position. Should we win 20 seats, all the others combined will not have as many, since they are more likely to lose some than to gain any. In which case things will go for-

¹ Replying in the Reichstag to the theories of the progressive leader Eugène Richter, Bebel made his first speech on the socialist organisation of the future on February 3rd. He made a further speech on February 7th. (See p. 237, notes 5 and 6.)

² The municipal elections had been held on the 1st and 8th of May 1892 and the Socialists polled 160,000 votes and captured 27 municipalities.

ward. In the meantime, *nurse your re-election*: I have a feeling that your absences from the Chamber have not contributed any too much to ensure it.

Panama is not finished, not by a long chalk. And it is a disgrace that the trouble and honour of making disclosures should be left to the Royalists and their dubious allies. They could not have a better battle-cry than: Down with the robbers, and if the great mass of the *stupid* countryside takes their part against the Republicans, it is to the cowardice of the *Radical* Republicans that they will owe this triumph. You say that the republic is not in danger, that the deputies have returned from the recess with this certainty; well, then, they should strike for all they are worth and not let themselves be confused with the robbers by their silence. You are quite right: the political ineptitude of the whole bourgeoisie defies the imagination.

The only country where the bourgeoisie still has a little common sense is England. Here the formation of the Independent Labour Party (though still in embryo) and its conduct in the Lancashire and Yorkshire elections¹ have put a match to the government's backside; it is stirring itself, doing things unheard-of for a Liberal Government.² The Registration Bill 1) unifies the suffrage for all parliamentary, municipal, etc., elections, 2) adds at least 20 to 30 per cent to the working-class vote, 3) removes the cost of election expenses from the candidates' shoulders and

¹ The Independent Labour Party had been formed in January 1893 in Bradford, with Keir Hardie at its head. At the Huddersfield elections working-class action brought about the defeat of the government candidate.

² At the House of Commons session on February 20th, 1893, a First Reading was given to two Bills dealing with modifications of the electoral law. The Government proposed in these Bills to abolish as far as possible the inequalities hindering the free expression of the electors' views. Amongst other things it contemplated the abolition of all property qualifications; the introduction of returning officers, nominated and paid by municipal councils, to be responsible for drawing up the electoral register; and the establishment of a single register of voters for all elections (parliamentary, municipal, etc.).

places it on those of the government. The payment of an honorarium to M.P.s is promised for the next session; and there are also a whole number of juridical and economic measures for the benefit of workers. In short, the Liberals recognise that, to make sure of governing at the present time, there is nothing for it but to increase the political power of the working class who will naturally kick them out afterwards. The Tories, on the other hand, are behaving at the moment with unbounded stupidity. But once Home Rule is on the Statute Book, they will realise that there is nothing for it but to enter the lists to gain power, and to that end there remains but one means: to win the working-class vote by political or economic concessions; thus Liberals and Conservatives cannot help extending the power of the working class, and hastening the time which will eliminate both the one and the other.

Amongst the workers here, things are going well. They begin to realise their strength more and more, and that there is only one way of using it, namely, by forming an independent party.

At the same time international feeling gains ground. In short, things are going well everywhere.

In Germany the dissolution of the Reichstag is always a possibility; however, it lacks probability; everyone, apart from us, is afraid of it. We should win 50 to 60 seats.

On March 26th there will be an international conference at Brussels for the Zürich Congress. Shall you go to it?¹

*Good riddance to your taenia**, and look after your bowels; I was going to make an *Irish bull** by saying: they are the sinews of war!

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

¹ Ferroul represented the National Council of the French Workers' Party at the Brussels Conference.

515. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 25 Febr. 93

My dear Laura,

You know the saying that the most important part of a woman's letter always is the postscript. But it's an infernal calumny, and I am going to prove it. In my last letter I not only did not put the principal subject in the body of the letter, but not even in the postscript, and have now to send it in a separate note.

And this is, about your silver wedding here on the 2nd of April. You know you have promised, and I keep you to your word. Now as it is as likely as not, or rather more likely, that Paul will have to go to the Brussels Conference, March 26th, would it not be the best if you came direct from Paris about the same time he goes to Brussels and left him to come over from thence? Unless you prefer going with him and having a look at your native place¹ which, I am told, has much improved in order to show itself worthy of the honour you conferred on it.

Anyhow it seems to me that it is getting time to make some preparations for the happy event, and so, not being able, or rather having forgotten to add this postscript to my last letter to you, I now tack it to the letter for Paul and hope you will take it into your most serious consideration and let us know your pleasure as soon as may be convenient.

Love from Louise and

Your ancient admirer,

F. ENGELS

*¹ Laura was born in Brussels on September 26th, 1846.

516. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

March 6th, 93

My dearest General,

A thousand thanks for your kind letters. The letters were well, but the postscript was weller and the best bit of literature I had enjoyed for many a month, not excepting your own *Ursprung*. You will have been saying: "as that fool Löhr doesn't write, there must be something wrong again somewhere; *quelque chose qui cloche*."¹ Now, my dear General, just put yourself in my place for a few minutes. I only see Paul by fits and starts and spend a good deal of my time in packing and unpacking, or rather in making up and unmaking his "baluchon" as he calls the bundle he sets out with. There was never a deputy to travel after such a fashion. It's anything but respectable, I assure you. And greatly as we both long to see you (Paul said on starting: "sacristi, qu'il me tarde de revoir le général"²), I have all this time been kept in suspense. For, as Paul, on his return from the North, is to *do* the South³ (Marseilles, Narbonne, Bordeaux, etc., etc.), flanked by Guesde and Millerand, there has been no finding out whether, how, and when, he should be able to go to London. And I own I didn't see how I could fête our silver wedding without him. It would be easier to act the play of Hamlet without Hamlet. For my part, I had for some time past shaken myself free of all clogs and had got my servant girl to give me leave of absence for a week or ten days.

But all's well that ends well and hurrah! we're coming over in the last days of March and we mean to be as troublesome as ever.

By the bye, my dear General, do you remember a certain

¹ *Something amiss*.—Tr.

² Devil take it, how I wish I could see the General again.—Tr.

³ This tour of the South took place between March 12th and 19th.

day in April, 1868, when you lunched with us after our "laughable" journey to the registry office and how you cracked a lot of silly jokes at a very silly girl's expense and set her a-crying? Well, I'm considerably older at this hour of the day and a bit better *cuirassée*.¹

Paul left for Lille on Saturday; to-day he is at Calais (where, as he writes, il prendra un peu d'air marin²); to-morrow he lectures at Gand and on Thursday there's to be a big meeting at Lille with Jaurès, Millerand, Guesde, Paul and Baudin.—From the report in the *Petite République*³ you will see what are the respective attitudes of the Radicals and the Socialists. Paul spoke very well, I fancy, and the Parti Ouvrier does not, I am sure, commit itself by this alliance with the rads. Of course the object of the latter, who are in a poor way, is to recruit the soldiers they're in want of among the Socialists. But the Socialists are on their guard. Probably our people will run candidates wherever there is a chance of success, "quittes, as you say, à se retirer au ballottage en faveur des radicaux".⁴

Millerand and Jaurès are very popular: they are men of talent and good debaters. Jaurès, who is in Malon's good graces, is reputed a great philosopher: ancien élève de l'école normale supérieure, professeur de philosophie à la

¹ *Armoured*.—Tr.

² He will take a little sea air.—Tr.

³ *La Petite République* of March 7th, 1893, reported the Calais meeting (p. 1/IV). In his speech Millerand emphasised that the next elections would be fought, not on personalities, but on programmes. He thereupon expounded the programme—maximum for some, minimum for others—on which genuine Republicans and Socialists could unite: revision of the Constitution with a single, partially renewable Chamber, nationalisation of the Bank of France, the mines and the railways.

Lafargue, speaking after him, recalled that his party, "which had been neither Boulangist nor Cadettist", was ready to support the programme presented by Millerand and concluded: "We are prepared to go forward into battle with Millerand to obtain the realisation of this programme, though free eventually to go further."

⁴ "Free . . . to withdraw in the second ballot in favour of the radicals."—Tr.

faculté de Toulouse,¹ etc. His Latin thesis, read to the jury of the Sorbonne, on "les origines du socialisme allemand"²—much bepraised by all those who have not understood it—and of which I have read a translation in the *Revue Socialiste*,³ is as confused a piece of pseudo-philosophy as one can hope to meet with in or out of France.

In your letter to me you ask: *why* does Paul travel thus? Now I, who have no sort of desire to see Paul everlastingly knocking about and knocking himself up, must say that I am convinced that our success in the last municipal elections and that our sole chance of success in the forthcoming general elections depended, and will depend, on the continued presence and agitation in the provinces of Paul, Guesde and Baudin. How are they to organise the Party, with no money in their pockets and no paper of their own, if not by stumping the country! It is true that the work that would suffice to employ some 20 or 30 deputies has to be done by two or three. Thivrier and Lachize are no good, Aimel and Couturier "can't talk," Ferroul is rather limp and Jourde is rather lazy.—Baudin is a capital agitator and renders great service.—I will write to Louise to-night.

YOUR LÖHR

517. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

*Eastbourne, 28 Marine
Parade, 14th March, 1893*

My dear Laura,

Well, that was a pleasant letter of yours. So we expect you as early as possible in the course of next week, and

¹ Former student at the teachers' training college; professor of philosophy in the University of Toulouse.—*Tr.*

² The origins of German socialism.—*Tr.*

³ The *Revue Socialiste* published Jaurès' thesis in its issues of June 1892 (No. 90, pp. 641-59), July 1892 (No. 91, pp. 11-30) and August 1892 (No. 92, pp. 151-67).

once here, we shall not let you cross the Channel again under, *at least*, a fortnight or three weeks; even if the "honourable member" could not be spared from his agitating tour for so long.

We shall return on Friday to London. On Saturday Louise and I have both promised to speak at the joint Commune Celebration of the Verein¹ and Bloomsbury Society—a *joint* festival, though I'd rather have a good butcher's joint. The Sunday following is the Brussels Conference²—that is to say the *second* Sunday following, viz. the 26th; you do not say whether Paul will be there, though it would be *very* important, on account of certain intrigues carried on by the old clique Hyndman-Brousse-Allemane, supported, for the time being, by Seidel the secretary of the Zürich Committee; evidently a last attempt is going to be made by this broken down lot to prepare for themselves a more favourable position at the Congress. From Brussels, Bebel is almost certain to come to London for a few days and maybe Liebknecht too. Now I should be uncommonly glad to have Paul and Bebel here together for a few days in order to do away once for all with certain French prejudices against B[ebel] who is by far the best man we have in Germany, in spite of what the French may consider his Teutonic rudeness. So you see I have a special interest of a political character, besides the personal one, in your showing up here early in the week.

I do not at all object to a tour de France made by Paul in an organised electoral campaign; on the contrary, I consider it a capital move. But a deputy after all has certain duties in the Chamber, especially in this Panama time, and as every election depends, after all, on the votes of a goodly number of plus ou moins indifférent³ philistines, it struck me that his re-election might be put in jeopardy

¹ The German Communist Workers' Club in London.

² In preparation for the Zürich International Socialist Congress of August 1893.

³ More or less apathetic.—*Tr.*

by his neglect of his parliamentary functions. Indeed I have heard something to that effect hinted at. And when I saw his continued absence during some very important moments of the Panama crisis, I could not help thinking that he was losing some very important chances, and that all this could be brought up against him. Après tout,¹ it would be too much generosity on his part, to prepare seats for others and lose his own. If you were as strong in France as our people in Germany, where above twenty seats belong to us almost *et par droit de conquête et par droit de naissance*,² then it would be different, but then such violent campaigns would not be required either.

To-day is Mohr's dying day, and just the tenth anniversary. Well, in strict confidence I can tell you, that the 3rd volume is as good as ready. The most difficult section, Banks and Credit, is finished; only two more sections remain, of which only one (Rent of Land) may offer some *formal* difficulties. But all that remains to be done is mere child's play to what I had to do. Now I need no longer fear interruptions. What I have not been able to get before this last winter, was 4-5 months clear of such interruptions; now I've had them and the thing is as good as done. Only don't tell any one, as I cannot yet fix the time, within a couple of months, when the Ms. can go to the printer's.

As to what you say of Jaurès, that fills me with terror. Normalien et ami, sinon protégé, de Malon³—which of the two is worse? And yet, neither of them is a qualification equal to the superiority of a man who can write in Latin on the origin of German socialism.

Now then I must close. The sooner we hear from you in London about the day of your arrival and the earlier you

¹ After all.—*Tr.*

² Both by right of conquest and by birthright.—*Tr.*

³ Malon's fellow-student and friend, if not protégé.—*Tr.*

fix that date, the better. Ainsi donc, au revoir,¹ from
Louise and
your old

F. ENGELS

Of course I shall send you a bit of a compromising document—a trifle of a ... cheque, saving your presence! I have not got any here with me, else it would follow herewith.

518. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 21 March 93

My dear Löhr,

I hope you had my letter from Eastbourne. We returned here on Friday all the better for our holiday.

To-day I have a letter from that eternal bore Argyriades (zu deutsch Silbermannssohn,² and quite as depreciated as the metal he takes his name from) asking me for an "article" (rien que ça!³) for his numéro unique of his May Journal; and that in the name of the Commission d'organisation de la Manifestation du 1^{er} mai—cet Argyriades argenté n'est pas l'homme aux trois cheveux comme Cadet Roussel[le], mais bien l'homme aux trois adresses: 1. Question sociale,⁴ 5, bould S. Michel, in a red flag over the left; 2. Commission d'organisation,⁵ 108, rue du Temple, in a timbre over the right; and 3. P. Argyr. himself, 49, rue de Rivoli, over the leaf at the bottom.

¹ Thus, till we meet.—*Tr.*

² In German Silbermannssohn (Silvermanson).—*Tr.*

³ Nothing less!—*Tr.*

⁴ Organising Commission of the May Day Demonstration—this silvery Argyriades is not, like Cadet Rousselle, a man with three hairs but a man with three addresses: 1. Social Question.—*Tr.*

⁵ Organising Commission ... stamp....—*Tr.*

Well, as I am quite in the dark about the ins and outs, the amitiés, inimitiés and neutralités¹ of the various sets in Paris, I don't know what to reply and should be glad if you would kindly tell me how our friends are placed with regard to the Commission d'organisation in general and the silvery Grec and his Blanquist friends in particular and what I had better do? As to an article, that is out of the question; at the very outside I should send him what the Yankees call a "sentiment".

And perhaps you can tell us at the same time when we may expect you here? Which question reminds me of something else, namely of the necessity of not forgetting to enclose the cheque for ten pounds with which I remain, with love from Louise

Yours affectionately,

F. ENGELS

519. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 23. 3. 93

My dear Engels,

Your cheque, as always, came like manna in the desert: we were making plans to obtain some money for the journey. The end of the month has been awful since I became a deputy, for expenses have considerably increased and there is no means of economising nor of writing articles to raise funds.

I came home on Monday morning, knocked up by my lecture tour. I treated myself to sleeping bouts of twelve hours at a stretch. In 12 days I travelled 3,671 kilometres and held 9 large public meetings; at two of them—those in Nantes and Thizy—I was alone. Everywhere the meetings were attended by huge crowds; at Narbonne, Calais and Montpellier over a thousand people came to meet us

¹ Friendships, enmities and neutralities.—*Tr.*

at the station; the neighbouring communes sent delegations: there were 19 delegations at Montpellier and 32 at Narbonne, each of from 8 to 12 people. One agricultural trade union sent 50 of its members and spent more than 200 francs on travelling expenses; at Thizy, some peasants who had come in a group had done 12 and 14 kilometres to attend the meeting. We stir up the inhabitants far more by these meetings than do the parliamentarians with their speeches in the Palais-Bourbon, cut and mutilated by the press.

I am not losing sight of my constituency, I have nursed it carefully this winter; I have started women's committees, which are derisively called *Lafargue's Amazons*, but which will be of the utmost help to me in the elections. The local journal, *Le Travailleur*, has become a bi-weekly and prints 15,000 copies; we have committees pretty well everywhere; we are hoping to win 4 seats in the département; we shall put up a dozen candidates, who will serve to make our opponents respect us in the second ballot. In the Nord, the opportunists and Catholics are at daggers drawn, we shall make use of their enmity to defeat them.

I shall be happy to meet Liebknecht and Bebel in London: I have nothing against Bebel; all I said was that from an international standpoint L[iebknecht]'s conduct was more straightforward and clear-cut, and it is one of the reasons why L[iebknecht]'s name is so popular among us.

I shall not be able to go to Brussels; I do not see the need for this conference; it is a false move which could be used against us. Ferroul or Bonnier will go to the conference. Guesde is unwell.

We shall leave for London early in the week: we shall write to you.

Greetings to Mme Louise.

Yours cordially,

PAUL LAFARGUE

All of us are writing for the *Journal du 1^{er} Mai*, edited by Argyriadès; do send a short letter.

520. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 26/3/93

My dear Engels,

If nothing unforeseen occurs, in which case we shall inform you by telegraph, we shall be with you on Tuesday evening at about 7 o'clock, travelling over Boulogne.

Don't write to Argyriades: there is a complete split between the Vaillantists, Allemanists and ourselves¹; send your letter instead to Guesde for our May Day number.²

Regards and until Tuesday night,

Yours cordially,

PAUL LAFARGUE

521. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Paris, 14/4/93

My dear Engels,

I arrived at Le Perreux yesterday and this morning they sent for me to return to Amiens,³ where my presence is needed to restrain the police.

¹ The French Workers' Party having proposed that on May Day delegations should visit town halls and councillors and the *ad hoc* Organising Commission having turned this down by 25 votes to 17, with 9 abstentions, the Paris Aggregate resigned from the Organising Commission. (See *Le Socialiste* of March 26th, 1893, p. 1/II-III.)

² Engels' contribution appeared under the heading "All the Same" in *Le Socialiste* of April 23rd, 1893 (pp. 2/IV-3/I). This will be found in the appendices.

³ On April 5th a strike broke out in the weaving industry. The workers demanded an eleven-hour working day for 12 hours' pay. Factories throughout the district came out in solidarity. Lafargue had made his first trip to Amiens on April 10th, when he held a meeting. On the 11th, the strike ended with the victory of the workers. On the afternoon of the 13th the dyers came out because the new rates had not been posted up. Recalled by Doudelet, Lafargue went back to Amiens where, on the evening of the 14th, he made a speech to the strikers.

I leave at 6 o'clock. I am writing to you from Guesde's, who asks you to send him the note for May Day as soon as possible.

Laura arrived safely.

Regards to Mme Louise.

Cordially,

PAUL LAFARGUE

Guesde's address: 26 av. d'Orléans, Paris.

522. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 19. IV. 93

My dear Engels,

What is going on in Amiens is extraordinary and symptomatic.

The town has some 80,000 inhabitants; its products are velvet and cotton. The Boulangist movement was sufficiently strong there to return a deputy to the Chamber, Mr. Millevoye. Last year Guesde and I went there to hold several meetings, which were fairly well attended, but did not have enough effect to get any of our people on to the municipal council last May. Fortunately we found a man aged about thirty, Boucher, known as Doudelet. He is the illegitimate son of one of the big dyers in the town; his mother, an actress, had abandoned him; his father looked after his education; but at fifteen he threw up his schooling and became a worker. He went to Roubaix where he lived a very unsettled, stormy life, trying his hand at every trade. Two years ago he returned to Amiens, where he introduced the type of propaganda used in Roubaix and throughout the Nord. His energy, activity and socialist education did not take long to gain for him great influence with the dye-workers, he organised and disciplined them and they all swear by him. He is himself a dye-worker;

and, like all the workers of his fraternity, he is a fighter and a hothead and sometimes he takes a drop too much. These failings have consolidated the sway he has been able to hold over them.

The women workers in velvet weaving demanded that the new regulations reducing working hours to eleven should be applied to them, so Boucher got the dyers' Union to support them; he brought the women workers out on strike, as well as all the dye-workers who undertook not to go back until the women had won. That is the origin of this strike which has become general. All the unions have followed the example; and, had there been enough people available, all the small industrial towns surrounding Amiens could have been drawn in. A single meeting that I held at Corbie, which is 18 kilometres from Amiens, decided the workers in the shoe-factories to leave the workshops.

The mayor, acting under pressure from the employers, wanted to try and halt the movement by occupying the town with gendarmes and troops; but my letter to the Minister, Millerand's moves and my return to Amiens scotched the plan; the troops had to be withdrawn. Everything is going splendidly; the women workers have obtained what they demanded; the dyers, taking advantage of the opportunity, have forced new rates on their employers; workers in other trades, such as the dock labourers, have also succeeded; but the masons, the joiners, the bootmakers, numbering about 4,000, are still on strike. The workers' attitude has been so steady and their claims so just that they ended by winning over public opinion. Gifts in money and kind reach the strike committee. From the start they put themselves beyond strict legality by staging demonstrations and processions in the streets of the town and by holding meetings in the open air on the glaxis of the fortifications: I judged the moment propitious for violating the law yet again by sending some thirty women strikers to collect money in the town. A telegram which I have just received apprises me that the collectors have been arrested

and charged as beggars. They always take advantage of my absence to exercise their authority; but I on my side shall kick up a row over this arrest of the collectors.

At Loos, a little industrial town, on the outskirts of Lille, which will be included in my constituency, we have just won a victory last Sunday.¹ Our three candidates defeated the three employers who stood in the municipal by-elections in the first ballot, among them was a manufacturer employing 2,200 workers. The electors greeted the result with shouts of: "Long live Lafargue! Long live the Workers' Party!"

All this goes to show that the industrialised part of France is ready for a revolution and only awaits the cue from Paris which, as the last elections demonstrate, is far from ready to take the lead of the socialist movement.

Regards to Mme Louise.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

P.S. I had a pleasant revenge at Amiens. Following the splendid reception that the strikers gave me, Mr. Millevoye thought it would be useful to come along and revive his popularity. Last Tuesday he turned up unexpectedly at the strike committee which occupies a hall always full of at least 200 strikers. His arrival made no impression whatsoever; the worker who was speaking went on expounding his points and when the chairman announced M.'s presence, the audience began recriminating, criticising his jingoistic attitude; he had to appeal for my intervention to prevent the meeting degenerating into a political fight. He saw that the strike committee wasn't the right place for him and, after having donated 200 francs in aid of the victims, he left without *a single person* accompanying him.

In recognition of my services in the strike, the dyers at a meeting yesterday of the whole organisation elected me as an honorary member of their Union and made me prom-

¹ The by-elections took place on April 16th, 1893.

ise to invite citizeness Lafargue to preside over the fête they intend to hold at the end of the strike to celebrate their victory.

The pamphlet on the German Socialists has come out, I am sending you 5 copies.

P.L.

523. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 25 April 1893

My dear Laura,

As for the last few days we have neither heard from you nor seen any papers with your handwriting on them, we are beginning to be anxious about your health, and the enclosed letter from Ravé with the influenza atmosphere it breathes, is not encouraging either. It is this letter which puts the pen into my hand to-day. I do not want to write to him anything which may interfere with what you have been good enough to do in the matter.¹ Therefore

1. Herewith a portrait—but could they not secure the cliché² of the one which appeared in the *Illustration*³ (I believe) about last May? that would be cheaper.

2. The title I have no objection to, not knowing what you may have proposed or might prefer. I leave that, like the rest, entirely in your hands.

3. The proof-sheets are no use to me. I write to him that I sent his letter to you, to settle all points, and that I shall be quite satisfied if he sends the proofs to you.

I returned last night from Manchester where I assisted

¹ Laura Lafargue had revised Ravé's translation of *The Origin of the Family*.

² Negative.—Tr.

³ On April 30th, 1892, *L'Illustration* had published two pages of portraits of personalities in the international socialist movement (pp. 364-65). The portrait of Engels which appeared is the one included in this volume.

at the funeral of poor Gumpert (he was cremated). He fell ill, as you heard while here, last December, of angina pectoris, which brought on embolism of the brain with partial paralysis, and succumbed last Thursday to a fresh attack, after fearful sufferings.

May Day here is as confused as in Paris. The Eight-Hours Committee and the Trades Council are sure to have a separate demonstration each. And in this critical period Aveling falls ill, the Hull Dock Strike¹ intervenes and may lead to a general Dock and Shipping strike all over the Kingdom, giving Tussy more to do than she can manage—so that nobody knows how matters will go.

I hope you received Louise's letter sent on Saturday, and I hope moreover soon to learn that you have got over your fit of influenza.

Salut au citoyen représentant,² if he is about.

Love from Louise and from

Yours affectionately,

F. ENGELS

524. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Friday 9/6/93

My dear General,

Paul and I have been exercising "le droit à la paresse"³ these last few days by taking plenty of exercise. We have been taking long country walks round and about Le Perreux, and have come home of an evening fit for nothing

¹ On April 8th, 1893, 10,000 Hull dock workers came out on strike, the federation of shipowners having announced that non-Union workers would be taken on in preference to organised dockers. On April 17th the representatives of the Dockers' Union in the main ports decided to try to reach agreement between the workers and the employers before declaring a general strike. The conflict was ended by a settlement reached between the shipowners and Tom Mann, representing the strikers, based on the principle of reciprocal freedom.

² Greetings to the citizen deputy.—*Tr.*

³ The right to be lazy.—*Tr.*

but *supper and sleep, sleep and supper*. That will account for my silence.

As my "pigeon voyageur"¹ is at home for a spell, of course I pluck him a bit before he is once again off on the wing.

I am greatly obliged to you for so promptly returning the *proofs*; for Carré, the publisher, wants you to come out before the elections.

I am very happy to know that you are not dissatisfied with the translation. That errors had slipped in, and that there were the usual oversights, I was only too well aware, or I should not have asked you—knowing how busy you are—to look over the proofs.

Sundry passages had absorbed my attention to the detriment of some others. My object, *first and foremost*, was that Ravé's translation should be *faithful*; second, that it should not look like *patchwork*; third and last, but not least, I desired that his rendering of your book should now and again give the French reader *some* notion of the robust elegance of your own style.

Paul who had hitherto only read the Italian version of the *Ursprung*,² read the French translation on his journey to Tourcoing and considers that it is very good indeed.

And, to give even an Alsatian devil his due, I do think that Ravé has done his best, and if his best was often devilish bad, well, that was his misfortune (and *our* misfortune, alas!) rather than his fault. The introduction which he wrote last, showed marked improvement on all that had gone before and required little correcting.

Well, all's well that ends well, or rather, all's well that never ends, for I trust that what *seems* the end of this first French edition of your work, means the beginning of endless future and perfecter editions in France.

YOUR LÖHR

Love to Louise.

¹ Carrier pigeon.—*Tr.*

² *Origin.*—*Tr.*

525. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 20th June 1893

My dear Löhr,

I was glad to conclude from your letter that there was still time to insert, in your Ravé amendé et corrigé,¹ such of my suggested alterations as you approve of. That was one of the reasons why I did not lay great weight on having the proofs here: once the matter mise en page,² it is difficult to insert alterations which necessitate either the cutting out, or the putting in, of a line or a few lines; at least in Germany I have had many a hard fight about the extra expense arising therefrom, and Mister Sonnenschein is careful to insert, in the agreement, a precise limit of what such alterations may cost extra. As to your two objects: to have a faithful translation, and one that should read as an original work, you have certainly attained them both and I am longing to read myself—without keeping one eye constantly on misprints and formal matters—again in your French: when I read it I said to Louise there is only one man in and about Paris that knows French, and that one is neither French nor a man but Laura.

As to the Alsatian Ravé I'll forgive him his Alsatianism in consideration of his working-class countrymen³: the 12,000 Mülhausen votes for Bueb, the 6,200 Strasburg ones for Bebel (who is almost sure to get in there) and the 3,200 Metz ones for Liebknecht, besides odds and ends all over the country. Bebel who has been there several times lately is quite in love with the Alsatian working

¹ (Amended and corrected.—Tr.) This still refers to *The Origin of the Family*.

² Set up.—Tr.

³ Engels is referring here to the Reichstag elections held on June 15th. Bueb had been elected in the first ballot, Bebel was returned in the second.

men and with the country altogether, although at Strasbourg last Sunday fortnight they nearly smothered him bodily with their enthusiasm in Hämmerle's beer garden.

Our elections went off glorious. In 1890—20 seats, now 24 carried at the first assault; in 1890—about 60 ballots, this time 85. Of seats we lost two and gained six new ones; of the 85 ballots, there are 38 in which, in 1890, we did not get into the ballot (only the two candidates with the highest number of votes are admitted to ballot); and of the 85, there are also 38 in which we have chances (in the remaining 47 we are in a hopeless minority, unless miracles happen) and out of these 38 we may reasonably expect 25 successful elections. But the gap caused by the complete break-up of the Radical (Freisinnige¹) Partei has created such a state of confusion that we must be prepared for a series of surprises; amongst the Radicals, party discipline has ceased to exist and the people in each locality will just act as they think fit. By bringing up our full strength at second ballot by the assistance of the bourgeois democrats in South Germany and of the mutual jealousies and bickerings of the other parties we shall be able to come up again to the old complement of 36, so that only for an increase above that number we shall be dependent on the active assistance of Radicals, anti-Semites and Catholics, that is to say upon the strong anti-military current which pervades the peasantry and petty-bourgeois class.²

But the number of seats is a very secondary consideration. The principal one is the increase of votes, and that is sure to be considerable. Only we shall not know it until the full official returns are placed before the Reichstag; the most important part of that increase will consist in the—relatively small—number of votes cast in entirely

¹ Liberals.

² It is worth recalling here that the Reichstag had been dissolved following the rejection of an army bill. The election campaign was therefore largely based on opposition to militarism.

new, remote country places, showing the hold we are beginning to take of these rural districts which were hitherto inaccessible to us and without which we cannot expect to be victorious. When they are all counted up, I still believe we shall have something like $2\frac{1}{4}$ million votes, more than has ever been cast for any other party in Germany.

Altogether, the effect has been stunning upon the whole of the German and English bourgeois press. And well it may be. Such a steady, unbroken, resistless progress of a party has never been seen in any country. And the best of it is that our increase of 1893 involves—by the extent and variety of the newly broken ground it shows—the certain promise of a far greater increase at the next general election.

The new departure of the parti ouvrier with regard to “patriotism” is very rational in itself¹; international union can exist only between *nations*, whose existence, autonomy and independence as to internal matters is therefore included in the very term of internationality. And the pressure of the pseudo-patriots, sooner or later, was certain to provoke an utterance of this kind, even without the alliance with Millerand and Jaurès who no doubt have also urged the necessity of such an act. Guesde’s interview in the *Figaro*² is excellent, not a word to be said against it. The address of the Conseil—here I am interrupted. I shall have to go to the railway station. Mrs. Gumpert (you know Dr. Gumpert died a short time ago) is going to Germany and on the way going to stay a few days with us, and I must fetch her from the train. So I must say good-bye for a day or two, my observations on the address being of no great importance and no hurry whatever about them. Good

¹ Engels is referring here to the Manifesto on patriotism (see his letter of June 27th, 1893, p. 267).

² On June 17th, 1893, *Le Figaro* published an interview with J. Guesde under the heading “The Socialists and the Country” (pp. 1/VI-2/II), which also appeared in *Le Socialiste* of the same date (p. 3/I-III).

luck to the everlasting traveller. What a change has come over poor Clemenceau that even a Déroulède¹ can bull-bait him! Sic transit gloria mundi. The anti-Semite patriotic bullies seem to have it all their own way both in France and Germany as far as the bourgeois are concerned!

Love from Louise and your old

GENERAL

526. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 23. VI. 93

My dear Engels,

What imbeciles those two strong-minded Chauvinists—Déroulède and Millevoye—are! They have been forced to dish themselves.² Floquet told me that the famous documents had cost 100,000 francs. "Who paid? Certainly not Millevoye, who is not rich, and even less *La Cocarde*, a paper subsidised by Boulanger and subsequently by Constans."

"Perhaps it was *Le Petit Journal*?" he replied.

"Get away with you! Who's going to believe that the

¹ Déroulède had launched a sweeping campaign against Clemenceau, attacking him for his association with Cornelius Hertz, who was implicated in the Panama scandal, and accusing him of being in England's pay. At the parliamentary session of June 20th the nationalists interrupted him when he was speaking, and created a series of disturbances.

² In its June 21st, 1893, issue *La Cocarde* announced the publication of documents stolen from the British embassy, establishing Clemenceau's treason. The issue of June 24th published these documents (pp. 1/VI-2/IV) and on the same day Millevoye read them to the Chamber. The material consisted of 14 letters and a memorandum signed by an alleged high official in the British Foreign Office. As soon as they had been read to the Chamber it transpired that the documents were forged, the Christian names attributed to the high official being incorrect. Déroulède and Millevoye were obliged to resign their seats as deputies the same day. These forgeries had been sold by a swindler named Norton to Ed. Ducret, the director of *La Cocarde*.

gambler Marinoni (the director of *Le Petit Journal*) would think of paying a huge sum like that to destroy a political opponent?" That leaves only Constans and the Russian embassy. For a long time the latter has been exerting pressure on Clemenceau who had declared himself against the Franco-Russian alliance and recently C[lemenceau] has been trying to take sides with those who are fighting Constans.

At all events the attempt failed, and a good thing too; for after Clemenceau it would have been we, the Socialists, who would have been accused of high treason, since we are the only ones who have dared to protest openly against the Russian alliance.

Only one weapon against us remained to our class enemy, that of patriotic slander. They used it against Guesde at Marseilles in 1889, and succeeded only too well not to resort to it again at the forthcoming elections. For months past a jingoistic campaign has been organised in Roubaix and Marseilles. The Marseilles town councillors were anti-patriots because they refused to vote the 10,000 francs proposed for the reception of Dodds,¹ who is called a "bungler" to-day and will be called an imbecile to-morrow for not having captured Béhanzin. The Roubaix manufacturers cannot stomach their socialist town council; they can think of nothing but how to furnish the government with a pretext for dissolving the council and replacing it by an administrative committee. They have started a little illustrated paper which attacks the Socialists' scurrilously. Four town councillors on whom pressure has been exerted have tendered their resignation so that they will not have to sit down with the enemies of the tricolour and of France; they staged disorderly scenes at which agents provocateurs yelled: *Down with the country! Down with France!*

¹ In May 1893 the municipal council, called upon to vote funds for a welcome to General Dodds on his return from Dahomey, had refused. On the other hand it had voted 5,000 francs on two occasions for the benefit of the soldiers and their families.

Long live Prussia! (sic) etc. All these facts, carefully gathered up and commented on by *Le Temps*,¹ were published in all the opportunist and reactionary provincial papers. We were individually attacked: I was a German, Guesde received money from Engels, etc.

We had to put a stop to it. We drafted the manifesto and held the Roubaix meeting²; we chose that town because it was the centre of the chauvinist campaign; and we wanted to make clear that our views were not just for the occasion but represented precisely those of Socialists as a whole. Before an audience of 3,000 at Roubaix those views were greeted with cheers; the following day I held 3 meetings in the neighbourhood where they were accorded a similar welcome. The triumph is complete; our opponents are put out of countenance and the campaign of slander has been scotched.

This demonstration was important, particularly for our people. The anarchists, invariably idiotic, confusing internationalism with anti-patriotism, had created an alliance of anti-patriots and talked rubbish of all kinds, which the bourgeois were eager to lay at our door. As we had never expressed an opinion on the matter, many of our new people, with more enthusiasm than sense, accepted the anarchist idiocies in good faith; and out of contrariness fell into the trap set by the enemy and voiced anarchistic anti-patriotism.

Those are the motives which determined our moves: far from being influenced by Millerand and Jaurès, we made use of them to spread our statements more widely, and even the opportunist papers had to publish them. The German elections gave us a good leg-up: now that the Alsatians

¹ In an article entitled "Hands off the Country", *Le Temps* of May 28th, 1893 (p. 1/III-IV), reported incidents which had occurred on the occasion of a review of firemen at Roubaix and the subsequent resignation of the socialist mayor's deputy.

² The Roubaix meeting with Guesde and Lafargue took place on June 17th, 1893, to be followed on the 18th by two further meetings at Wattrelos and Lannoy.

are voting for B[ebel] and L[iebknicht] the Chauvinists are beginning to understand that the Socialists are not to be confused with the German bourgeois.

Our elections¹ look promising; we could run campaigns in over 60 constituencies, but we lack the candidates and you cannot stand in several places as is done in Germany.

Regards to Mme Louise.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

527. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, June 27th, 1893

My dear Lafargue,

You were absolutely right to protest against the imbecilities of the anarchists and Boulangeo-Jingoes²; even though Millerand and Jaurès (who certainly preceded you

¹ This refers to the parliamentary elections announced for August 20th, 1893.

² The press had slandered the French Workers' Party by calling its active members traitors to the country. *Le Socialiste* of June 17th, 1893, published the manifesto (p. 1/I-III) which Engels criticises in this letter and which ran as follows:

SOCIALISM AND PATRIOTISM

To the Workers of France

Comrades,

In their impotent rage against the rising movement of the Workers' Party our class opponents resort to the only weapon that remains to them: slander. They are now misrepresenting our internationalism as they have tried to misrepresent our socialism. And, whilst those who seek to present us as people *without a country* are the same men who, for the past century, have done nothing but contrive the invasion and dismemberment of the country, surrendered by their class to the banditry of cosmopolitan finance and exploited to the point of bloodshed at Ricamarie and Fourmies, just as we have not allowed them to confuse the collectivist solution with anarchy, that caricature of bourgeois individualism, so we shall not let them interpret our glorious cry of *Long live the International!* as the inept splutter: *Down with France!*

in this matter) contributed, that does not matter. Particularly on the eve of a general election it is impossible to leave the field wide open to slander. So we are agreed on this point; the Germans have done as much on more than one occasion, to the great distress of Bonnier who moves in an idealistic anti-patriotic sphere (though mainly anti-patriotic for *others*, since no one wishes more than he that "France should take the lead in the movement"). And here is the National Council uncompromisingly declaring itself patriotic—and at the very moment when the German elections quite as uncompromisingly prove that it is not France which is taking the lead at present—poor Bonnier, he was here on Sunday, and looked quite abashed.

No, internationalism is neither the debasement nor the sacrifice of the nation. The nations, when they were constituted, were a first and necessary stage towards the unity of the human race at which we aim and of which internationalism, engendered by the whole of modern civilisation, represents a new and equally inevitable stage. And just as the French nation did not organise itself against the various provinces which it snatched from decaying antagonisms in order to consolidate them, but for their benefit and for their freer and broader life, so the human race which demands the social means of production, exchange and knowledge, does not work and cannot work at the expense of the nations of the present time, but for their benefit and their higher development.

One does not cease to be a patriot on taking the international road which leads towards the full flowering of mankind, any more than at the end of the last century one ceased to be Provençal, Burgundian, Flemish or Breton, on becoming French.

On the contrary, the internationalists could call themselves the only patriots insofar as they are alone in recognising the wider conditions in which the future and the greatness of the country, of all countries, can and must be assured—and antagonisms changed into solidarities.

In shouting *Long Live the International!* they are crying *Long Live Labouring France!* Long live the historical mission of the French proletariat which can liberate itself only by helping the liberation of the world proletariat!

The French Socialists are patriots again from another point of view and for other reasons: because France was in the past and is destined to be from now on one of the most important factors in the social evolution of our species.

Thus we want—and cannot but want—a great and strong France, capable of defending her Republic against the combined monarchies and capable of protecting her approaching working class '89 against the, at least contingent, coalition of capitalist Europe.

Your declaration will have its effect in France, I hope, and I hope with equal fervour that it will go unnoticed in Germany. This is why: they are not grave matters, but I believe I should draw your attention to them to make sure you avoid them the next time.

I don't want to speak of your use of the word patriot, of what you define as the only "true" patriots. That word has a limited meaning—or else such a vague one, depending on circumstances—that for my part I should never dare to apply that title to myself. I have spoken to non-Germans as a German, in the same way as I speak to Germans as a pure International; I think you could have achieved a greater effect if you had simply called yourself *French*—

It was France which, with Babeuf, Fourier and Saint-Simon, began the working out of socialist ideas to which Marx and Engels gave the scientific crowning.

It was France which, after unloosing the bourgeois revolution on the world, the indispensable forerunner of the proletarian revolution, was the great battlefield of *class struggles*, not to mention the heroic insurgents of Lyons in 1832 and of Paris in 1848 and 1871 in the service of the redemption of labour.

It was France which, though decimated by the Versailles massacres, at its immortal Paris Congress in 1889, raised the banner of the International which had fallen in its own blood, and inaugurated, May 1st; and it was France which first hoisted the red flag of the proletariat on the town halls captured by the strength of voting papers in its forward march to the conquest of political power.

And because its revolutionary past answers for its socialist future, when, twenty-three years ago, it was imperilled, it found rallying to its defence, under the folds of the tricolour, the internationalists of Italy, Spain and elsewhere, whilst rising German Social-Democracy, at the peril of its freedom, laid itself open to a dismemberment as idiotic as it was criminal.

But, because we are patriots, we do not want war which, whether it goes well or badly, can only lead to unexampled disaster, given the millions of men thrown into the field of battle and the instruments of death with which they will be armed.

We do not want war which, whatever its outcome, could make of an exhausted West nothing but the plaything of Asiatic barbarism represented by Russian tsarism.

We want peace, peace at all costs, because it works in our favour and against capitalist and governmental domination which must be annihilated and which can prolong its miserable and baneful existence only by the division and mutual slaughter of peoples.

which is a statement of FACT, a fact including the logical consequences which flow from it. But no matter, it's a question of style.

You are again perfectly right in extolling France's revolutionary past, and to believe that its revolutionary past will answer for its socialist future. But it seems to me that, having reached that point, you incline a little too far towards Blanquism, i.e., towards the theory that France is destined to play the same role in the proletarian revolution (not merely that of *initiator* but also that of *leader*) as it played in the bourgeois revolution of 1789-98. This is contrary to the economic and political facts of to-day. The industrial development of France has lagged behind that of England; at this juncture it is behind that of Germany which has made giant strides since 1860; the working-class movement in France to-day cannot be compared to that

We want peace, because it condemns the bourgeois system to death.

And now that we have established how, far from being mutually exclusive, patriotism and internationalism are but two complementary forms of the same love of humanity, we say again loudly in the teeth of our slanderers:

Yes, the French Workers' Party is at one with German Social-Democracy against the German Empire.

Yes, the French Workers' Party is at one with the Belgian Workers' Party against the bourgeois Cobourg monarchy.

Yes, the French Workers' Party is at one with the workers and Socialists of Italy against the Savoy monarchy.

Yes, the French Workers' Party is at one with the young and already strong British Labour Party against the oligarchic and capitalist constitutionalism of Britain.

Yes, we are and will continue to be at one with the proletarians of the Old and the New World against the ruling and owning classes everywhere.

And we rely upon our French comrades, on the people in the factories and the fields, to join with the National Council of the Party in its twofold cry, which is but one: Long live the International! Long live France!

The National Council:
C. Crépin, S. Dereure, Ferroul (deputy),
Paul Lafargue (deputy),
Jules Guesde, Prévost, Quesnel

of Germany. But it is not the French, nor the Germans; nor the British who, by themselves, will win the glory of having smashed capitalism; if France—PERHAPS—gives the signal, it will be in Germany, the country most profoundly influenced by socialism and where the theory has the most deeply penetrated the masses—where the fight will be settled, and even then neither France nor Germany will ensure final victory so long as England remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian emancipation can be only an international deed, if you try to turn it into a purely French deed you are making it impossible. The exclusively French leadership of the bourgeois revolution—albeit inevitable, thanks to the stupidity and cowardice of the other nations—led to—do you know what?—to Napoleon, to conquest, to the invasion of the Holy Alliance. To try and assign the same rôle to France in the future is to distort the international proletarian movement, as, indeed, the Blanquists do, and make France look ridiculous, for beyond your frontiers such pretensions are made fun of.

And look where this leads you. You speak of “France, at ITS immortal Paris Congress in 1889, raised the banner, etc., etc.” How you in Paris would laugh if the Belgians spoke of Belgium at ITS immortal Brussels Congress of 1891, or Switzerland at ITS immortal Zürich Congress! Furthermore, the actions of these congresses are actions neither French, Belgian nor yet Swiss, but international.

Then you say: the French Workers’ Party is at one with German S[ocial]-D[emocracy] *against the German Empire*, with the Belgian Workers’ Party against the Cob[ourg] monarchy, with the Italians against the Savoy monarchy, etc., etc.

There would be nothing against all that if you had added: and *all these parties are at one with us against the bourgeois Republic which oppresses us, Panamises us and ties us to the Russian tsar*. After all, your Republic was made by old Wilhelm and Bismarck; it is quite as bour-

geois as any of our monarchist governments, and you mustn't suppose that with the cry of "Long live the Republic" on the day after Panama, you will find a single supporter in the whole of Europe. The republican form is no more than the simple negation of monarchy—and the overthrow of the monarchy will be accomplished simply as a corollary to revolution; in Germany the bourgeois parties are so bankrupt that we shall pass at once from monarchy to the *social* republic. Hence you cannot go on opposing your bourgeois republic to the monarchies as something to which other nations should aspire. Your republic and our monarchies are all one in relation to the proletariat; if you help us against our monarchist bourgeois, we shall help you against your republican bourgeois. *It's a case of reciprocity and by no means the deliverance of the downtrodden Monarchists by the great-hearted French Republicans*, this doesn't tally with the international outlook and even less with the historical situation which has brought your republic to the feet of the tsar. Don't forget that, if France makes war on Germany in the interests and with the help of the tsar, it is Germany which will be the revolutionary centre.

- But there is another very regrettable affair. You are "at one with German S[ocial]-D[emocracy] *against the German Empire*". This has been translated in the bourgeois press as "gegen das *deutsche Reich*". And that is what everybody will see in it. For Empire means "Reich" as well as "Kaisertum" (imperial regime); but in "Reich" the emphasis is laid on the central power as representing *national unity*, and for this, the political condition of their existence, the German Socialists would fight to the end. *Never* would we wish to reduce Germany to the pre-1866 state of division and impotence. Had you said against the emperor, or against the imperial regime, no one could have said much, although poor Wilhelm is hardly of a stature to deserve being honoured in this way; it is the owning class, landlords and capitalists, which is the en-

emy; and that is so clearly understood in Germany that our workmen will not understand the meaning of your offer to help them to defeat the crackpot of Berlin.

So I have asked Liebk[necht] not to mention your declaration insofar as the bourgeois papers do not do so; but if, based upon this unfortunate expression, there were attacks on our people as traitors, it would give rise to a rather painful argument.

To sum up: a little more reciprocity could do no harm—equality between nations is as necessary as that between individuals.

On the other hand, your manner of speaking of the republic as a desirable thing in itself for the proletariat, and of France as the chosen people, prevents you mentioning the—unpleasant but undeniable—fact of the Russian alliance, or rather the Russian vassalage.

Well, that's enough, I think. I hope I have convinced you that in the first flush of your renascent patriotism you have overshot the mark a little. Not that it is very important and I hope the thing will go by without raising a dust, but should it recur it might lead to unpleasant controversies. Your published documents, though intended for France, must also *pass muster** abroad. If it comes to that, our worthy Germans have not always been correct, either, in all their expressions.

As for the German elections,¹ I am prouder of the defeats than of the successes. We have lost Stuttgart by a minority of 128 votes out of 31,000 electors, Lubeck by 154 out of 20,000, and so on. On this occasion all the parties formed a coalition against us, even the democrats of the South, who left us in the lurch at Stuttgart, at Mannheim, at Pforzheim, at Speyer and voted for us only in Frankfurt. What we won we owe—for the first time—entirely to our own strength. Consequently the 44 seats are

¹ In the 1893 elections the Social-Democratic Party polled 1,787,000 votes.

worth ten times more than 100 won with the help of the liberals and democrats.

Liberalism has completely abdicated in Germany. There is no real opposition outside our Party. Wilhelm will have his soldiers, his taxes and—his Socialists in the army and outside the army, in ever-growing numbers. The final figure of the socialist votes will not be known for 10-15 days; Bebel thinks it will not be above 2 million; the season was against us, many workers are scattered in the countryside during the summer and omitted from the register, he estimates the resulting deficit for us at more than 100,000 votes.

The Amiens amende honorable¹ is splendid! There's no one like the French for these strokes of genius against obsolete laws.

Love to Laura and to you from Louise.

Kiss Laura for me.

Ever yours,
F.E.

528. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 28/VI/93

My dear Engels,

I have just written to Zürich² in the name of the National Council to ask them to postpone the Congress till

¹ The militant Socialist Charles Verecque of Amiens had been sentenced to prison and to make a formal confession of guilt for contempt of court under a law (Art. 226) which had not been applied for almost a century. With the agreement of the Amiens socialist group, Verecque, who had been accused of having addressed the following words to the procurator on the public highway: "One ought to stick Maître Viviani's (the counsel's) speech on the public prosecutor's back," wrote him a letter ending with these words: "I therefore submit and declare in writing, as Art. 226 demands, that I was at fault in confusing for a single moment a magistrate's back with one of those places where in a few weeks' time, we shall have the honour of sticking the—victorious—socialist programme."

² On June 28th, 1893, Lafargue wrote to Seidel, the secretary of

November, for it would be impossible for us to take part in the Congress during August, since our elections take place on the 20th of that month. I fancy the Germans will not be displeased by this postponement, since they will be engaged in the Reichstag debates. In these circumstances, the Congress would be led by Domela and the British, who are less than Socialists. Could you not write to Bebel supporting our request for postponement?

In my last letter I told you that, after Clemenceau, our turn would come to be accused of high treason: I was wrong, it had come.¹ In Document XIII it says that Guesde and Lafargue had written their letter to the German Socialists *under special orders from Berlin* and that, for thirteen years, the strikes in Belgium and France have been subsidised by Guelph funds. Despite the imbecility of these

the Organising Commission of the Zürich International Congress, the following letter:

"To the Organising Commission of the Zürich International Congress."

"Dear Comrades,

"The date of our parliamentary elections having been fixed for August 20th, the National Council of the Workers' Party has instructed me to inform you that it will be impossible to send delegates to the Congress, for during its sitting we shall be in the throes of the election campaign; it therefore asks you to consider whether there would be a possibility of postponing the Congress until November. I believe the German Socialists would gladly agree to this postponement, since it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the newly elected members to absent themselves from the Reichstag during August in view of the important debates which will then be taking place.

"With fraternal greetings from the National Council,

Paul Lafargue."

¹ Here is the passage from "Document XIII", dated June 8th, 1893, and published by *La Cocarde* on June 24th, 1893 (2nd edition), to which Lafargue refers: "... And what do you think of the letter from Jules Guesde and Lafargue to the German Socialists? Would you be surprised to learn that this letter was written on special orders from Berlin? Since the Belgian strikes Maler's curiosity was aroused by strong feelings about the damage caused by Guelph funds. He now has proof that large sums from this source have been nourishing the strikes in Belgium and France for the last thirteen years...."

celebrated documents, I believe that Constans and the Russian embassy helped in their fabrication.

Guesde went to consult Millerand this morning to find out whether we could not bring a civil action to try and expose the manipulators of the machine.

Regards to Mme Louise.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

529. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, June 29th, 93

My dear Lafargue,

I am writing to Bebel and explaining the situation to him¹; there are certainly many reasons in favour of a postponement of the Congress to a later date. But

1. November is out of the question, nobody goes to Zürich in winter when it is raining and cold. Further, your Chamber, the Reichstag and the British Parliament will be in session then. So give up that date. Another can be settled later.

2. It would be regrettable if the French *Marxists* and the Germans, and they alone, proposed an adjournment. But it would be quite another matter if *all the French socialist fractions* unanimously made this request. See what can be done in this regard, but *do it quickly*, for

3. The Swiss will have to submit your request to the others and take their advice—at any rate they will plead that necessity, seeing that Seidel, the secretary of the committee, is a fanatical anti-Marxist and intrigues with all our opponents here and in France.

You will have some difficulty in persuading the Blanquists and the two kinds of Possibilists to support your

¹ The letter referred to here appears to be lost.

motion, but it is very important. If the others are satisfied with the dates 6-12 August, you are hardly likely to succeed on your own.¹

Ever yours, in haste,

F. ENGELS

530. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 20 July 1893

My dear Löhrr,

D'abord² thanks for translation of the *Chronicle* Interview³—though it was hardly worth while. And then an inquiry.

¹ In the preface to the *Protokoll des internationalen sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle Zürich vom 6. bis 12. August 1893* (Zürich, 1894) the following passage appears (pp. VI-VII):

"At the beginning of July a request came from French and German comrades asking for the postponement of the Congress to a later date (September 17), the French parliamentary elections taking place in all likelihood on August 20.... The Organising Committee met on July 4th to examine this request at once. The date of the elections had not yet been decided, but measures were immediately taken to ensure premises in the event of the Congress being put forward. Telegraphed questions were likewise sent to our French comrades on the matter of this postponement. We further telegraphed to the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Unions to ask them whether, in the event of the congress being put forward, there would be any risk of it coinciding with the date of their elections and of it entailing the absence of Trade Union delegates.

"The replies to our urgent questions did not arrive very quickly, so that it was only on July 12th that the Organising Committee could discuss the subject. The date of the French election had still not been officially announced. Comrade Vaillant, in Paris, did not preclude the possibility that the date would be postponed. The Parliamentary Committee regarded it as impossible that a strong delegation could attend if the congress were put off. The distant organisations could only have been informed by telegram that the Congress had been postponed, the Australian delegate was already on his way, and possibly also American delegates. In the circumstances, there was nothing for the Organising Committee to do but to give up the idea of postponing the opening date and to abide by the agreed day."

² First of all.—Tr.

³ *Le Socialiste* of July 15th, 1893, published under the heading "Frederick Engels and the German Elections" (pp. 2-3) the interview

Some time ago Bonnier sent me a letter from a Diamandy¹ (Roumanian) asking me to write for a new Review of his and announcing me that they had anticipated my permission and translated for the 1st Nr., *which they would send*, the chapter on Barbarism and Civilisation.² I waited but received nothing. Then, a few days ago, I wrote, saying that I had not had the review, but anyhow had no time to write for him.

After that they send *to me* a Separatabdruck³ of that chapter stating on the cover that they intended publishing the whole first in the review and then in book-shape. But the review they did not send to me, but to *Tussy*. From her I got it this afternoon and see that I am quoted as a regular contributor along with Kautsky, Paul, and others who perhaps were not asked any more than myself—that however articles by Guesde and Paul are promised and Paul's essay on Mohr's Materialism reprinted in part.⁴—The translation of my chapter seems to be Roy's. Now, all that, along with Léo Frankel as administrateur, opens out before my bewildered eyes such a vista of possibilities and impossibilities that before taking another step in the matter I must seek information and advice at your door. Paris is unberechenbar,⁵ but Paris doublé de Bucarest becomes a mystery in the third power, and I give it up.

which Engels had given the English *Daily Chronicle* and which was published on July 1st (p. 3/VI-VII). The text of this is given in the appendices, pp. 394-400.

¹ On July 1st, 1893, the first issue of *L'Ère nouvelle* appeared, with Georges Diamandy as editor-in-chief and Léo Frankel as managing director. The list of contributors announced included amongst others Lafargue, Millerand, Deville, Engels, Guesde, Jaclard, Kautsky and Nadejda.

² The first issue published the last chapter of *The Origin of the Family* under the heading "Barbarism and Civilisation" (pp. 12-33). The second issue published Chapter V under the heading: "The Rise of the Athenian State" (pp. 139-50).

³ Off-print.—*Tr.*

⁴ This refers to lectures given by Lafargue at the beginning of 1884 which were published in No. 1 (pp. 46-58), No. 2 (pp. 139-50) and No. 3 (pp. 240-52) of *L'Ère nouvelle*.

⁵ Unpredictable.—*Tr.*

What funny people the French Government and Parliament are! Panama passes off with a fizz instead of an explosion, the coup d'état against the bourse du travail¹ leaves the workpeople blasés and passes off quietly, but the Siamese humbug² sends the very same parliamentary patriots off in a blaze of enthusiasm for Colonial Conquest—the same men who a few years ago almost killed Ferry “the Tonkinois” because he tried to engage them on the same line! Verily the bourgeoisie has outlived itself everywhere.

To-morrow Louise and I are going, for a week, to Eastbourne (address as before, 28 Marine Parade), as I feel the want of a little recruiting of strength before undertaking my trip to Germany. Last year's disappointment has made me careful; I don't want to be laid up again lame in an armchair for six weeks. We leave Eastb[ourne] Friday 28th July and London for Continent 1st August—meet Bebel and wife in Cologne and go via Strasburg to Switzerland where I shall meet my brother³ and expect to be in Zürich for close of Congress 12th or 13th August. Thence with Bebel to Vienna and Berlin.

Will Paul and you be in Zürich? The Swiss got letters from other Parisian organisations, that the elections very likely would *not* be in August, in spite of all newspaper

¹ (Labour Exchange. See p. 20, note 1.—*Tr.*) After setting a time limit for the Trade Unions of the Labour Exchange to bring themselves in conformity with the 1884 Act on penalty of being dissolved, the courts subjected the members of the administrative council to an interrogation on the pretext that the Labour Exchange was a federation of trades prohibited by law. On July 7th, resorting to force, the government ordered the Labour Exchange to be occupied by troops and the Trade Union representatives to be evicted. This arbitrary action, ratified by the Chamber two days later, did not arouse widespread protests from the workers.

² On July 13th, 1893, units of the French Fleet trying to reach Bangkok were fired on by the Siamese. The incident was exploited by the government which, to cheers from the Right, sent an ultimatum on July 18th to the Siamese government calling upon it to surrender the entire left bank of the river Mekong.

³ This refers to Hermann Engels of Barmen.

reports, but only in September; that and the English objections decided against the application for adjournment.

Post-time—9 o'clock, though perhaps this will not reach you till Saturday morning!

Love from Louise and your

ever thankful "Translated-one".

F. ENGELS

531. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS AT EASTBOURNE*

Wednesday, 26 July 93

My dear General,

On our return from Calais, where we had been staying for a week by way of recovering from the overwhelmingly fine weather we have undergone ever since March, I find your thrice-welcome letter.

We chose Calais because it is near Lille and Boulogne and other places Paul was booked for. Paul had set out two or three days before myself and I joined him at Calais where we have a number of good men and true: Delcluze, Salembier, Fuchs etc., and a very merry time we had of it despite the wind and rain. You know Delcluze: he is delighted with his visit to London and loud in the praise of your incomparable Mai-wein.

Diamandy is a very good fellow and, like most of the Roumanians in Paris, a very intelligent person and a confirmed Marxist. But a man may be a good Marxist *sans être parfait*¹ and these excellent Roumanians are really rather "trop sans gêne"² as Paul says.

Everything written by you, Guesde and Paul, they look upon as public property and make free with it accordingly. As regards their publication of your book, you ought, I

¹ Without being perfect.—Tr.

² Too free and easy.—Tr.

think, to put a stop to it, in justice to Carré¹ who is sure to object to this new and unauthorised translation on the eve of the appearance of Ravé's and which would perforce injure the sale of the book.

The French Government and Chamber of Deputies are, as you say, beneath contempt and Paris is no better than she should be. Happily France has other hearts than that which beats in her capricious capital.

I hope you will enjoy your trip to your native land, though travelling in hot weather is terribly trying.

We shall not turn up at Zürich: the elections, you are aware, take place next month and there is not a minute for our men to lose. The *Hamburger Echo* announced the other day that our Party would run 210 candidates. I did not know that Hamburgh was so near Gascony! It would not be amiss if our German friends now and again read *le Socialiste*, instead of taking their information in *le Temps*.

A propos de la Gascogne je vous envoie une jolie chanson de Nadaud: *la Garonne*.²

Since our return I have been rather busy: to-morrow we go to Paris and the day following Paul starts for Lille.

My best love to you and to Louise.

Your faithful *traditore*,³

LÖHR

It appears that my countrymen, the Belgians, had already published extracts from your work and the Roumanians thought themselves justified in following their example.

¹ Carré was the publisher who brought out Ravé's translation of *The Origin of the Family* a few months later.

² Speaking of Gascony, I am sending you a charming song by Nadaud. (Gustav Nadaud, 1820-1893.)—*Tr.*

³ Traitor (a play on the Italian word for "translator"—*traduttore*).—*Tr.*

532. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

Merkurstr. 6, Zürich-Hottingen
21 August 1893

My dear Löhr,

I have been in Switzerland for some weeks. Louise, Dr. Freyberger and I left Aug. 1st via Hook of Holland, met Bebel and his wife at Cologne, passed one night at Mainz, the next at Strasburg, the third at Zürich. Thence I went to Thuisis in Graubünden where I met my brother and family and stayed a week, returned to Zürich just in time for the closing of the Congress¹ and am now staying with my cousin Mrs. Beust.

¹ Engels reached Zürich on August 12th and, from the moment of his arrival, was greeted by the Congress with acclamation and nominated honorary chairman. He closed the Congress with the following speech (published in *Le Socialiste* on September 2nd, 1893, p. 2/I-II):

"The enthusiastic welcome you have given me I accept, not in my personal capacity, but as the collaborator of the great man whose portrait you have here (Marx). It is just fifty years since Marx and I came into the movement. We were then writing our articles in the *Annales franco-allemandes*; Marx is dead, but, were he still alive, there would be no one, neither in Europe nor in America, who could look back on his life's work with so much justifiable pride. There is yet another anniversary to be celebrated to-day. In 1873 the last congress of the International was held. It did two things: the first was to separate once and for all the cause of the International from that of the anarchists. To-day it can be seen whether or not that decision was superfluous. The congresses of Paris, of Brussels and now this one in Zürich, have had to do the same thing.

"The second resolution it adopted was to stop the activities of the International in their previous form. That was the epoch when reaction, drunk with the blood of the glorious Commune, was at its apogee. To continue the former International would have been to demand sacrifices no longer in proportion to the results obtainable; the Congress decided to make its headquarters in America, that is to say, the International vanished from the scene.

"To the proletariat of each country was left the responsibility of organising itself in its own way. And that is what happened and to-day the International is stronger than in the past. It is in this spirit that we must go forward and work on common ground. We must abandon argument to avoid turning into sects, but our common prin-

As to the election of yesterday,¹ we are in complete uncertainty and shall be so until this afternoon—no papers being published in Zürich on Monday mornings. So anything to be said on that subject must be delayed until end of this letter.

I found Germany completely metamorphosed. Steam chimneys all over the country, but where I passed, not numerous enough over a small district, to create a nuisance by their smoke. Cologne and Mainz are transformed. The old town is there still where it was, but around or aside of it has arisen a larger and newer town with splendid buildings disposed according to a well-arranged plan, and with large industrial establishments occupying distinct quarters so as not to interfere with the aspect or the comfort of the rest. Cologne has made most progress, having nearly trebled its inhabitants—the Ring is a splendid street, there is nothing equal to it in all England. Mainz is growing, but at a slower rate. In Strasburg you see too distinctly the separation between the old town and the new district formed by university and government buildings, an external addition, not a natural growth.

Paul naturally will be most curious to hear about Alsace. Well, the French may rest satisfied. In Strasburg, to my astonishment, I heard nothing but German spoken. Only once, two girls, Jewesses, who passed me, spoke French. But this is very deceptive. A very intelligent young Socialist, who lives there, told me that as soon as you go outside the city gates, the people speak, and purposefully, nothing but French. In Mülhausen too, he said, $\frac{4}{5}$ ths

ciple must be preserved. This free union, this voluntary assembly, brought about by the congresses, will be enough to give us victory, and a victory that no power on earth could take from us.

"I have just been travelling through Germany and everywhere I heard our comrades complaining about the end of the Anti-Socialist Law. It was, they say, far more fun fighting the police. No police, no government could ever get the better of fighters like that. With these words I declare the Congress closed.

"Long live the international proletariat!"

¹ This refers to the first ballot in the French parliamentary elections.

of the population, working men and all, speak French. Now this was not the case before the annexation. Since the railways were opened, the French language began to spread in the country districts, but even now the French they speak is to a great extent of their own manufacture. But anyhow it is French, and shows what the people want. When the annexation took place, I once said to Mohr: the consequence of all these attempts at re-germanisation will be that more French will be spoken in Alsace than ever before. And so it has turned out. The peasant and workman stuck to their German dialect as long as they were Frenchmen; now they do their utmost to shake it off and speak French instead.

Such arrant fools as these Prussians you never saw. They flattered the nobility and bourgeoisie who, they ought to have known, were hopelessly frenchified, and bullied the peasants and workmen who, at least in language, had retained some remnant of German nationality. The country is under the thumb of maires, gendarmes, tax-gatherers, appointed by the central government and mostly imported from abroad, who do as they like and live among themselves, separated from and detested by the people. All the old oppressive laws of the French Second Empire are scrupulously maintained and enforced, and sometimes even improved upon by old ordinances dating from the ancien régime and unearthed by learned functionaries who have discovered that the revolution has forgotten to state expressly that they are repealed! However, all the chicanery innate to Prussian officials, is imported and improved upon. The consequences are natural. When I asked my friend: then, evidently, if the French by some chance or other were to return, nine-tenths of the people would receive them with open arms, he said that was so.

In Strasburg the old bourgeoisie keep quite to themselves and do not mix in any way with the intruders. With the rest of the people, Bebel is very popular; wherever he

was recognised; they came to the shop doors and saluted him. You may be sure he will bring the state of things in Alsace before the Reichstag in a fashion different from that of those asses of protestataires who seem to rejoice in every fresh measure of oppression, for fear the people *might* get reconciled with the new régime, and who consequently have lost the best part of their hold on the population. In this case as in every other, it will turn out that our Party is the only one that can and will do what is really wanted.

(This moment telegram from Roubaix to Greulich's house that Guesde is elected.¹ Hurrah! Hope to hear this afternoon about Paul's victory.)

As to the Congress, it was a pity that our people had not at least 5-6 men here.² The one effect has been obtained: Blanquists and Allemanists have made themselves eternally ridiculous and contemptible devant le monde socialiste.³ But now *this falls on French socialism generally*; now the other speak simply of "the French", and that is very unlucky indeed. Had there been even a small minority of Marxists, that would not be the case. But if you find in English and continental socialist papers the French Socialists treated as a set of chaps who do not know their own minds for two minutes together, and who will vote by acclamation the greatest piece of nonsense if thereby they think they can aggravate "les Allemands", you need not be astonished. I have heard Swiss Socialists (and the

¹ Guesde was returned at Roubaix in the first ballot by 6,887 votes to 2,138 for the Moderate Republican Deschamps and 4,403 for the Catholic worker Vienne.

² The French delegation to the Zürich International Congress consisted of 41 members. Only two of them (Bonnet and Bonnier) represented the French Workers' Party. The rest represented the Possibilists (Allemane), the Independent Socialists (Jaclard), or were people of very vague political orientation, such as Argyriadès, Arndt and Veher. The Blanquists had two representatives (Degay and Rémy). The delegation distinguished itself by its inconsistent voting and by its majority opposition to Bebel's theses.

³ In the eyes of the socialist world.—Tr.

German Swiss have very strong *French* sympathies) declare that now it was evident that chauvinism was ineradicable in the French mind, and I had to tell them what things—gall and wormwood to every Chauvin—I had been able to say in French in your Almanac,¹ without any bad results anywhere. So you see the fiasco of these spouters falls upon all France, our people included. And Jaclard with his peevish articles in *Justice*² makes it worse still. Well, I hope the elections will put us in a position to show to all Europe that Jaclard and Allemane ne sont pas la France.³ And yet I believe Jaclard voted in very many cases with Bonnier and the small vanishing minority.

The women were splendidly represented. Besides Louise, Austria sent little Dvorzak, a charming little girl in every respect; I fell quite in love with her and whenever Labriola gave me a chance, eloped with her from the entanglements of his ponderous conversation. These Viennoises sont des Parisiennes-nées, mais des Parisiennes d'il y a 50 ans.⁴ Regular grisettes. Then the Russian women! there were four or five with wonderfully beautiful leuchtende Augen,⁵ and there were besides Vera Zasulitch and Anna Kulischoff. Then Clara Zetkin with her enormous capacity for work and her slightly hysterical enthusiasm, but I like her very much. She has ascended the Glärnisch, a mountain full of glaciers, a very severe effort for a woman of her

¹ Engels refers here to the article "Socialism in Germany" which he had written for the *Almanach du Parti ouvrier pour 1892* (see letters 454 and 457).

² Jaclard who was a delegate to the Zürich Congress published a series of articles in *La Justice* of August 11th, 13th, 15th and 18th, 1893, under the title "The Zürich International Socialist Congress". The keynote was hostility to Germany and the Germans who were accused of having reduced the scope of the Congress by voting for the exclusion of the anarchists.

³ Are not France.—*Tr.*

⁴ Viennese women are born Parisians, but the Parisians of 50 years ago.—*Tr.*

⁵ Shining eyes.—*Tr.*

constitution. Altogether I had the happy lot to fall from the arms of one into those of the next and so on; Bebel got quite jealous—he, the man of the “Frau”,¹ thought he alone was entitled to their kisses!

Now I leave a bit of room for this afternoon’s news. The Beust boys wish to be remembered. Louise is in Austria, Bebel and Bernstein are still here. *By 4th Sept.* Bebel and I are off to Vienna; up to then the above address holds good.

Good luck to Paul!

Ever your old

GENERAL

4. p.m. News that Paul is en ballottage—please say how the chances stand—and that Ferroul is beaten, and Jourde in ballot.² A few lines on the results generally will be gladly received as the bourgeois papers are not to be trusted.

533. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

Zürich, 31 Aug. 1893

My dear Löhr,

Thanks for your letter and the papers which came to hand yesterday. I had been for 6 days in the Berner Oberland with August and St. Mendelson—fine weather and splendid scenery. The Jungfrau had put on an extra clear white night-dress for us. Jungfrau, Mont Blanc

¹ An allusion to Bebel’s well-known work *Woman and Socialism*, published in 1878, which was in its 19th edition in 1893.

² In the second constituency in Lille Lafargue had polled 4,745 votes and reached the second ballot. In the third constituency in Bordeaux Jourde (who was elected in the second ballot with 6,854 votes) had polled 6,254 votes, whilst at Narbonne Ferroul had polled 4,092 and was defeated. According to *Le Socialiste* of August 26th the Socialists polled 246,660 votes in the first ballot, which won them four seats and 17 candidates in the second ballot.

and Monte Rosa are the three finest *massifs* of the whole Alps.

Yesterday we were on the Uetliberg, a hill close to Zürich with a fine though rather distant view of the snowy chain. When, after 1870, old Thiers was here with his lot, he at once explained the whole to them; pointing at the Glärnisch (due South East of the Uetli), he said that was the Mont Blanc. The landlord of the hôtel at the top, a perfect connoisseur of the whole range, ventured to suggest that this was the Glärnisch, and that the Mont Blanc was in a nearly opposite direction, and invisible from that point—but the little man replied: Monsieur, je suis Adolphe Thiers, et je dois savoir cela! C'est bien là le Mont Blanc!¹

I am glad you consider the result of the elections of the 20th a victory. Let us hope this will be confirmed next Sunday by the return of Paul and Delcluze besides some others. Otherwise I am afraid our Party will not be able to play the part in the Palais Bourbon which I and many others wish it to play. If we have 8-10 men there, they will form a nucleus strong enough to force the Blanquists, Possibilists and Independent Socialists to group themselves around it and thus to prepare a united party. But if we are only 3 or 4, the other fractions will each be about as strong, and unification will not only be more difficult, but also have more of the character of a compromise. Therefore I hope we may enter the Palais Bourbon in full force.

I hope the *Socialiste* will not bring Guesde's letter² to

¹ Sir, I am Adolphe Thiers and I should know! I can assure you that is Mont Blanc.—*Tr.*

² Guesde's letter of thanks to the electors of Roubaix had already been published in *Le Socialiste* of August 26th, 1893 (p. 2/VI). It opened with these words: "Sunday's election was a genuine revolution, the start of the revolution which will make free men of you." Further on he said: "Thanks to Roubaix which, by introducing socialism into the Palais Bourbon as it has already introduced it into the Town Hall and into the cantonal and departmental councils, has become the *model township*, I had almost said the *sainted city*, for proletarians everywhere."

his electors. Whatever may be thought of it in France, outside the border it would sound simply grotesque. To declare his election a revolution by which socialism *fait son entrée* au Palais Bourbon,¹ and from which a new era dates for the world in general, is coming it rather too strong for ordinary mortals.

I enclose a German five mark note, to enable you to telegraph to us the result of the polls next Sunday. August and I are leaving here on Monday morning for Munich and shall stay there over Tuesday. Now by Monday evening or Tuesday morning at latest we suppose you will have all the results as far as they interest us. As soon as you can, but not later than Tuesday afternoon, please *telegraph the names of our men and the places for which they have been returned*, and if the money goes so far, any further information of interest. The telegram to be addressed in German:

Bebel, Hotel Deutscher Kaiser, Munich;

but the rest had perhaps better be in French, so as to secure correct sending off.

On Tuesday evening or Wednesday we shall go on to Salzburg, thence to Vienna where we stay for a few days, and then to Berlin. If you will be good enough to send some further information by letter to Vienna (where it can be used for the *Arbeiterzeitung*), please address to Frau L. Kautsky, Hirschengasse 46, Oberdöbling, Vienna, Austria. (An inner cover is unnecessary as she will know it is for me.)

And now good luck to all our candidates and to Paul especially! I put little trust in the promises of opportunists, but I hope that in *his* case they may turn out true for once.²

¹ *Makes its bow* at the Palais Bourbon.—*Tr.*

² See Letter 534.

What benefit has the Millerand-Jaurès alliance brought to us in this campaign? I am utterly unable here to form a judgement.

Love from yours ever,

F. E.

534. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN VIENNA

Le Perreux, 5. IX. 93

My dear Engels,

I have lost with 6,256 votes to 8,259: in the first as in the second ballot I had a majority in the town of Lille, it was the votes of the 16 rural areas which gave my opponent the majority. In the Haubourdin district I polled 1,341 votes in the first and 2,267 in the second ballot, Loyer got 4,039 in the first and 4,370 in the second.

An influential opportunist, Dron, was in the same situation at Tourcoing; he needed 3,701 socialist votes to defeat his reactionary opponent, as I needed 3,523 opportunist votes to beat the reactionary, Loyer. If ever there was a case for applying the famous republican discipline, this was it; thus it was agreed on both sides that we should make common cause to defeat clerical reaction. All our people in Tourcoing voted for Dron; whereas the Lille opportunists abstained; or voted for Loyer. Dron was returned and I was beaten.

My opponent spent, it is estimated, 200,000 francs on his electioneering: dispensing food, drink, money, promises of money if he got in, etc., etc., in short, he resorted to every corrupt practice forbidden by law. We are going to try to get his election annulled. Every slander was employed: the 2,500 francs contributed by the Germans was made much of, I was accused of being in the pay of the German Government; it's stupid, but that still has an effect, so it would be better if in future the Social-Democrats did not send us money.

All our candidates in the Nord were beaten (Marliot at Cambrai, Roussel at Fourmies, Moché at Douai and Ghesquière at Lille¹), but they polled 27,540 votes. The reactionaries and opportunists united against the Socialists. It is a defeat, but a glorious one, full of promise for the future.

We have won successes elsewhere. Chauvin in the Seine returned with 5,183 votes. Allier: Thivrier, 8,880 and Sauvagnet, 6,449. Côte d'Or: Pierre Vaux, 7,395. Gironde: Jourde, 6,854. Pas-de-Calais: Delcluze beaten with 5,847 votes. The town of Calais gave him an overwhelming majority, 5,006 votes; it was the rural districts which gave the majority to the reactionaries.

Vaillant was returned in Paris with a splendid majority (7,353 votes).

The outcome of the election is the victory of opportunism, all of whose leaders, even the most compromised, were re-elected with a large number of votes. The rout of the government radical party which has lost its leaders (Clemenceau, Floquet, Maujan, etc.) and of the reactionary party, the number of whose members have been considerably reduced and decapitated by the removal of Pion, Mun, Cassagnac, etc., represents a success for the Radical Socialists and the Socialists who are returned in strength.²

Bon voyage and kind regards,

PAUL LAFARGUE

He is *beaten* but not STONED—but I'll tell you about that...

LÖHR

¹ At Cambrai (2nd) Marliot polled 8,698 votes (6,921 in the first ballot); at Avesnes (1st), F. Roussel polled 4,643 to 3,510 in the first ballot; at Douai (1st), Moché lost with 3,870 votes (3,563 in the first ballot) and at Lille (3rd), Ghesquière got in with 4,073 votes (2,957 in the first ballot).

² *Le Socialiste* of September 2nd, 1893, counted 8 Socialists elected in the second ballot. The Party had put up candidates in 20 constituencies and polled 110,000 votes, or 27,000 more than in the first ballot.

What benefit has the Millerand-Jaurès alliance brought to us in this campaign? I am utterly unable here to form a judgement.

Love from yours ever,

F. E.

534. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN VIENNA

Le Perreux, 5. IX. 93

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Bon voyage and kind regards,

PAUL LAFARGUE

He is *beaten* but not STONED—but I'll tell you about that. . .

LÖHR

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535. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

*Berlin W., den 18. September 1893
Grossgörschen-Strasse 22a*

My dear Löhrr,

Enfin!¹ Arrived here Saturday night, after 6 days in Vienna and 1 in Prague (where we met your old adorer Rudolf Meyer). Vienna is an extremely beautiful town, with glorious boulevard (Ringstrasse), and the immense square between Rathaus and—vis-à-vis—new Burgtheater, with Parliament to the right and University to the left, is unequalled in the world. But Vienna is too big for its people, they are only beginning to *learn* the use of these boulevards; in about 10 years everything will be ten times finer, because 10 times more alive with people.

Altogether the Continent has undergone a complete revolution since I last saw it. Everywhere life, activity, development, compared to which England appears stationary. Of Berlin I have not seen much (not a square foot as yet of the Berlin I left in 1842, as what I have seen so far, is all new addition) but it is indeed externally splendid, though, I fear, internally full of discomfort. Bebel (where Louise and I are staying) has a very pretty and comfortable floor, but Library² where we spent last evening lives in a set of apartments so awfully arranged by the builder that it horrified me. Here in Berlin they have invented the "Berliner Zimmer", a room with hardly a trace of a window, and that is where the Berliners spend almost all their time. To the front is the dining-room (best, reserved for swell occasions) and the salon (even more select and reserved), then the "Berliner" Spelunke³; next a dark corridor, a few bedrooms donnant sur la cour,⁴ and a kitchen.

¹ At last!—*Tr.*

² This was Liebknecht's nickname in London.

³ (Squalid hole.—*Tr.*) This refers to the "Berlin living room" mentioned above.

⁴ Overlooking the courtyard.—*Tr.*

A sprawling unhomely arrangement, specifically *Berlinerisch* (that is *bourgeois berlinerisch*): show and even splendour in front, darkness, discomfort and bad arrangement behind, the front for show only, the discomfort to be lived in. At all events that is my impression *at present*; let us hope it may get mended.

Yesterday we were in the Freie Volksbühne—the Lessing Theater, one of the nicest and best of Berlin had been hired for the occasion. The seats are drawn for as in a lottery by the subscribers and you see working men and girls in the stalls and boxes, while bourgeois may be relegated to the gods. The public is of an attention, a devotion, I might say, an enthusiasm *sans égal*.¹ Not a sign of applause until the curtain falls—then a veritable storm. But in pathetic scenes—torrents of tears. No wonder the actors prefer this public to any other. The piece was rather good and the acting far superior to what I had expected. The *Kleinbürgerei*² of old has disappeared from the German stage, both in the acting and in the character of the pieces. I will send you a short review of the latter.

In Vienna I had to appear twice before the “party”³! I am quite enchanted with them. As lively and as sanguine as the French, but slightly more solid. The women especially are charming and enthusiastic; they work very hard, thanks, to a very great extent, to Louise. Adler has done wonders; the tact, the constant vigilance and activity, with which he holds the party together (not an easy thing with such lively people as the Viennese), are beyond praise, and if you consider moreover the difficulties of his private po-

¹ Without its equal.—*Tr.*

² Provincialism.—*Tr.*

³ On September 11th, 1893, a celebration was organised in honour of Engels and Bebel in the Saal zu den drei Engeln attended by 600 people. On September 14th, a meeting was organised at the Dreher Halle to which, according to the police, 2,000 people came and at which Engels spoke. His speech, published by the *Arbeiter Zeitung* on September 22nd, 1893, can be found in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1, pp. 74-75. On September 22nd Engels spoke at a Social-Democratic meeting in Berlin.

sition—a wife ill with nervous ailments, three children and interminable pecuniary difficulties arising therefrom—it is almost inconceivable how he can keep his head above water. And these Austrians—a mixture of all races, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic—are far less manageable than our North Germans.

Library looks very well, collecting the elements of a paunch; his wife made a Bowle for us with wine and fruit; there was a rather numerous company. He lives au quatrième¹ and outside Berlin proper, in Charlottenburg, but his apartment costs him some 1,800 Marks = 2,250 fr.

As to your elections I hope Paul's hopes may be verified. As most of the men elected are utterly unknown to me, I have no means to form a judgement. Vaillant's letter in the *Petite Rép[ublique] Fr[ançaise]* looks promising²; let us hope that circumstances may tend to keep him in the right direction. If *our 12 men* are really *ours* and not like Thivrier and Lachize, then a good nucleus may be formed.

When we came to Prague, there was the little état de siège³ in force there. *Nobody in our hotel ever thought of asking for our names!* Voilà ce que c'est que l'Autriche: Despotismus gemildert durch Schlamperei.⁴

Amitiés à Paul. Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

Louise, Bebel und Frau grüssen euch beide herzlichst.⁵ Your copy of Paul's article and Paul's letter we gave to Adler who used them for his very good article in the *A[rbeiter] Z[eitung]*.

¹ On the fourth floor.—*Tr.*

² *La Petite République Française* published a short article by Edouard Vaillant on September 10th, 1893, called: "Socialist Unity" (p. 1/I). The author stressed the necessity for all the socialist deputies to unite regardless of their schools of thought.

³ State of siege.—*Tr.*

⁴ That's Austria all over: despotism mitigated by slovenliness.—*Tr.*

⁵ Louise, Bebel and his wife send you both warmest greetings.—*Tr.*

536. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 10. X. 93

My dear Engels,

Our congress,¹ after lasting three days, with three sessions a day, ended its deliberations yesterday at midnight by singing the *Internationale*, as a protest against the jingoist campaign for the Russian alliance.² It consisted of more than 90 delegates, of whom some 80 came from the provinces, representing over 100 towns or communes.

The winning of the rural areas is the Socialists' main objective, even though the towns are far from being won; but there at least propaganda is more or less well organised, whereas in the countryside it has still to be created. So we had to acquaint ourselves with the effect of the Marseilles agrarian programme. All the delegates who had taken part in the rural election campaign stated that this programme was the best means for imbuing the peasants' minds with socialism; but everyone proposed so many additions that it would have made a weighty pamphlet. The congress decided to refer these back for the consideration of the next congress, which will be specially devoted to the agrarian question and will be held at Nantes, in the heart of the Chouan country, where the Republic is still not accepted, but where rural socialism is making headway: quite a number of communes in the Loire-Inférieure were represented at the congress. In Brittany there are still feudal types of land tenure to be found which the bourgeois landowners are trying to abolish. In the countryside round Nantes, the land belongs to a landowner and to the farmer: they share the produce between them. The landowners want to do away with the peasant's rights to the land, as

¹ The Eleventh National Congress of the Workers' Party was held in Paris from October 7th to 9th, 1893.

² The Russian fleet was due to anchor at Toulon for a few days and this event let loose a flood of enthusiasm for the Franco-Russian alliance in the Right-wing press.

he does not have the title deeds. The Nantes Socialists, who have a rich shipowner, Brunellière, at their head, taking advantage of this conflict, have organised the peasants in unions which centralise and co-ordinate their efforts; so far they have succeeded in deferring the expropriation of the peasants.

We waited for our congress to see how many deputies would turn up. There were five present: Jourde, Chauvin, Sauvanet (from Allier), Pierre Vaux (of Dijon) and Guesde; Salis (of Cette) sent apologies for absence owing to illness. Many candidates had adopted the programme and ticket of the Workers' Party to get in, and as soon as they were elected decided to drop them; they were copying the Radicals who called themselves Socialists during the election campaign. It will always be like that so long as the Party cannot produce the necessary leading figures from its own ranks; at the present time we have more soldiers than officers; we have to take them from the highways and byways. In Germany it is the party which pays the deputies, which binds them to the party; here, they claim to give deputies a salary, which drives away those who are not strongly attached. At the regional congresses in Libourne, Lyons and Armentières,¹ it was resolved to levy a sum of 1,000 to 1,500 francs a year on deputies. But the Paris national congress decided to reject any form of levy and to leave each deputy to contribute what he could to the National Council's funds. This decision will win back the deputies who had fought shy of us for fear of having to contribute 1,000 francs a year.

The number of deputies affiliated is a side-issue: Guesde and Vaillant will lead the socialist fraction in the Chamber; they will reach an understanding, now that Vaillant

¹ The congress of the Gironde federation was held at Libourne on July 1st and 2nd and passed a resolution that all the successful candidates should contribute a ninth part of their parliamentary salaries to the National Council's funds. This resolution, published in *Le Socialiste* on July 15th, was adopted by the regional congresses at Lyons and Armentières held on July 16th.

has crushed his former friend Granger, who has withdrawn from the fight.¹

In any case we are negotiating with a big paper manufacturer and a printer to start a paper. If we succeed we shall be masters of the situation.

Farewell.

PAUL LAFARGUE

537. FREDERICK ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, Oct. 13th, 1893

My dear Lafargue,

Is the Paris letter in to-day's *Vorwärts*² from you? This is why I am asking.

When I was in Berlin, Liebk[necht] said he was arranging to take you on as correspondent for *Vorwärts*, but that the money had still to be voted by the Party Committee; in the meantime he asked me to tell you that it was a matter of regular work, of letters to be sent at stated intervals, once a week or a fortnight, for example, something which so far he had not been able to get from his French correspondents. I promised I would write to you about it as soon as he let me know that the matter had been clinched between you two.

I used the opportunity to reproach him for setting such store by any anti-Russian article of Vaillant's,³ which he

¹ Since 1889 there had been a split within the Central Revolutionary Committee. Granger and his friends had supported Rochefort, thus rallying to Boulangism. Returned as a deputy in 1889, Granger did not stand again in 1893, on the grounds that he was retiring from political life.

² This refers to a correspondent's report: "The French Workers' Party Congress", with the date-line Paris, October 9th, published in *Vorwärts*, No. 240 on October 12th, 1893 (pp. 1/III-2/1).

³ *Vorwärts* published an article by Edouard Vaillant on September 21st, "Tsarism and Republicanism" (p. 1/I-II), with the date-line Paris, September 17th. It should be added that this article also appeared in *Le Socialiste* of September 23rd (p. 1/III-IV).

always faithfully reprints, whereas far more robust anti-Russian articles, published by *Le Socialiste* over a long period, have been passed over almost unnoticed by him. He apologised and promised to do better.

