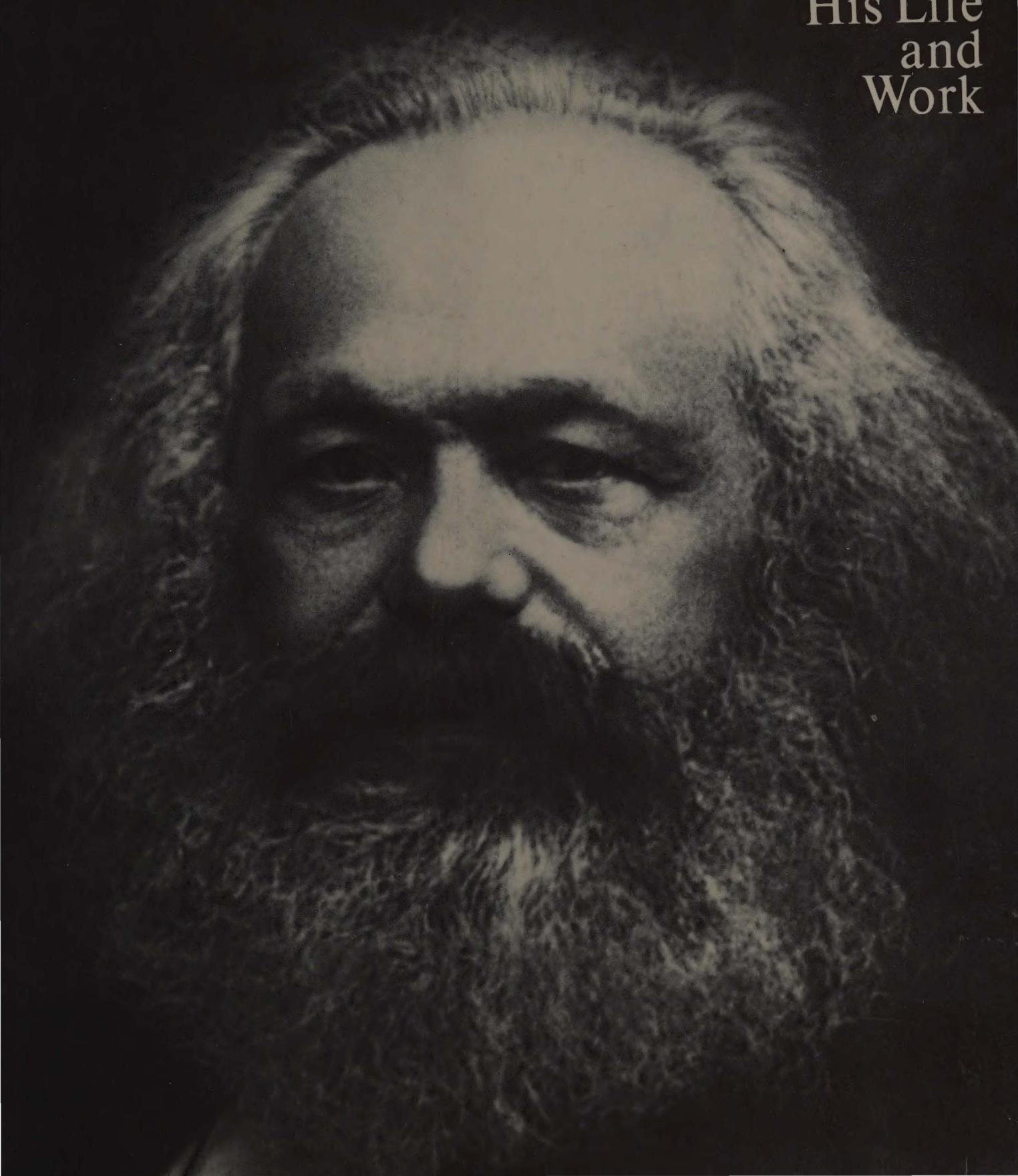


KARL MARX

His Life
and
Work



KARL MARX:
His Life and Work

This illustrated life of Marx
is at the same time
a vivid pictorial account of the
turbulent struggles
of nineteenth-century Europe.

Many of the 810 photographs of Marx
and other revolutionaries and facsimile
reproductions of his manuscripts
appear for the first time
in an English publication.

The material for this volume
has been made available by
the Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Museum
of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism
in Moscow.

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Karl Marx His Life
and Work

“His
will endure
through the ages,
and so also
will his work.”

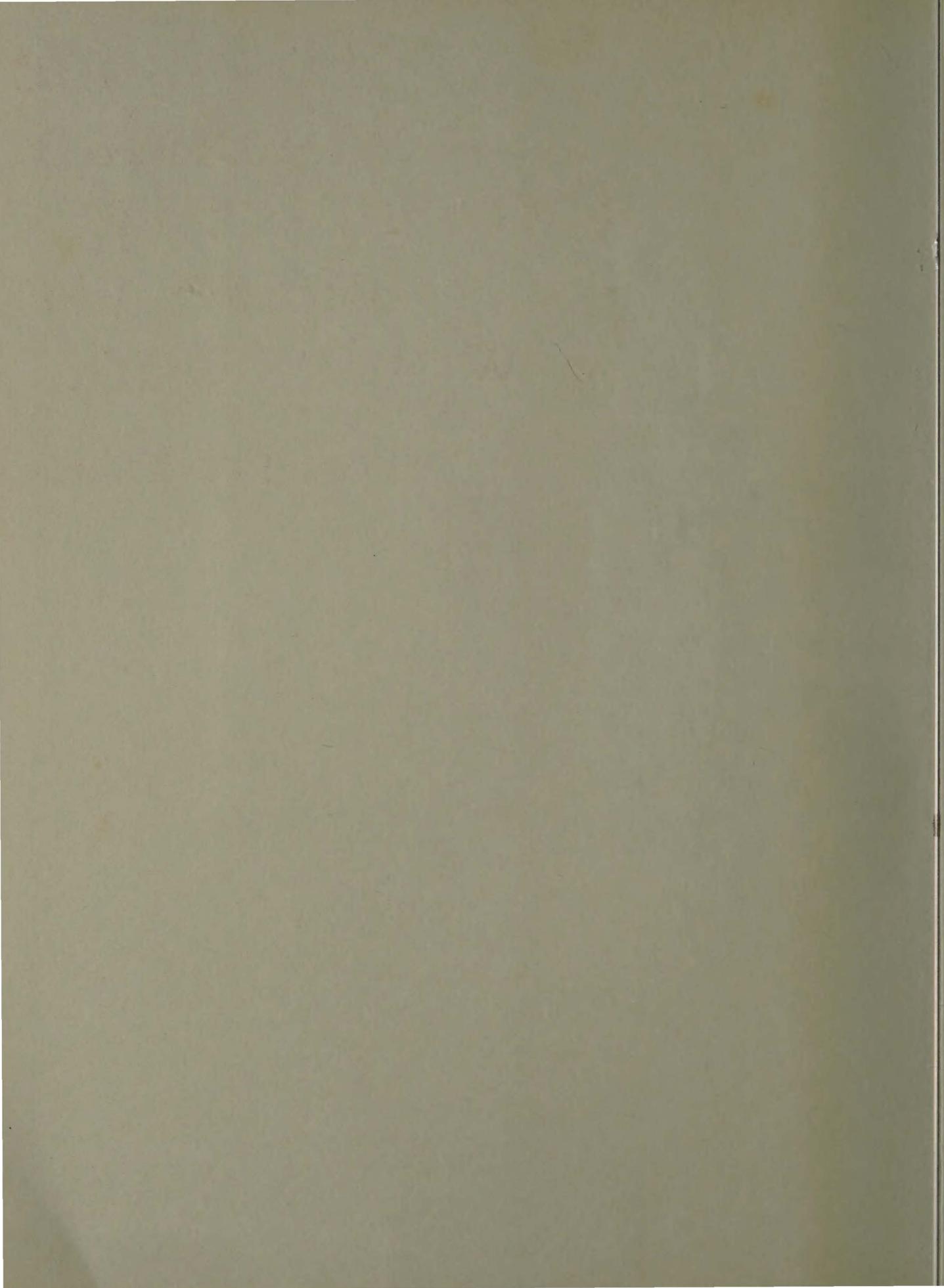
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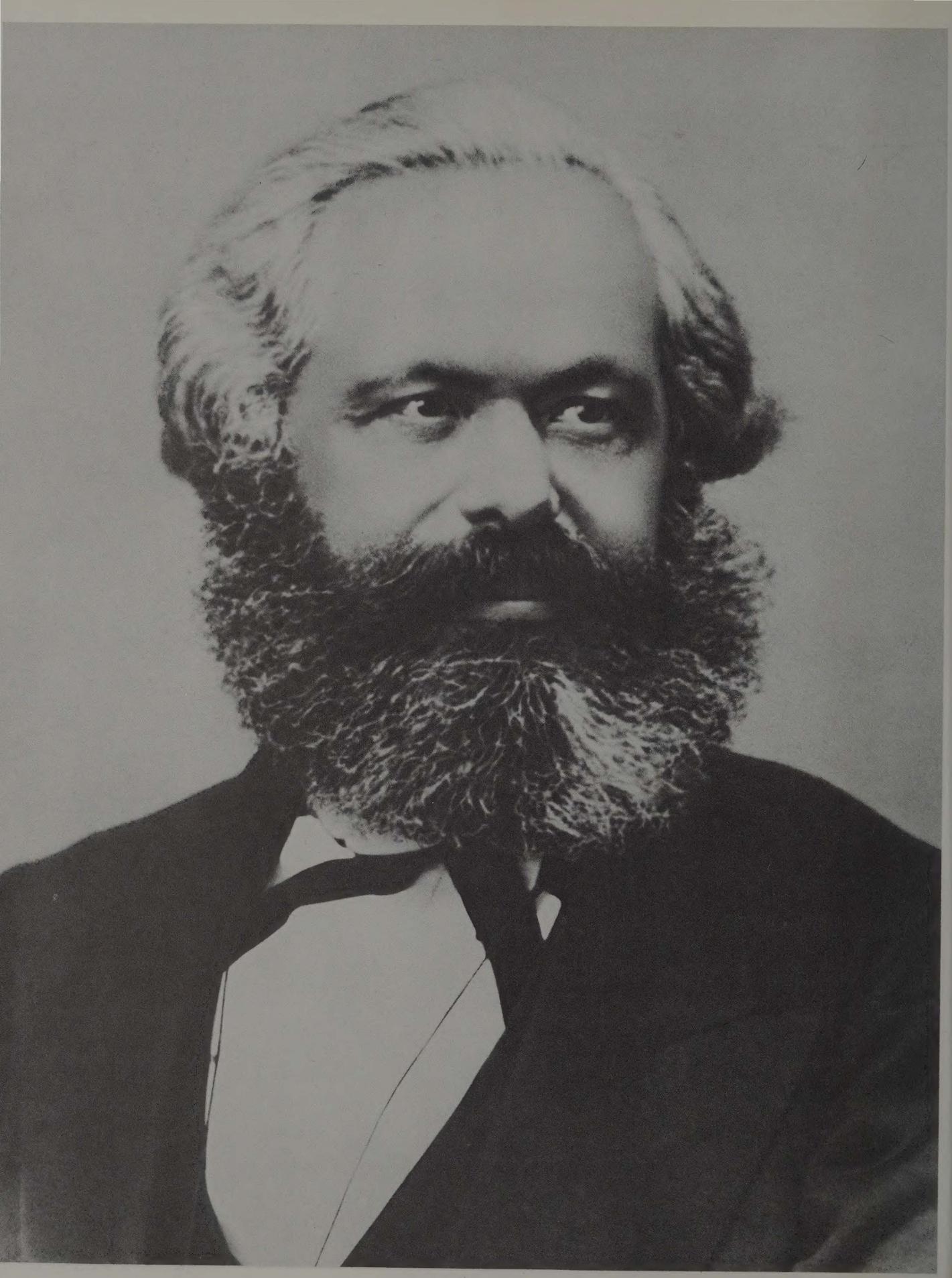
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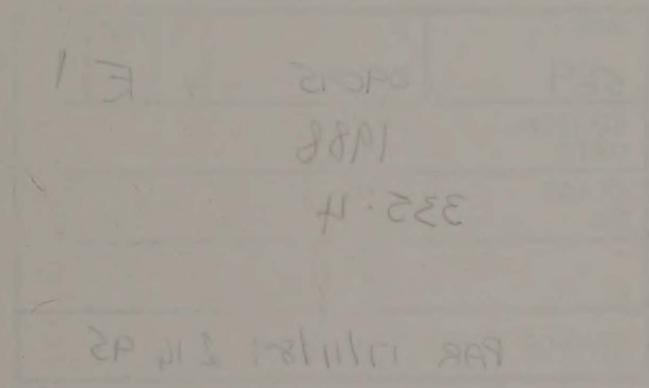


KARL

KARL MARX

— HIS LIFE AND WORK

DOCUMENTS
AND
PHOTOGRAPHS



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INTRODUCTION

A hundred years have passed since the day when, parting with his friend forever, Frederick Engels said: "His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!"

Marx's life was an exploit. His genius of thinker, his unexampled courage and unbending willpower, his faith in the victory of the working class, enabled him to endure all trials, to make staggering theoretical discoveries, and to work out the theory of scientific communism, a powerful tool of cognising and transforming the world. And alongside Marx's name stands that of Frederick Engels.

Lenin described their scientific analysis, which proved that capitalism would inevitably collapse and that communism would replace it, as a great service. They had shown proletarians of different countries, he wrote, "their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle *all* working and exploited people".

Marx's theoretical legacy, the history of his life and work, are cherished by the working class and all other working people as a rich source of experience and knowledge—an exploit in the name of humanity's radiant future.

* * *

This album is a documentary chronicle of the life and work of Karl Marx. It is made up mostly of documents and photographs from the repositories of the Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Museum in Moscow, the Central Party Archives and the Library of the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Photographs of Marx and Engels, of their many associates, of the members of Marx's family, facsimiles of manuscripts and first editions of Marx's and Engels's major works, and a most valuable collection of engravings—all these priceless items make up the fabric of this album. They produce a graphic picture of Marx's life and times. The material is essentially presented in chronological order, showing the milestones in Marx's life and work.

The chapter 1818-1841 contains a graphic account of Marx's childhood and youth, of his school and university years.

The chapter opens with a mid-19th century engraving of Trier (Trèves) in Prussia's Rhine Province, where Marx was born and raised. There are photographs of the house in which he was born on May 5, 1818, and of the Trier Gymnasium, which he attended from age 12 to 17. Photographs of Marx's favourite teachers, Johann Hugo von Wyttensbach and Johann Steininger, who influenced his development and vision of the world, are also given.

The 17-year-old Marx's inner world is well reflected in his school-leaving composition. For him man's vocation was to serve people, labouring for the good of humanity. These humanitarian ideas had, indeed, guided Marx throughout his life. He dedicated to them all his strength, his many gifts, and his inexhaustible energy.

Finishing the gymnasium in 1835, Marx studied jurisprudence first in Bonn University and, later, in the University of Berlin. In an engraving of that time Marx is portrayed amidst other students belonging to the Trier Association (Landsmannschaft) at Bonn University. A drawing by artist Grinstein depicts Marx as student, his strong-willed, energetic visage, wavy black hair, and searching eyes.

Of interest, too, among the material related to Marx's university period, is the facsimile of the only extant letter that Marx wrote to his father. "During my first term I spent many a sleepless night," he writes in it about his inner searchings, "fought many a battle, and endured much internal and external excitement." Quite early in his life, Marx became aware of the importance and need for critically assimilating the accumulation of humanity's knowledge. He strove to know more, to analyse, understand, and find the truth.

Much of his time as student he spent learning philosophy and history. "It became clear to me," he observed in his letter, "that there could be no headway without philosophy." And, indeed, he made a thorough study of Kant, Fichte and Hegel, those classics of German idealist philosophy of the end of the 18th and early 19th

centuries, and also of the works of Feuerbach, their eminent materialist contemporary. This was for Marx an excellent school of theoretical thinking, which played an enormous part in the subsequent evolution of his world outlook.

In his student years in Berlin, Marx associated with members of a circle of followers of the Hegelian philosophy, the Young Hegelians, who utilised Hegel's philosophy to attack religion and the political system in Germany. No more than 20 at the time, Marx was the most authoritative among them.

The chapter also deals with Marx's doctoral dissertation, the *Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*. Facsimiles are given of the certificate Marx received on finishing Berlin University, and of his Doctor of Philosophy diploma.

The doctoral dissertation was an important phase in Marx's ideological development and a vivid sample of his profoundly original thinking. The 23-year-old Marx set forth his atheistic outlook, and emphasised that philosophy should look upon reality in an active manner.

The chapter 1842-1844 contains some unique material.

Marx set out on his lifelong political struggle as an associate of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, a Cologne newspaper, in 1842. Here he developed his skills of political fighter, his critical mind and organising talent, and his journalistic gifts as well as fearlessness. The chapter contains facsimiles of Marx's articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, where he exposed the ruling classes and defended the politically and socially downtrodden masses. In the musty atmosphere of royal Prussia, Marx's revolutionary journalism had the effect of a thunderclap. To quote Lenin, the *Rheinische Zeitung* articles were evidence of "Marx's transition from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism".

In the summer of 1843, Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend. They spent the summer and autumn in Kreuznach. The album contains a fine portrait of Jenny as a young girl, which Marx's grandson, Edgar Longuet, presented as a gift to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. Jenny had good looks, a good brain, a sense of dedication, and the loving heart of wife and mother—all of which made her a fond companion and her husband's faithful helper.

For Marx, the stay in Kreuznach was a time of intensive study. He produced an uncompleted manuscript, which was not published until long after his death. It first appeared in the Soviet Union under the title of *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* in 1927.

Much of the chapter is devoted to young Frederick Engels, portrayed as a versatile gifted young man with a profoundly philosophical mentality, absolute absence of fear, and the single-mindedness of a revolutionary.

The reprisals against the *Rheinische Zeitung*, and thereupon its suppression in 1842, did not dampen Marx's militant spirit. He resumed his revolutionary, journalistic and scientific endeavours in Paris. Documents and photographs present a graphic account of that period of Marx's life in exile.

Of special interest here is the evidence that, while studying French revolutionary history, he associated with workers and was active in the revolutionary clubs of the French capital. He spoke with deep respect of the working man, of the workers' thirst for knowledge, their lofty aspirations and courage. "The brotherhood of man is no mere phrase with them, but a fact of life," Marx said, "and the nobility of man shines upon us from their work-hardened bodies." Marx made a close study of the various currents of utopian socialism and communism that existed in those days.

His study of the workers' movements of his day led Marx to espouse the cause of the proletariat, to which he remained faithful until his death. For him, the proletariat, that most viciously exploited class bereft of property, was the main revolutionary force called upon to destroy capitalist oppression and build a new society. Marx's definition of the proletariat's historic mission as builder of socialist society was, in Lenin's words, the chief element in Marxism.

Marx's final acceptance of materialism, his passage from revolutionary democracy to communism, was highlighted by his articles in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, which he published jointly with Arnold Ruge, the Young Hegelian, in Paris in 1844. Here he emphasised the necessary connection between theory and practice. "Theory," he wrote, "becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."

The chapter *1844-1848* describes how Marx and Engels worked out the theoretical principles of the scientific world outlook, and their efforts to establish a proletarian party.

A reproduction of the title page of Marx's and Engels's first joint book, *The Holy Family*, which was published in Frankfort on the Main in February 1845, is given early in the chapter. As Engels put it, Marx and he had set out to create a study of real people as they developed in history.

Expelled from France in February 1845 for his revolutionary activity, Marx moved to Brussels. Illustrations depicting the Belgian capital and landmarks in the history of the working-class movement reproduce the environment in which Marx carried on his work.

Of interest here is the facsimile of a page from Marx's notebook with the famous *Theses on Feuerbach*, and pages from the manuscript of Marx's and Engels's joint work, *The German Ideology*, which presents their materialist view of history in an integral form for the first time. It was never published in their lifetime, and was first put out by the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin in Moscow in 1932.

Pages from Marx's most important manuscripts are reproduced generously throughout this album. They show different stages in his theoretical search. Passages copied out of the works of various authors are given, and preliminary versions written for the purpose of what Marx called self-clarification. Some of them represent complete works constituting an integrated whole both in content and literary virtue.

Marx was no armchair scholar, as some bourgeois historians would have us believe. He saw the purpose of his life in fusing the new revolutionary theory, that of scientific socialism, with the working-class movement, so as to make that theory a material force, an instrument for the world's revolutionary transformation. At 29, Marx became organiser and leader of the Communist League (1847-52), the first international organisation of the proletariat. His loyalty to the communist cause, his consideration for the needs and interests of the working people, and his gifts of political organiser earned him the deep respect of the workers, of all those who took part in the revolutionary movement.

The chapter depicts the struggle that Marx and Engels fought against "true socialism", against Weitling's sectarianism, against Proudhonism and various other petty-bourgeois theories, thus paving the way for the emergence of a proletarian political organisation. The immense role played by Marx and Engels in the founding of the Communist League is depicted.