But he has not said a word about the matter of your correspondence, and he goes on translating and making much of Blanquist statements, even translating the *Chauvière*¹.

He has, moreover, reprinted an article by young *Arndt*,² although this chap voted all the time with Argyriades & Co. against the Germans at Zürich. And Arndt is on the Blanquist revolutionary C[entral] C[ommittee].

So as you see L[ie]bk[necht] leans very strongly towards the Blanquists. I cannot tell you why, I simply state the fact. Hence it is important that you should do everything, in despite of him, to maintain the position you have always held in relation to the German party: that of its main allies in France, who have first claim to be taken into consideration in relations between the German party and the French Socialists in general. And, to this end, you must be represented on *Vorwärts*, so that the Paris correspondence should be, at least to some extent, in your hands.

Of course the decision does not rest solely with the editorial board. The Executive Committee has something to say. And I am convinced that you will find support there, if it is needed. It goes without saying that I shall do my utmost to ensure the continuation of a close alliance between the German party and your party in France (which will not commit you to taking their money, that can always go to the Blanquists, if you don't want any

¹ Engels is referring here to an article by Chauvière, a regular contributor to *La Petite République Française*, which appeared in *Vorwärts* of October 10th under the heading "The Russian Plague in France" (p. 1/I-III).

² On September 20th, 1893, *Vorwärts* published a letter from Arndt (p. 2/II) defending Brousse.

more of it, as you say; they will be delighted to take it). So let me know how far you have got with L [ie] bk [necht] concerning your appointment as regular *Vorwärts* correspondent; and without delay, for, if there are difficulties, I must be able to take steps *before* the Cologne Congress on the 22nd of the month.

Going by *Le Socialiste*, I counted on our having twelve deputies.¹ It is true that, knowing no more than half of them even by name, I had my doubts about their reliability. But, according to your letter, you do not seem to know so far as half of them are concerned whether they are our people or not. Very unfortunate. With 12 sound chaps, led by Guesde, we should soon have been able to compel the Blanquists, Allemanists, etc. to fall in with us. But if we can look to only half-a-dozen reliable people, we shall have to treat with these gentlemen on a more or less equal footing, in which case the old divisions may continue, or else, if there is unity, it will be achieved at the price of sacrifices in matters of principle.

Certainly Vaillant seems very much more sensible since his election than he was six months ago, but will he always be sure of a majority on his Central Committee? Or else, to make sure of it, may he not have to sacrifice his personal opinion on matters of substance to the prejudices of those silly conspirators?

It is sad that you were beaten at Lille. You sacrificed yourself for the party: instead of nursing your constituents by assiduous parliamentary activity, you travelled about and collected votes *for others*. But the fact remains we need you in the Chamber too; and I hope you will get the first vacant seat.

The new paper will not—like the last one—be advertised

¹ Giving the election results, *Le Socialiste* names the following as the successful party candidates: A. Boyer, Salis, J. Guesde and Jaurès (1st ballot); Chauvin, Charpentier, Jourde, Pierre Vaux, Masson, Couturier, Thivrier and Sauvanet (2nd ballot).

"to appear in October", I hope?¹ Will not *La Petite Rép[ublique] Fr[ançaise]* bar the way?² This is another outcome of the Millerand-Goblet alliance; you gave them far more help than they gave you in return. It's one thing for Millerand, but Goblet! an ex-Minister and candidate for the premiership!

To-morrow I shall write a few words to Laura *on business*—I cannot manage it to-day, I have been interrupted all the afternoon and it is now past 5 o'clock. In the meantime, kiss her for me.

Greetings from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. E.

538. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 14 Oct. 1893

My dear Löhr,

I have received 3 copies of the French *Origine de la Famille*,³ etc. To my surprise the words "entièrement revue par Mme Laura Lafargue"⁴ which were on the proof of the title, do not appear there now. Is this, as I suppose, a little treachery of Ravé? If so, I shall protest.

Voilà Fortin of Beauvais who informs me that he intends translating.

1. The *Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie*⁵ in the *Deutsch Franz[ösische] Jahrbücher* (by Mohr, 1844).

¹ In 1892 the Workers' Party had announced "*Le Socialiste*, a large-format daily paper, price one sou, to appear in October". Nothing came of the plan. (See letters 479, 485, 486, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 495.)

² At this period *La Petite République Française* opened its columns to representatives of all socialist tendencies.

³ The first French translation, by Ravé, of *The Origin of the Family* had just been published by Carré.

⁴ "Completely revised by Mme Laura Lafargue".—Tr.

⁵ Published by Martin Lawrence, London, 1935 under the title *The Jewish Question*.—Tr.

2. The 3 chapters Gewaltstheorie¹ of my *Anti-Dühring*.

I have absolutely no time to revise his work—and Nr 1 is immensely difficult. And rather than revise Fortin's work (which you know from experience), maybe you'd rather do the whole thing yourself. The first—Mohr's epigrammatic style—I consider him uncommonly unfit to render. Nobody but you could do that.

He intends publishing them in the *Ère nouvelle*.

What do you think I had better say to him?

Glorious victory in Austria.² Taaffe proposes an electoral law which is tantamount to universal suffrage at least in towns and industrial districts—so says Adler. Taaffe's policy is to break the power of the German Liberal Party (representing the German and Jewish bourgeoisie) and probably, too, to let as many Socialists replace Liberal Bourgeois as may be necessary to drive the other parties to a closer union and thus to give to him a working majority. The Lower House in Austria is composed of 85 representatives of the large landed proprietors, 21 of the Chambers of Commerce (these 106 are not affected by the new bill), 97 of the towns and 150 of the country districts (both of these will be elected according to the new bill).

For the present the country districts will send about the same Catholic and Conservative members as hitherto, and the exclusion of analphabets will here considerably restrict the suffrage; but in the industrial centres of the West and North (Vorarlberg, Austria proper, Bohemia, Moravia, perhaps Steiermark) the new bill will practically establish a very near approach to universal suffrage. It is calculated by bourgeois papers that the number of votes will be

¹ The force theory.—*Tr.*

² From the beginning of August, the Austrian Social-Democrats had launched a great campaign for the introduction of universal suffrage. On October 10th at the opening of the Diet Count Taaffe tabled a bill for electoral reform which, though it still meant a limited suffrage, represented a great victory for Social-Democracy. It was the first concession won by any popular movement from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy since 1848.

5,200,000 instead of 1,770,000, and the number of socialist seats are estimated at from 20 to 60! Give us 20 to 24 (this is the number of signatures required for a motion to be discussed) and we shall upset the whole of this old-fashioned assembly. It is a complete revolution; our people in Vienna are jubilant, although of course they insist upon *full* universal suffrage, direct elections, and abolition of the 106 privileged members.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. E.

539. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Saturday evening, 14 Oct. 93

My dear General,

The letter in the *Vorwärts*¹ is not by Paul. Some four or five weeks ago Paul wrote to Liebknecht, offering to send him regular contributions on French matters. Up to the present Liebknecht, who of course is very busy, has made no answer. Paul gave up contributing to the paper first in Guesde's, and afterwards, in Frankel's, favour. But what with Frankel's somewhat confused letters and Arndt's imbecilities, not to speak of sundry one-sided paragraphs sent in by I don't know whom, the readers of the *Vorwärts* must necessarily be perplexed and bewildered with regard to French affairs.

The 12 deputies are "des nôtres"² only in as much as they have been elected on our Programme, but a few of the men may have accepted the programme solely with a view to getting returned and for no other reason. Of the dozen, you know Guesde, Jourde, Jaurès and Chauvin (of the Agglomération parisienne). Sauvanet has only quite recently adhered to the party; Vaux, elected on sentimental grounds,

¹ See Letter 537.

² "Our people".—*Tr.*

is not reliable. Boyer is no good and Thivrier is an imbecile. It remains to be seen whether Salis, an ex-radical, Masson, Couturier and Charpentier will "follow their leader". It is certainly unfortunate that Paul, Ferroul, Delcluze should have been defeated. But there are other members of the party, who polled a considerable number of votes and who are men of talent and conviction and greatly superior to most of the twelve who have been returned. For example, Brunellière at Nantes, Farjat at Lyons, Ghesquièrre at Lille, Pédron at Troyes, etc., etc.

It is quite true that Millerand has been supported by our people: at Lyons and at Reims not long ago he was "engueulé"¹ by the workers and at Lille he was received very coldly until our Party took him up. But Millerand, in search of the popularity indispensable to the rôle he wants to play, has, in his turn, rendered us signal service by winning over a lot of small bourgeois who had hitherto held aloof and who looked upon Guesde and Paul and their disciples as devils incarnate.

As for Goblet, who calls himself a *radical-socialiste pur*, whatever that may mean, I don't think that our Party has done much for him.—The *Petite République* which is momentarily successful, owing to the strike in the Pas-de-Calais,² is not likely to prove dangerous, the editors of the paper having exhausted their funds. Of our own will o' the wisp it is much too early in the day to speak.

Paul, my dear General, has never neglected Lille, that gave him a majority, and had there been time to "travailler"³ the rural communes, Loyer, despite all bribery and corruption, would probably have bitten the dust.

¹ Shouted down.—*Tr.*

² On September 18th, 1893, the Pas-de-Calais miners came out on strike, the mining companies having rejected the claims put forward by the Union under the leadership of Basly, which included amongst other things an increase of wages. *La Petite République* reported the miners' struggle from start to finish, sent one of its reporters, A. Goullé, to Lens and opened a strike-fund.

³ Work on.—*Tr.*

Sunday afternoon.

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th¹ and I have just time to thank you for it. To-night, *if nobody else* (there are friends and comrades below) *drops in* between this and bed-time I will answer it.

Meantime my love to you and to Louise.

YOUR LÖHR

540. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Monday [16th Oct. 93]

My dear General,

I was unable to write to you this morning, having had to go to Paris.

Ravé is wholly innocent of the disappearance of my name from the title-page of your book; indeed, he had all along insisted on its figuring there, TOUT AU MOINS² (you know how partial he is to the *tout au moins*) as the reviser of the translation. I deleted the name myself, not thinking it necessary, for having once in a way been able to render you so slight a service, to proclaim it from the house-tops. As you were tolerably satisfied with my work, I was more than rewarded for it.

With regard to the translation of *Die Kritik* etc., and the chapters from your *Anti-Dühring*, I have in the first place to thank you for thinking of me. As I am in the habit of keeping in the background, I am very apt to be overlooked and forgotten. But you have, at all times, extended to his daughters the noble friendship you had, and have, for Mohr!

Die Kritik I cannot undertake to translate, having never read the same and not being quite as foolhardy as Fortin.

¹ This is probably an error for the 14th.

² At any rate.—*Tr.*

Passages from your *Umwälzung*¹ I asked and obtained your permission to translate when I was last with you in dirty but dear London. So that you need only inform Fortin of the fact.

As I am at present doing your *Feuerbach*, I should not like to go in for *Dühring* at once, but all that, need I say, shall be as you wish.

I forgot to say in my last that it was understood that Paul's contributions to the *Vorwärts* should be paid. You know, my dear General, how few are our chances and how inferior is our ability to earn money.

YOUR LÖHR

Love to Louise.

541. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 18 Oct. 93

My dear Löhr,

Lieb knecht informs me that the honorarium for Paul's letters having to be voted by the Parteivorstand,² he is as yet not in a position to reply. This is excusable. When we left Berlin, the Parteivorstand was overwhelmed with very important business; then Liebk[necht] and Bebel had to leave for agitating tournées³ in Saxony where to-morrow the elections for the Saxon Landtag⁴ take place. Immediately upon that follows the Cologne Parteitag,⁵ again taking the members of the Vorstand away from their regular activity.

¹ (*Revolution.—Tr.*) This refers to *Anti-Dühring* (Herr Eugen Dühring's *Revolution in Science*).

² Party Executive Committee.—*Tr.*

³ Rounds of meetings.—*Tr.*

⁴ Diet.—*Tr.*

⁵ Party congress.—*Tr.*

Talking of the Parteitag at Cologne, Bonnier writes to say: il est possible que nous n'irons pas à Cologne, n'ayant pas reçu d'adresse du parti allemand.¹ The address is every day in the *Vorwärts*: "Das Central-Empfangsbureau befindet sich: Hotel Durst (nomen est omen!), früher Gasthof zur Post, Marzellenstr. 5, in der Nähe des Centralbahnhofs und des Doms."² The address of the paper *Rheinische Zeitung* is Grosser Griechenmarkt 115.

To Fortin I write saying that he has to keep his hands off *Dühring*, and that the article of Mohr's is almost impossible to be translated, and moreover that I cannot undertake to revise his work. I told him *you* were, "in possession" of *Dühring* and that you had revised Ravé! I further told him you did not know the article of Mohr, perhaps he might let you have his copy to look it over; but nothing more; no hopes that you would or *might* do the work of revision for him.

I am very sorry you deleted your name from that title-page. It would have been a capital handle to work in connection with getting publishers, and *paying ones*, for your other translations. You have no business to be ashamed of your own good work, or to allow Ravé to adorn himself with other birds' feathers. There is no reason whatever for you to "keep in the background". And this kind of work nowadays ought to bring in money to you—surely *Ravé* is paid, and paid handsomely for his bad work which has to be licked into decent shape by you—and I do not see why you should not reap where you have sown.

Love from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

¹ We may not go to Cologne, not having received the address of the German Party.—*Tr.*

² The Central Reception Office is at: Hotel Durst (thirst—the name is an omen!)—formerly Gasthof zur Post, Marzellenstrasse 5, near the central railway station and the Cathedral.—*Tr.*

542. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 27 Oct. 93

My dear Löhr,

Though Fortin is a business man, yet with the help of a Roumanian (with business habits partly of the Polish Jew, partly of the spendthrift boyar) he succeeds in creating a very fair muddle.

I wrote to F[ortin] that you did not know the *Kritik der Rechtsphil[osophie]*, but if he thought proper, he *might send you his copy of the D[deutsch]-F[rantzösische] Jahrbücher* so that you might read it and form an idea as to the advisability—both as to contents and to form—of its being submitted to the French working people. Diamandy, in his eagerness to get stuff for his review, rushes at you and transforms moreover the one article into *plusieurs*¹ (business principle of the Polish Jew, to ask much so as to be able to rebate, as for instance:

— Was kostet die Elle von dem Stoff?

— Fünfzehn Groschen.

— Fünfzehn sagt er, zwölf einen halben meint er, zehn wird er nehmen, sieben und einen halben ist die Sache werth, fünf möcht ich ihm geben, werd' ich ihm bieten zwei und einen halben Groschen!²)

Voilà ce que c'est.³ Let F[ortin] first send you his copy and then you will see what you will see.

As to the Gewaltstheorie, not a line in Fortin's letter led me to conclude that the thing had *been* already *done* and I don't believe it either. To make you believe that you are

¹ Several.—Tr.

² "How much is a yard of that stuff?"

"Fifteen pence."

"He says fifteen, he means twelve-and-a-half, he would take ten, the thing's worth seven-and-a-half, I'd be prepared to give him five, so I'll offer him tuppence ha' penny!"—Tr.

³ This is the thing.—Tr.

en face d'un fait accompli, is another of these Oriental tricks which they consider perfectly justifiable in the service of the cause. You will never arrive at the facts, much less at any practical conclusion, until you have eliminated Diamandy and deal direct with Fortin.

Diamandy served me exactly the same with regard to the translation of the *Ursprung* for the *Ere nouvelle*.¹

I had a few lines from Bebel to-day about Paul's affair. The delay was caused by 1. the Saxon elections; 2. the Cologne Congress which prevented full meetings of the Executive, and overwhelmed them with business. As soon as both B[ebel] and L[iebke] shall have returned to Berlin, the matter will be settled. But B[ebel] says at the same time there is a great distrust of Paris correspondents of French nationality, as hitherto every one of them has ceased to write reports at the very moment when French affairs became highly interesting—they then looked after their own business and left the *Vorwärts* to shift for themselves. I shall do my best to persuade them that now Paul has no longer a free pass on the railways, this will cease as far as *he* is concerned, but I do hope that our Paris friends will at last learn to treat business as business and engagements as things to be fulfilled—at least *as a rule*.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

543. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 2. XI. 93

My dear Engels,

I am sending you Guillaumin's book² containing extracts from Marx and a highly fanciful critique by an Italian econ-

¹ See Letter 530 of July 20, 1893.

² The publisher Guillaumin had just brought out, as the first vol-

omist: they had to wait a long time to find such a block-head. Guillaumin invited a whole series of French and German economists to refute *Capital*, all of whom declined this rigorous task with alacrity: it needed an Italian to come to the rescue of outdated economics. Italy is very proud of the fact. For months past, before the publication of the extracts from *Capital*, there was talk of Vilfredo Pareto's refutation, it was published, and gave rise to counter-refutations, of which you will have seen a few in *Critica sociale*. In short, it was a great event. I have been approached by a Palermo publisher who wants to bring out the book; I made the condition that it should be translated by Martignetti; that will give us both a few hundred francs.

I wrote a dissertation on Marx which Guillaumin cut out; and the worst part is that he professes to have lost it. Now that the book is published I shall see whether he does not find it again, in which event I shall have it brought out in the Italian edition. In any case, I shall answer Vilfredo Pareto.¹

At the moment I am revising my *Évolution de la propriété*² for Carré who, having acquired the taste, wants to copy Sonnenschein and publish a series of books on social questions.

The Russians have left at last.³ What a frenzy of enthusiasm! It is estimated that a million and a half people came to Paris to witness the celebrations: at a minimum

ume of the Petite Bibliothèque économique française et étrangère (Little Library of French and Foreign Economics), Karl Marx: *Capital* Extracts compiled by M. Paul Lafargue. (See Letter 408, Vol. II, pp. 428-31.) The book included an introduction, intended as a refutation, by Vilfredo Pareto.

¹ The French edition of 1897 was merely a reprint of the first edition. But the reply to Vilfredo Pareto appeared in *L'Ère nouvelle* of October 1894 (No. 10, pp. 113-37) and was dated December 22nd, 1893. It also appeared in the Italian edition (Palermo 1895).

² See Engels' letter of April 3rd, 1895, on this matter.

³ The Russian fleet, which anchored at Toulon on October 13th, sailed on the 29th.

outlay of 20 francs a head, this makes 30 millions for the café owners, hotel and restaurant proprietors, fancy goods merchants, newspaper sellers and prostitutes to share between them. So there is no reason to be particularly surprised by this frenzy, which mainly demonstrates the crowd's enjoyment of a spectacle. A white elephant would probably have had the same effect. But the Russians should not rely too much upon it: it is the loan which they intend to float next February that will show them the real value of all this cheering. No loan can be successful without the co-operation of the bankers: the financiers were not very much taken by the idea; a collection made in the Stock Exchange to organise a reception for the Russians amounted to only 150 francs. On the other hand, they say that Rothschild and the Tsar have come to terms; he was conceded the oil monopolies in South Russia which he has coveted for a long time; this will perhaps make Rothschild forget his semitism and put him at the service of his race enemy, R[othschild]'s opposition to the former loan caused its failure; his support, if he gives it, will make it succeed perhaps.

The Pas-de-Calais strike¹ is a proud introduction for the socialist group in the Chamber; the fact that it has lasted, to divert the public from the Russian abstraction² and hold public opinion at the present time, is thanks to the socialist deputies, who did not spare themselves. The intervention of socialist deputies in strikes will become a parliamentary custom; it is of tremendous importance, it raises up a new power to confront that of capitalist society and gives the class struggle represented by every strike a political significance.

¹ The Pas-de-Calais strike, which started on September 18th, ended on November 4th. All the socialist deputies took part in the agitation in the coal-fields.

² Lafargue must have meant "attraction".

Laura intends to write to you about Fortin and Diamandy.

Regards to Mme Louise.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

544. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, Nov. 19th, 93

My dear Lafargue,

Liebk[necht] will have written telling you that they want to take you on as correspondent for *Vorwärts* and the Hamburg *Echo*, one letter a week, identical and sent simultaneously to the two journals, but they want it in German and suggest that Laura should translate it.

Here is the reason why they want it in German, and it is a very important one. The two papers could publish the identical report *on the same day*, so that it would be an original article in each of them. If publication is not simultaneous, if one of the two papers prints it a day later, it will be suspected of having taken the article from the previous day's issue of the other, like so many other news items taken from that issue.

Now there might be someone in Hamburg who would translate you—don't ask me how!—but in Berlin! There L[ie]bk[necht] has established the custom of all translations being done by Mme L[ie]bknecht or by one of his sons. The manuscript goes to Charlottenburg and into L[ie]bk[necht]'s house and God alone knows when the translation reaches the newspaper office. So there would be perpetual delays and, what is worse, delays of unpredictable length.

Therefore, the possibility of using your letters for the two papers and paying you a correspondent's salary depends entirely on your letters being sent in German.

Furthermore this would safeguard you against editorial criticism; Bonnier tells me that L[ie]bk[necht] rather overdid it with Guesde, which is what finally sickened him. The Hamburg editorial board, being entirely independent and, what is more, not knowing what goes on in Berlin and *vice versa*, your articles would be printed without being cut by either the one or the other paper, or, which is most likely, by both.

The question now is, will Laura be willing to do the translation? I hope so; that would enable you to clinch the matter at once. I am sure that with a little practice she would write as well in German as in English and French.

But, if this fails, would there be no way of having the translation done? Is there nobody who, in consideration of a small share of your fees, would do this job for you? Let us say 10 francs a letter for the translation and two copies, which would leave you 40 francs a letter, and would still provide an incentive to the translator. What about Frankel? But perhaps he himself is a *Vorwärts* correspondent (I have no idea at all who provides the Paris letters which I see in it from time to time). Anyway, think about it and try to arrange something. You realise that our Berlin people are doing their utmost, try to facilitate the business for them. And don't forget that this will enable you to speak to 60-70,000 subscribers, i.e., at least 250,000 readers without counting the readers of other papers who borrow their articles from these two organs, the most important ones that our Party in Germany has.

In any case, make a start with *Vorwärts* and leave the arrangements for the *Echo* and the translation for later. But it would be wise not to lose time over it. And further: B[ebel] as well as L[iebknecht] insist upon a *regular* contribution which will give them the outstanding events and your reflections and reports on the general situation. One letter a week, and on a fixed day, determined by yourself (I do not think they will lay down the day for you).

My love to Laura from whom I am still awaiting
adamant and other news.

Greetings from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. E.

545. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*
(Fragment)

19th /Novbr/93

My dear General,

I have, up to date, received no answer from Fortin, to whom I had written, in reply to a letter of his, more than a fortnight ago. I had written to tell him that he would oblige me by lending me his copy of Mohr's article, so that I might read it before giving my opinion on the advisability of translating it. As for the extracts from your *Dühring*, I told him that I should be very glad to revise his work. I suppose that he is putting the finishing touches to his translation and that I shall hear from him ere long.

All of us and all things here are in the "sere and yellow leaf" and the leaves are on the ground, for our trees

*"Have got no hair on the top of their heads,
On the place where the wool ought to grow."*

It is very dismal and dirty out of doors and very damp and dark within.

The papers have been so infernally stupid of late that I have not sent you any, but they will be getting livelier and more readable with the opening of the Chamber. Several debates promise to be interesting: the interpellations anent the late strike, the Amnesty Question, etc. For the time being our M.P.s are wholly absorbed in the game of group-making. There are groups and demi-groups and

sub-groups and demi-semi sub-groups: there's no end of them, but they die as fast as they are born and most of them, like our own fated *Socialiste, pour paraître en Octobre*,¹ are less than still-born, for they are never born at all. Cluseret, among others, was dying to have his group (for a deputy is nothing if not the *head* of a group: for one thing, he can't become a chequard²), and went to work in the scurviest way to have it. He wrote a disgusting article in the *Petit Journal*,³ posing for his patriotism and attacking the German Socialists and their French friends scurrilously, appealing to the "Independents" to form a patriotic group with Cluseret for their *head*. But it was all labour lost. General Cluseret is like the last rose of summer, left blooming alone and as lonely as Robinson before he found his Friday.

Guesde, ever since the elections, is in a state of chronic exhilaration of spirits. He began, you remember, by canonising the town that had returned him: "Roubaix est la ville sainte"; avec lui, Guesde, "le socialisme est entré au Palais..."⁴

546. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 22/XI/93

My dear Engels,

No sooner received Bebel's and Liebknecht's letters last week than I set to work and I have sent the first letter to

¹ *Socialiste, to appear in October.*—Tr.

² Name given to those who had taken bribes.—Tr.

³ This refers to an article which appeared in *Le Petit Journal* on November 12th, 1893, under the heading "The Socialist Party" (pp. 1/V-2/I-II). In it Cluseret expressed violently anti-German sentiments and, after narrating his "recollections" of various German Socialists, including Marx, he attacked Vaillant and Guesde, whom he accused of obeying orders from the German Socialist, Singer.

⁴ "Roubaix is the holy city"; with him, Guesde, "socialism was introduced into the Palais (Bourbon)..."—Tr.

B[ebel].¹ Laura will not venture to undertake the translation and I know nobody who can do it in Paris. This is what I have proposed to B[ebel] and L[iebknacht]: the translation to be done in Berlin, to be set up and a pull to be sent to Hamburg so that the letter appears simultaneously in the two journals. I think that is agreed, for I have just had a postcard from L[iebknacht] saying that the letter must reach Charlottenburg on Sunday in order for the translation to be done. In the event of their being unable to do the translation in Berlin, could it not be done in Hamburg?

Bebel seems to doubt my regularity: what does he know about it? I have never been an accredited correspondent of *Vorwärts*. I simply sent a few reports occasionally. It was Guesde who was responsible for the work—which he failed to carry out regularly; he was probably annoyed at being unable to read his French in German. You may reassure him; L[iebknacht] will receive his letter every Sunday.

Thank you for the trouble you have taken to obtain this correspondence for me.

Laura is struggling with your *Feuerbach*.

Regards to Madame Louise.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

547. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 19 Dec. 93
122, Regent's Park Road
N.W.

My dear Löhner,

If I have not before replied to your letter of just a month ago, there were 2 causes for it: 1) because I was bound to

¹ *Vorwärts* of November 24th, 1893, published in its second Beilage (supplement) a Paris letter, signed Gallus, under the heading "The Re-assembly of the French Chamber."

finish, before Xmas, the final redaction¹ of Section I-IV of Vol. III,² so as to be able to go to press at once after the new year. That is now done. By Easter I hope to have the whole of the Ms. (2/3rds are still to be *finally* looked over) in the printer's hands, to be published in September. 2) Because I had submitted to Bebel another plan for the German translation, etc. of Paul's articles, and was waiting for a reply. Nothing however has come of it and so, *vogue la galère*³ on the present tack, which, as far as I can hear, has taken something like a final shape, and so it may be as well to leave things alone. L[ie.]bk[necht] is rather a queer customer to deal with in these matters of his redaction. We expect him here after the new year.

Now then, ein anderes Bild.⁴ Yesterday we forwarded to you a box with the pudding, Paul's cake, etc., grande vitesse⁵, to be there about Wednesday or Thursday—Continental Daily Parcels Express, carriage paid, which, we hope, will arrive safely and suit your tastes. Bonnier ought to have a slice of the pudding for he came in for the stirring and he did stir it with might and main. He is improving vastly, shaking off his Germanisms and becoming actually French. Some time ago I went over to Oxford for a day, to look at the place and also at poor old *Rote Wolff*⁶—your earliest admirer, for he admired you before you were 2 years old in Brussels. Poor devil, he is quite cracked again. He had written something about Bucher in the *Neue Zeit*,⁷ and since then whenever a Wolf or Wolff (and you know they are as plentiful as the Smiths and Jones's) is alluded to, he imagines that this is meant for

¹ *Editing.—Tr.*

² *Of Capital.*

³ *Let's chance it.—Tr.*

⁴ *A different story.—Tr.*

⁵ *Express.—Tr.*

⁶ This refers to Ferdinand Wolff, a member of the Communist League and an associate of Marx from 1846.

⁷ This article, called: "Bucher, Bismarck and von Poschinger", appeared in Nos. 42 and 43 of *Neue Zeit* (X. Jahrgang, II. Band). (Lothar Bucher—1817-1892—was a Prussian journalist.—*Tr.*)

him, and so he makes it out that there is a complete conspiracy to pretend that he does not know Latin—and you know, not to know Latin is the awfulest crime a man can be guilty of in Oxford. But is it not a melancholy irony of fate, that one of the most *spirituel*¹ of men should end his career in the belief that he is the Massmann,² not of a Heine, but of an imaginary conspiracy of second and third rate German literati! Then he is 81 years old—so, apart from other considerations, hardly any hope of recovery from this fixed idea which nobody can root out of his mind.

Your description of Guesde's elated status amused me very much. I had seen something of it from the pompous proclamations he had issued from his new Jerusalem of the North, and was only glad they were not noticed by the bourgeois press abroad; contrasted with the part played by the French delegation at Zürich, they might have served as groundwork for a lot of bad jokes. But le bon sens français quelquefois n'a pas le sens commun,³ and that is just the beauty of it. Look at the parti socialiste in the Chamber. How long ago is it that Clara Zetkin in the *Neue Zeit*⁴ made out 24 élus ± socialistes, and that of the 12 elected on the Marxist programme Paul did not know how many would turn up all right; and now, lo and behold, a parliamentary party of 54 socialist deputies which dashes into the majority like a brigade of cavalry, upsets one ministry⁵ and nearly dislocates another, until this victorious

¹ Witty.—Tr.

² Hans Ferdinand Massmann, in Heine's eyes the typical Teutonic professor, obsequious and boorish, was ridiculed by him in particular in a poem in *Romanzero*, *Unvollkommenheit*, to which Engels makes direct allusion here.

³ Sometimes French good sense has no common sense.—Tr.

⁴ The article, signed C.Z. and called "The French Elections", appeared in No. 52 of *Neue Zeit* (XI. Jahrgang, II. Band, pp. 779-89).

⁵ On November 25th the Dupuy government fell after a three-day debate which opened the parliamentary session. It was Jaurès who had replied to the statement of government policy. When the Casimir Périer government took office, the group of 54 deputies professing socialism led the fight against the new prime minister.

career is all of a sudden, by Vaillant's bomb,¹ changed into a concentration to the rear, and the new members of the majority deprived of all the idealistic delusions they had brought with them from the provinces and turned into docile panamitard opportunists.

Upon the whole I think this is rather useful to us. I cannot help imagining that amongst these 54 who have been many of them suddenly converted to what they call socialism, there cannot be that cohesion which is wanted for a serious fight. Let alone the old dissensions between the *real* old Socialists "de la veille" within the group, dissensions which it will take some time to overcome once for all. If this heterogeneous lot of 54 had been kept in the front rank of the Chamber for any length of time, it must either have split up, or else the old Radical wing—Mille-*rand* and Co.—must have become the determining element. As it is, time will be given to the various components of the group to make closer acquaintance with each other, to consolidate the group, and to eliminate, if necessary, one after another those elements which really have joined the group only by mistake. At all events, in the Dupuy-Casimir Pérrier campaign *Millerand* and *Jaurès* took the lead entirely, and that will never do in the long run, though I fully approve of *Guesde* and *Vaillant* having, so far, and under the present circumstances, kept in the background.

Paul's letters to the *Vorwärts* so far are very good, we look for them every week. And they are not *quite* so badly germanised as I have seen others done.

That *Feuerbach* must have given you a deal of trouble. But from what I have seen of your work, I feel certain you have "taken" all obstacles "flying", to use a bit of hunting language. Have you got a publisher for it?

¹ On December 9th the anarchist *Vaillant* threw a bomb in the midst of a session of the Chamber of Deputies. This led to the passing of the iniquitous laws on December 12th which were to be used mainly against the Socialists.

Will you accept the enclosed cheque £5.—for a Christmas box?

Louise is out shopping in a steady rain—that Christmas will cost her dear in colds and toothache.

Love from her and yours ever,

F. E.

Kind regards to Paul who, I suppose, is happy to be *out* of Parliament again.

1894

548. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, January 3, 94
122, Regent's Park Road
N. W.

My dear Lafargue,

Firstly, *all the compliments of the season** to Laura and you from Louise and myself.

And now for your disarmament plan. I saw the Vaillant motion in *Le Parti Socialiste*,¹ I did not have it from Laura. Neither this paper nor your letter tells me whether it has already been tabled or if that is still to come.

The Germans have been demanding for years that the standing army should be turned into a militia, this is repeated in all their Reichstag speeches on militarism, the army estimates, etc., repeated *ad nauseam*. I fail to see that the formal tabling of a Bill could add anything to it. Nevertheless, they will look into it.

As for the proposal to be made concerning a disarmament congress, that would be—like Vaillant's motion also—*a matter to be settled by a conference of delegates from*

¹ *Le Parti Socialiste*, the organ of the Revolutionary Central Committee, published in its issues Nos. 118, 119 and 120 (December 17th, 1893-January 7th, 1894) Edouard Vaillant's Bill on the abolition of the standing army. The terms of the Bill, in the name of the Guesdist deputies as well, were published in full in *Le Socialiste*, No. 174 on January 20th. 1894 (pp. 3-4).

the three parliaments: French, German and Italian. One delegate from each country would be enough. Any international action must have as a necessary premise a previous agreement both as to the basis and as to the form. It strikes me as inadmissible that one nationality should take the initiative publicly and then invite the others to fall in. The French, themselves pretty punctilious at times on matters of etiquette, should for their part observe democratic considerations. I shall not call the Germans' attention to this point, but I should not be surprised if this rather naïve invitation, to follow in the footsteps of the French party, which has only just got into Parliament and is made up of such diverse and in some respects such unknown elements, is not immediately accepted.

Now for the substance.

The Vaillant motion will be opposed by the military on the ground that militias on the Swiss model, possibly good enough for a mountainous country, lack the stability needed for a large army that has to acquit itself on every kind of terrain. And there they will be right. To build a good militia army the foundation must be laid by the athletic and military training of the young; so it's a thing which would take from five to eight years; you would not have this militia until about the end of the century. Therefore if there is to be a Bill against which the bourgeois and the military cannot raise valid objections, this fact must be taken into account.

That is what I tried to do in the articles which appeared last year in *Vorwärts*¹ and which I sent you. I am sending you a further copy to-day. Here I am proposing an international agreement for the reduction,—simultaneous and by stages to be agreed jointly in advance—of the period

¹ Engels had published a series of articles in *Vorwärts* from March 1st to 10th, 1893 (Nos. 51 to 56, 58 and 59) entitled "Can Europe Disarm?" The whole series was put out as a pamphlet, with an introduction by Engels, on March 28th, 1893, in Nuremberg.

of military service. To meet the usual prejudices as far as possible, I am proposing for a start a period of *two years'* enlistment, to be reduced as soon as possible to 18 months (two summers and the winter between), and then to one year and so on, until a class of young men have reached military age who shall have been through that athletic and military instruction which shall have fitted them to bear arms without further training. And then there would be a militia that would require no more than large-scale manoeuvres every 2 or 3 years to find its feet and to learn how to move in large formations.

Now that the two-year period is already generally recognised, one could demand 18 months at once, and reduction to 1 year in 2 or 3 years; during that time, the athletic and military training of young men between 15 and 18 could be set going, not forgetting that of boys between 10 and 15.

Vaillant's Bill has great need for revision by someone who knows what's what in military affairs, it contains things written in haste on which we could not stand up to serious argument. According to art. 9 (*all the children* of the country), the girls, too, are to be put through "all the evolutions of the infantry, cavalry and artillery", etc., etc.

I am sending a copy of my articles to Vaillant too.

Now then, if you could reach agreement with the Germans and the Italians for tabling a motion aimed at calling for a congress on disarmament and the transition—by simultaneous stages laid down in advance—to a militia system, that would be a splendid thing and have a big effect. But for mercy's sake don't spoil it by openly taking the initiative without preliminary consultation with the others. The conditions of internal policy as well as those governing each parliament are so different from each other that a certain manner of proceeding may be excellent for one country and utterly impossible or even disastrous in another.

The anarchist bomb will blow over in the same way as the famous 2,500 francs from the Germanis blew over.¹ It will have its effect in relation to the police; look at the Madrid verdict in the Muñoz affair,² where the police was also found guilty; and in France, the police is liable to be publicly implicated in the bomb outrages; if it escapes this time, it may congratulate itself. That pitcher has been going to the well too often, it's on the point of breaking.

I hope Laura has received her manuscript.³

Kiss Laura for me. Greetings from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

549. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

*London, March 6, 94
122, Regent's Park Road
N. W.*

My dear Lafargue,

.....⁴

I have just read Jaurès' and Guesde's speeches on the corn tariffs.⁵ I must say Jaurès' speech is astounding, and it seems to me regrettable that he was allowed to put forward his amendment in the name of the Party. I don't

¹ Following the 1893 parliamentary elections and Guesde's victory at Roubaix, the reactionary press had used the pretext of a contribution of 2,500 francs made by the German Social-Democratic Party to the electoral funds to attack the Socialists and accuse them of being German agents.

² The trial of anarchists in Madrid, in which Muñoz had been clearly exposed as an agent provocateur, ended by all the accused being sentenced to seven years' hard labour.

³ Two lines are crossed out here.

⁴ One line, crossed out in the letter, reads: "Herewith cheque for £20."

⁵ In the middle of February a debate took place in the Chamber on corn tariffs. In his speech, Jaurès defended a Bill tabled by the socialist group which proposed the setting up of a monopoly for grain imports to be administered by the State. Guesde, speaking later, had supported this point of view.

wish to speak of his proposal that the State should hold the price of corn at a minimum of 25 francs, which is out and out protectionism, and purely to the advantage of the big landowners into the bargain, since the small ones *have no corn to sell*, their produce not even sufficing for their own consumption. Guesde certainly said that, but *after* Léon Say, whereas we should have been the first to proclaim it loudly, instead of following in the footsteps of Mr. Say. And it was Jaurès' statement which prevented us.

But just take the proposal to make the State responsible for corn imports. J[aurès] wants to prevent speculation. So what does he do? He makes the government responsible for the purchase of foreign corn. The government is the executive committee of the *majority in the Chamber*, and the majority in the Chamber represents precisely these very speculators in corn, in shares, in government stocks, etc. It's like the last Chamber, where they made the Panamists responsible for the Panama investigation! And these Panamists, re-elected last August, are the people you want to make responsible for the suppression of speculation! It's not enough for you that they rob France by means of the annual Budget and the Stock Exchange—where at least they use their own capital and their own credit—you want to present them with several thousand millions and the national credit, so that they can clean out other people's pockets more thoroughly by means of *State socialism*!

Further, Jaurès fancies he has made an altogether new and unheard-of proposal. But the *petit-bourgeois* Socialists in the canton of Zürich got in first; for years past they have been asking for a State monopoly in the corn trade; *their* State, I may say, is a great deal more democratic than the French Republic, it can even treat itself to a chief of police who is a petit-bourgeois Socialist (Mr. Vogelsanger) and knows nothing of omnipotent chief commissioners; and, besides, it is so small that it can afford many absurdities which mean nothing there, whereas a great nation cannot go in for such puerilities with impunity.

Guesde's speech naturally suffered by having to support, at least for the sake of appearances, some of Jaurès' velivities. Fortunately his audience drew him into the field of general principles; that saved us; he was able to limit himself to touching lightly on Jaurès' motion. Speaking for myself, I should have preferred to see Guesde make his formal contributions independently of Jaurès and as the mouthpiece of our group. However, he did what he could.

All this is the upshot of the alliance with the ex-Radicals whom we are forced to endure. In the first place, why did Jaurès make promises to the radical voters which he knew he could not keep? A radical custom, but in no wise socialist and one that we should do well not to adopt. Then your Mr. Jaurès, this doctrinaire professor, who is nevertheless ignorant, above all, of political economy, and of essentially superficial talents, misuses his gift of the gab to push himself to the fore and pose as the mouthpiece of socialism, which he does not so much as understand. Otherwise he would never have dared to put forward *State socialism* which represents one of the *infantile diseases* of proletarian socialism, a disease which they went through in Germany, for example, more than a dozen years ago, under the regime of the Anti-Socialist Laws, *when that was the only form tolerated by the government* (and even protected by it). And even then only a negligible minority of the Party was caught in that snare for a short while; after the Wyden Congress¹ the whole thing petered out completely.

Ah, yes, but we have a republic in France, the ex-Radicals will say; it's quite another matter in our case, we can use the government to introduce socialist measures! A republic, in relation to the proletariat, differs from a monarchy only in that it is the *ready-made* political form for the future rule of the proletariat. You have the advantage

¹ From August 20th to 23rd, 1880, the German Social-Democratic Party had held a congress at Schloss Wyden, in Ossingen (Zürich). It was the first congress to be held after the Anti-Socialist Law came into force.

of us in that it is already in being; we, for our part, shall have to waste 24 hours creating it. But a republic, like any other form of government, is determined by what composes it; so long as it is the form of *bourgeois* rule, it is quite as hostile to us as any monarchy whatsoever (save in the *forms* of that hostility). Hence it is a gratuitous illusion to treat it as an essentially socialist form; to entrust it, whilst it is dominated by the bourgeoisie, with socialist tasks. We can wring concessions from it, but never look to it to carry out our job. Even if we were able to control it by a minority so strong that it could become a majority from one day to the next.¹

However, what's done can't be undone. There will be other opportunities when our people will be able to come to the fore and proclaim their own aims, by means of Bills.

So you were surprised by Louise's marriage?² It has been brewing for some months. Freyberger has left Vienna and given up a brilliant University career because they forbade him to enlighten the workers, in his lectures, on the social causes of their ills. So he came here, and he has found very good openings in the hospitals here. Once that was settled, there was no further reason for delaying the wedding. While waiting for his expectations to materialise he came to join his wife here. You can see that it is an entirely matriarchal marriage, the husband is his wife's *boarder**!

That reminds me of my own matriarchal studies and the translation of them that Laura was good enough to do. I hope she approved of the few small alterations I suggested, and that you have told her how charmed I was by the translation of that 3rd and 4th part. I kiss her *by your proxy**.

Yours very truly,

F. E.

¹ This paragraph was published in *Le Socialiste* on November 24th, 1900.

² This refers to Louise Kautsky who had divorced her first husband in 1888.

550. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 8. III. 94

My dear Engels,

You may well ask whether we were surprised by the great news we received from Eastbourne like a thunderbolt out of the blue: it is all very well for you not to be surprised; you had the perpetrators of this necessary catastrophe under your nose and could follow the progress of the disaster from day to day. At first we were worried, we feared that the turtle-doves would take wing from Regent's Park and leave you by yourself; but since, on the contrary, they are settling down in the *matriarchal* nest, as you say, so much the better. This is a case for saying all's well that ends well, if ever there were one. Give the lovers our best compliments: we wish them prosperity, much pleasure and few children.

It was not we who helped Jaurès to take the place he occupies, he takes it entirely on his own; he is one of the speakers who commands the most attention in the Chamber. So far his behaviour has not been harmful, on the contrary, it has been good, for his way of presenting socialism gives it a hearing in circles which we could not penetrate; in addition, he is a University professor and a former Under-Secretary of State, all of which lends an air of respectability to socialism in the eyes of the bourgeois. Jaurès and Millerand are at the moment the two Socialists whom the Liberals most fear. One day, perhaps, they may become dangerous; but that would mean that socialism is so powerful that they would not be able to do it much harm.

You will have seen that at Marseilles¹ the dismissed

¹ Parliamentary by-elections had been held in Marseilles. In the first ballot Carnaud, the Socialist, polled 4,923 votes, which was 800 more than Chanot, Peytral's protégé. In the second ballot, on March 4th, he headed the poll with 6,138 votes to his opponent's 5,736.

teacher Carnaud has beaten the protégé of Peytral, the former Finance Minister, who was a power in Marseilles. The bourgeois felt the blow: and *Le Temps*¹ whimpers that under a regime of universal suffrage the opposition always ends by winning, so one must expect in the more or less distant future that the Socialists will come to power. Much thanks for the prediction.

You do not give us news of your health. How are you? Can you go for walks?

Yours cordially,

PAUL LAF. . .

551. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 11. April 94
122, Regent's Park Road
N. W.

My dear Löhr,

Your agreeable letter comes just in time. I was on the point of writing to Paul this morning, and so I have a good pretext of changing the address of my letter. I had just read your translation in the *Ère nouvelle*² and was quite charmed by it. It reads better than the original, there are only two or three slight alterations I would suggest for a possible reprint.

This leads me at once to the libertaire, alas not libertin! Dühring. My dear girl, vous avez fait vos preuves!³ You arrange yourself with Bonnet as most convenient. Pro-

¹ *Le Temps* of March 6th, 1894, commented on the results and said, amongst other things (p. 1/III-IV): "It was not so much the socialist candidate as the dismissed teacher who was returned." It deplored "the state of mind" which this socialist victory "revealed in a large part of the electoral body".

² The April 1894 issue of *L'Ère nouvelle* published the first part of Laura Lafargue's translation of *Ludwig Feuerbach* (pp. 442-58). The rest was published in the May issue (pp. 1-24).

³ You have proved yourself.—*Tr.*

vided *the Ms. passes through your hands*, it's all right and I will gladly look it over—within the limits of my time, cela s'entend,¹ which limits, I am sorry to say, are very narrow and don't look as if they were going to expand, on the contrary!

But I do wish you could use your talents and energies for some other kind of work which, besides credit, would also bring cash into the pocket of the worker. Could no arrangement be made with Carré for something of that sort?

I send you a Nr of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, edited, as may be you are aware, by the grand Karl Hirsch (since the 1st April). It is not, however, in order to give you a specimen of his elucubrations that I send it to you, but because it gives a report of a motion brought out in the Reichstag by *Count Kanitz*, one of the most shining lights amongst those Prussian Junkers who are, according to Hermann Wagener, their theoretical champion, either *Ochsen von Geburt oder Ochsen aus Prinzip*.² This motion, made in the interest of the landed aristocracy of Eastern Germany, is almost literally the proposition *Jaurès* which was to show the way to the socialist world how to use their parliamentary position in the interest of the working class and the peasantry. The same Count Kanitz has, the other day, proclaimed a new way to pay old debts, for the benefit of the German Empire: sell all your gold coin and replace it by about 4 milliards silver coin, which will leave 2 milliards, clear profit (silver being bought at 28 pence the ounce and being turned into money at 60 pence an ounce) wherewith to wipe out the Imperial debt. Now if I wanted to be malicious, I might ask M. Jaurès whether, in return for Kanitz's acceptance of his corn motion, he would not accept Kanitz's silver motion which looks equally socialistic, and which, from an economic standpoint, is not a bit more

¹ Be it understood.—*Tr.*

² Oxen by birth or oxen on principle.—*Tr.*

objectionable. But I will be generous, even with Jaurès, and leave him alone; our French comrades, however, I cannot refrain from observing, ought really to look a little closer into the proposals of their ex-radical allies, before they accept them blindfolded. A few more such escapades, and their reputation as political economists will be in great danger.

Of the *Discours sur le libre-échange*¹ there exists but one copy which I by some accident got hold of through a second-hand catalogue. If that were to get lost, the whole thing, in the French original at least, would be lost *for ever*. I cannot send it unless there are strong guarantees against loss. I expect to-night a new *Postal guide* containing the latest information as to the international postal insurance arrangements; if these are satisfactory I will forward the thing to you at once, otherwise try some other means. Anyhow a reprint would be in every respect highly desirable. In the meantime I will send you another copy of the English translation published in Boston.

Sorel's *Métaphysique*² I really have not had time to read. I am awfully busy; deep in the Rent of Land (Vol. III) which causes me a deal of trouble by Mohr's tables being almost without exception miscalculated—you know what a genius he was for figures!—and having to be recast. And 15 sheets are already printed so that there is no time to be lost with the remainder of the Ms. And then the hot weather—just as you have it in Le Perreux. Is there anything *in* that Sorel's study?

Louise thanks you for your letter and will soon write to you; sends her kindest regards. Her husband is getting quite a reputation here as an anatomical preparator; he

¹ *Le Discours sur le libre-échange* (Speech on Free Trade) by Marx was published in *L'Ère nouvelle*, No. 6, June 1894 (pp. 117-31) and in *Le Socialiste*, Nos. 194-196, from June 23rd to July 7th, 1894.

² *L'Ère nouvelle* of April 1894 also contained the first part of a work by George Sorel (who, at that time, was a regular contributor to the journal): *L'ancienne et la nouvelle métaphysique*. (*Metaphysics Old and New*.)

works a good deal for the anatomical Museum at Middlesex Hospital; the clumsy people here cannot come up to the Vienna standard in these delicate matters.

We have Gertrud Liebknecht here, back from America, but hardly much improved there.

Just read Paul's letter in the *Vorwärts*¹—capital. So good that even Berlin translations cannot spoil them.

Ever your old,

F. ENGELS

552. **FREDERICK ENGELS**
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, June 2nd, 94

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for £20. Please acknowledge receipt.

The last bit of the manuscript of Vol. III is at the printer's. What a relief! But the proof-sheets are giving me a rough time; they need close, unremitting attention, it's wearisome! And Meissner employs a rather careless printer, which makes my job twice as hard. Add to this that Dietz is printing the 3rd edition of my *Anti-Dühring* and you can take my word for it when I say that I am literally overwhelmed by proof-sheets.

Your description of fashionable socialism in France gave me a good laugh. But it could turn out to be a serious matter. If you had a strong, steady army like the two million German voters, well and good; that would control the heterogeneous mass of newcomers. But with a Party split into Marxists, Blanquists, Allemanists and several other

¹ *Vorwärts* of April 10th, 1894, carried an article signed Gallus with the date-line Paris, April 6th, 1894, entitled "The Exploits of the French Police" (p. 1/I-III). This article, which exposed the role of the police in the fight against anarchism, revealed certain connections between the anarchists and, for example, Rothschild and the association of Stock Exchange brokers.

ists, not to mention the ex-Radicals of the Millerand stamp who boss all the others in the Chamber, it is very hard to say where this new fashion is going to lead you. You compare it to Boulangism: Boulangism, after a few months' spree, ended in the mire and in ignominy. In a movement of this kind it is pretty well certain that phrase-mongers like Jaurès, who already arrogate to themselves the sole right to speak for you all in the Chamber, will boss things. To-day they have the ear of the House where they silence our people, to-morrow they will have the ear of the nation.

It is always on the cards that the whole thing will not turn out too badly, and even well; but, in the meantime, you will go through some curious experiences, and I am glad for us all that there is a solid body of troops in Germany whose actions will decide the battle. This socialist mania which is emerging in your country may lead to a decisive struggle in which you win the first victories; the revolutionary traditions of the country and of the capital, the character of your army, reorganised since 1870 on a far more popular basis—all this makes such an eventual-ity possible. But to ensure victory, to destroy the foundations of capitalist society, you will need the active support of a much stronger, more numerous, more tried and more conscious socialist party than you have at your command. It would mean the achievement of what we have foreseen and predicted for many years. The French give the signal, open fire, and the Germans decide the battle.¹

In the meantime, we are nowhere near that and I am very curious to see how the confused enthusiasm surrounding you will resolve itself.

Even Karl Hirsch in the *Rheinische Zeitung* has realised that behind the whole Turpin² shindy it is all a matter

¹ From "This socialist mania..." this paragraph was reprinted in *Le Socialiste* on November 24th.

² Turpin was the inventor of melinite. He had just invented a liquid gas gun and, following an interview which appeared in *La*

of Stock Exchange speculators. It is only the English press that is forbidden to say this, and which therefore claims to see nothing in it but a simple matter of high or low politics. Here they are quite certain that the Stock Exchange and the business promoters are behind any big political row, and that's precisely why it's strictly forbidden to say so. Protestant bourgeois hypocrisy. Look at Jabez Balfour,¹ Mundella,² who has just resigned from office and with good reason, Sir J. Fergusson and Sir J. Gorst who are in it too and who have probably made themselves unacceptable to any future Tory ministry.

The other day Kautsky came to see us, he paid us four visits. Louise and her husband received him in the most charming way: if anyone was embarrassed, it was not they.

As for your medallion (that is, mine), it will be troublesome. Once in my life I was foolish enough to have myself photographed in profile, but never again. I look such an ass that I shall take good care not to let posterity see my portrait in profile. All the same, I should very much enjoy seeing the medallion of Marx³ (send one for Tussy too, if you please), and I shall be most interested if your artist has succeeded in portraying the nose which in profile has truly impossible lines.

Kiss Laura for me.

Patrie, he was accused of having tried to sell his invention to a foreign power. *Le Temps* of June 2nd, 1894, disclosed that this was basically an advertisement for the company responsible for exploiting Turpin's invention.

¹ Engels is referring here to the affair of the Building Society (see Letter No. 507 of December 20th, 1892), whose director, Jabez Balfour, had left England and was living in comfort abroad.

² Sir Anthony John Mundella, M. P. for Sheffield and President of the Board of Trade, had resigned on May 12th, 1894. A director, with Sir James Fergusson and Sir John Gorst, of the New Zealand Loan Co. until 1892, he had chosen to resign from the government, the company having been in liquidation since 1893 and being the subject of an official investigation.

³ A man named Quesnel, whom *Le Socialiste* advertised, made medallions in imitation bronze and had done portraits of Marx, Malon and de Paepe.

Regards from Louise and Ludwig. The latter continues to make English doctors realise how much better their continental colleagues are in genuine science, anatomy, physiology, pathology, etc.

Cordially yours,

F. ENGELS

553. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 26. VI. 94

My dear Engels,

Every morning Laura and I open the papers in the hope of reading of some anarchist or parliamentary catastrophe, but neither we nor any other Parisian could ever have imagined that Carnot could become an expiatory victim.¹ Nevertheless, the sorrowful countenance he paraded at all ceremonies seemed to presage some tragic event: he was mourning his own death. At first blush we were astounded, we bought all the papers to know the details, but when all is said and done the impression was only skin-deep. Carnot, who had taken his position as constitutional president rather seriously, had seemed to everyone a fifth wheel; *Le Figaro* recently suggested the abolition of the presidency because of its uselessness²: so though everyone laments the tragic end of the President of the Sorrowful Countenance, no one regrets it. Some want an iron-handed president to save the social system threatened by the Socialists, some would like a more high-spirited president to lend a little gaiety to presidential functions and enliven trade; and others don't know what they want. Probably Périet will be elected; he is young, 40-odd, a millionaire 30 or 40 times over and he

¹ On June 24th President Carnot was assassinated in his carriage at Lyons, stabbed by the anarchist Caserio.

² Lafargue is referring here to an article by Magnard in *Le Figaro* of June 7th, 1894 (p. 1/II-IV).

is thought to be a forceful chap, capable of subjugating the hydra of anarchy. The Republicans intend to put up Brisson, an austere scoundrel, even more doleful than Carnot; he will be badly beaten; Dupuy stands a better chance, but he has not the prestige and, above all, no private fortune, and the Civil List granted to the president of a million is speedily consumed; Carnot, who was very rich, had to eat into his fortune.¹ Anyhow, we shall see to-morrow.

Have you received the Marx medallion? When I wrote to you about your photograph in profile, it was not to make a medallion from it, but to allow the artist to study your head from every aspect; not having the advantage of knowing you personally, he must be able to get a precise idea of it. I have not sent a medallion to Tussy because I was given only one for you; the artist and the caster are poor, poor as church mice, and I cannot ask for one; they were hoping to be able to sell these things in Germany, but Bebel tells me that it is out of the question because they are made there at a fantastically low price.

You have the gift of pleasing the French; your *Utopian Socialism* had a decisive effect on the direction of the socialist movement in its beginnings; your *Feuerbach* has been a huge success,² it has been read and appreciated and we have received several letters of congratulation. It will have as much influence as *Utopian Socialism*. Jaurès has just written an article on Malon in *La Revue Socialiste*, which clearly indicates that it has gone home.³ He was astonished to find that someone knew more about philosophy than he, the Professor of Philosophy; so, instead of saying that Malon has perfected Marx, as the French are always saying, he

¹ The whole of this passage on the presidential candidates seems to have been inspired by Magnard's article "Monsieur Carnot's Death" which appeared in *Le Figaro* on June 26th, 1894 (p. 1/1).

² See p. 328, note 2.

³ Jaurès had just had an article printed in *La Revue sociale*, No. 114 of June 1894, called "Introduction to *La Morale sociale* by Benoit Malon" (pp. 641-55).

tries to prove that Malon has understood him and has not departed from his methods.

Regards to the Freybergers.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

554. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE IN PARIS*

London, 4. July 94
122, Regent's Park Road
N. W.

My dear Löhr,

Tussy writes to say that the heat in Paris interferes with the free action of her intellect and in proof encloses 4 stamps 25 centimes each—I could have believed it without that! Anyhow I return the stamps to you as she may be leaving before they arrive.

I told Liebknecht Paul's letters were *das beste im ganzen Vorwärts*¹ but he won't believe it—it's true all the same; his letter to-day about Carnot is very good again, calm and clear judgement, none of the spasmodic paragraphs which the *Vorwärts*² is so fond of launching on English and French politics.

Cannot you send me a few *Petite République*? Just now the Jaurès and Millerands are *on their trial*, and I am very much interested in seeing how they behave. My confidence in their political and economical intellect does not exactly increase; but I shall only be too glad if they could prove me in the wrong.

L[ie]bk[necht] left on Monday evening, had to speak at Aix la Chapelle on Tuesday.

Yesterday 10 sheets 3rd vol. *Capital* which we had for-

¹ The best thing in the whole of *Vorwärts*.—Tr.

² In *Vorwärts* of July 3rd, 1894, Lafargue's letter appeared, with the date-line Paris, June 27th, entitled "President Carnot" (p. 2/I-II).

warded to Petersburg for translation were returned: "Défendu"!

I must close—another proof-sheet to be got ready and then I have to go to town.

Love to you all.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

555. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

4 Royal Parade
Eastbourne, August 22, 1894

My dear Lafargue,

Here we are at Eastbourne since the past week, Louise, her husband and I. I needed it badly and the ozonised sea air is already taking effect. Unfortunately it has been raining more than necessary since yesterday.

Your ch[èque] will arrive during the first days of next month as soon as I shall have had some payments.

I am very curious to see how they are going to administer the new law against suspects.¹ I am by no means sure that they will not use it against the Socialists as much as against the anarchists at a given moment. But though a few individuals may suffer by it, this law will certainly do for you what the '78 law did for the Germans²; you will defeat

¹ After the outrage which cost the life of President Carnot, the government passed a fresh law restricting the liberty of the press. (The first had been passed in December '93 following Vaillant's bomb.) This Act, which empowered courts of summary jurisdiction to pass sentence on violations of the laws governing the press, carried the penalty of transportation and prohibited reports on parliamentary debates, was passed on July 28th, 1894, by 269 votes to 163 with 152 abstentions. The first person to whom the law was, indeed, applied, was a Blanquist Socialist, Gérault-Richard, who was sentenced for an article attacking Casimir Périer in *Le Chambard*.

² This refers to the Anti-Socialist Law which was in force in Germany for 12 years.

it and you will emerge from the struggle infinitely stronger than you went into it.

Here the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation], which for a time seemed to try to adopt a reasonable and tolerable line of conduct, has suddenly fallen back on the Hyndmanniads of yore. At the Congress which they held in London a fortnight or three weeks ago,¹ the Liverpool delegate moved that at the next general elections they should support the Ind[ependent] Labour Party candidates provided they publicly declared themselves Socialists. This, against all the rules of English procedure, was *turned down* in favour of a motion adopted by 42 to 12, that the duty of every Socialist was to belong to an openly revolutionary socialist organisation, such as the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] (and as the S.D.F. claims that apart from itself there is no other, this meant: *belong to the S.D.F.*). As for electoral tactics, this was delegated to a committee which will report to the Executive Council.² Thus, the reciprocity which hitherto has existed in the North (particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire) between the two groups, is to all intents and purposes rejected by the S.D.F. which proclaims the policy of the Caliph Omar in burning the Alexandria library: either these books are contrary to the Koran, in which case they are bad; or they contain the same thing, in which case they are superfluous—into the flames with them! And these people claim the leadership of the socialist movement in Britain!

But there is worse to come. Hyndman has stated that it was time for socialism to detach itself completely from trade unionism, and that instead of joint congresses of the two, there should be an out and out socialist congress. And, as it was realised at the same time that it is still too early

¹ The 14th, annual conference of the S.D.F. was held in London on August 5th and 6th, 1894.

² You know of course that the nationalisation of the means of production is an integral part of the I.L.P. programme. (*Note by F. Engels.*)

to strike a direct blow against the 1896 Congress,¹ they resolved that the *S.D.F. should convene an exclusively socialist Congress to be held in London three days before the general Congress of 1896.*²

What will the continentals say to that? Will they go to such a congress in order later to attend the large, *our* congress, tied hand and foot by the resolutions passed two or three days earlier in a small committee? Will they provoke a split between the delegates who are thoroughgoing Socialists and those who are not yet that but are on the point of becoming so? Will they administer this slap in the face to the British trade unionists, who have made such progress since the *New Unionism** has set them on the road towards socialism, who at Belfast in 1893 passed a resolution for the nationalisation of the means of production (adopted a few weeks ago in the political programme of *even* the recalcitrant London *Trades Council**) and which, in a fortnight's time, at Norwich³ will be stating its position in relation to us once again?

But do you know how the S.D.F. in its annual report and the speeches at Congress depicted the strength of that organisation which claims to change the Zürich resolutions (for this is a palpable emendation which contradicts the Zürich resolution)? It has—4,500 members. Last year 7,000 names passed through its membership list, so it has lost 2,500! But what of it? asks Hyndman. In the 14 years of its existence the S.D.F. has seen *a million people* pass through its ranks. What organisation! Out of one million, 995,500 have hopped it, but—4,500 have stayed!

Now for the key to all these idiocies, inconceivable without that key. The 1896 Congress will not leave untouched

¹ This refers to the Fourth Congress of the Second International which was convened in London and took place on July 27th to August 1st, 1896.

² It does not appear that such a congress was held. The official documents of the S.D.F. make no mention of it anywhere.

³ The Trades Union Congress was held at Norwich from September 1st to 7th.

any of the sects, fractions, groups, etc. which compose what one calls here *organised labour**. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Congress would very much like to *boss the Congress**. There are already resolutions on the agenda for the Trades Congress at Norwich (Sept.) to confine admission of *British* delegates to the '96 Congress only to those qualified for the Trades Congress: *bona fide working-men, working or having worked at the trade they represent**. And it is said that they are not a little desirous of extending this system to the continental delegates as well, which would cause explosions of laughter violent enough to shake all London to its foundations. Very well, the S.D.F., which, in its turn, thinks the opportunity has come for it to boss the Congress and, through Congress, the British movement, appears to have taken these rumours as an excuse to launch its little counter-plan.

So far it is only a feeler. But as soon as the S.D.F. issues an invitation circular or something of that kind, the matter will take on substance, and the continental parties will be called upon to come to a decision.

One question: *Le Socialiste* lebt er noch, oder aber ist er tot?¹ Since April we haven't seen a trace of it. If you have succeeded in killing it, do you count this as one of the Party's victories in France?

556. FREDERICK ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

(Fragment)

[August 23rd or 24th, 1894]

... In any case the two months of September and October will be interesting. Round about the 5th, Trades Congress at Norwich (after the Spanish congress next Sunday²), then

¹ Is *Le Socialiste* still alive or is it dead?—Tr.

² The Congress of the Spanish Socialist Party opened on Sunday, August 26th.

your congress at Nantes,¹ and then that of the Germans at Frankfurt on October 21st. The two last will deal with the question of peasants and rural workers. In general the views of the two national groups are the same, save that you, the uncompromising revolutionaries of yesterday, now lean rather further towards opportunism than the Germans, who will probably not support any measure serving to maintain and store up the smallholding against the disintegrating action of capitalism. On the other hand, they will agree with you that it is not *our* task to accelerate or force this disintegrating action, and the important thing is for small land-owners to combine in agricultural associations to farm jointly on a large scale. I shall be interested to see which of the two congresses shall show itself the more advanced in economic theory and the more effective in its practical proposals.

Kiss Laura for me to remind her that she owes me a letter.

Regards from the Freybergers.

Ever yours,

F. E.

In a few weeks *Neue Zeit* will have an article of mine relating to the origins of Christianity.² The 3rd volume is coming along, 43 sheets have been set up; I am writing the preface.

557. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AND ELEANOR MARX-AVELING*

To Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx Aveling.

My dear girls,

I have to address to you a few words with regard to my will.

¹ The Twelfth National Congress of the French Workers' Party was held at Nantes from September 14th to 16th, 1894.

² The article appeared in Nos. 1 and 2 of *Neue Zeit* (XII. Jahrgang, I. Band, pp. 4-13, 36-43) under the title "Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums".

First you will find that I have taken the liberty of disposing of all my books, including those received from you after Mohr's death, in favour of the German Party. The whole of these books constitute a library so unique, and so complete at the same time, for the history and the study of Modern Socialism and all the sciences on which it is dependent, that it would be a pity to disperse it again. To keep it together, and to place it at the same time at the disposal of those desirous to use it, has been a wish expressed to me long ago by Bebel and other leaders of the German Socialist Party, and as they do indeed seem to be the best people for that purpose, I have consented. I hope that under the circumstances you will pardon my action and give your consent too.

Second. I have had many a discussion with Sam Moore as to the possibility of providing, in my will, in some way for our dear Jenny's children. Unfortunately, English law stands in the way. It could only be done under almost impossible conditions, where the expense would more than eat up the funds to be taken care of. I therefore had to give it up. Instead, I have left each of you *three-eighths* of the residue of my estate after defraying legacies etc. Of these, *two-eighths* are intended for yourselves, and the third eighth is meant to be held by each of you in trust for Jenny's children, to be used as you and the children's guardian, Paul Lafargue, may think best. In this way you are freed from all responsibility with regard to English law and can act as your own moral sense and love for the children may dictate.

The money I owe to the children for shares of profits on Mohr's writings are put down in my ledger, and will be paid by my executors to the party who, according to English law, will be the children's legal representative.

And now good-bye, my dear, dear girls. May you live long and healthily in body and soul and enjoy it!

London, 14th Novbr 1894

FREDERICK ENGELS

Tussy will have to inform Meissner, Dietz, and the *Vorwärts* Buchhandlung of Berlin that they will henceforth have to pay to *her direct* any sums due to the heirs of Karl Marx for honorarium etc. As to Sonnenschein, that will have to be settled in some other manner, the agreement about *Capital* being between him and me.

F. E.

558. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, Nov. 22nd, 1894

My dear Lafargue,

I have found your report in the *Soz[ial]-D[emokrat]*.¹ That was lucky, for it has allowed me to put the responsibility for quite a few things on a somewhat careless editorship and to conclude that, although I did not agree with what the Nantes resolution said, I think I agree with what it tried to say. At the same time I have tried to be as friendly as possible²; but in view of the way this resolution is being bandied about in Germany, it is no good remaining silent about it.

The fact is you allowed yourself to lean a bit too much towards the opportunist tendency. At Nantes you came near to sacrificing the future of the Party to a momentary triumph. There is still time to call a halt: if my article can contribute towards this, I shall be happy. In Germany—where Vollmar went so far as to suggest that the large peasants in Bavaria, each with his 10-30 hectares, should enjoy all the benefits that you had promised to the small

¹ This refers to the report Lafargue gave to the Nantes Congress on the amendments to the agrarian programme adopted by the Marseilles Congress. The report was published in the monthly *Sozial-Demokrat*.

² Engels is referring here to the article that was published in No. 10 of *Neue Zeit* (XIII. Jahrgang, I. Band, pp. 292-306) on *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*.

French peasants—in Germany Bebel took up the challenge,¹ and the matter will be exhaustively discussed; it will never come off the agenda again until it has been thrashed out. You will have seen in *Vorwärts* Bebel's speech in the 2nd electoral constituency of Berlin. He complains with reason that the party is going bourgeois. That is the misfortune of all extreme parties when the time approaches for them to become "possible". But our Party cannot go beyond a certain limit in this respect without betraying itself, and it seems to me that in France as in Germany we have now reached that point. Fortunately there is still time to call a halt.

For some while I have not seen your letters in *V[or]w[är]ts*, and I thought there was some misunderstanding; last Wednesday I was happy to receive a number of "Gallus".² If there are difficulties with the editorial board, let me know, perhaps I could be of some use to you.

If the Russian Government is spending money to strengthen its currency that is an infallible sign that a new loan is in the air; the French are the only ones who might be tempted; let's hope they aren't. But when Russia needs gold, she must naturally try to get it!

Loria will be even more pleased when he reads the preface,³ he is treated there as he deserves and without the least regard for "*il primo economista dell' Italia*".

Young Wilhelm is behaving admirably. He gets it into his head to combat "subversive tendencies" and starts by

¹ In a speech made in the Berlin 2nd constituency Bebel criticised the Frankfurt Party Congress and, in particular, the resolutions on the agrarian question. The report of this speech was published in *Vorwärts* on November 16th, 1894 (I. Beilage, pp. 2/III-3/II).

² In fact *Vorwärts* had published a letter from "Gallus" under the heading "Agricultural Credit in France". The letter to which Engels refers appeared in *Vorwärts* of November 14th (I. Beilage I-II). It was called "The Périer Case", and dealt with the proceedings instituted against the Blanquist journalist Gérault-Richard.

³ This refers to the preface to the third volume of *Capital* in which Engels criticises the distortion of historical materialism by the "illustrious" Loria, "the foremost Italian economist".

subverting his own government.¹ Ministers fall like lead soldiers. The poor young man had to keep quiet and lie low for over eight months; he can't stand it any longer, he blows up—and there you are! At a time when we are winning a quarter of Belgium,² when electoral reform in Austria is about to send our people into Parliament,³ when in Russia everything is in a state of uncertainty about the future—the young man gets it into his head to out-do Crispi⁴ and Casimir Péri⁵! You can tell the effect this will have in Germany from the fact that at the Frankfurt Congress the delegates, or at least many of them, called for a new repressive law as the best means for the Party to gain ground!

The situation in Austria is interesting. Since the death of his son, the Emperor has been afraid of the fall of his dynasty in the near future. His heir presumptive is an arrogant imbecile of the utmost unpopularity. The Hungarians are not likely to tolerate him, they are demanding internal union pure and simple to start with, to be followed by total separation and complete independence. To tie his successor's hands in advance, Francis Joseph is trying to strengthen Parliament and make it more genuinely representative. That is why he has agreed with his friend Taaffe on a fairly extensive electoral reform.⁶ But Parliament, an assembly of privileged persons, a real States General (elected by categories: large landowners, commerce, towns, rural areas),

¹ By a decree of October 30th, 1894, Wilhelm II had relieved General Caprivi of his office as Chancellor. In his speeches he described the Social-Democrats as the internal enemy and shortly after tabled a "Bill against subversive activities". This was the famous *Umsturzvorlage* (Subversion Bill) dealt with in the following letters.

² On October 14th the Belgian parliamentary elections, despite the property qualification, had resulted in a victory for the Socialists, who polled 345,990 votes and won 28 seats in the two ballots.

³ Since 1893 the Social-Democratic Party had conducted a widespread agitation in Austria for electoral reform. As it turned out, the first reform was not introduced until 1897.

⁴ In October the Italian Prime Minister Crispi had dissolved the branches of the Italian Workers' Party and banned their journals by decree.

⁵ A reference to the Gérault-Richard case.

⁶ See Letter 538 of October 14th, 1893, on this subject.

turns it down, and Taaffe goes out.¹ Thereupon the Emperor, like a true constitutional monarch, appoints a Minister from the majority, a coalition of Liberals, Poles, etc., all arch-reactionaries. But he makes them promise that in return they will introduce an electoral reform of their own kind and that within a year. The year runs out with all kinds of abortive attempts. Thereupon the Emperor puts them in a position to keep their word—and that is why for the last 3 weeks Vienna has been talking of nothing but electoral reform. But the coalition is incapable of producing anything; at the first positive proposition they start fighting among themselves. So that probably Taaffe will shortly replace them and re-table his Bill, and if Parliament turns it down, he will have a dissolution and bring in the reform, which the Constitution allows him to do. So here you have “comrade” Francis Joseph pushing from one side and Victor Adler from the other! But what an irony of history that this Emperor, created in December 1848 deliberately to crush the Revolution, should be called upon to inaugurate a fresh one 46 years later!

Kiss Laura for me. Louise and the child are well, she and Freyberger send their greetings.

Ever yours,

F. E.

559. **FREDERICK ENGELS**
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

17. Dec. 94

My dear Löhr,

You say, after finishing the 3rd vol.² and before beginning with the 4th, I must long for a little rest. Now I will just tell you what my position is.

¹ On November 11th, 1893, Taaffe had been forced to resign following his defeat over electoral reform. He was replaced by a coalition ministry, headed by Prince Windischgrätz, who remained in office until June 19th, 1895.

² Vol. III of *Capital* had just been published by Meissner in Hamburg.

I have to follow the movement in five large and a lot of small European countries and the U.S. America. For that purpose I receive 3 German, 2 English, 1 Italian *dailies* and from Jan. 1, the Vienna daily, 7 in all. Of *weeklies* I receive 2 from Germany, 7 Austria, 1 France, 3 America (2 Eng-lish, 1 Germ[an]), 2 Italian, and 1 each in Polish, Bulgarian, Spanish and Bohemian, three of which in languages I am still gradually acquiring. Besides that, calls of the most varied sorts of people (just now, a few minutes ago, Polak from Amsterdam sent me a German sculptor penniless and in want of employment) and an ever-increasing crowd of correspondents, more than at the time of the International! many of whom expect long explanations and all of them taking away time. With all this and the 3rd vol., I have not, even during the proof-sheet-time, that is the whole of 1894, been able to read *more than one book*.

Now the next thing is the publication of Lassalle's letters to Mohr. Tussy has typed them, they are in my desk, but—thanks to the removal—I have not been able to touch them. That means notes, references to facts long gone by as well as to my own old correspondence with Mohr—and a preface to be written diplomatically.

Then the heaps of arrears of my own. First the complete re-writing of the *Bauernkrieg*¹ which has been out of sale for years, and has been promised as my first work after Vol. III. That requires a considerable study; I hoped to do that along with the proof-sheets. But impossible. Anyhow I shall have to look myself up how to do it.

Then—not to speak of other *little* jobs hanging over me—I want to write at least the chief chapters out of Mohr's political life: 1842-1852, and the International. The latter is the most important and urgent, I intend to do it first. But that requires freedom from interruption, and when shall I get that?

All these things are wanted from me, and moreover a re-

¹ *Peasant War.—Tr.*

edition of Mohr's and my own earlier smaller writings. For that I have been collecting; but have not succeeded in much—some more bits are in the Parteiarchiv in Berlin. But a good deal is short yet, for instance a copy of the first *Rheinische Zeitung*. If I could get, say $\frac{2}{3}$ of the old 1842-50 articles collected, I should start, as I am sure then that for a 2nd edition a lot more would come to light. But we are not so far advanced as yet.

And then Vol. 4. Now of that there is a *very* rough manuscript, of which up to now it is impossible to say how much can be used. I myself cannot again undertake to unravel it and dictate the whole as I did Vol. 2 and 3. My eyesight would break down completely before I was half through. I found that out years ago and tried another dodge. I considered it would be useful to have one or two intelligent men of the younger generation broken in to read Mohr's handwriting. I thought of Kautsky and Bernstein. K[autsky] was then still in London (some 6 or 7 years ago). I asked him and he assented: I said I would pay one hundred pounds for the complete "fair copy" of what there is, and assist him where he could not decipher. He began. Then he left London, took one Heft with him, and for years I heard no more. He was too busy with the *Neue Zeit*, so I had Ms. and copy returned, as far as the latter went—perhaps $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ of the whole. Bernstein too is not only very busy, but suffers from overwork, has not yet completely overcome his neurasthenia, and I hardly dare ask him. I shall see whether Tussy will; if he volunteers, all well; if not, I do not intend to run the risk of having it said that I brought on a relapse of his illness by overloading him with work.

That is my position: 74 years, the which I am beginning to feel, and work enough for two men of 40. Yes, if I could divide myself into the F.E. of 40 and the F.E. of 34, which would just be 74, then we should soon be all right. But as it is, all I can do is to work on with what is before me and get through it as far and as well as I can.

Now you know my position; and if you have now and

then to wait for a letter from me, you will know the reason why.

Last night Bonnier came from Edinbro' and left to-day for Oxford. He has cooled down considerably from his first anger over my *Bauernfrage*—vous nous traitez d'imbéciles,¹ he wrote to me. Anyhow he was very pleasant and I think he is convinced that they have made a blunder at Nantes. He really believed that it was not only possible but necessary to gain over the mass of the French peasants to socialism between now and next general elections.

Post time. Must close. I owe you for your share of the Sonnenschein a/c for *Capital* (English) £1.3.1
 $\frac{1}{3}$ share of £5.—rec[eive]d from *Neue Zeit* for
the 2 chapters from vol. III £1.13.4
And allow me to add as a remembrance that
Christmas is coming £5.

Covered by cheque herewith . . . £7.16.5

Puddings could not be made this year; the little girl of Louise's (which is prosperous and gaining nearly a pound a week in weight) has stopped that. But Paul will have his cakes.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

560. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London 18/12/94²
122 R[egent's] P[ark] R[oad]

My dear Lafargue,

I am returning Lavrov's letter to Laura. I replied to him at once to say that he shall have the two books as soon as I myself shall have copies. Meissner supplied me, and still

¹ You call us imbeciles.—*Tr.*

² The original of this letter is in the Historical Museum at Montreuil-sous-Bois.

supplies me, after he has supplied everyone else. I am also sending you a copy for *Deville*.¹

As I said: the (Nantes) *programme* itself has only one pointless clause: the reduction of LEGAL rates of interest,² i.e., the revival of the ancient laws against usury whose total uselessness was demonstrated 2,000 years ago. You cannot effectively reduce the rates of interest paid by mortgaged peasants without turning all mortgages on property into debts against the State, in which case you are free to reduce the interest—except that you lose money yourself, when it falls due. And also the clause on hunting, as it is drafted, is self-contradictory.³

Not only is young Wilhelm cracked, but this time he is pushing things to a crisis. The new chancellor is simply a man of straw,⁴ the moving spirit in the new government is Köller (der macht es immer dölller,⁵ as *Kladderadatsch* said of him years ago). They are provoking a conflict with the Reichstag. They are going to prosecute Liebk[necht] for lèse-majesté after the closure.⁶ They are pressing for a dissolution which will mean a recalcitrant Reichstag in Berlin and then—a little coup d'état. We may look forward to some

¹ This refers to Vol. III of *Capital* which had come out at the end of November.

² The amendments to the Marseilles agrarian programme, adopted by the Nantes Congress, included the following clause: "Reduction of legal and stipulated rates of interest on money."

³ Here is the text of the clause referred to: "Freedom of hunting and fishing, without restriction other than those measures necessary to the conservation of game and fish and the protection of crops; prohibition of hunting preserves and of gamekeepers."

⁴ Prince Hohenlohe had succeeded Caprivi. His Minister of the Interior was von Köller.

⁵ Who lets himself go more and more.—*Tr.*

⁶ At the opening of the parliamentary session and the inauguration of the new Reichstag, the President ended his speech with cheers for the Emperor, with which the socialist deputies refused to be associated. A demand that they should be prosecuted was rejected first by the committee charged with giving a ruling, and then by the House itself, which considered the deputies protected by parliamentary immunity. It was believed that the government intended to prosecute Liebknecht during the parliamentary recess.

nice happenings in Germany if everything turns out as these gentlemen visualise.

In Italy, too, the monarchy is hard pressed. The Crown Prince is involved in the Banca Romana¹ to the tune of 300,000 francs, the King in the name of various nominees, for very much larger amounts. All that is well known. Crispi is mortally wounded by Giolitti's sensational move—the whole of Parliament as well as all the higher officials are compromised by it, and in simple-minded Italy they are still so Catholic, that is to say, *pagan*, that all this is done in broad daylight and there is no means of concealing the corruption, of which, on the contrary, they boast—until there is a crisis.

And then, Russia—the unknown, where only one thing is certain: that the present regime will not be able to stand a change of tsar, and there will be a crisis there too.

What you say about the effect produced by the little scene in the Reichstag goes for England as well. All the years of work, all the electoral and real victories count for nothing; a little melodramatic scene—that is the striking, the dazzling thing. How petty people are!

I shall write to Adler about your letters. But there, with the small working strength they have, it seems to me very unlikely that a regular correspondence would suit them, unless it were written in German and ready for the printer. So, strictly speaking, one ought to ask Frankel first. But we shall see.

Ever yours,

F. E.

Laura should have received my letter of yesterday.

¹ The Banca Romana scandal broke out in December 1892 (see Letter 512 of February 12th, 1893) and ended by bringing about Giolitti's fall in November 1893. Giolitti had in his possession a certain number of Banca Romana documents which, at the time, he had refused, for reasons of State, to produce in court. On December 11th, 1894 he placed the file on the Speaker's desk. A commission was immediately appointed to examine it.

561. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

41 Regent's Park Road N.W.
London, 29 Dec., 94

My dear Löhr,

Thanks for your news of the 23rd about the Allemanists and their dissensions¹—this sets me up again as far as the *personalia* of the Parisian movement are concerned. I hope the whole set of Allemanists will soon be smashed up and whatever is decent among them joining our people who, if they wait patiently, seem to stand the best chance of absorbing gradually all the rest.

May the new dailies² flourish and soon bring forth a Parisian daily!

As to the preface for the French *Manifest*,³ my proposal would be that you work out some sort of preface out of the four German ones, giving such information about the fates of the work as may interest your readers, then send me the Ms. for additions to be proposed by me (I have just rec[eive]d an Armenian translation) to which I might add a few words in my own name. Don't you think that w[oul]d solve the difficulty?

Last Sunday Tussy being in Manchester sent me your letter to her about Vol. IV. I am quite willing and shall be glad to assist her if she will undertake the work of writing out the original Ms.

As to what you say about Mohr's papers and their treat-

¹ It appears that there was dissension at this time among the Allemanists on the question of how to behave towards the Socialist Union set up in the Chamber without them. Whilst Avez, Dejeante, Faberot, Groussier and Toussaint denounced it in a manifesto, others criticised Avez and Dejeante for their lack of solidarity when Jaurès was expelled from the Chamber on December 24th.

² *Le Peuple* of Lyons and *L'Écho du Havre*, both French Workers' Party papers, became dailies.

³ This doubtless refers to the preface to a pamphlet published in 1895 by *L'Ère nouvelle*.

ment in case of my death, the matter is simple enough. All these things I hold *in trust for you*, that you know; and consequently on my death they revert to you. In the last will I made (when Sam Moore was here last time but one) there is no special provision, but in the instructions to my executors accompanying it, there is a distinct direction to them, to hand over to Tussy, as the administrator of the will, the whole of Mohr's Mss. that are in his own handwriting, also all letters addressed to him with the sole exception of my own correspondence with him. And as Tussy seems to have some doubt about the matter, I shall as soon as Sam M[oore] comes back in Summer ask him to draw up a new will in which this is distinctly and unmistakably declared. If you have any other wish please let me know.

Adler writes about Paul's correspondence for the daily *Arbeiter Zeitung*: "As regards Lafargue, I have nothing against *French* correspondence, I shall have a lot to translate. Naturally Frankel will write regularly—Lafargue is a correspondent of the kind that I am for *Vorwärts*, infrequent, but then long-writing. Of course his scintillating articles would be very welcome if I were not afraid that he would send me the same as those for *V[or]w[är]ts* and *Echo*. Can you arrange for him to write for me, *say twice a month* or on special occasions; that would be a great help to me, only we cannot pay much, he would have to make do with 20 francs an article."¹

There. Paul might write to Vienna during the odd week when he does not write to Berlin, and on some other general subject.

We have not been able to see anything in the English papers about G. Richard's election. Is he en ballottage? Your figures, 1,802 votes, do not look very encouraging.²

¹ The quotation from the *Arbeiter Zeitung* is in German in the original.—Ed.

² After Hovelacque's resignation in the 13th arrondissement (of Paris), Gérault-Richard, who was in prison following his trial, be-

In Germany we shall have a busy year. We drank the Umsturz-Kaiser's¹ jolly good health on Xmas day, so he will now perhaps be satisfied.

A very happy and pleasant New Year to you and Paul from all of us here!

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

came the socialist candidate in the by-election. In the first ballot, on December 23rd, he headed the poll with 1,802 votes to the Radical's 1,338. He was elected on January 6th with 2,742 votes.

¹ The Subversion-Kaiser: a reference to the Bill then before the Reichstag.

1895

562. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, January 13th, 95

My dear Lafargue,

I am glad to see that you have already arranged matters with Adler and have at last found a translator who does you justice.

Things are going well. If the year '95 finishes as it has begun we may see some strange happenings. In Germany, young Wilhelm has fallen into the hands of the "agrarians" (the big aristocratic landowners of the Eastern provinces, the Junkers) who want to make sure of their control over this young ninny and who can only do so by compromising Wilhelm to the point of no return. Thus they are hinting at a dissolution of the Reichstag, which will emerge from fresh elections more refractory than ever and then, his throne and his honour being at stake, there will be nothing for it but a coup d'état to give Wilhelm the means of obtaining new soldiers and ships, and the Junkers new import duties on agricultural produce and subsidies on the export of sugar, spirits, etc. That seems to be these gentlemen's idea; impossible to say how far it will materialise. In the meantime, they are playing with fire—the War Minister is openly inviting our people in the Reichstag to come out on to the streets by

jeering at them¹—they are absolutely determined to create an opportunity for firing on the people.

And in your country there are the scandals of bourgeois corruption which go beyond anything and are driving towards a crisis: certainly if the Ministry threatens to bring the majority to court unless it votes against Gérault-Richard,² matters cannot go on much longer. The victory of the bourgeois, who have succeeded in electing a model bourgeois President of the Republic, may well bring about the collapse of the whole bourgeois regime; we are approaching the climax when they will be overthrown. As I see it, it is the bourgeoisie itself which, in your country, takes responsibility for doing socialist propaganda amongst the peasants. It is a long and wearisome task to enlighten peasants on political matters, but they will not be so stupid as not to realise at this juncture that they are being robbed. But once they have spotted that, there is nothing for them but to turn to the Socialists, the only party which is not involved in the thefts; for the Radicals are well and truly done for.

So you see we can jolly well shout: *Prosit Neujahr!*³

Speaking of the new year: your credit account of sixty pounds has been opened, if you want a cheque for twenty pounds, you have only to let me know.

I have sent Laura some working-class papers from here, Blatchford's (alias Nunquam) *Clarion* and Keir Hardie's *Labour Leader*. Since the end of the *Workman's Times*, this is the only literature of the Independent Labour Party. Sad but true. Monday: Aveling told us yesterday that the *Labour Leader* is *on its last legs*, the chief backer (said to be Passnevre Edwards, a rich Liberal Unionist) will not put up any more money.

¹ An allusion to General Bronsart von Schellendorf's speech in the Reichstag on January 10th during the debate on the subversive activities Bill.