A page from the rough version of the second section of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the only one that is extant, is a valuable relic. The first two lines are in the hand of Marx's wife, providing added evidence of the big part she played as her husband's faithful helper and secretary. Of interest, too, is the facsimile of the initial outline plan for the third section made by Marx in December 1847-January 1848 on the back of the cover of one of his notebooks. The chapter contains reproductions of the first editions of the *Manifesto* in German (1848), English, French, Italian, and other languages. Among these is the Russian edition, translated by Georgi Plekhanov and put out in Geneva in 1882 with a preface by Marx and Engels where they wrote that "Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe".

"This little booklet," Lenin wrote, "is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organised and fighting proletariat of the civilised world." The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* has, indeed, spread across the world and is still as relevant and vital as it was when first written.

The chapter *1848-1849* contains a wealth of highly varied illustrations. Along with documentary facsimiles, it contains engravings produced by witnesses of the events of those years. They give the reader a taste of the atmosphere that prevailed during the revolutions of 1848 and 1849 that swept across Europe from Paris to Budapest, and from Berlin to Palermo. One lithograph shows rebels destroying the royal throne in the Tuilleries

on February 24, 1848. Others portray episodes from the revolutions in Germany, Austria, Italy and Hungary. One of them, by an unknown artist of the mid-19th century, reproduces a revolutionary episode that occurred in Berlin on March 18, 1848: crowds of people surrounding the royal palace are being attacked by the troops; streets are clad in barricades.

Of interest to the present-day reader are rare lithographs, entitled "People demonstrating in Pest in March 1848", "Italian national flag being raised in Venice on March 17, 1848", and "Chartists demonstrate in London on April 10, 1848".

During the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, Marx and Engels were at the centre of the revolutionary events. "Marx," wrote Engels of his friend, "was before all else a revolutionist... Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival." The revolutionary articles that Marx and Engels wrote during that period, their speeches at public meetings and other gatherings, like their work in various democratic and workers' societies, are a model of how to combine theory and practice, how to probe deeply into the events.

A central place in the chapter is the portrayal of Marx as editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Reproduced are issues with Marx's articles showing the essence of the political conflicts and summing up the experience of the revolutionary masses, and dealing with the national liberation movements of Czechs, Hungarians, Poles, and Italians. Marx resolutely attacked the reactionary policies of the German bourgeoisie, which was making concessions to the king and the feudal lords, and turning its back on the revolution and the people's revolutionary gains. Of special interest here is the German workers' platform in that bourgeois democratic revolution, *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, drawn up by Marx and Engels.

Marx's remarkably powerful article, entitled "The June Revolution", a pearl of revolutionary journalism, is vividly illustrated in this album. The article has immortalised the heroism of the proletariat as it embarked on struggle against the capitalist system, and, indeed, showed its revolutionary mission and certain final victory.

The chapter deals with Marx's activity at the critical period of the revolution in Germany. He appealed for resistance to reactionaries, who were on the offensive, by all possible means: refusing to pay taxes, organising an armed militia to repulse the enemy, and forming committees of public safety. The chapter ends with a reproduction of the last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* printed in red ink on May 19, 1849.

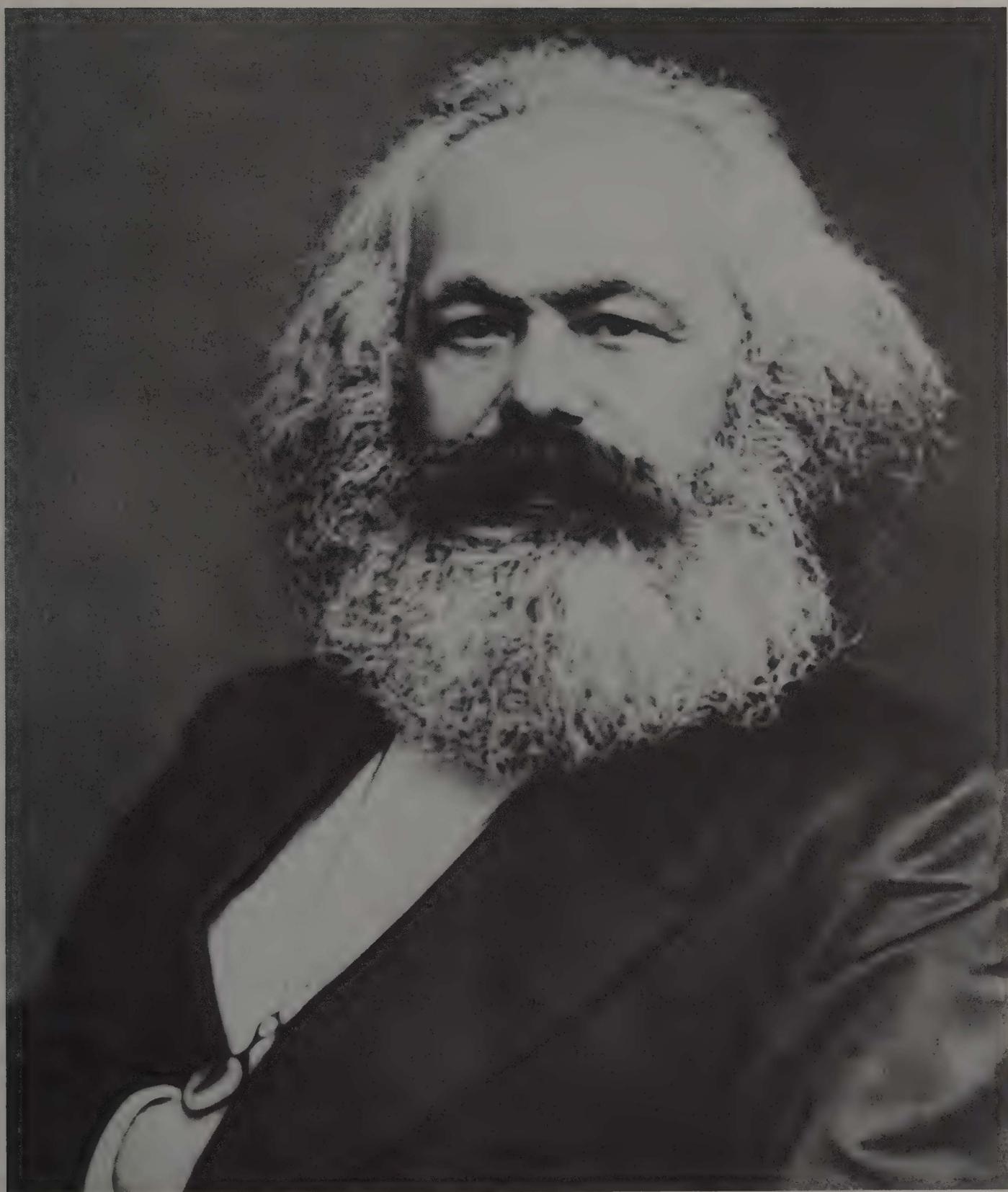
Bourgeois historians have chosen to describe the brief period between March 1848 and November 1849 as the mad year that had, they claimed, upset the natural course of events. As the chapter shows, the period saw a tremendous surge of Marx's creativity, and was the first test of the principles of his revolutionary theory.

The chapter *1849-1863* covers a period that followed the defeat of the European revolutions of 1848 and 1849. This low ebb of the revolutionary movement, the years when reaction was triumphant, were the hardest in Marx's life. He and his family were compelled to move to England. Soon, Frederick Engels, too, moved there. For the two friends their banishment became lifelong.

Official England received Marx inimically. For a long time, he could not have his articles published in the press. He was unable to earn a livelihood.

The chapter shows Marx's varied activity during that period, rallying proletarian revolutionaries and summing up the experience of the recent revolutions. The chapter also deals with Marx's scientific and journalistic pursuits and the impact they made on public opinion. It reproduces an issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. *Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. Most of the contributions (articles, surveys and reviews) to it were by Marx and Engels. The journal contains a series of Marx's articles, which were eventually published under separate cover in 1895, after Marx's death, as *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, giving a materialist view of that period of French history and propounding crucial points for the workers' revolutionary tactics.

In those years of reaction, Marx and Engels continued to groom proletarian revolutionaries. Marx's home in London was, indeed, a sort of revolutionary headquarters. It was visited by associates, and prominent members of the labour movement in various countries. "His power of 'drawing out' people, of making them feel that he was interested in what interested them was mar-



vellous," Eleanor Marx-Aveling wrote in her recollections of her father.

The album contains photographs of Marx's and Engels's closest comrades, among them Wilhelm Wolff, Friedrich Lessner, Edgar von Westphalen (Jenny's younger brother), Georg Eccarius, Ludwig Kugelmann, Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Paul Lafargue, and many others.

At the height of the reaction, the Prussian police struck out at members of the Communist League. It faked evidence to portray the Communist League as a secret terrorist organisation in a bid to discredit the revolutionary and democratic movement. Marx and Engels did their utmost to frustrate the designs of the police. Marx exposed the foul police manoeuvres and the judiciary in a pamphlet entitled, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (1853). Of interest is an engraving by an unknown artist portraying the tribunal in session. Among the defendants are eminent members of the Communist League: Roland Daniels, Friedrich Lessner, who was Marx's close friend and associate, Hermann Becker, a democratic journalist active in the Communist League, and Communist League members Peter Nothjung and Abraham Jacobi. Despite the ludicrous nature of the charges, the bourgeois court dealt out vicious penalties.

Marx took all the trials of the revolutionary and liberation movement very close to heart, no matter how far from London they occurred. His articles of 1850 to 1860 deal with various aspects of the workers' movement in Britain, Germany and France, the liberation struggle of the Italians and Poles, the struggle against slavery in the United States, the Indian Mutiny in 1857-59, and the Taiping rebellion in China that shook the foundations of the Celestial Empire. His attention was also attracted to events in Afghanistan, Algeria, and Persia. Marx described the liberation struggles of the peoples of Latin America against Spanish rule as an example of victorious insurrection against colonialists.

During the painful years of reaction, the friendship and collaboration between Marx and Engels grew still closer. For twenty long years, Engels had had to reside in Manchester, several hundred kilometres distant from Marx and his family, who resided in London. He was employed in a firm of which his father was part owner, and was thus able to afford Marx continual financial help. Throughout that period Marx and Engels communicated mainly by correspondence. "If one were to attempt to define in a single word the focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence," wrote Lenin, who had carefully studied the correspondence of Marx and Engels, "the central point at which the whole body of ideas expressed and discussed converges—that word would be *dialectics*." Indeed, Lenin drew up a précis covering a considerable part of the correspondence between Marx and Engels.

Much space in this chapter is devoted to Marx's family. Having contributed all his funds to revolutionary propaganda in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx had lived on the edge of poverty for many years. He and his family went without many essentials. But even the direst straits could not make Marx depart from the road he had charted for himself. "I laugh at the so-called practical men and their wisdom," Marx wrote. "If one wanted to be an ox, one could, of course, turn one's back on the sufferings of humanity and look after one's own hide." Faith in his own theory and the certainty that the workers would one day win, supported him in the blackest hours of his life. Marx's all-conquering optimism endured slanderous attacks in the press, governmental reprisals, and the intrigues of his political enemies. In her recollections of her father, Eleanor Marx remembered him as a vivacious and jolly man with an ebullient sense of humour and vitality, whose sincere laughter was contagious and irrepressible. She referred to him as the most friendly, kind and responsive of comrades.

Marx was a loving father. He liked the company of his children, and often spent his hours of rest with them. They saw him as a playmate, and listened to his yarns with rapt attention. For the swarthy colour of his skin and black hair his wife and children called him the Moor.

For Marx London was an observation post in studying capitalist society. He devoted himself mainly to studying political economy in preparation for writing the future *Capital*. Wilhelm Liebknecht recalled: "Study! Study! That was the categoric injunction that we heard often enough from him and that he gave us by his example and the continual work of his mighty brain."

Marx spent nearly all his days from nine in the morning to seven

in the evening in the British Museum, the richest book repository of that time, poring through a variety of books and taking notes. His own library contained nearly a thousand volumes, which is added evidence of how much work Marx did with literary sources. Of that library, Engels wrote: "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..." Some of Marx's books contain copious notes and marks in their owner's hand. Marx had hundreds of books in Russian, including the works of Nikolai Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Dobrolyubov, Alexander Herzen, Georgi Plekhanov, Maxim Kovalevsky, Nikolai Flerovsky (Bervi), Pyotr Lavrov, and Alexander Engelhardt.

The album contains all the extant photographs of Karl Marx, and quite a few of Frederick Engels.

The earliest photograph of Marx dates to 1861. It portrays Marx at 43, a known revolutionary whose works have a wide readership among Socialists and advanced workers in many countries.

A photograph of Marx in Hanover dates to 1867. He had come to that city to visit a friend, Ludwig Kugelmann, after completing the first volume of *Capital*, the manuscript of which he had turned in to Hamburg publisher Otto Karl Meissner.

Three years before, a photograph had been taken of Marx and his daughters Jenny, Laura and Eleanor, together with Engels. It is the only one portraying the two friends together. Unknown for 84 years, it was first published in 1948 when Edgar Longuet, Marx's grandson, gave it as a gift to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow.

Of interest, too, are photographs of Marx taken in 1875. Of one of them, Engels wrote: "It is the last and the best picture, in which the Moor appears in all his cheerful Olympic calm, certain of victory." Engels ordered 1,200 copies of that photograph for Socialists in different lands, whereupon it was reproduced many times in the press. On one of the photographs Marx made the inscription: "Greetings and fraternity, Karl Marx, June 27, 1880."

A copy of that photograph had been in Lenin's possession. In February 1882, the year before he died, Marx was photographed for the last time in his life. His aging visage bore signs of the many decades of privation and intense labour, but his calm and searching eyes were, as before, imbued with vitality, confidence, and youthful energy.

The chapter "*Capital*" is devoted to Marx's economic research, to the work he had done on his scientific economic theory.

Lenin described *Capital* as Marx's chief and fundamental study setting forth scientific socialism. Marx himself considered it the work of his life. Indeed, it summed up four decades of titanic labour that culminated in truly great discoveries. In *Capital* the Marxist doctrine is presented in its most lucid terms and is given profound economic, social, political and historical backing.

Marx subjected capitalist society to an incisive analysis by the method of dialectical and historical materialism. He probed deep into the mechanism of capitalist society and discovered the laws that made it function, and demonstrated the transient nature of capitalism. Engels commented: "As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers..."

Between these covers is reproduced Marx's letter to Maurice La Châtre, the publisher of the first volume of *Capital* in French, in which Marx accepted his proposal to publish *Capital* in installments. The closing words in that letter sound like a motto for pioneers in science: "There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its radiant summits." To be sure, these words refer first of all to Marx himself. Wilhelm Liebknecht put it thus: "A revolutionary in science and a revolutionary *through* science, he scaled the highest peak of science in order to come down to the people and to make science a common asset of the people."

The chapter illustrates the first editions of Volume I of *Capital* in German, Russian, French, and English.

The Russian edition of 1872 was the first translation of Marx's main work into a foreign language. It was put out in 3,000 copies, exceeding its first German edition thrice over.

The police in different countries started files on the book and its author soon after the appearance of the first volume. In one of his letters, Marx described a curious order issued by the tsarist censors saying *Capital* need not be prosecuted because "only a few will



read it in Russia, and still fewer will understand it". The tsarist authorities would soon rue that decision: all the 3,000 copies of the first Russian edition found a readership. Whereupon *Capital* was blacklisted by the tsarist secret police.

The ideas set forth in *Capital* became widespread in Russia, and Marx soon noted that the book was "more read and appreciated [in Russia] than anywhere else".

After the appearance of Volume I of *Capital*, Marx continued work on volumes II and III until the end of his life. The wish to sum up the latest developments, coupled with Marx's striking scientific honesty, made him rewrite and revise many sections of the two volumes over and over. "I should under no circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax," Marx wrote to Nikolai Danielson in a letter dated April 10, 1879. "It is therefore necessary to watch the present course of things until their maturity before you can 'consume' them 'productively', I mean '*theoretically*'."

Before writing on the ground rent for the third volume of *Capital*, Marx made a special study of agrarian relations in Russia. Russia, Engels wrote, "was to play the same role in the part dealing with ground-rent that England played in Book I in connection with industrial wage-labour".

Nowadays, an especially big interest is aroused by Marx's thoughts contained in *Capital* concerning crucial aspects of the economy in socialist society. It stresses the special significance of regulating working time and distributing social labour between various production groups. Highly important, too, is the idea that the true wealth of society, and its further growth, depend on the productivity of labour and "the more or less copious conditions of production under which it is performed".

The chapter depicts Engels's enormous contribution to preparing volumes II and III of *Capital* for the printer. This Engels considered his life's work. In April 1883 he wrote: "Marx has left behind a fat manuscript for the second part of *Capital* which I've got to read right through (and in what a handwriting!) before I can say how printable it is... In any case, the *main thing is available*." Not only did Engels have to read Marx's illegible handwriting, but also decipher the text and rewrite the manuscripts. Engels compounded the manuscripts, made countless editorial corrections, and wrote many explicative passages. Noting the great part Engels had played in preparing the manuscripts of volumes II and III of *Capital* for the printer, Lenin said those two volumes had been the labour of two people—Marx and Engels.

Lenin studied *Capital* thoroughly himself, and encouraged its study by others. In his works, Marx's ideas were taken further. Lenin brought Marx's economic theory abreast of the new times, and elaborated on the doctrine of imperialism being the last stage of capitalism.

The album's chapter on the *First International* is an account of how the International Working Men's Association was founded, and what it did. We are shown Marx's role as founder and leader of that first international proletarian mass organisation.

Orest Vereisky's picture, "Founding of the First International", portrays the meeting in St. Martin's Hall in London on September 28, 1864. Among the leaders of the workers' movement of different countries gathered on the presiding platform, we see Marx. At that time, as Engels put it, Marx was the only man who "was clear about what had to be done and what had to be founded, and this was the man who back in 1848 had flung the call to the world: workingmen of all lands, unite!"

Marx was the heart and soul, and leader, of the International. And his work in the International was the crowning achievement of his revolutionary activity. It was he who worked out all the programmatic documents of the International, and it was he who defined its tasks and tactics.

The chapter traces Marx's consistent efforts to assert the principles of scientific socialism in the international proletarian organisation, and to educate the working class in the spirit of socialist ideals. In the main documents of the International and in dozens of resolutions, addresses and articles, Marx helped workers to understand that conquest of political power and repatterning society on socialist lines was the proletariat's historic mission. The working class could radically change its condition only if it took the path of revolutionary struggle, he used to say.

The chapter shows that Marx was continuously battling against ideological currents hostile to the interests of the workers. As

Lenin wrote, "In uniting the labour movement of various countries, striving to channel into joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassalleian vacillations to the right in Germany, etc.), and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries."

An important part was played by the address of the International's governing body to workers' societies, calling on them to join the IWA. It was issued in London in the summer of 1865. The membership of the International grew rapidly. It was joined by a number of large English trade unions, and sections of the IWA sprang up in scores of towns in different countries. Posters put out by the General Council certifying affiliation with the International were displayed on the premises of workers' societies.

The IWA cards of membership belonging to Frederick Engels and Hermann Jung, which are extant, are reproduced between these covers, and we see Marx's signature on them among those of members of the General Council. Alongside is a facsimile of the special stamps put out by the General Council to keep track of membership dues.

Pages of the Minute Book recording attendance at General Council meetings show that Marx was never absent when members of that body gathered in the modest-sized hall of the two-storeyed house on Greek Street, a quiet London thoroughfare, and later in the house in High Holborn Street. "During the time of the International," Friedrich Lessner recalls, "he never missed a meeting of the General Council."

A worldwide economic crisis erupted in 1866. Strikes proliferated in Britain, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, and other European countries. The engravings that are published in this album, by artists who had witnessed the events, are graphic evidence of the intensity of the struggle. The International aided the strikers effectively, and substantially increased its influence on the international working class. It became known all over the world. Its prestige grew steeply. The chapter contains a facsimile of an address issued by the International's General Council, entitled "A Warning". It was written by Marx to counter the attempts of British industrialists to use German and Danish workers as strikebreakers.

Some of the material illustrates the help Marx and the International gave Socialists of different countries in working out their programmes and tactics. It tells of Marx's and the International's contribution to the political enlightenment of the working class in various countries, and the struggle against Proudhonist and Bakuninist influences.

In 1867 the Irish national liberation movement reached a peak of intensity. Examining the struggle of the Irish people, Marx arrived at the conclusion that the workers' struggle in the metropolitan country should back up the Irish national liberation movement. Documents of the International exposed the English bourgeoisie's policy of fanning national and religious antagonisms between English and Irish workers. This deliberate division of the proletariat, Marx noted, was the instrument whereby the bourgeoisie retained its grip on power. Marx occupied himself organising meetings in defence of the Irish people, and drawing up resolutions for the International's General Council demanding that Ireland should be granted independence.

The support of the Irish liberation movement by Marx and the International stimulated the political awareness of the English workers. As Lenin noted, the International's tactics on the Irish question was a remarkable model of how the proletariat of the oppressor nations should behave vis-à-vis national movements.

The chapter contains material concerning the congresses and conferences of the International, reflecting Marx's efforts to spread and consolidate socialist principles in the organisation. The Third Congress of the International, held in Brussels, called for socialisation of railways, arable land, minerals, mines and quarries. It showed the consequences of using machinery in capitalist factories. "On the one side," says a draft resolution of the Congress drawn up by Marx, "machinery has proved a most powerful instrument of despotism and extortion in the hands of the capitalist class;... on the other side the development of machinery creates the material conditions necessary for the superseding of the wages-system by a truly social system of production."



The resolutions of the Brussels Congress were evidence of the further spread of Marxism, the growing number of its followers, and the ideological defeat of its opponents—the Proudhonists and liberal trade unionists.

Much attention is devoted in the chapter to Marx's elaboration of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the workers' education in the internationalist spirit.

The chapter also refers to the activity of the Russian section of the International, and presents photographs of its members. The leader of the Russian section was Nikolai Utin, who was active in the populist Land and Freedom organisation. A tsarist court had sentenced him to death *in absentia* for his revolutionary activity. Among members of the section was the unforgettable Russian woman-revolutionary Elizaveta Dmitrieva-Tomanovskaya, Anna Korvin-Krukovskaya, V. I. Bartenev, and others.

Declaring its resolve to join the International, the Russian section requested Marx to represent it on the General Council. In his reply, Marx accepted with pleasure. He devoted considerable attention to the Russian section, briefed its members regularly on the work of the General Council, sent them various important assignments, and so on.

"The economic oppression of the Russian people," the programme of the Russian section said, "is entirely the same as the oppression of the entire European and American proletariat... Wherever the situation is the same, the means of eliminating it and replacing it with a new system of social and individual relationships should also be the same." These provisions reflect the influence of the Inaugural Address of the International, which was written by Marx.

The chapter on the *Paris Commune* contains a great variety of material: decrees, notices and posters, photographs, engravings, facsimiles of the revolutionary press, and so forth. This material illustrates the glorious 72-day history of the Commune.

One of the engravings depicts the solemn moment when the Paris Commune was proclaimed on March 28, 1871. Socialist Renvier reads the declaration on elections to the Commune before a crowd of workers, artisans, and National Guardsmen. Beside it is a reproduction of the Declaration of the Paris Commune dated March 29, 1871, a priceless relic that announced the inauguration of the world's first workers' government.

There are photographs of those times showing the guns of the National Guard which the troops of Thiers had tried to capture so as to disarm the people of Paris, portraying Communards on the barricades, and so on.

Marx and Engels saw the Paris Commune as a spiritual offspring of the International, and devoted all their energy and experience to aiding the Communards who, as they put it, were "storming heaven". Lenin described Marx as a participant in the Paris revolution, to which he devoted his characteristic ardour and passion.

The documents and illustrations in the chapter deal with the conclusions drawn in one of Marx's fundamental works, *The Civil War in France*, written on the heels of the Paris revolution.

Referring to Marx's analysis, Lenin wrote: "There is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a 'new' society. No, he studied the birth of the new society out of the old, and the forms of transition from the latter to the former, as a natural-historical process."

Although the Paris Commune did not live for long, Marx managed to spot in it formative but already sufficiently distinct features of the proletarian dictatorship as a new historical type of state.

The chapter contains photographs of leaders and active participants in the Paris Commune. Such intrepid revolutionaries as Edouard Vaillant, who had been active in the International and was member of the Paris Commune's executive commission, Charles Delescluze, the Commune's military delegate and publicist who laid down his life on the barricades in Paris, Louise Michel, the Red Maid of the Commune, Walery Wróblewski and Jaroslaw Domrowski, the Polish revolutionary democrats and heroes of the Commune, and many others, whose memory is inscribed in the history of the liberation struggle. A stirring part in the Paris Commune was played by Russian revolutionaries—Elizaveta Dmitrieva-Tomanovskaya, Anna Korvin-Krukovskaya, Anna Pustovoitova, Pyotr Lavrov, and others.

Cartoons of Paris Commune times reproduced in this album are

valuable and interesting. Most of them were published in large numbers on separate sheets. They are mostly by Pilotell, Moloch, Said, and Daumier. Commune cartoonists made fun of the Versailles clique, and small wonder, for as Marx wrote, everything about them was a caricature.

Despite the mudslinging of the bourgeois press, Marx and Engels saw to it that the ideas of the Paris Commune should spread among workers in different countries. In letters to his associates, Marx defined the proletarian class essence of the Commune. "The present rising in Paris," he wrote to his friend Ludwig Kugelmann, "even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine, and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris."

The chapter shows the epic struggle of the Paris Communards against the reactionaries in Versailles. There is an engraving of a street battle in one of the workers' quarters of Paris, where the Communards resisted bitterly. Among those defending the barricades were women and children. Another engraving shows the final battle at Père Lachaise Cemetery, where some 200 Communards put up a last-ditch stand against the Versailles troops.

A painting by Pichio, a member of the Paris Commune, portrays the brutal killing of the last handful of the Commune's heroic defenders beside a wall in the Père Lachaise Cemetery.

"Working men's Paris, with its Commune," Marx wrote at the time when the Commune lay in shambles and there seemed no end to the reprisals of reaction, "will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

And these words came true. The Paris Commune elevated the workers' movement to a new level. Marx absorbed its experience to elaborate on his doctrine of class struggle, revolution, and dictatorship of the proletariat. The heroic stand of the Communards is admired by all people aspiring to progress and communism. The immortal revolutionary traditions of the Paris Commune helped to unite all segments of the international working-class and communist movement, and to promote proletarian internationalism.

The chapter about the Paris Commune closes with an account of the London Conference and the Hague Congress of the First International, both of which, acting on the experience of the Paris Commune, adopted a resolution on political action of the working class and founding independent national working-class parties.

The chapter 1873-1883 covers the last ten years of Marx's life, abounding in tense theoretical and practical revolutionary activity.

The chapter opens with material about the continuing work on volumes II and III of *Capital*. It is a time when Marx is engrossed in studying new phenomena in the capitalist economy. He refers in his notes to the emergence in the United States of large stock companies, and to the rise of financial and industrial magnates such as Vanderbilt and Rockefeller. In Europe, too, he observes, "industrial production and large-scale commerce have become increasingly dependent on the banks, on the big capitalists". These conclusions drew upon the first signs of the impending era of imperialism and of proletarian revolutions.

While working on the second and third volumes of *Capital*, Marx increasingly studied economic and social developments in Russia and the United States. He examined statistical handbooks and other publications on landed property provided by his Russian friends. His study of Russia covered a lot of ground. From agrarian relations he went on to examine Russia's economic development on the whole, its history, the condition of the peasant masses, and Russian literature. In fact, Russia occupied a conspicuous place in Marx's research of the last ten years of his life. A list of books Marx drew up under the head, "Russian on My Bookshelf" (1881), contains nearly 120 titles. Lenin wrote: "Marx and Engels, who both knew Russian and read Russian books, took a lively interest in the country, followed the Russian revolutionary movement with sympathy and maintained contact with Russian revolutionaries."

Marx attached great importance to the endeavours of Nikolai Chernyshevsky. He had a high opinion of him as publicist, scholar, and revolutionary democrat. Chernyshevsky's exposures of the tsarist authoritarian regime, his unshakeable faith in the coming socialist order, and profound knowledge of Russia, were highly commended by Marx and Engels.



It had been Marx's intention to write a biography of Chernyshevsky, but illness prevented him from carrying out his plan.

The chapter contains material about V. V. Bervi's book, *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*, which he wrote under the pen-name of N. Flerovsky, and which Marx had studied closely. Indeed, Marx described Bervi as an impartial observer and industrious worker.

During the last period of his life, while devoting his main attention to political economy, Marx also studied chemistry, agrochemistry, biology, geology, mineralogy, and physiology. For years, too, he studied mathematics, engaging in research. In the early 1880s, in fact, he produced two original manuscripts, entitled, "On the Concept of the Derived Function" and "On the Differential".

World history, too, engaged Marx's attention. He perused dozens of historical books and, among others, Schlosser's nine-volume *Universal History*, taking notes and copying passages referring to the period from the 1st to the 17th century.

Thousands of people lacking ideological seasoning and experience in class struggle joined the working-class movement in the latter half of the 19th century. In the circumstances, it was especially necessary to see to the purity of Marxism. In a number of distinctly polemical works, Marx defended and elaborated on the principles of his revolutionary doctrine, attacking Bakuninism and Lassalleism. A special place here goes to the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which became a programme document of scientific communism.

In the last few years of his life, just as during the period of the First International, Marx was the focus to which led the threads from various leaders of the European and American socialist and working-class movement, and from the newly-founded socialist parties of some European countries. Socialists turned to him, as did various other participants in the liberation movement, for help and advice. "The rest of my life," Marx said, "will be devoted, like my efforts in the past, to the triumph of the social ideas which one day, be sure of it, will bring about the universal rule of the proletariat."

* * *

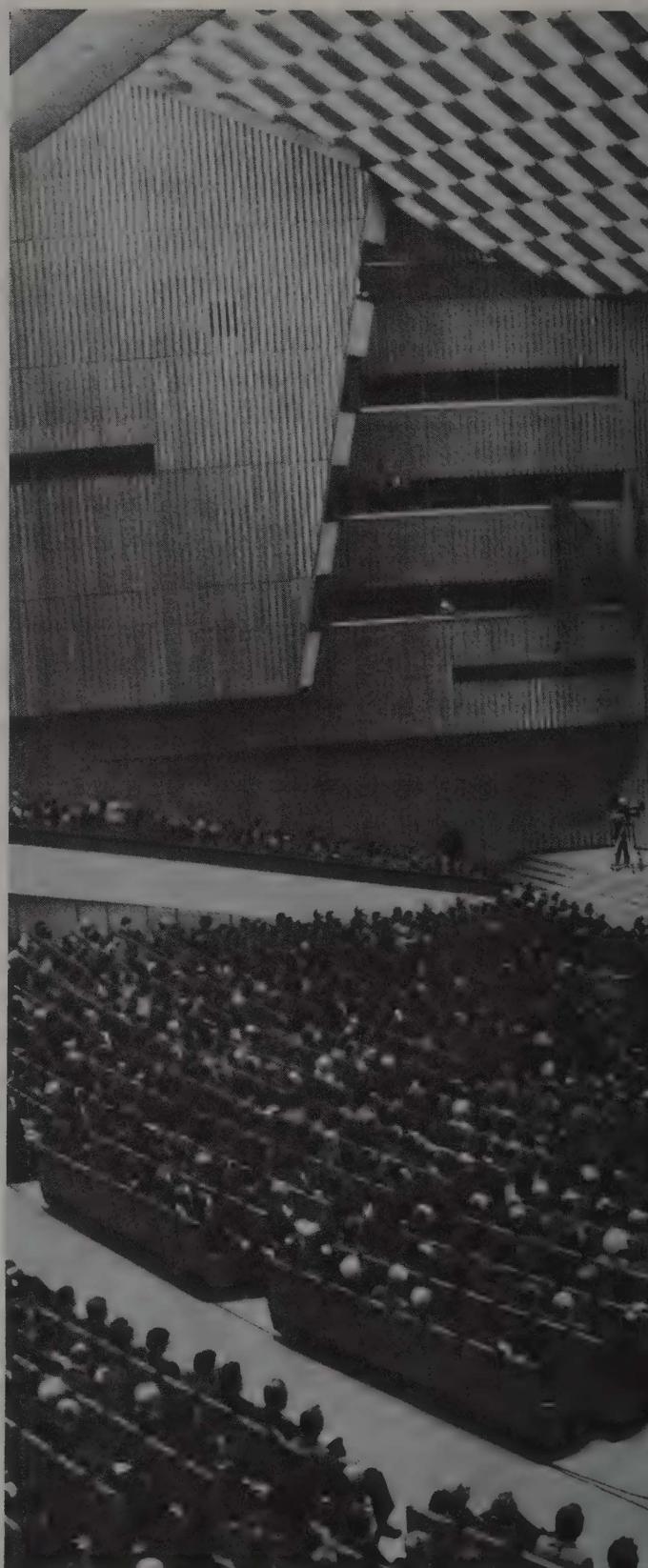
The 20th century has seen the embodiment in practice of scientific communism, for it is a century of the revolutionary transformation of society on the basis of the Marxist doctrine, which was elaborated upon in Leninism, the doctrine of Lenin.

Marxism-Leninism is a genuinely scientific theory of the development of society. "It expresses the vital interests of the working people, and the ideals of social justice," said Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th Congress of the CPSU. "It derives its vitality from its everlasting youthfulness, its constant capacity for development and creative generalisation of the new facts and phenomena, and from its experience of revolutionary struggle and social reconstruction."

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the main event of the 20th century, was Marxism-Leninism's greatest triumph, for it ushered in the new era of transition from capitalism to socialism. The proletariat of Russia, which carried out the socialist revolution, was led by the Bolshevik Party with Lenin at its head. Thanks to the October Revolution, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism became a great material force of worldwide significance.

Under the leadership of Lenin's Communist Party, the Soviet people carried out radical revolutionary transformations in all areas of material, social, political, and intellectual life. They built a socialist society, and carried into effect Marx's prediction of a society of social justice in which the economy, politics, ideology and culture are the expression of truly humanitarian ideals, governed by the principle, "All in the name of man, all for the good of man". The rich theoretical and practical experience of the CPSU accumulated when building socialist society, has become part of the international revolutionary scientific theory, and represents a new stage in its development and implementation.

The emergence of the socialist world system and the successes scored by the socialist countries are vital evidence that the theory and practice of scientific communism, which is exercising ever





greater influence across the world, is workable and effective. The growing prestige and power of the countries of the socialist community—this is evidence of the great vitality of the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin.

The communist parties in capitalist countries, acting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, apply them imaginatively to the specific conditions in their countries.

History has proved that only Marxism-Leninism as theory and socialism as social practice can provide the answers to questions that arise ever more sharply in all parts of the world. And the deeper the great historical process of the revolutionary renewal of

the world goes, the greater is the significance of Marxism-Leninism.

* * *

Associates and staff of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU, and those of the Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Museum participated in preparing this publication. Use was made of the English 50-volume edition of the works of Marx and Engels, the scientific biographies of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and the works of Soviet and foreign Marxist historians.

KARL MARX

HIS LIFE AND WORK

1818-1841

If we have chosen the position in life in which we can most of all work for mankind, no burdens can bow us down...

Karl Marx

1. Trier in the 1830s



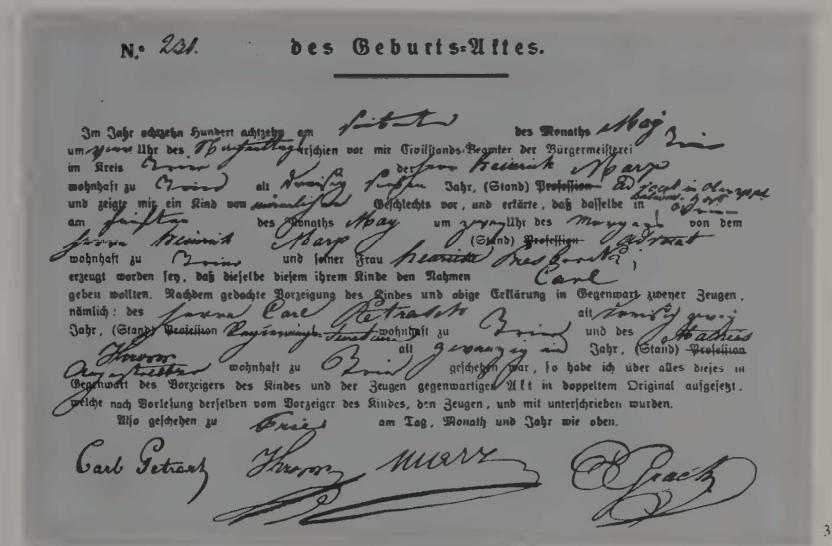


Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818 in Trier, Rhine Province, Prussia.

"SINCE 1815 RHENISH PRUSSIA HAS BEEN CONSIDERED ONE OF THE MOST PROGRESSIVE PROVINCES IN GERMANY, AND RIGHTLY SO..."

"IT IS THE ONLY PART OF GERMANY WHOSE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT HAS ALMOST REACHED THE LEVEL OF MODERN BOURGEOIS SOCIETY: DEVELOPED INDUSTRY, EXTENSIVE TRADE, ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL AND FREE OWNERSHIP OF LAND; THE PREDOMINANCE IN THE TOWNS OF A STRONG BOURGEOISIE AND A NUMEROUS PROLETARIAT AND IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF A MULTITUDE OF DEBT-RIDDEN ALLOTMENT PEASANTS..."

FREDERICK ENGELS



2. The house in Trier where Marx was born

3. The birth certificate of Karl Marx

"In the year eighteen hundred and eighteen, on the seventh day of the month of May, at four o'clock in the afternoon, there appeared before me ... Herr Heinrich Marx, domiciled in Trier, aged thirty-seven, by profession barrister of the Higher Court of Appeal, who showed me a male child and stated that the said child had been born in Trier, on the fifth day of the month of May at two o'clock in the morning, to Herr Heinrich Marx, barrister by profession, domiciled in Trier, and his wife Henriette Presborck, and that they wished to give the name Carl to this their child..."

Heinrich Marx (1777-1838), Marx's father, counsellor of justice in Trier, was a widely read man of no mean accomplishments, a connoisseur of classical literature and a serious student of philosophy. His progressive philosophical views, however, went along with moderately liberal political convictions. Karl was a loving son who deeply respected his father.

Henriette Marx, née Presborck (1787-1863), Marx's mother, dedicated herself to caring for the family and raising her nine children.

4. A view of the living room in an early 19th-century Trier home (reproduced by the Museum of German History in the German Democratic Republic)

5. The Porta Nigra, one of the important Roman remains in Trier





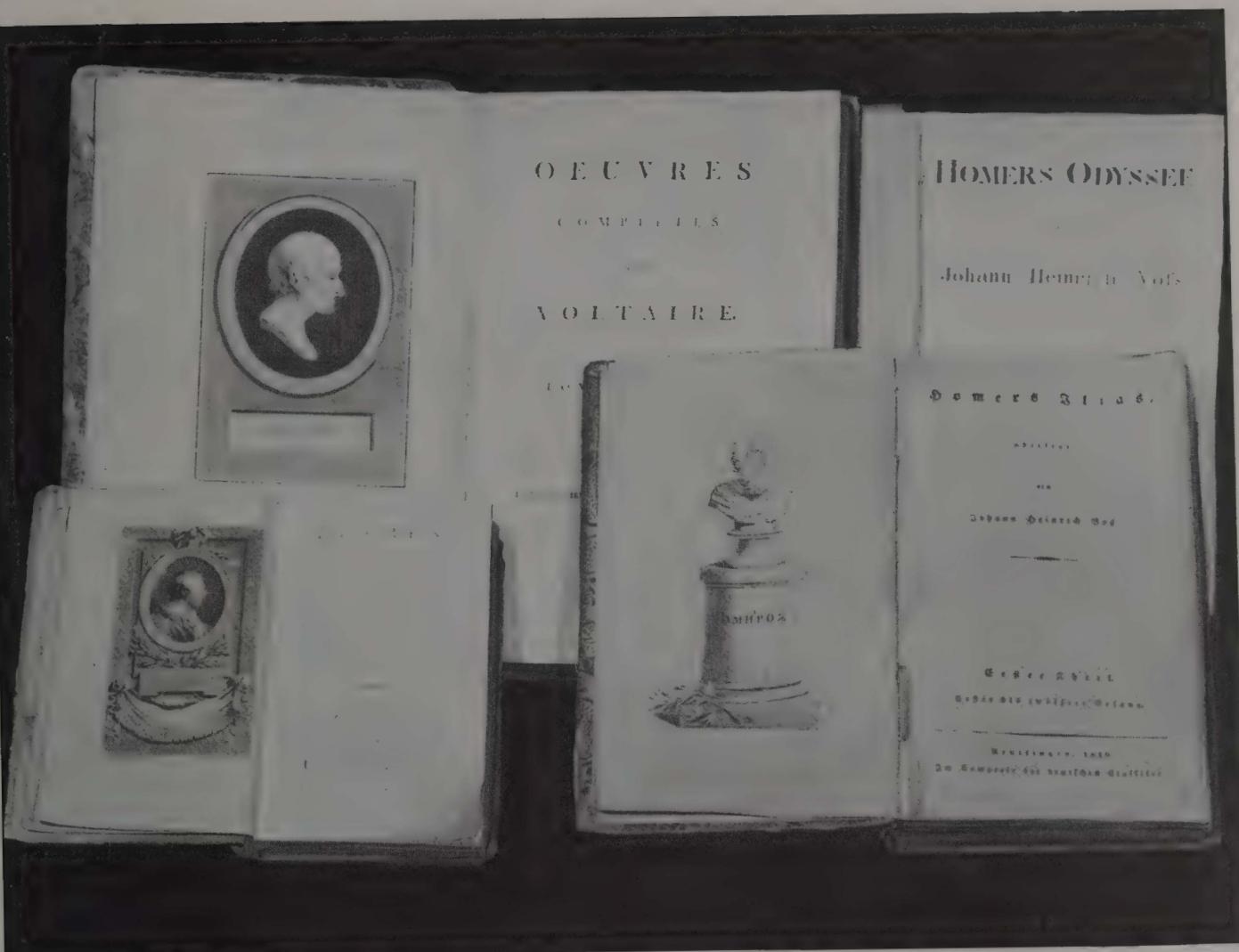
6. The gymnasium in Trier which Marx attended from October 1830 to September 1835

7. The favourite books of schoolboy Marx

Among the teachers at the Trier Gymnasium, schoolboy Marx was especially fond of the headmaster, Johann Hugo Wytténbach, who taught history and philosophy, and Johann Steininger, the maths and physics teacher. Their progressive views influenced the development of Marx's outlook.