² The socialist deputies had called for the release of Gérault-Richard, who had been elected. The motion put forward by Millerand was rejected by 294 to 205 votes.

³ Happy New Year!

A fortnight ago I received a letter from Vaillant enclosing some of his Bills. I promised I would examine them critically as soon as I had the time. Meanwhile I told him that Wroblewski, in Nice, has written asking me for money, that he has had an accident, broken his arm, has been in hospital and is in great distress; that I have given him as much help as I could but that it is beyond my means and that in my view the Communards and the socialist deputies owe it to their honour not to let him die of starvation. He replied that they had tried to get up a *public subscription* for W[roblewski] but that he, W., was against this and that there is nothing to be done.

Do you know anything about this? W[roblewski] as a true Pole does not understand the handling of money, he spends it lavishly when he has it; perhaps he has done similar things in relation to Vaillant and others who would have been able to help him. What he needs is a little regular pension, paid out once a month in small amounts. But in my view it is a matter of the honour of French socialism which cannot claim credit for the Commune of 1871 if they allow the last general of the Commune to die of hunger. What do you and the others—Guesde, the National Council—think? Is there no way of making these former “Communers” feel some shame?

Kiss Laura for me.

Ever yours,

F. E.

Monday: received *Le Temps* and copies of *Petite République*. Thanks. First Gérault-Richard and now Rouanet,¹ that's nice! What luck if this leads to a crisis, to a dissolu-

¹ *La Petite République* published a violent editorial on January 12th, 1895, entitled “Filth” (p. 1/I-V) which, like Gérault-Richard's article in *Le Chambard*, castigated Casimir Périer. A few days later the reactionary majority in the Chamber succeeded in expelling Rouanet.

tion and a more and more revolutionary situation in your country and in Germany!

Louise asks me to thank you for the charming card of congratulation which you and Laura sent her.

563. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 16. 1. 95

My dear Engels,

What a sensation!¹ The reactionaries are as desperate as they are furious; Périér was their great hope; they are now calling him a *coward*, a millionaire who prefers his own peace and quiet to the well-being of the capitalist class which stands in such need of being defended against "the furious attacks of an audacious party that fears nothing". There must have been talk at the Elysée of the possibility of a coup d'état; or at least of a dissolution and elections with a Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry, which would have revived Constans' methods. Challemel-Lacour, in his speech at the opening of the Senate, let the cat out of the bag²: it is known that C[asimir] P[ériér] had an interview with him lasting two hours, in which, no doubt, they discussed the matter and stopped the plan of action.

But the vote against Raynal³ upset everything. C[asimir]

¹ Following the fall of the Dupuy government, brought down by 263 votes to 241 over the Raynal affair, President Casimir Périér resigned on January 15th, 1895.

² On January 11th, 1895, Challemel-Lacour was re-elected President of the Senate. He made a violent speech at the opening, saying of those who elected socialist deputies: "Some people's choice makes one doubt the nation's sanity." He also referred to the possible resignation of Casimir Périér who was known to have visited him on January 7th at the Petit-Luxembourg.

³ According to a judgement delivered by the Council of State dated January 12th, 1895, the railway companies were acquitted and the State condemned in the matter of the 1883 contracts. The judgement included very harsh references to the Minister who had signed

P[érier] was party, in his capacity of Secretary of State, to the Ministry which voted for what are called "the infamous contracts". This was known, and it was known that this vote would strike a blow at P[érier]; nevertheless the Chamber passed it. The President realised that he could not count on a majority in the Chamber, which would have liked to drop the matter for the sake of the electorate; he forestalled them by dropping them.

Who will be appointed? We shall know to-morrow. I trust it will not be "the austere Brisson", a Protestant Jesuit; he is regarded as a Radical, and it will take much time and some scurrilous blackguarding before he loses his counterfeit prestige. The man we need is Challemel, but the old scoundrel will have none of it; he sees the situation as beyond his strength, for he would have to be a fighting President. There is talk of Loubet, a weak man and a decent and moderate Republican; he would be a second Carnot. Anyhow, we shall see.¹

But the socialist campaign will go on more fervently than ever: their success intoxicates the socialist deputies, they count on extending the prosecutions over the contracts not only to Raynal, but to the whole Cabinet and the whole majority. It is said that the vote on the contracts has cost the railway companies 30 millions, distributed to the press and the Chambers: it's Panama all over again. The majority plotted in agreement with the Cabinet for Jaurès' expulsion.² They hoped to put the interest guarantees and the Foreign Affairs estimates through during his absence, because they knew that he had prepared two speeches on the international question and on the interest guarantees, on which he would

the contracts, Raynal. On January 13th Barthou tendered his resignation as Minister of Public Works. On the 14th the Chamber decided to appoint a commission to examine whether there was a case for committing Raynal for trial.

¹ Félix Faure was elected President of the Republic.

² At the session of December 24th, 1894, following an incident in which Barthou was involved, the Chamber voted to expel Jaurès for fifteen parliamentary sessions.

have called for a suspension, because the contracts between the Companies and the State were fraudulent, being voidable. Millerand touched on this point in his speech against Raynal without elaborating it: now the matter will crop up again and the Socialists are completely in control of the field.

If Wroblewski is opposed to a public subscription I do not think we can do very much for him, you have no idea how short of funds we are. A public subscription would have succeeded probably, because it would have been denounced by the opportunists and the reactionaries. Guesde is ill, laid up, the job of deputy does not suit him; he has never been so inactive and never been ill so often as since he was elected; I shall speak to him about a private subscription.

Casimir's resignation will perhaps make Wilhelm stop to think and encourage the dissatisfied German bourgeois, who are not quite so tame as in Bismarck's day.

Thank you for having so kindly-reminded me that the £60 were at my disposal. Please send me £20 before the end of the month.

Regards to the Freybergers.

Cordially yours,

PAUL LAFARGUE

564. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

41 Regent's Park Road N.W.
London, 19th Jan. 95

My dear Löhr,

Your last letter has indeed startled me. I have tried, not very successfully, to recollect the terms used in my letter to you of Dec. 29th; still, in what I do remember there is not a word which ought to offend you. And indeed, if there is anything in the tone of that letter which you think strange, it is then entirely against my will and intention.

It never could occur, nor has it ever occurred to me for a moment to doubt the right or the propriety, on your part, of inquiring at any time what steps I had taken or intended to take in order to secure the return, at the time of my death, to you, the rightful owners, of those papers of Mohr's which you have entrusted to me. Nor have I ever found anything to object to in the terms in which you spoke of that subject to Tussy. It seems, therefore, so exceedingly strange to me that I should have written to you in a tone that ought to give you reason to complain.

I did indeed feel nettled at the *way* Tussy caused the question to be submitted to me, and, under the circumstances, thought I was bound to speak to her about it. When I did, I told her, *not once but three or four times over*, that I had not one word to say against your letter, neither as to the subject-matter, nor as to the terms used. Anyhow, Tussy and I had an explanation, which as far as I know, settled everything connected with that subject, and left us as good friends as before; and I should regret very much if, through any unguarded words of mine or through some other circumstance, that little incident had thrown its shadow as far as Le Perreux.

In the meantime things have come to a crisis in your neighbourhood. I intended to write at some length about that, but Bebel all at once asked me for historical materials as to the various and pretty frequent riots here in England which are settled without ever attempting to encumber the Statute Book with increased penal laws or exceptional legislation. He is in the Committee on the Umsturzworlage¹ and wants it for them, so I had to leave everything else alone and get it off by this day's post before the usual Sunday delays in postal communication retard it.

Anyhow our 50 French socialist members are in luck. In less than 18 months they have upset three ministries and one president. That shows what a socialist minority can do in a

¹ The Bill against subversive activities.

parliament which, like the French or English, is the really supreme power in the country. A similar power our men in Germany can get by a revolution only; still, the break-up of the Centre party would make them the arbiters of the house and give them the balance of power.

What a miserable retreat is that of Casimir's! After the brag with which he came in, to skedaddle at the first serious difficulty! It looks as if our bourgeois heroes had individually degenerated quite as much as their class has done collectively. In Germany it looks as if the same principle was prevailing; Bebel does not seem to think von Köller and Co. the men likely to carry through a coup d'état to the end; it seems everywhere the story of Béranger's old fool who courted Babette and found out too late that his courting days were past and gone.

The greatest success, however, seems to me to be this, that the scandalous affairs of the opportunist majority have been again exposed, that Raynal has been nailed down, and that it seems impossible to have the subject burked again. The evidence of the corruption of all other parties must work wonders in favour of ours, especially in France, and ought to secure us immense and un hoped for successes at the next general election which cannot be very distant now, for who can govern with the present Chamber?

Ça chauffe!¹ and neither Félix Faure nor young William will be able to put out the fire.

I shall write to Paul as soon as ever I get a moment's time.

Thanks for the papers which I have sent on to Tussy after using them.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

¹ It's getting hot!—*Tr.*

565. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, January 22, 95

My dear Lafargue,

How lucky you are, you French! You bring down a Minister; then the whole Cabinet follows him and by way of after-effect the President of the Republic is involved in the general collapse. Three Cabinets and one President finished off—that's not doing too badly. The socialist group seems to have succeeded to the role of the late Clemenceau—and will play it better, I hope. It is now established that no ministry can exist without at least the help of the extreme Left. That will lead to the dissolution of Parliament, to which the growing stench of the opportunists' corruption is also leading. In which case you will be returned in greater strength, both numerically and morally; that can lead to the formation of Lassalle's "great reactionary mass", the coalition of all the bourgeois parties against socialism, a mass which is always formed at a time of danger, afterwards to be dissolved again into its various and mutually opposed groups of interests: large landowners, large manufacturers, high finance, small and middling bourgeoisie, peasants, etc. But, each time it is re-formed, it gains solidity until the day of crisis, when we shall have a compact mass confronting us. We have had this process of continual concentration and dissolution in Germany ever since our Party numbered more than 20 members in the Reichstag; but in your case, it will go faster because decisive power is in the hands of your Chamber of Deputies.

Mr. Faure may do what he likes, he cannot halt this process of forming into two opposing camps, nor the confusion which is necessarily born of this interplay of opposing forces, attraction and repulsion, within the milieu of the bourgeois parties. That is precisely the milieu we need, and which the existence of a socialist group creates everywhere, how-

ever little power it may have in Parliament. You will race ahead; it is the Party's progress itself that will first subdue and then eliminate the intestine and traditional struggles.

The addition of 30 Radicals has brought you luck, without them the group would not have had cohesion. Without Millerand you would not have been able to take advantage of the political situations as you have done. And Jaurès, indeed, seems full of goodwill—if he develops rather slowly it is perhaps a good thing for him and for us. Though frankly, in economic matters he needs further schooling. His Bill for immediate reforms in the *Petite République*¹ article is

¹ This refers to Jaurès' editorial "The Situation", which appeared in *La Petite République* on January 20th, 1895 (p. I/I-II).

After regretting that the candidate supported by the Socialists, Brisson, had not been elected President of the Republic, Jaurès analysed the possibilities opened to the Socialists by a president who, though very far from Socialist, was a "tried Republican". He wrote, regarding the economic situation:

"...And if historical necessity dictates that the rule of capitalism cannot yield to a socialist system without an upheaval, it (the Republican Party) would have at least greatly palliated the shock and facilitated the transition. For this it would have been necessary for the workers gradually to take their share in economic power, to lay down that for all wage-earners, in industry and agriculture, pensions were an absolute right, and that these should be included among the over-all costs of an enterprise to be met by the industrialist, the capitalist and the landowner. It would have been necessary to lay down that these insurance funds should be administered by the organised and united workers themselves, under the control not of the capitalists but of the nation.

"It would have been necessary to lay down that, by the drawing up of factory regulations, the owner would not be absolute master, but that the workers concerned should be consulted and should have a vote.

"It would have been necessary that the workers should at least be party to the supervision of factories and working sites where their health and life are perpetually exposed and to elect industrial inspectors from among them.

"One could also, and one should, take into account that, in all large capitalist enterprises, the wage-earners contribute capital represented by the value which the capitalists themselves put on their work, that is to say, by the total wages paid out in the year. Thus the workers would have been admitted, by right, and in proportion to that contribution, to the administration councils, and they would have been partially freed from their economic servitude pending the

not quite as wild as his Bill for a corn monopoly, but it is calling on the bourgeois for sacrifices incompatible with the advance of capitalist industry, so that in their eyes it is tantamount to immediate expropriation; whereas, on the other hand, he proposes improvement of the soil at the nation's expense, of the soil which would remain private property, and under conditions perpetuating the small peasant and which would create a new Panama for the big landowners who would laugh at the "obligation" etc. with which the Bill saddled them. This is to see as a complete abstraction the environment in which one lives and in which these reforms would be carried out. So long as the air is not cleansed by the removal of all the parliamentary and financial rogues, this improvement of individual landed property at everyone's expense would end as a colossal theft; and when we have got rid of these gentlemen, we shall be strong enough to do better than that.

The presidential crisis furthermore will have a capital effect on European politics. The Franco-Russian alliance is becoming more and more lenitive, insofar as the Russian hope of seeing the restoration of the monarchy emerge from the presidential crisis suffers repeated disillusionment. At the same time the Triple-Alliance has ceased to exist except on paper; bankrupt Italy slips through its fingers, Austria is only retained by fear of war with Russia, for which she would foot the bill; this danger vanishes as Russia loses the chance of using the French army when she sees fit; young

complete emancipation that only the new conception of property, which is the very basis of socialism, can afford them.

"Finally, decisive measures could have and should have been taken against unemployment by large-scale trade organisations registering all those seeking employment, by the gradual reduction of the working day and by imposing upon all owners of capital, whether industrial or agricultural, the obligation to share the unemployed for whom the nation had been unable to find work. Finally and above all, by large-scale public works concerned not only with highways, but also with soil improvement and the development of agricultural produce throughout the country, with the obligation on the landowners to devote the surplus value derived from these works to new works of public utility...."

Wilhelm has made himself far more disagreeable to his friends than to his enemies. So that, with the complete revolution in weapons since 1870 and, in consequence, of tactics, there is a total uncertainty about the outcome of a war where so many imponderables are involved and regarding which all the calculations made in advance are based on fictitious quantities. In these circumstances we seem to be assured of peace and even the most frenzied bourgeois Chauvinists of the *Déroulède* type can keep calm: the Prussians have taken over responsibility in Alsace for maintaining and nourishing French patriotism.

Herewith cheque for twenty pounds; if that can do you until the beginning of April, I should be glad; at that time I shall have certain payments coming in which will allow me to be more liberal. But, if needs be, I could perhaps, after all, send you ten pounds in March—we'll see.

Greetings from the Freybergers. Kiss Laura very warmly for me.

Ever yours,

F. E.

566. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

*London, 28 March, 95
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.*

My dear Löhr,

If you were in danger of being flooded, it was just the reverse with us—four weeks without water, and, at the end of the frost, the canalisation blocked up as the result. A fine mess it was. London was thrown back into barbarism by this month of hard frost, and the *Standard* with truly British conservatism congratulated us on the fact that the non-supply of water was a proof of the high civilisation attained here, while it pitied the uncivilised cities of the Continent where the water-pipes had not frozen. Well, thank goodness, it's over.

You grumble at the mythical union and real squabbles of the French Socialists—they are babies at that game, compared to the English. They are especially interesting—the English Socialists I mean—since S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] and I[ndependent] L[abour] P[arty] fight each other under the cloak of a pretended harmony. This harmony goes exactly as far as their common hatred of John Burns, and allows the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] to invite Keir Hardie to speak at their Commune meeting; at which meeting K[eir] H[ardie] (read his speech in the *Labour Leader*¹) directs hidden attacks against the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] to which that body replies in *Justice*.² The S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] says the I[ndependent] L[abour] P[arty] has no right to exist, the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] being the only true orthodox church; the I[ndependent] L[abour] P[arty] says the S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] ought to allow itself to be absorbed in the I[ndependent] L[abour] P[arty]. Their latest exploit was at the County Council Election where both of these organisations put up candidates, and only against “Progressives”³; the result was: 1,300 votes *in all* out of 486,000, and the election of 4 Moderates (Conservatives) for seats held formerly by Progressives, and the cry of triumph in both *Justice*⁴ and *Labour Leader* that *they* had beaten the Progressives. Imagine the Paris Socialists voting *with* Clericals, Monarchists and Opportunists *against* the

¹ *Labour Leader* of March 23rd, 1895, in the article “The Commune Celebration at South Place Institute” (p. 8/I-II).

² *Justice* of March 23rd, 1895, under the heading “Topical Tattle” (p. 6/II).

³ In municipal elections, and particularly in London, the Conservatives stood as “Moderates” and Liberals as “Progressives”. Engels’ indignation was owing to the fact that the London “Progressives” were far more advanced than the Liberal Party nationally and had been strongly influenced by the Radical Clubs inspired by Edward and Eleanor Aveling. They included such Fabian Socialists as Sidney Webb. The “Progressives” had a majority in the L.C.C. from 1888 to 1907.

⁴ The March 9th, 1895, issue of *Justice* carried two articles on this subject: “A Pitt for Palmer” (p. 1/III) and “A Much Needed Lesson for Progressives and Social-Democrats” (p. 4/I-III).

parties claiming municipal autonomy for Paris, and you have the exact counterpart of the socialist vote in London. But—to support the Progressives would have been to acknowledge that John Burns had behaved well in the County Council, and to endorse the policy of Sidney Webb and the Fabians who, muffs though they be as *Socialists*, are really doing very good work municipally, and fighting energetically and cleverly for an autonomous London. And so the “Socialists” prefer to support the party which refuses to allow London its self-government and fights hard to keep the County Council powerless. Now the County Council is the next and best and easiest-to-be-conquered piece of governmental machinery—the working class could have it tomorrow if they were united. And what would Parliament be with a Socialist autonomous Council for London!

The Berlin people are republishing Mohr's articles in the *Revue der N[eu]en Rh[einischen] Z[ei]tung* on France 1848-50 and I have written an introduction which will probably first appear in the *N[eu]e Zeit*.¹ It has suffered somewhat from the, as I think, exaggerated desires of our Berlin friends not to say anything which might be used as a means to assist in the passing of the Umsturzvorlage in the Reichstag. Under the circumstances I had to give way. But this Umsturzvorlage and the absolutely uncertain state of things in Germany—splendid though it be for the general progress of our Party—upsets a good deal of my calculations. I was, I believe you know, getting ready the Lassalle correspondence; for that I have to compare a lot of old papers, letters, etc. But if the new bill passes, neither the letters nor my notes and introduction will be printable in Germany. And a reprint of our old articles of 1843-52 will be equally impossible. So I am compelled to neglect all this until we can see somewhat clearer wie der Hase läuft.² In the meantime

¹ *The Class Struggles in France* was brought out by *Vorwärts* publications. Engels' introduction appeared in *Neue Zeit*, Nos. 27 and 28 (XIII. Jahrgang, II. Band, pp. 5-10, 36-43), though with certain cuts. See Letter 567 of April 3rd, 1895, on this.

² How the cat jumps.—Tr.

I am taking up Vol. IV of the *Capital*, reading and correcting the parts already copied out by K[arl] K[autsky] and shall then arrange with Tussy about her continuing the work.

Things in Germany are decidedly becoming critical. The latest escapade of young William¹—his tiefste Entrüstung² at the Reichstag's anti-Bismarck vote—is big with serious eventualities. First as a symptom; it shows that he has now not only “a slate off” but that the whole of his slate roof is getting out of order. Then as a *défi*.³ I have no doubt, our Party will reply to that in the Reichstag, and although the thing may appear to be buried for the moment, *the conflict is there* and will crop up again. There is no doubt, we are facing in Germany a modern Charles I, a man possessed by Cäsarenwahnsinn.⁴

Then look at the confusion the fellow creates in the ranks of the bourgeois parties. The Conservative Junker he in turns cajoles and repels; their clamour for state-secured rents he cannot satisfy; the alliance between landed aristocracy and large manufacturers, founded by Bismarck [in] 1878 by means of his protective tariffs, has gone to pot over conflicting economic interests; the Catholic party, who hold the balance of power in the Reichstag with their 100 members, was on the best way of being bribed into voting for the Umsturzvorlage, when the Bismarck vote and the Entrüstungskaiser throw them at once back into opposition—and that means furthering the splitting up of the Catholic Centre into an aristocratic-bourgeois wing and a democratic, peasant and working men's wing. Everywhere confusion and

¹ The President of the Reichstag had moved that the Assembly should send a message of congratulation to Bismarck on the occasion of his 80th birthday. The motion was rejected on March 23rd by 163 votes to 147. As soon as he heard the news, Wilhelm II sent Bismarck the following telegram: “I express my profound indignation to your Most Serene Highness on the matter of the resolution the Reichstag has just carried. This resolution is in complete contradiction to the feelings of all the German princes and peoples.”

² Profound indignation.—*Tr.*

³ Challenge.—*Tr.*

⁴ Caesaristic mania.—*Tr.*

disunion, pushing William to a coup d'état to assert his divine right to absolute power and to get rid of universal suffrage, and on the other side the silent and resistless advance of our Party manifesting itself at every election for any post accessible to working men's votes. This does look critical—qui vivra verra!¹

In a day or two I shall write to Paul about his half of the double-bedded book. He has got a strange bed-fellow²!

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

567. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.
London, April 3rd, 95

My dear Lafargue,

I had not yet finished reading your half-book³ when I received Vol. I of the *History of Socialism* by Kautsky, various Italian reviews concerning Loria (from Labriola) and a heap of Russian journals (from N[ikolai] D[anielson]). I am overwhelmed with post. Well, I read yours to the end nevertheless. It has a brilliant style, some very striking flashes of historical insight, there is truth in it and originality and, what is more important, it is not like the German professor's book where what was true was not original and what was original was not true. Its principal fault is that apparently you were in too great a hurry to be done with it; the arrangement, in particular of the sections on feudal and capitalist property, could have been more careful, especially

¹ Time will show.—Tr.

² This refers to the book: *Origine et évolution de la propriété* which had just been published by Delagrave. The work (pp. 301 to 532) was the second half of a volume the first part of which was devoted to a refutation of socialism by Yves Guyot.

³ This work bore the dedication: "To Frederick Engels, from his disciple and friend, Paul Lafargue".

for a Paris public, accustomed to reading what is easy and, moreover, adapted for lazy readers; the Parisian, too, asserts his right to be lazy. Many very good passages may possibly lose some of their effect because they are written as though in parenthesis, or because you have left the trouble of drawing conclusions and results too much to the reader.

As for the material itself, the main point of criticism is in the chapter on consanguineous communism. There you lay too much emphasis, I think, on the form in which that phase has been maintained up to our own times, *in France*, and on the form of its dissolution in that country. The form of coparcenary under which the consanguineous community has gone on so long in France is already in itself a *subdivision* of the *large* family community, continued to our day in the *Zadruga* of the Serbians and Bulgarians. This form, it appears certain, preceded the *peasant commune* in Russia, in Germany, etc.; in breaking up, the Slav *Zadruga*, the German *Hausgenossenschaft* (genealogy of *lex Alamannorum*) passed over to the commune of separate families (or, quite often at first, and still to-day in Russia, to coparcenaries), with *separately cultivated* fields, though *subject to periodic redistribution*—that is to say, what emerged from it was the Russian *mir* and the German *Markgenossenschaft*. The more restricted community of several families which was kept up in France was no more, as I see it, than an integral part of the *Markgenossenschaft*, at any rate in the North (the *Frankish* region); in the South (former Aquitaine) it may perhaps have formed a unity holding its land under the superior ownership of the *lord of the manor* alone, without being subject to the control of the village *commune*. It is only this special French form which, on breaking up, could pass in one leap to the individual ownership of the land.

This is a point on which there are still many things to study. It is from you that I learn of this special character of consanguineous communism in France, and since you are

already in it heart and soul, you could not do better than to pursue this study, which holds out great promise.¹

Small errata:

p. 338, you make the water of the Peruvian aqueducts flow *upwards*²; as there is scarcely any natural water in Peru save in "the heart of the mountains", and as your aqueducts are expressly built to carry water to them, it must, I suppose, be sea-water?

p. 354. Terra *salica*. Guérard³ is making a huge mistake with his derivation of *Sala* house. So the Salian Franks were Franks living in houses? They were called Salians, Salic, after the small region of Holland, Salland, where the group which conquered Belgium and France between Ardennes and Loire was formed for the conquest; the name still exists to-day. At the time when the Salic Law was drafted (about 400), the *Sala* was still, as you have observed yourself, a *personal estate* among the Germans.

p. 386 "another likes to set the snares or prepare grasshoppers" (*sauterelles*). Did they eat grasshoppers in Berry in 1787? I look in my dictionary and I find *sauterolle*, bird-trap.⁴

p. 393. Black redistribution⁵—in Russia *chorny*, black, is used for *dirty*, and in a secondary sense popular, common, vulgar. *Chorny* *narod*, the black people—the common people, the people as a whole. *Chorny* *peredel*, black redistribution, means rather therefore the general, universal dis-

¹ You must note the tripartition of France: France proper, to the Loire, strong Germanic influence; Burgundian area, to the East of Saône and Rhône, less Germanic; Aquitaine, between sea, Loire and Rhône, minimal Germanic influence. (*Note by F. Engels.*)

² Lafargue had written: "An aqueduct which crossed the Condesuyn district was 6 to 8 kilometres long and brought water, with the help of natural lakes and reservoirs, right into the heart of the mountains."

³ Guérard: *La Terre salique*.

⁴ Many modern dictionaries give "sauterelle" as bird-trap and do not include the word "sauterolle" found by Engels.—*Tr.*

⁵ Lafargue had written: "The *moujiks* called them black distributions, that is to say, bad ones, to indicate how antipathetic they were to the families, who ended by regarding themselves as the owners of the land shared out at the last distribution."

tribution, where everyone has his share, including the poorest. And in this sense a *Narodnik* (friend of the peasants) journal in Switzerland was called *Chorny peredyel*, which was meant to signify the distribution of *aristocratic estates* amongst the peasants.

That is all that I have noted and you will have had enough. As for Yves Guyot, I wash my hands of it.

Liebknicht has just played me a fine trick. He has taken from my introduction to Marx's articles on France 1848-50¹ everything that could serve his purpose in support of peaceful and anti-violent tactics at any price, which he has chosen to preach for some time now, particularly at this juncture when coercive laws are being drawn up in Berlin. But I preach those tactics only for the *Germany of to-day* and even then *with many reservations*. For France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, such tactics could not be followed as a whole and, for Germany, they could become inapplicable to-morrow.² So please wait for the complete article before judging it—it will probably appear in *N[eu]e Z[eit]*, and I expect copies of the pamphlet any day now. It's a pity that L[ie]bknicht can see only black and white. Shades don't exist for him.

However, things are warming up in Germany, it promises a splendid end to the century. Young Wilhelm's "indignation"³ is highly amusing. You may be sure our people will answer him in the Reichstag where there is no *lèse-majesté*.

I intended to say a lot of other things to you as well, but I cannot bring them to mind at the moment when I need them. I am gradually aging. So, as I must write a few lines still to Laura before the post goes, good-bye!

Greetings from the Freybergers (whose little girl gets on wonderfully well) and from your

F. ENGELS

¹ See p. 368, note 1.

² This part of the paragraph was published in *Le Socialiste* of November 24th, 1900, without Liebknicht being named.

³ See p. 369, note 1.

568. LAURA LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

Saturday evening [6th] April/95

My dear General,

When our thrice-illustrious Loria says that "*ciascuno* sa che esso (Sganarello) null'altro rappresenta che *il buon senso volgare*,"¹ and at the same time affirms, "*ch'esso è un personaggio delle commedie di Molière*,"² one is bound to infer that *ciascuno* stands for Loria.

Hosts of people possessing "*il buon senso volgare*" have read Molière and have failed to find that Molière's Sganarelle is a typical representative of "common sense".

Says Aimé Martin, an annotator: "*Deux caractères des comédies de Molière sont restés comme emplois au théâtre, les Sganarelles et les Aristes. Le nom de Sganarelle désigne toujours un homme trompé, ridicule, brusque, jaloux, n'obéissant qu'à ses fantaisies, comme l'exprime son nom.*"³

And indeed, look at *l'Ecole des Maris*, *Le Mariage forcé*, *Le Médecin malgré lui*, *Sganarelle ou le Cocu Imaginaire*, *Arlecchino cornuto per opinione*.

In all of these Sganarelle est berné et battu.⁴ In one of Molière's earliest essays, le *Médecin volant*, founded on *Il Medico Volante*—"farce dans le genre italien, qui formait le répertoire de la troupe ambulante de Molière",⁵ says Ch. Louandre, Sganarelle est *valet et fourbe*.⁶ In *Le Festin de Pierre*, he is *valet poltron, gourmand et cupide*.⁷ But *Le Festin de Pierre* is founded on a Spanish play.

¹ Everyone knows that he (Sganarello) represents no more than ordinary common sense.—Tr.

² "That he is a character in Molière's comedies."—Tr.

³ Two characters from Molière's comedies have remained in theatrical use, the *Sganarelles* and *Aristes*. The name Sganarelle is always attached to a cheated, ridiculous, rude, jealous man who obeys only his own whims, as his name indicates.—Tr.

⁴ Derided and outwitted.—Tr.

⁵ Farce in the Italian style, which formed the repertoire of Molière's strolling players.—Tr.

⁶ *Valet and rogue*.—Tr.

⁷ *Cowardly, greedy and covetous valet*.—Tr.

Whether in the Italian *commedie dell'arte*, the *Arlecchino* does or does not, now and again, go by the name of Sganarello, I do not know. Paul can easily find that out at the Bibliothèque nationale. It is closed until the 15th, or he would already have gone there.

Anyhow Sganarello is not a French name. Sgraffite (sgraffito) is the only word in our French dictionary beginning with sg. And *Mascarille*, together with *Scapin*, Molière's valet par excellence, is copied from l'*Emilia*, di Luigi Grolo Cieco di Hadria. "Un esclave intrigant est le véritable modèle de Mascarille: il escroque de l'argent du père pour servir les amours du fils"; etc.¹

I have read your article in the *Neue Zeit*² with great pleasure and am looking forward to reading the brochure. In a day or two I will send you the rest of the translation of your "Christianism",³ and hope you will not have much trouble with it.

Give my love to Louise and thank her for the photo of her baby. The young lady looks very promising and appears to be in excellent health and spirits.

Good-bye, my dear General, from

YOUR LÖHR

569. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

[6] April 95

My dear Engels,

You have no idea what pleasure your letter gave me: I was in a devil of a funk about your fearfully critical mind, particularly in relation to the part dealing with the Middle

¹ "Mascarille is the very type of the scheming servant: he cheats the father of money to further the son's love affairs."—*Tr.*

² This refers to the introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France*.

³ See p. 376, note 1.

Agés and feudal property, where I was not sure of being on firm ground.

I fastened on the etymology given by Guérard for *terra salica*, which answered my requirements so well: but from where, would you say, has this curious expression sprung, causing French scholars to spill so much ink?

I was under the impression that *black redistributions* meant *bad* distributions, because they were displeasing to those who had monopolised the common land.

The first part of your *Christianity* will appear in a few days,¹ it presents the question in a totally different light from that in which the French are used to regarding it. They never look at the reality; with Peregrinus and the prophets of the International you will shock and amuse them; for nothing is more amusing than your way of treating the origins of Christianity of which the scholars had made an inextricable jumble and Renan a fiction as tedious and boring as it is well written in a literary style. Peregrinus, the author of the New Testament, will enrage the believers.

With greetings

PAUL LAFARGUE

570. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

London, 17 April 95
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Löhr.

Yesterday I sent you cheque for £6.9.9., your share of hon-orarium for the *Klassenkämpfe*.² To-day I return *registered*, book post, your translation with thanks and suggestions.

¹ The first number of *Devenir social*, an international journal of economics, history and philosophy, edited by Giard and Brière, appeared in April 1895 and published the first part of Laura Lafargue's translation *Contribution to the History of Primitive Christianity* (pp. 27-40). The second part appeared in the May issue (No. 2, pp. 138-47).

² *Class Struggles* (in France).—Tr.

In one passage I had to make an alteration, you yourself had marked it as unintelligible, which indeed it was owing to omission of a word in the German text. The alteration is at the back of the page and requires a little frenchifying at your hands. I hope all your trouble will be rewarded by the French reading public!

I have at last succeeded in hunting up the old *Rheinische Zeitung* of 1842. It was all this time in the Berlin Bibliothek, and our friends in Berlin, who might have known that long ago, only found it out now. Someone in Berlin had a sharper way of doing things than they, and intended publishing *Mohr's* articles therefrom; we have no right to stop this, as according to German law all anonymous or pseudonymous works become public property after 30 years from date of publication, unless copyright has been previously registered by the author or other *qui de droit*.¹ However this threatened competition roused our friends all at once; Fischer who manages now the publishing department of the *Vorwärts* book-selling firm, has at once, at my suggestion, set some one to copy *Mohr's* chief articles, and will announce that I am going to edit them with introduction, etc. This will probably stop competition. Financially we can hardly expect much, if anything, therefrom, but at all events the articles are safe.

For the Lassalle letters and ulterior plans of republication of old affairs, we shall have to await the fate of the Coercion Bill before the Reichstag²; if that passes, I do not see how we can safely proceed to work, at least in Berlin. May be Stuttgart may remain more favourable—anyhow *qui vivra verra*.

I hope you send the *Devenir social* also to Madrid—our friends there are almost entirely dependent, for foreign reading, on French literature, and it strikes me they get to see

¹ *Authorised person.—Tr.*

² In the event, following a debate in which the socialist deputies played a major part, the Bill against subversive activities was rejected by the Reichstag.

more from other sects' publications than from ours. For if the management of the *Socialiste* is to serve as a pattern, woe be unto us! The *Vorwärts* announces the complete reorganisation of that illustrious paper, published "mit Ausschluss der Oeffentlichkeit",¹ and that Chauvin has remodelled the publishing department²—if so, il est tellement chauvin³ that nobody here has seen a trace of it. But then, the *Vorwärts* seems to know of France only the Boulevard *Bonne Nouvelle*, and if the nouvelles ne sont pas assez bonnes, il les fabrique lui-même.⁴

Many thanks for your news about Sganarelle, they are quite sufficient for the éclairage de ma tête⁵ upon the subject. I had in my head only the Sganarelle of the *Médecin volant* and *Don Juan*.

Please tell Paul that if he is in want of a draught composed of L, s, and d, (in which case the British philistine spells it draft) he is quite welcome to one.

Kind regards from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. E.

571. LAURA LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

May 6th 95

My dear General,

Paul asks me to thank you for cheque for £20, and I thank you for it in my own name as well as his.

We are very sorry to know that you are out of sorts, but

¹ In camera.—*Tr.*

² From April 7th, 1895, *Le Socialiste* came out on Sundays in a larger format with the sub-heading: Sixth Year (4th Series) No. 1. The editorial secretary was A. Zévaès and the business manager Chauvin.

³ He is so chauvinist.—*Tr.*

⁴ ...news is not interesting enough, he invents it himself.—*Tr.*

⁵ Enlightenment of my mind.—*Tr.*

if May-tide with you is anything like what it is with us, a stay at the sea-side will, I am sure, in no time set you up again.

I have not seen you for so long that I read with great pleasure the passage in your letter that refers to our coming over to Merrie (?) England. There is nothing to prevent our crossing the Channel and we shall be very happy to do so whenever it will be convenient for you to have us.

If Paul cannot come with me, he will come "tumbling after", like Jack did after Jill. In any case I hope it will not be overlong ere we meet again.

I am obliged to be brief to-day, but mean to be longer-winded next time.

With love from both of us,

I AM YOUR LÖHR

572. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

*London, 14 May 95,
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.*

My dear Löhr,

I was extremely glad, and indeed so were Louise and Ludwig, to learn that both you and Paul were ready and willing to come over here for a bit, and I should have written at once in reply, had it not been for those confounded pains which for a week nearly drove me mad and even now have not left me, anything but painless, but extremely stupid and unfit for anything. The fact is this. Some time ago I got a swelling on the right side of the neck, which after some time resolved itself into a bunch of deep-seated glands infiltrated by some cause or other. The pains arose from direct pressure of that lump on the nerve and will of course only give way when that pressure disappears. At present a process of resorption is going on very satisfactorily, but a couple of these glands are suppurating and will have to be cut; and as they are so deep-seated and slow in coming to

the surface, and we old people being such slow coaches, the time for the operation cannot be exactly fixed, but, it is hoped, will come off this week. That once performed, I am ordered to the sea-side; but the uncertainty is still about the time.

Now as things are situated, would it not be the best thing for you to come over, say in the course of next week, and then as soon as possible you and I could bundle off to Eastbourne and settle down in comfortable quarters and prepare for visitors from London. I say you and I, because I intend to keep you here a good bit, longer than very likely Paul would care to separate himself from his studies and your animals and the garden work; so he perhaps would prefer to do as you say and come tumbling after.

When I shall have cleared out from here, Louise intends giving my two rooms a good cleaning down and after that she might come and join us with her baby for a week or so; after that Tussy and Edward might come, and then Paul who by that time is sure to be tired of his solitude, and then we might bethink ourselves of returning all of us to London and show Paul our new establishment too.

This is such a sort of rough prospectus as a man with neuralgic pains in the head after a series of sleepless nights has been able to excogitate under the present indefinite conditions; and therefore subject to alterations as novel circumstances and novel ideas may command. It is humbly submitted to you for approval or improvement as may be.

The heat is insupportable, 22°C. in the room all day long—no wind, clouds and impending thunder which unfortunately *keeps* impending. And that 2 months after that hard frost!

Kind regards from the Freybergers to both of you. Amitiés à Paul et au revoir.

I enclose cheque £10.—for your journey hither and any little additions you may like to make to your outfit.

So please say when we may expect you.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

(87)

Eastbourne 27 July 98

My dear Lilla

Tomorrow we return to London. There seems to be a crisis approaching in my potato field on my neck, so that the stalks may be opened to rot. At least there is hope of this long time coming to a happy end. I hope it is for with my deficient appetite as I have been pushed down considerably.

The elections have now come off, as I said: a large Tory majority, the Liberals hope. Gladstone & I hope in full dissolution. The bag of £100,000 for free & free with a reality of some £10,000 notes for Labour. I hope up to now, hardly any yet to come. At the best of it, the party, still that was more than they had a right to expect.

Victor Lilla is here. Then go and ask any questions & ask him about Paul's arranged

Facsimile of the beginning of Letter 573 from Frederick Engels to Laura Lafargue, the last letter he wrote
(see over for the end of the letter)

with the likelihood, would I be of any use
in saying to you with him?

I am not in strength to write long
letters, so good bye. Have a good health
in a bumper of Cal de France fortified by
action of cognac wine.

Amelia & Paul

Ever yours

11/11
P. Wright

There is another reason to avoid unnecessary delay: to get to E[astbourne] *before Whitsun* week, on account of cheap trippers, etc.

573. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO LAURA LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX*

Eastbourne, 23 July 95

My dear Löhr,

To-morrow we return to London. There seems to be at last a crisis approaching in my potato field on my neck, so that the swellings may be opened and relief secured. At last! so there is hope of this long lane coming to a turning. And high time it is for with my deficient appetite, etc., I have been pulled down considerably.

The elections here have come off as I said: a large Tory majority, the Liberals hopelessly beaten and, I hope, in full dissolution. The brag of I[ndependent] L[abour] P[arty] and S[ocial] D[emocratic] F[ederation] face to face with a reality of some 82,000 votes for Labour candidates up to now (hardly any yet to come) and the loss of K. Hardie's seat. Still that was more than they had a right to expect.

Victor Adler is here.¹ Have you or Paul any questions to ask him about Paul's arrangement with the *Arbeiter Zeitung* or can I be of any use in any way to you with him?

I am not in strength to write long letters, so good-bye. Here's your good health in a bumper of lait de poule² fortified by a dose of cognac vieux.³

Amitiés à Paul.

Ever yours,

F. ENGELS

¹ Victor Adler, notified of the gravity of Engels' illness by Dr. Freyberger, had been granted a suspension of his sentence (he was in prison) and had hastened to Eastbourne on the pretext of consulting his old teacher on matters concerning the Austrian Party. He stayed with Engels until August 3rd. During the last days Engels was already completely unconscious and died on August 5th.

² Mulled egg.—*Tr.*

³ Old brandy.—*Tr.*

APPENDICES

I

INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN *L'ÉCLAIR*¹

... Mr. Engels, who hates interviews, has been good enough to make an exception in our case and give us his impressions.

"What do you think," we asked him, "of the recent outrages perpetrated in Paris by the anarchists?"

"I can see in them only the work of *agents provocateurs* paid to try and discredit the parties in which they play a part. The government has a great deal to gain by these outbreaks which serve both the interests of the bourgeoisie in general and the intrigues of certain political groups in particular. In fact, they are trying to throw the population into a panic, organise terror and bring about a reaction.

"The same process was used in Germany recently at the time of the 'Berlin troubles'. There, again, we should do well to look for the hand of the police. Certainly on the first day of these so-called socialist demonstrations some of our people may have been mixed up in the movement, but those of them who had been led astray quickly recognised the true character of the demonstration and withdrew at once.

"The proof lies in the fact that several small shops belonging to known Socialists were looted. It emerged at the trial of the arrested rioters that the ringleaders were anti-Semites

¹ *L'Éclair* of April 6th, 1892, published this interview with Engels under the heading "Anarchy, an Interview with the German Socialist Engels" (p. 1/III-IV).

who were trying to exploit the hunger of a few poor wretches by making them shout: 'Down with the Jews!'

"In Italy, you find the same method again in the proceedings instituted against Cipriani and other anarchists. There, too, the activities of *agents provocateurs* were exposed at the Assize Court.

"But it does not always succeed. In Paris, one or two poor wretches were found willing to play the police's game, but no one, except the police itself, can maintain that they are members of the Socialist Party."

RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY

"Are you not afraid that all these internal upheavals will lead the governments to try and seek a diversion in continental war? For example, your Emperor Wilhelm ..."

"No. I hope that the Emperor Wilhelm will live for a long time to the great benefit of German Socialists," said Mr. Engels, laughing. "In any case, I do not think there will be an immediate war."

"Has the alliance between Russia and France given you no cause for fear in this matter?"

"None at all. Last year, possibly, the Russians were entertaining aggressive inclinations. The Kronstadt demonstrations, the very obvious advances made by imperial Russia to republican France could have seemed suspect. The troop concentrations on the frontiers seemed also to cause some alarm. But to-day things are very different.

"Russia, in fact, would like to make a war but could not. She has at the moment to combat a more formidable enemy than any other: famine.

"This scourge is not the result of a temporary shortage due to climatic or other hazards: it is the result of the new organisation of Russian society.

"Since the Crimean War, during which whole regiments perished in the snow, the situation has changed much. That war marked the beginning of a great crisis in Russian his-

tory. When defeat was complete, when Russia's impotence had been demonstrated to the whole of Europe, the Emperor Nicholas, desperate on realising the deplorable condition in which his Empire found itself, did not hesitate to take poison. Hence Alexander II, on ascending the throne, found himself obliged to try and do something to remedy his country's appalling situation."

THE CAUSES OF FAMINE IN RUSSIA

"It was then that the Tsar proceeded to the emancipation of the serfs, an emancipation which served as a pretext for a new redistribution of land between the aristocrats and the peasants. The aristocrats were given the best land, as also water and forests. The peasants were given only land of poor quality and even that distribution was made in an inadequate fashion and averaging a sum payable by annuities over 49 years! What was the result?

"The peasants were unable to pay the rent to the State and were forced to borrow: they had too much to die and not enough to live. A bunch of kulaks (money-lenders) battered on these tillers of the soil and bit by bit they were indebted to the point of losing all hope of ever freeing themselves. When the usurers refused to make further advances, the peasants were forced to sell their crops to obtain money, and they sold not only the corn necessary for their own consumption, but even the corn essential for sowing, so that future harvests were jeopardised.

"In these circumstances, the first bad harvest inevitably led to a real famine. This famine in its turn struck the last blow at agricultural production in Russia. In fact, the peasant, no longer able to feed his cattle, was obliged to kill or sell it. But, without farm animals, you can neither work nor manure the land. So agricultural production was suspended for years at a stretch.

"The emancipation of the peasants was only one aspect of the economic revolution which occurred in Russia; another

aspect was the artificial creation of a manufacturing bourgeoisie intended to become an intermediate class. To achieve this more quickly, a real prohibitive system was introduced which encouraged and developed Russian industry in a most remarkable way; but as that industry could not export, it needed a home market. Now, the Russian peasant hardly buys anything, accustomed as he is to making everything himself: houses, implements, clothes, etc.; hitherto he had even produced many wood, iron and leather goods which he sold in the markets. But once the wood had been taken from the peasant, by giving the forests to the aristocrats, rural industry was endangered. Manufacturing industry came to finish it off and the peasants had to turn to it. At the moment when that form of industry would have succeeded, famine arrived to give it its death-blow: the peasants could no longer buy anything from it and the ruin of the one led to the ruin of the other."

THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SITUATION

"So, according to what you say, the economic situation in Russia will prevent her from thinking of going to war?"

"Yes. I am not exaggerating when I say that the picture of the French peasant of the 17th century presented by Vauban and Boisguil[le]bert could be applied to the Russian peasant, reduced to-day to eating grass. The transition from the feudal to the bourgeois system in France did not take place without upheavals; in Russia it has produced a crisis which, in its acute stage, threatens to become chronic. For all these reasons, Russians are thinking more about eating than about fighting at the present time."

"The last Russian loan . . ."

"I was just going to speak of that. It is a tremendous failure. The French bourgeoisie which is only too ready to talk revenge has not pushed patriotism to the point of opening its purse-strings. The tsarist government called for £ 20 million sterling; it only obtained twelve. . . ."

"It has been said that the Rothschilds contributed to the failure of this loan in order to avenge their co-religionists persecuted by the Russian Government."

"I have attacked the Rothschilds often enough to be in a position to defend them against the charge of being so foolish. The Rothschilds were only concerned with their interests as bankers, those interests being to draw the highest possible commission and exploit the largest number of simpletons, and that's all."

"In short, you do not believe in Russia's power?"

"Russia, strong in defence, is not strong in attack, either by sea or land. I have shown you that her economic situation does not permit her to engage in dangerous and costly undertakings. If we examine her military organisation, we shall see that in this respect, too, she is not a threat."

"In the event of war she would not put in the line more soldiers than she has under arms at present. Her reserves exist only on paper and, even if she had thousands upon thousands of men, she does not have officers on the reserve to lead them. Where indeed would they come from? From what sphere?"

"In Germany, we have 50 per cent more reserve officers than are needed. In this regard, would not France be in a state of relative inferiority too?" asked our interlocutor.

A STRONG FRANCE

"Not at all," we replied. "In France we do not have too many officers, but there is a full complement."

"That does not displease me at all," said Mr. Engels, "I have no wish to see the German army strong enough to conquer the whole of Europe. To attain our aim, the emancipation of the European working class may need a powerful, independent France, quite as much as a Germany enjoying the same advantages. It is your great compatriot Saint-Simon who was the first to proclaim the necessity for an alliance between France, Britain and Germany as a first

condition for the peace of Europe. There is the true 'Triple Alliance'."

"To conclude, we should like to say that you have given a somewhat gloomy picture of the situation in Russia."

"Not at all. Listen: would you like to hear a story? You know that to bring help to the starving Russian peasants it was decided to send them corn from the Caucasus where there was too much. Orders were accordingly given; the corn was collected in large quantity and waggons were sent to transport it. But it so happened that the empty waggons sent were assembled in such large numbers that they caused a blockage; the corn was beside the waggons and the waggons could not leave. The Tsar, learning of this situation, flew into a violent rage and sent a general to the place; the general made a great to-do, announced that all was going well, but succeeded in sending off only a few trains: the greater part of the corn rotted on the spot! What would it have been like in the event of mobilisation? As it is, Russia has not many railways and her officers do not even know how to make use of them."

THE QUESTION OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

"One more question: What about Alsace-Lorraine, the cause of all the dissensions? Do you not believe in a peaceful solution that would satisfy both France and Germany?"

"I hope that the German Socialist Party will be in power in ten years' time. Its first task will be to put the people of Alsace-Lorraine in a position to determine their own political future. In this way the question will be solved without a single French soldier stirring. On the other hand, a war between Germany and France would be the one way of preventing the Socialists' advent to power. And, if France and Russia in alliance attacked Germany, the last-named would defend to the death her national existence, in which the German Socialists are even more interested than the bourgeois. The Socialists would thus fight to the last man

and would not hesitate to resort to the revolutionary means employed by France in 1793."

On this extremely forthright declaration we left Mr. Engels who, as can be seen, is as socialist as he is patriotic—from the German standpoint, naturally. . . .

II

CONVERSATION WITH FREDERICK ENGELS¹

"Germany is entering one of the gravest periods of her history, but I add at once that we, Socialists, have nothing to fear from this situation; on the contrary, we shall derive great benefits from it. It is largely thanks to our agitation that the army credits have been rejected. It has been impossible for the various parliamentary parties to ignore us, and even less for the government to do so, since it knows that we are its most dangerous enemy. When the government's decision to ask for fresh military credits was known, the people were angry, and the vote of the Centre and the Radicals was certainly influenced by the pressure of public opinion.

"You see," added Engels, purposely emphasising his statement, "in Germany the people say: *We have enough soldiers; this must stop.*"

"And the new Reichstag, Mr. Engels?"

"*At the moment of speaking* it appears to me that the next Reichstag will be even less inclined to vote the credits than the defunct Reichstag. However, I do not hide from myself the possibility that freshly elected members with five years' legislation before them may reach agreement with the government which, using a little *gentle violence*, could get a compromise passed. In the eventuality, which is probable, of the Reichstag rejecting the credits, they would have to resort

¹ This interview, published by *Le Figaro*, was reprinted in *Le Socialiste*, No. 140, on May 20th, 1893 (p. 2/I-III)...

to another dissolution which, I am convinced, would result in the election of a Reichstag even more unamenable to accepting the government's proposals. In which case the conflict would exist in acute form, and it would become a matter of who would have power, Parliament or the Emperor. That would be the repetition of the conflict between Bismarck and the Prussian Chamber, in 1864, which ended in the Austrian War."

By his reply itself, Frederick Engels led me to ask him to visualise the two possibilities already discussed in the European press: that of a coup d'état at home and of a diversion abroad.

"A coup d'état to-day," he replied with animation, "is not so easy as in the past. In 1864, at the time of the conflict between Bismarck and the Prussian Chamber, Prussia was a centralised State, whereas to-day the German Empire is a federal State. The central government would risk too much by attempting a coup d'état. To have any certainty of pulling it off, it would need the *unanimous* agreement of the various confederated governments. If only *one* of them did not accept a coup d'état, it would be released from the ties of obligation to the Empire and that would mean the break-up of the federal State. But that is not all. The Federal Constitution is the only guarantee that the small states have against Prussia's domination; by violating it they would surrender themselves, bound hand and foot, to the will of the central power. Is it likely that Bavaria would abdicate to that extent? No, and to reserve myself on that point, I will tell you this: to bring about a coup d'état in Germany, the Emperor would have to have on his side either the people—which he has not—or all the confederated governments—and *he will never have them all.*"

This last statement of Engels not having convinced me, I pressed further on this matter of an internal coup d'état.

"Oh," he replied, "I am not saying that what I should call *a revolution from above* could not be a danger in the future.

Bebel and many of our people have already said that they foresaw an attack on universal suffrage."

"In that case, would you answer violence with violence?"

"We should not be so insane as to fall into the trap the government has set for us, for the German Government desires nothing so much as an insurrection in order to crush us. We know only too well the actual state of our forces and those of the government to go into such a game light-heartedly. In any case, would Wilhelm II dare to suppress universal suffrage *altogether*? I think not. He might perhaps raise the age limit of the electors and grant us a *revised and corrected* suffrage" (and, in saying these words, Engels began to laugh), "which Belgium is going to experience."

"You do not fear the mass-arrest of the opposition deputies?"

"Oh," cried Engels, "nobody in Germany considers such an eventuality possible. There are confederated governments—Bavaria, for example—which would never agree to sanction so flagrant a violation of the Constitution. Do not lose sight of the fact that the imperial Constitution and the Reichstag are the only weapon the small states have against their absorption by the Prussian Government."

We reached the hypothesis of a diversion abroad. Engels is far from pessimistic.

"Obviously," he said, "a war could break out. But who would dare to take the responsibility to-day for provoking one, except perhaps Russia whose country, by reason of its enormous extent, cannot be conquered? And even there! At the present time, Russia's situation is such that she could not stand a war for four weeks, if she did not receive money from abroad."

* * *

Here my interlocutor paused for a moment and then said in angry tones barely restrained:

"Really, I do not understand the French Government. It is Russia which has need of France and not France of Rus-

sia. Russia is ruined; her soil is exhausted, if the French Government understood the situation as it really is, it would get everything from Russia that it wanted . . . everything, everything—except money and effective military aid. Without France, Russia was isolated, completely isolated. And don't talk to me about the military strength of the Russians! Remember the Turkish war. Without the Rumanians, the Russians were helpless before Plevna. . . . No, the more I think about it, the less I believe there will be war. Its outcome nowadays is so uncertain. The armies are in an entirely new situation which defies all calculations. There are rifles which fire ten shots a minute, with a range not far off that of cannon and whose projectiles have a fantastic percussive force. There are melinite and roburite shells and so on. None of these formidable weapons of destruction has ever been tried out in war. So we have absolutely no idea what effect this revolution in armaments may have on tactics and on the morale of the soldier.

"If Wilhelm II wanted to plunge into war he would meet with resistance from his own General Staff: they would make him *ponder* the enormous risks of a war. In Napoleon III's time, you could still have localised wars; to-day war would be general and *Europe would be in Britain's power*, for Britain could starve out one or other of the belligerents at will. Neither Germany nor France produces enough corn at home: they must necessarily import it from abroad. They are supplied in particular from Russia. Germany at war with Russia could not obtain a bushel. At the same time, France would be cut off from Russian grain by Central Europe entering the campaign against her. Thus there would be no route open except the sea. But the sea, in time of war, would be more than ever under Britain's rule. The British Government, for a fee allotted to the companies concerned in the various transoceanic services, has at its command vessels built *under its control*; so that, if war were declared, Britain would possess, besides her powerful fleet, fifty to sixty cruisers engaged in preventing supplies from reaching that or those of

the belligerents against whom she wished to declare herself. So that if she remained neutral, she would still be the final arbiter in the situation. Whilst the belligerents were exhausting each other in battle, she would step in, at the right moment, to dictate her peace conditions. At all events, don't worry about the possibility of a war instigated by Wilhelm II. The German Emperor has lost a good deal of his early ardour...."

* * *

There remained a question to Mr. Engels on one important point: the German Socialists' chances in the next elections.

"I am convinced," he replied to this question, "that we shall improve on the 1890 election by seven hundred thousand to a million votes. We shall thus poll altogether two million and a quarter, if not two million and a half votes. But the seats won will not correspond to that figure.... If the seats were distributed equally we should have had, after the elections which won us a million and a half votes, eighty deputies in the Reichstag instead of thirty-six. Since the foundation of the Empire, when the electoral constituencies were established, the distribution of the population has changed to our disadvantage. The rule which prevailed in forming the constituencies was this: one deputy for 100,000 inhabitants. But Berlin, which still only returns six deputies, has a population of over a million and a half inhabitants to-day. Berlin should have sixteen deputies according to the regulations. Another case: Cologne now has 250,000 inhabitants and still has only one deputy."

"Will the Socialist Party put up candidates in all the constituencies?"

"Yes, we shall stand candidates in 400 constituencies. It is important for us to test our strength."

"And the final aim of you" German Socialists?"

Mr. Engels looks at me for a few moments and then says:

"But we have no final aim. We are *evolutionists*, we have

no intention of dictating definitive laws to mankind. Preconceptions regarding the detailed organisation of the society of the future? You will find no trace of any such thing among us. We shall be quite satisfied when we have put the means of production into the hands of the community, and we know well enough that that is impossible with the monarchic and federal government of to-day."

I allowed myself the comment that the time still seemed to me far distant when the German Socialists would be in a position to apply their theories.

"Not as distant as you think," replied Mr. Engels. "In my opinion, the time is drawing near when our Party will be called upon to take over government. . . . Perhaps towards the end of the century you will see this event occur.

"Just look at the figures of our supporters since the opening of our parliamentary fights. There is a constant increase at each election. Personally I am convinced that, had the last Reichstag lived out its legal term, that is, had elections not taken place before 1895, we should have polled three million and a half votes. Now in Germany there are ten million electors and on an average seven million voters. With three and a half million voters out of seven million the German Empire cannot go on in its present form. And, don't forget this—which is very important—the figure of our electors gives us the figure of our supporters in the army. Having *already* a million and a half out of ten million electors is round about a seventh of the population in favour of us, and we can reckon that out of six soldiers we have one. When we have three million and a half votes—and that is not very far off—we shall have half the army."

As I expressed my doubts about the loyalty of socialist troops in the army to their principles in the event of revolution, Mr. Engels made the following reply, verbatim:

"On the day when we shall be in the majority, what the French army did by instinct by not firing on the people will be done by our people in a conscious way. Yes, no matter what the frightened bourgeois may say, we can calculate

the moment when we shall have the majority of the population on our side, our ideas make headway everywhere, as much among teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc. as among the workers. To-morrow, if we had to take over power, we should need engineers, chemists, agronomists. Well, I am convinced that we should already have a great many with us. In five or ten years, we shall have more of them than we shall need."

And on this extremely optimistic note I took leave of Mr. Frederick Engels.

FREDERICK ENGELS AND THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

Interview published by the *Daily Chronicle*

Herr Frederick Engels is the doyen of the German socialist movement. Whilst a young man he came to England to spin cotton and write what still remains a textbook on the history of British manufacturing industries and their effect on the life and well-being of the people. After spending a few years in Belgium and France, he returned to Germany in 1848, and assisted his friend Marx in editing the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* at Cologne. When that paper was forcibly suppressed by the Prussian Government, he took part in the insurrectionary campaign in South Germany, and passed, in July 1849, with the remnant of the insurgent army, into Switzerland. Thence he returned to England and to cotton-spinning. After a prosperous career in his adopted country, Herr Engels remains true to his first love. For him there shall be no bowing down in the house of Rimmon. Radicalism and Fabianism are to him accursed things, and come under the condemnation of the Laodicean Church. He holds to the strong meat of Marxism, which for him alone contains the cure for all the ills that flesh is heir to, and he, with Marx and, later on, Lassalle, began the work which Bebel and Liebknecht are carrying on, and which has lately had such a dramatic success. One of the oldest members of the International, Herr Engels has always kept in close

touch with all the continental advanced movements, and his knowledge of all the currents of thought which affect the European democracy is extensive and profound. Yet, withal, a kindly, genial, soul. Old-age is to him but as "a lusty winter, frosty but kindly", and his ripe and mellow wisdom made a talk with him on the German elections (writes a *Chronicle* interviewer) one of the pleasantest experiences I have ever had.

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. 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, although our policy is very different."

"More nearly approaching that of the Fabian Society, 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. 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 a manifesto 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. 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. We have a similar one for Bulgaria. 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, only 300,000; in 1884, 750,000, and in 1890, 1,437,000. 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 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."

SUPPLEMENTARY LETTERS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Letters written to Engels by Lafargue while the latter was in Spain during the years 1871-1872 were in the archives of the German Social-Democratic Party which Gustav Mayer was able to consult prior to 1933.

The first volume of the *Correspondence* had already been published in France and the second was due to appear when the Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism sent photostat copies of these early letters to the French publishers. These copies had been made of the original letters at the time when the Institute was authorised by the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party to photograph its archives.

The letters themselves are at present in Amsterdam and are made available in this text by courtesy of the Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The decipherment of the text and the preparation of notes took the French publishers some time, which explains the delay in the publication of the third volume in French and, consequently, in an English translation.

The supplement contains all the letters thus made available, thirty of them falling into the period covered by Volume I and three into that of Volume II. They are numbered according to their chronological place in the earlier volumes.

The French editors regret that they have been unable to provide as many explanatory footnotes as they would have wished, owing to the inaccessibility of the Spanish working-class press of the period.

1871

5 a. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT SAN SEBASTIAN (?)

November 24th, 71¹

My dear Toole,

Thank you for your letter of which I made good use in the Council. This very day my ultimatum to the Madrid Federal Council goes off *by registered post*; I am telling them that if their silence continues, *debuemos proceder como nos lo dictará el interés de la Intern[acional]*.² Should they make no reply, or an improper one, we shall immediately send you full powers for the whole of Spain. Meanwhile, like any other member, you have the right, in accordance with our statutes, to form new sections. It is important that, in the event of a split, we should retain a foothold in Spain, even if the entire present organisation deserts bag and baggage to the Bakunist camp; and we could rely on you alone in such circumstances. So do what you can to resume communications everywhere with the people who could be useful to us in that situation. Those Bakunists are absolutely determined to transform the Int[ernational] into an *absten-*

¹ This letter was written on the last sheet of a letter from Marx to Laura and Paul Lafargue, which is now in the possession of the French publishers of the *Correspondence*. The letter from Paul Lafargue, referred to in the first sentence, has not, however, been traced.

² We shall have to act as the interests of the International dictate.

tionist organisation, but they will not succeed. The Barcelona *Federació[n]* and the Madrid *Emancipación*¹ reach us only so very irregularly that I cannot tell whether the exposure of the intrigue has already started in those papers. But they have always preached abstention which no doubt appears to them a matter of far greater importance than the economic questions. What happens to them as a result of their abstention from politics is that *they themselves* make politics the most important point!

My warm greetings to Laura and kiss little Schnaps for me.

Ever yours,

F. E.

6 a. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

My dear General,

At the same time as you, More² will be receiving a letter from Laura setting out the Paris publisher's terms for bringing out *Das Kapital*.³ These terms are not extravagant nor out of the way, even less are they unpleasant; but Mohr has such odd prejudices that I think it wise to invoke your practical good sense straight away to combat and overcome any objections. I will not go into the terms: you will find them in Laura's letter. I should tell you, by the bye, that it is thanks to a Commune refugee whom Laura charmed that we managed to catch this *rara*

¹ The Barcelona *Federación* and the Madrid *Emancipación* were both organs of the International.

² This refers, of course, to Marx. At that period Lafargue misspelt his nickname in this manner. The correct spelling has been restored in subsequent references.

³ Laura Lafargue wrote to Marx on December 12th 1871, telling him that Lachâtre was prepared to publish a French edition of *Capital*. Lachâtre was at the time in San Sebastian as a refugee. During the Commune he had been a contributor to Félix Pyat's paper *Combat*.

avis, a publisher. I must, however, mention one of the terms which affects me personally. By dint of negotiation, the publisher—who appears eager to publish the work—might possibly have agreed to do so entirely at his own expense; but in that case he would have demanded full and entire rights which would never have suited Marx; but we have found a way out: the first edition will cost six to seven thousand francs; four thousand francs, however, would be enough for a start and he is asking me for half that amount.¹ I agreed at once, for those two thousand francs make me a partner and give me certain rights which will enable Mohr to make what arrangements he wishes for the translation of his book. Perhaps Mohr, who has retained so many bourgeois prejudices in his outlook, will not willingly accept this condition; I beg you to explain to him that I am simply putting down an advance, an advance which entails no risk, for the first edition will assuredly be sold out quickly, thanks to the agreement the publisher is making with the *Radical*.² Thus we are not risking our money; on the contrary, there may even be a profit. So Mohr should have no qualms on this score; but in any case, should he have any, I rely on you to overcome them.

Yesterday we received your letter³ wherein you announce that everything regarding Spain is settled, but that you still have to crush Italy. If I did not know your excessive modesty—a modest General!—I should say that you were quite capable of accomplishing this, but since you “barely understand” Italian, the task will be most difficult with your ignorance of the language. However, I trust that the General will call the polyglot Engels to his assistance and that all will go swimmingly.

¹ A sheet of paper in Lachâtre's handwriting, headed: “Accounts relating to the publication of the philosophical work *Le Capital*, by M. Karl Marx”, contains the note: “refund to author of his share, 2,000 francs.” Undoubtedly the 2,000 francs here referred to.

² The distribution of *Capital* was to be undertaken by the paper *Le Radical*.

³ See Letter No. 6 of December 9th, 1871 (Vol. I, p. 29).

We are in a fairly industrialised district here; there are linen and calico works, lead and chalk factories, etc. We have already visited a china and a linen factory with Laura; if the Internationalists here, who are *very-green**, are worth their salt, I believe that I shall succeed fairly soon in forming sections in all the villages where these manufactories are. Next Sunday I shall be going to Tolosa, where we are to meet some workers from the railways and the ironworks to decide with them upon the measures to be taken to form sections in Tolosa and the adjacent working-class centres. We shall also discuss with these workers the starting of a weekly journal. I count on Engels to edit this journal: please communicate this part of my letter to him. Engels, as Laura has already said in a letter to Mohr, might write an account of the Germans' conduct during the war,¹ which I could have published in *La Emancipación* by Mesa, who is the editor-in-chief, and which could be translated and published in Belgium, France and, more particularly, in Switzerland. In a previous letter I wrote at some length about the Spaniards to make it clear to you that propaganda is easier here than in any other country—witness the fact that the most ferocious reactionaries, such as Zorrilla, are obliged to call themselves Radicals to achieve any success at all. So I hope that we shall very shortly be able to announce to the General Council the setting up of a certain number of sections in the Guipúzcoa province.

Our little chap is much better. Laura sends you her love. Please remember me to Mrs. Engels.

Cordially yours,

P. TOOLE I

San Sebastian 12.12.71

¹ This refers to the attitude adopted by the German Social-Democrats who, after Sedan, issued a manifesto protesting against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and demanded an honourable peace with the French Republic, which in 1872 earned Bebel and Liebknecht two years' incarceration.

P. S. I am sending you the full report of the debate in the Spanish Cortès. The speeches by Margall and Lostau are very important.¹

A merry Christmas and a happy New Year to you, my dear General. Schnaps sends you many kisses, and so do I.

*Yours affectionately,**

LAURA

P. S. You ought to start thinking about the biography which should precede and form the preface to *Das Kapital*.² I think it would be very valuable to describe the vicissitudes of the group centred round you, which was dispersed after 1849. The most revolutionary passages from the *Rhenish journals* should be quoted.³ It would be well if someone could be found in London to translate Freiligrath's *La Marseillaise*⁴ into French verse. You might send me all these classified documents and I would translate them, with Laura's aid, for, if you have nothing against it, we should like above all else to write the biography.

¹ This refers in all probability to the debate in the Cortès on the legality of the International, introduced by Sagasta, the Minister of the Interior. The argument used was that the International was an enemy of private property. The Republicans came out against the government motion. Amongst those taking part in the debate were Castelar, Salmerón, Pi y Margall and Lostau. The last-named was himself a member of the International.

² This refers to the French edition of *Capital* which Lachâtre had wanted to preface with a biography of Karl Marx. On February 14th, 1873, he wrote to Engels himself asking him for this biography which he now proposed to include at the end of the volume to "crown the work".

³ Lafargue referred here to the *Rheinische Zeitung*—published in Cologne and edited by Marx from October 1842 until March 17th, 1843—and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which appeared under Marx's editorship from June 1st, 1848 to May 19th, 1849.

⁴ "Freilichat" in the original. This refers to Freiligrath's poem *Reveille* (Für die Revolutionsfeier auf dem Gürzenich zu Köln, 19 März, 1849), published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 251, on March 21st, 1849. This poem was written, as the author said, "to the tune of Marseilles".

Have you received the three issues of *La Ilustración española*?

6 b. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

*My dear Engels,**

I believe the time has come for the Council to finish off the Jurassians and the Bakunists. I have just seen a circular, lavishly disseminated to every corner of Europe. It must be known to you, for it is published in *La Révolution sociale* of December 14th¹; the Madrid *Emancipación* is going to publish it as a piece of evidence pending the Council's reply. A new Congress is being convoked. But in the meantime, please send me the resolution of the thirty Geneva sections which Serrailier has published in the French papers.² It is a great mistake that you did not communicate it officially right away; but do it quickly.

I am obliged to leave the place where I have been lodging and I do not know what I shall do. Good-bye for the present.

Kind regards,

TOOLE I

Madrid, 23.12.71

Write to the Federation.

¹ The *Circulaire à toutes les Fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* was published in *La Révolution sociale*, No. 8, of December 14th, 1871 (pp. 3/II-4/I). It was dated Sonvilliers, November 12th, 1871, and J. Guesde's name appeared amongst the signatories.

² This refers to the resolution passed on December 2nd, 1871, by the General Assembly of the thirty Geneva sections, endorsing the resolutions of the London Conference (September 17th to 23rd, 1871). It was published in *L'Égalité*, No. 23, of December 7th, 1871.

6 c. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

My dear Engels,

You will know by what train of circumstances I came to Madrid. Laura will have told you, so I shall say no more about it and shall give my attention to the business of the Int[ernational]. First, you should know that the Madrid Council is most favourably disposed towards the General Council and that it is ready to give tokens of its partiality when the time comes. As you know, governments in Spain have always held the law in the utmost contempt; it was enough that something had been put on the statutes for it to be violated. The internationalists, reacting against this, are extremely formal; and that is why what I am going to say is written by me and not by Mora, the Secretary, who would feel he was failing in his official status. You and the other members of the Council may take what I am about to tell you as the honest truth.

In the last issue of *La Emancipación*¹ you will have read the Jurassian Federation's manifesto, attacking the members of the General Council and the General Council as a whole. When I arrived here it was too late to stop the publication of this document, whose publication had been decided upon by the Council. It appears that there was considerable opposition to its publication, but since they had received 150 printed copies of the circular from Barcelona, they believed there was no means of hiding the light of Master Bakunin's illustrious *chef-d'œuvre* under a bushel and that, should they attempt to conceal it, the reactionary papers would be certain to publish it themselves; and as, on his return from the Conference, Lorenzo told only his most intimate friends about these filthy intrigues, the Madrid and Spanish sections were furious with him for keeping silent as soon as they

¹ The Jurassian Federation's manifesto was published in *La Emancipación*, No. 28, on December 25th, 1871 (p. 4/I-III).

learnt of the exposure of this internal dissension from the bourgeois press: the Federal Council did not want to incur further blame on this score. Realising the situation, I thought it best to let things take their course; for if Bakunin saw that, despite all the publicity his work received, it did not succeed in injuring the G[eneral] C[ouncil], he would change his tactics and seek a new battle-ground; for it must not be imagined that the fellow will give up so lightly. As you know, he has already abandoned atheism and the right of inheritance, and he will abandon the political question with equal facility, but he will persist in his ambitious plan to capture the Int[ernational] and transform it into an apparatus for wafting fumes of incense to his nostrils. But the wretch does not know with whom he has to deal. Fortunately, he is as fat as a prize pig and all his disillusionments will help towards reducing his surplus flesh. I should have wished to publish the thirty Geneva sections' resolution to counteract the bad effect produced by the Bakunist circular; but, unfortunately, I did not have it at hand. I slipped in a few lines announcing it and it will appear in the next issue with a few comments to give it some prominence and draw attention to its vast importance. All this shows you that [the] Madrid Federal Council has the best will towards you and I can assure you that it is not I who have pressed them in this direction, for I thought best to let them act as they saw fit. No resolution on the question of the future congress will be passed here without consulting the Federal Council, which has voted to postpone holding any congress until, at the earliest, after April when the Regional Congress takes place; and between now and then these gentlemen will have had time to quench their ardour. Barcelona was the centre of Bakunism in Spain. It was there that he and Bastelica had a number of partisans whom he turned into emissaries; but Barcelona itself has come out against Bakunin, whom it condemned on every count, and *from Barcelona letters were even sent blaming the Alliance for the acrimonious character* it had given the discussion. Meanwhile, various

people there affiliated to the Alliance are gradually breaking away from it. Mesa recently received a letter from Barcelona congratulating *La Emancipación* on not having printed Bakunin's letter to Mazzini,¹ which was published by the Barcelona *Federación*,² and it referred to this letter with the greatest scorn, as the letter of a sectarian and not of an internationalist. One of the main objections the Spanish have to the Jurassian Federation is that its circular deals only with personal questions and matters of *doctrine* and has nothing to say about the subject of organisation or propaganda.

One of the G[eneral] C[ouncil]'s great mistakes is to remain too isolated from the national federations. Why do not the secretaries of the various nationalities send an official report each week of the G[eneral] C[ouncil]'s meetings? Such a report could quite easily go out the following week and could consist of a translation of the General Secretary's report as published in the English press. In the past there was someone in the Spanish section who translated from the English—although his heart was torn between the Int[ernational] and a *novia*,³ and you will know on which side the scale was weighed. He was very useful to them, but now this young fellow has gone to another town and anything in English is a closed book to the Madrid Federal Council. If I stay on in Spain (which is hardly likely, since I know that the police are searching for me: they have already been to the home of Garrido, the socialist deputy, asking for me and to his new paper, *La Révolution sociale*), nevertheless, if I do stay on, I shall teach English here—don't laugh: I shall teach them enough to be able to read it. But until then, whenever there is anything important, write it in French, which is widely understood.

¹ This refers to Bakunin's article: "Reply to Mazzini by an Internationalist", published in *La Liberté* on August 18th and 19th, 1871.

² "Respuesta de un internacional a Mazzini" in the article: "Mazzini ante la Internacional", *La Federación*, a. III, No. 106 of August 27th, 1871 (pp. 1-2).

³ *Mistress*s.

Should I be forced to leave Spain I shall go to London. Give my regards to Mohr, to whom I shall write shortly; also to Jenny and to Tussy, of whom Lorenzo retains the most pleasant memory: he laughs when he speaks of the conversation he had with her on their way to the post. He often talks of the delightful hospitality he received at Mohr's place and at yours. Wish Mrs. Engels a merry *Christmas and a happy new year**. Cordial greetings to you.

Write to me c/o Mora.

Ever yours,

P. TOOLE I

Madrid, 26.12.71

P. S. Yesterday I went to a bullfight and to see the ceremony del Rey Herodes; a ceremony worthy of the Middle Ages, performed in an arena seasoned with bull tossings. Poor wretched horses! They may say that Paris is the purgatory of horses, but Madrid is their torture chamber. Come on, Secretary for Spain, set about reforming these practices! And all the rest of it!

Do you not think it would be useful for the General Council to reply to Bakunin's circular? It is expected here.

To give you some idea of what is going on here I am sending you a little piece of poetry which the *Igualdad* cartero¹ distributes in order to receive his Christmas box.

¹ Newsboy (of the paper *Igualdad*). It has not been thought necessary to give this quite trivial item.

1872

7 a. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madrid, Jan. 7, 72
Bkn 17¹

My dear General,

Before my letter you will have received the issue of *La Emancipación* containing the French-speaking Federation's reply² and the Belgian resolution³ also, introduced by a headline which will have pleased you, though I must repeat that this headline was written without any inspiration from me, emanating spontaneously from Lorenzo and Mesa. It was Lorenzo who wrote it. The Regional Council, which knows how you conduct yourselves, knows full well how to evaluate the calumnies contained in the Bakunist manifesto.

¹ These two lines are in Engels' handwriting. "Bkn" (bekommen) indicates the date when the letter was received.

² Published in *La Emancipación*, No. 30, of January 7th, 1872 (pp. 2-4).

³ The Congress of the Belgian Region of the I.W.A. was held on December 24th and 25th, 1871, in Brussels. The final resolution, after reaffirming the autonomy of the federations and professing that the General Council had never been anything but a clearing centre for correspondence and information, demanded a revision of the rules and instructed the Belgian Council to draw up a plan for discussion at the next I.W.A. Congress. The Bakunists eagerly drew attention to the similarity of this resolution to the Sonvilliers circular. The General Council's attitude was expressed in a circular: *Prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale (Alleged Splits in the International)*, Geneva, 1872, p. 35.

But that is not so in the case of the local Madrid C[ouncil]. Here there is rivalry for power: the local Council would very much like to take the place of the Regional Council, whose prestige it covets. When I say the local Council, that is not right: I should say, one of its members, Morago. A man of considerable talent and oratorical power, Morago was a member of the former Regional Council and, in company with Mora and Lorenzo, had to flee to Portugal to avoid persecution. These three, who were bound by ties of the closest friendship, did a great deal of work in Portugal; it could even be said that it was they who founded the International there. But the friendship which bound them broke, and Mora has become Morago's pet aversion. The Valencia Conference¹ was held without Morago being able to attend, which became a reason for him to condemn everything agreed upon there and, in particular, that they had made free to nominate a delegate other than himself, Morago, to London.² Thus there are personal motives for criticising the Conference, and the General Council for not calling a Congress in 1870, but substituting for the Congress a secret Conference. (Deal with those two points in your reply.) Myself, I believe that Morago is slightly deranged, but, nevertheless, a man with a most lucid intelligence in his calmer moments, of which you shall judge. Is Bakunin behind him? It may well be, for Morago is a member of the Alliance.

To-day the meeting at which the Jura Circular was to be discussed took place. As the convocation mentioned only the Jura Circular, the members of the local Council, although they had received the French-speaking Federal Committee's reply the evening before, objected to this document

¹ The delegate conference of local federations of the Spanish Region was held at Valencia from September 9th to 17th, 1871, and voted that the Second Congress of the Spanish Region should be held at Saragossa in April 1872.

² This refers to the London Conference (September 17th to 23rd, 1871), whose legality was precisely the matter challenged by the Bakunists.

being read, saying that it departed from the agenda; and the Spanish are such sticklers that, despite vigorous protests from some members—apart from Mesa and Guillermina, who went so far as to accuse the meeting of injustice—the Circular was not read. Hence several speakers got up and repeated the accusations against the General Council. Mesa interrupted with a motion proposing to close the discussion and proceed to a vote on the Belgian resolution. Morago himself, though the instigator of the whole opposition, realised that the meeting was making a blunder in attacking the G[eneral] C[ouncil], so he rose and supported Mesa's motion, amending it in the sense that the assembly could not deal with the Jura question, saying that this was the business of the Congress and that all the meeting could do was to instruct the local Council to ask all its sections whether they did not think it would be timely to call an extraordinary Congress. As you see, the Bakunin incident is dwindling. But I shall now arrange for all the members of the former Regional Council, jointly with those of the new one, to sign their protest against the Jura slanders concerning the despotic power of the G[eneral] C[ouncil]. The Belgian resolution will be of great value to me.

Avoid giving a personal twist to your reply¹: take your stand mainly on showing the need to reserve to the G[eneral] C[ouncil] the right to dissolve a dissident section; and for that you should cite the case of the Positivists who, as you know, consider private property the safeguard for all progress and all freedom, repudiate equality and seek to establish a Catholic hierarchy, etc., and that this section would have been able to use the cloak of the International for all these ideas.²

¹ This refers to *Prétendues scissions* (see p. 412, note 3).

² The Paris "Société des prolétaires positivistes" had asked to be admitted to the International on February 4th, 1870. The General Council pointed out that positivist principles, which recognised private property as the safeguard of all progress and liberty, were in flagrant contradiction to the terms of the International's statutes.

Proudhon makes considerable inroads here; his is the most socialist book known in this country. The antidote was at hand and I shall administer it to the Spanish. I have reached agreement with Mesa for him to translate *The Poverty of Philosophy*,¹ which he will get published and which will certainly have a success and pave the way for *Das Kapital*. But Mesa thinks—and I share his view—that you or Marx should write a prefacing letter recounting the circumstances in which the refutation came to be written; it would be of great historical value and would give the Spanish edition a more comprehensive character. Read this passage to Marx and tell him to reply or let a reply be sent me. It would not be necessary for this preface to be written in German: we should be satisfied with French, English, or Spanish.

What has Marx decided about *Das Kapital*? Has he read the contract? Has he signed it? Please go on sending the English papers. I can use them.

Regards to Mrs. Engels.

Cordially yours,

TOOLE I

Madrid, January 7, 1872

8 a. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madr. 26 Jan. '72
*Toole*²

My dear General,

Your very informative letter gave us supreme pleasure.³
You will already have learnt of the situation in which the

¹ A short extract was published in *La Emancipación* in April 1872. Mesa's translation appeared in book form in Madrid in 1891.

² These two lines in Engels' handwriting.

³ This refers to the letter of January 19, 1872 (see Vol. I, pp. 37-42).

Int[ernational] in Spain finds itself¹: forced to fight for its very existence, it no longer has any thought for the troubles made by the Jurassians. All that is utterly submerged; so deeply submerged that we judged it imprudent to publish the extract you sent us.² We shall guard it carefully, to use as need be when the occasion makes itself felt.

The Sagasta circular³ and the reactionary attitude adopted by the Amadeus government⁴ will have another even weightier consequence. Political parties in Spain are very fiery and, above all, very hungry. As in America, every time there is a change of government, all the political and even administrative officials are replaced. To give you some idea of the range of these replacements, I may tell you that all postal employees, down to the humblest postman, are replaced; a post-office clerk told me that this was the reason for the inefficiency of the Spanish postal service, and I can well believe it. The Radical Party, which is led by Zorrilla, includes a great many people seeking office; they expected to come to power after Sagasta's parliamentary defeat: imagine the rage they felt when they saw the prey escape. At the same time, the members of the Republican Party live on terms of the greatest cordiality with the Radicals and, although entertaining no hope of being returned to power, they expected to benefit by the Zorrillistas' accession to feather their nests. Mata, the former Governor of Madrid, his secretary and various other higher officials were members of the Republican Party. Deputies here do not receive

¹ On January 17th Sagasta had promulgated a decree dissolving the International and enacting severe penalties for any resumption of its activities. This measure was applied very leniently in practice.

² This refers to an extract from an article in *Tagwacht* quoted in Letter No. 8 (Vol. I, pp. 40-42).

³ On the dissolution of the I. W. A.

⁴ After the revolution of 1868 and much bargaining over who was to be king, Duke Amadeus of Aosta was finally raised to the throne by the Cortès on November 16th, 1870. He made a show of being democratic. He ended by abdicating on February 11th, 1873, and was replaced by a Republic.

a penny as emolument and are not allowed to accept any paid post; but they can obtain posts for others, who reward them lavishly; thus, whilst remaining the unpaid servants of the public, they line their pockets. That is why the position of deputy is so desperately sought after by every type of adventurer, and the Spanish Republican Party includes more of these than bourgeois ethics countenances. (On some other occasion I shall tell you about some of the characters in this party.) All these people are frustrated, for they will not obtain from Sagasta the most insignificant post in which to traffic, and so there they are now: forced to tighten their belts. No wonder that at the time of the dissolution they shouted: "A las barricadas!"¹

The Carlists' tactics so far have been to prevent the setting up of any government; when Zorrilla was in office they voted with Sagasta, when the latter is in power they vote with Zorrilla.² The army is divided into three groups, the Montpensieristas³ (the largest and the best led), the Alfonsinos⁴ and the men Prim has managed to rally round him. The Alfonsinos, with the Montpensieristas, form the bulk; the Prim element is fairly numerous, but lacks leadership. This thumbnail sketch gives you some idea of the precarious position of the wretched Amadeus. A revolution may be imminent. Next month delegates from the Republican Party are to meet in Madrid, while the Radicals have called their members together to decide on the attitude they should adopt. What will emerge from these two concourses? One thing

¹ To the barricades. The dissolution here referred to was probably that of the Cortès. A general election was held in the early part of April.

² Zorrilla had succeeded Serrano as Prime Minister on July 24th, 1871. He fell in October and was followed by the Malcampo government, to which Sagasta succeeded on December 21st, 1871.

³ The Montpensierists were the supporters of the Duc de Montpensier, the pretender to the throne in 1870. In the political sphere they were on the side of the Unionists.

⁴ The Alfonsists were partisans of Prince Alfonso, in whose favour his mother, Queen Isabella II, had abdicated. The leader and organiser of his party was Canovas de Castillo.

is certain: both these parties live in extreme dread lest the Int[ernational] should launch into the field of political struggle. In the last issue of *La Emancipación*,¹ which is well known to be the organ of the *Federal Council* (all the Council members are on its editorial staff), it was stated that *insurrection* was their last resort, and that they would not hesitate to have recourse to it if necessary. The republican parties were dismayed by this attitude and spilt much ink to prove to the Int[ernationalists] that they ought to join forces with them in giving battle, and not go forward on their own at the head of the movement. Which is, of course, exactly what the Int[ernationalists] intend to do. But to make their standpoint quite clear, they are starting to-night on a manifesto² setting out the most immediate demands of the Spanish working class. The Federal Council meets to-night to discuss the basis of the manifesto. We recognise here that it is most unfortunate that the situation is growing so revolutionary at a time when the working class is so poorly organised; but we have to accept things as they are and try to take as much advantage as we can of the situation and of such organisation as we possess. The most active members of the republican and revolutionary party are in our ranks; those who are not with us are sympathetic to us; even Pi y Margall, who is far more the real leader of the Republican Party than Castelar, is entirely on our side. Unfortunately, though very decent and loyal, he is a trifle weak. We have more or less organised groups in every town in Spain, and these people, backed by the prestige which the name of the Int[ernational] gives them, will be able to play an important part in their respective towns after a revolution. As the pretext for the whole reactionary movement has been the Int[ernational], on Sagasta's word the Int[ernational] has become such an important party that it

¹ This refers to No. 33 of January 28th, 1872. The statement on the insurrection appeared on p. 1, under the heading "Declaración".

² This manifesto, dated January 31st, 1872, was published in *La Emancipación*, No. 34, of February 4th, 1872.

would require the combined forces of the whole social system to crush it. The position it holds outside the Constitution will force the Liberals, the Radicals and the Republicans, albeit fighting only for their own interests, to take up the defence of the Int[ernational], for which they will become, so to speak, the standard-bearers of the rights of the individual. At the same time, the reactionary press, with its usual perspicacity, will draw no distinction between the cause of all these excellent people, despite their repeated denials, and that of the Int[ernational]. The Association's importance can only increase, and the people at the head of the movement will have to grow accustomed to the idea that they will be obliged to let it have a large share of the spoils after a revolution.

Have you received all the issues of *La Emancipación*? I put in a piece about the Mohr-Bradlaugh affair¹ which will have entertained you if you happened to read it.

In my last letter to Mohr I asked him to find out if there were some way for me to become a correspondent for a London or an American paper. I now make the same request to you; as circumstances grow more revolutionary, my importance will increase.

You will have seen in recent issues of *La Emancipación* that we have made use of the English papers. The next issue will contain a full account of a session of the G[eneral] C[ouncil]. If only we could see the American papers; they are sadly lacking! Tell Liebknecht to send us his paper. We shall have greater need than ever of foreign news if we are unable to print home news.

Castelar asked me for some details about the principal leaders of the German revolutionary party. I passed on his request to Mohr; is he intending to send me these notes?

¹ Bradlaugh had accused Marx of being a spy in the pay of the Prussian Government. Marx, in a letter published by the *Eastern Post* on December 23, 1871 and January 20 and 28th. 1872 challenged Bradlaugh to produce proof of his charges. Lafargue's article appeared in *La Emancipación*, No. 29, on January 1st, 1872, p. 4.