8. Johann Hugo Wytténbach (1767-1848)

9. Johann Steininger (1794-1874)

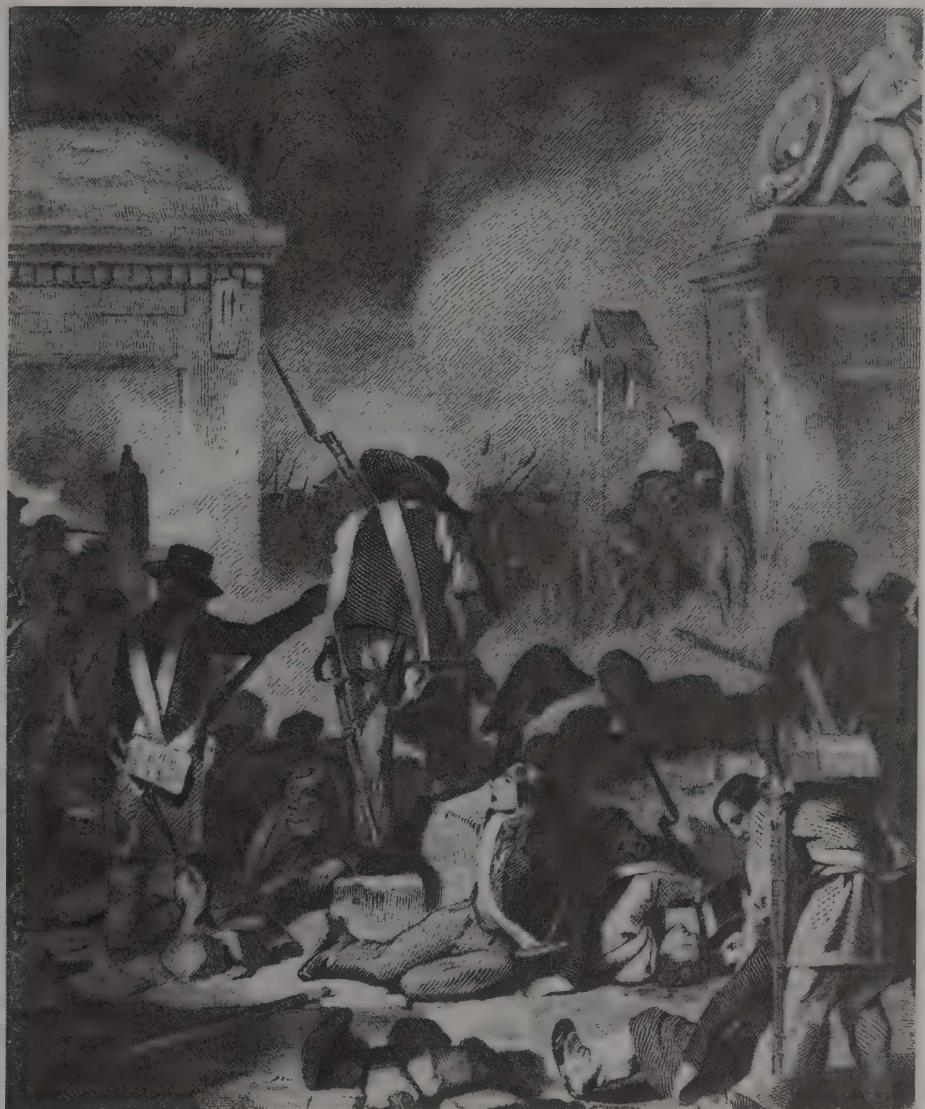




The years Marx attended school witnessed a number of revolutionary events in various West European countries.

The July revolution occurred in France in 1830, followed by a revolution in Belgium in September of that year, and uprisings in Poland in 1830 and 1831.

The proletariat burst into the arena of political struggle in the 1830s, with weavers rebelling in 1831 and 1834 in Lyons, a major textile centre in France. In the latter half of the 1830s Chartism, a revolutionary workers' mass movement, came into being in England.



10. The July 1830 revolution in France. "To arms, Citizens!" was the general cry. "Form your own battalions!"

11. The revolution in Belgium. September 1830

12. Suppression of the Lyons weavers' uprising, 1834





13

13. *The Chartist uprising in Newport, South Wales, England, in November 1839*



14

A mass demonstration for a united Germany and political freedoms was held on May 27, 1832, beside the ruins of Hambach Castle in the Palatinate.

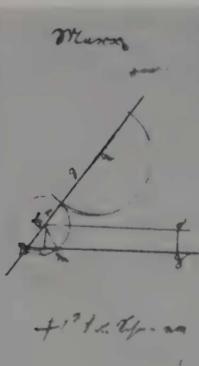
14. *The Hambach festivities of May 27, 1832*

15. *"The National Festivities of the Germans in Hambach", 1832*
The cover of a pamphlet

The pamphlet contained speeches made at the Hambach festivities. In 1833, during a police search in the Trier Gymnasium, a copy of the pamphlet was found in the possession of one of the boys. It was confiscated.



15



The 22nd was over again and
we had buffalo skin, the same
as last night & we got some
coffee & tea & bread & butter
so now it is well. They are the
best of people in this country

Results of the third run of the
test, Jan 20 to April 20, 1928. The
time of the test began at 6 A.M. on
the 20th and the end of the test
at 10 P.M. on the 20th. The tempera-
ture was measured at 10-min. inter-
vals and the relative humidity
at 1-hr. intervals. The test
began at 6 A.M. on Jan 20, 1928.
The temperature was 68° F. at 6 A.M.
and 70° F. at 10 A.M. At 1 P.M. the
temperature was 72° F. and the
relative humidity 80%. At 2 P.M. the
temperature was 74° F. and the
relative humidity 75%. At 3 P.M. the
temperature was 76° F. and the
relative humidity 70%. At 4 P.M. the
temperature was 78° F. and the
relative humidity 65%. At 5 P.M. the
temperature was 80° F. and the
relative humidity 60%. At 6 P.M. the
temperature was 82° F. and the
relative humidity 55%. At 7 P.M. the
temperature was 84° F. and the
relative humidity 50%. At 8 P.M. the
temperature was 86° F. and the
relative humidity 45%. At 9 P.M. the
temperature was 88° F. and the
relative humidity 40%. At 10 P.M. the
temperature was 90° F. and the
relative humidity 35%.

Look again — I believe also the



16. A page of Marx's examination paper in mathematics

17. Karl Marx, "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession". First page of the school-leaving composition written in August 1835
Facsimile

"WE CANNOT ALWAYS ATTAIN THE POSITION TO WHICH WE BELIEVE WE ARE CALLED; OUR RELATIONS IN SOCIETY HAVE TO SOME EXTENT ALREADY BEGUN TO BE ESTABLISHED BEFORE WE ARE IN A POSITION TO DETERMINE THEM... THE CHIEF GUIDE WHICH MUST DIRECT US IN THE CHOICE OF A PROFESSION IS THE WELFARE OF MANKIND..."

"IF HE WORKS ONLY FOR HIMSELF, HE MAY PERHAPS BECOME A FAMOUS MAN OF LEARNING, A GREAT SAGE, AN EXCELLENT POET, BUT HE CAN NEVER BE A PERFECT, TRULY GREAT MAN..."



19

19. A view of Bonn in the 1840s

20. Bonn University. Marx attended the Department of Law from October 15, 1835 to August 22, 1836

"IF WE HAVE CHOSEN THE POSITION IN LIFE IN WHICH WE CAN MOST OF ALL WORK FOR MANKIND, NO BURDENS CAN BOW US DOWN, BECAUSE THEY ARE SACRIFICES FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL; THEN WE SHALL EXPERIENCE NO PETTY, LIMITED, SELFISH JOY, BUT OUR HAPPINESS WILL BELONG TO MILLIONS..."

18. The Certificate of Maturity issued to Karl Marx on his leaving the Trier Gymnasium on September 24, 1835
Sheet One

"...FROM TRIER, 17 YEARS OF AGE, OF EVANGELICAL FAITH, SON OF BARRISTER-AT-LAW, HERR JUSTIZRAT MARX IN TRIER, WAS FIVE YEARS AT THE GYMNASIUM IN TRIER..."

"I. MORAL BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS SUPERIORS AND FELLOW PUPILS WAS GOOD.

"II. APTITUDES AND DILIGENCE. HE HAS GOOD AP-TITUDES..."



20





21. Members of the Trier Students' Association (*Landsmannschaft*) at Bonn University, 1836. Karl Marx is fourth from right.

22. Karl Marx the student

23. Certificate issued to Marx at Bonn University when he transferred to Berlin University. August 22, 1836
First and last sheets



24



25

Bonnerstag. Nach der Besinnung in der hohen Ministerialverfassung vom 26. September 1848, ~~hat jeder Studenten während der Vorlesung nur denjenigen Platz in den Auditorien einzunehmen, welches die ihm von dem interessanten Lehrer gegebene Notiz auf dem Ausdrucke bezeichnet und zwar das ganze Semester hindurch. Auch soll, wenn ein Studenten verhindert wird, einige Tage oder länger an den Vorlesungen Thiel zu schauen, kein anderer befreit werden, von diesem Platz weiter irgend einen Vorrechte Recht zu nehmen.~~

Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin.

Anmeldebogen.

Der Studiums

Hat Herr studierende?	Ne der Zahl der Studenten an der Universität	Vorwerk des Studenten an der Universität	Zeugnis der Studenten über den Besuch der Vorlesungen
Vorlesungen: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Bei anwesend	Bei anwesend	Bei anwesend

Kinder Name: Werner Datum: 18.10.57

Nachkommungen

Herrn Name:	Werner	Lebensdaten:	Werner geboren am 18.10.57
Mutter Name:	Anna	Lebensdaten:	Anna geboren am 18.10.57
Vater Name:	Werner	Lebensdaten:	Werner geboren am 18.10.57
Brüder:	Werner	Lebensdaten:	Werner geboren am 18.10.57
Schwestern:	Werner	Lebensdaten:	Werner geboren am 18.10.57

26



24. A view of Berlin in the 1840s

25. The house in Berlin where Marx lived from October 1836 to March 1837

26. Karl Marx's progress report at Berlin University

27. Berlin University where Marx studied law from October 1836 to March 1841

28. List of Berlin University students, where Marx's name is listed

Namen der Studenten.	Geburtsort oder Vaterland.	Studium.	Wohnung.	
			Studienjahr	Namen der Straßen.
Loerentz, N.	37 — Groß. Posen	Theol.	13	Gr. Hamburger
Loerentz, S.	37 — — —	Phil.	15	Alte Jakobs
v. Loga, H. C. L.	— 36 — Weißrhein	Rechte	31	Alte Jakobs
Lodde, H.	37 — Berlin	Med.	34	N. Körnmand
Lommer, G.	37 — Meiningen	Phil.	22	Wall
Loote, H. C. T.	— 36 — Pommern	Theol.	21	Schultheitza
Lorenz, R. H.	— 35 — Berlin	Rechte	13	Al. Hamburger
Vorsbach, W.	— 35 — Weißrhein	*	40	N. kommandant.
Loring, W. L.	— 33 — Berlin	Theol.	20	N. kommandant.
Buchmann, G. A.	36 — Nied. Lausig	*	20	Dorothea
v. Lutz, F.	36 — Berlin	Rechte	31	Mobert
Lude, R. W. J.	36 — Provin. Brandenburg	Phil.	10	Wolff
Ludwigs, F. W. J.	— 34 — Schwerdt a. S.	Rechte	33	Al. Wolff
Lueters, A. G.	39 — Schlesien	*	90	Friedrichs
Lueters, G.	— 36 — König. Hannover	Med.	15	Göthe
Lueter, G. W. G.	34 — Potsdam	Theol.	32	Zieten
Lueter, K.	34 — Preßburg	Phil.	29	Mauer
Lueter, E. L.	— 36 — Groß. Posen	*	14	Elter
Lucht, G.	16 — Mecklenburg	Med.	26	Mittel
Guenther, G. B.	— 36 — Westmark	Theol.	16	Scharen
Guenther, W.	— 37 — Weißrhein	Med.	5	Louisen
Bar. v. Lügau, R. A.	— 16 — Berlin	Rechte	22	Friedrichs
Lüttichow, C.	36 — Russland	Phil.	34	Dorothea
Lützow, J.	— 36 — Sachsen	*	5	Görlitz
Macf., F. T.	17 — Baden	Med.	10	Marien
Macf., F. M.	17 — — —	Theol.	56	N. Friedreichs
Macm., T.	— 16 — Neumark	*	6	Louisen
Macm., A. G.	15 — Schweiz	Med.	76	Unt. d. Linden
Mannheim, J. A.	34 — Groß. Posen	*	16	Schumanns
Mantte, W.	— 36 — Hamburg	Theol.	1	Karls
Matzschke, R.	— 33 — Berlin	Med.	4	Juden
Markus, R. C.	— 37 — Nied. Lausig	Theol.	41	Mauer
Maranell, Th.	35 — Wittenberg	Med.	21	Mittel
Marklein, O.	— 33 — Berlin	Rechte	50	N. Friedreichs
Marklun, W.	— 36 — Posen	Med.	6	Schön. Dam
Markoll, F. Bieder-	— 36 — Nossau	Rechte	51	Dorotheen
Martini, H.	— 37 — Weißrhein	Theol.	13	Französische
Martini, H.	— 37 — Berlin	*	28	Marstrosen
Marx, R. L.	— 36 — Weißrhein	Rechte	50	Alte Jakobs
v. Matallierich, J.	— 36 — Kralau	Med.	16	Heeren
Maurer, R.	— 35 — Berlin	Rechte	78	Linden
Maxwell, R. H.	— 37 — Nied. Lausig	Theol.	3	Käsernen
Meissner, R. J.	— 35 — Provin. Brandenburg	*	55a	Charloten
Meissner, R.	— 35 — Berlin	Rechte	72	Landsberger

SIG

Lake. See 10th Symposium

"Spineous 27 or less!"

Er will überreden, der wird hingeworfen als ein abgelehrter Sohn Gott allein.
Der geringe ist in einer Rüfung auf Einsamkeit gewimpert.
In Freiheit und Freiheit führt nicht zu einem, sondern zu dem Abenteuer des
Gedankens. Das ~~Wissen~~ Erkenntnis ist eine Art von Erkenntnis
und einer reinlichen Theorie zu gleichen. Bei den Mönchen ist die Freiheit nicht
eine Freiheit, sondern eine Art von Einsamkeit. Das Nichtwissen
ist Nichtwissen in Form, nicht Freiheit in Form. Ein Erkenntnis ist nicht
eine Erkenntnis, die man erkennt, die Freiheit ist nicht eine Form des
Erkenntnisses.

Darum ist es in den Regeln nicht vorgesehen, dass der Absatz von
einem Verkäufer, dessen Kaufkraft und Qualität einer bestimmten, bestimmt
eine entsprechende Auswirkung auf die Kaufkraft und Qualität eines anderen Verkäufers.
Es ist nicht ausreichend, dass ein Verkäufer eine bestimmte Auswirkung auf die Kaufkraft und Qualität eines anderen Verkäufers hat, wenn er nicht auch eine entsprechende Auswirkung auf die Kaufkraft und Qualität des eigenen Verkäufers hat.

*29. Marx's letter to his father in Trier,
November 10, 1837*

"DEAR FATHER.

DEAR FATHER,
"THERE ARE MOMENTS IN
ONE'S LIFE WHICH ARE LIKE
FRONTIER POSTS MARKING THE
COMPLETION OF A PERIOD BUT
AT THE SAME TIME CLEARLY
INDICATING A NEW DIRECTION..."

"AFTER MY ARRIVAL IN BERLIN, I BROKE OFF ALL HITHER-TO EXISTING CONNECTIONS, MADE VISITS RARELY AND UNWILLINGLY, AND TRIED TO IMMERSE MYSELF IN SCIENCE AND ART...

"POETRY, HOWEVER, COULD BE AND HAD TO BE ONLY AN ACCOMPANIMENT; I HAD TO

STUDY LAW AND ABOVE ALL
FELT THE URGE TO WRESTLE
WITH PHILOSOPHY... I DID GAIN
A GENERAL VIEW OF THE MA-
TERIAL AND A LIKING FOR IT...
IT BECAME CLEAR TO ME THAT
THERE COULD BE NO HEADWAY
WITHOUT PHILOSOPHY...

"BUSY WITH THESE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS, DURING MY FIRST TERM I SPENT MANY A SLEEPLESS NIGHT, FOUGHT MANY A BATTLE, AND ENDURED MUCH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL EXCITEMENT..."

"FROM THE IDEALISM WHICH,
BY THE WAY, I HAD COMPARED
AND NOURISHED WITH THE
IDEALISM OF KANT AND FICHTE,
I ARRIVED AT THE POINT OF
SEEKING THE IDEA IN REALITY

ITSELF... THROUGH A NUMBER OF MEETINGS WITH FRIENDS IN STRALOW I CAME ACROSS A DOCTORS' CLUB, WHICH INCLUDES SOME UNIVERSITY LECTURERS...

"PLEASE, DEAR FATHER, EX-
CUSE MY ILLEGIBLE HANDWRIT-
ING AND BAD STYLE; IT IS AL-
MOST 4 O'CLOCK, THE CANDLE
HAS BURNT ITSELF OUT, AND
MY EYES ARE DIM..."

30. Stralow, a suburb of Berlin where Marx took a holiday in the spring of 1837

31. The house in Stralow where Marx spent his holidays

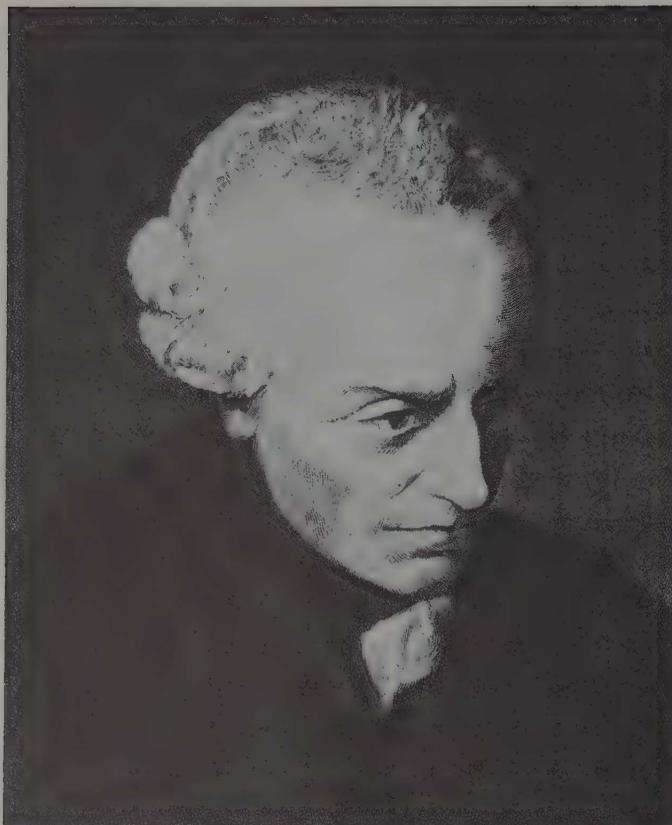
32. A memorial to Marx's stay in Stralow, unveiled in 1967

On coming to Stralow, Marx had, as he put it, "got to know Hegel from beginning to end, together with most of his disciples". Marx did not accept Hegel's conservative political ideas, but eagerly espoused his dialectical method of cognition.

"THEREIN LAY THE TRUE SIGNIFICANCE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE HEGELIAN PHILOSOPHY ... THAT IT ONCE FOR ALL DEALT THE DEATH BLOW TO THE FINALITY OF ALL PRODUCTS OF HUMAN THOUGHT AND ACTION."

FREDERICK ENGELS





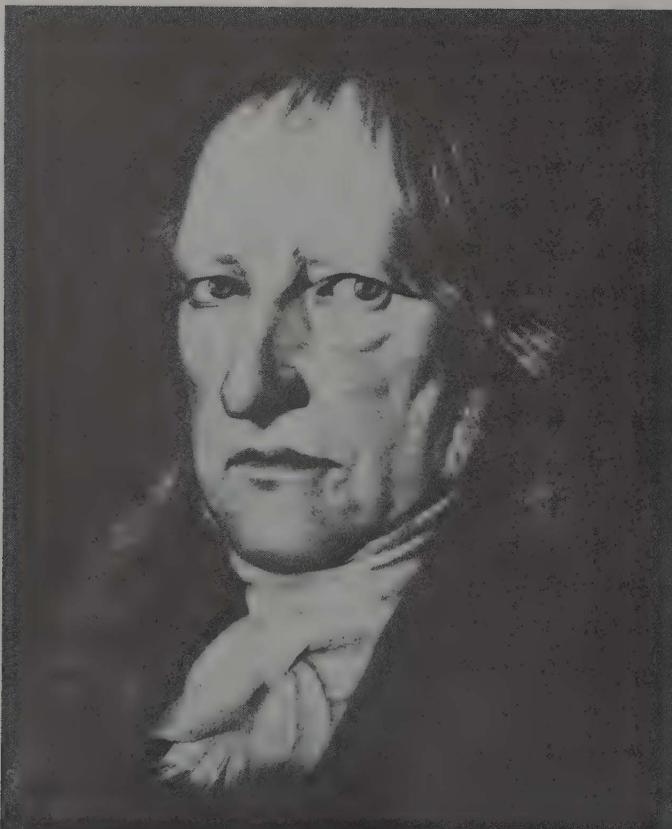
33



34

Great classical German philosophers.

- 33. *Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)*
- 34. *Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814)*
- 35. *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831)*



35

A split occurred among the disciples of Hegel after he died in 1831. The left wing of the Hegelian school who called themselves Left or Young Hegelians—Strauss, the brothers Bruno and Edgar Bauer, Feuerbach, and others, drew radical conclusions from Hegel's philosophy, and sharply attacked all religious and philosophical dogmas. From criticising religion they went on to criticising politics.

Marx made close friends with members of the Doctors' Club, a Berlin circle of Young Hegelians, and soon became one of the club's moving spirits.

- 36. *Bruno Bauer (1809-1882)*
- 37. *David Friedrich Strauss, The Life of Jesus, Vol. I, Tübingen, 1835-36*
- The title page*
- 38. *David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874)*



39. Letter of Young Hegelian Moses Hess to writer Berthold Auerbach, September 2, 1841

A fragment

"BE READY TO MEET THE GREATEST AND
PERHAPS THE ONLY LIVING REAL PHILOSOPHER... DR. MARX, AS MY IDOL IS CALLED,
IS STILL A VERY YOUNG MAN (HE CAN BE NO

mein Cam Rumpfle kommt als auf dem
Hofe) und die Dinge sind sehr
auf sich gespannt. Ich gewalt
seiner Freude, der kann nicht aufhören
zu jubeln und wenn er nicht über Moritz
lacht, dann über Peter und freut
sich auf Lutz und will mich freuen! —
Romola ist ein Bonn Fair 1890 am 2.
Lugk läuft auf meiste Fair kleidete
Söhnen Fair. Sein Sohn Moritz
lacht, ich kann mir nicht vorstellen
wie er kann, aber Lutz ist
der offizielle Prinz und jetzt ist
er das, weil ein Prinz ist in der
niedrigen Pfalzgrafschaft. Aber
Friedrich! ist meiste jetzt auf
dem Camus!

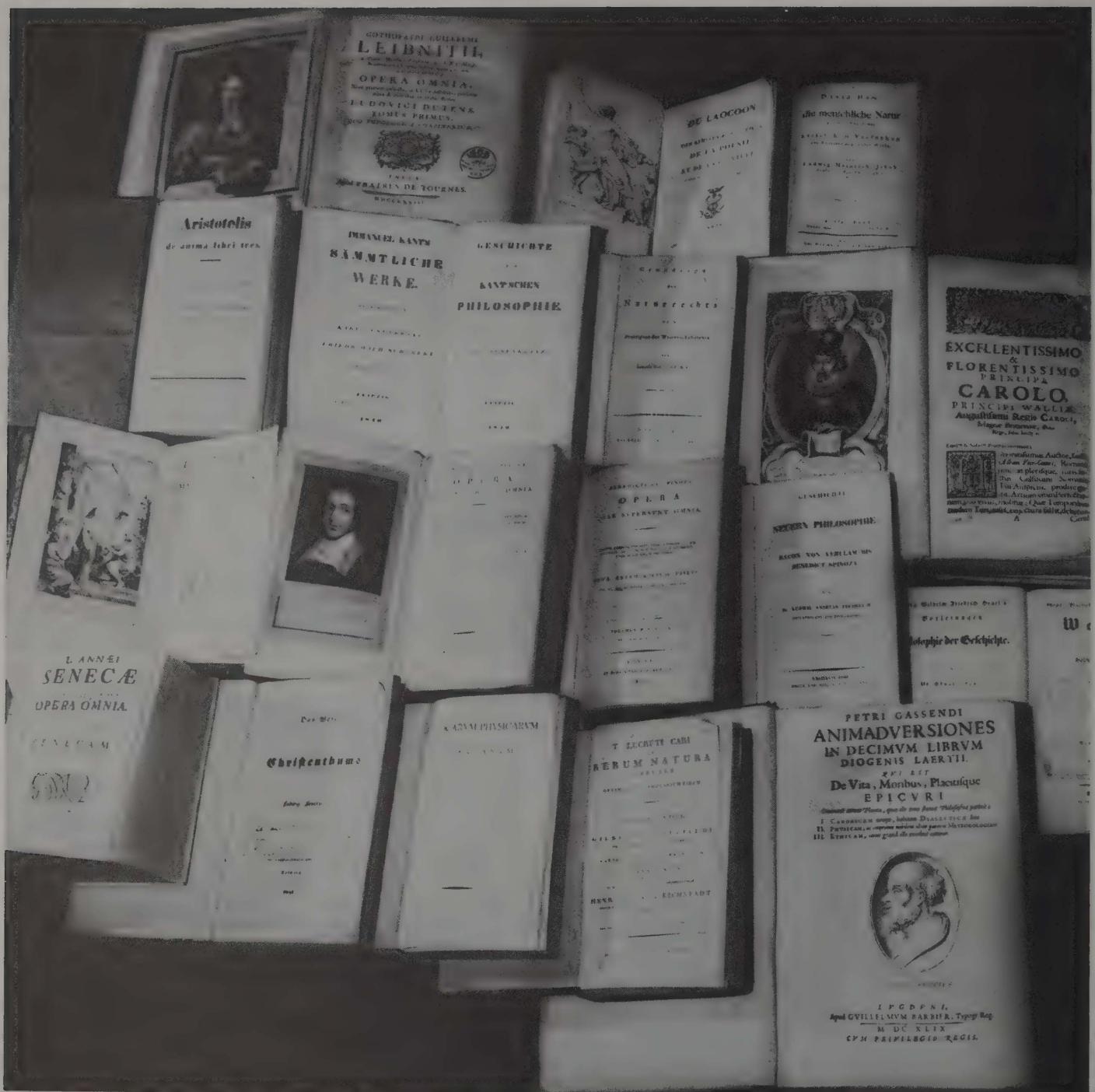
Freude !
Thomas Corcoran !
23 Mary - so freust du mir abgott,
1 auf ein junges junges Moran (daher
24 für Biffert all) ~~deutsch~~ in Aar:
alter Cäfer Käfer von ~~den~~ sehr selig
Klost verstecken will: es versteckt
mit den liebsten Spiel. Lough Lee
, zwischen den Mitz; Denke die Rosse
Volteriva, Hollberg, Lessing, Grus!

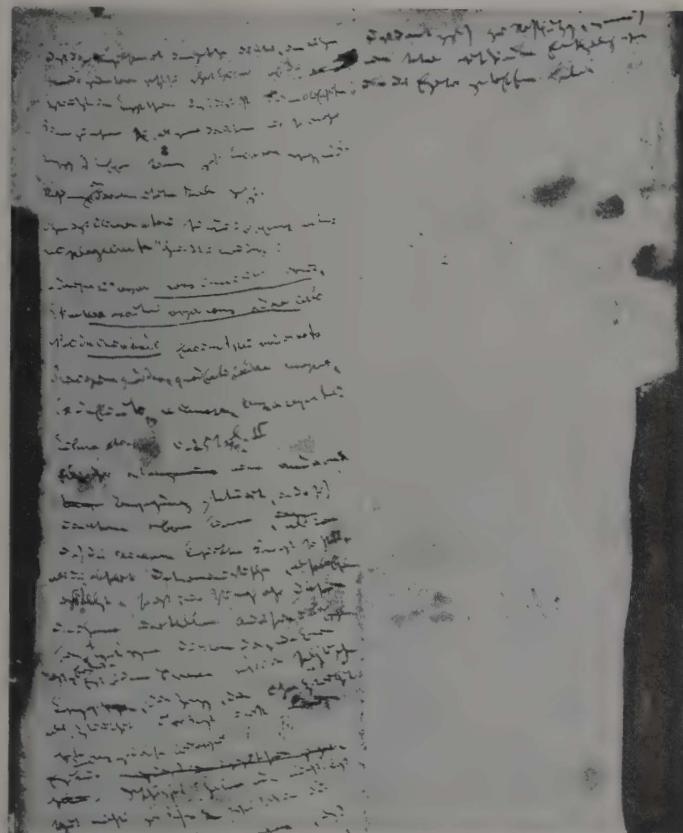


MORE THAN 24), WHO WILL DEAL THE FINAL BLOW AT MEDIEVAL RELIGION AND POLITICS; HE COMBINES THE MOST PROFOUND PHILOSOPHICAL EARNESTNESS WITH THE KEENEST WIT; IMAGINE TO YOURSELF ROUSSEAU, VOLTAIRE, HOLBACH, LESSING, HEINE AND HEGEL COMBINED INTO ONE PERSONALITY; AND I MEAN COMBINED, NOT MECHANICALLY MIXED—AND THIS WILL GIVE YOU AN IDEA OF DR. MARX."

40. An allegory on criticism of religion by Left Hegelians David Strauss, Bruno Bauer and Ludwig Feuerbach; Bruno Bauer is shown riding an ostrich (Strauss in German) and chasing a lion, eagle, bull and angel, which symbolise religion, into a river aflame (Feuerbach in German)







41. Books which Marx read while working on his dissertation in 1839-41

42. A facsimile of a page from Marx's notebook with comments on Epicurean, Stoic, and Skeptic philosophy made in Berlin when working on his dissertation in 1839

43. Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity, Leipzig, 1841

The title page

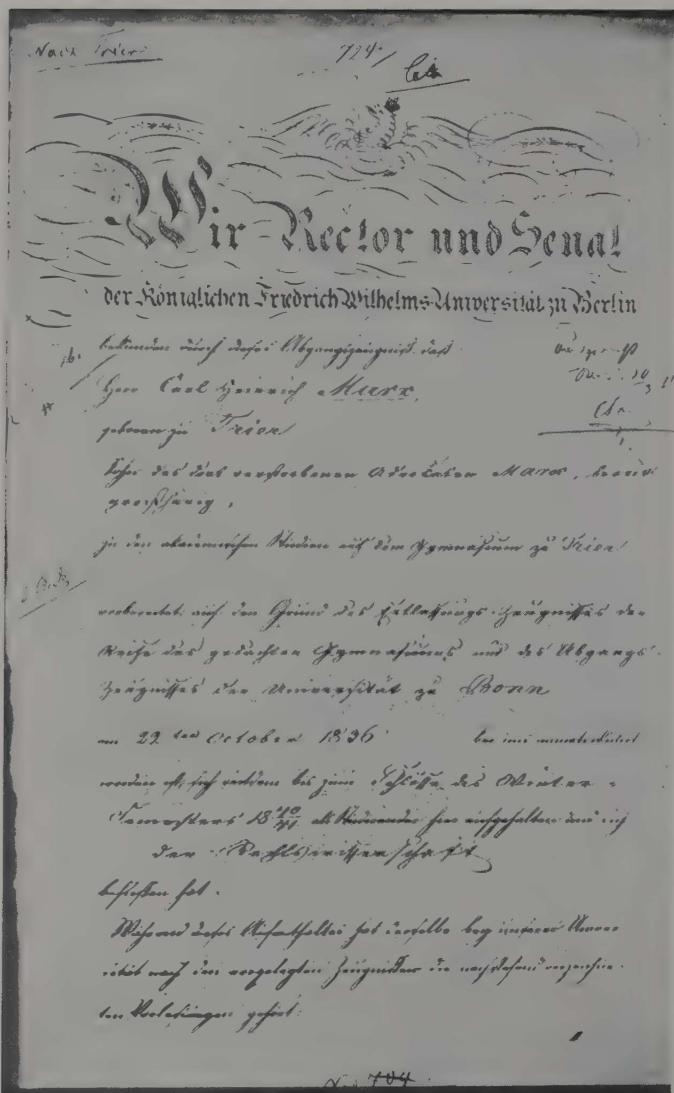
In 1841 Marx read Ludwig Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*.

"...CAME FEUERBACH'S ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY... WITHOUT CIRCUMLOCUTIONS IT PLACED MATERIALISM ON THE THRONE... ONE MUST HIMSELF HAVE EXPERIENCED THE LIBERATING EFFECT OF THIS BOOK TO GET AN IDEA OF IT. ENTHUSIASM WAS GENERAL; WE ALL BECAME AT ONCE FEUERBACHIANS."

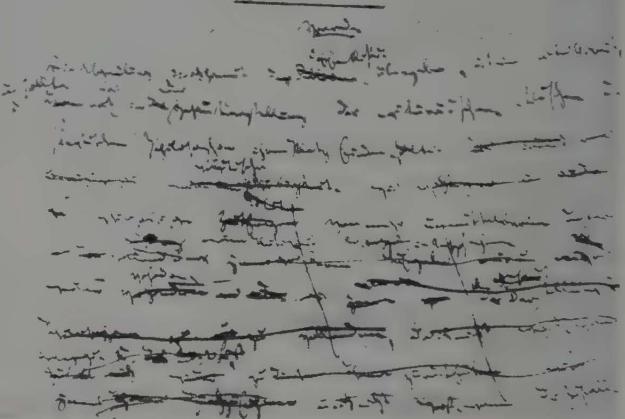
FREDERICK ENGELS

44. Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872)—eminent German materialist philosopher of the pre-Marxian period





„Zu öffnete Esprang, und so ist es bestellt,
und somit das Gesetz gegen das Eltern
so eröffnet zu verhandeln. Das Jura
ist gegen das Eltern in den allgemeinen
bedingten Oberbegriff hat ausgeschlossen
aufgeschlagen. Das Eltern will ferner
eine und absehbar Rechtsordnung, nicht
der Mutter, die das Recht hat die Erfahrung
auf ausgeschlossen freist ist, da sie
noch eine Rechtsordnung bildet, wie die
Mutterordnung auf rechtes nur ist beginnen
will.“



45. Certificate issued to Marx on March 30, 1841, on finishing Berlin University

Sheet one

46. Difference Between the Democratic and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature

Marx's doctoral dissertation

A fragment

47. Jena University

48. Diploma conferring on Marx the academic degree of Doctor of Philosophy issued at Jena University on April 15, 1841

Now Marx, vested with the doctoral degree, and Bruno Bauer were planning to teach philosophy at Bonn University, but the Prussian Government's stepped up repressions prevented this.





1842-1844

The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society.

Marx first advanced it in 1844.

V. I. Lenin

1. Karl Marx the student





2. A view of Cologne in the mid-19th century

3. Cologne of the 1840s

Karl Marx stayed in Cologne, one of the biggest cities of Germany and the hub of Rhenish economic life, from October 1842 to May 1843.

In Prussia, the early 1840s witnessed

a surge of feudal reaction. New instructions of the Prussian Government (1841) afforded more scope to the reactionary censors. Political journalism became the battlefield between forces of reaction and progress. Marx joined the fray with enthusiasm.

4. Karl Marx, Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction

From the symposium Anekdata zur neuesten Philosophie und Publicistik, Vol. I, 1843

Marx wrote this article, the first in his long journalistic career, in 1842. His criticism of censorship was here laced with resolute condemnation of the vicious nature of the feudal absolutistic regime. The article was not published





B e i b l a t t

in Nr. 298 der Rheinischen Zeitung

1849

68

Berichtigungen des 4. rheinischen Landtags. Von 1868 überlassen

Broadens your base & gives you a better.

6. Cutting firewood

7. Karl Marx, "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly. Third Article. Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood"

Supplement to the Rheinische Zeitung, October 25, 1842

Here Marx makes his first steps in the study of the class role of the monarchist feudal state as an instrument for the suppression of the exploited classes. He comes out as champion of the politically and socially downtrodden masses.

"IN 1842-43, AS EDITOR OF THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*, I FIRST FOUND MYSELF IN THE EMBARRASSING POSITION OF HAVING TO DISCUSS WHAT IS KNOWN AS MATERIAL INTERESTS. THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE RHINE PROVINCE ASSEMBLY ON THEFTS OF WOOD ... CAUSED ME IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO TURN MY ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC QUESTIONS," Marx wrote later.

Ministerium der Geistlichen-, Unterrichts- u. Medicinal-Angelegenheiten

Central-Bureau

Geheimes Staatsarchiv

Acta

betreffend

an Rheinische Zeitung.

Rep 76 1

aus dem Jahr 1842.

Reponirt.
124 Lc.

XVII Abtheilung N 19.

10. The police file started in October 1842 concerning the *Rheinische Zeitung*

Dreading the increasing revolutionary impact made by the paper, the Prussian Government passed a decision in January 1843 to ban publication of the *Rheinische Zeitung* as from April 1, 1843. An especially rigid censorship was imposed in the intervening months. The last issue came out on March 31.

11. A cartoon portraying the Prussian ministry of the 1840s

The squirrel represents reactionary Minister of Education Eichhorn (the German word for squirrel)



Erklärung.

Unterzeichnet er erklärt, daß er der jetzigen Censurverhältnisse wegen aus der Redaktion der "Rheinischen Zeitung" mit dem heutigen Tage ausgetreten ist.

Köln, den 17. März 1843.

Dr. Mart.

*12. Marx's announcement of his resignation from the *Rheinische Zeitung*'s editorial board*

*Published in the Rheinische Zeitung on
March 18, 1843*

"THE UNDERSIGNED DECLARES THAT, OWING TO THE PRESENT CONDITIONS OF CENSORSHIP, HE HAS RETIRED AS FROM TODAY FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG.

"COLOGNE, MARCH 17, 1843

"DR. MARX"

13. Petitions of Rheinische Zeitung readers to the King of Prussia protesting against the suppression of the paper
February 1843

Fifty-six petitions were submitted; they came from Cologne, Trier, Bar-men, Bernkastel, the Mosel peasants, and so on

Ullendingslingstar uppgraderingstar häning!
Allt ej quindi, är häning rind gern!

Ein Weingut ist genau dann in jeder Sache
einzigartig, wenn es durch die Eigenschaften
seines Weinbau- und Erzeugungsbereichs
eine besondere Qualität und Ausprägung
der Rebsorten und der Weine erzielt.
Die Weingüte sind nicht nur von den
Bodenbedingungen abhängig, sondern auch von
den Weinstilen und -methoden, die im
Weinbau angewandt werden. Ein Weingut
kann durch seine Weine eine besondere
Qualität und Ausprägung der Rebsorten
und der Weine erzielen, wenn es die
besten Bedingungen für die Rebsorten
und die Weine schafft.

Infolge dieser Rauigkeiten wurde offenbar ein Raupenfresser in einer Reihe von Orten entdeckt. Es handelt sich um einen kleinen Vogel mit einem hellen Kopf und einem dunklen Körper, der auf den ersten Blick wie ein Kleiner Vogel aussehen könnte. Er ist jedoch ein Raupenfresser und kann daher als Schädlinge betrachtet werden.

Die gefürchtetste Kanadervogelpest ist
der Befallsflockenzug ausgesetzt und führt, bis
die Maggots der verstopften Brustgeflechte raus sind,
zu 50-60% Verluste. Aber es gibt Mittel, gegen die
Vogelpest zu wirken, die auf jedem Lande und
in jeder Höhe einzusetzen sind.

Früngelkohl und Karotten mit
frischer Mayonnaise



14. Burial of the Rheinische Zeitung

15. Censor Saint-Paul's report on the activity of Karl Marx

A page of the manuscript

Die Mutter übertrug ihr Kind auf die Pflege einer Nachbarin, die Mutter eines kleinen Kindes, und das Kind verlor die Mutter, als sie sich nicht mehr aufzufinden wußte, und es wurde aufgefunden, daß es sich um ein Geschenk handelte, das der Vater dem Kind gemacht hatte.

"DR. MARX IS INCONTESTABLY THE THEORETICAL MASTERMIND OF THE NEWSPAPER, THE MOVING SPIRIT OF ITS THEORIES; I HAVE BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH HIM; HE IS INFINITELY FIRM IN HIS VIEWS, WHICH HAVE BECOME CONVICTIONS. OWING TO THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, HE HAS DECIDED TO LEAVE THE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG AND LEAVE PRUSSIA."

*16. Prometheus Bound, an allegory on the prohibition of the *Rheinische Zeitung* by the Prussian Government*





17

17. Kreuznach (on the Rhine) in the mid-19th century

In May 1843 Marx came to Kreuznach where his fiancée Jenny von Westphalen stayed with her mother, and resided there in the summer and autumn of 1843.

Kreuznach. They lived in love and friendship as two kindred spirits for the rest of their lives. For Marx, Jenny was a loving wife, a good mother of his children, a secretary, sagacious adviser, and faithful companion.

18. Jenny von Westphalen (1814-1881)

Jenny came from an aristocratic family. She had brains, character, and looks. Having fallen in love with Marx, she did not hesitate to throw her lot in with that of the young student from a family that was neither rich nor of the nobility. Karl and Jenny became secretly engaged in the summer of 1836, while their nuptials did not come until seven years later, on June 19, 1843 in

"IF EVER WOMAN FOUND HER HIGHEST HAPPINESS IN RENDERING OTHERS HAPPY, THAT WOMAN WAS SHE."