Or could you write them if he is too busy? It is simply a matter of setting down the main facts.

Regards to your wife.

Ever yours,

TOOLE

January 25th, 1872

January 26th

I re-open my letter to add a further word.

There is to be a meeting to-day between the leading Radicals and Republicans to decide on the attitude they should adopt. The Radicals already favour abstention; if the two parties succeed in forming an alliance, no one can tell what the outcome will be. A revolution is on the cards, but the Radicals will make one only if they are morally certain that they would be able to put down the people immediately after—and they look to the Republicans for that.

Yesterday evening we received letters from various parts of the provinces; there is tremendous enthusiasm—rather too much, I am sorry to say, for the Int[ernationalists] could be carried away by partial attacks, as so often happens in Spain. Amongst the letters there was one from a section in the Leon province wherein the section aired its views on the Jura question at some length, saying that it was impossible for them to enter into the discussion since they did not know enough about the matter, but that it was unthinkable that the G[eneral] C[ouncil], which had been endorsed on four separate occasions, should have ceased to merit confidence, and that it was useless to respond to the Jurassians' impatience as there would be a Congress in September; that the allegation that the G[eneral] C[ouncil] was an authoritarian clique was belied by the mere fact that the G[eneral] C[ouncil] admitted so many new members to its midst, etc. Had the Jura question not been buried here, the publication of this resolution would have been enough to settle the matter in the G[eneral] C[ouncil]'s favour; but we think it wiser

to pay no further attention to this question, at any rate for the time being. However, we shall pigeonhole this letter for the future.

The outline of the Manifesto was discussed at the Council yesterday. Mora has been instructed to draft it. The main points in it will be—report on the situation—report on the political parties now in the forefront and what our attitude towards them should be, ending with a programme setting out the general aspirations of the Int[ernational]. As you see, it is an affirmation of the workers' party. We are to meet on Saturday to discuss it.

I have received a letter about *Capital*, from which it appears that K. M. has said and written nothing to Lachâtre.

8 b. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON*

My dear General,

I write you in English for many reasons that I believe you will be shrewd enough to find out; if not, may the devil take you. If my blunders make you laugh so much the better, for in that case I should combine the useful and the agreeable as Horace advises without any effort on my part, I assure you.

About two weeks ago I wrote to you on Spanish affairs, I have not yet received an answer: but I hope you received my letter, because it would have given you a fair idea of the movement here. Since then affairs have grown much worse for the Italian Commercial House and probably the chief will make bankrupt and fly to the shores of his fatherland, if he is not caught on the way, in that case he will probably cut his last grimace. In prevision of the forthcoming events, our friends are courted by all intriguants and men of action; but being very cautious they intend playing the part of the monkey letting the latter take the chestnuts out of the fire.

For that purpose two commercial travellers will start tomorrow in order to visit our corresponding houses of the provinces with private instructions on their conduct in case of a bankrupt of the Italian house and at the same time to see the most intelligent and energetic men and learn what confidence we can place in them. Our company having been the object of the furious competition of the Italian house will acquire a great moral influence on the day of the fall of the said great house; and all the other tradesmen understand very well the good position in which it is placed. By the letters we receive daily of our provincial houses, their hope of success is very great. The late attitude taken by us in our last circular¹ of which we sent you a copy has pleased all our friends and enraged all the other tradesmen; in Madrid and in all the other towns it has been placarded on the walls.² It was the first step taken here in the practical way, and I contributed greatly to it being taken. As we advance we shall grow more and more practical, as you will see from our paper. In the next number there will be inserted a furious attack on Mazzini,³ that will please you and Mohr, and is penned by your servitor. I hope you were clever enough to distinguish my writings, which are conceived in Mohr's ideas: they will have enough influence here to transform the idealistic theories of our friends, who are more practical than they appear at first sight.

Laura has copied you a piece of verse on the fools of the

¹ This refers to the manifesto mentioned in Letter 8 a. An extract taken from *La Emancipación* was published in the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 2 of March 7, 1872. The reference is probably to the conclusion of the manifesto, which reiterates the aims of the International and finishes with the words: "We subordinate all action, all political activity, to these fundamental reforms; it is only on condition of realising them that we shall proceed in due time to armed struggle, insofar as the sphere of organisation is closed to us...."

² The (Brussels) *Liberté* of February 11th, 1872, reported that the Madrid section had bill-posted and published a manifesto protesting against the dissolution decree and resisting it in the name of legitimate defence.

³ Under the title "Mazzini y la Internacional", in No. 36 of February 18th, 1872, p. 3.

International. Why do you not send us English newspapers?
Send them to Mesa's house.

Schnappy is a little better.

My compliments to Mrs. Burns.

Yours faithfully,

TOOLE

Madrid, 11th February 72

Madrid, 11th Febr. 72

P. Lafargue

Bkn 14 Febr. antw. am 12 March¹

READ AND TREMBLE!

*The Internationalists
Are infernal monsters.
Their faces are grotesque,
Abominable, patibulary.
To make a pitiable impression
They go about in patches.
They even have the cunning
To put on dirty shirts.
Out of hatred for the gentry
They smoke only coarse tobacco.
Crude sensuality
Is the only God they know.
On sixpence a day
They go from orgy to orgy.
They seek to live in idleness
Without respect for the priesthood.
They hold barbarous meetings
In vile dens.
Will an international be born?
The social order is menaced.
They preach stupid and absurd*

¹ The last three lines in Engels' handwriting (antw.-antwortet-answered).

Economic harmonies.
All that shines disgusts them,
They pay in copper coin.
They call Christian charity
Sterile and vain.
They curse the capital
That builds them hospitals.
When drunk they insult
The carriages of bishops.
So depraved a crew
Endangers the pontificate.
To lay three or four paving stones
They demand fabulous sums.
They even claim with insolence
The granting of the right to work.
With such absurdities
They undermine the foundations of
society.
Their tumults bring about
Plagues, wars and earthquakes.
They carry on their belts
Mill gas, petroleum and a knife.
Outrageous scandal:
They call their appetite hunger,
Yet refuse, when they are hungry,
The convent soup.
The satanic crew bellows
And sows panic in the world.
At night they prowl naked
Round bankers' houses
With intent, the guttersnipes,
Of filling their pockets.
Many a timid owner
Has died at the sight of them.
They seek to drag the world
Into the lowest depths.
And acknowledge no law

*But that of José María (the thief).
They challenge established society:
Your money or your life!¹*

8 c. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

My dear Engels,

Recently my steward in Bordeaux sent me a thousand-franc note that was stolen in the post; he used the occasion to tell me that, having had trouble with the police on my account, he no longer wished to handle my affairs. Would you be so good as to look after them until I have succeeded in finding a settled position? The assets I should like you to take over consist of some railway shares, some American bonds and the sum of about six or seven thousand francs. The rest can remain in my lawyer's hands, since they are mortgages. Please reply as soon as you can, for my Bordeaux merchant appears to be in a hurry. Let me know how the transfer should be effected.

Tell Marx that we received his letter and that we were very grieved to learn that he had been ailing. We are immensely grateful for the word to Dana which he has sent me; but as it is always better to have two strings to one's bow, I would ask him to send me a short note for the *Herald*, if it is not too much trouble.²

The political situation in Spain becomes more inflamed every day. Sagasta has totally destroyed the Savoy dynasty. The Montpensiers are trying to seize the opportunity to drive out the Italian, who is already packing his trunks, selling his horses and changing his footmen's livery. So I

¹ The original Spanish doggerel is rhymed.—*Tr.*

² This refers to a letter from Marx to Lafargue, dated February 28th, 1872, enclosing an introduction to Dana, the editor of the *Sun*. Marx himself suggested recommending Lafargue to the *New York Herald* if Dana did not see his way to taking on a Spanish correspondent.

believe that the fight will not be between the Italians and the revolutionary parties, but between the Montpensierists and the revolutionary parties; we shall be able to profit by that fight.

We impatiently await the letter you promised us.

Regards to everyone in London.

Cordially yours,

TOOLE I

Schnaps is a little better. Our letter made the Republicans furious. Some of them talk of shooting us down.

Madrid, March 6, 1872

10 a. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

[Between March 20th-25th, 1872]

My dear Engels,

These stubborn Spaniards are determined to hold their forthcoming Saragossa Congress come what may. Amongst the matters to be studied, the Federal Council proposes the following item: that the Congress produce a comprehensive plan for the general organisation of workers, to be presented at the next universal working-class Congress in the form of a resolution from the Spanish Regional Federation.¹

In other words, to specify the powers of the General Council.

The Federal Council has instructed Lorenzo and me to make a report on all the subjects under consideration. This report will be read to the Congress, if it takes place, and, as always, it will decide the vote. The report which Lorenzo and I are to give will be approved by the Federal Council, therefore it is we who will settle the question. As this re-

¹ The terms of this resolution are in Spanish in the original letter.—*Tr.*

sponsibility alarms me, I beg you and Marx yourselves to draft the statutes which ought to govern the powers of the General Council. This work should be done as quickly as possible and sent off at once, for between now and the Saragossa Congress there is only a fortnight. I await your reply with impatience. There is no point in writing all of it: just tell me the main points that you wish to see included in these statutes. I beg you not to breathe a word of this to anyone—what an outcry there would be if the Bakunists got wind of it!

Thank you for agreeing. I shall arrange for my securities to be sent to you.

Laura will be sending you some highly interesting revelations about the Bakunists.

Greetings to everyone and good wishes to you.

P. LAFARGUE

**10 b. ADDRESS OF THE SARAGOSSA CONGRESS
TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION 1872
SARAGOSSA CONGRESS¹**

Citizens of the General Council,

To-day, April 8th, 1872, the Second Congress of the Spanish Section of the International Workingmen's Association was opened.

Forty-five delegates were present.

The Congress was disbanded by force. But the effect produced by this action has been immeasurable. Although a Monday, all the workshops in the town of Saragossa were closed, the workers having wished to attend the inauguration.

The authorities behaved humbly in face of our composed

¹ In Spanish. Congress seal in top left corner.

and energetic attitude. And we shall continue to hold our Congress, without, however, giving it a public character.

Thanking the Council, we send it our fraternal greetings, as also to all our brothers of the English Region.

F. MORA

My dear General,

I am the delegate of a federación, but *my name is changed*.

I am here to work in the way that you know, because there is many who pertenece¹ at the Alliance, but they will be vanquished.*

Fraternal greetings,

TOOLE I

10 c. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

My dear Engels,

You will have received two letters from Saragossa: one signed by Mora, the other, official one, signed by the chairman of the meeting and two secretaries, with the seal, etc. I intended to demonstrate to the Bakunists by these two communications that we were completely ignoring them, but the strange thing is that the chairman, Pino, a signatory to the resolution on the Commune, is one of the most rabid members of the Alliance. To catch him I added *Al Consejo general* under the letter-head, otherwise he would have refused to sign. Before going further I must let you know that the result of the Congress is excellent, not only by reason of the impression it has produced in Spain, but also because the Bakunists have been vanquished.² I will not enter into

¹ Belong.—Tr.

² Lafargue's estimate of the Saragossa Congress is, to say the least, optimistic. A study of the resolutions (published by, amongst other

the details of their rout, since you will find it reported in *La Emancipación*,¹ to which I contributed a report from Saragossa. I had to observe some degree of moderation in *La Emancipación*, but I shall let myself go in a report that I am sending to the Brussels *Liberté*²; yesterday I sent them a first completely innocuous instalment, but *in canela venenosa*.³

It is some time now since the Bakunist mystery was revealed to me. I did not want to make my discovery known to you for tactical reasons which may well prevent me from making public what I have learnt here. The Alliance has always existed in Spain and continues to exist at the present time, but it loses its influence with every day that passes. The Alliance here was a secret body, which set out to recruit from amongst the best elements in the International and whose function it was to supervise the Int[ernational], to preserve the purity of such principles as atheism, rights of inheritance, etc. A real Council of Ten, but spreading to every town in Spain. Mora, Lorenzo and Mesa belonged to it; in Seville, Marselau and Soriano; in Barcelona, Viñas, Farga, Sentiñón, etc., were members of the Alliance. I know not what happened in Barcelona, where dissention prevails; but in Madrid dissension arose from the fact that Mora, Lorenzo and Mesa are all on the Federal Council. I ought to tell you that one of the Alliance's designs was to put on the Councils nonentities who would be responsible for leading them; that is why they preached the autonomy of the sections and the bureaucracy of the Central Councils. The struggle has died down since the Valencia Congress in August

journals, *La Liberté* on May 26th, 1872) reveals that in reality it was the Bakunists who emerged triumphant. Did not the Congress support the Belgian resolutions? The subsequent history of the International in Spain shows, moreover, that in the years to follow Marxist influence suffered a total eclipse.

¹ In No. 44 of April 13th, 1872.

² The first report on the Saragossa Congress appeared in *La Liberté* on April 28th, 1872 (pp. 2/II-3/III).

³ *In cauda venenum* (the sting is in the tail).

1871,¹ but you saw what proportions it had reached—to the point of having Lorenzo, Mora, Mesa, Iglesias, Pauly and Pagès² expelled by the Madrid Federation. Unable to defeat them, the Alliance wanted to make them impotent. But the Congress, by renominating Lorenzo and Mora for the new Council, reversed the Madrid Federation's decision even before hearing the expelled members; after having heard their defence, it passed a resolution asking it to reconsider its decision. That was the Alliance's first defeat. Had Mora been more spirited, the Al[liance] would be a dead letter in Spain to-day, for the Barcelona delegates, Albagès and Pamias, came with the firm intention of finishing it off, while Mora, being the temporiser that he is, preferred to postpone it.

Morago is the moving spirit of the Alliance in Spain; he is the one who directs everything. He is a rather second-rate man with, however, a considerable talent for oratory and he is feverishly active when he is personally involved. He arrived in Saragossa well before the appointed day and began to work up an atmosphere. I myself was the last delegate to arrive. My appearance threw him into consternation—he had not expected me. But he went to work immediately, going so far as to put it about that Sagasta was paying court to me in order to make a name for me and to serve Marx's ends. A bit thick! At one of the Congress sessions, he openly attacked me, alleging that I was hiding behind Farga's authority to carry out the special mission I had received from London. In short, in the course of two days he managed to sow prejudice against me. But the attitude I took to the inauguration of the Congress regained everyone's goodwill towards me. I may say that the Alliance revolutionaries are chicken-livered—Morago first and foremost.

¹ In point of fact, September 1871.

² The letter to the Republican Congress referred to previously had elicited an attack on *La Emancipación* by the republican paper *La Igualdad*. The Bakunists, who dominated the Madrid Federation, expelled those members who were, as it happened, the editors of the paper.

When they realised that the Governor had refused to authorise the meeting, they were in favour of not inaugurating the Congress at all and started to influence the Congress quite seriously in this direction. I was one of those who demanded most the public holding of what had been announced from the housetops throughout Europe. I quoted your letter¹ to them, saying that what they had suffered in Spain was child's play, and that it would be unworthy of the name of the Int[ernational] and of the Commune dead to bow to the Governor's injunctions; I even got a resolution through insisting that we should not vacate the hall save at bayonet-point. In the report I am sending to *La Liberté* I explain why this resolution was not adhered to.² That was when a new trend began to gain ground in the Congress. The Catalonians are coming to the fore again. I believe it is they who, in Spain, are destined to play the most important part in the Int[ernational]. They have the utmost contempt for vague formulas, which they do not understand; and yet people who go in for such things, like Morago, exercise a certain influence over them for a while. In general they ignore phrases and go their own way as before. Amongst the Catalonians was Bragulat, the president of the Association of workers de las tres clases de vapor,³ which numbers some 40,000 men. There is no doubt that he was one of the most revolutionary and intelligent people we had at the Congress. The Bakunists cause laughter when they speak against even accepted authority. Prior to Bragulat's day, las tres clases de vapor was under the leadership of one man, Bové, a supreme authority answerable to none, who collected subscriptions and rendered accounts only to himself. It is thanks

¹ This refers to a message to the Saragossa Congress from the General Council, dated London, April 3rd, 1872, and signed by Frederick Engels. (See *La Emancipación*, April 13th, 1872, and *La Liberté*, April 28th, 1872, p. 3/11.)

² There was a strong Carlist agitation in Saragossa at the time and the police seem to have used that situation against the Internationalists.

³ Association of industrial workers, based on the textile factories.

to him that the factory workers do not belong to the Int[ernational], for reasons analogous to those which animate Allan and the other despots of the English *trade unions**. Bové engaged in such malversations that he ended by being dismissed and replaced by Bragulat, who promptly had a committee elected to share power with him. Bragulat is a man of action closely involved with the bourgeois political parties on which he exercises considerable influence by virtue of his authority over the workers of las tres clases. I wanted to push him into the new Federal Council, for he is one of the people most capable of steering the Spanish Int[ernational], but he refused, because he has his hands full with the work of his organisation, for at the moment he is busy starting an organisation that will include in its ranks all the factory workers in Spain, centralising all the fighting funds in the Union Council, standardising the dues, which they want to put at six sous a week, and making all the organised workers join the Int[ernational]. The other Catalonians at the Congress are convinced that he is capable of carrying out all that he promises. He also talked to me about forming an Int[ernational] association of mill-workers, similar to that of the tobacco-workers. I told him that I would mention it to you and find out what should be done to this end. Lorenzo, who is on the new Council, will be handling this matter. Although not on the Federal Council, Bragulat is expected to exercise great influence on it and on the progress of the organisation in Spain. And I can assure you that now that the Int[ernational] has fallen into such hands, it will take a practical turn which will defy all the Bakunists' theological divagations.¹

I do not know what the Geneva Bakunists are like, but those in Spain are very rum customers: ambitious men who

¹ The point of view expressed in the pamphlet *L'Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (London and Hamburg, 1873, in French.—*Tr.*), written for the most part by Engels, is in flagrant contradiction to Lafargue's interpretation. It certainly conforms more closely to history. (See *L'Alliance* . . . , pp. 36-37.)

think only of going on delegations—Morago, Soriano and the rest of them; if the movement goes on they will be utterly compromised in a very short time. I have chatted with Morago to try and find out what is at the back of his mind: in his view the Int[ernational] should be nothing more than a body that works out ideas, theories, but never stoops to practice; side by side with the Int[ernational] there should be a political party—either working-class or socialist—which should be disciplined and responsible for putting into effect the ideas worked out by the Int[ernational]. This is again the idea of dualism, slightly modified. Is it the new phase that Bakunism has entered, or can it be simply a spontaneous interpretation of the role of the Int[ernational]? I doubt it. These people have realised that they have lost their foothold in the Congress. I mention these things in *La Emancipación*, and probably they will split off and try to form themselves into a party outside the Int[ernational]. Morago is over head and ears in debt: he is an engraver, but spends his time in cafés where he stays until two or three in the morning; his financial position will drive him to commit some folly, and once they succeed in finishing off Morago, the game will be up for Bakunin here.

The Cadiz delegate, Claudio Solanes, has begged me to ask London for a copy of the statutes in English for a whole colony of English engineering workers who only want the rules to join the Association. Once such a section is formed, you could merge it with the engineers' *trade union**, which would give you some influence with the *trade unions**. So please send me 50 copies of the Statutes of the English Federal Council, as well as a few Int[ernational] pamphlets published in English. And soon.

I am enclosing a request from the Barcelona estampados¹ section. Please treat this matter seriously, for we must win the Catalonians at all costs.

I have not yet received the *18 Brumaire*—is this another

¹ Printers.—Tr.

case of forgetfulness? We are still awaiting the reply to the Jura Circular. I have had the G[eneral] C[ouncil]'s resolutions on the New York No. 12 section¹ published, and they have produced some effect. We receive the *Volksstaat* and the *Volkswille* regularly, but we do not see the English papers. Has the English journal *The International*² come out? How is the movement going in England? Are you not afraid of the Irish compromising you and furnishing Gladstone with a pretext for coming down on you? Perhaps that is to be hoped for.

The child is still very ill—we do not know what to do about him.

Our regards to Mrs. Engels.

Cordially yours,

P. FARGA

Madrid, April 12th, 1872

10 d. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madrid, April 27, 72
*Paul. Bkn. 2/3 Mai*³

My dear General,

As you probably know, the situation in Spain is fraught with the greatest danger for the illustrious Amadeus; but what is more woeful is that the fine plans we devised have ended in smoke, and all owing to the treachery of the Republican Party leaders. There is general sympathy here with

¹ The New York No. 12 section had been founded by the sisters Woodhull and Claflin, who were petty-bourgeois democrats. They objected to the leadership of the International and created a split. Finally, on March 12th, 1872, the General Council of the I.W.A. suspended this section until the following Congress.

² This probably refers to the *International Herald*, the organ of the British Section of the I.W.A. whose first number appeared on March 2nd, 1872.

³ These two lines in Engels' handwriting.

the Carlist movement; and the Republicans, with their confounded coalition, have helped to give it appalling influence. Don Carlos boldly entered Spain with Cathelineau and the pontifical forces.¹ This morning Serrano went out to meet him—what will be the upshot? Will Serrano betray the new dynasty, as he betrayed Isabella, and join forces with the Carlists? Or will he give battle? In the latter event, he might be beaten, for the army is vacillating while the ardent Carlist troops are full of zeal. Should Don Carlos be victorious, he will march on Madrid at once and seize the capital without so much as striking a blow. If those damned Republicans were not such cowards they could, while helping the Carlist movement, hasten the victory of the revolution and counteract Carlist influence; and since the Republicans have the towns behind them, the Carlists, who are genuinely plucky fellows, would join battle with them and, whilst the two rivals were busy fighting, we could put our own little affairs to rights. But the Republican Party, led by people like *Directorio* Pi, Castelar and Sigueras, is as reactionary a party as it can be. In Andalusia, Granada, Malaga and several other places, the party wanted to rise and go into battle, but the leadership issued a countermand and everything died down again, so that the whole burden of the struggle rests on the Carlists. But in Saragossa, Catalonia and various other places, republican groups rallied to the Carlist command. During which time the Republicans here, with the consent of Zorrilla and the Radicals, are engaged in seizing power. The only hope that remains to us is that, should the Carlists continue to be victorious, Catalonia, which will rise and will be led by active revolutionaries—

¹ On April 21st, Don Carlos, then in Geneva, had called upon his partisans to revolt, with the slogans "Down with the foreigner! Long live Spain!" According to contemporary documents, he entered Navarre on May 2nd with the pontifical forces, who constituted the core of his army. On the 5th, however, he was defeated at Oroquieta and had to retreat across the frontier. Serrano signed the Convention of Amorebieta on May 24th, rehabilitating the officers to their former rank and position in the army.

B[ragulat], of whom I spoke in my last letter, is in the movement—will set up a government in opposition to that in Madrid and, in that case, civil war will prevail for a time and the Int[ernational] will be able to play its part; for, though the northern provinces are Carlist, owing to the parcelling out of landownership, the southern and eastern provinces are republican and socialist.

We went to see the *Combate* people this morning. *Combate* is the Madrid *Marseillaise*, though, of course, with a vast difference. They are furious with the leadership and have begun attacking them violently. They say that the Party banner should be *una rueca*¹ and that Castelar should be the distaff-bearer. The result will be the dissolution of the Republican Party, which is what the *Combate* is pressing for, and we have encouraged them to persevere in this task. It now remains for us to transform the Int[ernational] into a party of action—the time is favourable. You will have read Mesa's article in *La Emancipación*—"Un nuevo partido"—wherein he makes a frontal attack on both the Alliance and on the bourgeois who are trying to set up another party, to be known as Republican-Federal-Socialist, outside the Int[ernational]. For that, the Alliance must first be eliminated. To-morrow evening Mora, Pagès, Iglesias and Mesa are meeting to draft a circular² proclaiming the dissolution of the Alliance, basing their case on a letter from Bakunin to Morago, in which he sets out the Alliance's aims³ in full, namely, to organise a secret force outside the Int[ernational] responsible for leading the revolutionary movement. This circular will have the greater effect insofar as these men are, in a manner of speaking, the leaders of the Alliance, even though a counter-Alliance, with Morago at its head, has been established since my arrival. The circular will be private, but you will be able to make use of it should occasion arise. It

¹ A distaff.

² The text of this circular will be found in Letter 10*h* of June 1st, 1872.

³ See *L'Alliance de la Démocratie*, etc., p. 32.

appears that the Alliance has got a foothold in Portugal and that the *Pensamento Social*¹ people—splendid chaps, though Proudhonists—are having a hard time combating it. I am in correspondence with them. In my personal letters I have attacked Bakunin and Proudhon. What is happening to my Italian Bakunists? We do not receive a single paper from there any longer. The Bologna Congress,² creating two centres of the Int[ernational], was the Jura's death-blow. When will the Circular³ finally come out? We are awaiting it impatiently; do not forget to send a copy to the Federal Council officially, with the General Council's seal. The Barcelona *Federación*, edited by Alerini, an Italian Bakunist who took part in the Marseilles Commune, must be forced to publish the circular.

To make the Int[ernational] the party of revolutionary action we are going to give a sketch of the working-class movement in European countries and the role communism has played and the role that the Int[ernational] is called upon to play. We have already published in the last issue an article on the *German Socialist Party*.⁴ I am not sure whether you will like it. We shall publish another on the movement in France. Please send me some notes on the Chartist movement and on the part you and Marx played in it; also a few notes on the organisation of the Int[ernational] in England and its strength.

I would likewise ask you for a few notes on the Austrian movement and on the American working-class movement.

These articles will carry great weight in Spain and, so that they may circulate more widely, I shall translate them

¹ The journal of the Portuguese Internationalists, published in Lisbon since February 1872.

² This refers to the Fascio Operaio Congress held in Bologna on March 17th, 18th and 19th.

³ This refers to *Les Prétendues scissions...*, the circular issued by the General Council of the I.W.A. dated London, March 5th, 1872 (in French—*Tr.*) denouncing the intrigues of the Bakunists. It was published in June.

⁴ *La Emancipación*, No. 46, of April 27th, 1872, carried an article on Jacoby and his attitude to the Socialist Party.

into French, either for the Brussels *Internationale* or for any other paper that has your approval.

We have had a letter from Heddeghard in Paris asking for our collaboration in the publication of a clandestine paper. I replied to-day, promising him my active collaboration, but advising him not to pursue the idea, because a clandestine paper has no influence. I advised him rather to establish the Int[ernational] in France on the same basis as the Int[ernational] in Spain, which is, without any question, the best thing of all and the best fitted to organise a working-class party and defy reaction. I understand that Serrailier intends to do something towards this end in France. They might be able to reorganise the Int[ernational] in France in such a way that the police are unable to stick their dirty fingers into it. I have already written to Bordeaux to this effect, but I have not yet had a reply. Perhaps my letter was intercepted—those postal rogues have such adulterous relations with the gentlemen of the police!

Concerning the journal, I advised him to make it a purely working-class weekly, dealing with matters of wages and jobs, something after the style of the *trade union** bulletins. and not touching on any but economic questions. I believe that a journal of this kind, which could be brought out without causing offence to the police, would be of the utmost value in France.

If the General Council is to exercise real influence, it should have a journal. I know that this is out of the question, but it could issue a weekly bulletin instead, which could be produced at very small cost. There are lithographic presses for 200 or 300 francs that could be used for this purpose. The material is written by hand on special paper, then the paper is applied to the prepared stone, all the writing is reproduced and several hundred copies can be produced. Each week the General Council would issue a bulletin in English and French, and in other languages should that be thought useful. The lithographic press would turn out several hundred copies which could be sent to all the Asso-

ciation's journals and to all the Federations. Do think over this idea of mine; I believe it would justify making some sacrifice.

From Mrs. Marx's letter I gathered that *La Liberté* is not in your good books. I am sorry I started sending them my reports. Should they take my second one—which I have just posted off to-day—it will do Bakunin a fine service, for I refer to the Alliance by name and denounce it.

Tell Marx that I have had a letter from Lachâtre announcing that Lahure has begun printing the book.

What did you think of the translation of the *theory of class struggle*?¹ Mesa did it. It was very much liked here. I have written a long letter to Portugal drawing attention to it; I have also sent an article on the class struggle.

Please send me without delay the English statutes for which I asked you on behalf of the Cadiz people. They need them.

The child is a little better. Here is a letter he has written to his London Papa. He was writing yesterday and his mother asked him "To whom are you writing?" "Only to the General," he said. You see in what a condescending manner he refers to the great warrior!

My wife sends her love, also to Mrs. Engels.

Cordially yours,

TOOLE I

Madrid, April 27, 1872

Dear General,

Saving the respect I owe my betters, I must tell you that you cannot know the meaning of the word *abur*. Since the September revolution, the Spaniards, to avoid having the hated name of God on their lips, instead of saying *adios*,

¹ *La Emancipación*, No. 44, of April 13th, 1872 (pp. 3/II-4/I), published, under the title "Teoría de la lucha de clases" the last chapter of *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

say *abur*. This has spread to all classes, even the most highly respectable.

Your soldier is proud, saving the respect owed to rank, to be able to teach you something.

From your soldier, who bids you *abur*,

SCHNAPS

I am sending you a copy of *Combate* as a sample, a circular from the Madrid local Council and a San Sebastian journal in which there is a Basque article.

Dear General,

Your soldier is better. He is going to eat a chuleta.¹

Abur,

SCHNAPS

10 e. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madrid, May 17, 72
Paul. Bkn. 23/5²

My dear Engels,

Thank you for your informative letter.

You ask me what the significance is and what the consequences will be of the General Council transferring from M[adrid] to Valencia.³ The Federal Council was transferred to Valencia to avoid the endless quarrels that would certainly have broken out in M[adrid] and in Barcelona had the Council been transferred there. I should explain that Ale-rini, who was the editor of the Barcelona *Federación*, had to resign and withdraw from the paper. If I were in Barcelona I should learn some fine things about Bak[unin]; as it is, what I know is enough to cause the stout man some trouble.

¹ A cutlet.—*Tr.*

² These two lines in Engels' handwriting.

³ The Saragossa Congress had voted for the Federal Council of the Spanish Region to transfer to Valencia. The term "General Council" here is obviously a slip.

You will have read my report¹ and the Jurassian Federation's reply,² which shows that the blow went home. Here in Madrid they have received the Geneva journal with a letter—as no doubt they will have done in Seville and B[arcelona] too. Morago was furious, but could not say anything; at a private meeting he stormed and wished me to the devil, but it went no further. Neither the *Razón* nor the *Federación* will dare to say a word, according to Mesa, which is tantamount to admitting that I am absolutely in the right. I am enclosing a letter which I would ask you to send to the G[eneva] *Égalité*³; as I do not have its clandestine address I am afraid of the post-office poking its nose into my envelope. Please ask Utin to have a copy made and to send it officially, and in my name, to the Jura *Bulletin*. (Tell him also to send us the paper, which we have not received here now for months. Ask him to send several copies of my letter.) I have sent a second copy to *La Liberté*, where I say this:

Citizen Editor,

The last issue of *La Liberté* did not contain my third report on the S[aragossa] C[ongress]⁴; it must have gone astray in the post. I prefer to assume this rather than to believe that you did not print it because my second report offended the members of the Alliance. Were that the case, I should take a sorry view of the freedom you allow your correspondents even when, not expressing their personal

¹ This refers to the second report on the Saragossa Congress which appeared in the (Brussels) *Liberté* on May 5th, 1872 (pp. 2/II-3/III). This is the article mentioned in Letter 10 d (see p. 439).

² In its May 10th issue (No. 6) *Le Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* (pp. 3/II-4/I) commented on the *Liberté* articles and denounced Marx's son-in-law's intrigues in Spain.

³ This letter dated Madrid, May 17th, 1872, appeared in *L'Égalité* on June 1st, 1872 (p. 4/II-III), preceded by an editorial note. It was reprinted by the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 10/1-1, pp. 8-9, on June 15, 1872.

⁴ *La Liberté*, No. 19, of May 12th, 1872, did not, in fact, publish a report on the Saragossa Congress. The article appeared in the May 19th issue (p. 4/II-V). The paper did not print Lafargue's letter.

opinions, they report *undeniable* facts and publicly denounce people who, by their underhand scheming in Barcelona, Madrid and other towns in Spain and even in Portugal, have attempted to disrupt the Int[ernational] which you claim to support.

In any case, having sent the name of your correspondent to Geneva¹ before informing him of the fact, and your correspondent having been personally attacked for his letter published in your paper, you will surely open your columns to him again to allow him to defend himself. No bourgeois journal would deny me that right.

Egalitarian greetings.

Should my letter be published in *La Liberté*, there will be a stir in Landerneau, and I believe it will provide food for discussion which I can carry further in *L'Égalité*. I should be delighted if I could force the Spanish Bakunists into the open here; I should make it my business to do what no one dared to do at the Congress: I would expose them and they would forfeit all influence—though that will happen sooner or later anyway.

I have had no answer from Paris; why this silence?

What have you agreed with Serrailier? I have sent a copy of your letter, concerning the Lancashire *trade unions**, to Valencia.

Send the English Statutes to the following address:

*Claudio Solanes
Plaza del Pueblo, No. 17
Cadiz*

The Cadiz Federation is excellent; there is considerable activity there. It would be a good thing if you wrote a few lines to Solanes. He understands English and speaks French capitally.

¹ The editorial note prefacing Lafargue's letter in *L'Égalité* said: "The *Bulletin* saw fit to denounce Citizen Lafargue, who has been prosecuted in France and whom the Spanish Government would like nothing better than to extradite."

The next Congress must be held in England; the Bakunists would be done for there before they ever appeared. You could use as the pretext the persecutions and the need to be in touch with the *trade unions** to make them join the International. You could circulate a note to the federations asking for their views beforehand. Manchester would be the best place, the French being less numerous there.

How did you resolve your differences with the French branches, half-branches and offshoots? Are you at peace with all the Communards¹—Vésinier and Vermersch excepted?

The piece on Cochrane² is magnificent; we translated the whole thing for *La Emancipación*.³

I come back to my idea: I believe that such a bulletin would be of the utmost value. It would give a report of the Council's meetings, and of the international working-class movement, without a word of doctrine. A bulletin of this kind in French, sent out to all the federations and sections, would assure the Council's influence without any need for it to expound theories.

The situation here goes from bad to worse; how Amadeus manages to remain on the throne is one of the most extraordinary phenomena of precarious equilibrium, but it will end badly. The Republican Party has committed suicide by

¹ This refers to organisations set up by certain Commune refugees in the name of the International, though in many cases, including the members of the French 1871 section in London, they had nothing in common with the I.W.A. They had a number of quarrels with the General Council, against which they conducted a campaign inspired by orders from Bakunin.

² At the Communards' London meeting on April 12th, 1872, the Conservative M. P. Cochrane made an abusive speech against the political activities of the International. He accused it, amongst other things, of having given orders for the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris and for setting fire to the city, and he called for the suppression of the General Council's activities in London. At the meeting of the General Council on April 16th, Marx read out a resolution of protest, which was published as a leaflet on April 17th and appeared in the *Eastern Post* (April 20th, p. 5/IV-V) and the *International Herald* (April 27th, p. 5).

³ *La Emancipación*, No. 49, of May 18th, 1872, pp. 2-3.

its latest manifesto. It is generally believed here that it is obeying orders issued in Paris and given by Gambetta and Thiers: that would explain Castelar's recent journey.

The boy has been better this last week.

Regards to Mrs. Engels. My wife sends her love to the whole family.

TOOLE

I shall send some reports and articles to *L'Égalité*.

10 f. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madrid, May 29th, 1872
P. Lafargue. Bkn. 9 June¹

My dear Engels,

I have received your letter of the 23rd, two issues of *L'Égalité* and of the *Daily News*, with three reports of the G[eneral] C[ouncil] and an extract from the *G[azzettino] Rosa*. I shall publish Liebknecht's letter with a few comments.

It would be most useful to have detailed information about the American affair.² If you think we could publish it, send it, and we shall bring it to the notice of the Spanish, telling them that the Alliance between the Jurassians and the dissident Americans has been accomplished. It would be a good way of finishing off the Jurassians here. That, as well as your circular, which we shall translate at once, will do a good deal of harm. *La Federación* having been suppressed,³ *La*

¹ These two lines in Engels' handwriting.

² The New York section 12 had formed a dissident Federal Council with section 9. This Council collapsed in the end and took the preposterous step of putting up Mrs. Woodhull as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

³ The Barcelona *Federación*, which was under Bakunist influence, was banned by decree of the Governor on May 19th, 1872. Its last issue (No. 145) appeared on May 26th, 1872. Then *El Trabajo* appeared, and *La Federación* started coming out again on June 30th, 1872, with No. 150.

Emancipación and *La Razón* are now the only two papers left. Our influence will be further increased. *La Razón* hardly circulates outside Seville.

You ask me to collect together evidence and documents; unfortunately the only written evidence that I could have consists of, 1st, the Circular which Mora, Mesa, Pagès, Iglesias, etc. propose to bring out dissolving the Alliance; and, 2nd, the statutes of the *Alliance* which, I have been promised, will be procured for me. But I believe this evidence will suffice. All that I know has been laboriously acquired, glean- ing a scrap of information here and another there: there is no one on earth more mistrustful than a Spaniard. Some Spaniards might possibly sign a statement confirming what they have told me, if needs must, but I should use such means only as a last resort. What I should like would be for the Bak[unists] to deny the facts I adduce, in which case I could give chapter and verse, and no one here would dare to contradict my statements. So, if the Jurassians reply to my letter—which they will have to do—I can relate incidents known to me here, giving names and the circumstances in which they occurred, and no one would raise their voice. In this way my articles will serve as evidence.

The Int[ernational] was founded here in Spain by Fanelli and Garrido, who were in touch with B[akunin]. Fanelli preached the theory of abstention here, and to-day he is a deputy in the Italian Chamber where he recently tabled a vote of thanks to Mazzini,¹ the enemy of the Int[ernational]. Nevertheless, it would be better to leave Fanelli out of it, for there are many people here who have a personal liking for him and these Spanish fellows set great store by personal relationships. In the early days there was a section here which had a chairman called Jalvo. Membership cards were dispatched from Geneva, some being brought by Gómez, the Secretary of the Alliance in Geneva: he should not be men-

¹ On the occasion of Mazzini's death, which occurred on March 10th, 1872.

tioned by name either; were he in Madrid I should hear a great deal from him. Morago and Córdova y López, editor of the *Combate*, received membership cards. Morago, who is an ass, thought he had received a signal mark of distinction: he showed his card to everyone, although he had been advised to keep this honour secret. That led to jealousy; Jalvo tendered his resignation as chairman and left the Int[ernational], saying that he did not wish to belong to an organisation within which a group was constituted with the function of leading it. From that moment, the Alliance took on a wholly secret character. Since B[akunin] is very lazy, what went on here in Spain is in no wise connected with what went on in Geneva. Mora, Tomás of Palma, Lorenzo, Farga of Barcelona, etc., in forming this secret society here, had had a sound if slightly mystical aim: they wanted to form a body of the most intelligent, most active people who were to be the propagators and defenders of the Int[ernational] etc. and who, in the event of dissolution, would always stick together and re-establish it. Tomás, a young man of twenty-two, most active and intelligent, even suggested that every member should write down the story of his life, which would be circulated to the other members, who would then know what was what and with whom they were dealing. That fact by itself demonstrates that what they were trying to establish was something more in the nature of a *fraternity*. But after the London Conference, there was a change. B[akunin] put it about everywhere that he had been slandered. Poor Lorenzo was dumbfounded; he said that "if what they say of B[akunin] is true, he is the greatest scoundrel alive"—but he did not believe it and it was his wavering that permitted the Bak[unists] to go on working here. I know nothing of what happened in Barcelona, so I cannot say anything about it.

Morago, who was not elected to the Fed[eral] C[ouncil], was furious; he seized eagerly on this pretext to attack the Fed[eral] C[ouncil]. There were several members of the F[ederal] C[ouncil] elected in Valencia who did not belong

to the secret society, including old Saenz, a plodding, loyal, taciturn but not very intelligent clerk. Morago blamed the other members of the Council for having admitted men of this type to the secret society. That was only a pretext, for in the secret society they had a certain Oliva, a former bullfighter, quite capable of stabbing, but stupider than the bulls in which he had been plunging banderillas until recently. It was from this time onwards, I suspect, that Morago must have entered into regular correspondence with the fat Pope of Locarno. It was then that he came out with the theory that the secret society should be strictly limited, that there should be one or two of its members on all the Councils of the Association, but without revealing the existence of the society to the other Council members, whom they were supposed to lead, and that they should report on their activities to their fellow-members of the secret society. There were dissensions and Morago announced that he had left the Spanish secret society to become a member of the Geneva Alliance, alone, from which he received *monita secreta*,¹ expounding the theory of dualism. These letters were written entirely in the Pope's hand. Several witnesses, including Mesa, can swear to having read them²—and it is this that I should like them to state publicly. Thereupon the Fed[eral] Counc[il] wrote a private circular which I have not read, denouncing Morago and his tendencies. In reply, the Fed[eral] Counc[il] received some interesting letters from Portugal, where, it seems, the same difficulty had arisen. Before leaving the Continent, I shall go through Lisbon and try to get detailed information. Thenceforth war was declared. Morago did, I believe, form the Alliance to act as a counterweight. He lives in a permanent state of double-dealing, speaking to the members of the secret society in the name of that society, while at the same time he is or-

¹ Secret instructions.—*Tr.*

² Mesa did, in fact, make a statement to this effect at the Hague Congress. (See *L'Alliance* . . . , p. 32.)

ganising the real Alliance. It is this double-dealing that has given him power here. However, he has been unable to recruit members to the new Alliance save in Seville and Malaga, which, combined with the new and old Barcelona elements—Alerini, Viñas, etc.—have formed a secret sub-society, which seeks to lead the Association of the former secret society. I have no material proof of any of this. All I have is facts well-known here which no one would ever dare to deny; that is why I think I ought to expose these facts at the Congress, so that my denunciations, which probably no one would even attempt to rebut here, should be accepted as established truths.¹

Be very cautious in your letters to the Fed[eral] Council: there are, I think, one or two members of the Geneva Alliance on it, and almost all belong to the old secret society. Nevertheless, Lorenzo, Montano and Tomás are intelligent fellows and loyal to the Association. Write to Lorenzo in French and in due course he will make whatever use of your letter he thinks proper.

Anent the Lisbon *Pensamento Social*, I forgot to tell you that the first article in the first² number is not by me but by somebody called Tedeschi, or Quintal—a very intelligent and loyal fellow. Despite their Proudhonism, they are very intelligent in Portugal. You will have read the curious article in one of the earlier issues in which, à propos of the taxes burdening landed property,³ the class struggle was expounded and explained. As you so rightly say, there is genuine class fanaticism here. One has to hear the Catalonians say “burgués” to form an idea of that fanaticism. It is this sentiment that gives us our strength, for in such

¹ The whole of this passage tallies more or less exactly with the relevant section of the *Alliance* pamphlet. (See the chapter: “L’Alliance en Espagne”, pp. 30-40.)

² Or in the last? This would make more sense, since there is a reference further on to “earlier issues”. *O Pensamento Social* had been appearing since February.

³ This article, entitled “A propriedade agricola e o imposto”, published in No. 11, May 1872 (p. 1), was by Lafargue.

provinces as Aragon and La Mancha, where clans are barely defined, we exist only by virtue of this feeling of hatred. It is a feeling that will preserve them from any Proudhonism (I shall translate your *Volksstaat* article¹). You will have read the short article addressed to the Jurassians in *La Emancipación*, and the article in *Pensamento* devoted to the organisation.²

I forgot to tell you that the *Condenado*,³ of which I sent you several copies a short while ago, is edited by Morago and has B[akunin]'s blessing; there is a letter on this subject. One of the editors on the *Combate* was Estebanez, who stood as a candidate in the last elections and was a member of the republican directorio; another was a certain Anher, diputado provincial (county councillor), also associated with Morago, as is Quiñones, on the editorial staff of the *Combate* and a member of the Madrid local Council; I know not if they are formally members of the Alliance, but I shall charge them with being party to it; thus there is a whole little band of political adventurers who can be accused of having tried to use the Int[ernational] for their own ends. According to news we have received from Jerez and Andalusia we are apprised that Lostau of the *Combate* and of the Int[ernational] and, in all probability, of the Alliance, tried to make pretty dirty use of the Int[ernational] there. At this present juncture, the Republican Party is utterly discredited—the best elements are joining our ranks. The political adventurers realise that there is no hope of capturing the Int[ernational] in Spain, thanks to its organisation; they are trying and will continue trying to form a new Socialist Party, by professing to be the men of action in the movement. Morago must be party to the scheme; at all events

¹ This probably refers to the article "The Sonvilliers Congress and the International", which was published in *Volksstaat* on January 10th, 1872.

² This article by Lafargue, entitled "Organisação", appeared in *O Pensamento Social*, No. 3, March 1872.

³ *El Condenado* was started in February 1872 in Madrid when *La Emancipación* became openly anti-Bakunist.

he can be accused of it; his words and deeds conform entirely with this bourgeois scheme.

Has Lorenzo written to you about the factory workers? Have you sent the English statutes to Cadiz?

Tell Mohr that I have paid the publisher. The child is better; we are very hopeful: it is a long time since his improvement has been so sustained.

Have you received *El eco de los trabajadores*, containing a Basque article, "Le Gil Blas", in which there was an article by Roberto, the author of those charming verses on the Int[ernational]?

Write to me without delay about the scandal in the United States; if publishable, send me the details.

Did you receive my report for *L'Égalité*? I intend to send a moderately long article to *La Liberté* on the causes of March 18th. I know H. Denis privately.

We are awaiting the Belgian Congress resolutions to embark on our organisation plan.

Laura sends her love, also to Mrs. Engels.

Ever yours,

TOOLE

Do not forget to send your reply to the Jurassians to the Fed[eral] Council officially.

I have just been reading the report of the Belgian Congress.¹ The Belgians are certainly puffed up: abolish the *General Council* indeed! What next! And the Belgian Federal Council to become the General Council for France—that's going even further than the Jurassians. Is it possible that De Paepe signed this programme, which was not even passed in Belgium? We shall attack it.

¹ The Belgian Congress was held on May 19th and 20th, but did not, in fact, discuss the plan for amending the rules of the International. A further, extraordinary Congress was held on July 14th. Lafargue was referring here to the draft rules issued by the Congress.

You will have seen the paragraph in *La Liberté*.¹ As I foresaw, they did not have the courage to attack me openly, but do it in an underhand way. I shall now write a letter to *La Liberté*, in restrained terms so that it can be published, but in which I shall defy them to attack me in Spain.

Would it not be a good thing for the General Council to make some reply to the astounding Belgian amendment?

TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

10 g. PAUL LAFARGUE

Madrid, June 1st, 1872
P. Lafargue. B/n. 9th²

My dear Engels,

At last they have made up their minds to attack me; they required time and thought, but it will cost them dear. I shall disclose their secrets. Herewith a letter I am sending to-day to the Seville *Razón*. Pass it on to Utin for him to publish in *L'Égalité* should the Jurassians publish the letter from Soriano and Muñoz attacking my reports.

The Belgian plan is the most stupendous imaginable thing. The suppression of the General Council is dumbfounding. The idea must emanate from Bakunin, who was attempting by this means to retain only his own Jurassian Federal Council, which would have assumed the role of the General Council. We have had a hearty laugh here over the Belgian plan and we intend to make fun of it with all the respect owed to Belgian majesty. *La Emancipación* will bring out a general programme of organisation which it will publish as a separate sheet and send to all the federations; it will differ somewhat from the Belgian plan.

I believe the Belgian plan means the end of Bakunin.

¹ *La Liberté* of May 26th published a protest (p. 4/III) from a Seville correspondent against the biased reports on the Saragossa Congress. The editors, sitting on the fence, took cover behind the impossibility of verifying Lafargue's statements.

² These two lines in Engels' handwriting.

You will have been surprised to see that the *Bulletin du Jura* jubilantly published a letter from Lorenzo.¹ Here is the explanation: the new Council was required to answer all the federations from which it had received letters for the Congress, and as it had received two letters from the Jura, it was obliged to reply to at least one of them.

The report on property presented to the Saragossa Congress is to be published as a pamphlet and possibly in *La Emancipación*. I shall translate it into French.

Is there by any chance, in some obscure corner veiled in metaphysical mists, a German philosopher named Krause?² He is the man of the moment here: you are a Krausist, or you are nothing. Hegel is barely known to us. I put it this way because the Spanish read even less than do the French, who have the first prize for omniscience. Let me have a few details about Krause.

When Mesa read the Belgian plan he was outraged. He wanted *La Emancipación* to call it a comical abortion.

10 h. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

My dear Engels,

I am sending you a copy of the Circular³ which is to be issued to-morrow or the day after. An official copy, signed by all the members, will be dispatched to you shortly by registered post.

Comrades of the Lisbon Section of the A. . . .

The Madrid Section of the A. . . has decided to disband

¹ The *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 7, of May 15th, 1872, published a letter from Lorenzo (p. 1/I) accompanying the Saragossa resolutions.

² This refers to the philosopher Karl Krause (1781-1832) who envisaged a universal alliance as the aim of human evolution. Expressed in turgid language, his theories were disseminated by his followers mainly in Belgium, Spain and Latin America.

³ See Letter 10 f. of May 29th, 1872, p. 444.

and simultaneously recommends you to do likewise, since, in our opinion, this is called for by the proletarian cause which we, for our part, have always defended, are defending and will never cease to defend.

The following are the main reasons which have prevailed upon us to take this course:

1. The Alliance has strayed from the path which we believed it would follow when it first set out in our region; it has perverted the idea for which we brought it into being and, instead of becoming an integral part of our great Association, of being an active element giving an impetus to the various organisations of the International, assisting them and encouraging their development, it has on the whole parted company with the rest of the Association to become a separate and, so to say, superior organisation, with domineering tendencies, thus sowing distrust, discord and disunity in our midst.

We need cite only two facts to adduce the truth of what we state: the manner in which the former Regional Council was deserted in the difficult circumstances it was experiencing; and the attitude adopted by the A... at the Saragossa Congress, to which it brought neither solutions for ideas but, on the contrary, obstacles hindering the important tasks with which the Congress was entrusted. The A... also committed a grave error in not applying the organisation principles adopted at Valencia; principles which embodied the very essence of the A. . . .

2. The second reason we have for disbanding is as follows: In Madrid the A... has ceased to be secret, as you know from the circular we sent to you last February; we have reason to believe that the same is true in other places. As you will realise, this reason would suffice to justify our decision.

To all this not a little has been contributed by the total lack of character on the part of many members who, instead of attending to the fulfilment of their duties, have been carried away by passion, sympathy or some other personal emotion.

We, for our part, believe that in our great working-class

organisation we shall be able to realise in full measure the ideal which impelled us to join the Alliance; that is why we ask of you only one thing: give all your assistance to the Regional Councils in the critical period through which we are passing, and we may yet correct many of the mistakes that have been made.

Greetings in the name of social emancipation.

Signed: Angel and Francisco Mora, Mesa, Calleja, Saenz, Pauly, Iglesias, Pagès (members of the former Regional Council), Castellón (member of the Madrid Federation).

Madrid, June 1st, 1872.¹

I must tell you that it was my report, my affair with *La Razón*, which induced them to write so outspoken a circular. They wanted to include something in their own defence, for they themselves are afraid of being criticised by the Spanish working class for having belonged to this secret society. Wait and see what a to-do there will be in Spain!

The *Combate*, in yesterday's issue, opened the attack on us, on me in particular. It is not an honest attack. For some time past the *Emancipación's* great crime was that of being communist, of being under the influence of K[arl] M[arx]'s son-in-law. Now *Combate* attacks communism and likens it to Jesuitism. In our next issue we shall let our dogs loose on them. In the last issue there was one which will have got its teeth into them—it was called *Hablamos claro* and was directed in the main against Lostau, Quiñones and other editors of *Combate* and members of the Alliance, of the Int[ernational] of the *Revolutionary Commune of Madrid*. This will infuriate them and drive them into committing some idiocy.

It appears that at the *Valencia Conference*, where it was voted that Lorenzo should be sent to London to attend the Conference, Mora opposed the sending of a delegate, owing to lack of funds; but Farga of Barcelona, the delegate to the Basle Congress, insisted that a delegate be sent to *keep*

¹ The Circular in Spanish in the original.—*Tr.*

an eye on the reactionary tendencies of the General Council and denounce them. Bakunin had persuaded him that because the General Council opposed the motion on the right of inheritance it was reactionary. Farga is, nevertheless, an excellent fellow. You see, since Basle they have begun subverting.

Do not publish the Circular I am sending you, but let anyone you please read it and send copies to whomever you wish. I think Utin ought to send one to the fat Pope of Locarno, as also to the Cardinals of Sonvilliers: it will provide them with a little entertainment. I am sending a translated copy to the editors of *La Liberté* with a few comments on the fat Pope and on the Belgian Congress's masterpiece. I am told that De Paepe behaved admirably and prevented a vote being taken on such rubbish. If the Jurassians could adopt the Belgian plan it would be splendid.

When is the pamphlet coming out?¹ Send me five or six copies to distribute.

I forgot to tell you that the Alliance has become a crime in Spain; that is why it has taken so long for them to attack me and also why Morago did not attack me in the Madrid Federation, where he wields so much influence: he is afraid of my disclosing their intrigues. To-morrow there is to be a general meeting to endorse or reject the statutes of the Valencia Conference which the Madrid Federation, under Morago's influence, did not wish to recognise. I shall try to put a little spice into the discussion.

Schnaps' improvement has come to a halt.

Regards to everyone.

Ever yours,

W. TOOLE

Madrid, June 2nd, 1872

Madrid, June 2nd, 1872

P. Lafargue

*Circular de la Alianza
Bkn. 9th.²*

¹ *Prétendues scissions...*

² Last four lines in Engels' handwriting.

10 j. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madrid, June 5th, 1872
P. Lafargue
Bkn. 27¹

My dear Engels,

I received your snippet of letter with the G[eneral] C[ouncil] material,² which will be translated and published in the next *Emancipación*. In my letter to Mrs. Mohr wherein I spoke about coming to London, I enclosed the report for *L'Égalité*. Tussy will no doubt have sent it to Utin; enquire about this. In a day or two I shall write another, on the Congresses of the Agricultural and the Manufacturing workers.

The powder-magazine has been set alight here: the Allies no longer know which way to turn. They wanted at all costs to blacken the members of the former Federal Council; at Valencia they demanded that a statement of the retiring Council's accounts be submitted to them, which the new Council categorically refused, the Congress alone having the right to ask for accounts. You see, what is happening in London is being echoed here. But I am delighted by it, for it will afford me the opportunity of attacking Morago's private life; he himself is none too keen on producing accounts. But to blacken the former Council is not enough: they have to pass a vote of censure on the new Council, proposed by the Madrid Federation, and do you know why? Because the new Council has sent a letter to the last issue of the *Emancipación* saying that those who desire to join the Int[ernational] may send their communications to that journal which will undertake to transmit them to the Federal

¹ The last two lines in Engels' handwriting.

² This probably refers to the I.W.A. General Council's statement of May 20th, 1872, concerning the Universal Federalist Council, with Vésinier, Landeck, etc., which was published in *La Emancipación*, No. 52 of June 8th, 1872 (pp. 2-3).

Council; the *Allies* see in this an insult to the local Council. After the Council, it was the *Emancipación's* turn: there is a demand for the expulsion of all its editors, on the grounds that, in the last issue, they proposed that an investigation should be made into the private fortunes of politicians,¹ which is tantamount to entering into politics, that is, being reactionary, inimical to the proletariat, etc. Following that, my turn came and a jury was appointed to try and sentence me. I am told that Morago himself was on it. There is no end to the dirty work.

The bomb will go off next Monday. I shall declare at the meeting that I do not accept the jury; but I shall make all the revelations I can concerning the Alliance, and I shall end by resigning my position as a member of the Madrid Federation, preferring not to remain in a Federation controlled by the Alliance. As they will never allow me to say all I should wish, I shall publish a leaflet containing everything I know about the Alliance, and I shall attack Morago in it, ruthlessly and personally, using all the most recent facts to prove that he is bent on destroying the Int[ernational]. For my pamphlet I must have yours: I require to know all about the origins of the Alliance in order to put my facts together properly, so pray send me a proof at once.²

At the same time as I received your letter I had one from Mrs. Mohr giving us interesting information about what is going on in London, amongst the Communard clan and in Belgium. I am glad that Achilles De Paepe has left his tent; things will change a little with his re-emergence. We have received the last *Liberté* which also talks about sup-

¹ *La Emancipación* of June 1st demanded an enquiry into "the source of the private means of ministers, generals, magistrates, public officials, mayors, etc. and of all politicians who, though not exercising public functions, have lived under the shadow of the various governments, lending them their support in the Cortes and cloaking their iniquity under the guise of a spurious opposition ... and whose wealth should be confiscated as a first measure following a revolution". (See *L'Alliance* ..., p. 36.)

² This refers again to *Prétendues scissions*...

pressing the Federal Councils. Before I had read the latest issue, I had written telling them to advise the Belgian Council to suppress the Federal Councils, and to dissolve the sections so that the proletarians could be left in a state of splendid autonomy face to face with capitalist exploitation. My letter must have made them scratch their heads, for I spoke somewhat irreverently of the fat Pope, to whom Hins will have sent a copy to produce at the next Congress by way of documentary evidence.

The child is in a bad way.

Ever yours,

P. TOOLE

Last night we read an article on the Belgian plan by Mora; it will appear in the next *Emancipación*.¹ Mora is one of the best types in the Int[ernational]; unfortunately he is too weak. Morago affects him like a Medusa's head, owing to the uncommon sensibility of his nervous temperament. Travelling by train makes him ill—the noise upsets him. He has great talents: only a short time ago he could not read and it is he who, together with Farga of Barcelona, created the whole Spanish organisation, and it is he, Lorenzo and Mesa who have brought the Int[ernational] to life here. He has sacrificed himself in every way for the Int[ernational]; he is a shoemaker, in the luxury trade—women's shoes cost 15 or 16 pesetas generally, those he made cost 25 to 30; he had an aristocratic clientèle and he dropped everything to assume the duties of General Secretary for which he received only 3 pesetas a day, and even then he had to live for months at a time on what he was given by his brother and a female cousin who worships him. Here is a token of it: this cousin is religious and she was told that Mora claimed there was no God. "If Francisco says so,

¹ This article, entitled "El Proyecto Belga de los estatutos generales" appeared in *La Emancipación*, Nos. 52 and 53, of June 8th and 15th, 1872. It was reprinted in *La Liberté*, No. 28, on July 14th, 1872 (p. 4/I-III).

it must be true." He has a considerable gift for music and used to attend lectures at the Conservatoire which he had to give up for the Int[ernational], and this is the man Morago accuses of ambition!

The articles on the *organización social de los trabajadores* are by V. Pagès, an excellent fellow. He is quite young—only twenty-two. He was a medical student, but, having taken up with some woman, he incurred his father's displeasure and, rather than give her up, he became a working shoemaker. He is very active and remarkably intelligent.

The political articles are by Mesa, a man who has taken part in various Republican Party risings and who could play a far more important role in the bourgeois party if he wished to. He has much experience and intelligence and is extremely energetic.

10 k. PAUL LAFARGUE TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madrid, June 13th, 1872

P. Lafargue

(Loc. Antrag wegen Alianza) Bkn. 27¹

My dear Engels,

Monday's meeting was more sublime than I had anticipated. There was no need for me to speak; the members of the Alliance took it upon themselves to reveal their secrets. The Alliance was started here by Sentiñón and a certain Viñas. Fanelli, the Italian deputy, had already laid the first foundations. The two Moras, Lorenzo and a whole number of other excellent men, who believed that the Alliance was even more revolutionary than the Int[ernational], wanted to bring it out into the open and to admit all the best working-class elements in order to form a corps d'élite; but Morago and Viñas, who had come from Barcelona for the express purpose of founding it, opposed this and claimed

¹ These lines in Engels' handwriting.

that it must be secret. It was then that old Mora made this declaration: If the Alliance is a revolutionary association, I shall join it, but the moment it does harm to the Int[ernational], I shall leave it and denounce it. And it was he and Pauly who made the most damning denunciations at the meeting.

In Spain the Alliance is for the most part composed not of workers but of bourgeois. (Sentiñon is a doctor, Viñas a student, Soriano a mathematics teacher, Morago a small employer, etc.) [It] was supposed to give leadership to the Int[ernational]; thus the Spanish Federal Council, before taking any decision, had to consult the members of the local Alliance and inform all the others in the region; and, in accordance with their approval or disapproval, the measure was taken or not taken. One or two members of the Alliance had to be on all the Councils of the Int[ernational], to supervise and control the others. In the event of a proposition being put by a member who was not in the Alliance, those who were met together to agree upon the attitude they should adopt. In short, there was a hidden hand, doing and undoing everything, and wielding the more power insofar as no one was aware of it. It was the members of the Alliance themselves who were beginning to revolt against this power, which was growing too tyrannical. The first sign of insubordination was shown by the members of the Alliance in the Federal Council, who felt they ought to initiate their other comrades into the mysteries and admit them to membership of the Alliance. They thought that since these members were sufficiently good to be on the Federal Council, they were good enough to belong to the Alliance. Morago objected to the admission of newcomers, alleging that it was contrary to the principles of the Alliance; and he took himself off and formed a separate Alliance, which immediately came into conflict with the old one, which has just disbanded in Madrid. It was then that he started to trammel the Federal Council, going so far as to get six members of the Int[ernational] expelled by the Madrid Federation. It was owing to

his influence that the editors of *La Emancipación* were denounced as traitors and expelled. It would take too long to go into the sufferings those poor devils went through. He accused Lorenzo and Mora of squandering the Int[ernational]'s money.

The meeting went on until half-past three in the morning. It was then that I moved the following resolution:

I request the assembly to appoint a commission for the purpose of investigating the existence of a secret society known as the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, whose centre is in Switzerland, whence membership cards, orders and secret instructions emanate. This society, certain members of which belong to the International, and others to the bourgeoisie and its political parties, presumes to impose its ideas upon the International, to dictate its aims and to lead the working class under concealment and towards an unknown goal.

I also request the assembly that the persons appointed to constitute this Commission that I am proposing should swear in its presence, solemnly and upon their oath, that they do not belong to the Alliance.

I further request that the Commission be given full rights to summon and interrogate any person belonging to the Madrid Federation.

I request that the Commission make a summary of the statements so heard, that this summary be published in all the journals of the International in the region and be made available at the same time to all local federations and other regional federations, inviting them to undertake a similar investigation with a view to bringing to an end these hidden machinations which disturb and disrupt the International and tend to turn our Association into a body lacking cohesion and unity in order to control and exploit it still further in accordance with their views and interests.

*Madrid, June 10th, 1872*¹

¹ The whole resolution in Spanish in the original.—*Tr.*

Ten or so members of the Madrid Federation resigned, not wishing to belong to a society conducted by unknown people, and they intend to form a new Federation.¹

I do not know whether this investigation will be carried out; but whether or no, the fact that has been established is that the existence of the Alliance, its plans and the names of those who belonged to it have been denounced in open assembly in Madrid. If you think it would be useful to publish these facts in *L'Égalité* before the general Congress, you may do so. You can translate and publish in full the circular which I sent you in my previous letter, as well as my resolution, with comments. But I beg you to hasten the publication of your reply to the Jura; it will be of the utmost value to us here. It is a great pity that it did not come out before the Spanish Congress took place, it would have struck a good blow here—but better late than never. You will have seen in *La Razón* the support given to Soriano's letter by three members of the Federal Council who belong to the Alliance. It may be that we shall be compelled to fight even the Federal Council here, but we are determined here to see the matter through. I am sending my resolution to the Seville and Barcelona Federations: it will amuse the Allies there.

For some time now the child has been gravely ill.

My regards to everyone.

Ever yours,

P. TOOLE

P. S. If anything about the Alliance in Spain is published, tell them to send me ten copies like last time.

So the famous Jura Federation Congress has been held!² Their fervour has cooled off considerably.

I translated Mora's article on the Belgian statutes and

¹ They formed the New Madrid Federation, which was recognised by the General Council of the I.W.A. *La Emancipación* became the official organ of the New Federation.

² This Congress was held at Le Locle on May 19th.

sent it to De Paepe, telling him to publish it in Belgium.¹ What effect has it made? *La Razón* professes that this plan demonstrates once again the radicalism characteristic of our Belgian brothers²—meaning that the Alliance, having inspired the plan, now endorses it.

10 I. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madrid, July 1st, 1872
P. Lafargue. Bkn. 183

My dear Engels,

Our poor little Schnaps, after eleven months of physical and mental suffering, is dying of exhaustion.⁴ That explains the brevity of my letter.

Mesa and Mora hold the view that where Spain is concerned you should preserve the private form; Bakunin's letter herewith enclosed may provide an opening for a public reply to be addressed officially to the Fed[eral] C[ouncil] for publication in all the papers. A letter from me to the Spanish Int[ernationalists] now being printed will do all that is necessary to finish off the Alliance here. It will be out next week; I shall send you a proof as soon as it comes off the press.

You should write officially to Valencia, in the name of the G[eneral] C[ouncil] asking them what attitude should be adopted towards the Al[liance] and telling them that you learn from *La Razón* that at least three members of the Federal C[ouncil] belong to the Al[liance].⁵ Send a regis-

¹ See p. 458, note 1.

² This sentence in Spanish in the original.—*Tr.*

³ These two lines in Engels' handwriting.

⁴ The Lafargues' son, Étienne, born at the end of December 1868, was their last remaining child.

⁵ Part of the text of this letter, addressed by the General Council of the I.W.A. to the Spanish Federal Council, was published in the *Alliance* pamphlet (pp. 38-39).

tered letter and try to compromise them in relation to yourselves. In any case, according to Mesa and Mora, the Federal] C[ouncil] will not dare to do anything for the Al[liance], which is in process of disbanding. The Cadiz section has announced its dissolution, as has that in Seville; but one should beware, particularly of the Seville section in which there are bourgeois. I am in possession of an official document with a report of the session of the Seville local C[ouncil] announcing the dissolution of the Al[liance]; if you need it I will send it to you. The circular that I sent you will be published in full in my letter, and signed.

We shall keep 50 copies of *Scissions* for ourselves, the rest we shall send to Valencia, in your name.

Regards to everyone.

P. LAFARGUE

July 1st, 1872

We have received all the pamphlets; they have had a good effect here.

Try to link the Al[liance] with the London Federalist C[ouncil] and Mrs. Woodhull.¹

**10 m. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON**

Madrid, VII-12 1872

My dear Engels,

Send the letter which follows to *L'Égalité*; you will be receiving at the same time ten copies of my circular²; tomorrow I shall dispatch ten more. In case you should need further copies, I shall put fifty aside for you. We have not so far received the *Private Circular*. Is it true that they seized bundles of your circular in Paris and have arrested

¹ This refers to the matter of the Universal Federalist Council and the New York No. 12 section. See p. 456, note 2 and p. 434, note 1.

² This refers to the letter to the Spanish Internationalists mentioned in the preceding letter.

Int[ernationalists] on this account? You will have learnt from *La Federación*¹ of the effect it had here. The Alliance renews itself like a cut worm; and unfortunately its members are in the public eye and the only ones to be heard in Spain, which deludes people; but the Federal C[ouncil], though composed entirely of Allies, do not have a good word to say for the Al[liance] in public; the most they can do is what Soriano and Morago have done, that is, try to prove that in Spain the Al[liance] produced good results and served the Int[ernational]. My circular will probably elicit a statement to that effect; but the Int[ernational] in Spain will never go over to Bakunin.² The greater majority of the Int[ernationalists] is totally indifferent to these quarrels, of which it understands nothing; but it sets great store by the Int[ernational] and harbours no ill feelings towards the G[eneral] C[ouncil]; the best proof is that only one federation—that of Palma—has come out for the Jurassians. I have had a thousand copies of my circular printed which I shall have distributed to all the Councils and to every Int[ernationalist] with influence; we shall see what comes of it.

The Madrid Allies, as a consequence of the Circular—of which you have a copy—dissolving the Al[liance], have expelled the signatories from the Federation,³ but they formed a new Federation at once and demanded that the Federal C[ouncil] dissolve the old one, deemed to have committed breaches of the Int[ernational]'s statutes and duties. The Federal C[ouncil] rejected their demand, but will probably do nothing to prevent them organising themselves.

The General Congress will settle all this. What is happening to the Belgians? Do you think it would be an advantage if I went to the Congress as a delegate? Answer promptly.

Have you received Mesa's letter?

¹ *La Federación*, No. 150, of June 30th, 1872.

² History has shown how erroneous was Lafargue's judgement.

³ See pp. 452-54.

Mesa believes that you should send an official but friendly letter to the local Barcelona Council and the Federal Council,¹ protesting against the article in *La Federación* which talks of *Pan-Germanism*, *Anglo-Germans*, etc.

**10 m (bis). PAUL LAFARGUE TO THE EDITORS
OF THE BULLETIN DE LA FÉDÉRATION JURASSIENNE**

Citizens,

I place before you a copy of a *Letter to the Spanish Internationalists* wherein I adduce certain details about the Alliance, which I would ask you to complete for the enlightenment of the members of the forthcoming Congress.

By denying the clandestine existence of the Alliance you think to render all your machinations invisible; unfortunately in this depraved era people place more faith in documents than in pious oaths. An Alliance membership card, emanating from Switzerland, has been laid before the Commission in Madrid charged to look into this society; I have in my possession an official letter from the local Seville Council of the International intimating that at one of its meetings the programme and aims of the Alliance were made known by a reading of its statutes. To spare your Holy Father, who takes it upon himself to *canonise**, the trouble of bluffing, I may as well tell you that in a café last January Morago, an Alliance man, read out to Mesa, a member of the Federal Council, a letter written entirely in Bakunin's hand setting out the attitude to be adopted towards the International.

Your latest *Bulletin of insults* is invaluable: the bourgeois and the police agents will be able to make copious use of

¹ Engels did send such a letter to the Valencia Federal Council, dated July 24th, 1872, stating that he had proof of the existence within the International of a secret society to which at least three members of the Federal Council belonged, and asking for a list of the Alliance members. (Published in the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* of August 15th on September 1st, 1872, pp. 7/II-8/II.)

it when it comes to vilifying the General Council and taking action against the Internationalists. By way of tidbit it contains an anecdote related by that scandal-monger Malon about myself, which is in exquisite taste, but slightly compromising to you.¹ If at the end of 1869 Malon, the poet, was not aware of Karl Marx's existence, one might be tempted to think that *Marx and the "General Council he leads"* had not yet made its authoritarianism felt; and surely you would not wish to suggest that authoritarians of that stamp, whom you have so loudly denounced to the bourgeoisie and the police, had been able to play an underhand game for so long? Perhaps it is your friend Robin—admitted to the General Council towards the end of 1869—who introduced into it the Alliance's spirit of authoritarianism? Malon has the unfortunate habit of talking too much. At Bordeaux, in front of Johannard, Prudhomme and myself, he blithely recounted the little intrigues² set afoot by himself and his friends to get his name on the list of several electoral committees. Thanks to these tricks, Malon was elected, while Blanqui, Varlin, Jaclard, etc., polled barely some thirty thousand votes.

The enemies of the Alliance are putting it about that you entertain the gallant intention of replying to the *Private*

¹ *Le Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 10/11 of June 15th, 1872, reported an anecdote by Malon according to which, on being presented to Malon's wife, Lafargue was supposed to have said, surprised that she did not know who Karl Marx was: "Surely you must know that it is Marx who leads the General Council."

² In *Prétendues scissions...* (p. 14, note) it says: "Do they know the attitude taken by the deputy mayor of Les Batignolles on the eve of the February elections? At that time B. Malon, who did not yet foresee the Commune and was only interested in his successful election to the Assembly, intrigued to have his name included on the list of four committees as an Internationalist. To this end he insolently denied the existence of the Paris Federal Council and submitted to the committees a list from a section he had formed himself in Les Batignolles as though it had been produced by the Association as a whole." This refers to the elections to the Assembly of February 8th provided for by the Armistice Convention signed by Jules Favre on January 28th, 1872. Malon was duly elected and then, at the time of the Commune, resigned.

*Circular*¹ with something other than insults. This is a plain trap set for your frankness. Let it pass, as you let pass the *Circular of the French-speaking Committee*²; do not stoop to otiose and untenable denials; stop talking of metaphysics, of deductive, absolute and convergent method; shun all scientific discussion, for there lies the danger! Take warning from the blunder of His Infallibility who, seeking to make an oblation to worldly vanity, formulated a theoretical programme, and, so that it should be startlingly revolutionary, felt obliged to imitate Mme Goegg, who called for "the political, economic and social equality of the *sexes*", and proclaimed the "political, economic and social equality of the *classes*".³

Frustrate the designs of these heretics by sticking to your customary behaviour: insult, abuse and slander, even if your insults, your abuse and your slanders should recoil upon your own heads. What matter? You will have done your duty and obeyed the dictates of your nature and position. Experience has, in any case, taught you that in the field of ideas which you have made your own and where you have set up a notice saying "*This is mine*," you are unvanquished and invincible.

Greetings and stick to your guns,

PAUL LAFARGUE

Madrid, July 12th, 1872

"What made Bakunin say of him '*he is a saint*,' was his incredible innocence of heart, the innocence of a child."
(*Bulletin*, No. 7.)⁴

¹ *Prétendues scissions*...

² This refers to the resolution of the thirty Geneva sections. (See p. 407, note 2.)

³ When it became a section of the International, the Alliance wrote into its programme—which was repudiated by the General Council—the equality of classes.

⁴ In an obituary notice on one of the founders of the International in Switzerland, Meuron, published by *Le Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* on May 15th, 1872 (pp. 3/I-4/I).

10 n. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Madrid, Mitte Juli 1872
P. Lafargue¹

My dear Engels,

The Al[liance] affair is assuming grave proportions here; there is a veritable plot involving the Fed[eral] C[ouncil]; Lorenzo, who is very weak, has retreated and left the others in command of the field. Yesterday we were apprised of a private circular of July 7th by the Fed[eral] C[ouncil],² which they took good care not to send to us, and probably not to you either. This circular is about the nomination of delegates; the Council proposes an additional subscription for sending delegates; according to the amount received it will inform the federations of the number of delegates they may elect by ballot. You realise that it is the Al[liance] that will hold the election and will send Allies on Int[ernational]'s money. In this circular they have used the two paragraphs from *La Federación* beginning with the words "our examination of the Belgian plan" and ending the first paragraph with "the most fervent of revolutionaries". The second paragraph "These facts known to everyone" to "eminently noxious tendencies".³ We have only one copy of the circular, but you could ask them for one as evidence in the Al[liance] case.

In face of their attitude Mesa thinks that the G[eneral] Council should act energetically and even provoke a split before the Congress; but first he has to write to the Fed[eral] C[ouncil] telling them that he is aware of all their tricks, demanding to know the names of all the members of the Al[liance] in Spain and asking them to institute a public enquiry into the Al[liance] for the purpose of furnish-

¹ These lines in Engels' handwriting.

² The gist of this circular is given in *L'Alliance* ... (p. 38).

³ These quotations in Spanish in the original.—Tr.

ing the General Council with these documents; also that they should reply to you by return of post and that if they fail to satisfy your wishes, you will openly denounce them in Spain as having violated the statutes and being members of the Al[liance].¹

Here we are resolved to act energetically in face of the situation. To parry the blow of the private circular, we shall demand that no member of the Al[liance] be sent to the Congress on International money, and therefore we have decided to publish the names of all members who have belonged to the Al[liance].

Have you received a reply from the Fed[eral] C[ouncil] about the mill workers' Union? If the Fed[eral] C[ouncil] have done nothing about this, it would be a grave charge which would weigh against them and which you would do well to expose, accusing them of neglecting the business of the organisation in order to concentrate entirely on the Al[liance]'s affairs.

La Emancipación is impatiently awaiting your articles.

I think it would be best to publish my letter which, if not refuted, would become documentary evidence. Have no fear, you will be sent further ammunition against the Al[liance].

Act promptly and vigorously.

Regards to everyone.

Ever yours,

P. TOOLE

I shall send an extract of my letter to *La Liberté*.

We are leaving for Lisbon this week; we shall take the boat North and I shall go to the Congress.

The *Condenado* does not answer a word to my letter, but calls it une crecida dosis de venenosa baba.²

¹ The letter written by Engels to the Valencia Federal Council, on July 24th, 1872, was roughly on these lines.

² An increased dose of venomous slaver.—*Tr.*

10 o. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Lisboa, Aug. 8, 72
*P. Lafargue*¹

My dear Engels,

Laura and I have now been in Portugal for eight days. The journey was a trifle long, a trifle hot and a trifle arduous: thirty hours in the train in heat that would have hatched out lice on a pane of glass. Fortunately we had bought an enormous sandia (water melon) weighing 18 lbs. which slaked our thirst in the La Mancha desert, the country of Don Quixotes and windmills. Once we were in Lisbon we felt capital. Thanks to the sea, the climate is very cool and Lisbon is the most picturesque city we have ever visited. Its inhabitants are exquisitely kind and courteous. Our people here with whom we are in touch are charming and extremely intelligent. Portuguese is much like Spanish: Laura and I talk to them in Spanish and they talk to us in Portuguese, sometimes we make howlers, but we succeed in understanding each other. During the last few days in particular, our ears begin to grow accustomed to the *cão*-s and *ch*-s which grace all Portuguese words, making the language sound like a perpetual whistling.

Our people here could not be more favourably disposed; they welcomed me in the most affable way and, by the same token, they are very ill-disposed towards the Alliance. The Portuguese Int[ernationalists] began by being Alliancists before they were Int[ernationalists]. Tedeschi told me that they had looked upon the All[iance] as a bridge leading to the Int[ernational]. Morago, with a view to exercising control over Port[ugal], organised a group of the worst kind in opposition to these people; that is what has given rise to their hatred of the Al[liance]. However, they have seen through the Jura intrigue and have refused to publish any-

¹ These two lines in Engels' handwriting.

thing against the General Council. There is a letter here from Papa B [akunin] which I have not read wherein he applies himself to attacking the G[eneral] C[ouncil]. I shall do what I can to have it sent to you in London; Mora also has a letter from B [akunin], but I do not know whether he will wish to let you see it.¹ Mora is a rum customer.

They will not be able to send a delegate from Portugal, but I have advised them to send an endorsement of the organisational plan published in *La Emancipación* and at the same time to ask for the dissolution of the Al[liance] and the expulsion of all its members, but leaving the members with the option of rejoining the Int[ernational] after publicly denouncing the Al[liance] and undertaking never again to belong to a secret society. This is the same proposition that *La Emancipación* is going to make. I am trying to put another idea into their heads, namely, that you should be empowered to represent them at the Congress, where it would be better if you figured as the Port[uguese] delegate rather than as a member of the Council.

The question of politics is a great problem to them here. All Portuguese politics are confined to, as they say, *palaciana*² politics, in which it would be most unwise to involve the working class. There are some men with the gift of the gab in the Int[ernational] who long to become deputies and form a Socialist Party in Parliament, and these men are trying to use the Int[ernational] purely for their own personal ends. In consequence, the better elements here are opposed to any political action before the organisation of the working class. Since the Int[ernational] cannot come out into the open, they have set themselves to organise resistance groups, which has greatly annoyed the politicals; that is why I wrote an article, called "Working-Class Solidarity",³ for *O Pensamento*, which pleased them very much.

¹ Mora did in fact communicate this letter, which appeared in the *Alliance* ... pamphlet (pp. 135-37).

² Palace.—Tr.

³ "A Solidariedade Obreira", *O Pensamento Social*, No. 23, of August 10th, 1872 (p. 1).

I look to you to set them on the right path and have offered them your collaboration, which they accepted with enthusiasm. The *German Social-Democratic* Party worries them a good deal here and the politicals, in opposing them, are always citing this Party to them. I told them I would ask you for a history of that Party's organisation, which will serve as a model to constitute their political party; I shall ask Mesa to translate these articles for *La Emancipación*, which would be a way of helping forward the Int[ernational] on the peninsula. We shall be seeing each other at the Congress and talk the matter over. These articles could be written in French which they understand well.

França, one of the best people here, tells me that he has written to you twice without receiving any answer.

Do not reply to me, for it may be that before my letter reaches you I shall have left Lisbon.

Our love to the whole Marx family and your own.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

Lisbon, August 8th, 1872

What do you think of *La Emancipación*? Has it caused ructions in the Bakunist camp?

10 p. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

[August 4th, 1872]

My dear Engels,

You will know from Marx that since last Thursday I have been in Holland. We chased about the town like maniacs trying to find cheap lodgings; the hotels here are prohibitive—7 to 9 francs a day per head for being very poorly nourished.

In the end we managed to find furnished rooms in a dis-

trict a long way from the centre, and we had to take them by the month and be glad of it: everywhere else they had to be taken by the year.

We feel slightly strange here, after Spain and Portugal. Fortunately, French is widely understood; when I cannot make myself understood somewhere, I bring up the rear-guard, that is to say, Laura, who flaunts her German and terrible Babel ensues: she speaks German, they answer in Dutch and sometimes neither succeeds in understanding the other.

But Laura is making remarkable progress.

I hope that the Congress organisers have made arrangements for lodging the delegates. If I can be of any use, call upon me.

Here is my new address:

Mr. José Mesa y Leompar
c/o Mr. C.H. van den Pauvert
Fagelstraat No. 1, The Hague

Regards to everyone.

Ever yours,

JOSE MESA

1837

10 q. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

My dear Engels,

When your letter arrived this morning at half-past eight, I had already left the house, consequently I did not know of it until this evening on my return. This explains why I did not reply at once to the question you ask me.

I have returned to you all the documents you sent me. I remember very well that, when you gave me these letters, you took one letter out from which you read me certain passages, and which you laid aside to answer; I am positive that I never had this Lisbon letter in my possession.

I hope that you will soon be done with that accursed Alliance pamphlet,¹ so that you may enjoy the caresses of Amphitrite, polluted by London's purities.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

August 27th, 1873

¹ The Hague Congress had decided on the publication of the documents concerning the Alliance's activities. This was the pamphlet *L'Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (known as the "Alliance pamphlet") published in London and Hamburg at the beginning of September 1873.

10 r. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

[1873]

My dear Engels,

On leaving your place I ran into Moore who expressed the wish to see you, for he seems, like myself, to be completely in the dark.¹ I told him to go and see you to-morrow—Friday—-evening between seven and eight o'clock and promised to announce his visit.

I told him, what I had already said to you, that I was relying entirely upon you to settle the matter.

My compliments to the illustrious artist in mural decoration; I shall study his masterpieces.

Ever yours,

P. LAFARGUE

¹ It appears that there had been a business partnership between Moore, Le Moussu and Lafargue, from which Lafargue withdrew towards the end of August. It is on the basis of facts gleaned from the correspondence between Marx and Engels that this letter is attributed to the year 1873.

1874

10 s. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

My dear Engels,

I am sending you a copy of Serrailier's missive about the shillings; it will enable you to judge of the fellow to whom you lent so willingly an ear. This letter is in reply to one I wrote telling him that to make out the bill for what he claims I owe him he should consult not my books, but his own accounts.

My dear Lafargue,

Pending the settlement of the outstanding 3/— which you said at first that you had paid me weekly and *I have certainly not received* and of the commission on the business, there is a balance of 2/— per week owing for a period of ten months, for which I demand payment as early as possible.

I shall await your reply on this matter until to-morrow, Wednesday.

With greetings,

A. SERRAILLIER

This letter defies comment. I replied to him as follows:

Sir,

I am greatly astonished not to find in your letter this morning the reasons on which you base your claim for 2/— per week for a period of ten months.

I have the honour of remaining, etc.

I believe Marx is too ill and too bored by the whole business for him to be bothered with it. It is up to you to decide whether there is any point in telling him the latest turn it has taken.

Ever yours,

LAFARGUE

June 9th, 1874

1883

67 a. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Paris, January 6th, 1883¹

My dear Engels,

I hope you had a rather merrier Christmas and New Year than we had here.

Jenny's² condition saddened us greatly; we thought it hopeless. Last Friday, when Laura and I went to Argenteuil, we were astonished to find her laid up and in a very sorry state; she seemed exsanguinous and in a state of debility that rendered movement, speech, even thought difficult for her; she was sunk in a torpor broken by nightmares and fantastic dreams. Since her last confinement she has had constant haemorrhages whose cause, according to Longuet, the doctors have not yet been able to discover; she insisted upon suckling the baby, which, combined with a chronic lack of appetite, completely drained her strength. In the end she had to relinquish feeding the little girl, who was fortunately put to a healthy Auvergnate, who did capitally by her: the child is a fat little dumpling and takes very much after her mother.

¹ Dated by mistake 1882.

² On September 16th, 1882, Jenny Longuet had given birth to a daughter, Jenny. She had not been well since her confinement and suffered from some abdominal trouble—probably cancer—from which she died on January 11th, 1883.

Instead of nursing herself, Jenny continued to neglect her health completely and, one day, when she went to Paris with Longuet, the haemorrhages started again more violently than ever. Longuet in the meanwhile had to go to Riom, to follow the trial of the Montceau-les-Mines dynamiters. So there was no one to look after Jenny. When Longuet returned, he found her in bed in the condition which I have described above. She could not eat anything; the haemorrhages had stopped, but were replaced by constant diarrhoea. We did not know of her desperate condition, so you can imagine our shock when we found her laid up and delirious. Laura ordered some brandy for her and made her take some, and the next day she brought her some oysters, of which she ate but two. For two days she seemed to be getting worse rather than better, but now there is a certain improvement. She is taking milk and from time to time eats a little ham and some oysters. Laura goes each day to Argenteuil; unfortunately it takes four hours by omnibus and train to go there and back and during the festive season the omnibuses were as tightly packed as an egg and Laura was glad to find a carriage to take her from the boulevard Port-Royal to the Gare Saint-Lazare, situated at the two opposite ends of Paris. She leaves at one in the afternoon and returns at ten or eleven o'clock.

During this time I have been writing two articles for Russia. Not receiving any news at all and having consulted Lavrov, I decided to send a letter to St. Petersburg. I received a rather embarrassed reply: it was explained that the censor, by constantly suppressing articles already in print, drove the journal into vast expenses which had run it into debt, but that it continued to come out and my money would be sent, and they asked me to go on contributing.

Also, in a fortnight's time, when the excitement of the New Year celebrations shall have died down a little, I shall be introduced to Hachette's with a scheme for an illustrated publication, similar to a publication which Cassels produce most successfully in London. As it is in the same

style as those the firm of Hachette brings out, I may perhaps be successful.

L'Égalité has itself told you of its demise.¹ The paper merchant broke his word to us; after committing himself, he suddenly found a way of getting out, so that we were forced to close down for lack of paper. But do not be too much surprised if you find that the paper comes out again. Its disappearance leaves a void. Two days after it stopped publication a proposition was put to us which we rejected, but negotiations continue. We want the next *Égalité* to have an assured means of existence and enable its staff to live, not in luxury, but at least frugally. Gambetta's death² will cause the demise of three or four other Paris newspapers, which were run at a loss in their backers' expectations of touching a few crumbs when Gambetta came to power. That hope is now being interred together with Gambetta's great paunch. Possibly the eclipse of one of these journals will help towards the revival of *L'Égalité*.