FREDERICK ENGELS





19



20



19. Johann Ludwig von Westphalen (1770-1842), Jenny's father

Privy Councillor Ludwig von Westphalen was on friendly terms with Karl Marx's father. The children of the two families were playmates from an early age. Karl was a frequent guest of the Westphalens. A connoisseur and lover of literature, Westphalen read and knew Homer and Shakespeare in the original languages. He called Karl Marx's attention to the ideas of Saint-Simon. Karl responded with a most impetuous attachment and deep respect. It was to Ludwig von Westphalen, indeed, that he dedicated his doctoral dissertation, "To my dear fatherly friend ... as a token of filial love".

20. Caroline von Westphalen (1780-1856), Jenny's mother

21. The house in Salzwedel where Jenny was born

22. The house in Trier where the Westphalens lived from 1816 to 1833. Marx was a frequent visitor



23. Marx's album of verse dedicated to Jenny, 1836

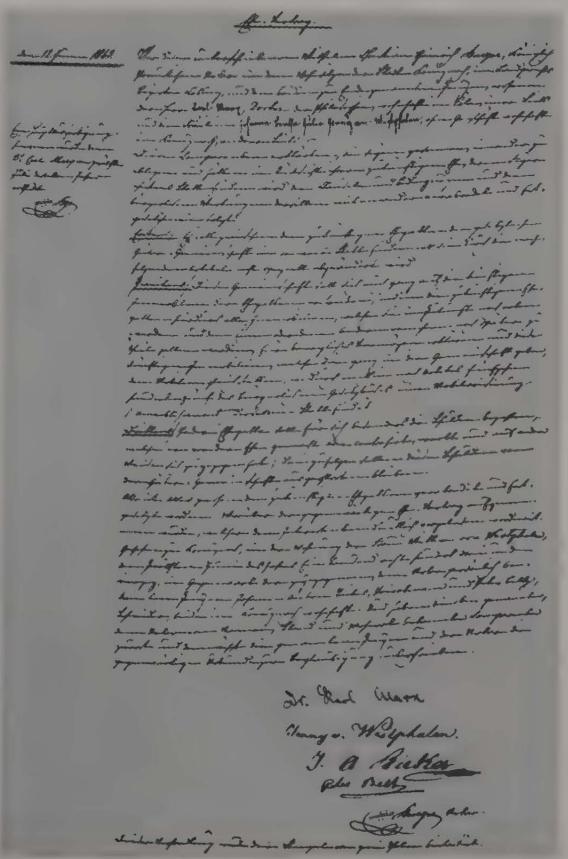
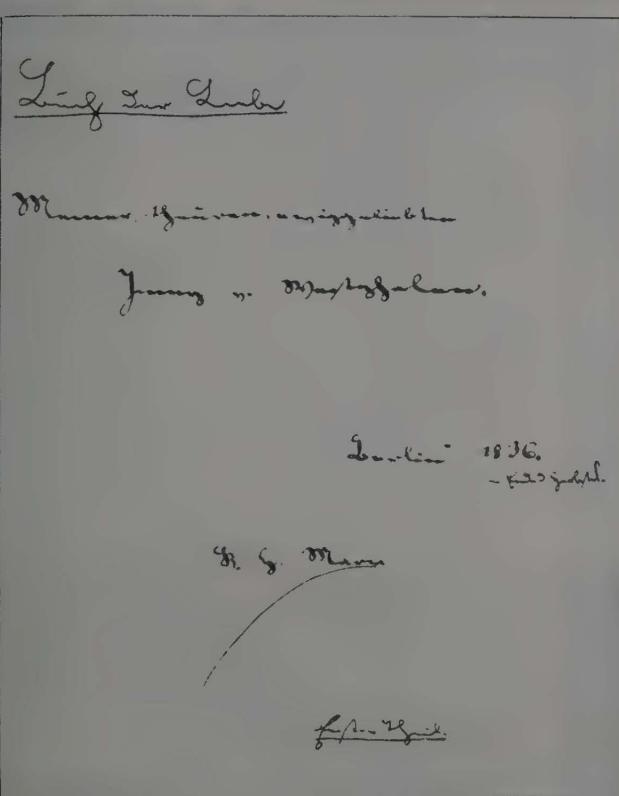
NEVER CAN I DO IN PEACE
THAT WITH WHICH MY SOUL'S OBSESSED,
NEVER TAKE THINGS AT MY EASE;
I MUST PRESS ON WITHOUT REST,

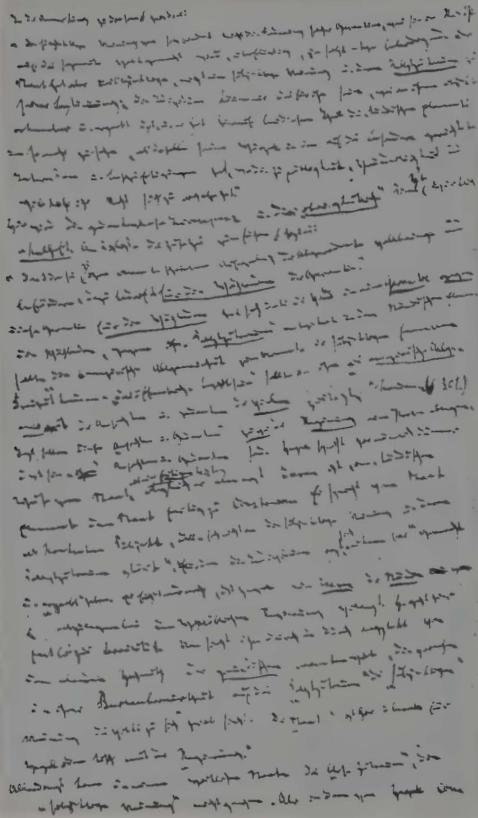
ALL THINGS I WOULD STRIVE TO WIN,
ALL THE BLESSINGS GODS IMPART,
GRASP ALL KNOWLEDGE DEEP WITHIN,
PLUMB THE DEPTHS OF SONG AND ART.

THEREFORE LET US RISK OUR ALL,
NEVER RESTING, NEVER TIRING;
NOT IN SILENCE DISMAL, DULL,
WITHOUT ACTION OR DESIRING;

NOT IN BROODING INTROSPECTION
BOWED BENEATH A YOKE OF PAIN,
SO THAT YEARNING, DREAM AND ACTION
UNFULFILLED TO US REMAIN.

24. The marriage contract of Karl Marx and Jenny von Westphalen, dated June 12, 1843





During his stay in Kreuznach, Marx did not cease his scientific studies. The main thing for him at that time was to analyse Hegel's ideas about the State and Law in a critical light.

25. Karl Marx, Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Summer 1843

A page of the manuscript

"THE FIRST WORK WHICH I UNDERTOOK TO DISPEL THE DOUBTS ASSAILING ME WAS A CRITICAL RE-EXAMINATION OF THE HEGELIAN PHILOSOPHY OF LAW... MY INQUIRY LED ME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT NEITHER LEGAL RELATIONS NOR POLITICAL FORMS COULD BE COMPREHENDED WHETHER BY THEMSELVES OR ON THE BASIS OF A SO-CALLED GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN MIND, BUT THAT ON THE CONTRARY THEY ORIGINATE IN THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE..."

KARL MARX





28

26. Books on the history of Britain, France, Germany, Sweden and the United States of America which Marx read in Kreuznach in the summer of 1843

Working on his critique of Hegel's philosophy of law, Marx was impelled to seek facts in world history to refute Hegel's constructions.

Seeing that the Prussian Government's reprisals ruled out revolutionary democratic activity, Marx decided to carry on abroad.

"I HAD BEGUN TO BE STIFLED IN THAT ATMOSPHERE," wrote Marx to Arnold Ruge. "IT IS A BAD THING TO HAVE TO PERFORM MENIAL DUTIES EVEN FOR THE SAKE OF FREEDOM; TO FIGHT WITH PINPRICKS, INSTEAD OF WITH CLUBS. I HAVE BECOME TIRED OF HYPOCRISY, STUPIDITY, GROSS ARBITRARINESS, AND OF OUR BOWING AND SCRAPING, DODGING, AND HAIR-SPLITTING OVER WORDS."

At the end of October 1843 Marx left Germany for Paris.

27. A cartoon exposing the persecution by the Prussian Government of those who engaged in revolutionary democratic activity

28. "Liberty in the Barricades"



29. *Uprising of the Lyons' weavers, 1831*



"FRANCE IS THE LAND WHERE, MORE THAN ANYWHERE ELSE, THE HISTORICAL CLASS STRUGGLES WERE EACH TIME FOUGHT OUT TO A DECISION... THIS WAS THE REASON WHY MARX NOT ONLY STUDIED THE PAST HISTORY OF FRANCE WITH PARTICULAR PREDILECTION, BUT ALSO FOLLOWED HER CURRENT HISTORY IN EVERY DETAIL, STORED UP THE MATERIAL FOR FUTURE USE."

FREDERICK ENGELS



30. A view of Paris in the 1840s

31. A cartoon of Louis Philippe

The 1830 bourgeois revolution in France placed Louis Philippe, King of the Bankers, at the helm of power.

"IT WAS NOT THE FRENCH BOURGEOISIE THAT RULED UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE," Marx wrote, "BUT ONE FACTION OF IT: BANKERS, STOCK-EXCHANGE KINGS, RAILWAY KINGS, OWNERS OF COAL AND IRON MINES AND FORESTS, A PART OF THE LANDED PROPRIETORS ASSOCIATED WITH THEM—THE SO-CALLED FINANCE ARISTOCRACY."



Memories De Liverpool (De la collection de Mme 18294 t. 4 h. 9--)

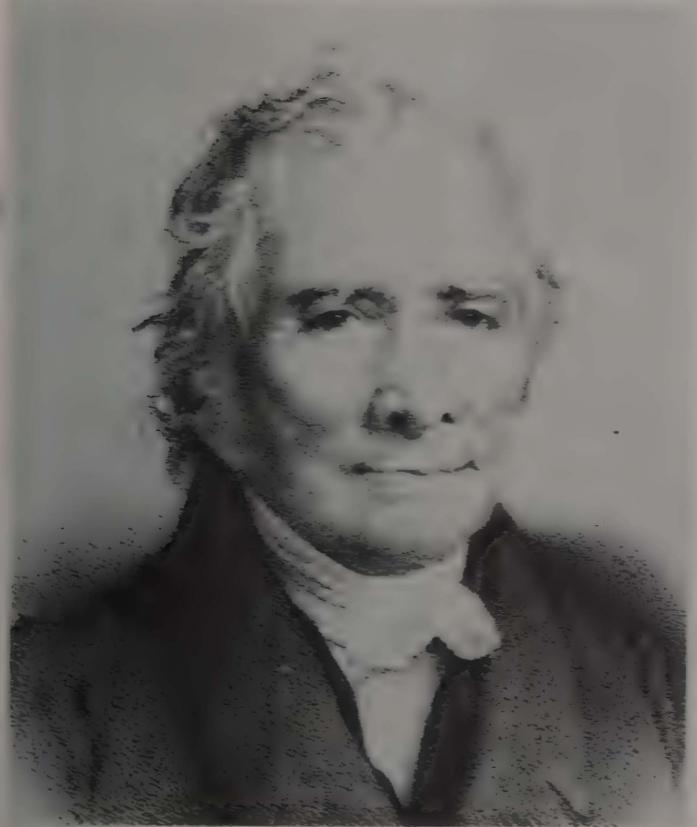
A.I.

Change in displacement = $\frac{1}{2} \text{ period}$

In Paris, Marx devoted much of his time studying the French Revolution of the end of the 18th century with the intention of writing a history of the Convention. This study contributed to the development of Marx's view of the class struggle as the crucial factor in the march of history.

32. *The French Revolution of the late 18th century. Capture of the Bastille on July 14, 1789*

33. Summary of Levasseur's Memoirs, which Marx titled, The Struggle Between the Montagnards and Girondists



34. Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794)—leader of the Jacobins and head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).

35. Camille Desmoulins (1760-1794)—French journalist, deputy to the Convention, a Jacobin.

36. René Lévesque (1747-1834)—deputy to the Convention, a Jacobin, author of memoirs about the French Revolution of the late 18th century.



37. Heine visiting Marx in Paris

Heinrich Heine, that great German poet, was a frequent guest of the Marxes. The poet himself confessed to the tremendous influence that Marx exercised over him. In February 1844 he wrote: "My new verse ... will now be imbued with a loftier politics."

38. The house at 38 Rue Vanneau in the Paris suburb of Saint-Germain

Here the Marxes resided from the end of October 1843 until January 1845. On May 1, 1844, their daughter Jenny, named after her mother, was born in this house.

In Paris, Marx acquainted himself with the activity of the local revolutionary clubs, where Auguste Blanqui, who propagated utopian communism, was widely known at the time. In Paris, too, Marx set his mind to studying the works of the great utopian socialists—Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen—and the contemporary currents of utopian socialism and communism—those of Pierre Leroux, Étienne Cabet, and Théodore Dézamy. Later, he described them as theorists who had adroitly spotted and stigmatised the vices and crimes of bourgeois society, but were unable to show the proletariat a scientifically grounded way to emancipation.





39. *Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825)*



40. *Charles Fourier (1772-1837)*



41. *Robert Owen (1771-1858)*

42. Books of the utopian socialists which Marx read in Paris in 1843 and 1844



43. *Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881)*

44. *Pierre Leroux (1797-1871)*

45. *Étienne Cabet (1788-1856)*



DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHE

JAHRBÜCHER

herausgegeben

von

Arnold Ruge und Karl Marx.

1ste und 2te Lieferung.

PARIS,

IM BUREAU DER JAHRBÜCHER. } RUE VANNEAU, 22.
AU BUREAU DES ANNALES.

1844

46. Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, the first double issue, Paris, 1844

The only issue, a double number, of the journal came out in Paris at the end of February 1844. The determining part in drawing it up belonged to Karl Marx.

Further publication was not possible owing to the persecution by the Prussian Government (a substantial number of copies was confiscated when crossing the German border), and Marx's increasing ideological differences with co-publisher Arnold Ruge.

The double issue of the journal contained Marx's articles, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction" and "On the Jewish Question", and a few of his letters; it also contained Engels's articles, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" and "The Condition of England", verse by Heinrich Heine and Georg Herwegh, and other material. Marx's articles marked his final conversion from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism.

"MARX'S ARTICLES IN THIS JOURNAL SHOWED THAT HE WAS ALREADY A REVOLUTIONARY, WHO ADVOCATED 'MERCILESS CRITICISM OF EVERYTHING EXISTING', AND IN PARTICULAR THE 'CRITICISM BY WEAPON', AND APPEALED TO THE MASSES AND TO THE PROLETARIAT".

V. I. LENIN

47. A meeting of Paris workers





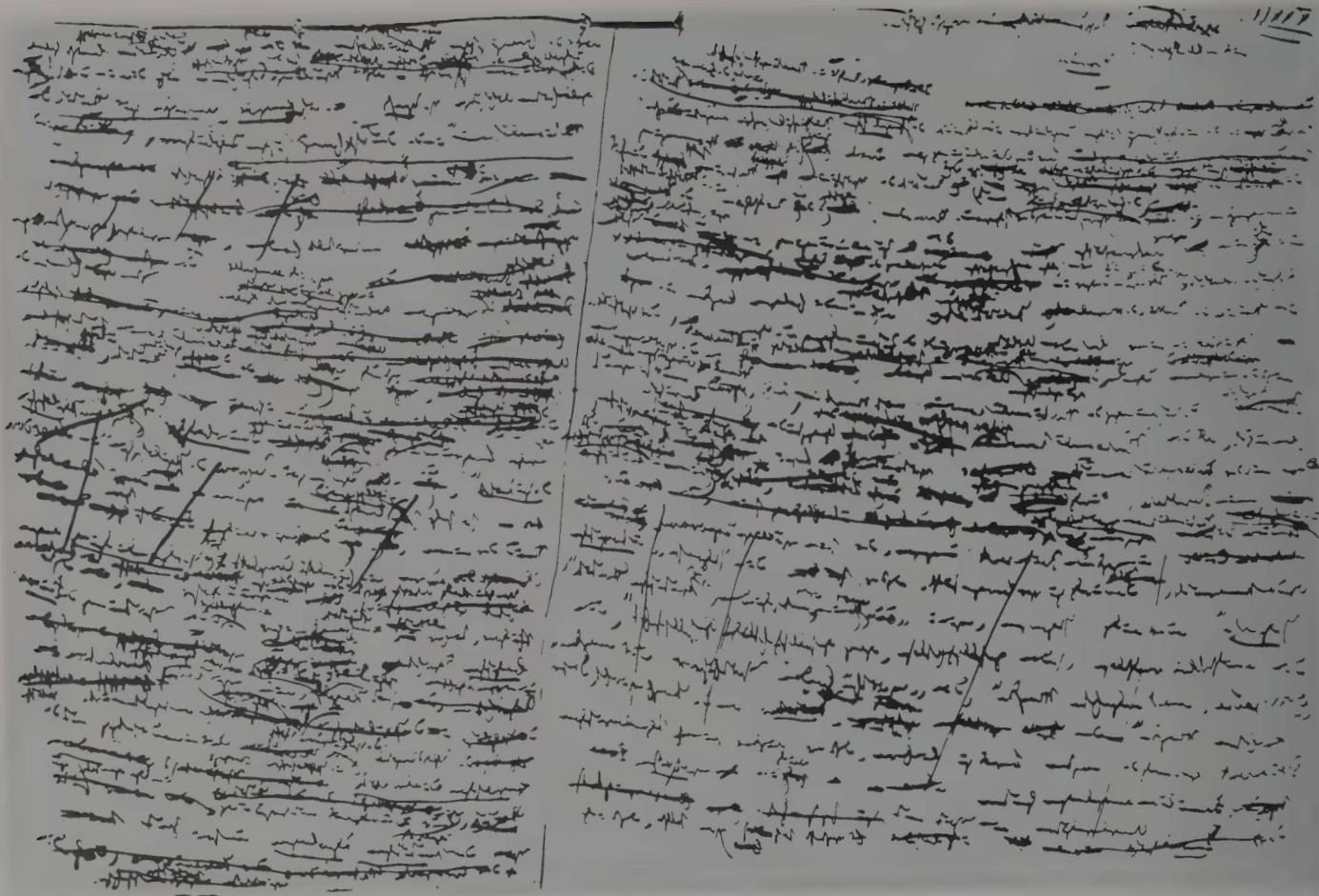
"YOU WOULD HAVE TO ATTEND ONE OF THE MEETINGS OF THE FRENCH WORKERS TO APPRECIATE THE PURE FRESHNESS, THE NOBILITY WHICH BURSTS FORTH FROM THESE TOIL-WORN MEN," Marx wrote to Ludwig Feuerbach. "IT IS AMONG THESE 'BARBARIANS' OF OUR CIVILISED SOCIETY THAT HIS

TORY IS PREPARING THE PRACTICAL ELEMENT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF MANKIND."

While in Paris, Marx made contact with the League of the Just, an organisation of German émigré workers and artisans founded in 1837, and with secret societies which included the foremost members of the proletariat of

Paris. But Marx joined none of the existing secret societies, because he was aware of the futility of their projects and the sectarian nature of their activity.

48. Books on political economy which Marx read in Paris in 1843 and 1844



49

49. Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844

A page of the manuscript

Ever since 1843, when Marx concluded that the anatomy of "civil society", that is, of social relations, should be traced in political economy, he accorded that subject a special place in his studies.

The results of his research of that period Marx set forth in what has come down to us as three uncompleted manuscripts written in April to August 1844. They were published for the first time in 1932 by the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin, of Moscow, under the title, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.

In these manuscripts Marx made it his purpose to produce a critique of private property and bourgeois political economy.



*50. Uprising of the Silesian weavers,
June 1844*

51. Karl Marx, "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'"

Vorwärts!, August 7, 1844

In the summer of 1844, Marx wrote prolifically for *Vorwärts!*, a German-language newspaper published in Paris. When a rising of weavers, the first open action of German workers, occurred in Silesia, *Vorwärts!* printed Marx's article, "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'". Unlike the capitalist press, it stressed the immense significance the weavers' rising had for the future of the working-class movement.

"THE SILESIAN UPRISING BEGINS PRECISELY WITH WHAT THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH WORKERS' UPRISEMENTS END, WITH CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE NATURE OF THE PROLETARIAT

URE OF THE PROLETARIAT...
“EVERY REVOLUTION DIS-
SOLVES THE OLD SOCIETY
AND TO THAT EXTENT IT IS
SOCIAL. EVERY REVOLUTION
OVERTHROWS THE OLD POWER
AND TO THAT EXTENT IT IS
POLITICAL.”

KARL MARX



52



53

Frederick Engels espoused materialism and communism at the same time as Marx.