The enthusiasm inspired by Gambetta in death demonstrates that chauvinism dies hard in the soul of the French bourgeois, for the enthusiasm is purely bourgeois. It shows that this imbecile's influence over the masses was far greater than his enemies suspected.

Can you send me ten pounds, for I am devilishly hard up. I have sent you a copy of the Russian journal containing my article, which I have just received. Pass it on to Marx after you have read it.

My regards to everyone.

With good wishes,

P LAFARGUE

¹ *L'Égalité* ceased publication on December 8th. (See Vol. I, p. 105, note 2.)

² Gambetta died on December 31st, 1882.

There were only four working-class bodies represented by delegations at Gambetta's funeral; and yet they ordered the closing of all the factories.

68 a. TELEGRAM¹

15.032

Paris 15.1.10 7.20

From Lafargue to Engels 122 Regent's Park Rd. Ldn.
Leaving to-morrow Laura unwell.

¹ This telegram was sent on March 15th, 1883, the day after Marx's death. Lafargue attended the funeral alone, Laura being unable to leave Paris.

1885

141 a. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON
(Fragment¹)

[Early February 1885]

.... other robber countries must be in a fine funk where their beloved money is concerned. It appears that the Mahdi² is not to be bought like an Arabi Pasha, and no one knows how far he will go. The Egyptian affair will come at the right time to complicate the economic crisis.

We have received the German edition of *Poverty*³: the volume looks very nice. Oriol, who is a bit of an ass, has been swindled by a lot of *sharpers**; he was unable to fulfil his obligations to old Lachâtre, the biggest miser on earth. Lachâtre let him have his daughter and his bookshop against the down payment of a sum of money, plus a monthly pension of 2,000 francs. As he was unable to pay, Lachâtre threatened to *reclaim his daughter (sic)*, (Oriol did not

¹ This fragment of a letter is undated. From internal evidence it would seem to be the letter referred to by Laura on February 11th, 1885 (Vol. I, p. 265), in which case it must have been written between February 5th and 11th.

² This is an allusion to the events in the Sudan where the Mahdi held British domination in check and where General Gordon had lately been sent, to be assassinated in Khartoum on January 26th. Arabi Pasha had been the leader of the Egyptian national movement, but the British had gained an easy victory over him in September 1882 and seized Egypt.

³ *The Poverty of Philosophy* had just been published by Dietz.

marry—Lachâtre, as a freethinker, wanted a free union) and his shop. Oriol had to submit and now he is nothing but Lachâtre's shop-boy. And so good-bye to our hopes in that quarter.¹

Lavrov has been ill, his eyes are bad; he is looking after himself.

Love to Hélène, Pumps, Tussy, etc.

And good wishes to you,

PAUL LAFARGUE

¹ Negotiations with Oriol for the publication of *The Poverty of Philosophy* had taken place at the beginning of 1884. (See Letter No. 96, Vol. I, p. 174.)

1887

211 (*bis*). LETTER FROM FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE IN PARIS¹

London, January 28th, 1887

..... They say here that the *Daily News* coup was a Stock Exchange coup of Baring's. The manoeuvre must have been extremely annoying to Bismarck whose electoral manoeuvres it scotches; he has been compelled to deny it.

Martignetti² has written to me again. It seems he is in a tight corner. He asks me to try and find some way out for him and makes impossible suggestions. I have written to Hamburg and Vienna on his behalf and have promised him that I would write to you too; you will no doubt have a letter from him direct. There is nothing for him here or in America, since he does not know a word of English. Would there be any opening for him in France as a teacher of Italian? That is the only thing I see for him to do. Or can you think of something better? He is going to be dismissed from his post. Find out whether in Paris or in the provinces there is some opening for the poor devil.

Pumps is much better; there is nothing much wrong now

¹ In Vol. II (pp. 17-19) some part of this letter from Engels was published according to the text in *Le Populaire*. The Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism has now provided a decipherment of the original letter. The opening sentences vary little from the printed text, thus the passage here is that which occurs where, in the version published in Vol. II, omissions are indicated.

² Martignetti was the Italian translator of *The Origin of the Family*.

save for her intercostal rheumatism. I saw her this morning, she was tolerably gay.

Amongst the Socialists here it is nothing but intrigues between cliques. According to Scheu, Champion is disgusted with Hyndman and would like to throw him over, that is why he has become reconciled with Ray. He met Aveling the other day and could not have been more cordial. One can see where all this is tending. Meanwhile Aveling is going to show the workers in the East End the example the Americans have given of a working-class movement independent of the old parties, which is a form of agitation that could have some effect. Last week he spoke at a meeting in Farringdon Street; Tussy did likewise the day before yesterday and this will continue there and in other places.

1888

270 a. FREDERICK ENGELS
TO PAUL LAFARGUE IN PARIS

London, June 30, 88

My dear Lafargue,

Young Mac Donnell of the General Council, who is the editor of a workers' paper in Paterson, New Jersey, has sent a young man to see me—R. Block, the son of an old New York Socialist. The father is the editor of the German-language journal of the bakers and secretary of their *Trade Union**. As the young man will be spending a few days in Paris, I have given him a card of introduction to you—he has no others in Paris save to Delahaye—telling him that, since you live in the country, you will hardly be able to do much for him beyond, perhaps, giving him some hints. He is not interested in politics or socialism and is bent only on seeing Europe *in the most approved fashion**. Should he therefore find his way to Le Perreux, you will be doing me a favour by helping him with good advice such as one gives to a traveller who wants to see as much as possible in the shortest possible time. He fully understands that you are in no position to do him the honours of Paris.

Aveling is back again in London for a play which will be given to-night—his fifth—and a sixth will be put on next week in all probability. In applying himself to the drama "*he has struck oil*"*, as the Yankees say, without a doubt.

Good wishes,

F. E. .

1890

403 a. PAUL LAFARGUE
TO FREDERICK ENGELS IN LONDON

Le Perreux, 28. XI. 90

My dear Engels,

I am sending you herewith the resolution passed yesterday by the National Council which wished to join with the German Socialists in celebrating your anniversary. In heart and spirit we here are with those in London who will be wishing you health, happiness and long life.

Hoping to see you in ten years' time,

P. LAFARGUE

Laura has sent you *M. et Mme Cardinal, a very improper book**, to keep you posted with the latest Paris morals.

Longuet is standing again in the second ballot, he is dotty.¹

The National Council of the French Workers' Party wishes Citizen Engels, on attaining his seventieth year, health, happiness and contentment of spirit.

Dear Citizen,

You who are, with Marx, the theoretician of the international socialist movement which will win the day; you who have remained warm in heart and young in spirit, we wish you long life that, like a second Moses, you may live to see the proletariat enter into the Promised Land of Communism.

For the National Council and by order,

PAUL LAFARGUE
FOREIGN SECRETARY

Paris, November 27th, 1890

¹ This refers to the second ballot of the legislative by-election held on November 30 to replace Joffrin.

AFTERWORD

This Afterword has been translated from the Introduction to the French edition of the Engels-Lafargue Correspondence, contributed by the French editor, M. Émile Bottigelli.

The English text has, however, been edited by Mrs. Yvonne Kapp, the translator, and by Mr. Andrew Rothstein. A few passages which would be of lesser interest to English readers have been omitted, while some additional explanations and footnotes on certain points have been added. There has also been added a new section on the working-class movement in Britain, by Andrew Rothstein.

The publishers gratefully acknowledge the kind permission of M. Émile Bottigelli to reproduce in this Afterword his introductory essay to the French edition, and likewise his co-operation in agreeing to the changes and additions made for purposes of English publication.

The correspondence between Frederick Engels and Paul and Laura Lafargue is now published for the first time. A few of the letters, or extracts from them, have appeared at various dates, and a certain number are published in Volumes 27 to 29 of the Russian edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels.

The French publishers of the *Correspondence* (*Editions Sociales*, Paris) were fortunate enough to come upon a large collection of letters exchanged by Engels and the Lafargues, the property of one of Marx's great-grandsons, who generously gave them to the French Communist Party. These letters constitute the bulk of the 573 letters in the three volumes now published, only 25 of which have ever appeared anywhere. These volumes, therefore, represent practically the whole Engels-Lafargue correspondence, hitherto unknown.

On Engels' death in 1895 his personal papers, other than those bequeathed to the German Social-Democratic Party, were divided between Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx-Aveling: the two daughters of Marx still living at the time. This legacy included the letters written by Paul and Laura Lafargue to Engels who, it was found, had carefully filed them.¹ When Eleanor died in 1898, most of Engels' man-

¹ Many of the original letters were dated in Engels' handwriting.

uscripts almost certainly went to Laura Lafargue. But the Lafargues themselves died, childless, in 1911, and the documents passed into the Longuet family and were finally distributed among Charles Longuet's descendants. It is thought improbable that all the letters were bequeathed to Marx's daughters. Those written to Engels by Lafargue from Spain in the years 1871-1872 were found in the archives of the German Social-Democratic Party, where Gustav Mayer had access to them until 1933.¹ Thus there are gaps in the correspondence published here. It must be supposed that some letters have been lost; others have probably not yet been allowed to appear. The French publishers, in bringing out these volumes, express the hope, shared by those responsible for the English edition, that their publication will help towards the discovery of missing letters.

The correspondence, which covers the years 1868 to 1895, is a very valuable collection of documents. In the first place, it emanates from outstanding personalities. Secondly, its context is the history of Europe at the end of the nineteenth century: that is, the period of transition from pre-monopoly capitalism to imperialism and of the foundation of the main Socialist parties. That epoch may not be altogether familiar to readers: for which reason its main features, as well as a very brief sketch of the lives of the three correspondents, are here recalled.

FREDERICK ENGELS²

Born on November 28, 1820, at Barmen, in the Rhineland, the son of a textile manufacturer, Engels first attended the Elberfeld *Gymnasium*, leaving in 1837 to be apprenticed, first with his father and later in Bremen, from 1838 to 1841. In early youth he rejected the pietism which prevailed in his home and joined the radical literary movement

¹ Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Berlin, 1933, Vol. II, p. 547.

² There is no intention here of attempting a full biography of one of the founders of scientific socialism: only an outline is given and the reader is referred to specialised books. The most complete work is undoubtedly Gustav Mayer's biography, a unique source of information. This work was published in English in 1936, translated by G. and H. Highet, under the title *Friedrich Engels, A Biography* (Chapman & Hall). But it has been edited by R.H.S. Crossman, and not all its findings can be accepted without reservation. The collection of articles by Lenin, entitled *Marx-Engels-Marxism* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1951) contains Lenin's obituary notice on Engels, written in 1895. A pamphlet by T.A. Jackson, *A Great Socialist—Frederick Engels*, was published by the National Council of Labour Colleges in 1935, and a small book by Zelda K. Coates, *The Life and Teachings of Friedrich Engels*, appeared in 1945 (Lawrence & Wishart). The most reliable up-to-date biography is that by Yelena Stepanova, translated by John Gibbons (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1958).

known as "Young Germany". His first articles in the *Telegraph* reveal a rationalist outlook already directed towards social problems. In October 1841 he went to Berlin to do his military service and took full advantage of the opportunities offered by this cultural centre: he attended University lectures on philosophy and associated with the Young Hegelians, who had at that time formed a club of "The Free". Engels took an active part in combating the romantic and reactionary spirit which characterised the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm IV, and published two anonymous pamphlets attacking Schelling which roused widespread interest. He also contributed to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the bourgeois liberal paper edited by Marx. But it was precisely at this time that Marx himself, growing more and more estranged from the Young Hegelians, left "The Free", and the first encounter between the two men, in Cologne in November 1842, was by no means friendly.

His military service completed, Engels went to Manchester to continue his apprenticeship in the firm of Ermen & Engels, of which his father was a partner. This firm owned mills and offices in Manchester, Salford, Eccles and Bolton.¹ After working as "corresponding clerk and general assistant" for a number of years, he became a partner himself in 1864.

This first stay in England was decisive in determining his outlook. He associated with Chartists and Owenites and contributed to their journals, *The Northern Star* and *The New Moral World*, studied the conditions of the English working class and political economy. The fruits of this experience were, on the one hand, his *Critical Essays in Political Economy* (published in the *German-French Year Books*), which Marx considered highly original and in which "he examined the basic phenomena of the contemporary economic system from a socialist standpoint and concluded that they were necessary consequences of the rule of private property"²; and, on the other hand, his classic, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, published in Leipzig in 1845.³ In this work Engels had the great virtue of being the "first to say that not only was the proletariat a suffering class, but that in fact the shameful economic condition of the proletariat was driving it irresistibly forward and compelling it to fight for its ultimate emancipation".⁴ Thus he not only laid the foundations for a

¹ See Mick Jenkins, *Frederick Engels in Manchester* (Lancashire & Cheshire Communist Party, 1951), containing this and many other details.

² V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, Lawrence & Wishart, 1951, p. 62.

³ The English edition, with a new preface by Engels, was published in New York in 1887, and in England in 1892. (Allen & Unwin, constantly reprinted.)

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, Lawrence & Wishart, 1951, p. 60.

criticism of bourgeois society, but saw that socialism "would become a force only when it became the aim of the *political* struggle of the working class".

The ten days he stopped in Paris, from August 28 to September 6, 1844, on his return journey, had far-reaching consequences. For he spent them with the Marx family, and this visit, during which he helped to edit *The Holy Family*, inaugurated a collaboration and a friendship unique in history and lasting until Marx's death in 1883. From 1844 onwards Engels devoted himself wholly to the proletarian cause. In April 1845 he rejoined Marx in Brussels and together they wrote *The German Ideology* to "settle accounts with our previous philosophical conscience". The broad principles of dialectical materialism were laid down. To implant these ideas in the working class, recognised as the prime mover of modern history, to combat the theoreticians of petty-bourgeois socialism: this was the programme of the two friends. Both of them worked tirelessly to assert their ideas in the struggle, and the immediate results were that they joined the League of the Just, reorganised as the Communist League, and wrote that little pamphlet whose spirit "to this day ... inspires and motivates the organised and fighting proletariat of the entire civilised world",¹ *The Communist Manifesto*.

The 1848 revolution broke out. Marx, expelled from Belgium, met Engels again in Paris where they worked out *The Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*² and, in April, went back to Cologne where, on June 1, they brought out the famous *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, a democratic journal which remains a tribute to the revolution that failed, and in which "they defended the interests of the people and of freedom against the reactionary forces to the last ditch".³

In September Engels was forced to leave the country to avoid arrest. After a brief stay in Switzerland and France, he returned to Cologne in January 1849 and resumed his journalistic work; but on May 19 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was finally banned. This was the signal for the armed uprising in defence of the Constitution that had been voted in Frankfurt, but which no government was prepared to implement. Engels took part in the insurrection, went through the whole campaign in Baden and the Palatinate, crossed into Switzerland with the rest of the army in July and, from there, travelled to London where Karl Marx had been living since August 26, 1849, after being expelled first from Prussia and then from France.

Neither bans nor exile could impair the two men's determination.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

² Published in Paris, in pamphlet form, on March 30, 1848, in German.

³ V. I. Lenin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

In England they went on with the work they had started and, to this end, brought out the economic and political journal, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and proceeded to reorganise the Communist League. Engels wrote *The German Constitutional Campaign* for the paper—an account of the struggle in which he had participated—and *The Peasant War in Germany*, which recalled Germany's heroic revolutionary past and forged a link between that democratic tradition and recent events. But the revolutionary upsurge of the spring of 1848 had spent itself. Marx, who had resumed his study of economics, shortly came to the conclusion that a fresh period of crisis, not foreseeable in the immediate future, would be needed to revive the movement. They must organise themselves in exile to prepare for the next revolutionary upheaval.

Thus Engels decided to take up lucrative work again: on November 15, 1849, he went back to his father's Manchester firm, Ermen & Engels, as an accountant. At that time he could not have dreamt that this situation was to last for twenty years. But if this step, to which he resigned himself, enabled him to live without financial worries, it also ensured the continuation of Marx's work; and this aspect can hardly have escaped Engels' notice when he took it. As it turned out, he was brilliantly successful in business, becoming the firm's general representative in 1860 and, four years later, a partner. One has only to re-read the Marx-Engels correspondence to realise how much personal sacrifice this situation meant for Engels, and Eleanor Marx has described with great feeling Engels' rejoicing when, on July 1, 1869, he was at last able to give up "damned business" and go for a long walk at the hour when he had habitually gone to his office.

Marx jestingly called his friend the "cotton lord". It is certain that Engels' commercial activities never meant anything to him except a way of securing his own and Marx's livelihood. The day when he completed the correction of the last proofs of the first volume of *Capital*, on August 16, 1867, Marx paid him a tribute in these words:

"...So *this volume is finished*. This has been possible thanks to *you* alone. Without your self-sacrifice for me, I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you full of thanks."

Engels' generosity did not end there but was perpetually extended to Marx's family, as the present correspondence amply demonstrates.

Between 1850 and 1870—the date when he finally came to settle in London—Engels did not by any means stand aloof from political activity. At one stage, when Marx's inadequate knowledge of English prevented him from writing a regular contribution for the *New York Daily Tribune*, Engels stepped in and wrote a series of articles, later to be known under the title *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in*

Germany.¹ He drafted a large number of pamphlets; he pursued linguistic and military research; he followed the developments in science and the philosophical trends of his time with passionate interest. From the moment he settled in London, he was able to devote himself entirely to research and to the working-class movement. In October 1870 he was elected a member of the General Council of the International, founded in 1864, and became the "corresponding secretary" for Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Denmark. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, he wrote for the *Pall Mall Gazette* his famous *Notes on the War*, reprinted by a large section of the London press, and in which his understanding of military matters enabled him to foretell amongst other events the defeat of MacMahon's army and even the field of his downfall: Sedan.

Shoulder to shoulder with Marx he led the fight against the influence of the Proudhonists and of Bakunin, taking part in The Hague Congress of 1872 which marked the defeat of anarchism, though at the same time the end of the First International. This great proletarian organisation had laid the foundations for the modern working-class movement. What it did, in fact, was to put an end to the Utopian sects, make the working class aware of its international unity and establish its political attitude towards the capitalist state. From that time forward, the proletariat, outgrowing its immature stages of organisation, was able to find its rallying point in workers' parties.

The experience of the Commune, clearly analysed by Marx, had shown the way to the seizure of power. It now became the task of Marx and Engels to strengthen the theoretical basis of the working-class parties, for it had become clear that the proletariat must organise itself in a class party.

In 1875 Engels discussed with Marx the draft of the programme presented at Gotha for the unification of the German Socialist parties,² and then went on to refute Dühring's misrepresentations and to counteract his influence on German Socialists. This was when he wrote his famous book, *Anti-Dühring*, in which he analysed, in the light of historical materialism, the most important problems of philosophy and of the natural and social sciences. It is still one of the basic works of scientific socialism. However, he was never able to carry out his plan for making a comprehensive study of dialectics, for which the only material to come down to us is *The Dialectics of Nature*.

¹ This work, edited by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, but wrongly attributed to Marx, was first published in England in 1896 by Allen & Unwin (reprinted 1952).

² Marx's famous work, *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*, and Engels' highly important writings on the same subject can be found in the English edition of K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2 (Lawrence & Wishart, 1951).

On March 14, 1883, Karl Marx died. Engels' duty was clear: he must continue alone the work they had taken on together. Henceforth he became Marx's executor. Putting his own work in the background, he devoted himself almost entirely to editing the two parts of *Capital* which Marx had left in manuscript, and which were published in, respectively, 1885 and 1894. This tremendous task did not prevent him from bringing out *The Origin of the Family* (1884), *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (1888), as well as innumerable articles and essays (including those on the origins of Christianity) which comprise two 500-page volumes of the Soviet edition of his works.¹ Whenever it came to defending Marx's ideas against those who misrepresented them, he did not hesitate to take up his pen and, on the eve of his death, he was still planning to write Marx's political biography.

But it was not merely in the literary sphere that Engels acted as Marx's executor. Always on the alert to win recognition for Marxist ideas, he never ceased to oppose anarchistic and opportunist tendencies in the various working-class movements, and the countless letters he wrote on this subject bear witness to the constant fight he waged till the very end of his life in order that the fundamental principles of Marxism should triumph. Socialism was on the march, workers' parties were being founded everywhere, and he guided their first steps. Militant Socialists went to him for advice and, as Lenin wrote: "They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of the aged Engels."² He played an active part in the preparations for the international congresses: those in Paris (1889), in Brussels (1891) and in Zürich (1893). He studied the resolutions of the national congresses of the various Socialist parties and advised on their general tactics in relation to the complicated international situation at the end of the nineteenth century.

When he died, on August 5, 1895, he was the acknowledged leader of the revolutionary working class throughout the world, respected and venerated by all those to whom he had so unstintingly given material help and wise counsel. And the funeral of this unassuming, modest man was, in keeping with his convictions, utterly without pomp: in accordance with his wishes, the urn containing his ashes was lowered by a few of his comrades-in-arms into the sea off Eastbourne, the holiday place he had always loved.³

¹ All the works mentioned in this and the preceding paragraphs are available in English, published by Lawrence & Wishart.

² V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, p. 65.

³ The burial at sea was described by Frederick Lessner, an old friend of Marx and Engels, in his book *Sixty Years in the Social-Democratic Movement* (1907), reprinted in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (1957).

Engels had an extraordinary capacity for work: he wrote five or six long letters a day, read the socialist press of several countries regularly, corrected the proofs of Marx's works, revised the translations of his books in numerous languages, and yet at the same time managed, to the end of his life, to produce theoretical works born of his close collaboration with Marx as well as giving political leadership to the working-class parties.

The image evoked by his letters to Paul and Laura Lafargue is that of a man who, despite his vast labours, remained to the end a genial personality, a man who enjoyed life, and one who was always straightforward and outspoken. That Engels possessed these qualities has long been known. What the letters now published bring to life is his truly great nature, and their very human side is not their least endearing one.

PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE¹

Paul Lafargue was born on June 16, 1842, at Santiago in Cuba. He was the only son of an old-established family of planters. His paternal grandmother had been a mulatto from St. Domingo, a refugee in Cuba at the time of the French Revolution; his paternal grandfather, who was French, was killed during the revolutionary uprisings in St. Domingo. On his mother's side, his grandfather, Abraham Armagnac, a Jew of French origin, had studied in France, while his maternal grandmother had been a Caribbean Indian.

In 1851 the Lafargues came to France and Paul started his secondary education at the Bordeaux and Toulouse *lycées*. He then went to Paris and read medicine at the University. In the sixties there grew up among the students an opposition movement to the Bonapartist regime which found expression in such journals as the *Rive gauche*, published by Charles Longuet in 1864, to which Lafargue contributed. A Positivist and Proudhonist, he was in touch with the working class and, in

¹ Paul Lafargue has not so far been the subject of a serious and unbiassed biography. There are short studies, such as that by G. Stolz: *Paul Lafargue, théoricien, militant du socialisme*, Paris, 1937, and J. Varlet, in his preface to *P. Lafargue, théoricien du Marxisme*, Paris, 1933. The best source is Zévaès. But one has only to compare his *Ombres et Silhouettes* (Paris, 1928) with his *De l'Introduction du Marxisme en France* (Paris, 1947) to realise how his accounts of the same facts and the opinions of them that he expresses vary. Thus his material should be treated with great reserve. The information given by Verecque's *Dictionnaire du Socialisme* is similarly inadequate. As for Lafargue's own works, they have never been published in full. There is still much to be done to shed light on this figure who was one of the founders of the French Workers' Party.

February 1865, he went to London to present a report on the French working-class movement to the General Council of the International. On that occasion he visited Marx. In October 1865 he organised, with Jaclard and Regnard, the First Students' International Congress at Liège. On his return, and because of his attitude at the Congress, he found the doors of the French universities closed to him and he decided to continue his studies in London. There, in 1866, he became a member of the General Council of the International and was appointed Secretary for Spain. He was constantly at Marx's house and, much taken by Marx's personality, formed a genuine friendship with him. There were interminable discussions between the young student and the master of socialism, often to the extreme irritation of the latter. Gradually Lafargue abandoned his Proudhonism and, in the struggle within the International—where before long Marxism came into conflict with the influence of Bakunin—he fought very effectively against the anarchists.

Soon closer bonds were forged between Lafargue and the Marx family. Transferring his affection, as Marx put it, from the oldest member to his younger daughter, Lafargue fell in love with Laura.

Born in Brussels on September 26, 1846, Laura had been educated in England and had grown up an Englishwoman in taste and cultural outlook. The young couple became engaged in August 1866. They were married on April 2, 1868, and, in the same year on July 22, Lafargue took his finals. They had planned to go to America, where Lafargue's parents still owned property in New Orleans. But the newly-qualified doctor was by now too caught up in the political movement and he gave up the idea. He stayed on in London, where he practised until October, when he went back to Paris with the object of getting his French degrees. From a letter written by Marx¹ it appears that he would have to sit for two further examinations at Strasbourg University. However, at the end of December 1868 Laura gave birth to a son, who was nicknamed Schnaps. A daughter, who lived only three months, was born in January 1870. The following year, Laura had another child, who died at Luchon on July 26, 1871.² At that juncture, Schnaps fell ill, never recovered completely, and eventually died in May 1872, when they were in Spain.

In Paris the Lafargues first lived at 47 rue du Cherche-Midi. Paul frequented Blanquist circles. He took an active part in the campaign against the plebiscite of May 8, 1870, and was a member of the Vaugirard branch of the International. When the Franco-Prussian War broke out, the Lafargues were living at Levallois-Parret, in the firing line from the walls of Paris. They therefore left the city and, on Sep-

¹ Marx to Engels, March 1, 1869.

² Letter from Jenny Marx to Dr. Kugelmain, October 3, 1871.

tember 2, arrived in Bordeaux on the very day of the surrender at Sedan.

When the Republic was proclaimed, Ranc offered Lafargue a prefecture. This he refused, but started a paper called *La Défense nationale*, calling for the revolutionary conduct of the war. The paper was short-lived, and Lafargue turned to the rebuilding of a branch of the International. On March 18 the Commune was proclaimed. During the first week of April, he went to Paris where he was given the task of campaigning for the Commune in the provinces, which, on his initiative, *La Tribune de Bordeaux* was already doing. In May 1871 he was obliged to flee to escape arrest, first to St. Gaudens, and then to Luchon. Forewarned by the police who were ordered to arrest him, he crossed the frontier into Spain, where he learnt that the Thiers government had requested the Spanish authorities to prosecute him on a charge of murder, pillage and arson—crimes of which, indeed, all Communards were accused. He was, in fact, arrested in Huesca on August 11. But as none of the charges could be substantiated, and since extradition applied only to ordinary crimes, the Thiers government had to relinquish its demand.¹ He was eventually released on August 21.

During the year he spent in Spain, Lafargue devoted himself, with Mora and Pablo Iglesias, to the work of the International and conducted the struggle against Bakunin's influence. Together they founded *La Emancipación*, to which Lafargue contributed under the name of Farga. He was in close touch with the workers' movement, and corresponded regularly with Engels, the new Secretary for Spain, whom he kept informed of the developments in the fight against anarchism. He visited Lisbon, attended the Saragossa Congress, was the Madrid and Lisbon delegate to The Hague Congress (September 2 to 6, 1872).

Following The Hague Congress the Lafargues settled in London. Having felt sceptical of the medical profession even while he was qualifying, Paul, now that his three children had died, had no faith in it whatsoever.² Though without any financial resources, he decided to give it up and started a photolithographic and engraving business, introducing the Gillot process in England. Despite dogged efforts, he was unable to make a success of business and was able to meet his serious financial difficulties only owing to Engels' generosity.

Throughout this period—prior to his return to France—which was that of the elimination of Bakunin's influence in the International, Lafargue was politically active, working closely with Marx and Engels. He helped to draft the pamphlet *L'Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*,

¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, file 76, Justice: Foreign Affairs, Versailles, August 21, 1871: document No. 4204.

² Statement in *L'Égalité*, January 19, 1882.

written in fulfilment of the resolutions of The Hague Congress. He studied, and with the help of Laura, who appears to have earned her living at that time by giving lessons, he translated into French extracts from *Anti-Dühring* which were published in *La Revue Socialiste* in 1880 under the title *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*. In all probability it was at this period that he wrote *Le Droit à la paresse* (*The Right to be Lazy*), later published in *L'Égalité*. He followed closely the revival of the working-class movement in France, corresponding with Malon and in touch with those activities of Guesde which resulted in the Marseilles Workers' Congress of 1879. He helped to draft the programme of the French Workers' Party in London during May 1880 in collaboration with Marx, Engels and Guesde¹ and wrote articles for Guesde's *L'Égalité*, which had started coming out again in March 1880.

Although the Law of Amnesty was passed on July 11, 1880, Lafargue did not return to France until the beginning of April 1882. It seems that he wanted to be sure of having work before he went back and that his various projects came to nothing. When at last he returned to Paris it was as an ordinary clerk in an insurance company in the boulevard Haussmann, the *Union Nationale*, but even this job was rather precarious, and after a few months he was again without a livelihood. He had nothing now but his literary work, on which, it was clear, he could not live. Until he came into an inheritance, first from his mother and later from Engels, which eased his circumstances, he would never have been free from financial anxiety (except for the short period when he became a deputy) had it not been for Engels' generosity.

When they first settled in France the Lafargues lived in an hotel, 38 rue de Lille, then, at the end of 1882, they moved into a small flat in the boulevard de Port Royal, where they stayed until 1887. At that date they went to Le Perreux—60 avenue des Champs Élysées—remaining there until they were able to buy the house in Draveil (Juvisy-sur-Orge, near Paris), where they ended their days.

From the time he arrived back in Paris Lafargue was the acknowledged leader, with Guesde, of the French Workers' Party. His articles and work had made him known since 1880; his devotion to the proletarian cause and his personal qualities rapidly won recognition. In the present correspondence the reader is able to follow the course of Lafargue's activities almost day by day, up to the time of Engels' death. Thus there is scarcely any need to describe his personal characteristics.

Among the people who were responsible for founding and inspiring the French Marxist Party, Lafargue was undoubtedly one of those

¹ Marx to Sorge, November 5, 1880.

who did the most to disseminate the theory of scientific socialism. Having lived in daily contact with Marx and Engels, he was familiar with their ideas, which he popularised in the spoken and written word. Throughout his life he constantly gave lectures on Marxism in every part of France, so that at one juncture Laura referred to him as "the wandering Jew". He dealt as competently with philosophic questions, such as the theory of knowledge, as with economic and social problems. In this sense he was a defender of Marxism, never hesitating to challenge an opponent's falsifications or to attack him if necessary. Thus he engaged in controversy with such official economists as Leroy-Beaulieu and Block and exposed their misrepresentations of *Capital* in *Le Journal des Economistes*.¹ He welcomed polemics and in 1895 held a debate with Jaurès on the materialist and the idealist conception of history.

He was a brilliant and witty speaker; repartee never failed him, and he was able to illustrate his arguments with graphic examples. In his fight against opportunism and anarchism, denouncing petty-bourgeois ideas, he did much to strengthen the Marxist party. He was a consistent Marxist who hailed the fight of the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks. At his grave, Lenin said in the name of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party:

"Long before the Russian revolution, the class-conscious workers and all the Social-Democrats of Russia had come to cherish Lafargue as one of the most talented and penetrating disseminators of the ideas of Marxism."²

Lafargue, however, did not confine himself to the role of propagandist. He tried to illustrate Marxist method in applying it to a variety of subjects on which he did research. He analysed corn production in the United States, wrote an essay on primitive society and published a history of private property.³ He also had the rare merit of applying Marxism to literary criticism, as Jean Fréville has shown by bringing together a number of his articles.⁴ It cannot be claimed that all Lafargue's work was of equal value. In the present letters, Engels' estimate of his essay on the development of private property will be found.

In his articles on *La Langue française avant et après la Révolution*⁵ (*The French Language before and after the Revolution*), he evolved an erroneous theory concerning the connection between social revolu-

¹ August-September, 1884.

² V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 17, p. 269.

³ *Histoire de la propriété*, Delagrave, Paris, 1895.

⁴ Paul Lafargue, *Critiques littéraires*, Paris, Éditions Sociales, 1936.

⁵ *Ère nouvelle*, January-February, 1894.

tion and the development of language. His judgement of Victor Hugo took no account of the fact that this great poet had written works which have become an integral part of the French cultural heritage. Nevertheless, at a time when Marxism was seen only as an economic and political doctrine, he contributed to an understanding of its potentialities in the field of scientific developments. He examined the origins of moral, religious and philosophical ideas, and though the main weakness of his work was an inadequate appreciation of the role of dialectics, the fact that he was a consistent materialist should be emphasised.¹

But Lafargue was not simply a theoretician. He played an active part in the working-class movement and fought for the creation of a proletarian party that would be independent of the bourgeoisie and faithful to Marxist principles. Thus he opposed Clemenceau's radicalism and joined battle with the opportunism of the Possibilists. From 1882 he foresaw the split with the Broussists and organised the Roanne Congress, which set the seal on the break with the "parliamentarians" and conciliators. In 1889 the Workers' International Congress, which he had organised in opposition to that of the opportunists, marked the victory of the Marxist party on a national and international plane. In the same way he fought anarchism, whose theory and form of organisation was only too well adapted to allow *agents provocateurs* to infiltrate.²

¹ A few of Lafargue's essays were published in English by C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, before the First World War, and widely read by Socialists, under the titles of *Social and Philosophical Studies* (1906), comprising "Causes of Belief in God", "Origin of Abstract Ideas", "Origin of the Idea of Justice" and "Origin of the Idea of God" and *The Right to be Lazy* (1907). His larger work, *The Evolution of Property*, had already appeared in English in 1891 and was reprinted several times.

² The accusation against him that he represented anarchism in the Guesdist Party should be seen in its right perspective. It rests upon a passage in a letter from Marx to Engels (November 11, 1882) which says: "Longuet behaved like the worst Proudhonist and Lafargue like the worst Bakunist. The devil take them...!" In point of fact, this comment refers to a particular incident. A police journal having reprinted statements from the Lyons anarchist paper *L'Eten-dard*, Lafargue, with his detestation of police methods, went to the length of defending the anarchists, saying that, after all, they wanted the same thing as he himself advocated, though by other means. It was a great blunder and obviously of a nature to elicit a sharp comment from Marx. But Marx knew too well the work that Lafargue had done in Spain and the contribution he had made to the fight against Bakunism for this remark to be interpreted as a final judgement.

However, the relative weakness of the Guesdist faction, and its lack of a paper, made essential an alliance with the Blanquists and a closer association with those deputies who claimed allegiance to the Workers' Party, in order to arrive at a consistent policy. In these circumstances, and helped by Engels' advice, Lafargue kept a vigilant watch that a correct policy should be adopted and one that would not lose sight of the fundamental principles of the class struggle and of proletarian internationalism. When Jaurès became a Socialist, Lafargue, while fully acknowledging him as a popular leader who had the ear of the Chamber and the masses, nevertheless attacked his idealism and his opportunist tendencies. In the same way, when Millerand went into the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry and threatened to provoke a crisis in the socialist movement, Lafargue was amongst those who campaigned against this "ministerialist" conception of socialism.

Lafargue did his militant work within the framework of the Guesdist Party. He had closely followed its congresses and, in 1884 at Roubaix, as in 1888 at Troyes, he was elected secretary, thus proving his popularity amongst the militants of the workers' movement. There was scarcely a single manifesto or statement by the French Workers' Party which he did not help to draft and to which he was not a signatory. He was the party's standard-bearer in every general election until 1893: in 1885 he stood for the Allier, in 1889 for St. Amand in the Cher and for Lille in 1893. In 1887 he stood as municipal candidate for the Jardin des Plantes district of Paris. He was only once elected to Parliament, in 1891, following the Fourmies incident,¹ and eventually ceased to stand, except in 1906, when he opposed Millerand.

He was well acquainted with the effects of government repression, and, indeed, suffered from it heavily in person. A course of lectures he gave in the Montluçon region on his return from the Roanne Congress in 1882 earned him his first sentence to six months' imprisonment by the Allier Assize Court on April 25, 1883. He served a term in St. Pélagie a few months later, together with Guesde and Dormoy. During the Decazeville strike, in 1886, he attacked the influence of the big financiers as personified by the Rothschilds. A meeting at the Salle du Château d'Eau, called in support of the strikers, resulted in his fresh appearance before the Assize Court, though this time he was acquitted. In the spring of 1891 Lafargue made a lecture tour of the Nord region as a preliminary to May Day. After the Fourmies massacre, the government indicted him at the Nord Assize Court for words that he had never spoken, and he received the harsh sentence of a year's

¹ On May 1, 1891, at the woollen textile manufacturing town of Fourmies in northern France, troops fired on the demonstrators, killing ten people of whom seven were children or young people.

imprisonment. However, the anger this aroused among the working class ensured his victory at the Lille by-election and forced the government to release him.

It will be seen, therefore, that Lafargue was a devoted and militant political figure, and he remained so to the end. After Engels' death, he continued to be loyal to Marxist policy and, following the 1905 unification of the Socialist parties in France, he became a recognised representative of the Guesdist wing. When, on November 26, 1911, he and Laura committed suicide, their death came as a grievous shock to the entire international working-class movement and deprived the French workers' movement, shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, of both a valuable theoretician and an uncompromising internationalist.

This is not to say that Lafargue was without his faults. Engels' criticisms of him could scarcely be understood if that were the case. Despite his many merits, Lafargue committed a number of political mistakes which, though often they may have been due to the immaturity of the French Workers' Party, denoted serious inadequacies in himself, including a certain dogmatism which occasionally led him into an erroneous analysis of the situation. At the time of the Boulanger crisis, for example, he was mainly concerned to keep the Workers' Party out of what he regarded as a quarrel between different sections of the bourgeoisie. Afraid of appearing to make common cause with either the Radicals or the opportunists who, in the name of the defence of the Republic, allied themselves against Boulanger, Lafargue did not forcefully enough denounce Boulangism, which, in his view, crystallised the discontent of the masses. He was thus considered by some as one of the general's supporters.¹ He did not have the political courage to swim against the stream or to bring out sharply what distinguished the Marxist party from this unscrupulous political agitation, which he was always at pains to do in the case of the Radicals.

Broadly speaking, he lacked confidence in the revolutionary energy of the masses. His annotations to the French Workers' Party programme, which he wrote while in prison in St. Pélagie with Guesde in 1883, showed even then that he attached more importance to propaganda than to the revolutionary struggle itself. Taking their stand against direct action, as advocated by the anarchists, the Guesdists were unable to call the masses to action, both at the time of the Boulanger crisis and when the Panama scandal broke out. There was, in fact, a kind of contradiction in Lafargue. He criticised Guesde's nationalist and reformist errors and was one of the few members of the Party to affirm the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the

¹ This was the label the Cher prefecture reports attached to him in 1889 when he stood for election.

importance of political strike action.¹ But at the same time he regarded the task of the revolution, following the seizure of power, to consist mainly in reconciling public authority with the seeds of socialism sown in the period of monopoly capitalism. Influenced by Kautsky, he slipped into a centrist position and did not put up an effective struggle against the reformist current that ran through practically every section of the Second International at the turn of the century.

Paul Lafargue's qualities are beyond question. But his inconsistencies and his dogmatism are no less so. His was a complex personality, well if incompletely reflected in the present correspondence. To see him objectively, it would be necessary to compare his militant practice with his written works. This still remains to be done. It is hoped that the publication of these letters will help to enlighten and stimulate the historian.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC UP TO THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

With this rough outline of Engels' and Lafargue's biographies, it is also necessary to turn briefly to the historical context in which their correspondence took place. No attempt can be made in this small compass to present an historical study, but it may help the reader to find his way about more easily if some light is shed on a few outstanding aspects of the situation which such letters tend to hide in their mass of detailed facts.

The broad phases of the history of the Third Republic and the main stages in the development of the working-class movement are important to an understanding of what constitutes the permanent value of these letters.²

In February 1848 the French monarchy was overthrown for the second time: on this occasion, unlike 1792, by the Paris proletariat, which, even at that time, had vaguely socialist ideas. In June of that year "the first great battle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was fought" (Engels' preface to Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*). The Paris workers were defeated with bloodshed, and reaction was back in the saddle, first in parliamentary form (1848-1852), then in the shape of a military dictatorship headed by Louis Napoleon, Napoleon I's nephew, who was proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III on December 10th, 1852. The Empire promoted in every possible way

¹ See, for instance, *L'Humanité* of April 3, 1905, and his article, "Parliamentarism and Boulangism", written in 1888 for the journal of the Russian Social-Democrats in Geneva, reprinted in English in the *Labour Monthly*, August 1958.

² Obviously, it is somewhat arbitrary to separate the history of the Third Republic from that of the working-class movement. This method has been adopted simply in the interests of greater clarity.

"the upsurgence and enrichment of the whole bourgeoisie to an extent hitherto unknown", even though accompanied by "corruption and mass thievery . . . clustered around the imperial Court" (Marx, *The Civil War in France*). But this in turn led to typical capitalist military adventures abroad: in the Crimea (1854), in Italy (1859-1866), in Mexico (1862-1867) and, finally, to war with Prussia (1870), in which the French army suffered total defeat while Napoleon III was captured at Sedan (September 2, 1870).

The Third Republic came into being on September 4, 1870, with the foundering of the Empire, thanks to the people of Paris. Whereas, following Sedan, the bourgeoisie envisaged the restoration of the defunct regime in some form or other, the popular movement forced it to proclaim a republic. A few months later the Commune was to demonstrate that, in the people's view, that republic must have a democratic content. These were the characteristic features of the first days of the Third Republic.

The ruling class was composed of heterogeneous elements: naturally it included high finance and the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. But it was now joined by the small and large landowners, whom the defeat had shaken into activity again on their landed estates. The interests of the various sections were in conflict. Although in 1871-1872 certain banking circles of the big bourgeoisie were reconciled to a form of conservative republic¹ which, from the outset, had meant good business for them, the big bourgeoisie as a whole was resigned to the republic only in self-defence. The large landowners, on the other hand, those who were known as the "rurals", were openly monarchist. But if neither section agreed on anything of a positive nature, both remembered the panic that had seized them on March 18, 1871. The fight against the Commune, against Paris, remained their common aim. Courts martial were in permanent session, a real man-hunt was on. It was a matter of crushing all form of working-class organisation, all signs of resistance and struggle by violent repression and the maintenance of a state of siege. By a law passed on March 14, 1872, the International was suppressed. Trade union clubs, which were re-started in 1872, were immediately prohibited by the Prefect of Police.

The state of the country at that time was determined to some extent by the fact that the war, which had lasted only six months, had been settled without vast damage. Certainly there were ravaged areas, lives had been lost; but the crushing of the Commune had claimed 100,000 victims, compared with which the 140,000 killed in the war weighed relatively less. There had been no widespread devastation, no flooded mines. The war had broken out at a time of economic prosper-

¹ See J. Bouvier's article on this matter in the *Revue historique*, 1935, No. 4.

ity and had merely temporarily slowed down its advance. From the autumn of 1871 industry rallied again, coal and engineering reaching record output figures in 1873. The ease with which the 5,000 million francs' indemnity imposed by the Germans was paid is an indication of the bright economic situation. It was at this juncture that the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas was founded: the first French "commercial bank". The loans floated by Thiers¹ in 1871 and 1872 were guaranteed by banking syndicates, in which the Rothschilds played a leading part and, on the first loan, made no less than 23 million francs in commission. High finance solidly supported the butchering of the Commune.

Thiers' whole conduct of affairs was aimed at the consolidation of the privileges of the big financial and industrial bourgeoisie. Customs tariffs were lifted; income tax was set aside. At the same time, the cost of the war was passed on to the people by increases in indirect taxation. Thus Thiers was able to declare on November 13, 1872: "The Republic is in existence. It will be conservative or it will not be at all." Thiers' Republic was the republic of share capital.

But Marx's forecast—"whatever government comes by the tilting of the scales, its first act will be to remove the man who surrendered France to Prussia and bombarded Paris"²—was to materialise on May 24, 1873. The Right-wing Monarchists, impatient to bring about the Restoration, overthrew Thiers and replaced him by MacMahon. This inaugurated the period of "moral order", the open offensive of the Church against republicanism and a fresh hounding of the Communards. France lived under the symbol of the Sacré Coeur and, to cleanse the heights of Paris of the memory of the Commune, the building of the church in Montmartre was declared a work of public utility in 1873. Republican civil servants were removed from office, the most outrageous pressure being exercised. Everything was set for the Restoration. The people, however, wanted none of it; the peasants, who feared the re-introduction of feudal rights, were opposed to it; dissension reigned in the Right wing and the Pretenders proved uncompromising: the "glorious return" of the monarch failed to take place.

Despite government manoeuvres and dictatorial methods, the country persisted in demonstrating its republican will. The economic

¹ Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877) had been a member of several governments under the monarchy overthrown in 1848, and supported Louis Napoleon from 1848 to 1851. In 1871 he was head of the Versailles government which, in co-operation with the victorious German army encamped near Paris, suppressed the Paris Commune. For character sketch, see Marx's *The Civil War in France*.

² Marx's first draft for *The Civil War in France*, Archives Marx-Engels, Vol. 3 (VIII), Moscow, 1934.

crisis, which occurred in 1873 and lasted until 1879, created an unstable atmosphere: the peasants ran into debt, phylloxera ravaged the countryside, the cultivation of oleaginous crops had to be abandoned in Normandy and the Nord region. American corn began to compete with French. The slump was particularly acute in the coal and iron industries. It affected small businesses, exports (such as Lyons silk) fell. Financial circles required political stabilisation; feeling in favour of the Republic gained ground and tended to reconcile company promoters and the small urban and rural landowners. Thus the 1876 elections returned a republican majority to the Chamber. MacMahon's authoritarian government hung in the balance. He accepted the "resignation" of Jules Simon, who had been guilty of accepting a republican amendment concerning the freedom of the press on May 16, 1877. He persuaded the Senate to dissolve parliament. In spite of police intervention in the election campaign, the country again voted republican. MacMahon had either to give in or give up. On January 30, 1879, he tendered his resignation and was immediately replaced by Jules Grévy. The Republic was saved, though its basis was still extremely insecure.

The 1877 victory had been, in fact, a victory only for the moderate Republicans. The real victors in the election had been the opportunists, that is, Gambetta's party. This man, whose opposition to the Empire still lent him a halo and who in the period of "moral order" had championed the Republic, represented the focal point for businessmen in the republican ranks. Opportunism was a compromise: it brought new political figures into office who could pursue anti-royalist purges and the secularisation of the state on condition that they carried out sound business. Gambetta made a demagogic appeal to certain sections of the middle bourgeoisie by, for example, demanding a tax on income. But when, in November 1881, he came to power, high finance lost no time in getting rid of him three months later. In fact, the opportunists refused to take any initiative and, under cover of this apparent stability, shared in the spoils of the big bourgeoisie. This policy plainly demonstrated its character. When, in 1879, Gambetta declared: "There is no social problem", this was the very moment of Blanqui's election in Bordeaux¹ (on April 6, 1879), of the political programme adopted

¹ Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), a revolutionary Republican during the reactionary period after the overthrow of Napoleon I, became a (Utopian) Communist in the 1830's and a member of several revolutionary secret societies. He was sentenced four times to long terms of imprisonment, serving in all 31 years in gaol. During his last sentence, he was elected in his absence as a member of the Paris Commune and was only released—at a time of reviving working-class activity—when he was elected deputy for Bordeaux in April 1879.

by the Marseilles Congress,¹ and of the campaign in favour of the return of the Communards which led, in July 1880, to the passing of the Amnesty Law.

This period, from the economic revival of 1879 to the 1882 crisis, was in point of fact the period of the development of the great financial banks and the concentration of industrial capital. Under the Empire, Gambetta had called for the buying in of the railway companies, which now became the centre of a whole network of banking firms who gradually established their control over the entire economy.

The Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, for instance, was tied up with the Nord and Est railway companies, with Creusot, with the Loire shipyards and with the gas companies, while at the same time it negotiated foreign loans. De Wendel and Schneider in 1880 owned the monopoly of the Thomas process and developed their steelworks, not only throughout France, but also abroad and as far afield as Poland. The Compagnie de St. Gobain began to take an interest in Tunisian phosphate. But the most important aspect was the growing power of finance capital, the cornerstone of the capitalist structure. It became the prime mover in the transition to imperialism. The commercial banks multiplied, investment companies, like the Société Générale and the Crédit Lyonnais, which now extended their network of agencies all over France, became the means of draining off savings and of the concentration of capital. The investment of capital abroad, the conquest of markets and territory overseas found their theoretician in Leroy-Beaulieu. In short, on the eve of the 1882 crisis, the main features of French imperialism and its ideology had already taken shape. Nevertheless, the 1881 elections brought into Parliament fifty deputies of the extreme Left, elected on a radical programme, which included the setting up of trade unions, the removal of clauses in the Civil Code upholding inequality of rights as between worker and employer, the participation of workers in drawing up factory regulations, the reduction of working hours, the liquidation of the large railway companies, the nationalisation of industries, etc. This programme had won a certain number of working-class votes for the radical candidates.

¹ On October 20 of the same year, a Workers' Socialist Congress—the second since the Paris Commune—opened in Marseilles. It was composed of delegates from trade unions, artisans' co-operatives and socialist groups. For the first time among French workers, the "Collectivists" (Socialists, followers of Guesde in the main) had a majority over the "co-operators" or "mutualists" (followers of Proudhon) at this Congress, thereby marking an historic stage in the French workers' movement. The Congress came out in favour of the "collective appropriation of the land, minerals, machines, transport, buildings and accumulated capital for the benefit of the community", and called for the formation of a Socialist Workers' Party.

In the main it embodied Gambetta's 1869 plans for reform—which he himself had in the meantime abandoned—expressed the discontent of the petty bourgeoisie and sought to appeal to the working class. Some reforms were therefore inescapable. In 1879 laws on the secularisation of education were passed as a first step towards loosening the Church's hold on the new generation who represented the future republican bourgeoisie. The year 1884 saw the passing of the law on trade unions (March 21), and (July 27) that on the re-introduction of divorce. But these Bills were no more than a smoke-screen, a sop thrown to public opinion. The true character of the Ferry government was seen in the omnipotence of finance capital and the big railway companies, which were responsible for the iniquitous agreements of 1883; it was seen in the colonial wars (Tunisia 1881, Tonking 1883-1885); it was seen in a France now on the high road to imperialism.

But though these years witnessed the consolidation of the financial and industrial bourgeoisie's profits and its control of the state, they also witnessed the growth of working-class political organisation and activity. The Workers' Party had been in existence since 1879 and had adopted, in spite of anarchist opposition, the minimum programme of the Havre Congress in 1880.¹ The economic crisis which broke out in 1882, with the financial crash of the Union Générale, and lasted until 1886-1887, affecting every branch of industry in turn, led to a whole series of working-class struggles. The employers tried to cut wages. The most exploited categories, such as the miners and the textile workers, were the first to go into action. There were strikes at Roanne in 1882, disturbances at Montceau-les-Mines in the same year and the Anzin strike of 1884. The crisis led to growing unemployment, and committees of unemployed workers were formed.

In face of this agitation, the bourgeoisie roused itself. The government tried to suppress the action of the masses by every possible means. It charged Guesde and Lafargue with incitement to murder and pillage in the speeches made in the Montluçon region, for which they were sentenced in 1883 by the Allier Assize Court. It made use of the anarchists to turn the unemployed workers' meeting at the Salle Lévis in December 1884 into a riot. It sent police agents to the offices of the *Cri du Peuple*, where they shot at and wounded Duc-Quercy in January 1885. But the workers' movement spread. In the 1885 elections, the revolutionary socialist coalitionists, though the candidates were not returned, received an average of 10,000 to 25,000 votes. Eight socialist deputies, elected on the combined repub-

¹ This was the programme, already referred to, that had been drafted in consultation with Marx and Engels. It declared for "the political and economic expropriation of the class of capitalists and the return of all the means of production to society as a whole".

lican ticket, were elected. The great Decazeville strike, which broke out in January 1886, gave much prominence to their parliamentary role. In spite of the government's measures, including the use of troops against the strikers, Ernest Roche, who stood as a protest candidate in the Seine by-election, received 100,000 votes. From then on, socialism represented a force with which the bourgeoisie had to reckon.

During this period, discontent grew in all sections of the population. The crisis in agriculture was acute, the petty bourgeoisie was defrauded at every turn by the large-scale financial filibustering in which the whole opportunist and governmental gang was involved. The question of Alsace-Lorraine which, together with the Balkan problem, was one of the determining factors in European politics, bolstered up the chauvinism which made the French people an easy prey to Boulanger adventurism.

General Boulanger, who in 1886, at the time of the dispossession of the princes and, in 1887, when the Schnoebele incident occurred,¹ had cut something of a figure as a Republican and democrat, embodied the desire for a complete change of French policy. At the start he had the support of the Radicals, but very soon found allies among a section of the big bourgeoisie. A genuine movement, at bottom chauvinist, began to take shape, to which fuel was added by everything that, like the scandal of the traffic in honours, discredited the regime. Thus the most diverse elements rallied to the slogan "Dissolution and Revision": Monarchists, big capitalists, small peasants whom the agricultural crisis had ruined, and certain sections of the working class were taken in by Boulanger's demagoguery. France seemed ripe for a new dictatorship. But Boulanger's weak character, on the one hand, and the heterogeneous nature of his supporters on the other, doomed the adventure to failure. The bourgeoisie regained control. The opportunists and the Radicals formed a coalition round which were grouped all those who were opposed to adventurism, from the industrialists to a large section of the working class. The discontent of the poorer classes had not been alleviated by the Boulanger venture, while as a result of it the ruling class had brought into being a far more menacing opposition.

The 1889 elections marked the defeat of Boulangerism, which won no more than forty seats. Opposition to the regime on this occasion

¹ In 1886, at a time of considerable monarchist activity, the Chamber voted the expulsion of former reigning houses, and a number of them were struck off the army lists by Boulanger, then War Minister. In 1887, Schnoebele, a French police official, was arrested on the German frontier, as part of a furious anti-French campaign of provocation conducted by Bismarck for election purposes.

was crystallised in the election of working-class candidates who had come before the electorate with a class platform based on the slogan: "Neither Ferry nor Boulanger". The Socialists received between 60,000 and 80,000 votes in the first ballot and almost a dozen socialist deputies got in.

During the 1882-1887 crisis, the structure of French economy underwent profound changes. The most important change was in the role of the credit banks which were less and less inclined to invest money in industry. A wide movement started with the policy of the "Russian loans" in 1887, drawing French capital out of the country. The explanation of certain aspects peculiar to French imperialism lies in this. Investments were made abroad while French industrial equipment was not renewed. The protectionist policy which had been introduced in 1881-1882 was expanded in the nineties. This tendency found its theoretician in Henri Germain, the founder of the *Crédit Lyonnais*, who himself had been one of the initiators of this flight of capital abroad. The foundations of imperialism had now been laid, and continued to expand until the First World War.

There was also a change in the policy of the French ruling class, a change clearly foreseen, incidentally, by Engels. The various sections of the bourgeoisie, who had quarrelled amongst themselves without anyone showing the slightest interest in democratising the Republic—which they nevertheless used for their own purposes and to their own profit—began to be reconciled to this form of state, and what was termed "the new spirit" emerged. Little by little the hopes of a monarchist or Bonapartist restoration were extinguished. With colonial expansion high finance had increased both its power and its profits. The industrialists, confronted by the growing socialist masses, now recognised their solidarity with other sections of the bourgeoisie. It was no longer a section of the bourgeoisie that governed, but the bourgeoisie as a class. The petty bourgeoisie, whose mouthpiece was the Radical Party, found itself at the cross-roads. Though maintaining its secular programme theoretically progressive, the party in fact made common cause with the policies of the big bourgeoisie. Whilst Clemenceau drew closer to the men in power, Jaurès was already appealing to the Radicals to turn towards socialism. The Opposition was now the socialist movement, represented in Parliament, after the elections of 1893, by some fifty deputies. Most of the demands for which the Republicans had fought against reaction were dropped. While the Monarchists formed a group attached to the Right-wing Republicans, the moderate Radicals abandoned their programme for the separation of Church and State. It was clear that all were concerned to stabilise at any price a government that sanctioned financial speculation and colonial exploitation, so as to enable the full power of the state to be turned against the working class.

Henceforward the opposing forces were clearly defined: the owning class was united under the sway of the large finance companies. A new capitalist feudalism was established with its own system of government, its corrupt public men whose venality occasionally came out in broad daylight, as in the Panama affair,¹ its demagogic ideology, more appropriate to medieval times, which led to anti-Semitism and to the miscarriage of justice in the Dreyfus affair.² It now openly engaged in the imperialist competition, the alliances and armaments policy that were to lead France into war.

THE FRENCH WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

Plainly there can be no question here of presenting a history of the French working-class movement during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. That would be a task of considerable length, not yet undertaken from a Marxist standpoint,³ but one to which, with the publication of the Engels-Lafargue correspondence, a modest contribution is now made. However, the main outlines of the history of

¹ In December 1888 the French company which was building the Panama canal went bankrupt, and scores of thousands of its shareholders were ruined. In 1892 it became known that, to cover up its shady operations, the company had bribed some 150 Deputies and Senators, several ex-Ministers and the editors of important newspapers, etc. Although reactionary leaders were also involved, the Ministers and Deputies concerned were nearly all Republicans, and the reactionaries made it an issue against the Republican parties. "Panama" became a synonym for gigantic frauds involving public men—not only in France.

² The Dreyfus case began with the sentencing of a Jewish army staff officer, Alfred Dreyfus, in 1894 to hard labour for life for allegedly selling secret documents to Germany. All the reactionary parties, anti-Semitic to a man, began a violent campaign on this basis against the Republicans, while the latter took up a cowardly defensive position. Only a few Radicals and Socialists attacked the anti-Semites, especially after it became known in 1896 that the real spy was Dreyfus' fellow-officer, the "true Catholic" Esterhazy. Emile Zola wrote his famous open letter to the President *J'accuse!* in 1898, and gradually the whole working-class movement went over to the offensive. But the High Command of the French Army and the Courts supported the anti-Semites. It was only in 1899, after a series of Left election victories, that the President "pardoned" Dreyfus, and not until 1906 was he declared completely innocent of the charge. Some of his worst and most perjured accusers remained in high military office for many years after that.

³ It is hoped that a sequel to the excellent first volume by Jean Bruhat, which covers the period up to 1834, will soon be published.

the French proletariat following the Commune are briefly sketched here for the benefit of the reader.

The French working class has had a long revolutionary tradition between the rising of the Lyons silk-weavers in 1831 and the Commune in 1871, many heroic pages were written in the blood of the workers. For the first time in history the French proletariat had the opportunity of appearing on the scene *as a class*, and the battle of 1848 affected the whole development of events in Europe of the latter half of the nineteenth century. After December 2nd 1848, the workers were, to all intents and purposes, deprived of the means of organisation. The only form of working-class association tolerated by the Government of the Third Empire was that of the trade unions, and these were under direct police supervision. The International was suppressed by endless legal proceedings. But it is remarkable, as Marx says, that the French proletariat used to the full every available opportunity to organise, and recognition should be given to these constant struggles of the workers as the seeds of those future political organisations which were not yet "possible".

But the French working class had more than a revolutionary tradition. It also had its theoreticians: St. Simon, Fourier and Proudhon. Above all, it had Proudhon, whose handicraft socialism had become a vogue among workers, appealing as it did to their desire for decentralisation. Proudhonism, with its petty-bourgeois outlook, its rejection of centralisation, its lack of any fundamental criticism of capitalism, hindered the formation of an autonomous and organised working class. At the same time, the Blanquists, with their theory of an act of insurrection and their taste for conspiratorial methods, offered the workers no real programme, so that they, too, failed to further the revolutionary activity of the proletariat as a class. At the time of the Commune, Marx's ideas were not widely known in France and the French members of the First International were mainly Proudhonists. It was they and the Blanquists who were in control of this first workers' government.

The crushing of the Commune, the savage hounding of its participants, the deportation of its finest leaders and the measures taken by the bourgeoisie prevented the proletariat from organising itself for several years. But, though the small union groups were instantly prohibited, the brief days of the Commune remained alive in everyone's memory. In various parts of France working-class candidates spontaneously arose, and the name of the Commune always won an appreciable number of votes.

The first rudiments of organisation emerged from the Congress of 1876, initiated by such people as Barbaret; but it

¹ Letter to Sorge, August 4, 1874.

was essentially "co-operative", and the bourgeoisie congratulated itself on the "wisdom" of the workers. However, from 1873 there had been an economic crisis and, by this time, it had affected every industry. The bourgeoisie exploited the workers mercilessly, exacting 11 and 12 hours' work a day for starvation wages. Reports to the Marseilles Congress¹ revealed that in 1879 a Roubaix or Tourcoing spinning-mill worker earned 13 francs a day. In the mines a face-worker earned from 4 to 4.50 francs a day, and labourers' wages were, at most, 3.75 francs. At the same time the working day was from 13 to 14 hours, rents were raised (from 100 to 120 francs for a wretched dwelling) and bread cost 1.90 francs for 5 kilos (11 lbs).

The Paris Congress was critical of the London Blanquists and the Federation of the Jura. But in Paris itself, Jules Guesde, who had returned from exile cured of his anarchist illusions by his association with the Italian working-class movement and by reading Chernyshevsky, criticised in his *Les Droits de l'Homme* the "pacifism" of the proletariat, whilst welcoming the Congress as the embryo of a class organisation. Guesde, who was on the road to Marxism, applied himself to laying the foundations of a working-class political party; and the fact that the 1879 Marseilles Congress called itself "A Socialist Labour Congress" and passed collectivist resolutions was mainly owing to his work. He founded *L'Égalité*, which was published from November 16, 1877, to January 14, 1878, and was a first-class medium of socialist propaganda. Though the trade union groups² submitted to Dufaure's prohibition to attend the International Workers' Congress in 1878, a group led by Guesde, which included Deville, Massard and others, protested. Its members were arrested; they came before a police court on September 23, and Guesde put up a defence which was a statement of collectivist theory. The trial created a great stir and, in St. Pélagie, where the militants were confined, they drew up a French Revolutionary Socialist Programme, which was soon signed by large numbers. The line taken by the Marseilles Congress, Blanqui's election in Bordeaux and the campaign for the return of those banished after the Commune, eventually compelled the government to pass the Amnesty Law in July 1880.

From that time the pre-conditions existed, as Marx said, to ad-

¹ Quoted in Raymonde Joucla's article, "Le Congrès ouvrier socialiste de Marseilles", *Cahiers internationaux*, 7th Year, No. 65.

² These trade union groups were very loose local associations, half-way to becoming trade unions, formed by workers in a number of different industries in the 1880's, in Paris and elsewhere. They were legalised, under strict police control, in 1868. By the end of 1869 there were 40 such associations in Paris, and others in Marseilles, Lyons and other centres. In 1882 Engels wrote that they were "even more pale than the British trade unions" (politically).

vance from the stage of maintaining working-class organisations to that of class political parties. Leadership was still lacking. With the return of the Commune exiles, the working class regained its General Staff.

The situation in the working-class movement at that juncture was that memories of the Commune, Guesdist propaganda, and the growing impoverishment of the working class had created a climate favourable to the formation of a class party. But, for a Marxist organisation to come into being, it was necessary that it should supplant the sects which, with the return of the Communards, had been given a new lease of life. Guesde's task, and Lafargue's, was not merely to rally the proletariat to Marxist socialism, but to rid the Workers' Party of the sectional trends which split the working class. In exile the Blanquists had remained the most consistent and the best organised. It was, in fact, Blanqui's popularity in France that had prepared the way for their return, and they came back under the leadership of no less a man than Vaillant, who organised the Central Revolutionary Committee. He retained certain leanings towards secret societies and the theory of active minorities, and only gradually transformed his secret organisation into a genuine political party that allowed for the workers' economic demands.

The Proudhonists, who had been largely represented amongst the leaders of the Commune, were not a united body. Rather, they were a body of individuals who regrouped themselves according to their personal likes and dislikes. Amouroux, Avrial, Humbert, Jaclard, Jourde, Longuet and others, on the other hand, formed a new French Workers' Party based on Marxism. But a year after its foundation its members had already dispersed, some having turned to radicalism, others gravitating towards the Workers' Party. Nevertheless, the baneful influence of Proudhonism lived on. It soon made itself felt even within the French Workers' Party, and many traces of Proudhonist theory can be found in the practice of the Possibilists, who left the Guesdist wing of the party in 1882.

The anarchists, whose influence was at its height from the time of the Basel Congress (1869), were able, thanks to the activities of the Federation of the Jura, to maintain a closer contact with the French proletariat. In the period when there was no solid political organisation, their theory of direct action had found many receptive listeners. And when the working class organised itself as a party, they played a disuniting role and soon became the bourgeoisie's accomplices by providing every sort of pretext for repression.

Mention should also be made of the part played by certain individuals who were not directly connected with a working-class party, but whose past had earned them a reputation as uncompromising democrats, such as Jules Vallès and Henri Rochefort. They had the

great advantage of being able to start a daily press (Rocheport's *L'Intransigeant* and Vallès' *Le Cri du Peuple*); but in opening their columns indiscriminately to every working-class organisation, they did little towards clarifying theoretical issues.

Compared with these movements, the French Workers' Party was a new organisation. The influence of Marxism had not been very great within the French section of the International and, though the Workers' Party also laid claim to national revolutionary traditions, its active members were for the most part new men. The publication of *Capital* in French (1872-1875) had paved the way by winning over to Marxism a certain number of young intellectuals who, rallying to the proletarian cause, forged a link between theory and the workers' movement, thus enabling a sound party to be created. Guesde's efforts had done much towards achieving the victory of the collectivist resolutions at Marseilles. But at the same time working-class conditions had deteriorated. It is noteworthy that Guesdism took root in such heavily concentrated industrial regions as the Nord, the Roanne and the Allier. The proletariat, though in many cases of peasant origin, was hideously exploited in these areas and receptive to Marxist ideas. In the Paris region, on the other hand, where small factories and artisans still predominated, Proudhonist leanings tended to prevail. This explains the overwhelming influence of the Possibilists in the capital, whilst the provinces supported Guesdism from the start.

What the Marxist Party brought to the working-class movement was, apart from a firm theoretical basis, an acute class-consciousness that precluded any compromise with the bourgeoisie. It was also a centralised organisation, and thus the only one capable of being effective. This, however, did not suit a certain number of militants of Proudhonist background who were ready to compromise with the ruling class. After the relative defeat of the Socialists in the 1881 elections, Brousse, Joffrin and Malon blamed the 1880 minimum programme, which they declared had antagonised the electorate by its intransigence. They returned to the everlasting accusations of authoritarianism which Bakunin had made against Marx in the past and, in September 1882, provoked a split at the St. Etienne Congress. The Marxist wing of the Party from that time on had to fight the Possibilists¹ as well.

¹ A Right-wing group in the French Workers' Party formed in 1880. After uniting with the Guesde group to oppose the "co-operators" or anarchists, Brousse and Malon now started a campaign against Guesde. With the premise that "politics is the art of the possible", they advocated electoral agreements with the Radicals and other "Left" bourgeois parties in order to win the municipal councils, as supposedly training-grounds for socialism. In 1882 they broke away from the Workers' Party.

At the end of this first phase of the history of the French workers' movement, the working-class organisations were re-formed. The proletariat remained faithful to its traditions, but already the multiplicity of types of organisation and the lack of a strongly constituted party meant that the fight against the bourgeoisie was conducted by scattered ranks. The history of the following years was in fact that of the effort to create unity.

The second phase, which opened in 1882 and lasted until 1889, coincided largely with the economic crisis of 1882-1887. It was also the period when the basis of imperialism was laid. Working-class conditions now worsened. Wages in Paris were roughly between 5 and 6 francs a day and, in the provinces, approximately 3.50 francs. In 1886 they fell by 1.80 or 2 francs. This was a period of vigorous proletarian activity. The various strikes of the textile workers and miners have already been mentioned. The characteristic features of these struggles were their long duration, the type of conflict to which they led, the use of troops and the whole judicial apparatus that was brought to bear in their suppression. These strikes, however, were supported by active working-class solidarity, both national and international, which in many cases led to their victory. The anniversary of the Commune was celebrated with fervour, and the demonstration at the *Mur des Fédérés* (the wall against which the Communards had been shot) on the last Sunday in May became a tradition. The funerals of former members of the Commune, such as Vallès, Eudes and others, became occasions for vast meetings that emphasised the growing will of the working class to fight.

This period was distinguished by the fight, on the one hand, against Possibilism and, on the other, against anarchism. The Workers' Party, led by Guesde, Lafargue and Deville, strengthened its organisation in the provinces, particularly in the mining areas of Northern and Central France. Its influence in the trade unions also increased very markedly. Wherever strikes broke out, militant Guesdists were on the spot. They gave lectures throughout France and made the fundamental ideas of Marxism known in every corner of the land. The Possibilists' influence declined owing to the character of the proletariat—mainly employed in small-scale undertakings and under Proudhonist influence—in the Paris region. They conducted an opportunist policy which won them the votes of the petty bourgeoisie and enabled them to win seats on the Paris Town Council, but they increasingly betrayed the interests of the working class, and eventually were openly reputed to be receiving secret government funds.

In this fight for the victory of collectivist ideas, the press naturally played an all-important part, and it is noteworthy that under Guesdist editorship, working-class newspapers enjoyed a large circulation. Unfortunately, the Collectivists were unable to defeat the Possibilists'

manoeuvres: they were constantly being ousted from their editorial positions and replaced by Broussist staff, whereupon circulation immediately declined. They were turned out of *Le Citoyen* by Lissagaray, and the daily *Égalité* which they founded was very short-lived. They went on Jules Vallès' *Cri du Peuple*, but were obliged to leave owing to Séverine's attitude to the anarchists in the Duval affair.¹ They did not succeed in establishing their own daily papers, and each of the weeklies that they brought out, first *L'Égalité*, and then *Le Socialiste*, came to an end. This meant that, at the time of the Boulangist crisis and during the preparations for the 1889 International Congress, the Guesdists had no press at all in Paris, while the Possibilists had been able to keep going, first *Le Prolétaire*, then *Le Prolétariat*, and finally succeeded in bringing out a daily paper, *Le Parti ouvrier*.

But though the Guesdists made great headway in the areas where the proletariat was concentrated, they were always up against anarchist agitation. Thus, while the Socialists tried to organise the proletariat on a class basis and draw them into economic and political struggle, the anarchists, with their advocacy of the right of each individual to do as he pleased, their vindication of plunder as a form of individual restitution and their fondness for dynamite, urged the workers in the opposite direction—towards isolated fights and terrorism. Their ranks included Louise Michel, an inspired speaker with an illustrious revolutionary past. They made their way into unemployed workers' demonstrations and organised the looting of bakeries. The bourgeoisie took advantage of this to introduce a fair number of police-spies into their ranks, which the press under Guesdist influence exposed. Anarchism lost its appeal as the working-class struggle grew stronger and better-organised. At the beginning of the nineties it indulged in a series of terrorist outrages, and exercised control over the trade unions only at the moment when the sectarian methods of the Guesdists enabled the anarchists to build up their own nuclei.

The great Decazeville strike of 1886 clearly showed the progress made. United in their struggle, the Aveyron miners held out and did not lend themselves to provocation. The active Guesdists gave their movement unsparing support. This led to the formation of the first working-class group in the Chamber, where Basly and Camélinat publicly defended them. The 100,000 votes won by Roche when he stood as "protest" candidate in the Paris by-election of May 2, 1886,² and the victories at the municipal elections were so many proofs of the socialist movement's advance.

¹ For an explanation of the Duval incident, see Vol. II, pp. 19-20.

² The effects of the Decazeville strike, including the prosecution of Roche (special correspondent there for a Paris newspaper) and his subsequent candidature as a Socialist in a by-election are discussed in Vol. I, pp. 337-38, 341-43, 345, 348-52.

At the time of the Boulangist crisis, the movement was a very strong one, but the Guesdist party was unable to guide socialist activity in a steady direction. It made the mistake of underestimating the chauvinist character of Boulangism and, deeply engaged in its struggle against the Radicals and the opportunists, it failed to detect the danger this agitation represented, seeing in it rather the signs of a popular movement. The Possibilists, who had their own press and dominated the Paris proletariat, joined battle with Boulanger but under the slogan "In defence of the Republic", which was that of the bourgeoisie, thus obscuring class issues by falling in behind the opportunists and Radicals. Whilst one section of the Blanquists, under Vaillant, denounced Boulangism as a bid for dictatorship, others, such as Granger, threw in their lot with what they regarded as a popular movement. Vaillant's and the Guesdists' platform was a class platform and had the merit—in the manifesto "Neither Ferry nor Boulanger", issued on the eve of the elections—of asserting the independence of the proletarian party. But they were not capable of taking Boulanger's measure precisely enough. Never, throughout the episode, did they once issue an appeal to the masses or a call for mass action. At the 1889 elections, the Socialists only partially canalised popular discontent.

But the year 1889 was important for another event which was to prove decisive in the development of the French working-class movement: the holding of the International Congress at the Salle Pétrelle from July 14 to 21. The Possibilists had also organised an international congress, based on the trade unions, but their congress has left no mark or memory, whereas the Salle Pétrelle Congress, where French and German Marxists were the major force, is regarded as the Congress at which the Second International was founded. From it emerged the resolution to fight for the eight-hour day and the plan to make May the First a holiday. These two moves gave a new direction to the working-class movement, and the triumph of Marxism, won at the 1889 Congress, was gradually to bear fruit.

After 1889 a new stage had obviously been reached, characterised, on the one hand, by increased working-class action and governmental repression and, on the other, by the rise of socialism. The foundations of French imperialism had now been laid. This was the period of its expansion; but, because of international competition for world markets, the employers' attitude hardened, producing a more sustained resistance from the workers. The organisation of May Day 1890 was a resounding success. While the Possibilists had remained aloof from this international demonstration, thereby forfeiting much of their influence, the bourgeoisie was thunderstruck. In *Le Temps* of May 3, 1890, Jules Simon, the former accomplice of the Commune's executioners, wrote:

"What is serious is the fact that it ignores frontiers, that it adopts

forms of demand in common, methods of procedure in common, that it has set in motion so vast a number of people of the most varied nationalities and occupations and that, even in the most hot-headed circles, it has kept its word not to furnish any pretext for violent repression. In this there is a profound change in the social order."

The working class had become conscious of its unity, and manoeuvres to split it affected it far less. Naturally the bourgeoisie tightened up its repressive machinery, and May Day 1891 was the occasion of the Fourmies massacre. But the working-class response to this was to elect Lafargue as deputy for Lille.

Strikes were conducted under the banner of unity, and the Carmaux strike of 1892 ended in a complete victory for the workers, reflected in the election (January 1893) of Jaurès, who had now become a Socialist.

But while working-class action manifested the unity of the proletarian class to an ever greater degree, it had not yet achieved a united leadership. The Possibilists had split into Broussists and Allemanists,¹ the Blanquists were still suffering the effects of certain of their numbers having thrown in their lot with Boulangism; anarchist propaganda was still rife. The Guesdists had shown themselves as a cohesive force and were now in a position to lead the proletariat. But only as a result of a policy of alliances with other socialist groups, and not because of the victory of Marxism. However, the bourgeoisie's fear of the socialist menace caused it, following the anarchist outrages, to pass the iniquitous laws of 1893 and 1894, thus strengthening still further the fighting unity of the working class.

The 1893 elections brought into Parliament a group of no less than fifty deputies who called themselves Socialists. Men like Millerand and Viviani came from radicalism; others, like Jaurès, professed an idealist socialism. Unity of theory was far from having been achieved. The result was that in this period, which included both the Panama scandal and the Dreyfus affair, socialism, for lack of a co-ordinating press and a united theoretical outlook, was unable to take advantage of the increasingly manifest weaknesses of the bourgeoisie.

By the end of the century it came forward as the rising force, round which was grouped the whole opposition to bourgeois policy, now launched on the road to imperialism and war. But, in point of fact, there was still no single party inspired by a firm ideology. Certainly the Marxist line remained the dominating one, but the weaknesses of Guesdism have already been pointed out, and their inevitable result

¹ At the 1890 Châtelleraut Congress, the Possibilists were split. One section, of considerable size, under Allemane's leadership, called for more vigorous working-class action, whilst Brousse's supporters clung to their opportunist policy.

was that the Marxists were unable to rally the working-class masses to their standpoint. The congress which brought about unification took place in 1905, but it was not on a firm ideological basis, and the result was the abandonment of a class platform and of proletarian internationalism on the eve of war.

THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

The German working-class movement was markedly different from that of France. It was more directly bound up with the growth of the capitalist system and industrialisation and, though it did not have the revolutionary traditions of the French working class, it reached the stage of strong political organisation and ideological unity more rapidly.

While, after 1870 and despite successive crises, there was a tremendous development of large-scale German industry, particularly of heavy industry, there was a predominance of small and light industry in France up to the period of 1880-1885. The effect was a far greater concentration and exploitation of the German proletariat, which very quickly turned towards socialism.

Between 1850 and 1900, Germany passed speedily from the stage of manufacture to that of imperialism. Towards the middle of the century, 55 per cent of the population was still employed in agriculture, whilst by 1905 rural workers represented no more than 25 per cent. Industrial production, particularly after unification and the creation of the Empire, expanded at a startling rate. While in 1870 the output of coal was 37 million tons, in 1880 it was 55 million and by 1910 approximately 160 million. Crude iron production increased from 8 and a half million tons in 1886 to 12 million in 1896 and 25 million in 1909. Cast iron rose from 2 million tons in 1880 to 6,800,000 in 1886 and to 14 and a half million in 1910. Finally, in steel the output rose from 658,000 tons in 1879 to 11 million tons in 1908. The number of metal workers employed in 1870 was 170,000, by 1910 it had reached over a million.

The achievement of Germany's political unity under the aegis of Prussia in 1871, the growing exploitation of the proletariat, the increase in the industrial population all helped to create the conditions for a rapid development of the working-class movement and its expression in a political party.

It was in 1864 that Lassalle¹ founded—on a somewhat eclectic basis

¹ Lassalle considered wages to be governed by an "iron law"; that is, in the long run they were determined by the minimum necessary to keep body and soul together. Consequently strikes for higher wages were useless and trade unions unnecessary. He saw the state as

that was a distortion of Marx's ideas—the German Workers' General Association. At the same epoch, and arising out of working-class clubs in Saxony, a Democratic Party was formed at Chemnitz under the leadership of Liebknecht and Bebel, who joined the International. The two organisations existed side by side. From the start the Lassallean Party showed itself far from democratic and in practice collaborated with Bismarck, whereas Bebel and Liebknecht based themselves on Marxist principles. In 1869, they set up the Social-Democratic Party at Eisenach.

After the victory of Sedan, the German working class had to set its face against a violent outburst of chauvinism. Its internationalism found expression in the common struggle of the Lassalleans and Eisenachers against the continuation of the war and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. The result was a setback for the Socialists in the 1871 elections which were held, as Bebel said, "amidst salvoes of artillery and the pealing of bells celebrating the preliminaries to the Versailles Peace". But the lost ground was soon regained and, despite persecutions, the Socialists got 358,000 votes in the January 1874 elections, of which number 180,000 were for the Lassalleans and 170,000 for the Eisenach Party, six of whose members were elected.

The predominance of the Marxists in the Reichstag and the gradual decline of the Lassallean organisation after the expulsion of Schweitzer led to the unification of the two parties at the Gotha Congress, on the basis of a programme known to us through Marx's critique.¹ It should be said that Lassalle's theories were far better known in Germany than was Marxist doctrine. Despite their great virtues as militant Socialists, Liebknecht and Bebel did not succeed in organising the working class on a Marxist basis. The weakness of the Party's theoretical basis is illustrated by the favourable reception of Dühring's positivism tinged with socialism in its ranks. It required Engels' forceful intervention to redress this situation.²

something above classes, and its "socialist intervention" in the class struggle—by improving conditions, helping to set up producers' associations, etc.—as the way to social advance. To secure this, he advocated a peaceable campaign for universal suffrage. At the same time he was an extreme nationalist, supporting the right of "great cultured nations" to dominate the "less cultured". In effect, he supported the rule of the Prussian landowning class against the Prussian capitalists and secretly offered Bismarck the backing of the working class (for example, in the seizure of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark in 1864), in exchange for reform. Lassalle was the first of the opportunists in the modern working-class movement.

¹ Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* attacks in the main the Lassallean ideas.

² That is, Engels' *Anti-Dühring*.

Nevertheless, the importance that the socialist movement assumed was great enough for the government to wage a fight against its active members. Prison sentences came thick and fast. Bebel spent a large part of his life in prison, and Bismarck took advantage of the Nobiling outrage¹ to get the Anti-Socialist Law of October 19, 1878, passed by the Reichstag. Under cover of this Law a veritable terror was let loose in Germany. All the Party's publications were banned, Socialists caught in the act of agitating were exiled, Berlin was under a regime not unlike that of a state of siege, that is to say, under a police dictatorship which had the effect of decimating the working-class organisations. The German Social-Democratic Party now entered a period of extreme difficulty, though, in point of fact, it served to strengthen it and in no way impeded the spread of Marxist ideology in the twelve years during which the Anti-Socialist Law was in force.

The *Sozialdemokrat* was started in Zürich with Bernstein as its editor who, despite police surveillance, made regular contact with his readers in Germany. The socialist fraction of a dozen deputies in the Reichstag played an important role in putting up strong opposition to Bismarck's policy and in using the parliamentary platform for propaganda purposes.

During these years the Party gained strength. The congresses held abroad saw to it that unity was preserved, and expelled individuals who tried to introduce petty-bourgeois ideologies. Despite Bismarck's efforts, the Socialists continued to advance and to win votes in the elections. The 493,000 votes of 1877 fell in 1881 to 311,000, it is true, but from that year forward the number of votes steadily increased. In 1884, the Party won 549,000 votes; in 1887, 763,000; in 1890, 1,427,000; in 1893, 1,787,000 and in 1898, 2,107,000. Of course, some of these figures are explained in part by the growth of the German working-class population, but they were also the consequence of the intensified exploitation with which German capitalism burdened the proletariat and of the unceasing propaganda that went on in Germany, based mainly on the spreading of Marxist ideas. It is known, for example, that *Anti-Dühring* went through two, and *The Origin of the Family* three, editions during the period of the Anti-Socialist Law, while *The Poverty of Philosophy* was translated and published in German in 1885.

¹ Dr. Karl Nobiling, who had no connection whatever with the Socialists, shot at and severely wounded the Emperor in Unter den Linden (Berlin) on June 2, 1878; he then fatally wounded himself. An earlier attempt in May the same year by a penniless tinsmith, Hodel—a tramp rejected by the Socialists and claiming to be an anarchist—was likewise used by Bismarck and the reactionary parties to work up fury against the Socialists.

Despite all Bismarck's efforts to increase the severity of the Law, it became more and more ineffectual. The Chancellor met with ever greater difficulty in getting his measures through the Reichstag and, as the Law had to be re-enacted every two years, it was passed for the last time in 1888, and ceased to be in force on October 1, 1890.

The moment German Social-Democracy regained its freedom of action, the victories it won and the growing prestige it enjoyed attracted a crowd of young intellectuals, who sharply criticised the Executive Committee. In a very famous letter Engels pilloried this faction of young graduates "who regard the bourgeois University as a socialist staff-college". A reaction set in and the Erfurt Congress of 1891 put an end to the opposition, both of the Left and the Right. But the Congress also voted for a programme moved by Kautsky, the circulation of which had been preceded by the famous *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, brought out by Engels at the beginning of 1891. The last ideological vestiges of Lassalleanism were wiped out, and the Party programme was soundly based on Marxism.¹

Thus, while in 1891 the French socialist groups were still divided, the German working class had a united organisation. Bebel, who was a first-class organiser, gave it a solid structure. Nevertheless, within the German Party opportunist tendencies manifested themselves. When it came to a question of national defence, the principles of proletarian internationalism were brushed aside. On the peasant question, the same mistakes were made as by the French Party. Lastly, the threat of a fresh Anti-Socialist Law encouraged the concealment of the proletariat's revolutionary aims.

The very successes of the Social-Democratic Party created their own dangers. They appeared to open a "peaceful road" to the conquest of power, and a reformist tendency developed amongst the active members. Indeed, after Engels' death, revolutionary dialectics yielded to Bernstein's theories, and revisionism gained a considerable hold from 1898.² This abandonment of fundamental Marxist principles led Social-Democracy to its betrayal. The 1905 revolution in Russia crystallised the opposition to revolutionary Marxism and reached its apogee in the well-known defection in 1914 and in the renunciation of the specific mission of the German working class.

¹ This programme and Kautsky's pamphlet expounding it were translated into many languages and, in their day, played an important part in spreading the main principles of scientific socialism. The English translation (published by C. H. Kerr of Chicago) was entitled *The Class Struggle*. There were, however, certain defects in it of which the main one was (as Lenin pointed out) that it did not proclaim the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

² An important part in producing the revisionist views held by Bernstein was played by the Fabian Society, with which he associated a great deal after Engels' death, having lived in England since 1887.

It remains none the less true that, over the period with which the present correspondence is concerned, the German Social-Democratic Party was, without question, the only party in Europe which—thanks to the organising ability peculiar to Germany and to the grasp of theory distinguishing its working class—produced a sturdy organisation capable of engaging in activities of wide scope. In this way it differed from the French socialist movement, which had not yet learnt how to achieve victory for Marxist principles. But the lack of such revolutionary traditions as were exemplified in the battles of June 1848 and in the Commune meant that the German Party more easily lost sight of the importance of revolutionary proletarian action. It very soon became a bureaucratic propaganda organisation and, in such situations as those which arose on the eve of the 1914 war, its leaders in the event abandoned the traditional internationalism of the working class to make common cause with the imperialist bourgeois chauvinists.

THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN

Of all the working classes in Europe, the British proletariat was the first to organise itself. Karl Marx repeatedly underlined this distinctive national feature of the British workingmen, calling them “the first-born sons of modern industry” (speech at the anniversary of the *People's Paper*, April 1856).

In fact, trade unions began to come into existence illegally soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century. They won the right to exist legally in 1824, but for many years still had to fight tooth and nail for freedom in practice to organise and work (a struggle which still is not ended). When the great struggles for parliamentary reform were launched by the bourgeoisie in the late 1820's, the working class joined it with formidable determination, creating its own organisation for the purpose—the National Union of the Working Classes—in 1831. And when its hopes were frustrated by its exclusion from the franchise next year, it created, first, a vast but short-lived union under the influence of Robert Owen, embracing many trades, with 500,000 members, which struck terror into the hearts of the ruling classes (1833-34), and then a still greater movement, Chartism—the first independent political organisation of the proletariat which, between 1837 and 1848 brought into action millions of British workers.