52. A view of Barmen in the 1840s

53. The house in Barmen where Engels was born on November 28, 1820

54. Frederick Engels, 1839

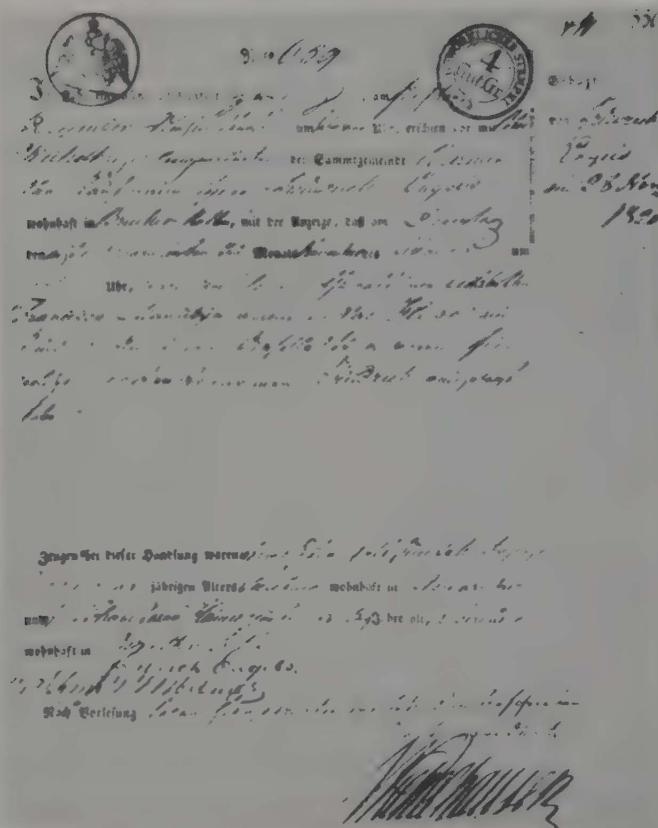




55



56



55. Engels's father, Friedrich Engels (1796-1860)

A wealthy cotton spinner, a strong-minded man of energy and enterprise, Engels's father was fiercely religious and conservative in his political outlook.

56. Engels's mother, Elisabeth Francisca Mauritzia Engels (1797-1873)

57. The birth certificate of Frederick Engels

Barmen, December 5, 1820, extract from the Barmen Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages.

"No. 659. Birth of Frederick Engels, November 28, 1820.

"In the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty, on December 5 at half past three in the afternoon, there appeared before me, Peter Wichelhausen, Deputy of the Parish of Barmen, the merchant Herr Friedrich Engels domiciled in Brucher Rotte to notify that on Tuesday, the 28th day of November at nine o'clock in the evening, his wife, Elisabeth Francisca Mauritzia, née van Haar, was delivered of a child of the male sex, to whom he gave the first name of *Friedrich*."



58. The gymnasium in Elberfeld which Frederick Engels attended from 1834 to 1837

59. Reference issued to Prima Pupil Frederick Engels when he left school on September 25, 1837

"Pupil of the Elberfeld Gymnasium since the autumn of 1834 (October 20th) and since the autumn of 1836 (October 17th) a member of the Prima of the same, has taken pains to be of very good behaviour, especially during his stay in the Prima form, has commended himself to his teachers particularly by his modesty, frankness and good-natured disposition, and equally displayed commendable endeavour, supported by good talents, to acquire the most comprehensive scientific education possible, for which reason also his progress has been gratifyingly conspicuous..."

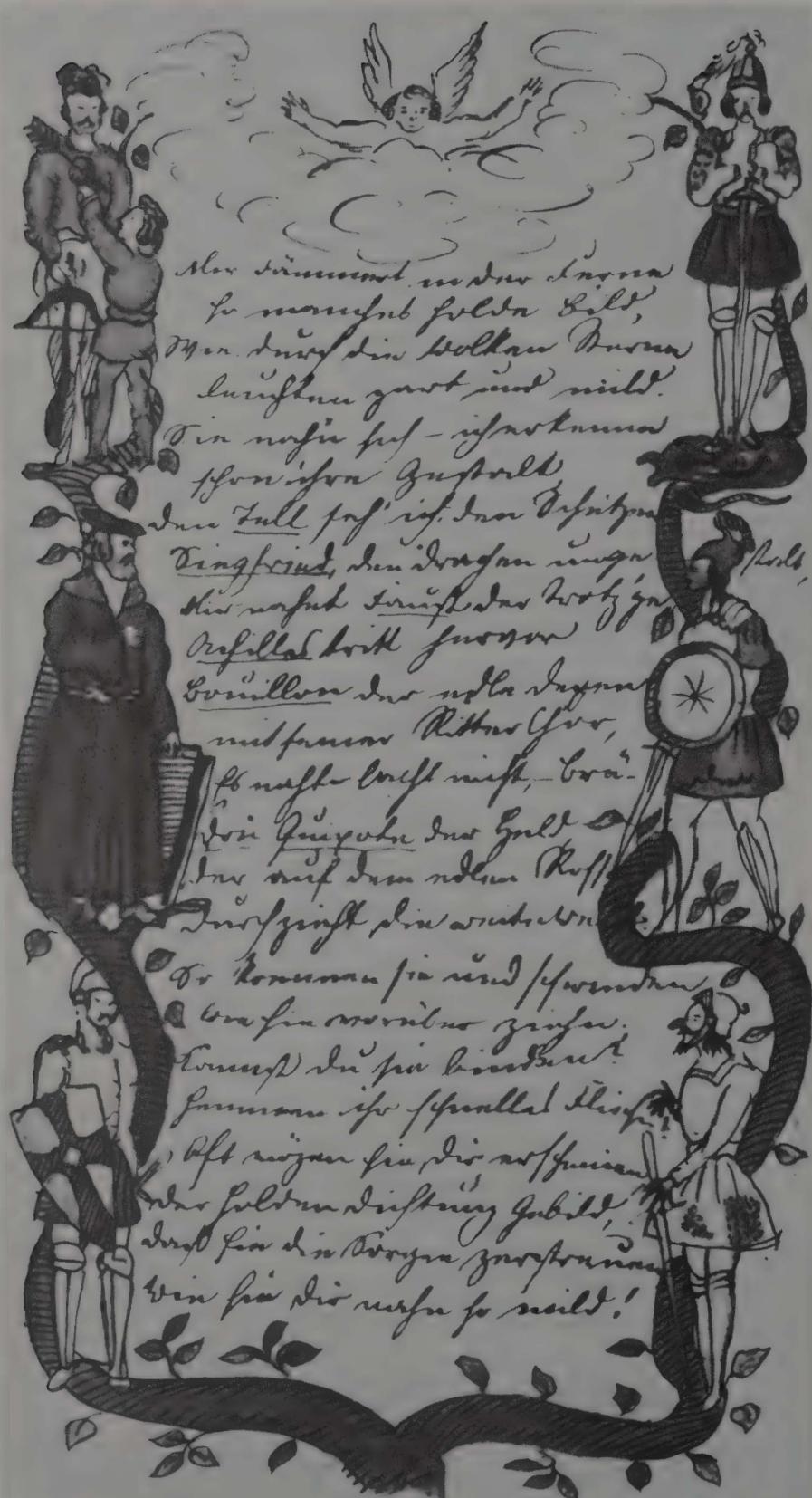
"The undersigned discharges with his best blessings a dear pupil ... on his going into business at the end of the school year (September 15th of this year), which he found himself induced to choose as his outward profession in life instead of the studies he had earlier intended..."

"Elberfeld, September 25th, 1837
Dr. J. C. L. Hantschke"

60. A page of Engels's exercise book on ancient history

1. Abiturzeugnis für den Prima-Pupil
Frederick Engels vom 25. September 1837
1837. Das ist ein Zeugnis, das der Prima-Pupil Frederick Engels am 25. September 1837 erhalten hat. Es ist auf einem Blatt Papier geschrieben und besteht aus mehreren handschriftlichen Zeilen. Die Zeilen sind teilweise überstrichen oder durchgestrichen. Einige Wörter sind in Großbuchstaben geschrieben. Das Zeugnis ist in einem alten Stil verfasst und enthält technische Fachtermini.





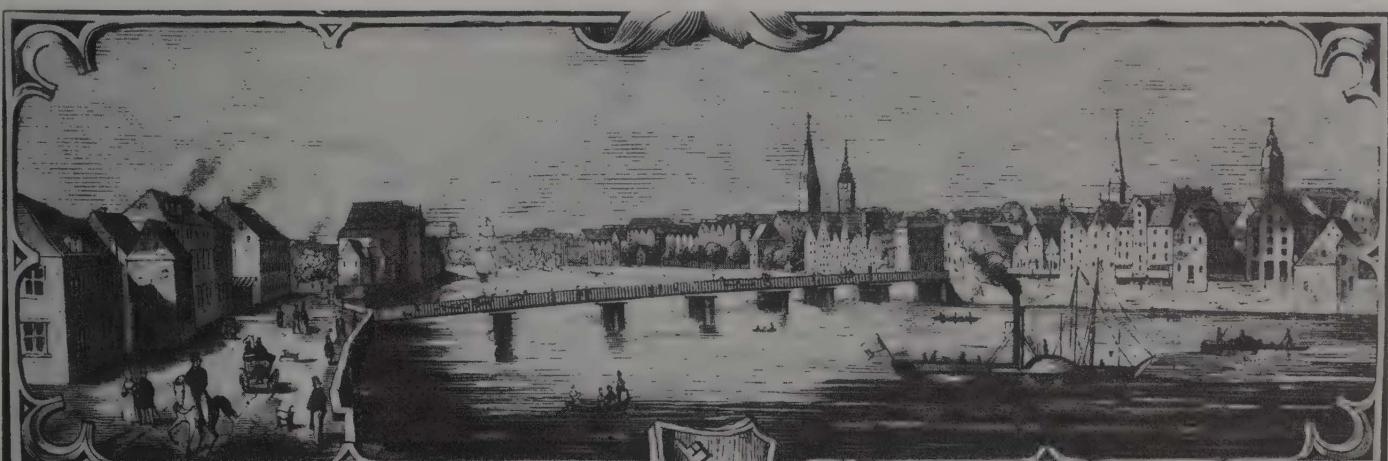
61. A poem by Frederick Engels with his drawings on the margins, 1836

62-63. Views of Bremen in the 1840s

Engels's father did not let his son finish the gymnasium and sent him to Bremen to learn commerce in a trading firm (1838-41).



62



Bremen von

der Uferseite.



63



64. Heinrich Heine (1797-1856)

65. Ludwig Bernays (1786-1837)

Engels's vision of the world took shape under the influence of progressive ideas: he associated with a radical literary group, the Young Germany, which consisted of writers who considered themselves followers of revolutionary poet Heinrich Heine, and Ludwig Bernays, a progressive journalist.

"I MUST BECOME A YOUNG GERMAN, OF RATHER, I AM ONE ALREADY, BODY AND SOUL. I CANNOT SLEEP AT NIGHT, ALL BECAUSE OF THE IDEAS OF THE CENTURY," Engels wrote in a letter to his friend Friedrich Graeber.



C e l e g r a p h

für

D e u t s c h l a n d.

1839.

M a r z.

Nº 49.

Briefe aus dem Wupperthal.*)

I.

Bekanntlich begreift man unter diesem bei den Freunden des Lichtes sehr verrufenen Namen die beiden Städte Elberfeld und Barmen, die das Thal in einer Länge von fast drei Stunden einnehmen. Der schmale Fluss ergießt bald rasch, bald stockend seine purpurnen Wogen zwischen rauchigen Fabrikgebäuden und garnbedeckten Bleichen hindurch; aber seine hochrothe Farbe röhrt nicht von einer blutigen Schlacht her, denn hier streiten nur theologische Federn und wortreiche alte Weiber, gewöhnlich um des Kaisers Bart; auch nicht von Schaam über das Treiben der Menschen, obwohl dazu wahrlich Grund genug vorhanden ist, sondern einzige und allein von den vielen Türkischrothfärzbereien. Kommt man von Düsseldorf her, so tritt man bei Sonnborn in das heilige Gebiet; die Wupper friecht träge und verschlammt vorbei und spannt durch ihre jämmerliche Erscheinung, dem eben verlassenen Rheine gegenüber, die Erwartungen bedeutend herab. Die Gegend ist ziemlich anmuthig; die nicht sehr hohen, bald sanft steigenden, bald schroffen Berge, über und über walzig, treten keck in die grünen Wiesen hinein, und bei schönem Wetter lässt der blaue, in der Wupper sich spiegelnde Himmel ihre rothe Farbe ganz verschwinden. Nach einer Biegung um einen Abhang sieht man die verschrobenen Thürme

*) Unsre Leser werden uns Dank wissen für diese authentische Schildung einer Gegend, welche das wahre Zion der hässlichsten Form in manchen Orten in Deutschland grassirenden und das Werk des ausmergelnden Pietismus ist.

U. d. R.

66. Frederick Engels, "Letters from Wuppertal"

Telegraph für Deutschland, March
1839

In "Letters from Wuppertal" Engels described the disastrous condition of workers and artisans: "Terrible poverty prevails among the lower classes, particularly the factory workers in Wuppertal... Diseases are so widespread as to be barely credible."



37

67. A drawing by Frederick Engels in his letter to Wilhelm Graeber, c. April 28-30, 1839

68. Frederick Engels's letter to Wilhelm Graeber, c. April 28-30, 1839, written in nine languages

A fragment of the manuscript

"WRITING A POLYGLOTIC LETTER, I WILL TAKE NOW THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, BUT, NO, MY BEAUTIFUL ITALIAN, LOVELY AND PURE AS THE ZEPHYR, WITH WORDS LIKE FLOWERS FROM THE LOVELIEST OF GARDENS, AND SPANISH, A LANGUAGE LIKE THE WIND IN THE TREES, AND PORTUGUESE, LIKE THE RUSTLING OF THE SEA ON A SHORE OF FLOWERS AND MEADOWS, AND FRENCH, LIKE THE QUICK MURMUR OF A FOUNTAIN, VERY AMUSING, AND DUTCH, LIKE THE SMOKE FROM A PIPE OF TOBACCO, VERY COSY."



69

Schelling

und die

Offenbarung.

Kritik

des neuesten Reaktionsversuchs

gegen die

freie Philosophie.

Leipzig,
Robert Binder.
1842.



69. The artillery brigade barracks in Berlin

In 1841 and 1842 Engels did his military service in Berlin as a volunteer with a foot company of an artillery brigade.

In time free from military service, Engels attended lectures at Berlin University as an external student. Like Marx, he studied Hegelian philosophy, and engaged in what he called "intellectual battles" in the circle of Young Hegelians, who named themselves The Free.

70. Title page of Frederick Engels's pamphlet *Schelling and Revelation*, Leipzig, 1842. Published without the author's name

Here Engels comes out against the idealist philosophy of Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling who had been invited to Berlin University by the Prussian king to offset the influence of the Young Hegelians.

71. Berlin University in the 1840s

72. Frederick Engels at his desk

71





73. "The Insolently Threatened Yet Miraculously Rescued Bible or: The Triumph of Faith", a satirical poem
Cover of the pamphlet published in Germany in 1842

The poem was written by Engels in collaboration with Edgar Bauer. It describes the Young Hegelians' struggle against a reactionary group of professors of theology in Bonn. Marx is portrayed in the poem in the following terms:

"A swarthy chap of Trier, a marked monstrosity.
He neither hops nor skips, but moves in leaps and bounds,
Raving aloud. As if to seize and then pull down
To Earth the spacious tent of Heaven up on high,
He opens wide his arms and reaches for the sky."

74. Engels lived in his Berlin Dorotheenstrasse lodgings from 1841 to 1842

75. A caricature by Engels of the Berlin circle of Young Hegelians, known as "The Free", who indulged in hollow rhetoric instead of mounting a serious political offensive against Prussian authoritarianism, 1841-1842

76. The coffee-house in Berlin where Young Hegelians often congregated. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels visited the place too



Lippe Löffelmann. From: Engels, 1842. Berlin, Käferkeller. Lippe Löffelmann.

75



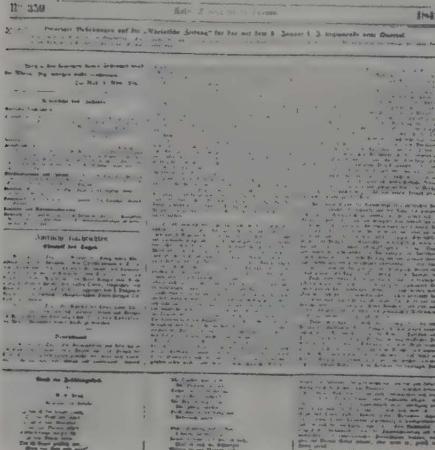
76



77

Rheinische Zeitung

Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.



78



79



80

77. Manchester in the 1840s

On his father's insistence, Engels went to England. In Manchester he joined the cotton-spinning "Ermel & Engels" as office clerk (1842-44).

78. *Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 359, December 25, 1842, contains Engels's article, "The Condition of the Working-Class in England"

"WHILE I WAS IN MANCHESTER," Engels wrote, "IT WAS TANGIBLY BROUGHT HOME TO ME THAT THE ECONOMIC FACTS, WHICH HAVE SO FAR PLAYED NO ROLE OR ONLY A CONTEMPTIBLE ONE IN THE WRITING OF HISTORY, ARE, AT LEAST IN THE MODERN WORLD, A DECISIVE HISTORICAL FORCE; THAT THEY FORM THE BASIS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT-DAY CLASS ANTAGONISMS; THAT THESE CLASS ANTAGONISMS, IN THE COUNTRIES WHERE THEY HAVE BECOME FULLY DEVELOPED, THANKS TO LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY, HENCE ESPECIALLY IN ENGLAND, ARE IN THEIR TURN THE BASIS OF THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL PAR-

TIES AND OF PARTY STRUGGLES, AND THUS OF ALL POLITICAL HISTORY. MARX HAD NOT ONLY ARRIVED AT THE SAME VIEW, BUT HAD ALREADY [GENERALISED IT] IN THE GERMAN-FRENCH ANNUALS."

79. Dwelling of an English worker in the early half of the 19th century

80. The Riot Act read in Manchester during a workers' strike in August 1842



81



82

Engels's Outlines of Political Economy

The following pages show the original manuscript of Engels's "Outlines of Political Economy". The handwriting is cursive and dense, written in black ink on aged paper. The text discusses various economic concepts and their social implications, reflecting the ideas of the time.

UMRISSE

ZU

EINER KRITIK DER NATIONALÖKONOMIE

VON

Friedrich Engels in Manchester.

81. Striking workers clash with troops in Preston, August 1842

82. The Hall of Science in Manchester

Here, in 1843, Engels attended the Sunday meetings of the followers of utopian socialist Robert Owen.

83. Karl Marx, "Summary of Frederick Engels's article, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'", published in the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher

A page of the manuscript

Marx set high value on this piece by the 24-year-old Engels. He referred to it in later years, notably in his *Capital*.

84. Frederick Engels, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy"

From the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, Paris, 1844

Here Engels "EXAMINED THE PRINCIPAL PHENOMENA OF THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC ORDER FROM A SOCIALIST STANDPOINT, REGARDING THEM AS NECESSARY CONSEQUENCES OF THE RULE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY".

V. I. LENIN

Die Nationalökonomie entstand als eine natürliche Folge der Auseinandersetzung des Handels, und mit ihr trat an die Stelle des einfachen, unwissenschaftlichen Schachers ein ausgebildetes System des erlaubten Betrugs, eine komplette Bereicherungswissenschaft.

Diese, aus dem gegenseitigen Neid und der Habgier der Kaufleute entstandene Nationalökonomie oder Bereicherungswissenschaft trägt das Gepräge der ekelhaftesten Selbstsucht auf der Stirne. Man lebte noch in der naiven Anschauung, dass Gold und Silber der Reichthum sei, und hatte also nichts Eiligeres zu thun, als überall die Ausfuhr der «edlen» Metalle zu verbieten. Die Nationen standen sich gegenüber wie Geizhälse, deren Jeder seinen theuren Geldsack mit beiden Armen umschliesst und mit Neid und Argwohn auf seine Nachbarn blickt. Alle Mittel wurden aufgeboten, um den Völkern, mit denen man im Handelsverkehr stand, so viel baares Geld wie möglich abzulocken, und das glücklich Hereingebrachte hübsch innerhalb der Mauthlinie zu behalten.

Die konsequenteste Durchführung dieses Prinzips hätte den Handel getötet. Man ging also an, diese erste Stufe zu überschreiten; man sah ein, dass das Kapital im Kasten totl da liegt, während es in der Cirkulation sich stets vermehrt. Man wurde also menschenfreundlicher, man schickte seine Dukaten als Lockvögel aus, damit

1844-1848

The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship.

V. I. Lenin

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels at work



Die heilige Familie,
 oder
 Kritik
 der
 Kritischen Kritik.

Gegen Bruno Bauer & Consorten.

Bon

Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx.

Frankfurt a. M.
 Literarische Anstalt.
 (J. Rütten.)
 1 8 4 5.

At the end of August 1844, on his way from England to Germany, Engels visited Marx. "When I visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844," Engels wrote later, "our complete agreement in all theoretical fields became evident and our joint work dates from that time."

Engels stayed in Paris for ten days. On Marx's suggestion, he and Marx decided to produce a critique of the Young Hegelians' basic propositions. That was how their joint book, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company*, came to appear. The bigger part of it was written by Marx. It was published in Frankfort on the Main in February 1845.