This special feature of British nineteenth-century history is due essentially to the fact that Great Britain was the first country in the world where modern capitalist industry and agriculture were developed, and where the capitalist class came into power in the seventeenth century. But while the proletariat fought for and built up its organisa-

tion⁷ in Britain earlier than in any other country, its trade unions and still more its political movement had—and still have—certain features moulded by that very primacy of British capitalism.

After the defeat of Chartism a period began in which, despite the intense exploitation of the working class revealed in the famous pages of Engels' *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* and later in the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, there was no longer a massive workers' movement challenging the legitimacy of the capitalist system itself, as in the days of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union inspired by Owen or of the Chartists. This was because the skilled workers, forming their own trade unions and directly interested in Britain's conquest of the world market, left the unskilled to their fate. The skilled workers' unions were under the influence of the triumphant liberal political economy of the Manchester School, and the Liberal Party. As a result, the land where Marx lived and worked (1849-1883) became the one European country where his ideas in these years fell upon the most barren ground.

True, a number of trade unionists like Applegarth and Odger joined the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) when it was founded in 1864, believing that its support of the workers fighting exploitation in other countries would assist their members. But at the very time when the International was having to fight the disruption of the Bakunists, the International's support of the Paris Commune and its publication of Marx's *Civil War in France* led to several influential trade union leaders leaving the General Council, on account of its too revolutionary attitude—in reality, because the bourgeois press and parties were denouncing the International as allegedly responsible for the Commune. Not before the beginning of the 1880's did a political working-class party make its appearance.

Already a number of workmen's clubs had begun to agitate for political objects—against the British Government's support of the Turks during the Russo-Turkish War (1876-78), for Irish Home Rule, for land reform and democratic reforms generally—even commemorating the Paris Commune. In this agitation they found themselves on common ground with many radical intellectuals. "Radical Club", "Democratic Club", even "Social-Democratic Association" were their usual titles.

In March 1881, at a conference of these clubs and of other radical groups, a Democratic Federation was formed. Its chairman was H. M. Hyndman, who had convened the conference. He was a wealthy stockbroker who had read Marx's *Capital* and discussed its ideas with Marx himself. Hyndman, who did a great deal to popularise Marx's economic and historical teachings and to expose British rule in India, was nevertheless an "English bourgeois philistine who, being the best

of the best of his class, finally finds the road to socialism for himself, but never completely throws off bourgeois traditions, bourgeois views and prejudices" (Lenin). This told above all in Hyndman's great-power British nationalism (shown even in his well-known relations with Marx, and in after years by his advocacy of a big navy against Germany, which culminated in a purely jingo attitude in 1914)—but also in his persistent underestimation of partial, day-to-day struggles in the trade union field as essential in the fight for socialism, and his attitude of patronising, even contemptuous superiority to those engaged in these struggles.

The Democratic Federation soon began to advance beyond radicalism. In September 1884, it adopted a socialist programme and the title of "Social-Democratic Federation". Its weekly, *Justice*, was founded that year under the editorship of Harry Quelch, and for nearly thirty years it carried on "systematic propaganda and agitation in a Marxist spirit" (Lenin in October 1913). Its Twentieth Century Press, under Quelch's direction, began to produce many socialist pamphlets (later including works by Marx, Plekhanov and Kautsky). But this change in direction also led to most of the Radical clubs leaving the Federation.

The S.D.F. organised great demonstrations of the unemployed during Britain's years of economic crisis at the end of the 1880's, and some of its members helped the hitherto unorganised unskilled and semi-skilled workers to form trade unions: a novelty which led to recognition of a "New Unionism". But Hyndman's bourgeois weaknesses in theory, already mentioned, led to a typically bourgeois dictatorial attitude in organisation: he arrogantly conceived of himself as the "father of British socialism", to whom all others must give way. This led to many sectarian errors, stultifying the work of the S.D.F., and scarified in their time by Engels. It led to a bloc with the French Possibilists in 1889: it led also to an early split in the S.D.F. A few months were sufficient to alienate Eleanor Marx and her husband Aveling, Belfort Bax, William Morris and a number of others. They resigned from the S.D.F. (1884) and formed the Socialist League. Its organ, *The Common Weal*, published many of Morris' best Marxist propaganda articles. But a few years later the League fell into the hands of anarchist elements, who forced out Morris and his colleagues; Morris and Bax ultimately rejoined the S.D.F., in spite of its defects.

Thus, up to the end of the 1880's, the trade unions remained the main organisations of the British working class. Primarily they represented the "aristocracy of labour"—the skilled workers, as already stated—though the growth of organisation among the coal miners, from the 1860's onwards, presented an important exception in this respect (and indeed some of the first recruits to the socialist cause

among trade unionists came in the coal-fields).¹ In the main, their leaders were Liberals: and this was the case even when two of them were elected to Parliament as workers' representatives in 1874. From the early 1860's, trades councils—delegate bodies of the trade union branches in their localities—were functioning in the chief industrial centres; and in 1868, on the initiative of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, the Trades Union Congress uniting the unions on a national scale came into existence. But its leading body, the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C., confined its activities to promoting legislation through the Liberal and Tory parties on practical questions affecting the workers' conditions.

Internationally, too, the British trade unions were isolated from the rest of Europe, where (in the 1870's and 1880's) trade unionism was developing in close association with and sometimes under the leadership of militant Social-Democratic parties inspired by the followers of Marx. It was for this reason that the British trade unions took part, in 1889 (with the Social-Democratic Federation), in the "Possibilist" international congress in Paris. Yet even there they refused to discuss certain labour questions with delegates from other countries on the ground that labour legislation in Great Britain was different from theirs.

But by this time a striking change was taking place in the situation. Britain now had rivals in the world market, and unemployment was growing. From 1886 onwards the S.D.F., Socialist League and Radical Workmen's Clubs had been organising great demonstrations of the unemployed, on political as well as economic questions. In 1887 there had been the great battle with the London police, in and around Trafalgar Square, known as "Bloody Sunday". In 1888-89 matchgirls, gasworkers, dockers' strikes—all of previously unorganised workers—drew hundreds of thousands into action; new unions, founded by Socialists like Will Thorne, Eleanor Marx and Tom Mann—instead of by Liberals—appeared among them. In 1889 the Miners' Federation of Great Britain came into existence. On May 1, 1890, two vast workers' demonstrations—one organised by the London Trades Council supported by the S.D.F., the other by the "new unions" for whom William Morris and Eleanor Marx spoke—packed Hyde Park with 200,000 people demanding the eight-hour day. And at the Trades Union Congress the same year the old liberal leaders of the Parliamentary Committee were swept from power by union delegations who included many Socialists, led by a Scottish miner, Keir Hardie.

At the general election of 1892, held at a time of quickening social-

¹ An excellent Marxist survey of the workers' struggle as a whole in this period is contained in R. Page Arnot, *The Miners*, Vol. I (G. Allen and Unwin, 1950), pp. 44-90.

its propaganda and agitation all over the country, several socialist candidates defeated Liberals; and in January, a symbol of the new situation and with the support of Engels, a new "Independent Labour Party" was formed, seeking to unite all previously existing socialist organisations on a programme of economic and social reforms with the ultimate aim of "the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange". It won a number of electoral successes. But even before the death of Engels in 1895 it was beginning to show those weaknesses—lack of a clear Marxist doctrine, unprincipled opportunism of its parliamentary leaders—which prevented it in the long run playing the role of a revolutionary socialist leadership of the British working class.

By this time, too, the Fabian Society, formed in 1884 by a group of middle-class intellectuals interested in socialism (Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Graham Wallas and others) and publishing valuable analyses in popular form of the evils of capitalist society, had shown that its primary aim was not so much to "permeate" the Liberal Party and the bourgeoisie with socialist ideas as to permeate the working-class movement with anti-Marxist—i.e., ultimately liberal—ideas.

Thus, after 1889, under the influence—direct and still more indirect—of British capitalism's loss of its world monopoly a new spirit was alive in the working class. Ideas, organisations and movements scarcely imaginable twenty years before were making great strides in 1895. It seemed that the British proletariat was on the point of achieving class-consciousness, on a scale and with a completeness which it had not possessed even in the 1830's, and of creating a political organisation commensurate with this development, on a basis more solid even than that of the Chartists of the 1840's. The first step towards such a political party was taken in 1900, with the formation of the Labour Party.

But the majority of its founders, including the leaders of the I.L.P., refused to declare that its aim was socialism. Its principles remained eclectic: a mixture drawn from various sources, mostly reformist. Marxism still was a very weak element in the British working-class movement and in British socialism.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ENGELS-LAFARGUE CORRESPONDENCE

The letters contained in these three volumes have immediacy and vividness, but they were not intended for publication. Consequently not all are of equal interest. Many, nevertheless, provide a wealth of biographical and political pointers. Their essential character is here briefly described.

The letters reflect in a very precise manner the lives of the three correspondents. Much of the information they provide allows of a better understanding of Lafargue's life and character. They present, for the period up to 1895, an invaluable source for his future biographers to explore. They give a glimpse of the great sacrifices he made for the working-class cause. In particular there emerges the way in which, at the time of the Fourmies massacre, he went to prison for words he had not spoken, refusing in the interests of the proletariat to allow the man who had in fact uttered those words to give himself up. Equally there emerges the way in which he made use of the advice and help which Engels lavished on him, often exerting an influence of the greatest importance on the policy of the French Workers' Party.

Laura Lafargue's character, as the devoted comrade of an active Socialist whose political rectitude and honesty she admired, also emerges in a very graphic way. Tribute should be paid to the extreme modesty of this woman, brought up on English culture and mainly interested in literature, who did not find it easy to adapt herself to the French way of life. Her letters show her as extraordinarily well-informed of the fundamental facts of French politics, yet always remaining in the background despite her own unquestionable talents. While she made a large number of Marx's and Engels' works known in France, she made few claims for herself as a translator, sometimes refusing to translate works of which she did not feel certain that she could faithfully render the letter and the spirit. Her letters reveal a woman with a very literary style of writing and one who often recounted anecdotes in a brilliant way, which must have greatly entertained Engels.

It is, however, above all on the subject of Engels' last years that this correspondence provides documents of the greatest interest. After Marx's death, he gave shelter to Hélène Demuth, the faithful servant, and it becomes clear that in her new place she was soon as much at home as she had been in the bosom of the Marx family. After Hélène's death, it was Louise Kautsky who, from 1891, took on the running of Engels' household and helped him in his work. This man, whose vigour and health were always cause for admiration, in point of fact fought against illness for twelve years without ever uttering a word of complaint. At first he suffered from rheumatism in the legs, which attacked him in 1883, incapacitating him for months on end. Twice later, in 1887 and 1892, he fell ill, whilst to preserve his eyesight the doctors had already forbidden him at this time to write by gas-light. It was towards November 1894 that he felt the first symptoms of the illness that was to prove mortal and which he described as an inflammation of the tonsils, but which was in fact cancer of the throat. Despite headaches, despite the deterioration of his health, which forced him to reduce and shorten his letters, he never voiced the slightest

complaint, imposing a rigorous discipline on himself which allowed him to go on working and making plans until the illness became so grave that, in his last weeks, he could no longer communicate with those about him except by writing on a slate.

As has been said, Engels was an indefatigable worker, spending up to ten hours a day at his desk. Even when rheumatism confined him to his bed, he dictated to his secretary pages of Volume II of *Capital*. There were few active members of the working-class movement who, finding themselves in London, were not received with the greatest affability by this recognised leader of the proletariat of all countries, for he remained, despite his labours, a man who enjoyed being with people, was interested in human contacts and always ready to advise and guide. It was a hardship for him to have to forego the famous Sunday evenings which had become a tradition in the Engels household, and it is warming to read his account, in a letter to Laura written on December 1, 1890, of the celebrations which took place in his house on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

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These letters give a great deal of information about Engels' work, which allows the reader to follow the circumstances in which he came to produce a certain number of books that are to-day classics. Thus we are present at the birth of *The Origin of the Family* in 1884 and at his revisions for the 4th edition in 1891. In 1888 he wrote *Ludwig Feuerbach*, which Laura translated into French. He re-edited *Anti-Dühring*; he went over the English translation for the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*; in 1891 he wrote an article on German socialism for the *Almanach du Parti ouvrier de 1892*, which was immediately translated into German, Italian and Rumanian. In 1892 he was engaged in bringing out the English translation of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, for which he wrote the long introduction that remains a classical analysis of the development of materialism and of the British bourgeoisie. To this must be added the innumerable prefaces to Marx's works, studies on the origins of Christianity and the French peasantry and such sketches as *Force and Economy in the Establishment of the New German Empire*.¹

There is enough here to fill twelve years of any life. But how many other plans there were—not, alas, realised—of which traces are to be found in the letters. Engels wanted to write a history of the German socialist movement from 1842, and also a biography of Marx. In writing to Laura on December 17, 1894, he was still enumerating the urgent tasks he wanted to complete: the publication of Lassalle's let-

¹ *Neue Zeit*, 1895-96, Vol. I, p. 716.

ters to Marx, the revision of *The Peasant War in Germany*, the main chapters of a political life of Marx (1842-1852, the International), and the republication of his youthful works, particularly of articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. One cannot help feeling moved as one reads his conclusions, at once melancholy and tinged with humour:

"That is my position: 74 years, the which I am beginning to feel and work enough for two men of 40. Yes, if I could divide myself into the F. E. of 40 and the F. E. of 34, which would just be 74, then we should soon be all right. But as it is, all I can do is to work on with what is before me and get through it as far and as well as I can."

If these plans, cherished for almost fifteen years, were never realised, it was because Engels devoted himself mainly to bringing out Marx's work. He was determined to make known those parts of the work which death had prevented Marx from finishing, and to make better known those which, already published, were frequently republished, thanks to Engels' initiative. The letters show us the discovery of manuscripts, such as those (probably of *The German Ideology*) of which he wrote to Laura on June 2, 1883:

"There is one I shall read to you when you are here, you will crack your sides with laughing. When I read it to Nim and Tussy, Nim said: Now at last I know why that time in Brussels you two laughed at night so much that nobody in the house could sleep. We were bold devils then, Heine's poetry is childlike innocence compared with our prose."

Engels was, in the noblest sense of that term, Marx's testamentary executor. Throughout his old age he devoted himself to this work of publication, with a constant care to preserve Marx's ideas intact, to make the most striking aspects of his work known and never to allow works whose content required annotation to appear without having made the necessary revisions. He tried to get the *Poverty of Philosophy* published in France several times, but eventually it was brought out in German in 1885 for the first time in a translation by Kautsky and Bernstein which he went over scrupulously. It is well known that, in 1891, he published Marx's comments on the Gotha programme. Mention should also be made of the innumerable editions of the *Communist Manifesto* in every language; but the greatest emphasis should be laid on what was Engels' main task from 1883 onwards: the publication of *Capital*.

The correspondence with the Lafargues gives readers the rare privilege of following this work step by step. First there was the finding of the manuscript of Volume II, related to Laura in a letter of March 25, 1883. In May of the same year, Engels was already working on it while at the same time busy with the English translation of Volume I, which came out under his supervision in 1886.

Little by little, as he classified the manuscripts Marx had left, Engels discovered new riches. On February 16, 1884, he wrote to Laura:

"Amongst the Manuscripts there is the first version of the *Kapital* (1861-63) and there I find several hundred pages: *Theorien über den Mehrwerth* [*Theories of Surplus-Value*] partly worked up into the text of the later versions, but there will be quite enough left to swell the 2nd volume into a 2nd and a 3rd."

Volume II being completed in 1885, Engels immediately turned his attention to the third volume and started on a task which he was not to finish until 1894. On March 8, 1885, he wrote to Laura:

"The 3rd book *Capital* is getting grander and grander the deeper I get into it, and I am only (having passed over entirely about 70 pages, more or less superseded by a later manuscript) at page 230 out of 525. It is almost inconceivable how a man who had such tremendous discoveries, such an entire and complete scientific revolution in his head, could keep it there for 20 years. For the Ms. I am working at, has been written either before, or at the same time as the *first volume*; and the essential part of it is already in the old Manuscript of 1860/62. The fact is, first the intricacies of the 2nd book (which he wrote last and which alone he touched after 1870) kept him fast as he of course would have to publish his 3 books in regular order; and then, his Russian and American material for the theory of the rent of land would have required working up into the old manuscript and would probably have nearly doubled its size."

And on June 2, 1894, in a letter to Lafargue, he signalled the end of his labours in these words:

"The last bit of the manuscript of Volume III is at the printer's. What a relief! But the proof-sheets are giving me a rough time; they need close, unremitting attention, it's wearisome!"

Engels was seventy-four, yet he announced to Laura that he considered the publication of the fourth volume—that on the theory of surplus-value—the most essential task.

It has always been known that Engels devoted himself to the publication and dissemination of Marx's work. His correspondence provides moving proofs of the fact. It allows the reader to participate in this utterly devoted life and to appreciate with what modesty Engels effaced himself behind Marx's memory. But it was not solely on a literary level that he acted as the executor of his friend: the whole of his life was inspired by the one thought of making scientific socialism and a correct interpretation of Marx's doctrine prevail in the working-class movement.

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Another, and perhaps the most interesting aspect of this correspondence, is its political content. These letters trace the history of

the working-class movement as seen from within at the end of the nineteenth century, not only in France, but in Germany, in England, in Austria, in Russia and even in America. As a collection of documents they are the more valuable in that the central figure is that of the one person who has always been acknowledged as the depository of Marx's ideas and the guiding spirit of the international proletariat. Naturally the main thing that emerges is the rise of the working-class movement in France; but, quite apart from the fact that this development was intimately bound up with that of working-class parties in neighbouring countries, Engels very frequently in his letters surveys the situation and in this way informs the reader of the state of the working-class forces in England, in Germany and in other countries. These letters thus provide a whole range of highly valuable information for historians of the working-class movement, as well as an abundance of theoretical comment and opinions on people.

The problem which arose in the latter years of the nineteenth century was that of the formation of working-class political parties separate and distinct from those of the bourgeoisie. The condition for this was the stirring up of the working-class masses, and the reader is shown how enthusiastically Engels welcomed the revival of the wages struggle in England in 1889 and the founding of a genuinely American movement, the Knights of Labour, which laid the foundations for a real workers' party. In countries where this mass agitation existed, as in France, Engels' main concern was that the organisation of the proletariat should find expression in a Marxist political party. Thus we see him fighting resolutely against opportunist deviations. He approved of Guesde and Lafargue breaking off with the Possibilists at the Roanne Congress of 1882, and he continued to campaign against them until their final disappearance. In England, Possibilism was represented by Hyndman, who went so far as to compromise with the Tory party and whose line of conduct effectually hindered the building of a proletarian political party. Engels fought this opportunist deviation in people who called themselves Marxists. In his view there was no possibility of a genuine working-class organisation that was not of a political nature, any more than it was possible for such an organisation to ignore a scientific study of economy and rely solely upon the revolutionary fervour of the masses. From this it is easy to understand Engels' exceedingly critical attitude to the Blanquists.

This fight for the victory of a working-class political organisation on a scientific basis took concrete form with Engels' activities in preparations for the 1889 International Congress. The Possibilists, supported by the Trade Unions, had also convened a congress, but one that was based on trade union demands, without any theoretical foun-

dition. Engels did everything he could to dissuade the Socialists in the European countries from attending it and to make a success of the Marxist Congress at the Salle Pétrelle, from which the Second International arose.

Engels saw clearly the condition required for working-class action and what was needed to make it strong: unity. He saw this as the real criterion of the progress of socialism in the various countries. The many elections which recorded the growth of the German Social-Democratic Party are all referred to in his letters. But it was not so much the scope of this or that working-class activity which he regarded as a sign of strength as the degree to which the proletariat rallied to a Marxist party. The French working class engaged in innumerable struggles between 1884 and 1895 and certainly gave evidence of a revolutionary agitation which Engels fully acknowledged. But too often such action took place independently of the party, and often the party itself failed to issue calls to action. Thus, referring to England as well as France, Engels spoke of the weakness of the working-class movement. The Boulangist crisis spread disorder in the ranks of the proletariat. When, following the 1889 elections, Boulangism was in retreat, the question for the Guesdists was to what extent they could achieve unity with those who had been led astray. In his letter of April 19, 1892, Engels replied clearly to this question:

"As I said before, when the masses have been led into such a glaring mistake as that was with Boulanger, the break-up of the delusion makes them all the fitter for listening to us and coming round to us: that inheritance of Boulangism we were entitled to. But it appears to me, that it is a very different thing to accept, at the same time, the leaders of that movement, and not as private individuals, but at their own valuation and with the rank they held in the Boulangist crew."

In short, unity of action as the basis, but no compromise on principles: that was Engels' policy on the matter. He also drew conclusions from the united working-class movement represented by the Carmaux strike and recognised here enormous progress in the spread of socialism:

"Anyhow, *ça marche en France* ... and Carmaux shows not only the progress of our ideas among the working class, but also the fact of the bourgeois and the government *knowing* it. The self-contained attitude of the people there, and Southerners into the bargain—bragging braggarts!—and the quiet but determined way in which the socialist town councils proceed without any Possibilist weakness or concessions, show an immense progress." (Letter to Laura Lafargue of October 14, 1892.)

In 1893, he foresaw the socialist triumph in the general election; and the advice he gave Lafargue on February 25, 1893, is like a sum-

ming up of this policy of working-class unity round a Marxist party which he ceaselessly advocated:

"The most important thing in the elections is to establish once and for all that it is our Party which represents socialism in France, and that all the other more or less socialist fractions—Broussists, Allemanists, and pure or impure Blanquists—have been able to play a part beside us only by virtue of the discussions incidental to the more or less infantile phase of the proletarian movement; but that now the stage of infantile disorders is over, and the French proletariat has reached full consciousness of its historic position."

A second Marxist principle that Engels strove to inculcate was that of proletarian internationalism: international working-class solidarity must be the basis of the policy of workers' parties in every country. Again and again in his letters he stressed the fact that every working class had a common enemy in its own bourgeoisie and a natural ally in the proletariat of other countries.

On this point the working-class party must have a radically different policy from that of the bourgeois parties. And at the period when chauvinism broke loose in France, infecting even certain sections of the workers, Engels endlessly stressed what should be the line of demarcation in the Socialists' international policy.

The great danger of Boulangism had been that it was based on latent chauvinism even amongst the French workers, and that it threatened to make them lose sight of the need for international proletarian solidarity. Thus in this period we see the Guesdists, under Engels' influence, redoubling their internationalist declarations and, in particular, their declarations of solidarity with the German working class.

This was by no means to be interpreted in the sense that the working class should throw patriotism to the winds and repudiate its national ties. No one was more aware than Engels of the different stages of development of working-class organisations in the various countries and the national character of those organisations. He had always respected the national congress decisions of the various parties, even though at times he did not agree with them. But he stood firmly and consistently against chauvinist deviations. In 1893 the French Workers' Party, to avoid being called "the Prussian party" in the election campaign, put out a statement asserting its patriotism. Engels criticised this in his letter of June 27, 1893, from which only the following passage is quoted:

"I don't want to speak of your use of the word patriot, of what you define as the only 'true' patriots. That word has a limited meaning—or else such a vague one, depending on circumstances—that for my part I should never dare to apply that title to myself. I have spoken to non-Germans as a German, in the same way as I speak to

Germans as a pure International; I think you could have achieved a greater effect if you had simply called yourself *French*—which is a statement of FACT, a fact including the logical consequences which flow from it.”

Engels campaigned tirelessly for the action of the working class, outside national frontiers, to be united action and that decisions taken on an international plane should not create difficulties for the proletariat of any particular country. This explains his attitude to the international congresses, illustrated by many statements in the letters.

It has already been pointed out that Engels worked to ensure the success of the 1889 Congress, by trying to rally the working class on an international scale round the Marxist parties. If an international organisation was to come into being, it had to be with full understanding, and at a level that corresponded to the development of the proletarian struggle. Engels wrote to Laura on June 11, 1889:

“...the persistent efforts of the Possibilists and Hyndmanites to sneak into the leadership of a new International, by means of their congresses, made a struggle unavoidable for us, and here is the only point in which I agree with Brousse: that it is the old split in the International over again, which now drives people into two opposite camps. On one side the disciples of Bakunin, with a different flag, but with all the old equipment and tactics, a set of intriguers and humbugs who try to ‘bow’ the working-class movement for their own private ends; on the other side the real working-class movement. And it was this, and this alone, that made me take the matter up in such good earnest.”

Engels had been too involved in the struggles of the First International against Bakunin’s influence not to foresee the dangers of a formal revival of that organisation. The elements which would constitute it were too different in character to indicate any genuine progress or to render it genuinely necessary. Thus he put forward sharply his reasons for thinking the restoration of the International useless and impossible. The Anti-Socialist Law prevailed in Germany, and any organisation of that kind would endanger the strongest and best organised Marxist party. In his letter to Laura of June 28, 1889, where he spoke of the way the 1889 Congress should be organised and the question of holding private sessions, he wrote:

“... (I) should think the Germans themselves would prefer public sittings all through—unless there is in some quarters a hankering after a restoration of the International in some form or other, and that the Germans would and ought to oppose with might and main. Our people and the Austrians are the only ones that have a real struggle to go through, real sacrifices to make, with always a hundred men or so in prison, and they cannot afford to play at international organisations which are at present as impossible as they are useless.”

Nevertheless, the 1889 Congress did, in fact, make two demands which, from that time forward, had international validity and cemented the working class: the eight-hour day and the May Day stoppage of work. Thus to all intents and purposes the International was restored. Before the 1891 Brussels Congress, Engels—particularly in his letter to Laura of July 20, 1891—again expressed his apprehension. But the Congress, which the anarchists tried to break up, voted for their expulsion and in the end came down on the side of the Marxist theses. This Engels finally acknowledged in his letter to Lafargue of September 2, 1891, in the following terms:

“We have every reason to be satisfied with the Brussels Congress. They did well to vote for the exclusion of the anarchists: with this the old International came to an end, with this the new one begins again. It is purely and simply the ratification, nineteen years later, of the Hague Congress resolutions.”

Once satisfied that the united action of the proletariat in all countries was founded on a solid basis, once there was no further danger that the international organisation would become a forum for the struggle of hostile tendencies, Engels rejoiced at the strengthening of proletarian internationalism.

The unity of the working classes of the various countries was, in his view, the essential pledge for peace and progress. The Franco-German question illustrated this in a striking manner. From 1888 until the end of the century, European foreign policy was dominated by the rivalry between French and German capitalism and the Franco-Russian alliance. The only force capable of preventing the outbreak of war was the close unity of the working class in the countries involved. Engels called for the unity of the French and German proletarians against the activities of their respective bourgeoisie. In a letter to the National Council of the French Workers' Party thanking for their birthday greetings, he wrote on December 2, 1890:

“But the battles won by you, by our brothers in Germany, in England, in Austro-Hungary, in Russia, indeed everywhere, constitute a brilliant series of victories which should suffice to rejuvenate a man older and more spent than I. And the fact which rejoices me most of all is the sincere fraternity established, I hope for ever, between the French and German proletarians despite the chauvinist screams of our corrupt bourgeoisie.”

And this unity did not mean to him merely a pledge of the maintenance of peace, but also the promise of the triumph of the revolution in Europe. On October 14, 1892, he wrote to Laura:

“The continental movement, to be victorious, must be neither all French nor all German, but franco-allemand. If the Germans taught the French how to use the suffrage and how to organise strongly, the French will have to penetrate the Germans with that revolutionary

spirit which the history of a century has made traditional with them. The time has passed for ever when one nation can claim to lead all the rest."

He saw this as the basis of proletarian action in the two countries and, in his remarkable letter to Lafargue of June 2, 1894, he again stressed what it was that the working class of both France and Germany must learn and the value it would be to them:

"This socialist mania which is emerging in your country may lead to a decisive struggle in which you win the first victories; the revolutionary traditions of the country and of the capital, the character of your army, reorganised since 1870 on a far more popular basis—all this makes such an eventuality possible. But to ensure victory, to destroy the foundations of capitalist society, you will need the active support of a much stronger, more numerous, more tried and more conscious Socialist party than you have at your command. It would mean the achievement of what we have foreseen and predicted for many years. The French give the signal, open fire, and the Germans decide the battle."

Those lines were written at the end of the last century in the belief that a revolution would be brought about by the strongest and best organised socialist party, the German Social-Democratic Party. It appears that Engels had not foreseen the danger of revisionism which was to take shape in 1898 with Bernstein's theories. With the development of imperialism the situation was, in any case, to be profoundly modified, and the centre of gravity of the revolutionary movement tended to shift to countries where there were more opportunities to break through the capitalist front. It remains true, nevertheless, that the fundamental idea of proletarian unity between France and Germany was a kind of historical law which, had it been observed, would indeed have dictated a very different course of events in Europe.

The new economic and political conditions which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century and the growing power of the working-class movement presented the question of revolutionary tactics in a fresh and different light. Engels' letters show that he had gone into this matter very thoroughly and indicate, moreover, very clearly what his attitude was. The creation of modern armies and the advances in armaments totally changed the conditions for an armed insurrection, such as that of the 1848 barricades. On November 3, 1892 Engels, after referring to the new projectiles that had been used in Dahomey, wrote to Lafargue:

"The era of barricades and street fighting has gone for good; *if the military fight*, resistance becomes madness. Hence the necessity to find new revolutionary tactics. I have pondered over this for some time and am not yet settled in my mind."

At the same time the electoral victories won by the workers' parties asserted themselves more and more clearly and this, too, was a factor to be taken into account. Engels stressed the point in his letter to Lafargue of November 12, 1892, and he appears to define here that new revolutionary tactics he had been seeking:

"Do you realise now what a splendid weapon you in France have had in your hands for forty years in universal suffrage; if only people had known how to use it! It's slower and more boring than the call to revolution, but it's ten times more sure, and what is even better, it indicates with the most perfect accuracy the day when a call to armed revolution has to be made; it's even ten to one that universal suffrage, intelligently used by the workers, will drive the rulers to overthrow legality, that is, to put us in the most favourable position to make the revolution."

It is well known how the importance that Engels attached to universal suffrage has been misused to make him appear as a supporter of "peaceful tactics". The distortion to which the German Social-Democratic Party lent itself in publishing his preface to Marx's *Class Struggles in France* in 1895 is also known. On the basis that a new Anti-Socialist Law was being debated in the Reichstag, Liebknecht had no compunction in mutilating Engels' text. In his letter to Lafargue of April 3, 1895, Engels himself denounced this distortion and explained in these words his conception of revolutionary tactics:

"Liebknecht has just played me a fine trick. He has taken from my introduction to Marx's articles on France 1848-50 everything that could serve his purpose in support of peaceful and anti-violent tactics at any price, which he has chosen to preach for some time now, particularly at this juncture, when coercive laws are being drawn up in Berlin. But I preach those tactics only for the *Germany of to-day* and even then *with* many reservations. For France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, such tactics could not be followed as a whole and, for Germany, they could become inapplicable tomorrow."

Thus to try and make Engels appear as a supporter of "peaceful tactics" was a misrepresentation not merely of his ideas but of Marxism itself. It is quite obvious that working-class tactics must change with the actual conditions of the international situation and must adapt themselves to its complexity. In trying to make Engels out to be an advocate of reformist tactics, scientific socialism was deprived of its richness and its flexibility, and Marxism was transformed into a rigid dogma. What the consequences of this simplification were for the German Social-Democratic Party in 1914 is known only too well.

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In conclusion, one of the dominating characteristics of Engels' personality should be stressed, a characteristic which not only explains

his conception of revolutionary tactics, but also brings out in sharp relief one of the fundamental qualities that this correspondence illustrates on almost every page, and that is his horror of human suffering and his love of peace. The thought of the destruction that would be brought about by a new war horrified him, and he foresaw the frightful holocaust of the war to come. The maintenance of peace was in his view one of the prime conditions for the development of the working-class movement, and he vigorously denounced those who saw in the unleashing of war the prospect of revolutionary advance. Three passages only are cited here, but they are eloquent enough to speak for the noble and generous personality of this leader of the proletariat. The first comes at the end of his letter of October 25, 1886, which later appeared, slightly revised by Lafargue, in *Le Socialiste* of November 6, under the title *Situation politique de l'Europe*. Having envisaged the possibility of a war because "the bourgeois Republicans in France are in the same boat as the tsar in Russia: they see revolution raising its head before their eyes and they see but one means of salvation: war", he wrote:

"In France as in Germany things go so well for us that we could wish for nothing better than a continuation of the *status quo*. And if revolution were to break out in Russia, that would create the most propitious combination of circumstances possible. Whereas in the case of a general war we should be driven back into the realm of unforeseen events and of incalculable contingencies. Revolution in Russia and in France would be postponed, the splendid development of our Party in Germany would be violently checked; the Monarchy would probably be restored in France. Of course, eventually all that would turn out in our favour, but what a waste of time, what sacrifices, what fresh obstacles to overcome!

"...For my part, I believe that the decisive fact for us must be that the war, if war there be, will be made only with the purpose of preventing revolution: in Russia to forestall common action by all the malcontents, Slavophiles, Constitutionalists, Nihilists and peasants; in Germany to maintain Bismarck in power; in France to stem the victorious advance of the Socialists and (in accordance with the views of the entire big bourgeoisie) to restore the Monarchy. Therefore I am for 'peace at any price' since it is not we who will pay the price."

On March 25, 1889, he wrote to Lafargue at the time when, with the Boulangist crisis, Franco-German tension had reached its height:

"On the question of war, it is the most terrible contingency to my mind. But for that, I would not care a straw for Madame La France's whims. But a war that will involve 10 to 15 million combatants, unparalleled devastation—merely to feed them—the compulsory and universal suppression of our movement, the recrudescence of chauvin-

ism in every country and, in the end, an enfeeblement ten times worse than after 1815, a period of reaction based on the inanition of all the peoples bled white—all that against the slender hope there is that this ferocious war results in revolution—this is what horrifies me.”

And, on October 3, 1889, he wrote, also to Lafargue:

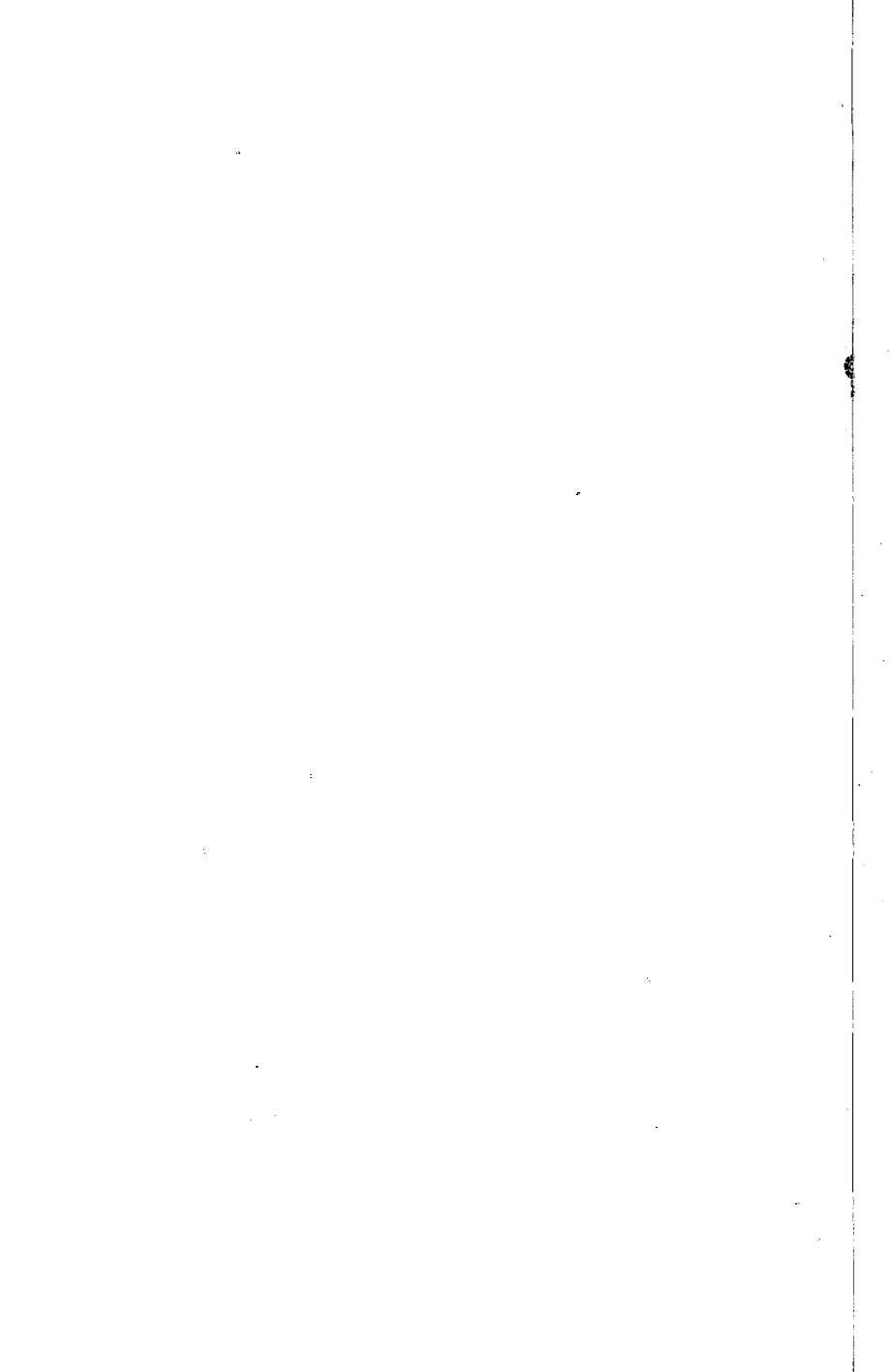
“And if there is war, farewell to the socialist movement for quite a while. We shall be smashed up, disorganised, deprived of freedom of action everywhere.”

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Only a few of the characteristic aspects of this correspondence have been mentioned here. The personalities of all three letter-writers reveal themselves in all their diversity and complexity. But throughout these letters one presence towers: that of Engels. His character emerges so clearly that one almost believes one knows what his reaction will be to the letters he receives from Paul and Laura Lafargue. There he is, dominating people and events. This correspondence is a magnificent testimony to his clear-sighted judgement, his masterly power of analysis, his profound estimates of bourgeois politicians and of active members of the working-class movement. With wonderful sureness Engels confronts a complex situation and picks out the main thing which will shape the policy of the revolutionary proletariat. Here is a leader who directs and corrects, who sees at a glance what must be done, what dangers to avoid. As we read his letters we live through the rise of the working class, with its mistakes, its fervour, its setbacks, its renewed advances.

And while this leader of the proletariat, Karl Marx’s “testamentary executor”, awes us with his vast abilities, we are at the same time captivated by the humanity, the insight and the generosity of the man. These letters are not merely an inexhaustible mine of theoretical and practical thinking and an enrichment of our knowledge and our ideas; they also make us regret that we never knew Engels as a friend.

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Einleitung (The Jewish Question). Published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, Paris, 1844.—Vol. III, 307

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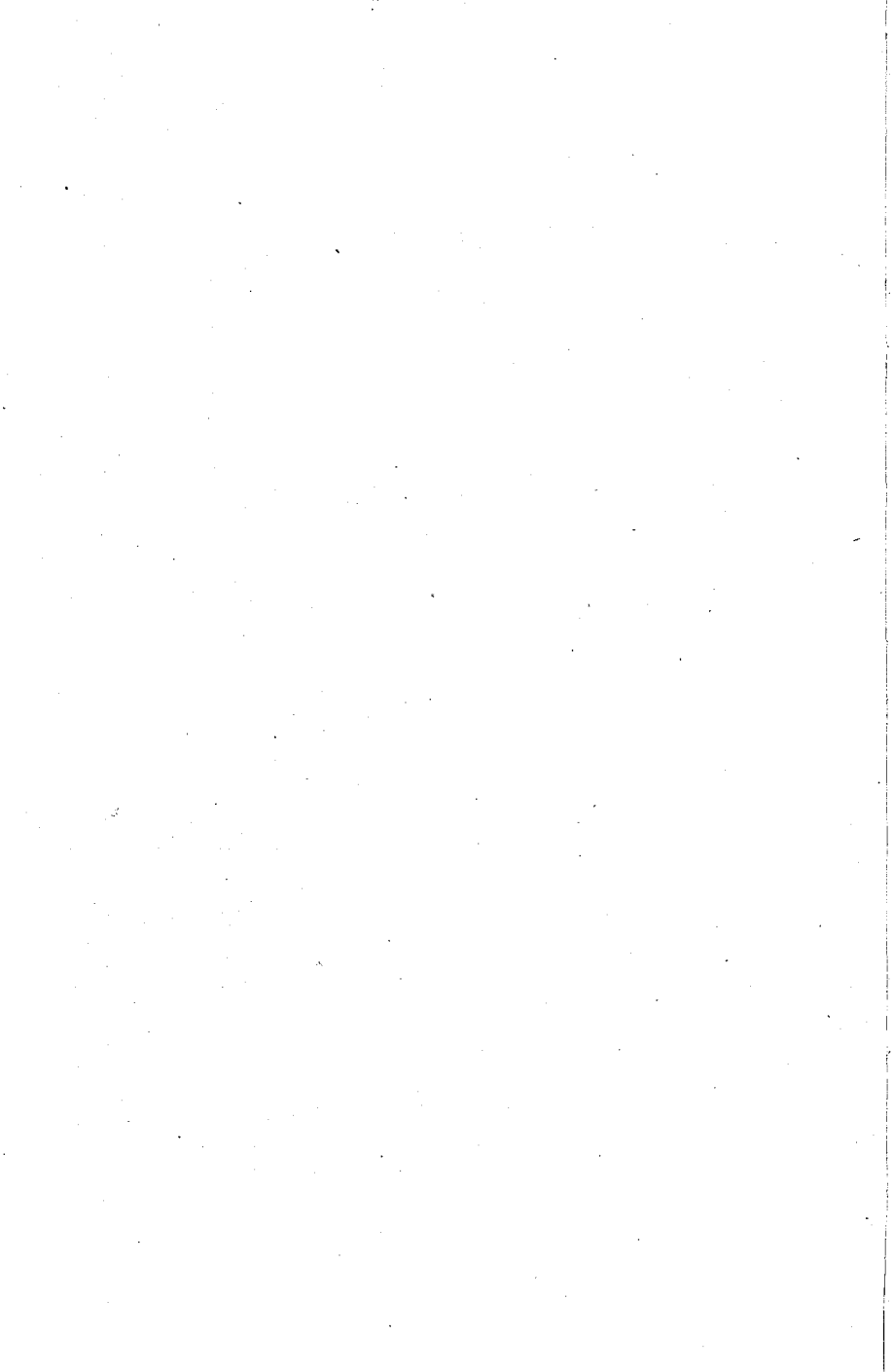
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- 234, 246, 271; Vol. II, 164, 196; Vol. III, 91, 156, 162, 207, 235, 309, 336, 341, 346
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Republican Socialist daily.—
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1892.—Vol. III, 115, 120, 159
Arbejderen. Copenhagen, April
1889-March 1893.

Weekly, founded by Gerson
Trier and Nicolai Petersen.
Organ of that section of
the Danish Social-Democratic
Party which claimed to be
Marxist. Its editors were ex-
pelled from the Party in No-
vember 1889 and re-admitted
in 1901. From 1891, under the
direction of Niels Kolding, it
tended towards anarchism.—
Vol. II, 229

Arbeiter-Zeitung. Vienna, July
12, 1889, suspended from Feb-
ruary 12, 1934, to August 5,
1945, and continues to appear.
Bi-monthly and, from 1893,
weekly until 1895, when it be-
came a daily.

Founded by Victor Adler to
replace *Gleichheit*.

Organ of the Austrian Social-
Democrats. One of the three

important socialist papers in
the German language.—
Vol. III, 67, 156, 176, 216, 289,
294, 353, 381

Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung. Vienna,
1891-1934.

Bi-monthly, founded by Louise
Kautsky.

Organ of the Austrian Social-
Democratic Party; women's
paper. Laura Lafargue and
Eleanor Marx-Aveling contrib-
uted to it.—Vol. III, 109, 156,
161, 220, 234, 235

Athenaeum. London, January 2,
1828-1921.

Review of the sciences, liter-
ature and art.

Founded by J. S. Buckingham,
with frequent changes of own-
ership, it was run by Norman
MacColl from 1871 to 1900.
Carlyle, Thomas Hood, Robert
Browning, etc., were contrib-
utors. In 1921 it was ab-
sorbed by *The Nation*.—Vol. II,
27, 28

L'Autonomie. Paris, April 29,
1888-?

Republican socialist autono-
mist weekly.

Under the direction of A. de

Okecki. It replaced *Paris-Montmartre* (founded in 1884) and later resumed this title.—Vol. II, 373

La Bataille politique et sociale. Paris, May 10, 1882-October 15, 1882; May 28, 1883-January 25, 1886; January 1, 1889-December 22, 1906. Daily, founded by Lissagaray. Editors: V. Marouck, P. Brousse, Labusquière.—Vol. I, 89, 93, 98, 99, 113, 122, 256, 284, 285, 286, 291; Vol. II, 136, 191; Vol. III, 54

Berliner Volksblatt. Berlin, March 1884-1890.

Socialist daily founded by the deputy F. Tutzauer.

Under the direction of W. Blos for a long time.

First Social-Democratic paper to appear in Berlin after the banning of the working-class press in 1878 at the time of the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law. Merged in October 1890 with *Vorwärts*.—Vol. II, 254

Berliner Volkstribüne. Berlin, summer 1887-1892.

Weekly, founded by Max Schippel, at that time a Left Social-Democrat. Criticised the socialist parliamentary group during the period of the Anti-Socialist Laws.—Vol. II, 250

Breslauer Nachrichten. (Not recorded in the *Gesamt-Katalog der deutschen Presse* of Bremen.)—Vol. II, 362

Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'A.I.T. Sonvillier, February 15, 1872, then Locle,

May 15, 1872; La Chaux-de-Fonds, December 1, 1876; continued to come out until March 25, 1878.

Bi-monthly, then weekly (from July 1873).

Editor: James Guillaume.

The main Bakunist organ, continuation of *La Révolution sociale*.—Vol. III, 441, 452, 466, 468

La Campana. "Organo socialista". Naples, January 7, 1872-March 17, 1872 (10 issues). Weekly [under the direction of Carlo Cafiero. One] of the organs of the International in Italy, Bakunist.—Vol. I, 46

Le Citoyen. Socialist daily. Paris, October 1, 1881-March 8, 1884.—Vol. I, 85, 89, 90, 91, 98, 103-05, 122, 170, 285; Vol. II, 22, 192, 370

The Clarion. Socialist weekly, London, 1891-1930. Founded by Robert Blatchford.—Vol. III, 356

La Cocarde. Boulangist daily, Paris, January 17, 1888-October 15, 1897, and May 3, 1898-July 1914.—Vol. II, 110, 208; Vol. III, 197, 264

Le Combat. Paris daily founded in 1889 by the newspaper proprietor Peragallo, without any clearly defined policy. From March 18, 1890, the paper was put at A. Boyer's disposal, with Guesde as editor-in-chief and an editorial board consisting of Ferroul, Vaillant and Chauvière. This arrangement lasted for three months, after which the paper

reverted to a conservative policy.—Vol. II, 358, 373

El Combate. Left Republican daily, Madrid, 1st publication from November 1 to December 25, 1870 (51 issues); 2nd publication, February 1 to September 27, 1872 (231 issues).
Supported the Alliance.—Vol. III, 436, 440, 446, 449, 454

El Condenado. Weekly, edited by Morago, Madrid, February 1872.
Started when *La Emancipación* became openly anti-Bakunist.—Vol. III, 449, 470.

Common Sense. Weekly. London, May 10, 1887-March 1888. H. H. Champion contributed to it.—Vol. II, 65

Commonweal. Organ of the Socialist League. Weekly, under the direction of William Morris. London, February 2, 1885-May 12, 1894.—Vol. I, 264, 282, 337, 354; Vol. II, 36, 97, 229, 259, 261, 263, 347

Courrier de Fourmies. Weekly paper of the Workers' Federation, under the direction of D. Reiblé. Fourmies, 1876.
A Catholic paper, dealing with politics, industry and commerce, carrying advertisements and doing propaganda for the trade unions and Christian socialism.—Vol. III, 79

Le Courrier français. Literary and agricultural journal. Paris, December 27, 1857, to December 26, 1860; and September 20, 1864-August 8, 1868.—Vol. I, 19

Le Cri du peuple. Daily. Paris, February 22-May 23, 1871 (83 issues); October 23, 1883-February 10, 1889.
Editorial board: J. Guesde, G. Deville, Duc-Quercy, Fournière.

On January 30, 1887, following the Duval incident, the Guesdist editorial staff left and was replaced by the Possibilists Labusquière, Marrouck and Buquet. Taken over again on August 22, 1888, by the Blanquists Vaillant, Granger, Chauvière, Goullé and Henri Place.—Vol. I, 192, 242, 243, 247, 251, 256, 265, 273, 278, 312, 328, 349, 352, 355, 356, 367, 372, 381, 391; Vol. II, 19, 20, 22, 23, 30, 41, 49, 95, 103, 110, 112, 113, 173, 176, 190, 192, 195, 198, 370

Critica sociale. Fortnightly socialist review. Milan, January 15, 1891.
Editor-in-chief: Filippo Turati. Published several pieces by Engels.—Vol. III, 159, 162, 309.

Daily Chronicle. Liberal daily, London, 1856-1930. Started as a local weekly, *The Clerkenwell News*, and became a daily in 1866 under the title *The London Daily Chronicle and Clerkenwell News*. Merged with the *Daily News* in 1930 as the *News Chronicle*.—Vol. II, 402, 406; Vol. III, 58, 62, 170, 278, 394

Daily Graphic. Illustrated weekly founded by W. L. Thomas. London, January 4, 1890-1910.

- Merged with the *Daily Sketch* in 1910.—Vol. III, 171
- Daily News*. Progressive Liberal daily. London, January 1, 1846. Absorbed the *Morning Star* in 1869 and the *Daily Chronicle* in 1930 and continued as the *News Chronicle* until its absorption by the *Daily Mail* in 1960.—Vol. I, 249, 374; Vol. II, 31, 81; Vol. III, 31, 129, 223, 444, 485
- Daily Telegraph*. London daily. founded on June 29, 1853. Absorbed the *Morning Chronicle* in 1858. Undertook the search for Livingstone in 1871. In 1937 reached a circulation of 200,000 and absorbed the *Morning Post*.—Vol. I, 56; Vol. II, 33
- La Défense des travailleurs*. Organ of the socialist workers' groups in the North-East region of France. Rheims, December 2, 1883-end of 1885.—Vol. I, 163, 295
- Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Review edited by Karl Marx and A. Ruge. Paris, 1844 (Parts 1 and 2). Contributors included H. Heine, F. Engels, G. Herwegh and F. Bernays.—Vol. III, 300, 307
- Le Devenir social*. International monthly dealing with economics, history and philosophy. Paris, August 1895-December 1898. Contributors included Fortin, Bonnier, Kautsky, Lafargue and Deville. Marxist in outlook, it published writings by Marx and by Engels.—Vol. III, 377
- Les Droits de l'homme*. Daily. Montpellier, June 1, 1870-July 4, 1871. Editor-in-chief, Jules Guesde. Contributors included Ballue, Cluseret, Delescluze, Barbès, Fabreguettes. Started to oppose the Empire, it took up a favourable attitude to the Commune, owing to which it was charged and convicted on June 22, 1871, by the Assize Court and suppressed.—Vol. I, 132
- The Eastern Post*. Weekly, London, October 18, 1868-December 29, 1872. Workers' paper in the East End of London. From February 19, 1871, it reported the meetings of the General Council of the International and other contributions, in particular from Beesly, Clinton, Engels, Longuet and Marx.—Vol. I, 35, 44
- L'Éclair*. Daily. Paris, March 15, 1889-January 28, 1926. Editor-in-chief: Dénécheau. Duc-Quercy and E. Massard were on the editorial staff.—Vol. III, 113, 165, 382
- El Eco de los trabajadores*. Spanish working-class paper.—Vol. III, 450.
- L'Économiste français*. Weekly. Paris, April 19, 1873-July 30, 1938. Editor-in-chief: P. Leroy-Beaulieu.—Vol. I, 226, 281
- L'Égalité*. Journal of the International of the French-speak-

ing Swiss. Geneva, January 23, 1869-December 18, 1872. Originally a weekly, it became a fortnightly from February 2, 1871. It started as Bakunist, became anti-Bakunist from January 8, 1870, and was the most important organ of the International in the French language.—Vol. I, 33; Vol. III, 441, 442, 450, 451, 456, 462, 464

L'Égalité.—First series: republican socialist weekly, November 18, 1877-July 14, 1878 (33 issues). Editor-in-chief: Jules Guesde.

Editorial board: Deville, Gerbier, Massard, Oudin, Bebel, Liebknecht, C. De Paepe, E. Digeon, Gnocchi, Viani, Tito Zanardelli.

—Second series: weekly organ of revolutionary collectivism. Paris, January 21, 1880-August 25, 1880 (32 issues).

—Third series: weekly organ of the Workers' Party. Paris, December 11, 1881-November 5, 1882. Editor-in-chief: Jules Guesde.—Vol. I, 87, 103

—Fourth series: daily. Paris, October 24, 1882-December 8, 1882 (46 issues). Continuation of *Le Citoyen* with the Guesdist staff.—Vol. I, 105, 107, 111-14, 116; Vol. III, 481

L'Égalité continued as a weekly for a certain period, probably until December 8, 1883, as the fifth series.—Vol. I, 249, 256; Vol. II, 22

L'Égalité. Daily. Paris, February 8, 1889-October 1891. Organ of the combined Socialists. Political editors: Daumas, Charles Longuet, Ed. Vaillant, (Town Councillors), Fiaux, Granger, Guesde, Lafargue, Malon.—Vol. II, 190, 192, 195, 196, 197, 198, 251, 358-59, 360, 361

La Emancipación. Periodico socialista. Defensor de la Internacional (from June 15, 1872).—Weekly. Madrid, June 19, 1871-April 12, 1873. Editors: Mesa, Lorenzo, Iglesias, Pauly, Pagès, Mora, Lafargue.

Organ of the Spanish Federation of the International, originally Bakunist, became anti-Bakunist from November 1871. Organ of the new Madrid Federation (July 1872) and again of the Federal Council (February 1873). Published much material on the International, and writings by Marx and Engels.—Vol. I, 29, 33, 35, 39, 42, 44, 45; Vol. III, 403, 405, 407, 408, 410, 412, 418, 419, 429, 433, 436, 437, 443, 445, 449, 451, 452, 454, 456, 457, 461, 470, 472, 473

The Engineer. Technical journal, weekly. London, January 4, 1856.—Vol. I, 48

L'Ère nouvelle. Monthly journal. Paris, July 1, 1893-November 1894.

Under the direction of George Diamandy. Manager: Léo Frankel.

- Main contributors: Hovelacque, Lafargue, Millerand, Clément, Delon, Deville, Duc-Quercy, Engels, Gherea, Guesde, Jaclard, Kautsky, Nadejde, Roubanovitch, Racovistza, Tabaraut. Marxist outlook.—Vol. III, 278, 301, 308, 328
- L'Estafette*. Daily conservative paper, founded by Villemessant as an evening *Figaro*. Paris, May 1, 1876-February 20, 1883; January 1886-August 1914.—Vol. III, 127-28
- The European Correspondent*. English material intended for the press. Paris, October 16, 1886-1887 (37 issues).—Vol. II, 35
- The Evening Standard*. Conservative evening paper. London 1827. Reorganised in 1860, absorbed the *St. James's Gazette* in 1905, the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1923 and the *Star* in 1960.—Vol. I, 404; Vol. III, 139, 144
- L'Exploité*. Republican socialist Sunday paper, organ of the Workers' Party. Nantes, September 17, 1882-December 13, 1882 (?).
- Reprinted, unsigned, articles from the weekly or daily *Égalité*.—Vol. I, 114
- La Federación*. "Órgano del Centro Federal de las Sociedades Obreras. Órgano de la Federación Barcelonesa de la Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores" (from No. 50). Barcelona weekly, August 1, 1869-November 15, 1873. Catalan organ of the Bakunists.—Vol. I, 29; Vol. III, 403, 410, 437, 440, 441, 444, 465, 469
- Le Figaro*. Daily, founded by Villemessant. Paris, April 20, 1854, still appearing.—Vol. I, 270, 345; Vol. II, 164, 274, 384, 387, 420; Vol. III, 90, 210, 215, 229, 232, 235, 263, 334
- Le Forçat*. Socialist weekly of the Nord region. Lille, July 14, 1882-July 15, 1883 (?).—Vol. I, 114
- The Fortnightly Review*. Fortnightly and later monthly, founded by George Henry Lewis, London, 1865. Editors included John Morley (1867-1883) and Frank Harris (1886-1914).—Vol. I, 19, 23
- La France*. Progressive republican daily. Paris, 1869-?.—Vol. I, 363
- La France socialiste*. Possibilist monthly published by Brousse, 1890.—Vol. II, 393
- Le Gaulois*. Daily. Paris, 1867-March 1929. Founded by Ed. Larlé as an opposition journal. Suppressed by Thiers in 1872. After the 1870 war was Bonapartist, became monarchist in 1880 and later conservative monarchist. Under the direction of Arthur Meyer from October 1879 to July 1882, with the collaboration of J. J. Weiss and Henri de Pène. Absorbed *Paris-Journal* on May 1, 1882, after which it was anti-Bonapartist.—Vol. II, 366; Vol. III, 18, 128
- Il Gazzettino Rosa*. "Giornale politico-letterario del buon

genere milanese. *Giornale monitor quotidiano*" (from the 3rd year, No. 32). "Monitor quotidiano" (from the 4th year, No. 327). Milan, January 23, 1868-November 15, 1873.

Radical daily favourable to the International as a result of the Commune. Organ of the International in the period 1871-73. Engels was a contributor.—Vol. III, 444

Gil Blas. Daily. Paris, November 19, 1879-July, 1914. Started as a society gossip and pornographic paper, it became Boulangist in 1889. Its general tone was conservative republican.—Vol. I, 335; Vol. II, 23, 408, 411, 413, 414, 415, 416; Vol. III, 18

Gleichheit. "Politische Zeitschrift für Jedermann" (until No. 11). "Sozialpolitische Zeitschrift für das arbeitende Volk" (from June 15, 1873). Fortnightly and, from July 5, 1873, weekly. Wiener-Neustadt, 1870-1877.

Owned by the working-class organisation "Gleichheit", affiliated to the Austrian Social-Democratic Party.—Vol. II, 83

Gleichheit. Weekly founded by Victor Adler. Vienna, December 1886-June 14, 1889.

Organ of that section of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party which campaigned for a united Marxist party. Suppressed by the police following the unification of the Party at the Hainfeld Congress

of December 1888. Continued by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.—Vol. II, 193, 229

The Graphic. Illustrated weekly. London, December 4, 1869-April 23, 1932. Became *The National Graphic* and was later absorbed by *The Sphere*.—Vol. I, 62

Hamburger Echo. Daily. Hamburg, 1887 until today, with a break between 1933-45.

Organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, the most important one together with *Vorwärts*. Founded by Johann Wedde; Paul Lafargue, under the pen-name de Gallus, contributed regularly from 1893.—Vol. III, 281, 311, 312, 353

L'Homme libre. Political daily. Paris, June 21, 1889-August 29, 1888 (70 issues). Blanquist paper which took the motto "Ni dieu, ni maître" (neither God nor master). Merged with the *Cri du peuple* on August 30, 1888.—Vol. II, 137, 139, 153, 198

L'Idée nouvelle. Social and literary monthly. Paris, January-June 1890 (6 issues). Contributors included Guesde, Vailand, Thivrier, Lafargue, Dormoy.—Vol. II, 396

La Igualdad. Spanish republican paper.—Vol. III, 411

La Ilustración española.—Vol. III, 407

L'Illustration. Popular weekly. Paris, March 4, 1843, to the present.—Vol. II, 404; Vol. III, 258

L'Industriel alsacien.—Vol. III, 159

The International Herald. Official organ of the British Section of the International (from No. 6 to No. 35). London, March 2, 1872-October 18, 1873 (81 issues). Weekly which gave reports of the General Council of the International. After the split in the British Federal Council in December 1872 it became the organ of the minority which supported the New York General Council. Anonymous contributions by Marx and Engels.—Vol. III, 434

L'Internationale. Weekly organ of the Belgian sections of the International. Brussels, January 17, 1869-December 28, 1873.

Contributors included D. Brismée, R. Spillingard, E. Steens, C. de Paepe, P. Lavrov, K. Marx.

This journal succeeded the *Tribune du Peuple* as the organ of the International in Belgium. It passed into the hands of the Jurassians after the Hague Congress and was incorporated in *Le Mirabeau* in January 1874.—Vol. III, 438

L'Intransigeant. Daily. Paris, July 14, 1880. Under the direction of Rochefort, Boulangist.—Vol. II, 40, 52, 95, 102, 111, 113, 119, 122, 126, 128, 135, 139, 147, 274, 335, 426; Vol. III, 113, 140, 144, 159, 160, 188, 199, 235

Journal de l'agriculture pratique. Weekly, founded in 1837 by A. Bixio.

Editor-in-chief: E. Lecouteux. The oldest and most important agricultural journal, both for its circulation and the quality of its articles, which dealt only with questions of political economy.—Vol. I, 319

Le Journal des Débats. Daily, founded in 1789 by Gautier de Biauzat. Conservative.—Vol. II, 112, 308

Journal des économistes. Monthly review (4 volumes annually) of economics and statistics, founded December 15, 1841. A new series began in 1854.—Vol. I, 200, 219, 222, 242, 243, 262, 296, 346

Journal officiel de la République française. Daily, founded in 1789 under the title *Le Moniteur*.—Vol. II, 328; Vol. III, 150

Journal de Roubaix. Daily, with a morning and an evening edition, Roubaix, 1857, dealing with politics, industry and commerce.—Vol. I, 197

Justice. Socialist weekly. London, January 1884-1925. Organ of the S.D.F., founded by Hyndman.—Vol. I, 176, 179, 187, 300, 321, 322, 340, 354; Vol. II, 52, 194, 204, 206, 218, 229, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262, 267, 268, 278, 330, 410; Vol. III, 35, 161, 178, 367

La Justice. Daily. Paris, January 16, 1880-1927. Political editor: Clemenceau. Left Radical, anti-Boulangist.—Vol. I, 99, 123, 259; Vol. II, 18, 21, 30, 67, 307, 419; Vol. III, 40, 132, 286

Kent Times and Tribune.—Vol. II, 269

Kladderatsch. Satirical illustrated weekly, Berlin, 1848-192?

Showed democratic leanings, was persecuted for its criticism of the government in the period 1850-58, and later supported Bismarck.—Vol. III, 350

Kölnische Zeitung. Daily. Cologne, 1762 to the present day. Organ of the Rhineland bourgeoisie. Exercised great influence.—Vol. I, 98

Kreuzzeitung. (See *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.)

The Labour Elector. Weekly, "the organ of practical socialism". London, June 1888-July 1894. Edited by H. H. Champion, appears to have had a small circulation.—Vol. II, 227, 229, 237, 241, 246, 259, 260, 284, 308, 319, 325

The Labour Leader. "A weekly journal of socialism, trade unionism and politics." London, October 1891-October 1922. Organ of the I.L.P. until superseded by *The New Leader*.—Vol. III, 356, 367

Labour World. "A journal devoted to the interests of all who toil." London, September 21, 1890-May 31, 1891. (37 issues). Founded by Michael Davitt and taken over by Massingham. Superseded *The Democrat* (November 15, 1884-September 1, 1890).—Vol. III, 78

La Lanterne. Paris, April 22, 1877-March 1928. Founded by H. de Rochefort on his return from Nouméa (the first *Lanterne* of which he was the sole editor dated from 1868). Boulangist.—Vol. II, 118, 126

La Liberté. Brussels, March 12, 1865-June 29, 1873. Founded as a democratic socialist organ. From 1867 it became the organ of the International in Belgium. Bakunist following The Hague Congress.—Vol. I, 193; Vol. III, 429, 431, 439, 441, 442, 451, 455, 457, 470

La Ligue. Daily. Paris, December 6, 1884-March 1, 1886. Political editor: Andrieux, deputy. Republican and anti-opportunist.—Vol. I, 259, 274

Le Lillois. Satirical illustrated weekly, founded in 1882. Catholic, conservative, campaigned against Jews, Freemasons and Socialists. Purely local paper.—Vol. III, 127

Lyon Socialiste. Weekly organ of the workers in the Eastern region of France. Lyons, September 14, 1884-1885.—Vol. I, 247, 257

Macmillan's Magazine. Cambridge and London, November 1859-October 1905.—Vol. I, 240

Le Matin. Daily. Paris, June 17, 1884-1943.—Vol. I, 270

La Moda. Spanish Carlist paper.—Vol. I, 58

Le Moniteur universel. Founded 1789, reorganised 1852 to become the official gazette of

the Empire. Adapting itself to the different regimes, it lasted until 1903.—Vol. III, 57

Nature. A weekly illustrated journal of science. London, 1870, to the present day.—Vol. II, 55

Neue Preussische Zeitung. Daily, founded in Berlin, 1848, under the direction of Hermann Wagener. Organ of the conservative party from 1850 to 1858 and became Bismarck's official organ after his advent to power. Bought in 1932 by the Stahlhelm which reverted to the title *Kreuzzeitung*, by which it was generally known owing to the iron cross in the heading.—Vol. II, 362, 402

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie. Daily, founded by Marx who was editor-in-chief and its moving spirit. Cologne, June 1, 1848-May 19, 1849. Contributors included Engels, H. Bürgers, G. Weerth, W. Wolff, E. Dronke, F. Freiligrath.—Vol. I, 69; Vol. II, 401; Vol. III, 394, 406

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue. London and Hamburg 1850 (6 volumes). Editor-in-chief: Karl Marx. Contributors included Engels, W. Wolff, Eccarius. Founded by Marx following his arrival in London to continue the Cologne daily paper. Came to an end when Marx and Engels recognised the impossibility of a renewal of a revolutionary situation of

the 1848 kind in the near future.—Vol. III, 368

Neuer Sozial-Demokrat. "Organ des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins, des Arbeiter-Unterstützungsverbandes und des Allgemeinen deutschen Maurervereins." "Organ des sozialistischen Arbeiter-partei Deutschlands" (from June 13, 1875). Berlin, July 2, 1871-September 29, 1876.

Appeared three times a week. Continuation of the *Sozial-Demokrat*. The property and organ of the Lassalleans.—Vol. I, 39

Neuer Welt-Kalender. Stuttgart, 1883-1914, Hamburg, 1915-1933. Published by the popular illustrated weekly *Die Neue Welt*, founded by Liebknecht in 1876.—Vol. II, 380

Neues Wiener Tageblatt. Liberal daily. Vienna, 1867-1937.—Vol. II, 83

Die Neue Zeit. Fortnightly. Stuttgart, 1883-1917. German Social-Democratic theoretical review, edited by Kautsky. Vol. I, 239, 301, 361, 393, 397; Vol. II, 122, 163, 222, 249, 344, 367, 412; Vol. III, 28, 30, 41, 75, 88, 104, 159, 162, 317, 341, 348, 349, 368, 373, 375

New York Herald. Liberal daily, founded in New York by James Gordon Bennett in 1835.—Vol. III, 425

New Yorker Volkszeitung. Daily German-language paper issued by the American Socialists. New York, 1878-1915. Adopted a more outspoken Marxist standpoint when H. Schlüter

- took over the editorship in about 1890. The socialist paper with the largest circulation in America.—Vol. I, 206; Vol. II, 151, 230
- Le Nord*. Daily, founded 1855, reorganised 1864 under the direction of Théophile Franceschi. Drew its inspiration from the Russian Chancellery.—Vol. II, 199
- La Nouvelle Revue*. Fortnightly, dealing with politics, science, economics and literature, founded Paris, October 1, 1879.—Vol. I, 279, 323, 344, 346, 371; Vol. II, 103, 106, 125, 163, 344, 368, 405, 416, 430; Vol. III, 28
- The Pall Mall Gazette*. Evening paper. London, February 7, 1865-1923. Conservative until 1880, after which, under the ownership of Yates Thompson, it became Liberal. In 1892 it was bought by W. W. Astor and became independent unionist. Absorbed by the *Evening Standard* in 1923. In 1870-71 it published articles by Engels on the Franco-Prussian War.—Vol. I, 260, 299; Vol. II, 77, 82, 96, 101, 125, 346; Vol. III, 180, 203
- Le Parti ouvrier*. Daily. Paris, April 8, 1888-1914. Founded by the Possibilists when they left *Le Cri du Peuple*.—Vol. II, 112, 136, 181, 191, 256, 287, 352; Vol. III, 43, 129
- Le Parti socialiste*. Weekly. Paris, March 9, 1890-?—Vol. II, 373
- Le Parti socialiste*. Weekly, organ of the Revolutionary Central Committee. Paris, June 28, 1891-March 16, 1895.—Vol. III, 320
- O Pensamento social*. Weekly. Lisbon, February 1, 1872-April 5, 1873. Published many documents of the General Council of the International.—Vol. III, 437, 448, 449, 472
- The People's Press*. Weekly. London, March 8, 1890-February 28, 1891 (52 issues). Editor-in-chief: R. Dell. Followed on the *North London Press*.—Vol. II, 375
- Le Petit Journal*. Daily. Paris, February 2, 1863-1943.—Vol. II, 328; Vol. III, 264, 314
- Le Petit Lyonnais*. Daily, founded in 1871, under the direction of E. Portalis. Republican radical.—Vol. II, 177
- La Petite République française*. Daily, founded in 1875. Republican radical.—Vol. III, 206, 247, 294, 298, 303, 336, 357, 364
- Le Premier Mai*. Appeared once a year on May Day, Paris, 1891.—Vol. III, 253
- Przedświt (The Dawn)*. Weekly. London, 1891. Editor-in-chief: A. Dębsky. Social-Democratic organ. Published material by Engels.—Vol. III, 162
- Progress*. Monthly. London, 1883-1887. Literary and political review, under the direction of G. W. Fode. In 1884 Aveling was its editor-in-chief.—Vol. I, 160, 211
- Le Prolétaire*. Weekly. Paris, November 23, 1878-1883. Contributors included Brousse and Paulard.—Vol. I, 87, 115, 122

Le Prolétariat. Possibilist Weekly, official organ of the *Travailleurs de France*. Paris, April 5, 1884-December 31, 1890.—Vol. I, 343, 372; Vol. II, 92, 130, 230, 256, 257

Le Radical. Daily. Paris, August 10, 1881-1928. Radical, anti-Boulangist; had already existed in 1871 but was suppressed several times.—Vol. I, 114; Vol. II, 30, 130; Vol. III, 404

La Razón. Weekly. Seville, No. 61, May 18, 1872, 2nd year, No. 87.

Organ of the anarchists, hostile to the General Council of the International.—Vol. III, 441, 445, 451, 454, 462, 463

Recht Voor Allen. Weekly. The Hague-Amsterdam, 1879-1900. Founded by Domela Nieuwenhuis, became in 1882 the organ of the newly-founded *Social-Democratische Bond in Nederland*. Played an important part in the propagation of socialism in Holland from 1880 to 1890. After the foundation of the Social-Democratic Party (1894), it became the organ of a small sect.—Vol. II, 194, 229

La République Française. Daily. Paris, November 7, 1871-July 12, 1924. Founded by Gambetta as the official organ of the Republican Union parliamentary group.

—“*Le Journal des Débats de la Démocratie*” (Manevy).—Vol. I, 67, 215, 278; Vol. III, 128

Revista Socială. Rumanian socialist journal, founded in the early eighties, Jassy.—Vol. III, 162

La Révolution sociale. Weekly. Geneva, October 26, 1871-January 4, 1872 (10 issues). Organ of the Jurassian Federation (from November 23, 1871). Founded by Communards who had fled to Switzerland, after the Sonvillier Congress. Anarchist, Bakunist. Was followed by the *Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne*.—Vol. I, 30; Vol. III, 407, 410

La Revue bleue. (Full title: *Revue politique et littéraire*.) Weekly, founded 1863.—Vol. II, 385

Le Revue philosophique de France et de l'Étranger. Monthly. Editor-in-chief: Th. Ribot.—Vol. I, 276, 279, 346

Revue scientifique (Revue rose). Weekly, founded in 1863 by Eugène Yung and E. Alglave.—Vol. II, 163

La Revue socialiste. Monthly review founded by Benoît Malon in January 1880, published in Lyons (13 issues). After an interruption was reissued in Paris, 1885 to June 1914.—Vol. III, 248, 335

Reynolds Weekly Newspaper. “Journal of Democratic Progress and General Intelligence.” Sunday paper. London, May 5, 1850. Founded by George William Reynolds. Radical, originally associated with the Chartists.—Vol. II, 255

Rheinische Zeitung. "Für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe." Daily. Cologne, January 1, 1842-March 13, 1843. Organ of the liberal bourgeoisie in the Rhineland. Originally under the direction of Höffknen, then of Rutenberg who brought in members of the Left Hegelians and turned it into an opposition paper. Marx contributed to it from the spring of 1842 and became editor-in-chief in October of that year. He gave up this position on March 17, 1843, which did not prevent the final prohibition of the paper by government decision taken in January.—Vol. III, 348, 377, 406

Rheinische Zeitung. Cologne, 1888-1933 (called the *Kölner Arbeiterzeitung* from 1888 to 1891). Edited by Karl Hirsch, a Social-Democrat, in 1894.—Vol. III, 306, 329, 332

Severny Vestnik (*Northern Review*). Monthly, St. Petersburg, 1885-1897. Narodnik leanings until 1890. Contributors included N. Mikhailovsky, S. Krivenko, S. Guzhanov, G. Uspensky. In 1890 it came under the direction of L. A. Gurevich and fought against radical views.—Vol. II, 249, 349, 351; Vol. III, 71

Le siècle. Daily. Paris, June 23, 1836-December 1927. Founded as the organ of the constitutional opposition, it reflected the views, following 1871, of the Voltairian bourgeoisie and

the Freemasons.—Vol. III, 77, 231

Der Sozial-Demokrat. "Organ des Allgemein Deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins." Daily. Berlin, November 1865-March 1871. Founded by J. B. von Schweitzer and J. B. von Hofstetten, organ of the Lassalleans.—Vol. I, 178

Socialdemokraten. Daily. Copenhagen, first issue, May 10, 1874. Originally published by the trade unions (1874-75), then by the Social-Democratic organisations (1875-79), reverted to the trade unions (1879-85), and finally, from April 1, 1885, became the organ of the Danish Social-Democratic Party. It followed on *Socialisten* (1871-74). Until 1876 it was Lassallean in outlook and, thereafter, Marxist.—Vol. II, 230

El Socialista. Daily. Madrid, 1885. Edited by Pablo Iglesias. Organ of the Socialist Labour Party of Spain. After many vicissitudes, it still existed in 1911 as a weekly paper.—Vol. II, 37, 319

Le Socialiste. "Journal hebdomadaire de l'Union Républicaine de langue française." Organ of the revolutionary and socialist organisations. Weekly. New York, October 7, 1871-May 11, 1873.—Vol. I, 44

Le Socialiste. Weekly, small format. Paris, 1st issue August 29, 1885-No. 82, March 26, 1887. Editorial board: G. Deville, R. Fréjac, J. Guesde, P. Lafargue, A. Letailleur.

Articles were unsigned.—Vol. I, 297, 305, 312, 317, 318, 330, 349, 356; Vol. II, 35

—Third year, second series, No. 83, Paris, June 11, 1887—No. 118, February 4, 1888. Weekly, larger format, signed articles.—Vol. I, 56, 64, 85, 91, 92, 95, 103, 178, 182, 211

—Fifth year, 3rd series, Paris, No. 1, September 21, 1890—January 13, 1895. Weekly organ of the Guesdist party.—Vol. II, 415, 427; Vol. III, 19, 29, 43, 46, 50, 68, 113, 116, 126, 143, 149, 171, 173, 178, 186, 203, 204, 207, 237, 281, 288, 299, 340, 378

Le Soleil. Political daily. Paris, February 28, 1873–August 21, 1914. Founded by Édouard Hervé. Anti-Boulangist.—Vol. III, 127, 173

Der Sozialdemokrat. "Internationales Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge." Weekly. Zürich, October 1879–September 1888. London, October 1, 1888–September 27, 1890. Founded with the financial backing of Dr. Höchberg. Editor-in-chief: Vollmar, followed (1881) by Bernstein. The official organ of the Party by a resolution of the Wyden Congress (1880). Issued in Zürich until, following the police intrigues of the Prussian Government, the editors were expelled from Switzerland, and went to London (April 1888), to which they transferred the publication of the journal (Oc-

tober 1, 1888).—Vol. I, 87, 99, 105, 107, 123, 139, 170, 193, 247, 249, 271, 272, 285, 348; Vol. II, 116, 145, 170, 194, 206, 227, 230, 241, 254, 319, 325, 384, 402, 404

Der Sozialdemokrat. Weekly. Berlin, February 1894–1895. Under the direction of Max Schippel.—Vol. III, 343

Der Sozialist. Weekly. New York, January 3, 1885–November 19, 1892. Central organ of the (German) Socialist Labour Party of North America. Marxist in outlook. Editor-in-chief: J. Dietzgen (until his death in 1888) and then H. Schlüter. Contributors included Eleanor Marx, Ad. Hepner, P. Lafargue, F. A. Sorge. It was followed by *Vorwärts*, New York, 1892–1894.—Vol. I, 266, 288, 356; Vol. II, 230

The Standard. Evening paper and, from 1857, morning paper. London, 1827–1917. Conservative.—Vol. I, 93, 109, 167, 204; Vol. II, 200; Vol. III, 98, 366

The Star. Radical evening paper. London, January 17, 1888.—Vol. II, 239, 240, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 254, 256, 257, 260, 263, 268, 402; Vol. III, 78, 81, 82, 92

The Sun. Radical weekly. London, 1888–1890.—Vol. II, 255

Die Tagwacht. "Organ der Sozial-demokratischen Partei und der internationalen Gewerkschaften in der Schweiz." Weekly. Zürich, January 5.

- 1870-December 25, 1880.—Vol. I, 40, 44
- Le Temps*. "La Revue des Deux Mondes quotidienne." Daily. Paris, October 15, 1829-June 17, 1842; April 25, 1861-1940.—Vol. I, 189, 199, 251, 261, 276, 352; Vol. II, 175, 274; Vol. III, 47, 51, 55, 61, 64, 68, 86, 106, 122, 128, 231, 266, 281, 328, 357
- Time*. "A Monthly Miscellany of Interesting Amusing Literature." London, April 24, 1875-1891. Successively edited by Edmund Yates, E. M. A. Williams, E. Belfort Bax (1890-91). Absorbed by *Munsey's Magazine*.—Vol. II, 33, 367, 368, 385, 395
- The Times*. Conservative daily, founded London, January 1, 1788.—Vol. I, 28; Vol. II, 200
- To-Day*. "The Monthly Magazine of Scientific Socialism." London, May-December 1883. New series: January 1884-June 1889. Engels, Eleanor Marx and Bax contributed to it in 1884-85. In 1886 it came under the influence of the Fabians.—Vol. I, 173, 187, 200, 203, 212, 236, 340; Vol. II, 36, 52
- The Trade Unionist*. Trade union weekly. London, April 4-August 22, 1891. Influenced by Tom Mann in adopting the outlook of New Unionism. Became the *Trade Unionist and Trades Council Record* (October 1891-March 1892) and was later absorbed by *The Workman's Times*.—Vol. III, 77
- Le Travailleur*. Organ of the Workers' Party in the Nord region of France. Weekly, founded 1886 in Lille. Was a daily from October 20 to 24, 1891.—Vol. I, 163, 168; Vol. III, 117, 122, 253
- La Voie du Peuple*. Socialist daily. Paris, February 2, 1887-February 8, 1887; February 18 to March 17, 1887 (35 issues). Started by the Guesdists who had left *Le Cri du Peuple* after the Duval affair. Editorial board: G. Deville, Duc-Quercy, E. Fournière, A. Goulle, J. Guesde, E. Massard.—Vol. II, 20, 21, 22, 27, 30
- La Voix*. Daily. Paris, October 20, 1889-November 9, 1889. Radical and democratic republican. Editor-in-chief: A. Millerand.—Vol. II, 320
- Der Volksstaat*. "Organ der Sozial-Demokratischen Arbeiterpartei und der Gewerksgenossenschaften." Twice weekly and later (from July 2, 1873) three times a week. Leipzig, October 2, 1869-September 29, 1876. Editors: W. Liebknecht, K. Hirsch, A. Hepner, A. Bebel. It followed on the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* and was itself followed by *Vorwärts* (1876-78).—Vol. I, 39, 42, 44, 193; Vol. III, 204, 434, 449
- Der Volkswille*. Weekly and, from October 2, 1872, twice weekly. Vienna, January 30, 1870-June 27, 1874. Contributors included A. Scheu, H. Oberwinder, J. Ph. Becker. It followed on *Die Volksstimme*. Organ of the Austrian So-

cial-Democrats.—Vol. II, 83;
Vol. III, 434
Vooruit. Daily. Ghent, August
31, 1884-1937. Founded by the
organisers of the Belgian
Workers' Party in Ghent.—
Vol. II, 230
Vorwärts. Daily. Berlin, 1890-
1933 (re-issued since 1946).
Founded by decision of the
Halle Congress (October 12-
18, 1890). The *Berliner Volks-*
blatt took the sub-title: "Zen-
tralorgan der sozialdemokrati-
schen Partei", and, from Janu-
ary 1, 1891, changed its
name to *Vorwärts-Berliner*
Volksblatt. Editor-in-chief un-
til his death (in 1900),
W. Liebknecht. Contributors
included Engels, Bebel, Adler,
Kautsky, Auer, Singer, La-
briola, Mehring, Lafargue,
Branting.—Vol. III, 23, 41,

78, 159, 182, 193, 194, 227,
297, 298, 302, 305, 306, 308,
311, 312, 315, 318, 321, 331,
336, 344, 353, 377
The Weekly Dispatch. Sunday
paper. London, 1801-1900.
Bought by A. W. Dilke in
1875 and given a radical out-
look. In 1900 it became *The*
Sunday Dispatch.—Vol. II, 31,
106, 110, 111, 113, 155, 196
The Worker's Cry. London,
May 2-September 12, 1891.
Frank Smith's paper. Merged
with *The Liberal Home Ruler*.
—Vol. III, 77
The Workman's Times. Weekly.
Huddersfield, and later Lon-
don. April 29, 1890-March 17,
1894. Editor-in-chief: Joseph
Burgess. Absorbed first *The*
Birmingham Workman's Times
and later *The Trade Unionist*.
—Vol. III, 74, 77, 203, 356

NAMES

A

ADAM, Jean Victor Vincent (1801-1867): French painter, pupil of Meynier and Regnault. After 1840 painted mainly battle scenes.—Vol. I, 166

ADAM (Mme Edmond) (1836-1936): French authoress known under her maiden name—Juliette Lamber—widow of Edmond Adam, police prefect in 1870, and Gambetta's mistress. Her salon, where Republicans met, played an important political role. In 1879 she founded *La Nouvelle Revue* and edited it until 1886.—Vol. I, 279, 323, 344, 345; Vol. II, 76, 103, 125, 138, 344, 368, 382, 385, 430; Vol. III, 28

ADLER, Victor (1852-1918): Founder of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. Doctor by profession. First contact with socialist movement in 1884; founded *Gleichheit* in 1887 and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1889. Became one of the leaders of the Second International.—Vol. II, 258, 392;

Vol. III, 23, 99, 110, 156, 174, 176, 293, 301, 346, 351, 353, 355, 381

AIMEL, Henri (pen-name: Aime la figue) (b. 1844): French journalist, pro-Boulangier, deputy for Bordeaux in 1889. Allied to the socialist group in parliament after the 1893 elections.—Vol. III, 248

ALBAJES: Spanish member of the International. Barcelona delegate to Saragossa Congress.—Vol. III, 430

ALERINI: Italian Bakunist, took part in the Marseilles Commune and campaigned for the Alliance viewpoint in the International in Spain.—Vol. III, 437, 440, 448

ALEXANDER I (Prince of Battemberg) (1857-1893): Prince of Bulgaria (1879-1886).—Vol. I, 382, 384; Vol. II, 31

ALEXANDER II (1818-1881): Tsar of Russia following death of father Nicholas I (1855).—Vol. III, 384

ALEXANDER III (1845-1894): Tsar of Russia (1881-1894).—Vol. I, 261, 382; Vol. III, 28, 97, 104, 122, 130, 271, 273

- ALLAN, William (1813-1874): English trade unionist. Secretary of the A.S.E. from 1851, member of London Trades Council from 1866. Opposed affiliation of his union to the International in the belief that the trade unions were the workers' best form of organisation.—Vol. III, 432
- ALLEMANE, Jean (1843-1935): French printing worker, fought in the Commune, was deported to New Caledonia. Returned to France after 1880 amnesty, joined the Workers' Party, supported the Possibilists following the St. Étienne Congress (1882), but fell out with Brousse at the Châtelerault Congress (1890). Then founded the Revolutionary Socialist Workers' Party and edited its organ, *Le Parti ouvrier*.—Vol. II, 293, 393, 395, 413; Vol. III, 20, 43, 72, 94, 98, 102, 249, 286
- AMADEUS (Duke of Aosta) (1845-1890): Second son of Victor Emmanuel II. Was offered Spanish crown by the Cortès in 1870.—Vol. III, 416, 417, 434, 443
- ANDRIEUX, Louis (1840-1931): French lawyer and politician. Deputy from 1876 to 1889 and police prefect from 1879 to 1881.—Vol. I, 259, 274; Vol. II, 264
- ANDLAU, Gaston Hardouin Joseph (Comte d') (b. 1824): French army officer and Senator, put on the reserve list with the rank of brigadier-general.—Vol. II, 73
- ANGUS: Manager of Schoolbred's in London.—Vol. I, 55
- ANHER: Spanish politician, town councillor, evidently a Bakunist.—Vol. III, 449
- ANIELEWSKI, L.: Militant Polish worker.—Vol. II, 264
- ANNIE: Engels' maid.—Vol. II, 132, 427; Vol. III, 31, 40
- ANSEELE, Édouard (1856-1938): Belgian Socialist, founder of the Workers' Party in 1885 and of the Ghent workers' paper *Vooruit*. Elected deputy in 1894, he became Minister of Railways in 1926. He turned to opportunism and was one of the champions of the co-operative movement.—Vol. I, 193; Vol. II, 189, 217, 225, 230, 258; Vol. III, 196
- ARENBERG, Auguste Louis Albéric (Prince d') (1837-1924): Large Landowner, Legitimist deputy for the Cher from 1877 to 1881, and again, after the reintroduction of divisional ballots, from 1889 to 1902. Chairman of the Suez Company from 1896.—Vol. II, 316
- ARENÉ, Emmanuel (1856-1908): French journalist and politician. Worked on the *XIX^e Siècle*, *Paris*, and the *Matin*. Elected deputy for Corsica in 1881, he was one of the defenders of opportunist policy. Elected Senator in 1904.—Vol. III, 128, 145
- ARGYRIADES, Panajionis (1849-1901): French lawyer and publicist of Macedonian origin. Blanquist. Editor of the *Almanach de la Question*

Sociale (1891-1901). Attended the Zürich Congress (1893).—Vol. I, 148; Vol. III, 169, 171, 251, 254, 298

ARMAGNAC, Abraham: Paul Lafargue's grandfather.—Vol. II, 156

ARNDT, Paul: Young German journalist who frequented socialist circles, attended the Zürich Congress and vindicated Brousse in *Vorwärts*.—Vol. III, 200, 202, 298, 302

ATCHINOV: Russian adventurer who landed on the French coast of Somali at the head of a hundred Cossacks with the intention of uniting the Abyssinian Copts to the Russian Orthodox Church.—Vol. II, 199

AVELING, Edward (1851-1898): English doctor and playwright, Socialist. A Darwinian and atheist, he drew closer to Marxism under Engels' influence, was active in the Social-Democratic Federation and founded the Socialist League in 1884, leaving it when it turned to anarchism to re-join the S.D.F. Married Eleanor Marx in 1884.—Vol. I, 165, 168, 169, 187, 190, 194, 195, 196, 199, 206, 218, 245, 250, 272, 312, 317, 325, 333, 335, 336, 340, 354, 367, 368, 375, 376, 377, 380, 398, 400; Vol. II, 26, 31, 33, 38, 40, 43, 44, 45, 47, 50, 71, 108, 121, 135, 140, 141, 144, 148, 150, 151, 158, 161, 163, 180, 239, 245, 251, 254, 290, 291, 292, 297, 298, 304, 335, 339, 341, 354, 355, 368, 369, 375, 377;

391, 397, 398, 402, 404, 405, 414; Vol. III, 24, 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 66, 72, 91, 109, 133, 154, 156, 158, 160, 163, 166, 170, 171, 179, 192, 193, 203, 259, 380, 486, 487

AVELING (Mrs.) See MARX-AVELING, Eleanor.

AVRIAL, Augustin (1840-1904): Engineering worker, friend of Varlin, member of the First International. French member of the Commune who took part in its battles. Condemned to death in his absence, he escaped to Alsace.—Vol. I, 38

AXELROD, Pavel Borisovich (1850-1928): Russian Social-Democrat, a member of the Emancipation of Labour group, later a Menshevik. During the First World War he was a social-chauvinist.—Vol. II, 265, 270

B

BACHOFEN, Johann Jakob (1815-1887): Swiss law historian, professor at Basle. One of the pioneers of comparative law.—Vol. III, 75-76

BACK: Of Baltic origin, published a Baltic journal in German from Geneva in about 1880.—Vol. II, 369

BAIHAUT, Charles (1843-1905): French politician, opportunist. Elected deputy in October 1877. Secretary of State for Works from April 1882 to March 1885 and, later, Minister of Works in the Freycinet government, from January

- to December 1886, when he resigned. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his complicity in the Panama scandal.—Vol. III, 228
- BAKUNIN, Mikhail (1814-1876): Russian revolutionary who took part in the Dresden insurrection in 1849. One of the theoreticians of anarchism. His main objective appears to have been to fight against Marx and destroy the International from within. He was expelled from it at The Hague Congress.—Vol. I, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 44, 46, 202; Vol. III, 409, 411, 413, 439, 440, 446, 451, 455, 463, 465, 466, 468, 472
- BALFOUR, John Blair (1837-1905): British politician who was Attorney General in Gladstone's government of 1886, and again in 1891 and 1895. Member of Parliament who withdrew from political life in 1899.—Vol. II, 96
- BALFOUR, Jabez Spencer: British politician, involved in commercial scandals.—Vol. III, 223, 233
- BALLERICH (the brothers): Members of the police force responsible for the provocation on January 7, 1885, against the *Cri du Peuple*, and for firing on Duc-Quercy.—Vol. I, 258
- BALZAC, Honoré de (1799-1850).—Vol. I, 160
- BARING (Lord): Chairman of Baring Brothers, English bankers.—Vol. II, 421, 427, 428
- BARRAU DE MURATEL, Caroline (de) (1828-1883): French educationist and sociologist, author of a work on women's conditions.—Vol. II, 36
- BASLY, Émile (1854-1928): French miner in the Nord region, militant trade unionist who organised the strikes of 1880 and 1884. Elected deputy on the Republican ticket in 1885, he was an ardent defender of the Decazeville miners. Defeated in 1889, he was re-elected in 1891, this time as a Socialist. President of the Miners' Union, Mayor of Lens from 1910.—Vol. I, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 358, 366; Vol. II, 37, 134, 168, 320, 323; Vol. III, 205, 216
- BASTELICA, André (1845-1884): French printing worker, member of the First International and of the first Marseilles Commune (October 31 to November 4, 1870). Joined the Bakunist organisation and fought against Marxism. Fled to Switzerland after the Commune.—Vol. III, 409
- BASTIAT, Frédéric (1801-1850): French economist, champion of economic liberalism, who vigorously combated Proudhon's theories of interest and the banks in 1848. Author of *Harmonies économiques*.—Vol. I, 242
- BATEMAN, George: English printing worker, member of the S.D.F.—Vol. II, 265
- BATISSE, G.: Hosiery worker at Troyes, member of Arbitration Council. Signatory to the

invitation to the Paris International Congress, 1889. Municipal candidate in the 1900 elections.—Vol. II, 243

BAUDIN, Eugène (1853-1918): French porcelain worker, engaged in socialist propaganda from a very young age, member of the International. Fought in the Commune, condemned to death in his absence, he managed to reach England where he stayed until the amnesty. Sentenced several times for his political activities, he was elected deputy for Bourges in 1889 and later re-elected. Retired from politics in 1898.—Vol. II, 320, 323, 324, 325, 336, 337, 380; Vol. III, 247, 248

BAX, Ernest Belfort (1854-1926): English writer and economist, converted to socialism. Member of the Socialist League, he collaborated with William Morris in bringing out *Commonweal* and published a joint work on socialism with him in 1894. Subsequently he renewed his bond with Hyndman and shared his nationalist views.—Vol. I, 176, 179, 188, 190, 193, 196, 317, 337, 347, 370; Vol. II, 36, 57, 64, 194, 196, 197, 239, 260, 368; Vol. III, 168, 178

BAZIN, Gustave: French jewellery worker, co-founder of the Brussels Labour Bureau, fought in the Commune and emigrated to Switzerland and Belgium. After the amnesty, joined the Workers' Party. Charged with Guesde and La-

fargue in 1882 in connection with the Montluçon conferences.—Vol. I, 118, 162; Vol. II, 272

BEBEL, August (1840-1913): Skilled turner at Leipzig, threw himself into working-class activity from 1862. Deputy for Saxony in 1867 in the North German Parliament, he founded the Eisenach Marxist workers' party with Liebknecht in 1869. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, he was sentenced for having refused to vote for the war credits and for criticising the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. He was the prime organiser of the German Social-Democratic Party and opposed revisionism.—Vol. I, 99, 192, 295, 341; Vol. II, 47, 64, 75, 93, 96, 116, 182, 187, 189, 193, 197, 199, 202, 205, 207, 209, 212, 214, 215, 217, 219, 224, 227, 228, 229, 231, 242, 246, 248, 256, 258, 261, 267, 278, 280, 283, 284, 288, 291, 293, 319, 324, 341, 396, 399, 401, 408, 411, 413, 414, 415, 422; Vol. III, 20, 21, 26, 75, 99, 109, 115, 142, 143, 159, 162, 166, 170, 174-76, 178, 179, 190, 192, 193, 194, 201, 211, 217, 218, 231, 237, 241, 249, 253, 261, 267, 274, 275, 276, 279, 282, 284, 287, 289, 292, 293, 294, 305, 308, 312, 314, 316, 335, 342, 344, 361, 362, 390

BECKER, Johann Philipp (1809-1886). Prominent leader of international and German working-class movement who took part in the 1848 Revolu-

- tion and the Baden insurrection in May 1849. Emigrating to Geneva, he organised a branch of the First International there and published a journal, *Der Vorbote*, which defended Marxist principles. He was a friend of Marx and Engels.—Vol. I, 100, 367, 373, 375, 379, 380, 403, 404; Vol. II, 256, 369
- BECKMANN, Johann (1739-1811). German professor, founder of technology.—Vol. II, 46
- BEESELY, Edward Spencer (1831-1915). Professor of Ancient History in the University of London. A Positivist, he took part in the movement for electoral reform (1867). Presided at the foundation meeting of the First International at St. Martin's Hall (September 18, 1864).—Vol. I, 23
- BÉHANZIN (1844-1906): Last king of Dahomey. France sent an expedition under Colonel Dodds against him, following which he was deported, in January 1894, to Madagascar and subsequently to Algiers.—Vol. III, 265
- BÉRANGER, Pierre Jean (de) (1780-1857): French song writer, originally taken up by Lucien Bonaparte, whose works after 1820 were inspired by liberal and patriotic ideas. Immensely popular in his time, he died in obscurity.—Vol. II, 337; Vol. III, 362
- BERNHARDT, Rosine (known as Sarah) (1884-1923): One of the greatest French actresses.—Vol. I, 289
- BÈRE: Moderate candidate in the Lille by-election of October 1891. Stood down in the second ballot in favour of Depasse.—Vol. III, 119
- BERNSTEIN, Eduard (1850-1932): German Social-Democrat, publicist, editor of the *Sozial-Demokrat* (1881-90), delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in 1889. In the late nineties he came forward with an outspoken revision of Marxism from a reformist standpoint. One of the leaders of the opportunist wing of the German Social-Democratic movement and of the Second International.—Vol. I, 100, 107, 115, 175, 178, 180, 188, 204, 241, 244, 248, 249, 286, 333, 336, 347; Vol. II, 64, 116, 120, 122, 126, 136, 145, 157, 158, 170, 171, 187, 194, 197, 199, 202, 204, 214, 217, 218, 220, 224, 225, 228, 231, 241, 245, 250, 254, 256, 260, 262, 290, 311, 341, 361, 401, 402; Vol. III, 26, 40, 60, 66, 155, 171, 175, 287, 348
- BERNSTEIN, Regine: Wife of the above.—Vol. II, 49
- BERTRAND: Member of Lafargue's election committee at the St. Amand (Cher) election of 1889.—Vol. II, 313
- BESANT, Annie (1847-1933): English theosophist. From 1874 to 1888 worked closely with Charles Bradlaugh and flirted with socialism. Converted to theosophy in 1889, she settled in India and became

- one of the leaders of the Hindu political movement.—Vol. I, 168; Vol. II, 47, 65, 256, 300
- BEUST, Friedrich (von) (1817-1899): Prussian army officer who took part in the Baden revolutionary rising of 1849. He married a cousin of Engels and ran a private school in Zürich.—Vol. I, 71, 76; Vol. II, 50, 55, 64, 122; Vol. III, 189, 287
- BEUST, Anna.—Vol. III, 282
- BIENVENU, Charles Léon (1835-1911). French journalist and writer, contributor to a host of literary and satirical journals. Known chiefly for his association with *Tintamarre*, of which he was editor-in-chief, his articles being signed "Touchatout". An opponent of the Second Empire.—Vol. II, 19
- BISMARCK, Otto (von) (1815-1898).—Vol. I, 198, 210, 247, 274, 295, 348, 369, 370, 371, 381, 385, 386, 387, 388, 390, 391
- BLANC: Paris member of the Workers' Party.—Vol. II, 68
- BLANC (Mme): Wife of the above.—Vol. II, 68
- BLANC, Louis (1811-1882): French republican and democrat, member of the Provisional Government in 1848. After the events of May 15, 1848, he took refuge first in Belgium and then in England. He was elected deputy for the Seine in 1871 and criticised the Commune. Wrote a history of the Revolution under the title *Histoire de dix ans*.—Vol. I, 108, 160, 338
- BLANQUI, Auguste (1805-1881): French revolutionary and founder of secret societies which incited insurrections under the July monarchy. He was arrested and spent the greater part of his life in prison. He championed the idea of the seizure of power by an active minority. He had numerous followers.—Vol. I, 210; Vol. III, 467
- BLATCHFORD, Robert (pen-name Nunquam) (1851-1943): One of the most popular English journalists of his time. Worked on the *Daily Chronicle* until 1891. Being won over to socialist views in 1889, he founded the *Clarion*, a socialist weekly.—Vol. III, 356
- BLIND, Ferdinand: Stepson of the Bavarian democrat Karl Blind. On March 7, 1866, made an attempt on Bismarck's life in Berlin. Committed suicide in prison.—Vol. I, 348
- BLOCK, Maurice (1816-1901): French economist, member of the Academy of Moral and Political Science, author of various works on French administration.—Vol. I, 176, 242, 246
- BLOCK, R.: Son of the secretary of the New York Bakers' Union.—Vol. III, 487
- BLOWITZ, Henri Georges Oppen (de) (1825-1903): German-born journalist who became a naturalised Frenchman in 1870. *Times* correspondent in

- Paris from 1871, he introduced the feature of interviews with the great political figures in Europe.—Vol. I, 347
- BOECKER (Miss): Sister of Dr. Gumpert's second wife.—Vol. I, 300
- BOEUF: Militant Boulangist.—Vol. II, 296
- BOISGUILLEBERT, Pierre le Pesant (de) (c. 1646-1714): French economist whose works (*Le Détail de la France*) were hostile to Colbert and earned him exile to the Auvergne. Precursor of the Physiocrats.—Vol. III, 38, 385
- BONNEMAIS, Marguerite (de) (*née* Rouget) (d. 1891): Divorced wife, General Boulanger's mistress.—Vol. III, 108
- BONNIER, Charles (b. 1863): French socialist writer who lived for some time in England, mainly in Oxford. Contributed to the socialist press and published in 1897 *La Question de la femme*.—Vol. II, 203, 204, 214, 216, 219, 228, 235, 237, 245, 246, 250, 262, 268, 341, 350, 356, 357, 390, 392, 393; Vol. III, 21, 95, 99, 170, 171, 184, 217, 218, 253, 268, 278, 286, 306, 312, 316, 349
- BORKHEIM, Sigismund Ludwig (1826-1886): German merchant, member of the Communist League, who took part in the Baden uprising of May 1849. He took refuge in London and turned to journalism. A personal friend of Marx.—Vol. I, 53
- BORQUE: French Workers' Party candidate for the Marne in the 1889 elections.—Vol. II, 329
- BOUCHER: Dye worker. Organiser of the Amiens strikes of April 1893.—Vol. III, 255, 256
- BOUIS, Casimir (1843?-1916): French journalist, member of the Commune and Socialist. He withdrew from political activity in about 1890.—Vol. I, 116
- BOULÉ: Blanquist. Wrote in *Ni Dieu ni maître*. Played an important part in the navvies' strike of 1888. Stood against Boulanger in the 1885 elections in Paris. Member of the Organisation Committee of the First Socialist International Congress (held in the Salle Pétrelle, July 1888).—Vol. II, 183, 184, 189, 190, 240, 245, 247, 257, 260, 263, 271, 335, 340
- Boulet. V.—Vol. II, 68
- BOULANGER, Georges Ernest Jean-Marie (1837-1891): French army general, political adventurer, Minister of War (1886-87). He sought by means of revanchist slogans and demagoguery to establish his military dictatorship in France.—Vol. I, 364, 372, 389; Vol. II, 21, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 75, 104, 105, 107-114, 116-119, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131-134, 137, 141, 142, 143, 147, 160, 165, 166-169, 171-173, 176-177, 186, 192, 193, 194, 196, 199, 207, 208, 209, 215, 216, 221, 223, 225, 238, 249, 252, 295, 298, 300.

- 302, 303, 306, 307, 316, 317, 325, 329, 333, 335, 339-340, 358, 359, 371, 382, 384, 387, 419; Vol. III, 46, 52, 72, 108, 111, 119, 130, 132, 164, 165, 168, 221, 227, 264
- BOURGEOIS, Léon Victor Auguste (1851-1925): French statesman and administrator. Deputy for the Marne from 1888. Minister of the Interior in the Tirard Government (March 1890), Minister of Education in the Freycinet government (March 18, 1890, to February 18, 1892), and Prime Minister from November 1895 to April 1896. Author of a work expressing his philosophical outlook, *La Solidarité*.—Vol. III, 111, 226
- BOVÉ: Secretary of the Spanish industrial workers' union, expelled for embezzlement.—Vol. III, 432
- BOVIO, Giovanni (1841-1903): Italian philosopher and writer, Professor of Law Philosophy at the University of Naples, Republican and Freemason.—Vol. III, 162
- BOYER, Antide (1850-1918): Deputy for Marseilles, first on the republican ticket in 1885 and then, in 1889, as a Socialist. He remained in Parliament until 1910. Had taken part in the Marseilles Commune and launched the socialist movement in the Bouches-du-Rhône.—Vol. I, 344, 358; Vol. II, 320, 373; Vol. III, 303
- BRADLAUGH, Charles (1833-1891): English freethinker and Radical. Ran the *New Reform* from 1860. After his election to the House of Commons in 1880 he refused to take the oath and, though re-elected three times, was not allowed to take his seat until 1886, having taken the oath. Following the Commune he engaged in a virulent campaign against Marx. He was M.P. for Northampton.—Vol. I, 168, 169; Vol. III, 24, 33, 419
- BRADSHAW: English business man.—Vol. I, 74
- BRAGULAT: Spanish member of the International, secretary of the Industrial workers.—Vol. III, 431, 432, 436
- BRANDT: Vice-Chairman of the Swiss Grütli Society in 1889.—Vol. II, 244
- BRANTING, Hjalmar (1860-1925): Swedish statesman, Socialist, Member of Parliament from 1896 and Prime Minister from 1920 until his death.—Vol. II, 270
- BRAUN, Heinrich (b. 1854): German socialist journalist, co-founder of *Neue Zeit*. From 1888 to 1903 published *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*. Elected to the Reichstag in 1913.—Vol. II, 163, 170, 222, 344
- BREBANT: Famous restaurant proprietor.—Vol. I, 360
- BRENTANO, Lujo (1844-1931): German liberal economist, who professed Socialism, University teacher after 1871. Accused Marx of plagiarism, evoking a scathing reply from Engels.—Vol. II, 428; Vol. III, 37
- BRIGHT, John (1811-1889):

English Liberal politician, best known for his agitation against the Corn Laws in the forties, and for the Reform Act with which the name of Richard Cobden is associated.—Vol. I, 21

BRIOLON: French politician, deputy in 1886.—Vol. I, 344

BRISSAC, Henri (1823-1906): French journalist who took part in the republican movement of 1848. Fought in the Commune and was deported to New Caledonia. Following the amnesty he became a militant Socialist.—Vol. I, 116

BRISSON, Eugène Henri (1835-1912): French politician, deputy from 1871, President of the Chamber from 1881. Prime Minister in 1885 and 1898. His outstanding feature was his anti-clericalism.—Vol. I, 292; Vol. II, 74; Vol. III, 335, 359

BROADHURST, Henry (1840-1911): English building worker, militant trade unionist, member of the Reform League. Member of the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C. from 1872. Elected to Parliament in 1880 as a Liberal. Typical representative of the "old gang" in trade unionism, whose importance declined after 1889.—Vol. I, 176

BROUSSE, Paul Louis Marie (1844-1912): French doctor. A petty-bourgeois socialist. After the fall of the Commune, he emigrated to Spain and later to Switzerland, where he brought out the Bakunist journal *L'Avant-Garde* in Berne

(1877). One of the founders of the French Workers' Party in 1880, he was responsible for the split at the St. Étienne Congress (1882) and became one of the leaders of the Possibilists. Paris Municipal Councillor (1887) and deputy in 1885 and 1906.—Vol. I, 89, 93, 115, 122, 149, 177, 181, 188, 202, 210, 244, 247, 284, 285, 286, 318, 342, 343, 344, 372; Vol. II, 35, 43, 49, 58, 103, 136, 170, 171, 214, 217, 219, 220, 231, 240, 248, 267, 277, 289, 294, 382, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 405, 410, 413; Vol. III, 20, 26, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 52, 94, 98, 151, 158, 164, 236, 249

BROWN-SEQUARD, Charles Édouard (1817-1894): French doctor and physiologist, specialising in diseases of the nervous system. He succeeded Claude Bernard in 1878 at the Collège de France. In 1889 his claim to have discovered a rejuvenation serum attracted much attention.—Vol. II, 420

BRUNELLIÈRE, Charles (b. 1847): Nantes shipowner and one of the founders of the Socialist Party in the area in 1888. Freemason.—Vol. III, 296, 303

BRUNNER: Nuremberg lithographer.—Vol. II, 274

BUCHER, Lothar (1817-1892): German journalist who was a member of the Frankfurt Assembly in 1848. He emigrated to London, returning to Germany after ten years following the amnesty. He became

- Bismarck's confidential agent, and put him in touch with Lassalle.—Vol. III, 316
- BUEB: German Social-Democrat elected to the Reichstag as deputy for Mulhouse in 1893.—Vol. III, 261
- BUONARROTI, Filippo Michele (1761-1837): Italian revolutionary who came to France at the time of the Convention, an orator admired by the Jacobin clubs. Arrested after the 9th of Thermidor, he became acquainted with Babeuf. Sentenced to deportation, he wrote the *Conspiration pour l'Egalité dite de Babeuf* in 1828.—Vol. I, 249
- BURNLEY: English textile worker, trade unionist.—Vol. III, 195
- BURNS, John (1858-1943): British politician with socialist leanings. A militant trade unionist, remembered for his part in the dockworkers' strike of 1889, he entered Parliament as a Liberal in 1892 and became a Cabinet Minister in the Liberal administration of 1905. He never joined the Labour Party, and resigned from office in 1914.—Vol. II, 44, 77, 260, 262, 266, 273, 300, 303, 304, 330, 331, 356, 423; Vol. III, 60, 183, 210, 367, 368
- BURNS, Lizzie (d. 1878): Engels' friend and companion.—Vol. I, 21, 28, 45, 50, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65, 67, 132; Vol. II, 58; Vol. III, 405, 411, 415, 423, 434, 439, 444, 450
- BURNS, Robert (1759-1796).—Vol. I, 403
- BURROWS, Herbert (1845-1923): English theosophist, member of the S.D.F.—Vol. III, 81, 82, 91
- BYRON, George (Lord) (1788-1824).—Vol. I, 265, 380; Vol. II, 354

C

- CABET, Étienne (1788-1856): French Utopian Socialist. Elected deputy for the Côte-d'Or in 1830, he opposed the policy of Thiers and Guizot and was forced, owing to the violence of his attacks on the monarchy, to take refuge in England, where he became a friend of Robert Owen. On his return to France he published his *Voyage en Icarie* (1840) and in June 1848 he joined the Icarian communities that had been started in America, which he left, however, some years before his death.—Vol. I, 183
- CAFFAREL, Louis Charles (1829-1907): French army general, orderly officer to Napoleon III, who helped to put down the Lyons Commune.—Vol. II, 63, 67, 73, 199
- CAFIERO, Carlo (1846-1892): One of the pioneers of the Italian workers' movement and a member of the International. After 1871 came under Bakunin's influence. He was sentenced in 1877 for having organised the Benevento insurrection.—Vol. I, 45, 46
- CALLEJA: Member of the International in Spain.—Vol. III, 454
- CAMÉLINAT, Zéphirin (1840-

- 1932): French bronze fitter, member of the International, in charge of the Mint under the Commune. Elected on the republican ticket at the general election of 1885, he took part in the defence of the Decazeville strikers. Treasurer of the Socialist Party S.F.I.O. prior to the Tours split, he made over to the Communist Party the shares in *l'Humanité* which he held.—Vol. I, 341, 343, 344, 346, 366
- CAMESCASSE, Jean Louis Ernest (1838-1897): French politician and administrator. Police prefect for the Seine from July 1881 (on Andrieux' resignation) until the fall of the Ferry Government (April 1885).—Vol. I, 266
- CAMPBELL, Colin (Lord) (1853-1895): Liberal M.P.—Vol. I, 403
- CAMPBELL, George (Sir) (1824-1892): British government official in India. Author of various works on reform, including *Modern India, India As It May Be*.—Vol. I, 230
- CAPEFIGUE, Jean Baptiste Honoré Raymond (1802-1872): French historian.—Vol. I, 160
- CAPOUL, Joseph Amédée Victor (1839-1924): French singer who enjoyed some fame in the years 1875-80.—Vol. I, 285
- CARETTE, Henri (1846-1911): Textile worker and founder of the Roubaix Workers' Party. He became a municipal councillor in that town in 1880, mayor and county councillor in 1892.—Vol. III, 200
- CARLOS (Don), Carlos Miguel Raphael of Bourbon (Duke of Madrid) (1848-1909): Pretender to the Spanish throne who, after the abdication of Isabella II, tried to assert his claims, in particular by launching a partisan war in the northern provinces from 1872 to 1876. As a Bourbon he also laid claim to the French throne.—Vol. I, 58; Vol. III, 435
- CARLYLE, Thomas (1795-1881): Essayist and historian, an idealist philosopher who criticised the English bourgeoisie from the standpoint of reactionary romanticism. After 1848 was an outspoken enemy of the working-class movement and a Tory.—Vol. II, 161, 195
- CARNAUD, Maximilien Albert (b. 1863): Marseilles teacher, Socialist, stood against Peytral in the 1893 elections. Dismissed following the election campaign. Elected at a by-election in 1894.—Vol. III, 328
- CARNOT, Marie François Sadi (1837-1894): President of the Republic in December 1887 after Jules Grévy's resignation. Assassinated at Lyons on June 24, 1894, by the anarchist Caserio.—Vol. II, 78, 79, 80, 111, 142, 172, 249, 271; Vol. III, 81, 111, 229, 335, 336, 359
- CARO: Member of Lafargue's election committee at St. Amand in 1889.—Vol. II, 313
- CARON: Paris publisher who wanted to bring out *The Poverty of Philosophy* in 1890.—Vol. II, 394, 396

CARPENTER, Edward (1844-1929): English writer, converted to socialism in the eighties. Delegate to the Paris International Congress of 1889.—Vol. II, 286

CARRÉ: Paris publisher who at the turn of the century became the accredited publisher of socialist works.—Vol. III, 77, 234, 260, 281, 309, 329

CASSAGNAC, Paul Adolphe Marie Prosper Granier (de) (1843-1904): French journalist and politician, Bonapartist, celebrated for his duels and his polemics. Editor-in-chief of *Pays*. Founded *Autorité* in 1886. Boulangist. Deputy from 1876 to 1902.—Vol. II, 55, 56, 166; Vol. III, 291

CASSELL: London publisher.—Vol. III, 480

CASTELAR, Emilio (1832-1899): Spanish writer and politician who took part in the June 1866 Revolution and was forced to take refuge in France. Returning to Spain after the 1868 Revolution, he opposed proclamation of Amadeus as king. President under the Republic, he remained loyal to his beliefs after the restoration of the monarchy.—Vol. I, 28; Vol. II, 351, 368; Vol. III, 418, 419, 435, 436, 444

CASTILLÓN: Member of the International in Spain.—Vol. III, 454

CATHELINÉAU, Henri (de) (1813-1891): Royalist Frenchman who in 1870 was authorised by the Tours delegation to form a corps of Vendean

volunteers with which he took part in the evacuation of the Bavarians from Orleans. Made a brigadier general, he regrouped his forces at Rambouillet to fight the Commune, but did not have the opportunity to intervene.—Vol. III, 435

CAVAIGNAC, Jacques Godefroy (b. 1853): Son of General Cavaignac and Lord of Appeal in the Privy Council. Deputy for the Sarthe from 1881. Republican.—Vol. II, 104; Vol. III, 234

CHABERT, Charles Edme (1818-1890): French metal engraver, member of the International. Chairman at the first Workers' Congress in Paris in 1876. Possibilist. Member of the Paris Town Council in 1884 and 1887. One of the founders of the *Prolétariat*.—Vol. I, 203; Vol. II, 175, 184, 382, 413

CHALLEMEL-LACOUR, Paul Armand (1827-1896): French politician, exiled by the Second Empire, returning in 1859. Friend of Gambetta. Prefect of the Rhône from September 1870 to February 1871. Elected deputy in 1873 and Senator in 1876. Ambassador to Russia and to Britain. Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Ferry Government. President of the Senate from 1893.—Vol. III, 358, 359

CHAMBARD: French specialist in mental diseases at La Ville Hévrard.—Vol. I, 360

CHAMBORD, Henri Charles d'Artois (Comte de) (1820-

1883): Son of the Duc de Berry, pretender to the French throne. Exiled in 1830, he became the leader of the Legitimist Party after the death of Charles X (1836).—Vol. I, 309

CHAMPION, Henry Hyde (1857-1928): English Socialist, editor of the *Labour Elector* and member of the S.D.F. from which he was expelled for having accepted money from the Tories. He emigrated in 1894 to Australia where he helped to build the Australian Socialist Party.—Vol. I, 334; Vol. II, 77, 265, 269, 300, 330; Vol. III, 31, 82, 486

CHANTEMILLE, Joseph (b. 1827): A rich merchant who was mayor of Montluçon from 1878 to 1888. Deputy for the Allier from 1877 to 1885 and Senator from 1885 to 1903.—Vol. I, 150

CHARLES I (1600-1649).—Vol. III, 369

CHARPENTIER, Edmond Louis Alfred (b. 1858): Socialist lawyer practising in Lyons. Town councillor from 1888 to 1892. Elected deputy in the second ballot of the 1893 elections.—Vol. III, 303

CHAUVIÈRE, Emmanuel (1850-1910): French politician who took part in the Commune. Returning from exile to France after the amnesty, he contributed to various Socialist and Blanquist journals.—Vol. II, 336, 358, 361; Vol. III, 151, 298

CHAUVIN, René (b. 1860): Member of the Guesdist Party.

Founder of the Hairdressers' Union. Elected deputy for Saint-Denis in 1893. Was on the National Council of the coalition party with which he broke in 1914 to return to the class struggle.—Vol. III, 291, 296, 378

CHERNYSHEVSKY, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889): The great Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, novelist and literary critic.—Vol. II, 336

CHRISTENSEN, P. (b. 1874): Danish militant Social-Democrat, Chairman of the Danish trade unions from 1906 to 1919.—Vol. II, 230

CIPRIANI, Amilcare (1845-1918): Italian revolutionary who took part in the Paris Commune and was sent to New Caledonia. Returned to Paris after the amnesty and worked on the *Citoyen*. Under sentence by the Italian Government, he was elected deputy for Ravenna and Forlì and finally pardoned.—Vol. III, 383

CLARENCE, Albert Victor (Duke of) (1864-1892): Son of the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII).—Vol. III, 158

CLEMENCEAU, Georges (1841-1929): French bourgeois politician and publicist, leader of the Radical Party from the eighties onwards; Prime Minister from 1906 to 1909 and from 1917 to 1920.—Vol. I, 109, 210, 249, 259, 260, 291, 300, 310, 311, 313, 314, 315, 319, 341, 343, 350, 351; Vol. II, 44, 65, 66, 67, 79, 80, 104, 105,

- 109, 111, 117, 128, 129, 132, 134, 136, 137, 160, 166, 167, 176, 302, 329, 395, 419; Vol. III, 63, 66, 79, 128, 132, 264, 265, 275, 291, 363
- CLÉMENT, Jean Baptiste (1836-1903): Satirical song-writer and author who was imprisoned several times under the Empire. Member of the Commune. Was a refugee in London and later in Brussels. After 1880 devoted himself to socialist propaganda, first as a follower of Brousse and then, after 1890, of Allemane. Helped to build the socialist movement in the Ardennes.—Vol. II, 329
- CLUSERET, Gustave Paul (1823-1900): French officer who resigned from the army to fight with Garibaldi for Italian independence. He later took part in the American War of Secession and was made a general. Returned to France in 1868 and published articles in *Le Courrier français*. He formed ties with members of the International.—Vol. II, 179, 292, 297, 298, 299, 300, 320, 323, 325, 336, 345, 359; Vol. III, 231, 314
- COCHRANE, Alexander (cr. Baron Lamington 1880) (1816-1890): Conservative M. P. who defended absolutism.—Vol. III, 443
- COLLIN: Opportunist candidate for the Jardin des Plantes district of Paris in the 1887 municipal elections.—Vol. II, 40, 41
- CONNER: British trade unionist.—Vol. III, 195
- CONSTANS, Jean Antoine Ernest (1833-1913): French politician. Opportunist. Deputy from 1876. Minister of the Interior 1880-81. Minister plenipotentiary in China and Governor General of Indo-China from 1886 to 1888. Again Minister of the Interior from 1889 to 1892, he led the fight against Boulangism and against the Socialists. He was Ambassador to Turkey from 1898 to 1907.—Vol. II, 295, 329, 358, 359, 374, 375, 382, 430; Vol. III, 22, 23, 26, 47, 49, 52, 66, 70, 81, 87, 93, 94, 101, 107, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117, 120, 123, 130, 131, 133, 136, 145, 150, 265, 276, 358
- CORDOVA Y Lopez: Spanish journalist and editor of *Combate* in the seventies.—Vol. III, 446
- COTTU: Indicted with Lesseps in the 1893 trial over the Panama affair.—Vol. III, 233
- COULON.—Vol. II, 381
- COURCELLE-SENEUIL, Jean Gustave (1813-1892): French economist of conservative views.—Vol. I, 200
- COURNET, Frédéric Étienne (1838-1885): French office worker, later journalist. Elected to the National Assembly on February 6, 1871, he resigned on March 30. Member of the majority of the Commune. Later took refuge in England and was a Blanquist delegate to The Hague Congress.—Vol. I, 291
- COURTIGNON, Vincent: Member of the French Workers'

- Party in the Montluçon region.
—Vol. I, 149
- COUTURIER, Valentin (b. 1829): Participant in the 1849 insurrectionary movement in Lyons. Elected deputy in 1889 and re-elected in 1893. He was a member of the Socialist Group in the Chamber.—Vol. III, 248, 303
- CRAWFORD, Donald: British M.P. whose divorce proceedings in 1886 had political repercussions and forced Dilke to retire from politics.—Vol. I, 365
- CRAWFORD, Emilia (b. 1841): English journalist, *Daily News* correspondent in Paris.—Vol. I, 374; Vol. II, 125, 155, 326, 342; Vol. III, 106, 131, 223, 237
- CRÉMER, William Randal (Sir) (1838-1908): English woodworker, Secretary of the British section of the First International, from which he withdrew after the Geneva Congress in 1867. A pacifist, he founded a committee advocating neutrality during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) which later became the Workmen's Peace Association. He was an M.P. from 1885 to 1895 and again from 1900 to 1908. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1903.—Vol. I, 322; Vol. II, 43; Vol. III, 191
- CRÉPIN.—Vol. II, 68
- CREUZER, Friedrich (1771-1858): German archaeologist, Professor at Heidelberg University.—Vol. II, 26
- CRIË: French journalist and contributor to Lissagaray's *La Bataille*. Boulangist.—Vol. II, 310
- CRISPI, Francesco (1819-1901): Italian statesman, at first a Radical who took part in Garibaldi's expedition of "the thousand heroes". After having supported Irredentism he became, following his accession to power (1887), a partisan of an alliance with the Central European empires and fought the socialist organisations. Resigning the premiership in 1891, he returned to power in 1893 and proceeded with expansion in Abyssinia until the Aduwa disaster (1896).—Vol. III, 345, 351
- CULINE (b. 1849): While serving in the Zouave troops in Algeria, refused to fire on the Algerians. Was sentenced in 1872 to ten years' detention for desertion "in face of armed rebels". Amnestied in 1880, he returned to Sedan. Indicted after the massacre of May 1, 1891, he was sentenced to six years' solitary confinement. He was elected six times to the district council in Roubaix, and each time his election was declared invalid.—Vol. III, 53, 86, 88, 89, 93, 106, 151
- CULINE (Mme): Wife of the above.—Vol. III, 151
- CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, Robert Bontine (1852-1936): Scottish author. An M.P. from 1886 to 1892, he worked closely with John Burns and Keir Hardie. Became the first President of the Scottish Labour

Party in 1888. In 1918 he became one of the leaders of the Scottish nationalist movement.

—Vol. II, 77, 96, 101, 183, 262, 263, 268, 423; Vol. III, 55, 58, 59, 60, 67, 183

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Mrs.): Wife of the above; a Chilean poetess.—Vol. III, 171
CUNO, Theodor Friedrich (1847-1934): German engineer. Social-Democrat. Expelled from Germany in 1870, he went to Italy, where he helped to build the Milan branch of the International. Attended The Hague Congress. Emigrated to America in 1878 and worked on the *New York Volkszeitung*.—Vol. II, 151

CYON (de): Director of *La Nouvelle Revue* and a warm supporter of the Franco-Russian alliance.—Vol. II, 18, 103, 430

D

DANA, Charles Anderson (1819-1897): American disciple of Fourier. Editor of the *New York Tribune* (1847-62) and co-editor, with George Ripley, of the *New American Cyclopaedia* (1857-63) and the *American Cyclopaedia* (1873-76). Marx and Engels contributed to his publications. He was the owner and manager of the *New York Sun* from 1868 until his death.—Vol. III, 425

DANIELSON, Axel: One of the founders of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party. In 1887 he started the journal *Arbetet* in Malmö.—Vol. II, 270

DANIELSON, Nikolai Frantsevich (1844-1918): Russian economist, Narodnik, Russian translator of *Capital*.—Vol. I, 88, 169, 196, 241, 262, 263, 265, 267, 273; Vol. II, 249, 252, 265, 349, 350, 351; Vol. III, 71, 370

DARD: English delegate to the Paris Congress of 1889.—Vol. II, 286

DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809-1882).—Vol. I, 249

DAUMAS, Augustin Honoré (b. 1826): French metal worker, sentenced under the Empire, elected to the 1871 National Assembly, taking an extreme Left position. Deputy for the Var until 1888 and thereafter Senator until 1891.—Vol. II, 257, 260, 272, 294, 336, 345, 348, 358, 359, 360, 419, 420

DAVITT, Michael (1846-1906): Irish factory worker and revolutionary. Sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment in 1870, he was released in 1877. He went to America where he was in touch with Henry George. He kept up his agitation for Irish independence, sometimes with and sometimes against Parnell. In 1890 he founded the *Labour World*. He was elected to Parliament in 1893 but was unseated. He was returned unopposed by South Mayo in 1895 and resigned in 1899. He was a member of the Labour Party.—Vol. I, 187, 261, 262; Vol. II, 33; Vol. III, 78

DÉCHAUD: Socialist candidate for the Allier in the 1889 elec-

- tions. Went over to Blanquism with Thivrier in 1892.—Vol. II, 328
- DELCLUZE, Alfred: Founder of the Calais Workers' Party after the Roanne Congress (1882). Contributed to the *Forçat*. Imprisoned over the strike of the netmakers, he was elected to the municipal council during his detention. Elected County Councillor in 1898. Became an independent Socialist at the moment of unity. Elected deputy in 1910.—Vol. II, 316, 381; Vol. III, 52, 102, 117, 123, 195, 280, 288, 291, 303
- DELLAGANA: English business man.—Vol. I, 64, 65
- DELAHAYE, Pierre Louis: French metal worker, member of the First International, member of the Paris Federal Council, indicted in the trial of 1868. Took part in the Commune. Emigrated to London. Member of the A.T.T. county council.—Vol. III, 487
- DELORY, Gustave (1857-post 1923): French textile worker, militant Guesdist. Socialist deputy from 1902.—Vol. III, 110, 119, 123, 135, 136
- DEMUTH, Hélène (Nim, Nimmy) (1823-1890): Maid employed by the Marx household from 1837, she became part of the family. After the death of Marx, she went to Engels and remained a member of his household until her death, when she was buried in Highgate cemetery in the Marx family grave.—Vol. I, 59, 67, 92, 93, 116, 118, 121, 123, 129, 130, 131, 134, 135, 137, 143, 146, 147, 151, 155, 156, 158, 159, 162, 168, 169, 174, 178, 182, 184, 185, 186, 190, 198, 199, 204, 205, 207, 209, 212, 213, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 228, 229, 238, 240, 242, 244, 248, 250, 252, 256, 260, 265, 267, 269, 272, 273, 277, 279, 282, 283, 287, 289, 294, 301, 303, 319, 325, 328, 339, 357, 361, 365, 368, 377, 393, 399, 402, 405; Vol. II, 18, 21, 28, 32, 40, 44, 46, 48, 50, 53, 58, 59, 60, 61, 65, 69, 72, 79, 82, 85, 89, 90, 97, 101, 105, 109, 111, 116, 118, 123, 124, 126, 132, 139, 141, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 152, 156, 157, 158, 162, 165, 173, 174, 179, 180, 183, 189, 190, 192, 195, 196, 224, 228, 239, 280, 284, 289, 292, 302, 307, 310, 312, 322, 328, 331, 334, 339, 341-343, 346, 350, 351, 354, 365, 369, 373, 377, 379, 380, 383, 385, 388, 390, 397, 398, 400, 402, 405, 412, 413, 414, 415, 417, 425; Vol. III, 24, 32, 92, 163, 179, 484
- DE PAEPE, César (1842-1890): Belgian typographer who later became a doctor. In touch with Marx from 1865, member of the International, he longed to reconcile the Marxists and Bakunists. He was one of the founders of the Belgian Workers' Party.—Vol. II, 336; Vol. III, 450, 455, 457, 463
- DEPASSE, Hector (1843-1911): Journalist and politician, Paris town councillor from 1881 to

1887. He stood several times for the Nord in the general elections.—Vol. III, 112, 117, 118, 129, 133

DEREURE, Simon (1838-1900): French bootmaker who founded the first trade union branch in his trade. He was a delegate to the Basle International Congress (1865). Member of the Commune. He took refuge in Switzerland and later in the United States. On his return to France after the amnesty, he joined the Workers' Party.—Vol. I, 172

DÉROULEDE, Paul (1846-1914): French writer and politician who embodied a revanchist attitude following the Franco-Prussian War. Took part in the fight against the Commune. Founded the League of Patriots in 1882. Campaigned for Boulanger in the elections. Himself elected deputy in 1889, he was forced to resign in 1892. Re-elected in 1898, he was indicted in the High Court for conspiring against State security and sentenced to ten years' banishment. Was amnestied in 1905.—Vol. II, 199, 310, 329; Vol. III, 107, 264, 366

DERVILLERS, Prudent (b. 1849): Skilled tailoring worker. Possibilist. Paris town councillor in 1889 and elected deputy in 1893.—Vol. III, 102, 171

DESLINIÈRE, Michel Albert Lucien (b. 1857): French republican journalist who be-

came a Socialist in 1892 and wrote various propaganda works. Anti-reformist.—Vol. I, 150

DEVILLE, Gabriel (b. 1854): French journalist and author who was one of the first to support collectivism. Contributed to numerous socialist publications.—Vol. I, 90, 109, 114, 128, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 152, 156, 158, 159, 165, 166, 171, 173, 174, 177, 200, 204, 207, 216, 221, 235, 239, 268, 289, 296, 297, 300, 302, 316, 327, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 336, 364, 375; Vol. II, 20, 22, 30, 64, 95, 118, 126, 153, 156, 177, 181, 190, 241, 248, 272, 297, 299, 335, 357, 390, 396; Vol. III, 152, 350

DIAMANDY, George: Rumanian who came to Paris for the alleged purpose of studying. Moved in socialist circles and founded the *Ere nouvelle* in 1893. Eventually became one of the Queen of Rumania's readers.—Vol. III, 289, 307, 311

DIETZ, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm (1843-1922): German Social-Democrat and deputy to the Reichstag from 1881. Publisher of *Neue Zeit* from 1883. He was the founder of the well-known Social-Democratic publishing firm.—Vol. II, 362, 422; Vol. III, 178, 331, 343

DILKE, Charles Wentworth (Sir) (1843-1911): English radical politician and Republican, M.P. (1868-86).—Vol. I, 39, 365

- DILLON, Arthur Marie (Comte) (1834-1922): French former army officer of conservative background. Became an intimate friend of Boulanger and negotiated between him and the Monarchists.—Vol. II, 126
- DISRAELI, Benjamin (Lord Beaconsfield) (1804-1881).—Vol. I, 21, 28, 381
- DODDS, Alfred Amédée (1842-1922): French general who took part in various colonial expeditions, including that to Cochin China in 1878 and to Tonking in 1883. Leader of the two expeditionary forces sent to Dahomey in 1892 and 1893.—Vol. III, 265
- DOMBROWSKI, Jaroslaw (1836-1871): Polish army officer and patriot, sentenced for his part in the 1863 insurrection. Escaping to France, he participated in the battles of the Commune.—Vol. I, 29
- DONKIN: Doctor who attended the Marx family.—Vol. I, 99, 121
- DORMOY, Jean (1851-1898): French metalworker who opposed the Empire and later supported Guesdism. He was dismissed from his factory and in 1883 sentenced together with Lafargue and Guesde. He became a town councillor in 1888, county councillor in 1889 and Mayor of Montluçon.—Vol. I, 126, 127, 139, 144, 150, 164; Vol. II, 130, 156, 177, 186, 208, 316, 323, 328
- DRON, Gustave Jean Baptiste (b. 1856): Doctor and opportunist deputy for Tourcoing from 1889 to 1893.—Vol. III, 290
- DRUELLE: French anarchist who was active in the unemployed workers' demonstrations in 1884. He worked for the intelligence section of the Police Prefecture under the name of Sabin.—Vol. I, 250, 251, 252
- DUBARRY: Foundry-owner.—Vol. I, 28
- DUC-QUERCY, Albert (b. 1854): One of the founders of the French Workers' Party and editor of the *Cri du Peuple*. He was involved in the great strikes at Anzin and Decazeville. General Secretary of *l'Humanité* until 1914.—Vol. I, 258, 348, 349, 375, 393; Vol. II, 23, 349, 352, 404; Vol. III, 89, 90, 91, 94, 113, 123
- DUC-QUERCY (Mme): Wife of the above.—Vol. II, 349, 429, 432, 433; Vol. III, 17, 89, 94
- DUFAURE, Armand Jules Stanislas (1798-1881): French lawyer and politician. Deputy and Minister under the July Monarchy, and later under the Second Republic, when he led the repression of the republican organisations. Supported Thiers in the putting down of the Commune. He was twice Prime Minister under MacMahon.—Vol. I, 363
- DÜHRING, Eugène (1833-1921): German philosopher and vulgar economist, proponent of reactionary petty-bourgeois socialism.—Vol. III, 328
- DUMAS (*fils*), Alexandre (1825-

- 1895): French writer.—Vol. I, 299
- DUMAY, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1841): French metalworker and organiser of the 1870 Creusot strike. He became a Paris town councillor in 1887, a deputy in 1889, and belonged to the Possibilist fraction.—Vol. II, 321, 333; Vol. III, 43, 72, 148
- DUPONT: French Merchant Navy captain and delegate from Bordeaux to the Paris Congress.—Vol. II, 406
- DUPONT, Anthime Eugène (1831-1882): French musical-instrument worker who took part in the June 1848 struggles. Emigrated to London, was a member of the General Council of the International (1864-72) and corresponding member for France.—Vol. I, 39
- DUPUY, Charles Alexandre (1851-1923): French politician, opportunist deputy from 1885 to 1900 and then Senator. Was in the Rouvier and Tirard Ministries. Anti-Boulangist. He was three times Prime Minister (1893, 1894-95 and 1898-99).—Vol. III, 318, 335
- DUVAL: Anarchist condemned to death in 1887 and subsequently reprimed.—Vol. II, 19
- DVOŘÁK, Adelheid: Viennese factory worker and later editress of *Arbeiterinnenzeitung*.—Vol. III, 286

E

- ECCARIUS, Johann Georg (1818-1889): German tailor-

ing worker, member of the Communist League who emigrated to London. Secretary of the General Council of the International. Broke with Marx after 1871. Subsequently played a part in the British trade union movement.—Vol. II, 171

ELSA.—Vol. I, 168

ENGELS (Mrs.). See BURNS, Lizzie.

ERMEN: Partner in the Manchester cotton mills, Ermen & Engels.—Vol. I, 22

ESTEBANEZ: Spanish Republican, editor of *Combate*.—Vol. III, 449

ECHEGARAY Y EIZAGUIRRE, José (1833-1916): Spanish dramatist and mathematician who entered the theatre in 1876 when he was already a member of the Academy of Sciences. Awarded the Nobel Prize in 1904.—Vol. II, 255

EUDES, Émile (1843-1888): Member of the Commune, he was appointed general for the southern region on April 23. He fled first to Switzerland and later to England. After the amnesty he returned to France and fought in the Blanquist ranks.—Vol. II, 128, 152, 153

EVREINOV, Anna Mikhailovna: Editress of *Severny Vestnik* (*Northern Review*) from 1885 to 1890.—Vol. II, 351; Vol. III, 71

EYLAU: German financier.—Vol. I, 256; Vol. III, 184, 187

F

FAILLET: Possibilist who supported Allemane at the Châtelerault Congress (1890).—Vol. II, 134; Vol. III, 43

FANELLI (1826-1877): Italian politician, supporter of Garibaldi and organiser of the 1857 rising. He helped to found the International in Spain. Bakunist. After 1870 he became a deputy in Italy.—Vol. III, 445, 459

FANTY (Mme): Relative of Paul Lafargue.—Vol. II, 415, 416

FARGA-PELLICER, R.: Spanish Internationalist from Barcelona. Delegate to the Basle Congress (1867) and member of the Alliance.—Vol. I, 34; Vol. III, 429, 446, 454, 455, 458

FARJAT, Gabriel: French textile worker in Lyons, Guesdist, who was one of the founders of the Workers' Party. In 1886 he was secretary of the National Federation of Trade Unions. Stood for Lyons at the 1893 elections.—Vol. I, 103; Vol. II, 164, 260, 264, 267, 287; Vol. III, 303

FAURE, François Félix (1841-1899): Havre shipowner, deputy from 1881. Under-Secretary for Trade and for the Colonies in the Tirard Government (November 1881-January 1882) and then in the Ferry Government (1882-85). Vice-President of the Chamber in 1893. Became President of the Republic after the resigna-

tion of Casimir Périer.—Vol. III, 362, 363

FERGUS: Pseudonym used occasionally by Paul Lafargue in the *Nouvelle Revue*.—Vol. II, 113

FERGUSON, James (Sir) (1832-1907): British statesman. Became Governor of South Australia in 1868, Governor of New Zealand in 1873 and Governor of Bombay from 1880 to 1885. In 1885 elected for Manchester, was Foreign Under-Secretary from 1886-91 and Postmaster-General from 1891 to 1892. He was interested in various capitalist associations.—Vol. III, 333

FERROUL, Joseph Antoine Ernest (b. 1853): Narbonne doctor who propagated socialism in south-east France. Elected to the Chamber on the Radical ticket in a by-election on April 8, 1888, against Boulanger, he joined the Socialist group. He was re-elected in 1889.—Vol. II, 323, 325, 336, 380, 416; Vol. III, 53, 68, 70, 160, 248, 253, 287, 303

FERRY, Jules François Camille (1832-1893): French statesman. Lawyer. Elected deputy for Paris in 1869, he entered the so-called Government of National Defence in 1870. Though elected deputy again in 1871, he resigned from the government, but was for a short period Prefect for the Seine after May 24th. As deputy and, later, Senator, he was a Cabinet Minister under various opportunist governments

- and himself formed several governments.—Vol. I, 238, 250, 259, 278, 280, 292, 309, 311; Vol. II, 56, 63, 66, 74, 77, 78, 79, 80, 103, 113, 117, 119, 170; Vol. III, 112, 279
- FEUERBACH, Ludwig (1804-1872): Outstanding German materialist philosopher of the pre-Marxian period.—Vol. I, 361; Vol. III, 305, 315, 318, 335
- FIAUX: French Radical politician who was very close to the Socialists.—Vol. I, 393; Vol. II, 190
- FIELD: Member of the S.D.F.—Vol. II, 269, 279; Vol. III, 81, 82, 91
- FISCHER, Richard (1855-1926): German Social-Democrat and journalist. Editor of the *Berliner Freie Presse* in 1877 and 1878. He left Germany in 1878, was a member of the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party from 1890 to 1893. Deputy to the Reichstag from 1893 to 1918.—Vol. II, 311, 401, 411; Vol. III, 21, 24, 26, 377
- FLOQUET, Charles Thomas (1828-1896): French lawyer and politician, Deputy Mayor of Paris on September 5, 1870, from which office he was forced to resign after the events of October 31st. At the start of the Commune he was in favour of conciliation and had to retire to the provinces where the government interned him (in Pau) until June 1871. Elected deputy in 1876, he opposed the vote of confidence in the Broglie administration. He headed the government, supported by the Radicals, in 1885-89; it conducted the anti-Boulangist campaign and resigned after calling for the re-introduction of the single electoral list (February 1889). He was involved in the Panama affair. Became a Senator in 1893.—Vol. I, 309, 345; Vol. II, 74, 111, 113, 117, 120, 133, 142, 147, 154, 160, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 177, 183, 186, 191, 193, 297, 323, 395; Vol. III, 81, 146, 148, 264, 291
- FONDEVILLE.—Vol. I, 46
- FONTANE: Charged in the 1893 trial with Lesseps.—Vol. III, 233
- FORTIN, Édouard: French Socialist and translator of Marx, including his *Eighteenth Brumaire*. Elected town councillor in Beauvais in 1888.—Vol. I, 157, 317; Vol. II, 29, 35, 129, 427, 430; Vol. III, 300, 301, 305, 307, 311, 313
- FOSTER: Durham miner and active trade unionist.—Vol. III, 195
- FOURCADE, Michel: Mayor of Céret.—Vol. I, 238
- FOURIER, François Marie Charles (1772-1835): French Utopian Socialist.—Vol. II, 76
- FOURROUX: French Radical politician, Mayor of Toulon.—Vol. II, 419
- FRANÇA: Portuguese member of the International.—Vol. III, 473
- FRANCIS JOSEPH I (1830-1916): Emperor of Austria from 1848.—Vol. III, 346

- FRANCOURT (Mme): Charles Longuet's sister.—Vol. III, 27
- FRANKEL, Léo (1844-1896): Hungarian Socialist, member of the International and Commissioner of Labour under the Commune. Took refuge in London, became a member of the General Council of the International as corresponding secretary for Austria and Hungary. Returned to Hungary in 1876 and laid the foundations of the Social-Democratic Party. Went to Paris in 1889 and attended the various congresses of the Second International.—Vol. I, 317; Vol. II, 274, 422; Vol. III, 54, 278, 302, 312, 351, 353
- FRANKLIN, Benjamin (1706-1790).—Vol. III, 38
- FREDERICK II (the Great) (1712-1786): King of Prussia from 1740.—Vol. I, 76; Vol. II, 366
- FREDERICK III (1831-1888): Emperor of Germany from March 9 to June 15, 1888.—Vol. II, 70, 93, 104, 106, 126, 135
- FREDDY: Hélène Demuth's son.—Vol. II, 21
- FREILIGRATH, Ferdinand (1810-1876): German poet much influenced by Victor Hugo, whose *Odes* and *Orientales* he translated. In 1848 he collaborated with Marx on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to which he contributed revolutionary poems.—Vol. III, 406
- FRÉJAC: Active Guesdist in Commentry.—Vol. II, 68, 260
- FREPPEL, Charles Émile (1827-1891): Bishop of Angers and deputy from 1880 until his death. Parted company with the Right to approve of the various colonial wars.—Vol. II, 79
- FREYBERGER, Ludwig: Viennese doctor who married Louise Kautsky.—Vol. III, 282, 326, 333, 334, 336, 341, 346, 360, 366, 373, 379, 380
- FREYCINET, Charles Louis de Saulces (de) (1828-1923): French statesman. Premier from February to July 1882 and again after Brisson's fall over the Tonking war (January-December 1886). He was again at the Ministry of War and once more Prime Minister (March 1890-February 1892). He stood for opportunist policy.—Vol. I, 278, 316, 343, 345; Vol. II, 74, 167; Vol. III, 81, 111, 198
- FROHME, Karl Franz Egon (b. 1850): German Social-Democrat, originally of Lassalle's party, member of the Reichstag from 1884.—Vol. III, 237
- FUCHS.—Vol. III, 280

G

- GALEZOWSKI, Xavier (b. 1833): Polish oculist.—Vol. II, 54, 60
- GALIANI, Ferdinando (1728-1787): Italian diplomat and economist of the mercantile school, hostile to the physiocrats.—Vol. III, 38

- GALLIFET, Gaston Alexandre Auguste (Marquis de) (1830-1909): French general captured at Sedan and released by the Prussians to conduct the fight against the Commune. Became Governor of Paris in 1880 and was Minister of War for eleven months in 1899.—Vol. II, 104
- GAMBETTA, Léon Michel (1838-1882): French lawyer and statesman. Elected deputy in 1869 as "irreconcilable opposition" candidate. Minister of the Interior in the Government of National Defence, he escaped to Tours by balloon on October 7, 1870, and organised the defence of the provinces. Premier and Foreign Minister (1881-82).—Vol. I, 259, 264, 268, 318, 339, 343, 345; Vol. II, 104; Vol. III, 444, 481
- GARIBALDI, Giuseppe (1807-1884): Italian general who led the fight for his country's independence.—Vol. II, 116; Vol. III, 138
- GARRIDO; Spanish Internationalist. Deputy to the Cortès.—Vol. III, 410, 445
- GAULIER: French Radical, elected deputy for Paris in 1886, when the Socialists stood E. Roche, a journalist sentenced for his role in the Decazeville strike.—Vol. I, 351, 352
- GÉGOUT. French anarchist. Contributor to *Attaque*.—Vol. III, 157
- GEISER, Bruno (1846-1898): German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of *Neue Welt* (1876-87). Wilhelm Liebknecht's son-in-law. Deputy to the Reichstag from 1882 to 1887. He belonged to the Right wing of the Social-Democratic Party.—Vol. II, 64
- GÉLY, André: Possibilist. Paris town councillor.—Vol. II, 207
- GENDRE, Barbe (m. Nikitine) (1842-1884): Russian, the daughter of French émigrés, who lived in Paris from 1878, was a friend of Lavrov's and read Marx. Authoress of *Études sociales* and contributor to various papers and periodicals.—Vol. I, 125
- GEORGE, Henry (1839-1897): American journalist and economist, settled in New York from 1880. He was the author of a work on economics, *Progress and Poverty*, criticised by Marx. He stood as a labour candidate in the New York mayoral election of 1886.—Vol. I, 395
- GEORGE I, Friedrich August of Saxony (1832-1904): Commander-in-Chief of the Saxon Army and, after 1902, King of Saxony.—Vol. III, 159
- GEORGES. A neighbour of the Lafargues at Le Perreux.—Vol. III, 53
- GÉRAULT-RICHARD, Alfred Léon (1860-1911): French journalist, originally a songwriter, who collaborated with Lissagaray and, in 1893, founded *Le Chambard* in which he attacked Casimir Périer. Given a life sentence, he was put up by the Revolu-

- tionary Socialist Party as candidate for Hovelacque's seat and was elected. Reprieved in 1895, he was defeated in the 1898 elections, but was returned in 1902 and 1906 and was a member of the Socialist group in the Chamber.—Vol. III, 353, 356, 357
- GERHARD: German Social-Democrat.—Vol. II, 311
- GHESQUIERE, Henri Jules (b. 1863): Foundation member of the Workers' Party in the Nord region Deputy Mayor of Lille from 1896 to 1904. Elected deputy for the Nord in 1906 and 1910.—Vol. III, 291, 303
- GIARD, Alfred (1846-1908): French naturalist who introduced evolutionist theories into his teaching. He had a Chair at the Sorbonne, was a Member of the Academy and was deputy for the Nord from 1882 to 1885.—Vol. III, 79
- GIERS: Russian statesman who succeeded Prince Gorchakov in 1882 as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Pursued a policy of *rapprochement* with Bismarck.—Vol. I, 386
- GIFFEN, Robert (Sir) (1837-1910): Scottish economist and statistician, contributor to various papers, including the *Daily News* and the *Times*. Author of several works on economics and comptroller-general of the commercial, labour and statistical department of the Board of Trade from 1876 to 1897.—Vol. I, 240
- GIFFIN: M.P. in 1884.—Vol. I, 125
- GILLES, Ferdinand: German journalist, living in London, member of the Communist Workers' Education Association. Denounced in 1892 by Engels as a police spy and expelled.—Vol. III, 109, 164
- GILLY, Numa (b. 1834): Cooper from the Gard, elected deputy in 1885 taking an extreme Left position. Mayor of Nîmes.—Vol. II, 166, 168
- GINGERBREAD: Relative of Paul Lafargue.—Vol. II, 124
- GIOLITTI, Giovanni (1842-1928): Italian statesman, deputy from 1882 and Prime Minister in 1892.—Vol. III, 351
- GIRAUD: Friend of Paul Lafargue.—Vol. I, 324, 360
- GIRARDIN, Émile (de) (1806-1881): French bourgeois journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse*; a Republican who subsequently became a Bonapartist.—Vol. II, 63, 69; Vol. III, 197, 213, 220
- GIRAUD-TEULON, Marc Antoine Louis Félix (1816-1887): French doctor who was at one time a prefect. He was mainly interested in ethnography.—Vol. III, 73, 74, 76
- GITTENS: London carrier.—Vol. I, 91, 182, 186
- GLADSTONE, William Ewart (1809-1898).—Vol. I, 21, 249, 274, 283, 286, 378, 383; Vol. II, 65, 368; Vol. III, 97, 434

GOBLET, René (1828-1905): French politician, deputy from 1877, then Senator and several times Cabinet Minister. Head of Government from December 1886 to May 1887. He played an important part in the fight against the religious communities and in the establishment of secular primary education.—Vol. II, 167; Vol. III, 239, 300, 303

GODARD: Political agent of the French Radical Maret.—Vol. I, 114, 115

GODDE (Mme): An acquaintance of Paul Lafargue.—Vol. I, 324, 325

GODWIN, William (1756-1836): English political writer and novelist, one of the fathers of anarchism.—Vol. I, 392

GOEGG, Marie: Foundress and President of the Women's International League (June 1862).—Vol. III, 468

GÓMEZ: Secretary of the Alliance in Geneva.—Vol. III, 445

GORST, John Eldon (Sir) (1835-1916): English politician, who became civil commissioner in New Zealand and, on his return to England, entered Parliament in 1866, holding various ministerial offices. Having originally supported Disraeli, he eventually joined the Liberal Party.—Vol. III, 333

GOULLE: Socialist journalist who contributed to the *Cri du Peuple* and the *Voie du Peuple*.—Vol. I, 358, 375; Vol. II, 22, 30

GRAGNON, Félix Alexandre (b. 1843): French administrator, secretary general to the Police Prefecture in 1883 and later Police Prefect.—Vol. II, 21

GRANGER, Ernest Henri (b. 1844): Blanquist who attended the students' international congress at Liège (1865) and was consequently expelled from the University. Having commanded a battalion under the Commune, he fled to London. Returning to France after the amnesty, he became a contributor to Blanqui's journal *Ni Dieu ni Maître*, to the *Homme libre* and the *Cri du Peuple*. He was elected deputy as a Boulangist in 1889.—Vol. II, 190, 333, 413; Vol. III, 48, 52, 70, 119, 164, 169, 297

GRANT: English business man.—Vol. I, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79

GREENWOOD: Secretary of the Glassworkers' Union in 1891.—Vol. III, 143

GREULICH, Hermann: Former member of the First International and editor of *Tagwacht*. Chairman of the organisation committee of the 1893 Zurich Congress.—Vol. III, 189, 285

GRÉVY, Jules (1807-1891): French President of the Republic who succeeded MacMahon in 1877. Re-elected in 1885 he was forced to resign in 1887 as a result of the honours scandal in which his son-in-law, Wilson, was implicated.—Vol. I, 328; Vol. II,

49, 63, 69, 74, 76, 79, 111, 166, 199; Vol. III, 226

GRILLENBERGER, Karl (1848-1897): German locksmith. Organiser of the Social-Democratic Party in Bavaria, member of the Eisenach group and deputy to the Reichstag from 1881. He belonged to the opportunist wing of the parliamentary group in 1884.—Vol. II, 362

GRIMAUD, Édouard (1835-1900): French chemist.—Vol. I, 287

GRIMM, Friedrich Melchior (Baron) (1723-1807): German critic and journalist who went to Paris under the patronage of the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha, to whom he wrote a series of letters covering the period 1753 to 1792 (*Correspondence*), which were circulated under cover throughout the courts of central Europe. He became a friend of Diderot and Alembert and contributed to the *Encyclopédie*.—Vol. I, 172

GRIMPE: Active Guesdist.—Vol. I, 289; Vol. II, 267

GROLO CIECO DI HADRIA, Luigi: Italian dramatist.—Vol. III, 375

GUEBHARD: Professor of chemistry, owner of the *Cri du Peuple*, married to Caroline Rémy Séverine.—Vol. I, 328, 391; Vol. II, 21, 23

GUÉRARD, Benjamin Edme Charles (1797-1854): French historian and scholar.—Vol. III, 372

GUESDE, Jules (Mathieu Basile, known as) (1845-1922): Founder (with Paul Lafargue) of the French Workers' Party. Having already been imprisoned under the Empire, he defended the Commune in his journal, *Les Droits de l'Homme*, published in Montpellier, and was obliged to take refuge in Switzerland. There he associated with Bakunists, but later supported Marx's ideas. In 1878 he founded *Egalité* and at The Hague Congress put forward the programme he had worked out with Marx in May 1880. He represented the most uncompromising collectivist tendencies in the Workers' Party. Elected deputy for Roubaix in 1893 and again in 1906, he upheld collectivism after unification in face of the Jaurès line. He accepted Cabinet office, however, in 1914 under Viviani.—Vol. I, 90, 91, 101, 102, 111, 113, 114, 118, 119, 122, 126, 127, 128, 132, 133, 138, 144, 150, 162, 165, 172, 185, 192, 193, 202, 212, 247, 261, 265, 267, 282, 289, 296, 302, 312, 344, 357, 358, 362-363, 374, 375, 379, 380; Vol. II, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 35, 56, 75, 79, 91, 130, 156, 161, 167, 171, 173, 177, 178, 181, 190, 223, 241, 248, 262, 267, 272, 281, 297, 299, 300, 317, 319-320, 322-324, 325, 328, 333, 335, 336, 337, 344, 349, 352, 356, 357, 358-359, 360, 361, 373, 375, 376, 380, 390, 393, 397-398, 403, 413, 416; Vol. III, 23, 27, 40, 43, 49, 68, 72,

80, 88, 89, 93, 95, 102, 107,
111, 114, 117, 118, 121, 123,
124, 129, 151, 168, 169, 175,
185, 186, 188, 196, 230, 246,
247, 248, 253, 254, 255, 263,
265, 266, 275, 276, 278, 280,
285, 288, 296, 299, 303, 312,
314, 317, 318, 323, 324, 357,
360

GUILLAUME, James: Bakunist
and member of the Jura
Federation. He wrote a history
of the International.—Vol. I,
224; Vol. II, 430; Vol. III, 64,
309

GUILLAUMIN: Son of Gilbert
Nohain Guillaumin (1801-
1864), publisher, who brought
out *Le Journal des Économis-
tes* from 1842.—Vol. I, 224;
Vol. II, 430; Vol. III, 64,
309

GUIZOT, François Pierre Guil-
laume (1787-1874): French
historian and statesman who
was several times a Minister
under Louis-Philippe. A Con-
servative, hostile to all reforms
under the July Monarchy,
he was Ambassador to Lon-
don for a brief period in 1840.
—Vol. I, 169; Vol. II, 69,
326

GUMPERT (d. 1893): German
doctor settled in Manchester.
A friend of Marx and of
Engels.—Vol. I, 157; Vol. II,
82; Vol. III, 39, 45, 175, 179,
181, 259, 263

GUMPERT (Mrs.): Wife of the
above.—Vol. III, 263

GUYOT, Yves (1843-1928):
French journalist, elected
deputy in 1885; became Minis-
ter of Works from February

1889 to February 1892 under
the Tirard and Freycinet
administrations. After 1889
he supported the most ex-
treme opportunist policy and
published a series of virulent
attacks on socialism.—Vol.
III, 373

H

HACHETTE, Jean Georges (b.
1838): Son of Louis Hachette,
the founder of the well-known
publishing house.—Vol. III,
481

HALL: S.D.F. candidate for
Salford in the 1892 elections.
—Vol. III, 183

HALL: Economist.—Vol. I, 392

HARDIE, James Keir (1856-
1915): Scottish Socialist, and
Secretary of the Union of
Ayrshire Miners. The first
Labour candidate, he was de-
feated in Mid-Lanark in 1888,
was returned for West Ham
South (1892-95) and sat for
Merthyr Tydfil (1900-15). He
founded the I.L.P. in 1893
and was its chairman until
1900 and again in 1913 to
1914. He started and edited
its journal, *The Labour Lead-
er*.—Vol. II, 250, 268, 301;
Vol. III, 33, 183, 356, 367,
381

HARDWICK: Publisher.—Vol. I,
48

HARKNESS, Margaret (Mag-
gie): Daughter of a London
parson, member of the S.D.F.
Using the pen-name John
Law, she wrote a number of
novels between 1887 and 1891
with a working-class setting

- which were admired by Engels.—Vol. II, 284, 344
- HARNEY, George Julian (1817-1897): Leader of the Left wing of the Chartist movement, editor of the *Northern Star* and of the *Red Republican*, member of the Communist League and of the First International. He emigrated to the United States in 1860 where he held an important administrative position. He returned to England in 1890 and died there.—Vol. I, 283, 287, 335, 402, 404; Vol. II, 355; Vol. III, 66, 74, 83, 156, 165, 241
- HARRISSON: Cabinet-maker.—Vol. I, 55
- HARTMANN, Lev Nikolayevich (1850-1913): Russian revolutionary who took part in the attempted assassination of the Tsar on December 1, 1879. To escape the police he took refuge in England where he became a friend of Marx and Engels. In 1883 he emigrated to America.—Vol. I, 260
- HASSELMANN, Wilhelm (b. 1844): Prominent member of the Lassallean movement who moved the report on the question of unification at the Gotha Congress (1875). A member of the Reichstag from 1874 to 1876 and again from 1878 to 1880. He took up an increasingly anarchist position and was expelled from the Party, together with Most, in 1880. He emigrated to the United States.—Vol. II, 410
- HAULIER: French radical-socialist candidate in the 1887 Paris municipal elections for the Jardin des Plantes.—Vol. II, 41
- HAUPT, Christian: Police agent in Bismarck's pay, accused of spying on the German Social-Democratic organisations in Switzerland.—Vol. II, 84
- HAUSSONVILLE, Bernard de Cléron (comte d') (1843-1924): French journalist and monarchist deputy from 1871 to 1876.—Vol. III, 229
- HAWTHORNE, Nathaniel (1804-1864): American novelist and short story writer. American consul at Liverpool 1853 to 1857.—Vol. II, 121, 135
- HAXTHAUSEN, August (Freiherr von) (1792-1866): Writer of works on Russian and German agrarian communities.—Vol. I, 230
- HEATH, Christopher (1835-1905): Distinguished English doctor.—Vol. II, 418
- HEDDEGHARD.—Vol. III, 438
- HEGEL, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831): German idealist philosopher. He introduced rational dialectics into philosophy, thus laying the foundations for Marxist method. It was out of the ideological struggle which accompanied the disintegration of the Hegelian school that the theories of Marx and Engels were born.—Vol. II, 211, 301; Vol. III, 452
- HEINE, Heinrich (1797-1856): German poet. He emigrated to Paris after 1830 and was a

- friend of Marx under whose influence his poetry took on a radical character. Marx and Engels always held his poetic genius in the deepest admiration.—Vol. I, 137, 165, 217, 306; Vol. II, 84, 346, 386; Vol. III, 219, 317
- HERMANN: French Socialist, a member of the Workers' Party.—Vol. I, 342
- HINS, Eugène (1839-1923): Belgian journalist and Socialist who took an active part in the Belgian workers' movement in the sixties. As a member of the International he became a follower of Bakunin. He edited *La Liberté* in Brussels.—Vol. III, 458
- HIRSCH, Karl (1841-1900): German journalist and Socialist Democrat, former Lassallean.—Vol. I, 91, 98; Vol. III, 329, 332
- HIRSCH (Frau): Wife of the above.—Vol. I, 92
- HODGSKIN, Thomas (1787-1869): English economist who represented the proletarian opposition to classical economics.—Vol. I, 393
- HOLMES: English textile worker and active trade unionist.—Vol. III, 195
- HORACE (65-8 B.C.): Roman poet.—Vol. III, 421
- HOVELACQUE, Alexandre Abel (1843-1896): French journalist and linguist. Paris town councillor from 1876. Member of the group which favoured the autonomy of the *communes*. Deputy in 1889 and again in 1893.—Vol. II, 184, 190, 192; Vol. III, 123
- HOWELL, George (1833-1910): English building worker, Chartist and active trade unionist, member of the T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee from 1871 to 1875. A member of the International, he resigned from it at the time of Commune. M.P. from 1885 to 1895.—Vol. I, 322; Vol. II, 43; Vol. III, 191
- HUDE, Antoine Auguste (1851-1888): Wine merchant elected Radical deputy in 1885.—Vol. II, 181, 183
- HUGO, Victor Marie (1802-1885): Outstanding French poet and author of the nineteenth century. Certain aspects of his personality induced Paul Lafargue and, through him, Engels, to make judgments on him which, in retrospect, do not seem justified.—Vol. I, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 300, 364; Vol. II, 23; Vol. III, 219
- HUGUES, Clovis (1851-1907): French poet and journalist who took part in the Marseilles Commune and was elected to the Chamber, as a member of the extreme Left, in 1881. He supported Boulangism and joined the League of Patriots. He retired from politics in 1889.—Vol. I, 89, 344
- HUMBERT, Alphonse (b. 1844): French journalist and politician, sentenced for his part in the Commune and deported to New Caledonia. Amnestied

in 1879.—Vol. II, 102, 103, 336

HURET, Jules (1864-1915): French journalist. A contributor to the *Écho de Paris* and *Figaro*, for which latter paper he did an enquiry into the social question in Europe in 1892.—Vol. III, 210

HUTTEN, Ulrich(von) (1488-1523): German humanist who played an important part in the early days of the Reformation. Took up the sword and the pen in defence of progress.—Vol. III, 162

HUXLEY, Thomas Henry (1825-1895): The English biologist and agnostic.—Vol. II, 368

HYNDMAN, Henry Mayers (1842-1921): British Socialist, reformist, founder and leader of the Democratic Federation, reorganised as the S.D.F. in 1884. He pursued an opportunist and sectarian policy in the working-class movement. He became one of the leaders of the British Socialist Party, from which he was expelled in 1916 for carrying on propaganda in favour of the imperialist war.—Vol. I, 179, 188, 190, 196, 201, 212, 272, 312, 321-322, 334, 340, 347, 370, 393, 394, 397; Vol. II, 42, 44, 65, 77, 81, 97, 194, 196, 197, 202, 206, 218, 219, 221, 223, 230, 237, 239, 246, 256, 259, 262, 266, 273, 275, 277, 281, 300, 303, 319, 340, 376, 410; Vol. III, 30-31, 33, 36, 40, 44, 45, 58, 81, 82, 92, 94, 98, 109, 161, 164, 249, 338-339, 486

I

IBSEN, Henrik (1828-1906): Norwegian dramatist and poet.—Vol. II, 254

IGLESIAS, Pablo (1850-1925): Spanish Socialist who founded the Spanish section of the International in 1868 and Socialist Workers' Party in 1879. He was the editor of *Socialista*, and a deputy to the Cortès from 1915.—Vol. III, 18, 430, 436, 445, 454

J

JACLARD, Charles Victor (1843-1903): Blanquist and member of the International until 1868. He took part in the battles of the Commune and fled first to Switzerland and later to Russia.—Vol. I, 29, 119; Vol. II, 128, 288, 291, 320; Vol. III, 286, 467

JACQUES, Édouard Louis Auguste (b. 1828): Lille school-teacher. He was a Paris town councillor (in the group favouring the autonomy of the *communes*), and Chairman of the County Council in 1887. He stood against Boulanger in the January 27, 1889 election and was elected deputy in the same year.—Vol. II, 191, 271

JAKINS: Engels' house agent.—Vol. II, 28

JALVO: Spanish Internationalist and Chairman of the Spanish section at its foundation.—Vol. III, 445, 446

JANKOWSKA, Marie (1850-1909): Active Polish Socialist, married to Stanislav Mendelson.—Vol. II, 339

JARLETON: English delegate to the 1889 International Congress.—Vol. II, 286

JAURES, Jean (1859-1914): French statesman. Lecturer on philosophy. Deputy for the Tarn in 1885. Entering political life as an opportunist, he developed as a Socialist and his election at Carmaux in 1893 was a genuine test-case. He undertook a vigorous pro-Dreyfus campaign in his journal *La Petite République*, founded *l'Humanité* in 1904 and brought about the socialist merger with Guesde in 1905. He was assassinated on the eve of the 1914 war, to which he was opposed.—Vol. III, 234, 239, 247, 250, 263, 266, 267, 290, 302, 318, 324-325, 327, 329-330, 332, 336, 359, 364

JOFFRIN, Jules (1846-1890): French metalworker and one of the founders of the metalworkers' union. He took part in the Commune and fled to England. After the amnesty he devoted himself to campaigning for the Workers' Party in France. His candidature in the 18th *arrondissement* of Paris in 1882 was a proclamation of Possibilism. He was elected deputy against Boulanger in 1889.—Vol. I, 203, 204, 210, 309, 318, 344; Vol. II, 118, 128, 175, 184, 232,

321, 333, 349, 382, 393, 395, 404, 413

JOHANNARD, Jules (1843-1888): Commercial traveller in flowers, active member of the International and member of its General Council in 1868-69 (as corresponding secretary for Italy) and again in 1871-72. He was accused in the third trial of the International (1870), fought in the Commune and emigrated to London.—Vol. III, 467

JOHNSON, Andrew (1808-1875): Seventeenth president of the United States who succeeded Lincoln in 1865 and retired from office in 1869. He was in favour of slavery.—Vol. I, 21

JOHNSTON: English business man.—Vol. I, 62

JONES, Ernest Charles (1819-1869): English Chartist leader, who issued *The Labourer*, *Notes of the People* and *The People's Paper*. In 1848 he was sentenced to two years' solitary confinement for his part in the Chartist activities in Manchester. After the defeat of Chartism he adhered to the Left wing of the radical movement.—Vol. I, 335

JONQUET: Member of the French Workers' Party, a friend of Malon's. He was a delegate from the Nord region to the St. Etienne Congress of 1882.—Vol. I, 113

JOOS: Journalist working on the *Sozial-Demokrat* in London.—Vol. II, 194

JORRIS: Englishman who was associated with Lafargue in a publishing enterprise.—Vol. I, 73, 74, 77-78

JOURDE, Antoine (b. 1848): Regular soldier in 1870. He then supported socialism. He stood in the 1881 elections for Bordeaux on the Boulangist ticket.—Vol. II, 328, 333, 335; Vol. III, 248, 287, 291, 296, 302

JOYNES: Member of the S.D.F. and delegate to the French Workers' Party Congress at Roubaix in 1884.—Vol. I, 179, 193, 196

JULIETTE: Laura Lafargue's maid.—Vol. II, 349, 353

JUNG, Hermann (1830-1901): German watchmaker. Took part in the 1848 Revolution and emigrated to London. Was a member of the General Council of the International and a supporter of Marx until 1871.—Vol. I, 34; Vol. II, 288

JUTA, Jan Carel: Marx's brother-in-law. A bookseller in Capetown.—Vol. I, 160, 199, 221

JUTA, Louise (b. 1824): Marx's sister, married to the above.—Vol. I, 204

JUTA, Caroline: Daughter of the above.—Vol. I, 61

K

KALNOKY VON KOROSPATAK, Gustav Sigismund (Graf) (1832-1898): Austrian diplomat and statesman who became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1881. Did much to

strengthen the alliance of the central European empires.—Vol. I, 386

KANITZ, Hans (Graf von) (1841-1913): Conservative member of the Reichstag from 1889.—Vol. III, 329

KANT, Emmanuel (1724-1804).—Vol. I, 187

KAUFFMAN: German soldier.—Vol. II, 64

KAULBARS, Nikolai Vasilyevich (1842-1905): Russian general who took part in the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78).—Vol. I, 387

KAUTSKY, Karl Johann (1854-1938): German Social-Democrat, publicist, editor of *Neue Zeit* (1883-1917). In 1880 he adhered to Marxism, but subsequently he became an out-and-out opportunist, an ideologist of Centrism in the German Social-Democratic Party and in the Second International.—Vol. I, 166, 171, 272, 294, 309, 330, 332, 333, 334, 341, 368, 393, 394, 397, 402; Vol. II, 46, 47, 75, 82, 108, 136, 157, 158, 159, 164, 222, 334, 339, 343, 344, 351, 369; Vol. III, 37, 75, 278, 333, 348, 369, 370

KAUTSKY, Louise (née Strasser): First wife of the above.—Vol. II, 47, 157, 158, 421, 422, 426, 427, 428, 433; Vol. III, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, 34, 36, 40, 41, 46, 51, 55, 60, 62, 64, 67, 70, 72, 73, 75, 78, 81, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 109, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 124, 125, 126, 132, 133, 136, 146, 148, 150, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159,

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- KEGAN Paul, publishers.—Vol. I, 137, 196, 206, 336, 339, 354
- KELLEY WISCHNEWETSKI, Florence (1860-1932): American Socialist who later became a bourgeois reformist. She was the English translator of Engels' *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (first published in 1892).—Vol. I, 367
- KITZ: English delegate to the 1889 Congress.—Vol. II, 286
- KNUDSEN, P. (1848-1910): Co-founder in 1873-74 and President of the Danish Socialist Party. Editor of the *Social-Demokraten* from 1882 to 1909. Mayor of Copenhagen after 1900.—Vol. II, 292
- KOCH, Robert (1843-1910): German bacteriologist who discovered the *Bacillus tuberculosis* in 1882. Nobel Prize winner in 1905.—Vol. I, 215; Vol. II, 420; Vol. III, 33
- KOCK, Henri de (1819-1892): Son of Paul de Kock, writer of numerous popular novels, the son following in his father's footsteps with as many, as popular and rather weaker works.—Vol. III, 77
- KÖLLER, Matthias von (1841-1918): German statesman, Conservative deputy to the Reichstag from 1881, Under-Secretary of State for Alsace-Lorraine in 1899, Prussian Minister of the Interior from 1894 to 1895, President of Schleswig-Holstein 1897 to 1901 and Secretary of State for Alsace-Lorraine from 1901 to 1908.—Vol. III, 350, 362
- KOTZEBUE: Russian diplomat, *Chargé d'affaires* at the Paris embassy in 1891.—Vol. III, 17
- KOVALEVSKY, Maxim Maximovich (1851-1916): Russian historian, specialising in law, who was professor of civil law at Moscow from 1877 to 1887. In 1890 he published a description of the origins of the family and of private property. He belonged to the progressive party.—Vol. II, 100, 385, 388; Vol. III, 32
- KOVALEVSKY, Sofia (1850-1891): Russian mathematician who studied at Heidelberg and Berlin. The widow of Professor Vladimir Kovalevsky, paleontologist, she became Professor of Mathematics at Stockholm University in 1884.—Vol. III, 41, 55
- KRAUSE, Karl Christian Friedrich (1781-1832): German idealist philosopher.—Vol. III, 452
- KROPOTKIN, Pyotr Alexeyevich (Prince) (1842-1921): Russian geographer and anarchist, affiliated in 1872 to the Jura

Federation. Arrested in Russia, he succeeded in escaping to England and later to Switzerland. In 1883 he was implicated in the Place Bellecour affair and condemned to five years' imprisonment. Released in 1886, he settled in England, returning to Russia after the Revolution of 1917.—Vol. I, 347; Vol. II, 33, 56
 KRÜGER: Police official.—Vol. II, 84
 KULISCHOFF, Anna: Russian Socialist married to Turati.—Vol. III, 286
 KUNERT: German Social-Democrat.—Vol. II, 362

L

LABRIOLA, Antonio (1843-1904): Italian journalist who supported Marxism in the years 1870-80. He kept up a correspondence with Engels and spread Marxist ideas in Italy.—Vol. III, 18, 205, 286, 370
 LABRUYÈRE, Georges de: French journalist, contributor to the *Cri du Peuple* and founder in 1888 of *La Cocarde*, a Boulangist paper.—Vol. I, 328; Vol. II, 19-21, 23, 30, 110, 125, 426, 429, 432, 433; Vol. III, 17, 18
 LABUSQUIÈRE, Jean (b. 1852): French journalist, Socialist and member of the First International, who was one of the Broussist editorial staff of *La Bataille*. He later became an independent Socialist and was a Paris town councillor

in 1896.—Vol. I, 93; Vol. II, 23
 LACHATRE, Maurice (1814-1900): Owner of a publishing house who emigrated to Spain after the Commune. He was the publisher of *Capital* in the French edition.—Vol. I, 38, 268, 303; Vol. III, 421, 439, 483-484
 LACHIZE, Jean Benoît (known as *Félix*) (b. 1859): Textile worker and Blanquist Socialist, elected deputy for Villefranche in 1889, defeated in 1893.—Vol. II, 324, 325, 336, 337; Vol. III, 248, 294
 LACROIX, Julien Adolphe Sigismond Krzyzanovski, known as (1845-1907): Son of a Polish refugee. He was a Paris town councillor and supported the autonomy of the *communes*. A deputy from 1883 to 1889, he opposed Boulangism. He was editor of the *Radical* and *l'Aurore*.—Vol. II, 118
 LAFARGUE (Mme) (b. 1803): Paul Lafargue's mother who lived in Bordeaux at the end of her life.—Vol. I, 124, 130, 151, 265
 LAFARGUE, Étienne (nicknamed *Schnaps*) (1868-1872): Laura and Paul Lafargue's son.—Vol. I, 28, 47, 156; Vol. III, 403, 406, 423, 426, 434, 439, 440, 450, 455, 463
 LA FONTAINE, Jean de (1621-1695).—Vol. II, 244
 LA FORCE, Anatole de (1820-1892): French journalist and politician who organised the defence of St. Quentin in 1870

- with the help of the population. Deputy from 1881 to 1889, he voted with the extreme Left.—Vol. II, 119
- LAGRANGE: Active member of the French Workers' Party in Lille.—Vol. III, 134
- LAGUERRE, Georges (1858-1912): French lawyer who took up many workers' cases (Montceau-les-Mines, Louise Michel). Elected deputy for the Vaucluse in 1883, he sat on the extreme Left. He was an active Boulangist, a member of the League of Patriots, but repudiated his membership in 1891. He was defeated at the 1893 elections but re-elected in 1910.—Vol. II, 105, 110, 125, 281, 296
- LA GUILLERMINA: Spanish Internationalist.—Vol. III, 414
- LAHURE, Auguste Charles (1809-1887): French printer who printed the first French edition of *Capital*.—Vol. III, 439
- LAINÉ: French delegate to the Brussels Congress.—Vol. III, 102
- LAISANT, Charles Ange (1841-1920): French politician, deputy from 1876 to 1893, an opportunist who later adhered to Boulangism. He was the manager of the *Petit Parisien*. A first-class mathematician.—Vol. II, 104, 329
- LANDRIN, Émile (1841-1914): French bronze worker, member of the International, who fought in the Commune and took refuge in London. He returned to France after the amnesty and became a member of the (Blanquist) Central Revolutionary Committee. Town councillor for the Père Lachaise district of Paris from 1894 until his death.—Vol. III, 50
- LANGRAND: Active Guesdist from St. Quentin.—Vol. II, 409
- LANSDELL, the Reverend.—Vol. I, 131
- LASSALLE, Ferdinand (1825-1864): German Socialist who, in 1862, founded the Universal German Workingmen's Association. He supported the policy of unifying Germany "from above", under the leadership of counter-revolutionary Prussia. He initiated the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—Vol. I, 69, 210, 224, 227, 244, 248, 371; Vol. II, 84; Vol. III, 78, 155, 174, 347, 363, 368, 377
- LAUR, Francis (b. 1844): French deputy from 1885, opportunist, who supported Boulangism.—Vol. II, 55, 56, 421
- LAVELEYE, Émile Louis Victor (Baron de) (1822-1892): Belgian economist and author of numerous historical and political works.—Vol. I, 176
- LAVIGERIE, de.—Vol. II, 380, 381, 397, 398
- LAVIGNE: Member of the French Workers' Party in the Paris region.—Vol. I, 317; Vol. II, 258
- LAVROV, Pyotr Lavrovich (1823-1900): Russian sociologist and publicist, one of the ideologists of Narodism. Member of the International. Exiled

- in 1869, he succeeded in escaping in 1870 and founded *Vperryod* in Geneva in 1873. From 1877 he lived in Paris.—Vol. I, 165, 167, 169, 180, 184, 239, 241, 252, 271, 282, 289, 293, 357, 396; Vol. II, 24, 54, 99, 191, 249, 265, 268, 275; Vol. III, 35, 41, 73, 349, 480, 484
- LAVY, Aimé (b. 1850): Possibilist Socialist, former head of a school. Elected deputy in succession to Joffrin in 1890, he retained his seat until 1898.—Vol. II, 184, 232, 248, 257, 271, 280, 283, 393, 405, 429;
- LEBON: French soldier who, during the Fourmies shootings, refused to fire on the population.—Vol. III, 68
- LEBOUCHER: Militant anarchist.—Vol. I, 254
- LECLERE, Henri Alfred Albert (*Adhémar*) (1853-1917): Printing worker of vaguely socialist tendencies who was co-founder of the *Prolétaire* in 1878. He contributed to Pyat's *La Revanche* (1882-83) and to *La Justice* (1883-86). Appointed French Resident to Cambodia in 1886, he studied Oriental languages and institutions and published a series of works on the subject.—Vol. I, 170, 207
- LEICH or LEITCH: London photo-engraver.—Vol. I, 63, 64, 65
- LENGLE: Boulangist candidate in the 1889 general election for the 5th *arrondissement* of Paris.—Vol. II, 298
- LENOEL: Lawyer.—Vol. I, 208
- LÉPINE, Jules.—Vol. II, 68, 69
- LEROY-BEAULIEU, Pierre Paul (1843-1916): French economist and member of the editorial staff of the *Journal des Débats*. Founder of the *Économiste français* and member of the Institute. He was a declared enemy of collectivism.—Vol. I, 211, 222, 223, 226, 227, 228-229, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 242, 246
- LESSEPS, Ferdinand Marie (Vicomte de) (1805-1894): Conceived the Suez Canal scheme, completed in 1869. He and his son were sentenced in 1893 for breach of trust.—Vol. III, 226, 233, 237
- LESSNER, Friedrich (1825-1910): German tailor and member of the Communist League. Sentenced to three years' imprisonment at the Cologne trial. Settled in London in 1856, a friend of Marx and Engels, he participated in the founding of the International and sat on the General Council.—Vol. II, 47, 171
- LETAILLEUR: Active Socialist in the Nord region.—Vol. I, 172
- LÉTOURNEAU, Charles (1831-1902): French anthropologist, author of works on the evolution of morals and the family, of property and social institutions.—Vol. II, 163; Vol. III, 73, 76, 77
- LEVRAUT: Paris town councillor in 1890 and chairman of the education committee.—Vol. II, 427, 429

- LEVY, Raphael Georges (1853-1933): French economist specialising in financial and monetary questions. Elected to the Academy in 1913 and to the Senate in 1920.—Vol. I, 240
- LIEBIG, Justus (Freiherr von) (1803-1873): Celebrated German chemist.—Vol. I, 181
- LIEBKNECHT, Wilhelm (1826-1900): German Socialist, co-founder with Bebel of the Social-Democratic Party. He took part in the Baden rising (1849), fled to Switzerland and later to London, where he became a friend of Marx and Engels. Returning to Germany in 1862 he published, from 1869 onwards, *Volksstaat* and, after that, *Vorwärts*. He was a deputy to the Reichstag from 1879 to 1892 and was sentenced several times by the Courts. Like Bebel, he remained loyal to Marx's ideas despite his tendency to compromise on various occasions.—Vol. I, 39, 124, 131, 138, 172, 188, 192, 207, 209, 210, 293, 295, 332, 367, 368, 380, 401, 404; Vol. II, 25, 43, 47, 120, 147, 170, 175, 181, 187-188, 189, 197, 199, 202, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225-229, 231-232, 236-237, 242, 243, 249, 254, 256, 261, 264, 269, 274, 278, 281, 283, 289, 290-291, 294, 311-312, 333, 334, 341, 383, 387, 401, 410, 413, 423; Vol. III, 20, 23, 30, 41, 44, 78, 106, 177, 193, 194, 196-198, 199, 201-202, 204, 206-207, 212, 217-219, 227, 238, 249, 253, 261, 267, 273, 292, 297-299, 302, 305, 308, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316, 336, 350, 373, 394, 396, 419, 444
- LIEBKNECHT, Nathalie (1835-1909). Wife of the above, whom she married in 1868. The daughter of a Hessian jurist, Reh.—Vol. I, 401
- LIEBKNECHT, Gertrud (b. 1864): Daughter of Wilhelm Liebknecht by a former marriage.—Vol. III, 331
- LIMOZIN (Mme. née Scharnet): Mistress of General Thibaudin who was sentenced in connection with the honours scandal (1887).—Vol. II, 67, 71
- LISSAGARAY, Prosper Olivier (1838-1901): French journalist who had attracted some attention under the Empire by his duel with Cassagnac. He took part in the Commune and fled to England. Following the amnesty he founded *La Bataille* to which he attracted the Possibilists. He was anti-Boulangist. Author of the classic *History of the Commune*.—Vol. I, 284, 285, 286, 291; Vol. II, 359
- LIZZIE. See BURNS.
- LOCKROY, Édouard Étienne Antoine Simon, known as (1840-1913): French journalist and politician who was Renan's secretary. He was a conciliator under the Commune. Sat in the Chamber on the extreme Left and, after 1886, held office in various governments.—Vol. II, 25, 297
- LONGUET (Mme) (d. 1891): Charles Longuet's mother.—Vol. II, 177; Vol. III, 27

- LONGUET, Charles (1840-1903): French student who founded the opposition paper, *Rive Gauche*, and was obliged to flee to Belgium. He supported the International and attended several of its congresses. Following September 4th he commanded a battalion of the National Guard and was the editor-in-chief of the *Journal Officiel* under the Commune. Taking refuge in England, he married Jenny, Karl Marx's eldest daughter. After his return to France he became one of the principal contributors to *La Justice*, Clemenceau's paper. Several times elected to the Paris Town Council.—Vol. I, 46, 83, 99, 152, 180, 189, 269, 293, 302, 314, 341, 342, 357, 404; Vol. II, 18, 21, 24, 30, 59, 60, 67, 97, 101, 108, 111, 124, 141, 144, 156, 161, 171, 191, 196, 206, 241, 260, 271, 288, 297, 323, 327, 331, 332, 336, 358, 369, 382, 390, 395, 419; Vol. III, 27, 78, 83, 155, 479, 480, 488
- LONGUET, Edgar (known as *Wolf*) (1879-1950): Second son of the above, nicknamed *Wolf*. Became a doctor.—Vol. I, 180, 357; Vol. II, 59, 120, 136, 156, 174
- LONGUET, Jean (*Johnny*) (1876-1938): Eldest son of Charles and Jenny Longuet, who became one of the leaders of the S.F.I.O. Socialist Party.—Vol. I, 189, 333; Vol. II, 59, 89, 120, 136, 155, 156, 159, 174
- LONGUET, Jenny (known as *Mémé*) (1882-1952): Youngest child and only daughter of Charles and Jenny Longuet.—Vol. II, 59, 136, 159, 170, 174, 177, 179, 190, 222, 378, 380, 385, 388, 390, 399, 414, 421, 423, 428, 433; Vol. III, 18, 78
- LONGUET, Marcel (1881-1949): Youngest son of Charles and Jenny Longuet.—Vol. II, 53, 59, 120, 136, 156, 159, 174, 312, 332
- LOPATIN, Herman Alexandrovich (1845-1918): Russian revolutionary Narodnik. Member of the General Council of the International. A friend of Marx and Engels, he took part in translating Marx's *Capital* into the Russian.—Vol. I, 147-148, 196, 277, 396; Vol. II, 100, 249
- LORENZO, Anselmo (1841-1915): Printing worker and member of the International in Spain. Delegate to the London Conference (1871). He later turned to Bakunism.—Vol. I, 24, 26, 35; Vol. III, 408, 411, 412, 413, 426, 429-430, 432, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 458, 459, 461, 469
- LORIA, Achille (1857-1845): Italian economist and sociologist, professor at Siena University (1891), at Padua (1891) and at Turin (1902). Principally known for his own special interpretation of Marxism.—Vol. I, 243, 248; Vol. III, 344, 370, 374
- LORIS-MELIKOV: An Armenian, related to the Russian General Loris-Melikov (1826-1888).—Vol. II, 54

LORMIER (Mrs.): A friend of the Marx family in London.—Vol. I, 140

LOSTAU: Spanish member of the International and republican deputy to the Cortès.—Vol. III, 406, 449, 454

LOUANDRE, Charles (1812-1882): French man of letters known for his editing of such classics as La Fontaine, Molière, Racine, etc.—Vol. III, 374

LOUBET, Émile (1838-1929): French statesman, elected deputy in 1876. Senator in 1885, who held office in the Tirard Government (1887-88) and became Prime Minister in 1892. He succeeded Félix Faure as President of the Republic in 1899 and sought a *rapprochement* with Russia.—Vol. III, 198, 205, 207, 359

LOUIS-PHILIPPE (1773-1850): King of France (1830-48).—Vol. I, 311, 313; Vol. II, 69, 326, 327; Vol. III, 77, 220

LOUSTALLOT, Élisée (1761-1790): French lawyer and journalist, editor of the journal *Les Révolutions de Paris*.—Vol. I, 169, 187

LOWREY: Partner of the English publisher Sonnenschein.—Vol. II, 33

LOYER, Ernest Henri (b. 1844): Mill-owner from the Nord region and local councillor who was elected deputy on the republican ticket standing against Paul Lafargue for Lille in the 1893 elections.—Vol. III, 290, 303

LUCE: French business man.—Vol. III, 187, 188, 190

LUGEL (Mme): Landlady of a house in Le Perreux.—Vol. II, 308

LURIET.—Vol. I, 112

M

MABLY, Gabriel Bonnot de (known as l'Abbé) (1709-1785): French historian who propounded an egalitarian and communal political philosophy which inspired many of the orators of the Revolution.—Vol. I, 169

MACDONNEL, J. P.: Irish Socialist, member of the General Council of the International, who later emigrated to America.—Vol. III, 487

MACKAI: Owner of silver mines in Nevada.—Vol. II, 126

MCLENNAN, John Ferguson (1827-1881): Irish historian and sociologist, author of works on primitive society which Engels criticised.—Vol. I, 298; Vol. III, 73-74

MACMAHON, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice de (1808-1893): French marshal who distinguished himself in the Crimean War but was soundly defeated in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. One of the butchers of the Paris Commune. President of the Third Republic.—Vol. I, 346; Vol. II, 105, 172, 242, 371

MAGNARD, Francis (1837-1894): French journalist, editor-in-chief of *Figaro* from 1876.—Vol. III, 215

- MAINE, Henry James Sumner (Sir) (1822-1888): English law historian and sociologist.—Vol. I, 174, 176, 230, 236
- MALON, Benoît (1841-1893): French Socialist who was a member of the International and of the Commune. He took refuge first in Switzerland and then in Italy, where he drew closer to the Bakunists. Returning to France after the amnesty he joined the Workers' Party, was a Broussist for a short period and finally called himself an independent Socialist. He founded the *Revue Socialiste*.—Vol. I, 69, 103, 106, 107, 112, 113, 115, 122, 123, 170, 177, 322, 323, 344, 346; Vol. II, 52, 190, 230, 413, 419, 430; Vol. III, 102, 116, 247, 250, 335, 336, 467
- MALTHUS, Thomas Robert (1766-1834): English economist in Holy Orders, principally remembered for his *Essay on the Principle of Population*.—Vol. I, 169
- MANN, Tom (1856-1941): English metalworker and militant trade unionist, one of the founders of the New Unionism. Secretary of the I.L.P. from 1896 to 1898. He emigrated to Australia, where he continued his trade union activities. On his return to England he joined the Communist Party as a foundation member.—Vol. II, 260, 262, 265, 304; Vol. III, 77
- MANNING, Henry Edward (1808-1892): English Roman Catholic Cardinal, who joined the Church of Rome in 1851 and became Archbishop of Westminster in 1865. Named cardinal in 1875.—Vol. II, 311
- MARCHAND: Member of the International from Bordeaux who was a Bakunist and was denounced as a police spy.—Vol. I, 39, 40
- MARET, Henri (1838-1917): French journalist and politician, editor-in-chief of the *Radical* from 1881. Elected deputy in 1881. He was implicated in the Panama scandal.—Vol. I, 114, 115, 350
- MARINONI, Hippolyte (1823-1904): French engineer who built a number of printing presses including large rotary machines.—Vol. III, 265
- MARIOTTE: Bonapartist.—Vol. I, 362
- MARLIOT: Candidate for the Workers' Party at the 1893 general election at Cambrai.—Vol. III, 291
- MAROUCK: Socialist journalist who joined the Possibilist group on the editorial staff of *La Bataille*.—Vol. I, 93; Vol. II, 23
- MARSELAU: Spanish Internationalist, member of the Alliance.—Vol. III, 429
- MARTIGNETTI, Pasquale: Italian Socialist, translator of *The Origin of the Family* and of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.—Vol. I, 279, 294, 297; Vol. II, 42; Vol. III, 72, 309, 485
- MARTIN, Louis Aimé (1786-1842): French man of letters, responsible for authoritative

editions of Racine, Molière, La Fontaine and Boileau.—Vol. III, 374

MARX, Jenny (*née* von Westphalen) (1814-1881): Karl Marx's wife.—Vol. I, 42, 60, 67; Vol. III, 92, 439, 456, 457

MARX, Jenny (married Charles Longuet) (1844-1883): Marx's eldest daughter.—Vol. I, 21, 32, 36, 38, 46, 89, 99-100, 110, 116, 120, 142, 249, 293; Vol. III, 27, 342, 411, 479-480

MARX, Karl (1818-1883).—Vol. I, 19, 21, 23, 31, 36, 38, 44, 53, 57, 60, 61, 66, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 105, 107, 110, 118, 121, 123, 131, 134, 135, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 147, 152, 155, 165, 166, 168, 169, 172, 173, 174-177, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 186, 190, 192, 193, 196, 199, 200, 201, 209, 211, 213, 214, 222, 223, 224, 227, 230, 233, 234, 235, 246, 248, 256, 267, 268, 269, 270, 272, 299, 300, 317, 318, 332, 348, 369, 377, 392; Vol. II, 32, 52, 65, 118, 120, 156, 163, 164, 165, 171, 210, 222, 336, 350, 362, 363, 385, 386, 394, 396, 408, 409, 412, 414, 424, 427; Vol. III, 23, 28, 29, 32, 35, 37, 44, 64, 79, 92, 152, 178, 200, 250, 278, 284, 300, 304, 306, 308, 309, 313, 330, 333, 335, 342, 343, 347, 348, 352, 353, 361, 368, 373, 377, 394, 403, 404, 405, 411, 415, 419, 421, 422, 425, 427, 430, 437, 439, 450, 454, 467, 473, 476, 478, 488

MARX, Eleanor (married Ed-

ward Aveling; known as *Tussy*) (1858-1898): Marx's youngest daughter, an active Socialist who gave great impetus to the English workers' movement, notably in organising the gas-workers and in campaigning for the 8-hour day. She committed suicide in 1898.—Vol. I, 23, 38, 46, 99, 100, 121, 123, 124, 131, 136, 137, 139, 142, 147, 150, 151, 152, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 165, 168, 169, 196, 204, 208, 211, 216, 218, 228, 240, 242, 245, 260, 265, 269, 272, 280, 294, 303, 312, 325, 333, 367, 368, 373, 375, 376, 378, 380, 398, 400, 401; Vol. II, 24, 27, 32, 33, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 59, 71, 101, 105, 108, 121, 140, 141, 145, 148, 150, 151, 158, 180, 196, 218, 220, 223, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 247, 248, 250, 255, 256, 260, 273, 278, 283, 285, 290, 291, 294, 297, 300, 305, 311, 328, 330, 331, 338, 339, 343, 356, 362, 363, 368, 375, 377, 381, 391, 408, 411, 416, 423; Vol. III, 24, 25, 31, 37, 60, 83, 91, 92, 94, 95, 99, 109, 112, 124, 143, 154, 156, 160, 162, 171, 179, 184, 189, 196, 259, 278, 333, 335, 336, 343, 347, 348, 352, 353, 361, 362, 369, 380, 411, 456, 484, 486

MARY of TECK (Princess, later Queen of England) (1867-1953): Was engaged to the dying Duke of Clarence in 1892 and subsequently married his brother, who came to the throne, in May 1910, as George V.—Vol. III, 158

MASON: English business man.
—Vol. I, 77-78

MASSARD, Emile: French Socialist and member of the editorial staff of the *Citoyen*. He later left the Workers' Party and contributed to various journals, including *La Patrie*.—Vol. I, 356, 375; Vol. II, 310; Vol. III, 165

MASSINGHAM, Henry William (1860-1924): English journalist and editor of the *Star* in 1890, of the *Labour World* in 1891 and of the *Daily Chronicle* in 1895. An advanced Liberal.—Vol. II, 239, 240, 243, 244, 246, 247, 251, 254; Vol. III, 78

MASSON, Albert (b. 1855): French ophthalmologist, Lyons town councillor, who was elected socialist deputy for that town in the 1893 elections.—Vol. III, 303

MATA: Governor of Madrid prior to 1872.—Vol. III, 416

MATTHEWS, Henry (1826-1913): British Conservative, Home Secretary in the Salisbury administration 1886-92.—Vol. II, 71

MATHIEU: Doctor who claimed to have discovered a cure for tuberculosis.—Vol. II, 420

MAUJAN, Adolphe Eugène (b. 1853): Former French army officer who founded the journal *La France libre*. Elected deputy as a Radical in 1889, he was an outstanding anti-Boulangist. Having adopted a strong stand against the Socialists, he was not re-elected in 1893.—Vol. III, 291

MAUPASSANT, Guy (de) (1850-1893): French author, friend of Flaubert and pupil of Zola. He contributed to numerous newspapers.—Vol. I, 331; Vol. II, 23

MAURER, Georg Ludwig (1790-1872): German jurist and statesman. Author of important works on German primitive rural structure.—Vol. I, 230

MAXIMILIAN, Ferdinand Joseph of Austria (1832-1867): Brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph who was offered the Mexican throne by Napoleon III in 1863. He accepted but was finally taken prisoner by Juarez' troops and shot on June 19, 1867.—Vol. II, 351

MAXON: English business man.—Vol. I, 49

MAY, Elie: Boulangist who stood in the 1889 general election for the 12th *arrondissement*.—Vol. II, 310

MAZZINI, Giuseppe (1805-1872): Italian patriot, one of the Carbonari who took part in the struggle for the unity of his country and co-operated with Garibaldi. He lived the greater part of his life abroad where he formed a committee of exiles with Kossuth and Ledru-Rollin. At bottom a petty bourgeois, he attacked the Commune and, towards the end of his life, the International.—Vol. I, 30, 31, 42; Vol. III, 422, 445

MEHRING, Franz (1846-1919): German historian and man of

- letters. After attacking Social-Democracy he joined the Marxists about 1885. He wrote a history of German Social-Democracy and numerous critical essays. In 1918 he sided with the Spartacus movement.—Vol. I, 98
- MEISSNER, Otto Karl (1819-1902): Hamburg publisher who brought out Marx's *Capital*.—Vol. I, 152, 166, 171, 187, 331, 373, 376; Vol. II, 159, 311, 402; Vol. III, 209, 331, 343, 349
- MÉMÉ. See LONGUET, Jenny.
- MENDELSON, Stanislaw (1858-1913): Polish Socialist and journalist who emigrated in 1878 and founded in Geneva the first Polish Socialist periodical, *Równość*, and later, in 1881, *Przedświt*. Subsequently he went to Paris and then to London.—Vol. II, 264, 339, 393, 432; Vol. III, 171, 222, 287
- MENGER, Anton (1841-1906): Austrian jurist, professor at Vienna University.—Vol. I, 391, 394, 397
- MERLATTI: Attracted public attention in 1886 by undergoing a prolonged fast.—Vol. I, 399
- MERMEIX, Dieudonné Gabriel Jean Terrail, known as (b. 1859): French journalist, Boulangist, who was elected deputy in 1889. Subsequently wrote a series of exposures for *Figaro* on "behind the scenes of Boulangism". In 1886 he published a book entitled *La France socialiste* which contained a translation of the *Communist Manifesto*—Vol. II, 125, 296, 310
- MESA, José (1840-1904) Spanish printing worker, Socialist, member of the First International and one of the founders of the Spanish Workers' Party. Translated *The Poverty of Philosophy*. A close friend of the Lafargues—Vol. I, 29, 31, 38, 58, 86, 90, 92, 110, 119, 133, 327; Vol. II, 37, 85; Vol. III, 405, 410, 412, 414, 415, 423, 429, 436, 439, 441, 445, 447, 452, 454, 459, 463, 464, 465, 466, 469, 473, 474
- MESA (Mme): Wife of the above.—Vol. I, 90
- MESSAGE: French publisher to whom Lafargue wanted to suggest the publication of the French edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*.—Vol. I, 174
- MEYER, Rudolf Hermann (1839-1899): German journalist and disciple of Rodbertus who was obliged to leave Germany following a trial at which he was sentenced for having attacked Bismarck and the capitalist class in one of his works. He remained in emigration, living mainly in Paris and in Vienna.—Vol. I, 123, 131, 168, 241, 267, 277, 368, Vol. III, 292
- MEYERBEER, Giacomo (1791-1864): The German operatic composer.—Vol. II, 304
- MICHEL, Louise (1830-1905): French teacher and poetess, one of the great revolutionary figures of the nineteenth

- century, who fought at the barricades during the Commune, was deported to New Caledonia and sentenced many times for revolutionary anarchist activities.—Vol. I, 328, 335
- MICHELET, Jules (1798-1874): French historian who, from 1843, defended freedom of thought and turned to social questions. Deprived of his chair at the Collège de France in 1852 by Napoleon III.—Vol. I, 172
- MIEGEVILLE: Managing director of insurance company.—Vol. I, 94-95
- MILLERAND, Alexandre (1859-1943): French lawyer and statesman, Radical-Socialist, who joined the Workers' Party. In 1899 he held office in the Waldeck-Rousseau administration, thus producing a crisis amongst the Socialists. He was subsequently Prime Minister and became President of the Republic in 1920, resigning in 1924.—Vol. II, 208, 302, 307; Vol. III, 79, 80, 87, 89, 93, 114, 117, 118, 123, 128, 130, 160, 184, 185, 231, 234, 239, 241, 246, 247, 256, 263, 266, 267, 276, 290, 300, 303, 318, 327, 332, 336, 360, 364
- MILLEVOYE, Lucien (1850-1918): French politician, Boulangist, elected deputy in 1889. He was forced to resign in 1893, but was re-elected in 1898 and in 1902. He was the editor-in-chief of *La Patrie*.—Vol. III, 204, 206, 207, 208, 211, 255, 257, 264
- MINK, Paule (1840-1901): French journalist and propagandist, the daughter of a Polish émigré. She fought against the Empire, and, under the Commune, contributed to the *Vésinier* journal. Taking refuge in Switzerland she came under Bakunin's influence. She returned after the amnesty and gave socialist lectures throughout France.—Vol. I, 171, 192
- MOCHÉ: Guesdist candidate for Douai at the general election of 1893.—Vol. III, 291
- MOHRENHEIM, Arthur Pavlovich (Baron de) (1824-1906): Russian diplomat, Ambassador to Paris from 1884 to 1897. Member of the Council of State subsequently.—Vol. II, 430
- MOLIERE, Jean Baptiste Poquelin, known as (1622-1673).—Vol. II, 74; Vol. III, 374
- MOLINARI, Gustave (de) (1819-1911): Belgian economist and contributor to numerous French periodicals. Editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Économistes*.—Vol. I, 222, 224, 226, 237, 239, 243, 246, 297
- MOLTKE, Helmuth (Graf von) (1800-1891): Prussian Field Marshal and commander-in-chief of the German army in 1870. Deputy to the Reichstag in 1867 and member of the Prussian Upper House in 1872. Conservative.—Vol. II, 364
- MONEY, I.W.G.: English ethnographer who made a study of

- the common ownership of land in Java.—Vol. I, 230
- MONTANO: Spanish Internationalist.—Vol. III, 448
- MONTGAILLARD, Guillaume Honoré *Roques* (known as the *Abbé de*) (1772-1825): Author of several works on the history of the French Revolution.—Vol. I, 172
- MOORE, Samuel (1830-c. 1912): English jurist and member of the First International. Intimate friend of Engels and translator of the *Communist Manifesto* and *Capital*.—Vol. I, 22, 71, 133, 137, 145, 146, 151, 164, 167, 169, 187, 194, 196, 206, 267, 300, 340, 398; Vol. II, 46, 90, 159, 180, 244, 276, 280, 284, 328, 331, 370; Vol. III, 39, 45-46, 55, 56, 58, 62, 64, 70, 78, 94, 112, 143, 213, 238, 342, 353
- MONTSAULIN, Charles (Comte de) (b. 1837): Big landowner in the Cher and deputy for St. Amand from 1889 to 1893.—Vol. II, 316
- MORA, Angel: Spanish Internationalist; brother of Francisco Mora.—Vol. III, 454
- MORA, Francisco: Spanish shoemaker, General Secretary of the Spanish Federal Council of the International, anti-Bakunist.—Vol. I, 29, 33, 37; Vol. III, 408, 411, 413, 421, 428-430, 436, 445-446, 454, 458, 459-462, 463, 464, 472
- MORAGO: Spanish Bakunist who introduced the propaganda and methods of the Alliance into the International. Member of the Spanish Federal Council.—Vol. III, 413, 414 440-431, 433, 436, 441, 446 447, 449, 455, 456-459, 460 465, 466, 471
- MOREAU, Émile André (b. 1837): French politician, Radical anti-Boulangist and Roubaix town councillor. Elected deputy at the 1889 general election.—Vol. III, 123, 128
- MORES, Antonio Amadeo Marca (Marquis de) (1858-1896): French politician with a chequered career. Returning from abroad in 1888 he embarked on an anti-Semitic Boulangist campaign. He was one of the main contributors to *La Libre Parole*. He was eventually assassinated by the Tuaregs.—Vol. III, 230, 239
- MORGAN, Lewis Henry (1818-1881): American sociologist and anthropologist whose works provided the source of Engels' book on the origin of the family.—Vol. I, 239; Vol. II, 385, 389; Vol. III, 73, 74 76
- MORNY.—Vol. II, 105
- MORRIER, Pierre: Trade union officer in Lyons.—Vol. III, 143
- MORRIS, William (1834-1896): Joined the S.D.F. in 1883 and at the end of 1884, having broken with Hyndman, founded the Socialist League. Editor of *Commonweal* (until 1890); in which the anarchists gained the upper hand over the Socialist League.—Vol. I, 179 245, 317, 347, 370; Vol. II, 36 39, 44, 45, 97, 220, 236, 254 259, 263, 269, 286, 347

MORTEMART (Comte or Marquis de): Stood as candidate for St. Amand in the 1889 general election.—Vol. II, 315, 316

MOTTELER, Julius (1838-1908): German Social-Democrat. One of the founders of the Eisenach party. From 1873 to 1878 was manager of the co-operative press at Leipzig which printed *Volksstaat*. He organised the illegal entry and distribution of the *Sozial-Demokrat* in Germany from Zurich. Deputy to the Reichstag from 1874 to 1878 and from 1906 to 1908.—Vol. II, 401; Vol. III, 162, 178

MOTTELER (Mme): Wife of the above.—Vol. II, 145, 401, 403

MUDIE'S: London lending library.—Vol. I, 239

MÜLLER: German Social-Democrat, stood for Darmstadt in the 1884 elections.—Vol. I, 247

MÜLLER, Max (1823-1900): German orientalist specialising in linguistic and religious subjects.—Vol. II, 115

MUN, Adrien Albert Marie (Comte de) (1841-1914): French politician, great-grandson of Helvetius. Ultramontane and founder of Catholic workers' associations. Elected deputy as a Monarchist in 1876, he supported Boulangism and from 1892 devoted himself to social and religious questions.—Vol. III, 79, 150, 240, 291

MUNDELLA, Anthony John

(1825-1897): English Liberal politician and financier.—Vol. III, 204, 333

MUÑOZ: Spanish anarchist.—Vol. III, 323, 451

MURRAY, Alma: English actress.—Vol. II, 141

N

NADAUD, Gustave (1820-1893): French musician and songwriter.—Vol. III, 281

NADEJDE, Johann (b. 1854): Rumanian Social-Democrat, professor at Jassy University. Editor-in-chief of *Revista Sociala* and translator of *The Origin of the Family* into Rumanian.—Vol. II, 123

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821).—Vol. I, 210, 355, 360, 377, 388; Vol. II, 94, 107, 133, 193, 321, 371; Vol. III, 271

NAPOLEON III (1808-1873): Son of Louis, Napoleon Bonaparte's third brother.—Vol. I, 309, 383; Vol. II, 109, 210, 321, 332, 335, 370, 371; Vol. III, 90, 130, 220, 391

NAQUET, Alfred Joseph (1834-1916): French chemist and politician, sentenced under the Empire. After September 4th took part in the Bordeaux delegation. Elected deputy in 1871, he sat on the extreme left. An anti-clerical, he fought for the right to divorce. He supported Boulangism and was prosecuted in the Panama scandal.—Vol. II, 125, 296, 298

NICHOLAS II (1868-1918): Tsar of Russia who succeeded his father, Alexander III, in 1894.—Vol. III, 67, 384

NICHOLLS (Mrs.): Sarah's mother (see below).—Vol. I, 71

NICHOLLS, Sarah: Engels' maid.—Vol. I, 93, 96

NIEUWENHUIS, Ferdinand Domela (1846-1919): One of the founders of the Dutch Socialist Party and Member of Parliament from 1888 to 1891. Defended ultra-leftism at the congresses of the Second International and eventually became an anarchist.—Vol. II, 189, 229, 232, 244, 258, 263, 267, 270, 283, 289, 290, 291, 293, 304, 309, 311, 392; Vol. III, 103, 192, 275

NIM, NIMMY. See DEMUTH, Hélène.

NONNE, Heinrich: German Social-Democrat prior to the passing of the Anti-Socialist Law. He was in the pay of the police and acted as police spy in Paris. He was expelled from the Party in 1884.—Vol. I, 170, 171, 172, 190, 242; Vol. II, 84

NOTHNAGEL, Hermann (1841-1905): German doctor, head of a Viennese hospital from 1882, known for his work on the pathology of the nervous system and on therapy.—Vol. III, 208

NOVIKOFF, Olga (b. 1840): Russian authoress and propagandist for Slav patriotism whose books and articles had

a considerable influence in Europe in the years 1880-90.—Vol. I, 260, 286

O

OBERWINDER (1846-1914): Former Lassallean who played an active part in the foundation of the Austrian workers' movement. He was the editor of *Volkswille*. After the split in the Austrian movement, he became a moderate and opposed Scheu. He emigrated and was the foreign correspondent for various German and Austrian papers. He was denounced in 1887 as being in Bismarck's pay.—Vol. II, 82, 83, 84

O'BRIEN, William (1852-1928): Irish journalist and nationalist, M.P. from 1883 to 1918. He opposed Parnell at one stage and played an important part in the unification of the Irish movement in 1898. He sat for Cork from 1900 to 1918 and founded the anti-Redmonite United Irish League.—Vol. II, 96

OKECKI: French politician close to the Socialists. He was manager of the journal *L'Autonomie* and treasurer of Boulé's election committee.—Vol. II, 257, 260, 263, 373

OLIVA: Former bull-fighter and Spanish member of the Alliance.—Vol. III, 447

OMAR (c. 581-644): Second khalif and one of Mohammed's first disciples who occupied

Persia in 635, Syria in 636 and Egypt in 642.—Vol. III, 328
 ORIOL: Paris publisher, Lachâtre's son-in-law, who took over the publishing house of that name.—Vol. I, 159, 174, 175, 177, 178, 224, 225, 268, 303; Vol. III, 483, 484
 OSWALD, Eugen (1826-1912): German army officer who took part in the Baden insurrection of 1849. A Republican and democrat, he emigrated to London and in 1870 issued an appeal to the German and French people which was signed by both Marx and Engels. He was a visitor to the Marx household.—Vol. II, 422

P

PADLEWSKI, Stanislaw (1857-1891): Polish Socialist who killed the Russian Police General Seliverstov in 1890 in Paris. He escaped to London and later to America, where he committed suicide.—Vol. II, 426, 429, 431, 433; Vol. III, 17
 PAGES, V. (b. 1850): Spanish member of the International in 1872. Anti-Bakunist.—Vol. III, 430, 436, 445, 454, 459
 PAJOT: French deputy for St. Amand, re-elected in 1889.—Vol. II, 315, 316
 PALM, August (1849-1922): Swedish tailoring worker, member of the Hamburg Social-Democratic organisations from which he was expelled in 1877. Co-founder of the Swedish Socialist Party and

first editor-in-chief of *Socialdemokraten*.—Vol. II, 270
 PAMIAS: Spanish Internationalist and delegate from Barcelona to the 1872 Saragossa Congress.—Vol. III, 430
 PAQUET: Author of a book on institutions of French provinces and parishes.—Vol. I, 249
 PARETO, Vilfredo (1848-1923): Italian bourgeois economist, professor of political economy at Lausanne.—Vol. III, 309
 PARNELL, Charles Stewart (1846-1891).—Vol. II, 259, 262, 266, 278, 281
 PARNELL, W.: Militant trade unionist and Secretary of the Labour Electoral Association.—Vol. II, 200, 284
 PASSARD: English doctor.—Vol. II, 418
 PASSNEVRE, Edward: A rich English Liberal Unionist.—Vol. III, 356
 PAULARD, S.: French Possibilist and editor of the *Prolétaire*.—Vol. II, 405
 PAULY: Spanish Internationalist. Anti-Bakunist.—Vol. III, 430, 454
 PAUL Y ANGULO: South American capitalist.—Vol. II, 361
 PÉDRON, Étienne (b. 1849): Active Guesdist from the Aube, former watchmaker. Was several times socialist candidate at general elections. Wrote a collection of Socialist songs.—Vol. II, 329; Vol. III, 54, 303
 PELLETAN, Charles Camille (1846-1915): French radical politician, deputy from 1881. Editor-in-chief of *La Justice*.

- Minister for the Navy in the Combes Government.—Vol. II, 300; Vol. III, 206
- PEMJEAN, Lucien: Militant French anarchist.—Vol. III, 226
- PEREGRINUS, Proteus (105-165): Cynic philosopher, born at Hellespont. He was first converted to Christianity and then, according to Lucian, excommunicated.
- PÉRIER, Jean Casimir (1847-1907): French statesman, from a family of rich industrialists, who was elected deputy first in 1876, became Vice-President and President of the Chamber 1885-93 and premier from December 1893 to May 1894 to suppress the anarchist plots and preserve republican and conservative law and order. On the assassination of Carnot he became President of the Republic in 1894, but had to resign in January 1895.—Vol. III, 318, 334, 345, 358, 359, 360, 362
- PÉRINET: Newspaper proprietor who published various journals, including *La Bataille*.—Vol. I, 284, 285, 286
- PÉROLINE: Laura Lafargue's maid.—Vol. III, 127, 129, 148
- PETERSEN, Nicolai: Danish Socialist and Marxist, founder of *Arbejderen*.—Vol. II, 230, 270, 279, 312
- PETTY, William (Sir) (1623-1687): The English economist.—Vol. III, 38
- PEYTRAL, Paul Louis (1842-1919): French politician, republican deputy for Marseilles from 1881 to 1894 and then Senator. He became Minister of Finance in the Floquet administration (1888-89) and again in 1893, 1898 and 1899.—Vol. III, 328
- PHILIPPE VII: The title which the King of France would have borne in 1884 had the monarchy been restored.—Vol. I, 389
- PICARD, Léon: French journalist.—Vol. I, 106
- PICHON, Stephen Jean Marie (1857-1933): French Radical-Socialist politician, editor of Clemenceau's journal *La Justice*. Deputy for Paris from 1885 to 1893, he later turned to diplomacy. He was elected Senator and was Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1906 to 1911.—Vol. I, 350
- PIERRAD: Spanish politician.—Vol. I, 26
- PIETRI, Joseph Marie (1820-1902): French administrator and politician. He was Napoleon III's Police Prefect.—Vol. II, 105
- PIGOTT, Richard (1828-1889): Irish journalist, editor and proprietor of *The Irishman* and two other Fenian papers.—Vol. II, 200
- PION: Reactionary French deputy defeated in the 1893 elections.—Vol. III, 291
- PIQUAND: Examining magistrate at Montluçon in 1882.—Vol. I, 116, 118
- PI Y MARGALL, Francisco (1820-1901): Spanish republican politician, follower of Comte and translator of Prou-

- dhon. He was one of the leaders of the opposition in the Cortès and head of government during one of the most difficult periods of the Spanish Republic in 1873.—Vol. I, 27; Vol. III, 406, 418, 435
- PLACE: French Blanquist Socialist.—Vol. II, 190
- PLANTEAU, Édouard (b. 1838): French republican radical politician. Elected deputy in 1885, he sat on the extreme left. He supported Boulangism and was defeated at the 1889 elections by Hovelacque.—Vol. I, 344
- PLEKHANOV, Georgi Valentinovich (1856-1918): Philosopher, prominent leader of the Russian and international working-class movement. He carried on Marxist propaganda in Russia and founded the Emancipation of Labour group, the first Russian Marxist organisation. Delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in 1889. He combated opportunism and revisionism in the international working-class movement. Subsequently he became a Menshevik and social-chauvinist.—Vol. I, 271; Vol. II, 265, 270, 291; Vol. III, 104
- POLAK, Henri (1868-1940): Right-wing Dutch Social-Democrat who founded the diamond-workers' union in 1894 and, in 1905, the Union of Netherlands' Trade Unions (N.V.V.), of which he was President until 1909.—Vol. III, 347
- POPOV: Bulgarian implicated in a case brought by Stambulov in which he confessed that he had planned the assassination in 1890 of the King of Bulgaria, Ferdinand of Saxe-Cobourg.—Vol. III, 18
- PORTALIS, Albert Édouard (1841-1918): French journalist, editor-in-chief of *La Vérité*, which continued to come out under the Commune, and later of the *Corsaire*. He was owner of *Le Petit Lyonnais* in Lyons from 1883 to 1886 and acquired *Le XIX^e Siècle*. He supported Boulanger, but broke with him in 1888 to join the Right.—Vol. I, 350; Vol. II, 69
- POTTER, George (1832-1893): Founder and editor-in-chief of *The Bee-Hive* (1861), member of the London Trades Council, and President and founder in 1866 of the liberal workers' organisation.—Vol. I, 28
- POTTIER, Eugène (1816-1887): Song-writer and author of the words of the *Internationale*. He fought for the Commune and took refuge first in England and later in America, returning to France after the amnesty.—Vol. II, 347
- POUYER-QUERTIER, Augustin Thomas (1820-1891): Large manufacturer in Normandy, extreme protectionist, who, elected deputy in 1857, opposed the economic policy of the Second Empire. He became Minister of Finance in Feb-

ruary 1871 and, with Favre, negotiated the treaty with Germany. He ended up in the monarchist ranks.—Vol. I, 192

PRIM Y PRATS, Juan (Comte de Reus) (1814-1870): Spanish statesman and army general who distinguished himself in Morocco and Mexico. His return to Spain in 1868 marked the beginning of the revolution. As Minister of War in the provisional government he crushed the republican risings. He supported a constitutional monarchy. He died by assassination.—Vol. I, 26; Vol. III, 417

PRINET: Chairman of a commission set up in France to investigate the Panama affair.—Vol. III, 237

PROTOT, Eugène (1839-1921): French lawyer, Blanquist, elected member of the Commune, who was wounded in the fighting against the Versailles troops and condemned to death in his absence. He stood against Guesde for Marseilles in the 1889 elections, accusing his opponent of being a paid agent of Germany, for which he received a police court sentence.—Vol. II, 328

PROUDHON, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865): French writer, economist and sociologist, one of the ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie and the fathers of anarchism.—Vol. I, 176, 179, 183, 214, 224, 321, 323, 338; Vol. II 125; Vol. III, 415.

PRUDHOMME: French member of the International at Bordeaux.—Vol. I, 28; Vol. III, 467

PUMPS. See ROSHER, Mary Helen.

PUTTKAMER, Robert (von) (1828-1900): Prussian statesman, reactionary, who was Minister of the Interior from 1881 to 1888. Distinguished himself by organising legal proceedings against the German Social-Democrats.—Vol. II, 96, 97, 362

PYAT, Félix (1810-1889): French republican journalist and playwright under the Restoration. A Montagnard in 1848, he was obliged to take refuge in Switzerland after June 13, 1849. He returned to France in 1869, founded *Combat* and, later, *Le Vengeur*. Elected a member of the Commune, he disappeared on May 22nd, returning to France after the amnesty. At the time of his death he was deputy for the Bouches-du-Rhône.—Vol. II, 23

Q

QUARCK, Max (1860-1930): German Social-Democrat of reformist tendencies who contributed to *Neue Zeit* in the period 1884-85.—Vol. I, 331-332, 336

QUATREFAGES DE BRÉAU, Jean Louis Armand (de) (1810-1892): French naturalist and ethnologist.—Vol. II, 115.

QUINONES: Member of the International in Spain, Bakunist, on the editorial staff of *Combate*.—Vol. III, 449, 454

R

RANC, Arthur (1831-1908): French politician, Blanquist under the Empire, head of local security with Gambetta at Bordeaux, member of the Commune who took refuge in Belgium. On his return to France had a political career as an opportunist and Radical.—Vol. I, 259, 264, 278, 309, 339, 350; Vol. II, 129, 134; Vol. III, 131, 134, 140, 143, 145, 147

RAVÉ, Henri: Journalist of Alsatian origin who translated several of Engels' works into French.—Vol. III, 38, 44, 46, 47, 64, 67, 75, 77, 83, 87, 108, 167, 177, 216, 234, 258, 260, 261, 281, 300, 304, 306

RAY: English Socialist.—Vol. III, 486

RAYNAL, David (1840-1903): Bordeaux wine merchant, elected deputy in 1879. Opportunist. Senator from 1897. Became Minister of Works in the Ferry Government (1883-85).—Vol. III, 358, 362

READ: English doctor.—Vol. II, 418

REEVES: English doctor, friend of Aveling.—Vol. II, 151

REGNAUD, Paul (1838-1910): French orientalist, professor of Sanskrit at Lyons from 1887.—Vol. II, 115

REICHEL, ALEXANDER (1853-

1921): Berne lawyer, Social-Democrat.—Vol. II, 229, 244

REILLE, René Charles François (Baron de) (1835-1895): Prominent monarchist who resigned from the army to stand as deputy for the Tarn in 1876. Chairman of the Mines Administrative Council at Carmaux.—Vol. III, 205

REINACH, Jacques (Baron de) (d. 1892): French financier involved in the Panama scandal.—Vol. III, 214

REINACH, Joseph (1856-1921): French journalist and politician. Friend of Gambetta and, as owner of the *République française*, ran a campaign against Boulanger. He was deputy for Digne from 1885 to 1898 and again from 1906. He played an important part in the Dreyfus affair, as a result of which he was involved in trials and duels.—Vol. I, 264

REINHARDT: Acquaintance of Lavrov and of Paul Lafargue.—Vol. I, 165

RENAN, Ernest (1823-1892): French philologist and historian.—Vol. I, 277; Vol. III, 376

RENARD: Militant Guesdist from St. Quentin.—Vol. III, 53, 61, 89, 93

REUSS, Karl Theodor: German journalist living in London who was denounced in 1888 by the *Sozial-Demokrat* as a spy in Bismarck's pay.—Vol. II, 97

RÉVILLON, Antoine (known as Tony) (1832-1898): French

- journalist and politician, Radical after the fall of the Empire. He was elected deputy in 1881, and supported the extreme Left.—Vol. I, 214
- RIBOT, Alexandre Félix Joseph (1842-1923): French statesman, befriended by Dufaure. Deputy from 1878, he belonged to the moderate Left, was anti-Boulangist and became Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1890 to 1893 and Premier in 1893. He was the architect of the Franco-Russian alliance. He opposed the Combes administration and the separation of Church and State. He was Minister of Finance from 1914 to 1917 and again Premier in 1917 until Clemenceau came to power.—Vol. II, 114
- RICARDO, David (1772-1823): The English economist.—Vol. I, 232, 248; Vol. III, 37
- ROBELET.—Vol. I, 171
- ROBERTO: Spanish member of the International.—Vol. III, 450
- ROBIN, Paul (b. 1837): French teacher and member of the International. Expelled from Belgium in 1869, he took refuge in Geneva where he became the secretary to the local section of the Alliance and a contributor to *Egalité*. He became a member of the General Council of the International in October 1870 and was expelled from the organisation in October 1871.—Vol. I, 33, 34; Vol. III, 467
- ROCHE, Ernest (b. 1850): Engraving worker from Bordeaux who supported Blanqui's election in 1880. As a journalist on the *Intransigeant* he created a stir by his defence of the Decazeville and Anzin strikers. A Blanquist who favoured Boulanger, he was elected deputy in 1889 and subsequently re-elected.—Vol. I, 350, 366; Vol. III, 70, 111, 112, 130
- ROCHE, Eugène: French Radical who stood against Lafargue in the Lille election of 1891, standing down in his favour in the second ballot.—Vol. III, 118, 123
- ROCHEFORT, Victor Henri (Marquis de Rochefort-Luçay) (1830-1913): French journalist and politician who started *La Lanterne* under the Empire in 1868 and, after its suppression and his own return from abroad, the *Marseillaise*. He became a member of the National Defence Government, resigning after October 31st. As a journalist under the Commune, he attacked the Versaillais, was sentenced to deportation but escaped. After the amnesty he founded *L'Intransigeant*. He supported the Socialists, and then followed Boulanger, which earned him a further period of exile. Following the Dreyfus affair he became a chauvinist.—Vol. I, 102, 185, 259, 350; Vol. II, 36, 56, 78, 95, 105, 108, 109, 112, 114, 124, 125, 130, 135, 139, 166, 209, 221, 249, 256, 316, 404; Vol. III, 107, 108, 111, 112, 157, 158, 169

- ROCHEREAU (Maître): Lawyer who dealt with Paul Lafargue's legal affairs.—Vol. I, 49-50
- RODBERTUS-Jaetzow Johann Karl (1805-1875): German bourgeois economist, theoretician of state socialism.—Vol. I, 332, 392, 394
- ROQUES, Jules: Proprietor of *L'Égalité*, a daily paper whose editorial committee was Guesdist at the start of 1889.—Vol. II, 197-198, 201, 358-359, 360
- ROSCOE, Henry Enfield (Sir) (1833-1915): English chemist, professor of chemistry at Manchester from 1857 to 1886, elected F.R.S. in 1863 and Vice-Chancellor of London University from 1896 to 1902. He was also Liberal M.P. for South Manchester from 1885 to 1895 and his greatest work, the *Treatise on Chemistry*, was written in collaboration with Schorlemmer.—Vol. III, 182
- ROSHER: Percy's father.—Vol. II, 334; Vol. III, 31, 39
- RÖSHER, Charley.—Vol. II, 58, 149, 343, 355
- ROSHER, Frank: One of Percy's brothers.—Vol. II, 372, 384; Vol. III, 72
- ROSHER, Howard: Another of Percy's brothers.—Vol. III, 31
- ROSHER, Liliane: Daughter of Mary and Percy Rosher.—Vol. I, 99, 228; Vol. III, 109
- ROSHER, Mary Helen: Niece of Lizzie Burns, married to Percy Rosher, generally known as *Pumps*.—Vol. I, 57, 65, 67, 71, 84, 87, 92, 93, 97, 105, 124, 125, 129, 130, 131, 137, 140, 145, 147, 159, 161, 162, 168, 174, 204, 205, 208, 209, 212, 216, 225, 227, 228, 238, 240, 242, 252, 260, 265, 269, 272, 277, 279, 303, 325, 333, 339, 365; Vol. II, 24, 31, 40, 46, 48, 56, 58, 61, 72, 85, 89, 101, 105, 126, 140, 144, 145, 149, 150, 152, 162, 164, 179, 180, 292, 310, 330, 336, 343, 346, 355, 388, 390, 422, 427, 432, 433; Vol. III, 19, 20, 28, 36, 39, 66, 70, 81, 83, 99, 107, 109, 112, 115, 116, 118, 120, 124, 147, 157, 162, 166, 172, 179, 188, 190, 209, 213, 224, 227, 484, 485
- ROSHER, Percy: Small business man married to Mary Helen Burns.—Vol. I, 84, 87, 97, 105, 118, 124, 125, 129, 130, 131, 144, 147, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 205, 209, 212, 225, 227, 228, 260, 265, 272, 277, 325, 339, 365, 402; Vol. II, 47, 56, 58, 72, 89, 138, 141, 143, 148, 162, 164, 179, 180, 292, 334, 336, 343, 344, 355, 427; Vol. III, 31, 39, 59, 66, 70, 83, 109, 158, 160, 162, 166, 172, 188, 190
- ROTHSCHILD: The banking family.—Vol. I, 112, 215, 358, 363; Vol. II, 208, 421, 428; Vol. III, 122, 310, 386
- ROUANET, Gustave Armand (b. 1855): Former secretary to Malon, contributor to the *Revue Socialiste*, the *Cri du Peuple*, etc. Possibilist. Town councillor for Clignancourt in 1890 and deputy from 1893 until his death. Contributor to

- l'Humanité* at the time of its foundation.—Vol. II, 52, 230; Vol. III, 357
- ROUSSEAU, Jean Jacques (1712-1778).—Vol. II, 368
- ROUSSEL, F.: French Socialist, secretary to the Labour Exchange in 1890.—Vol. II, 291; Vol. III, 171, 291
- ROUVIER, Maurice (1842-1911): French statesman, elected deputy in 1871. Prime Minister in 1887, he removed Boulanger from the government. He was involved in the Panama scandal. Later he became Minister of Finance in the Combes administration and again Prime Minister in 1905-06.—Vol. II, 63, 67, 329, 382, 421; Vol. III, 23, 112, 234
- ROY, Joseph: French translator of the first volume of *Capital*. He also translated Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christentums*.—Vol. I, 267, 268; Vol. III, 177, 278
- RUGE, Arnold (1802-1880): German journalist, Left Hegelian, who brought out with Marx in 1844 the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. He was a deputy to the Frankfurt Parliament for Breslau in 1848 and, after the Leipzig disturbances of 1849, emigrated to England, where he settled in Brighton. After 1866 he was a supporter of Bismarck's policy.—Vol. III, 191

S

- SABOR: German deputy to the Reichstag in Frankfurt, elected in October 1884 and again in 1887.—Vol. I, 248
- SAENZ: Member of the Federal Council of the International in Spain. Anti-Bakunist.—Vol. III, 447-454
- SAGASTA, Praxedes Mateo (1827-1903): Spanish Radical leader who took part in the 1866 insurrection and was obliged to flee to France. Landing in Spain in 1868, he became a Minister in the Serrano Government and started attacking the Republicans. Prime Minister under Amadeus, he was guilty of malversations. After the restoration of the monarchy (1875) he declared himself an Alfonsist and returned to power until 1883. He was Premier for the last time from 1897 to 1898.—Vol. III, 416, 417, 418, 425, 430
- SAINT SIMON, Claude Henri de Rouvroy (Comte de) (1760-1825): The French Utopian Socialist.—Vol. II, 75, 424; Vol. III, 386
- SALEMBIER: Pas-de-Calais Socialist who became an independent Socialist in 1898. Joined the S.F.I.O. after 1905. Was Mayor of Calais for a period.—Vol. III, 280
- SALIS, Jacques Michel (b. 1848): Sète lawyer and Mayor of that town. Elected deputy in 1881 on the extreme Left ticket, again in 1885 as a Radical and in 1893 as a Radical-Socialist.—Vol. III, 296-303

- SALVOCHÉA: Spanish friend of Paul Lafargue and of Mesa.—Vol. I, 86
- SARAH. See NICHOLLS, Sarah.
- SARDOU, Victorien (1831-1908): The French dramatist.—Vol. II, 74
- SAUSSIER, Félix Gustave (1828-1905): French army general who took part in the Crimean War and campaigns in Africa and Mexico. Deputy from 1873 to 1876 and Governor of Paris from 1884 to 1888.—Vol. II, 74; Vol. III, 229
- SAUVANET, Charles Pierre (b. 1817): Corn merchant, Mayor of Huriel (Allier), parish councillor and one of the founders of *La Voix du Peuple*, the radical Montluçon paper. Elected in 1893 on the united socialist-republican ticket, he was re-elected in 1898.—Vol. III, 291, 296, 302
- SAX, Emmanuel: German sociologist, author of a book on the Thuringian home industries.—Vol. I, 166
- SAY, Jean Baptiste (1767-1832): The French economist who expounded Adam Smith's views in France.—Vol. I, 237; Vol. III, 38
- SAY, Léon (1826-1896): Grandson of the above and conservative politician who championed free trade and opposed socialism.—Vol. III, 324
- SCHACK (Mme GUILLAUME, née Comtesse Schack): German feminist who was active in Germany, founding *Die Staatsbürgerin* in 1882 (suppressed by the police in 1886). She took refuge in London where Kautsky introduced her to Engels, with whom she quarrelled over Aveling.—Vol. I, 367; Vol. II, 45, 47, 53, 286, 344
- SCHAEFFLE, Albert Eberhard Friedrich (1831-1903): Austrian sociologist and statesman, professor at Tübingen and Vienna. A vulgar economist and opponent of Marxism.—Vol. I, 224, 229
- SCHARNHORST, Gerhard Johann David (von) (1755-1813): Prussian army general, head of the War Department after the Treaty of Tilsit. He reorganised the Prussian army in the years 1806-13.—Vol. III, 186
- SCHERRER, Heinrich (1847-1919): Swiss lawyer from St. Gall, for many years chairman of the Swiss society of Grütli and of the Workers' Union.—Vol. II, 229
- SCHEU, Andreas (1844-1925): One of the first leaders of the Austrian socialist movement (1868-1874), editor of *Gleichheit* and member of the International. He emigrated to England and became one of the founders of the S.D.F.—Vol. I, 402; Vol. II, 47, 83; Vol. III, 486
- SCHILLER, Johann Christoph Friedrich (von) (1759-1805).—Vol. II, 368
- SCHLÜTER, Hermann (d. 1919): German Social-Democrat, expelled from Dresden

- in 1883. He was the manager of the *Sozial-Demokrat* in Zurich but was expelled from Switzerland in 1888 and went to London. In 1889 he emigrated to America where he joined the socialist movement. Wrote a series of works on the history of the working-class movement.—Vol. II, 145, 180
- SCHLÜTER (Frau): Wife of the above.—Vol. II, 145, 149, 180
- SCHMIDT, Conrad (1865-1932): German Social-Democrat who specialised in economic questions and won Engels' commendation. Later he became a reformist and the founder of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*.—Vol. II, 50
- SCHNAPS. See LAFARGUE, Étienne.
- SCHNOEBELE: Railway station superintendent at Pagny-sur-Moselle who was arrested on April 21, 1887, by the Germans, thus giving rise to a serious diplomatic incident.—Vol. II, 39
- SCHOOLBRED: Misspelling of the English firm Shoolbred.—Vol. I, 55
- SCHORLEMMER, Carl (1834-1892): German chemist who lived in Manchester from 1859 where he was professor of chemistry. Member of the German Social-Democratic Party, a friend of Marx and Engels. Often referred to as *Jollymeier* or *Chloromajor*.—Vol. I, 55, 93, 96, 123, 125, 130, 145, 152, 155, 157, 158, 161, 164, 167, 196, 214, 218, 219, 220-221, 225, 227, 240, 279, 287, 300, 302, 352, 361, 367, 368, 373, 375-380; Vol. II, 29, 33-34, 46, 48, 50, 55, 82, 85, 98, 121, 140, 144, 145, 146, 148, 150, 151, 155, 158, 178, 180, 183, 284, 306, 354, 380, 400, 402, 404; Vol. III, 39, 46, 78, 91, 94, 95, 99, 102, 112, 147, 176, 179, 182
- SCHULZE-DELITSCH, Hermann (1808-1883): German economist who devoted himself to the setting up of working-class clubs whose essential aim was to distract the workers from the class struggle.—Vol. I, 244
- SCHWEITZER, Johann Baptist (von) (1833-1875): Frankfurt lawyer who turned to Lassalleism in 1862 and became its leader from 1865 to 1871. In 1865 he also founded the *Sozial-Demokrat*. Removed from the presidency of the German General Association of Workers in 1871, he withdrew from politics.—Vol. I, 39
- SCHWITZGUEBEL, Adhémar (1844-1895): Swiss disciple of Bakunin, member of the Alliance and one of the leaders of the Jura Federation. He conducted the fight against Marxism within the International.—Vol. I, 33, 34
- SCRIBE, Augustin Eugène (1791-1861): The French dramatist.—Vol. II, 74
- SEIDEL, Robert (1850-1933): Textile worker who had emigrated to Switzerland where he became a teacher. A con-

tributor to *Tagwacht*, *Arbeiterstimme* and *Griitlikalender*. He belonged to the Right wing of the Party. He was Secretary of the Organisation Committee of the 1893 Zurich Congress.—Vol. III, 190, 249, 276

SELIVERSTOV, Nikolai Dmitrievich (1831-1890): Russian army general, chief of gendarmerie. Assassinated in Paris on November 18, 1890.—Vol. II, 426, 430

SÉNÉGAS: Deputy for Sète elected in 1889 on the socialist ticket.—Vol. II, 338, 342

SENTINÓN, G.: Barcelona doctor, friend of Bakunin and one of the founders of the Alliance in Spain. Imprisoned for a violation of the press laws, he repudiated the International.—Vol. I, 34; Vol. III, 429, 359

SERRAILLIER, Auguste (b. 1840): French last-maker and member of the International. Member of the Commune, he was condemned to death in his absence and fled to England. He was a member of the General Council of the International, corresponding secretary for France.—Vol. I, 31, 39; Vol. III, 407, 438, 442, 477

SERRANO Y DOMINGUES, Francisco (Duke de la Torre) (1810-1885): Spanish field marshal and statesman. Appointed Regent in 1869, he made way for Amadeus of Savoy in 1870. He commanded the Northern Army in the

fight against the Carlist uprising (1872). Regent again in 1874, he retired to France on the accession of Alfonso XII whom, however, he recognised in 1881.—Vol. III, 435

SÉVERINE, Caroline Rémy (married to Guebhard) (1855-1929): French journalist, disciple of Jules Vallès and proprietress of the *Cri du Peuple* from 1886 to 1888. She was a Boulangist and later a Dreyfusard, campaigning against anti-Semitism. She devoted herself to championing the oppressed. In 1918 she joined the Socialist Party and in 1920 the Communist Party, contributing to *l'Humanité*. She retired from political life in 1922.—Vol. I, 324, 328; Vol. II, 19-20, 22-23, 110, 125, 432; Vol. III, 18

SHACRE.—Vol. II, 52, 53

SHAKESPEARE, William (1564-1616).—Vol. I, 220; Vol. II, 116

SHIPTON, George: Founder and Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Housepainters and Decorators and Secretary to the T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee and General Council in 1885.—Vol. III, 57, 62, 170, 191

SIEBOLD: German chemist and executor of Schorlemmer's will.—Vol. III, 182

SIGUERAS: One of the leaders of the Spanish Republican Party in 1872.—Vol. III, 435

SIMON, Jules François Simon Suisse (known as *Jules*)

- (1814-1896): French philosopher and statesman in the liberal opposition under the Empire. Member of the Government of National Defence, he deserted to Versailles on March 18th. He was hounded from office by the Clericals in 1873. He was Prime Minister in 1876 but resigned following a dispute with MacMahon. He opposed Boulangism.—Vol. II, 101; Vol. III, 106
- SIMON, Ludwig (1810-1872): Trier lawyer, member of the Frankfurt Parliament who emigrated to Switzerland and later, from 1855 to 1870, to Paris. He signed himself Simon von Trier.—Vol. II, 368
- SIMROCK, Karl (1802-1876): German poet and scholar, professor at Bonn University, who translated the *Nibelungenlied* and other sagas into modern German.—Vol. I, 249
- SINGER, Paul (1844-1911): German Social-Démocrat, member of the Party from 1878 and of the leadership from 1879, was a deputy to the Reichstag from 1884. He championed the ideas of Marx and Engels against anarchist tendencies and fought revisionism.—Vol. II, 25, 47, 64, 93, 96, 116, 311, 411, 423; Vol. III, 175, 176, 179.
- SMITH, Adam (1723-1790).—Vol. I, 169, 392; Vol. III, 38
- SMITH, Adolphe: English trade unionist who was associated with the French Possibilists.—Vol. II, 196, 240, 340; Vol. III, 170, 171
- SMITH, Frank: Proprietor of the *Worker's Cry* and member of the I.L.P.—Vol. III, 77, 78
- SMITH-HEADINGLEY: English Socialist with Liberal leanings, member of the S.D.F. He had previously opposed the General Council of the International.—Vol. II, 237, 239, 246, 257
- SOLANES, Glaudio: Spanish Internationalist from Cadiz.—Vol. III, 433, 442
- SONNENSCHNIGER: English publisher who published the first translation of Volume I of *Capital*.—Vol. I, 354, 371, 373, 394, 398; Vol. II, 19, 33, 65, 104, 159, 342, 345, 384, 405; Vol. III, 160, 166, 168, 261, 309, 343, 349
- SOREL, Georges (1847-1922): French journalist, former civil engineer who contributed to Marxist periodicals. Best known for his *Reflexions sur la violence*. He welcomed the advent of the Bolsheviks.—Vol. III, 330
- SORGE, Friedrich Albert (1828-1906): German Communist who took part in the Baden rising (1849). He emigrated to the United States where he played an important part in the working-class movement. He became General Secretary to the International after the transfer of its headquarters to New York. A regular correspondent of Marx and

- Engels.—Vol. II, 151, 405; Vol. III, 29, 126, 143
- SORIANO: Teacher, member of the Spanish International. He resigned when he was persecuted by Sagasta, and subsequently accepted a government post.—Vol. III, 429-433, 451, 460, 465
- SOUBRIÉ: Mine worker of Decazeville who was sentenced for his part in the strikes. He was put up by the Possibilists in the by-election of May 1886 in opposition to Roche and was supported by all the socialist groups.—Vol. I, 351
- SPENCER, Herbert (1820-1903).—Vol. I, 200
- SPLINGARD, Roche: Belgian Bakunist.—Vol. I, 193
- STAËL, Anna Louise Germaine Necker (Baronne de) (1766-1817).—Vol. II, 88
- STAMBULOV, Stefan Nikolov (1853-1895): Bulgarian statesman distinguished for his Russophobia. After the abdication of Prince Alexander of Battenberg, he placed Ferdinand of Saxe-Cobourg on the Bulgarian throne (1887) and became his Prime Minister. His government was outstanding for its bloodthirsty repression of the country's progressive forces.—Vol. III, 45
- STANTON: American publisher of the *European Correspondent* in Paris.—Vol. II, 36, 38, 59, 67, 179
- STEAD, William Thomas (1849-1912): English journalist on the *Pall Mall*, of which he was editor 1883 to 1889. Founded the *Review of Reviews* in 1890.—Vol. II, 82, 85, 122
- STEPNIAK, pseudonym of Sergei Mikhailovich Kravchinsky (1852-1895): Russian publicist, prominent leader of revolutionary Narodism in the seventies. Lived in Britain from 1884.—Vol. I, 260; Vol. II, 268, 270, 278, 281
- STEUART, James Denham (Sir) (1712-1780): Author of *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*.—Vol. III, 38
- SUCC: Conducted a spectacular hunger strike in 1886.—Vol. I, 399
- SUSINI, Étienne (b. 1839): Marseilles hospital doctor, Blanquist, who was removed from his position for having written a pamphlet *Plus de Dieu, plus de maître*. He was doctor to the Federal troops under the Commune.—Vol. I, 363, 375
- SZEPS: Editor of the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*.—Vol. II, 83

T

- TAAFFE, Édouard Franz Josef (Graf von) (1833-1895): Austrian statesman, Prime Minister from 1868 to 1870 and Minister of the Interior from 1879 to 1893.—Vol. III, 301, 346
- TAILFER: French opportunist candidate in the Paris local elections of 1887, when he stood for the Jardin des Plantes district.—Vol. II, 41

TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD

(Duc de): Member of the famous family of that name, a friend of Rochefort, who was said to have financed the Radical Party's electoral campaign in 1885.—Vol. I, 259

TAUSCHER, Leo: German compositor who worked on the *Sozial-Demokrat* in both Zurich and London. He returned to Germany in 1890 and worked for the publisher Dietz.—Vol. II, 180, 401

TEDESCHI (or Quintal): Portuguese member of the International.—Vol. III, 448, 471

TESTE, Jean Baptiste (1780-1852): French politician.—Vol. II, 69

THACKERAY, William Makepiece (1811-1863).—Vol. I, 326

THEISZ, Albert Frédéric Félix (1839-1881): French bronze carver, member of the International, involved in the third trial. Member of the Commune, condemned to death, he took refuge in London. He returned after the amnesty and joined the Democratic Republic Alliance with Longuet.—Vol. I, 38

THÉVENIN (d. 1885): Police superintendent who gave evidence in the Guesde-Lafargue case at Moulins in 1883.—Vol. I, 273

THIBAUDIN, Jean (1822-1905): French general and statesman, War Minister in 1883. Being compromised in the honours scandal, he was put on the

retired list in 1888.—Vol. II, 71

THIÉBAUD, Eugène Georges Cial (known as) (b. 1850): French journalist who contributed to various papers, in particular *Figaro* (1885). A prominent Boulangist, he organised the Prangins interview between Boulanger and Prince Napoleon. He later supported the Nationalist Party, was brought before the High Court and exonerated.—Vol. III, 227

THIERRY, Augustin (1795-1856): The French historian.—Vol. I, 249

THIERS, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877). The French statesman sadly famous for his brutal suppression of the Commune.—Vol. I, 183, 346; Vol. II, 134, 327; Vol. III, 288, 444

THILLOV, A.: Young Russian acquaintance of Engels.—Vol. I, 201

THIVRIER, Christophe (1841-1895): French miner. Elected deputy in 1889 on the socialist ticket.—Vol. II, 320, 323, 324, 325, 337, 342; Vol. III, 248, 291, 294, 303

THOMPSON, William (1783-1833): Irish landowner and writer on economics, a follower of Bentham and Godwin. Later became a disciple of Robert Owen. He wrote on political economy from the point of view of utopian socialism.—Vol. I, 392

THORNE, William James (1857-1946): English trade unionist and leader of the gasworkers who played an important part

in the eight-hour day fight in 1889. Member of the S.D.F.M.P. for West Ham from 1906 to 1915. As a chauvinist he supported the 1914-18 war.—Vol. II, 379, 423; Vol. III, 192

TICHOMIROFF: Russian revolutionary.—Vol. I, 271

TIRARD, Pierre Emmanuel (1837-1893): French Statesman who was Mayor of the Paris 2nd *arrondissement* after September 4th, was elected a member of the Commune, favoured conciliation and ended by joining the Versailles forces. Several times in office, he was Prime Minister in 1887 and 1889 and Finance Minister in the Ribot administration (1893).—Vol. I, 109

TITARD: Maret's secretary on the *Radical*.—Vol. I, 115

TOCHATI (Mrs.): English delegate to the 1889 International Congress.—Vol. II, 286

TOLAIN, Henri Louis (1828-1897): Carver, one of the original members of the International who attended its various congresses. Elected deputy on February 8, 1871, he opposed the Commune in the National Assembly. He was elected Senator in 1876, 1882 and 1891 and ended in the ranks of the moderates.—Vol. II, 179

TOMÁS: Spanish Internationalist from Palma de Majorca.—Vol. III, 446, 448

TRIER, Gerson: Danish Social-Democrat, Marxist. Translated Engels' *Origin of the Family*.—Vol. II, 270, 279, 312

TURPIN, Eugène (1848-1927):

French chemist who invented melinite in 1885.—Vol. III, 332
TUSSY. See MARX-AVELING, Eleanor.

TYLOR, Edward Burnet (Sir) (1832-1917): English anthropologist and first professor of anthropology at Oxford (1895-1909).—Vol. I, 239

U

URE, Andrew (1778-1857): Scottish chemist, elected F.R.S. in 1822, who wrote, amongst other works, a *Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835).—Vol. II, 429

UTIN, Nikolai (1845-1883): Russian revolutionary and active member of *Zemlya i Volya* in 1869. He emigrated to Geneva where he organised a section of the International. He opposed Bakunin.—Vol. III, 441, 451, 455, 456

V

VACHERAT.—Vol. I, 149

VAILLANT, Auguste (1862-1894): French anarchist who threw a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies on December 9, 1893, and was condemned to death.—Vol. III, 318

VAILLANT, Édouard (1840-1915): French engineer, scientist and doctor. He joined the ranks of the Blanquists a short time before the war of 1870. Member of the International, he took part in the Commune and was sentenced

to death. He fled to England where he became closely acquainted with Marx and Engels, but broke with the International after The Hague Congress. Returning to France following the amnesty, he founded the Revolutionary Central Committee. He was a Paris town councillor in 1884 and a deputy from 1893. He drew closer to the Guesdists when Millerand went into the Waldeck-Rousseau administration (1899). He was strongly influenced by Jaurès later, but in 1914 took up a chauvinist position.—Vol. I, 201, 203, 204, 209, 210, 241, 253, 254, 282, 289, 302, 309, 344, 372, 379, 380, 404; Vol. II, 40, 53, 130, 136, 137, 147, 153, 167, 176, 182, 183, 190, 195, 206, 231, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 247, 260, 289, 291, 300, 303, 308, 310, 313, 316, 323, 333, 335, 347, 358, 359, 381, 382, 395, 424, 429; Vol. III, 20, 43, 48, 49, 60, 72, 102, 119, 151, 157, 165, 167, 179, 230, 291, 294, 296, 297, 299, 318, 320, 321, 322, 357

VAILLANT (Mme): Mother of the above.—Vol. I, 267, 301, 304; Vol. II, 310, 425

VALLES, Jules Louis Joseph (1832-1885): French writer and journalist frequently sentenced under the Empire for his articles and activities. He founded *La Rue* in 1867 and *Le Cri du Peuple* in February 1871. Member of the Commune, he was condemned to death and fled to London. Returning to France after the amnesty he

brought out the *Cri du Peuple* again from 1883. His funeral was the occasion for a large socialist demonstration.—Vol. I, 185, 268, 274, 277; Vol. II, 23

VAN DEN PAUVERT: Dutchman with whom Lafargue stayed in The Hague in September 1872.—Vol. III, 474

VARLIN, Eugène (1839-1871): French bookbinding worker, Left Proudhonist. One of the organisers of the French section of the International, bringing about the unification of the trade union organisations in 1869 and laying the foundations of working-class solidarity. A member of the Central Committee of the National Guard, he was elected a member of the Commune where he showed brilliant organisational ability. War delegate following the death of Delescluze, he was taken prisoner by the Versaillais and shot.—Vol. I, 29; Vol. III, 467

VAUBAN, Sébastien Le Prestre (de) (1633-1707): The French military engineer.—Vol. III, 385

VAUGHAN: Manager of the *Intransigeant* and later proprietor of the *Petit Lyonnais*. Vol. I, 164; Vol. II, 40, 52, 95, 139, 190, 198

VAULABELLE, Achille Tenaille (de) (1799-1879): French historian and politician who contributed to the *National* under the Restoration. Deputy to the 1848 Constituent Assembly and author of *Histoire des*

- deux Retaurations.*—Vol. I, 160
- VAUX, Pierre Armand (b. 1848): Elected socialist deputy in 1893. Said to have forfeited his mandate in 1894 by the Dijon Workers' Committee, he retained his deputy's mandate.—Vol. III, 291, 296, 302
- VEBER, Adrien (b. 1861): Benoît Malon's secretary and a contributor to *Action*. Town councillor from 1894 to 1903 and deputy for St. Denis (Paris) from 1902 to 1914.—Vol. III, 116
- VERGOIN, Jean Marie Maurice (1850-1892): Former French magistrate who resigned in 1884 and was elected as Radical deputy for Seine-et-Oise in 1885. One of the few Radicals who supported Boulangism. He was defeated in the 1889 elections by Tony Révil-lon.—Vol. II, 310
- VERMERSCH, Eugène (1845-1878): French journalist working on *Figaro* under the Empire. He founded *Le Père Duchêne* during the Commune. He fled to London where he attacked the Communards and the International, and eventually went mad.—Vol. I, 38; Vol. III, 443
- VERNET (Mme): Lady who accompanied Domela Nieuwenhuis on his visit to Paris for the 1889 Paris Congress.—Vol. II, 290, 291, 308, 309
- VESINIER, Pierre (1823-1902): French journalist, one of those proscribed after the events of December 2nd, and secretary to Eugène Sue in exile. In London he joined the International. Following September 4th he became the editor of the *Courrier français*. A member of the Commune condemned to death, he took refuge in London. There he quarrelled with the majority of the Communards and, after his return to France, continued his slanderous attacks on them.—Vol. I, 38; Vol. III, 443
- VIARD: Blanquist who took part in the Commune. Fleeing to London after 1871, he became a member of the Revolutionary Central Committee on his return to France.—Vol. II, 271
- VICO, Giovanni Battista (1668-1744): The Italian philosopher, professor of rhetoric at Naples.—Vol. I, 172, 275, 298
- VICTORIA, Adelaide Marie Louise (1840-1901): Wife of Friedrich III, Empress of Germany and Queen of Prussia, daughter of Queen Victoria.—Vol. III, 36
- VIERECK, Louis (1851-1921): German Social-Democrat, working in 1880 on the *Süddeutsche Post* in Munich. Deputy to the Reichstag from 1884 to 1886. Opportunist who went to America in about 1890 where he played no part in the socialist movement.—Vol. II, 57, 64
- VIETTE, François (1843-1894): French statesman, one of the founders of *La Démocratie franc-comtoise*. Elected deputy

in 1876 as a supporter of Gambetta, he became Minister of Agriculture under Tirard and Floquet (1887-89) and Minister of Works in the Dupuy administration.—Vol. III, 198

VIGNAUD: Guesdist who was suggested as manager of the *Socialiste*.—Vol. III, 187, 188, 190

VINAS, G.: Medical student, member of the Spanish International, Bakunist.—Vol. III, 429, 448, 459

VIROLEIL: French Socialist, stood for Drôme in the general election of 1889.—Vol. II, 329

VOGELSANGER, Jakob (1849-1923): Swiss Social-Democrat, editor of *Grütli* (1878-92). Was elected in 1892 as councillor for Zurich and head of police. Belonged to the Left wing of the Party until 1895 after which he turned to revisionism.—Vol. III, 324

VOGT, Karl (1817-1895): German naturalist, member of the Frankfurt Parliament. Emigrated to Switzerland. Was denounced by Marx even before it emerged that he was a paid agent of Napoleon III.—Vol. I, 398

VOLDERS, Jean (1855-1906): Belgian politician who was editor-in-chief of the *National belge* from 1884 giving it a socialist slant. One of the founders of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885) and editor-in-chief of the *Peuple*. Due to his efforts, the Belgian work-

ing-class movement won a revision of the Constitution and an electoral reform in 1893. He was a delegate to the 1893 Zurich Congress.—Vol. II, 199; Vol. III, 95

VOLLMAR, Georg Heinrich (von) (1850-1922): German Social-Democrat and former army officer who joined the Party shortly before 1880 and was deputy to the Reichstag from 1881 to 1886 and from 1890 to 1903. From 1890 onwards he was the leader of the reformist wing. In 1894, at the Frankfurt Congress, he proposed an alliance with the big peasants and supported the vote for the bourgeois State budget.—Vol. I, 106; Vol. II, 362, 417; Vol. III, 91, 95

W

WAGENER, Hermann (1815-1889): German politician champion of conservatism and editor-in-chief of the *Kreuzzeitung*.—Vol. III, 329

WAGNER, Cosima (1837-1930): Daughter of Liszt who left her husband, the musical director von Bülow, and married the composer after the death of his first wife.—Vol. III, 107

WALDECK-ROUSSEAU, Pierre Marie (1846-1904): French statesman and lawyer. Deputy from 1879 to 1889, opportunist, and Minister of the Interior in the Gambetta and Ferry governments. He was a Senator in 1894 and became Prime

- Minister in 1899.—Vol. I, 264, 266; Vol. II, 160; Vol. III, 358
- WALTHER VON DER VOGEL-WEIDE (c. 1170-1230): German lyrical poet, the first of the troubadours to introduce a political element into his verse and to oppose the papacy.—Vol. II, 349, 355
- WATRIN: Decazeville mining engineer, manhandled by the miners at the time of the 1886 strike.—Vol. II, 23
- WEBB, Sidney James (1859-1947).—Vol. III, 368
- WELL, Abraham (known as Alexander) (1811-1899): German journalist who settled in Paris in 1837 and was a friend of Heine and Meyerbeer. He contributed to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.—Vol. II, 362
- WEINSCHENK.—Vol. III, 184, 185, 187, 188
- WERNER: German printing worker, Social-Democrat, delegate for Berlin-Teltow to the Halle Congress of 1890, where he was the opposition spokesman.—Vol. II, 417
- WERQUIN (d. 1891): Radical deputy for the first Lille constituency. His death created the vacant seat to which Paul Lafargue was elected.—Vol. III, 106
- WILHELM I (1797-1888): First Emperor of Germany.—Vol. I, 198, 295, 370, 371, 390; Vol. II, 30, 70, 92, 107, 366; Vol. III, 272, 274
- WILHELM II (1859-1941): Emperor of Germany.—Vol. II, 92, 95, 107, 146, 169, 194, 322, 364, 366, 367, 379, 383, 425; Vol. III, 34, 107, 159, 162, 174, 344, 350, 355, 360, 362, 366, 369, 370, 373, 383, 390, 392
- WILLIAMS (Mrs.): Ramsgate landlady in whose house Engels sometimes stayed.—Vol. I, 59, 60, 65
- WILLIAMS, Jessie: Daughter of the above.—Vol. I, 59
- WILLICH, August (von) (1810-1878): Prussian ex-army officer who commanded a corps of volunteers in the Baden rising (1849). A member of the Communist League, he left it and emigrated to the United States where he fought in the War of Secession and obtained the rank of brigadier general. He held high civil office in Cincinnati.—Vol. I, 97
- WILLIS: Landlord of the house where Marx lived at the end of his life in London.—Vol. I, 186
- WILSON, Daniel (1840-1919): Son-in-law of Jules Grévy and deputy for the Indre-et-Loire, who was involved in the honours scandal. His name became synonymous with parliamentary corruption. After five years' suspension he was nevertheless re-elected in 1893.—Vol. I, 311; Vol. II, 63, 67, 69, 73, 74, 166, 176, 199; Vol. III, 80, 214, 226
- WILSON, J. M. (b. 1858): Secretary of the Seamen's Union, elected to Parliament in 1892.—Vol. III, 183
- WOLF. See LONGUET, Edgar
- WOLFF, Ferdinand (known as *der Rote*) (1812-1894?): Close associate of Marx and mem-

ber of the Communist League, he was editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49. He emigrated to London where he quarrelled with Marx. He settled in Oxford.—Vol. III, 316

WOODHULL, Victoria Claflin (1838-1927): American feminist who joined the International. She started the journal *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* and stood for the United States Presidency in 1872.—Vol. III, 464

WOODS, Sam: English miner, member of the T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee. M. P. for Walthamstow.—Vol. III, 194

WROBLEWSKY, Walery (1836-1908): Polish émigré after the 1863 insurrection.—Vol. III, 157, 357, 360

WRIGHT (Mrs.): Member of the S.D.F.—Vol. I, 245

Z

ZASULICH, Vera Ivanovna (1851-1919): Russian revolutionary, member of the Emancipation of Labour group. Editress of *Iskra*. She translated Marx's works into Russian. After the split she joined

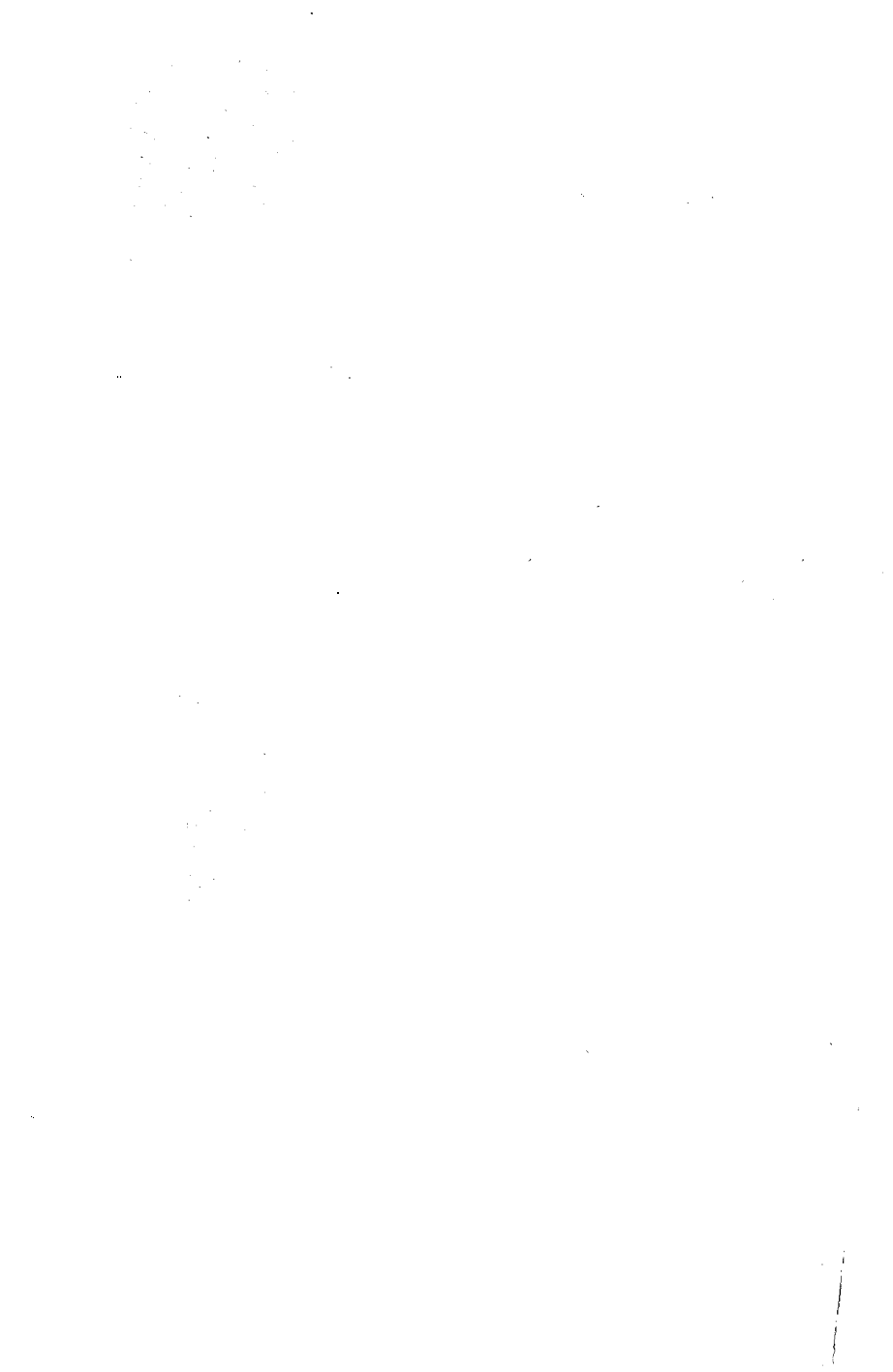
the Mensheviks.—Vol. I, 176, 271; Vol. II, 138, 265, 270, 275, 291; Vol. III, 286

ZETKIN, Ossip (1852-1889). Social-Democrat of Russian origin; he contributed to various Social-Democratic papers.—Vol. II, 191

ZETKIN, Clara (1857-1933). German Social-Democrat who joined the Party in the seventies. She contributed to *Neue Zeit* and in 1890 was in charge of *Die Gleichheit*, the workers' paper. She fought against revisionism and was a member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party.—Vol. II, 250, 338; Vol. III, 286, 317

ZOLA, Émile (1840-1902). The French writer.—Vol. I, 331; Vol. II, 23, 50

ZORRILLA, Manuel Ruiz (Don) (1834-1894). Spanish statesman, deputy to the Cortès from 1856 and member of the 1868 Provisional Government. He was called by Amadeus of Savoy and became his last Prime Minister. He later joined the Republican Party and was forced into exile on the accession of Alfonso XII.—Vol. III, 405, 416, 417, 435



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