2. *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company, Frankfort on the Main, 1845*
The title page of the first edition

The Holy Family laid the foundations of the new, revolutionary materialist vision of the world. It contains an exposition of the Marx's and Engels's nearly finalised view of the proletariat's historic mission.

"THE PROLETARIAT EXECUTES THE SENTENCE THAT PRIVATE PROPERTY PRONOUNCES ON ITSELF BY PRODUCING THE PROLETARIAT, JUST AS IT EXECUTES THE SENTENCE THAT WAGE-LABOUR PRONOUNCES ON ITSELF BY PRODUCING WEALTH FOR OTHERS AND POVERTY FOR ITSELF."

KARL MARX
 and FREDERICK ENGELS



3. Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, Leipzig, 1845

Cover of the first edition

"EVEN BEFORE ENGELS, MANY PEOPLE HAD DESCRIBED THE SUFFERINGS OF THE PROLETARIAT AND HAD POINTED TO THE NECESSITY OF HELPING IT. ENGELS WAS THE FIRST TO SAY THAT THE PROLETARIAT IS NOT ONLY A SUFFERING CLASS; THAT IT IS, IN FACT, THE DISGRACEFUL ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PROLETARIAT THAT DRIVES IT IRRESISTIBLY FORWARD AND COMPELS IT TO FIGHT FOR ITS ULTIMATE EMANCIPATION. AND A FIGHTING PROLETARIAT WILL HELP ITSELF. THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS WILL INEVITABLY LEAD THE WORKERS TO REALISE THAT THEIR ONLY SALVATION LIES IN SOCIALISM."

V. I. LENIN

4. Engels in the mid-1840s

5. Work in a mine





6. *A view of Brussels in the 1840s*

Expelled from France on the insistence of the Prussian Government, Marx moved to Belgium. Engels followed him, leaving Barmen. Marx spent more than three years in Brussels—from February 1845 to March 1848. Here he continued to work out the fundamental provisions of his revolutionary theory and set about building a revolutionary proletarian party.



7. House 5-7 on Rue de l'Alliance

Karl Marx lived in house No. 5 from May 1845 to May 1846. His daughter Laura was born here on September 26, 1845. Frederick Engels lived in house No. 7 till June 1846.

The Belgian authorities prohibited Marx to write for the press on topics of

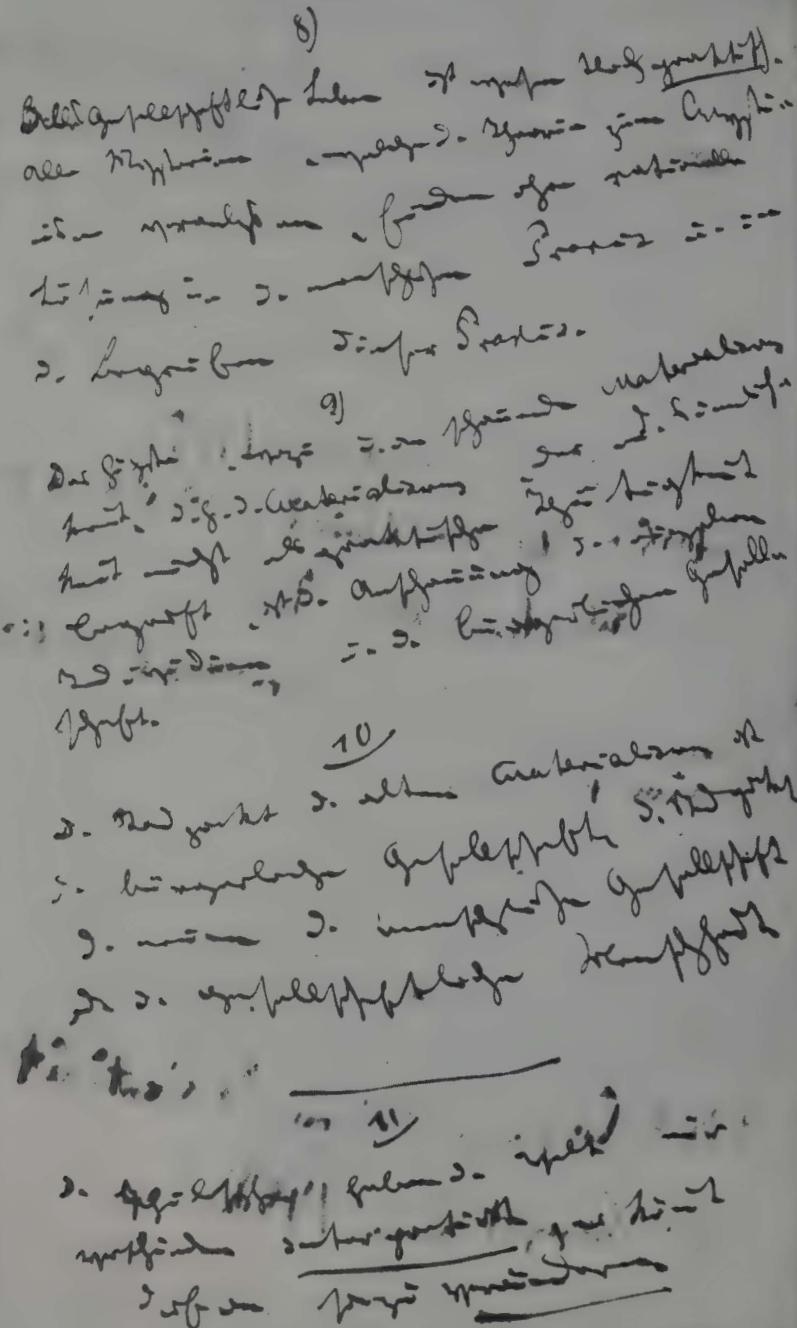


current policy, thus denying him a chance to earn his livelihood by writing. But despite the hardships of life in exile, Marx's home was a favourite meeting place for emigrant revolutionaries and Belgian democrats.

8. Jenny Marx in the first years after her marriage

9. Helene Demuth (1823-1890), devoted maid and friend of the Marx family

In the spring of 1845, Caroline von Westphalen, Jenny's mother, sent her 22-year-old maid Helene Demuth to help her daughter. Helene took over the management of the house. All members of the Marx family were fond of her and treated her with deep respect.



10. A page of Marx's notebook which he used in Paris and Brussels in 1844-47

Five pages of the notebook contain eleven philosophical principles that were by all evidence put down by Marx in April 1845. Engels discovered them after Marx's death and gave them the title, "Theses on Feuerbach".

THIS WAS "THE FIRST DOCUMENT IN WHICH IS DEPOSITED THE BRILLIANT GERM OF THE NEW WORLD OUTLOOK."

FREDERICK ENGELS

"THE COINCIDENCE OF THE CHANGING OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND OF HUMAN ACTIVITY OR SELF-CHANGE CAN BE CONCEIVED AND RATIONALLY UNDERSTOOD ONLY AS REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE."

FROM THESIS 3

"THE ESSENCE OF MAN ... IS THE ENSEMBLE OF THE SOCIAL RELATIONS."

FROM THESIS 6

"THE PHILOSOPHERS HAVE ONLY INTERPRETED THE WORLD IN VARIOUS WAYS; THE POINT IS TO CHANGE IT."

FROM THESIS 11

11. A view of London in the 1840s

In July-August 1845 Marx paid his first visit to England. He and Engels went to London and Manchester. The purpose of the visit was to study economic literature and to have a first-hand look at the most advanced of the capitalist countries and its working-class movement.

12. The London docks

13. A street of the London poor





14. A view of Manchester in the 1840s

most of their time during their stay in Manchester in 1845

15. Chetham's Library in Manchester

16. The reading-room in Chetham's Library where Marx and Engels spent

In Chetham's Library Marx and Engels chiefly examined the works of the classics of British political economy and the utopian socialists. Later, Engels recalled those times: "In the last

few days, I have often been sitting in the small bow-window where we sat 24 years ago; I like this place very much; because of its coloured window the weather is always fine there."





THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS.

The following is a Copy of the new Card of this Society:—

THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS.

ALL MEN ARE BRETHERN.

Tous les hommes sont frères.

Alle Menschen sind Brüder.

Alla mänskor är bröder.
Alle Mennisker er Brødre.
Alle männer zijn Broedere.



WSZYSCY LUDZIE SA BRACMI.

Minden Ember Testvéránk.

VSE LIODI SOUT BRATI.

Entered _____

No _____

17. The Chartist procession heading for Parliament to hand in the Charter demanding reform of the electoral law and improvement of the condition of the workers, 1842

During his stay in England, Marx made contact with leaders of the Chartist movement, looked into the experience of its members' public actions, and acquainted himself with their press and printed propaganda.

18. A member's card of the Fraternal Democrats society

At a joint conference of Chartists and revolutionary emigrants from various countries (1845), Marx and Engels spoke in favour of an international revolutionary organisation. Soon it was organised and named Fraternal Democrats. Engels wrote on that occasion:

"THE PROLETARIANS IN ALL COUNTRIES HAVE ONE AND THE SAME INTEREST, ONE AND THE SAME ENEMY, AND ONE AND THE SAME STRUGGLE. THE GREAT MASS OF PROLETARIANS ARE, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, FREE FROM NATIONAL PREJUDICES... ONLY THE PROLETARIANS CAN DESTROY NATIONALITY, ONLY THE AWAKENING PROLETARIAT CAN BRING ABOUT FRATERNISATION BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT NATIONS."



19

19. House 42 on Rue d'Orléans, Brussels, where Marx lived from October 1846 to February 1848

Here, in early 1847, the Marxes had their son Edgar, so named after Jenny's younger brother, Edgar von Westphalen, who was Marx's close friend.

20. The café Au Cygne in Brussels, a meeting place of revolutionaries and associates of Marx and Engels



20

21. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*
Pages of the manuscript

The German Ideology was written by Marx and Engels in Brussels in something like six months (end of 1845 to April 1846).

Here Marx and Engels set forth the basic principles of the materialist vision of history (historical materialism), the theory of class struggle and revolution, and their ideas about the future communist society. They produced this exposition of the new, revolutionary world outlook alongside a critique of the idealism of the Young Hegelians and the limitations of Feuerbach's materialism.

22. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*
Manuscript

The German Ideology was not published in the lifetime of its authors. It had been impossible to find a publisher for it. Only one chapter out of the second volume was printed in the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* in 1847. The book was first published complete in the Soviet Union in 1932.

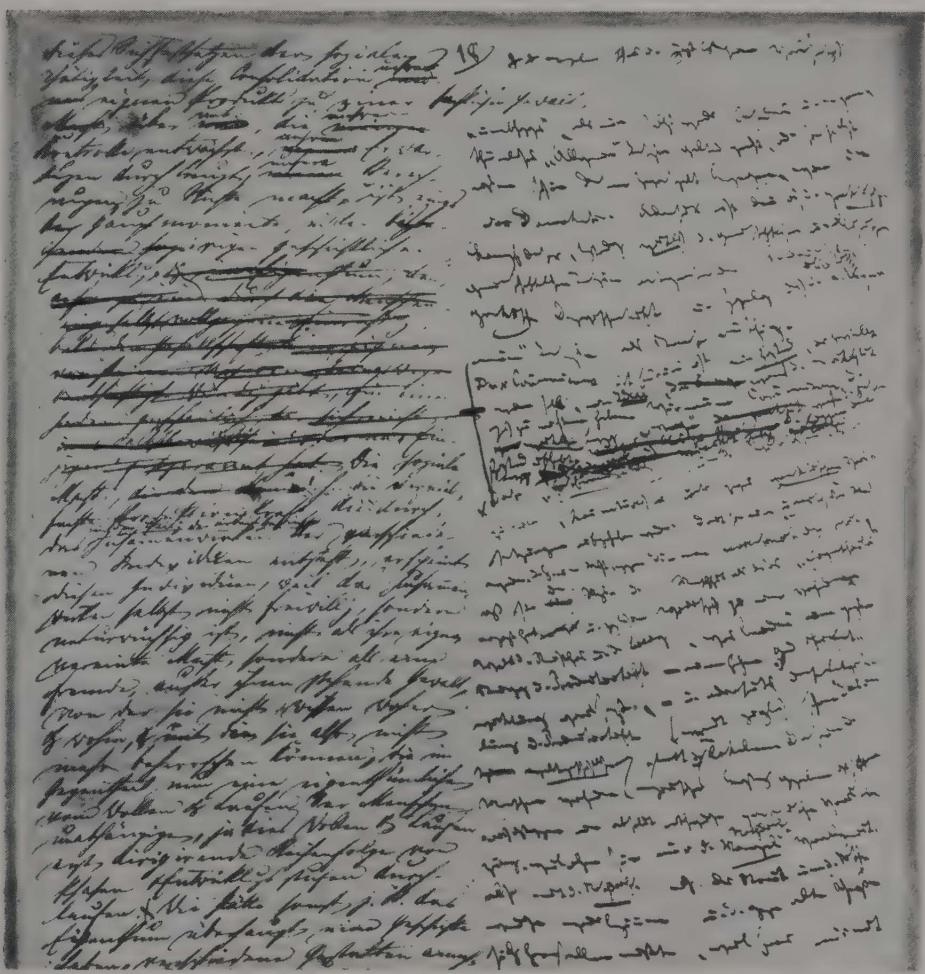
Though their hard work went unrewarded and the book unpublished, neither Marx nor Engels thought their effort had been in vain. "We abandoned the manuscript to the gnawing criticism of the mice all the more willingly," Marx wrote in 1859, "since we had achieved our main purpose—self-clarification."

"CONSCIOUSNESS ... CAN NEVER BE ANYTHING ELSE THAN CONSCIOUS BEING ... AND THE BEING OF MEN IS THEIR ACTUAL LIFE-PROCESS... IT IS NOT CONSCIOUSNESS THAT DETERMINES LIFE, BUT LIFE THAT DETERMINES CONSCIOUSNESS."

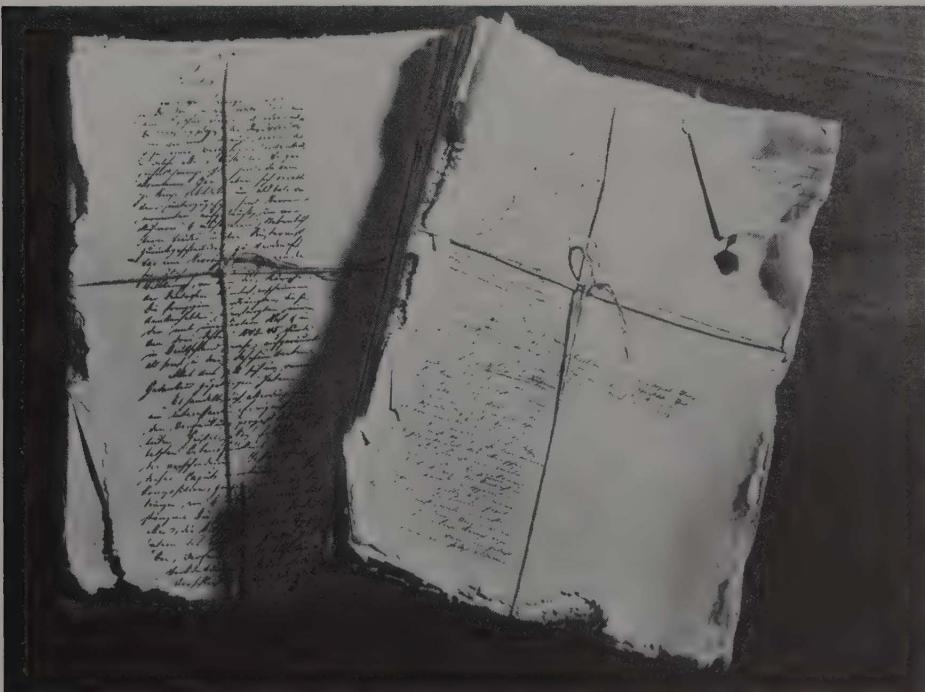
KARL MARX
and FREDERICK ENGELS

"ALL COLLISIONS IN HISTORY HAVE THEIR ORIGIN, ACCORDING TO OUR VIEW, IN THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE FORM ... OF INTERCOURSE."

KARL MARX
and FREDERICK ENGELS



21



22



23



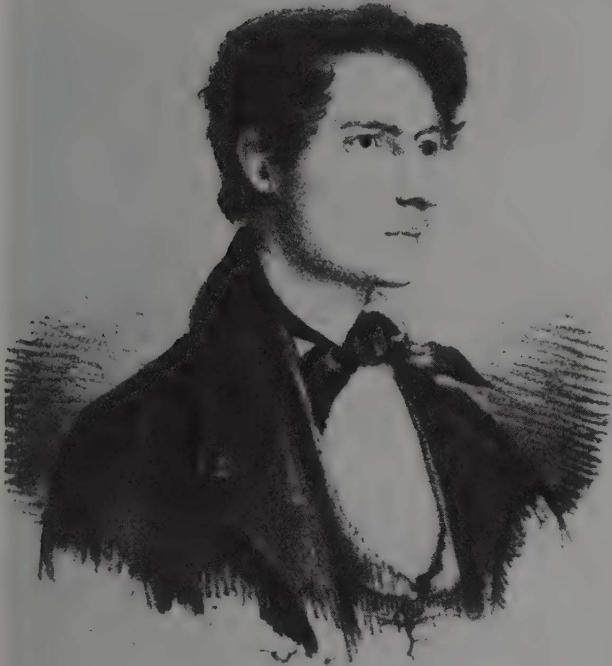
24



25



26



In early 1845 in Brussels, Marx and Engels founded the Communist Correspondence Committee. Its purpose was to establish ties and regular correspondence with socialists and other members of the labour movement in various countries. Through exchanges of opinion and criticism of mistaken views Marx and Engels strove to rally them to their scientific programme and prepare the ground for the founding of a proletarian party.

By the middle of 1846, the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee managed to establish contacts with the Chartists in Britain, the London leadership of the League of the Just, the Paris communities of that League, and with some communist groups in Cologne and Elberfeld, and in Westphalia, Silesia, and elsewhere in Germany.

23. Wilhelm Wolff (1809-1864), member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee

24. Roland Daniels (1819-1855) headed a group of Cologne Communists connected with the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee

Es muss auf jeden Fall aufmerksam hinnimmt werden, Edgar Westphalen, Marx, Weydemeyer, Bieding, & Westphalen sind alle Freunde, welche ich bringt. Sie haben große Freunde. „Das Sozialistische, religiös von gewissen Kriegen“ folgen wird. „Das Sozialistische soll nicht religiös sein.“ „Die einzige Weisheit ist die Weisheit eines Menschen.“

- Antwort:*
1. Da wir den Sozialistischen Krieg in New York sehr ernst nehmen, ist es nicht überzeugend.
 2. Ich kann Ihnen nicht sagen, in was Krieg sie sich einsetzen werden. Ich kann Ihnen nicht sagen, ob es möglich ist, dass es eine so starke Begeisterung für die Arbeit in New York gibt.
 3. Ich kann Ihnen nicht sagen, ob es in New York genug Arbeit ist, um die Arbeiter zu beschäftigen.
 4. Ich kann Ihnen nicht sagen, ob es in New York genug Arbeit ist, um die Arbeiter zu beschäftigen.
 5. Ich kann Ihnen nicht sagen, ob die Arbeiter die Sozialistischen Kriege als die eigentlichen Kriege, die gegen die Arbeitnehmer und die Arbeitnehmer gegen die Arbeitnehmer, betrachten werden.

Brüssel, am 11 Mai 1846.

*François Riel, George Julian Harney,
Karl Marx, Wilhelm Wolff.*

** Westphalen. Wolff.*

28. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Circular against Krieger"

The Circular was adopted by the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee on May 11, 1846

A page of the manuscript

In the "Circular", Marx and Engels criticised the German "true socialism", whose ideologists preached class peace resting on universal love of man. "The fantastic emotionalism which Krieger is preaching in New York under the name of 'communism', " Marx and Engels said, "must have an extremely damaging effect on the workers' morale if it is adopted by them."

25. Joseph Weydemeyer (1818-1866) headed a communist group in Bielefeld connected with the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee

26. George Julian Harney (1817-1897), member of the London Communist Correspondence Committee, a leader of the left-wing Chartists

27. Edgar von Westphalen (1819-1890), member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, Jenny Marx's brother



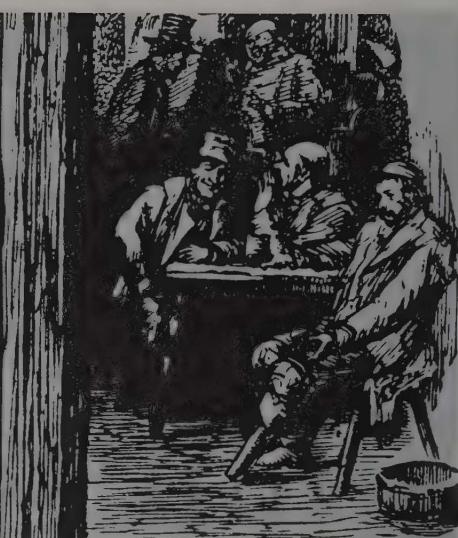
29. A workers' meeting in a tavern

30. Wilhelm Weitling (1808-1871), one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism, a tailor

31. Wilhelm Weitling, Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom, 1842

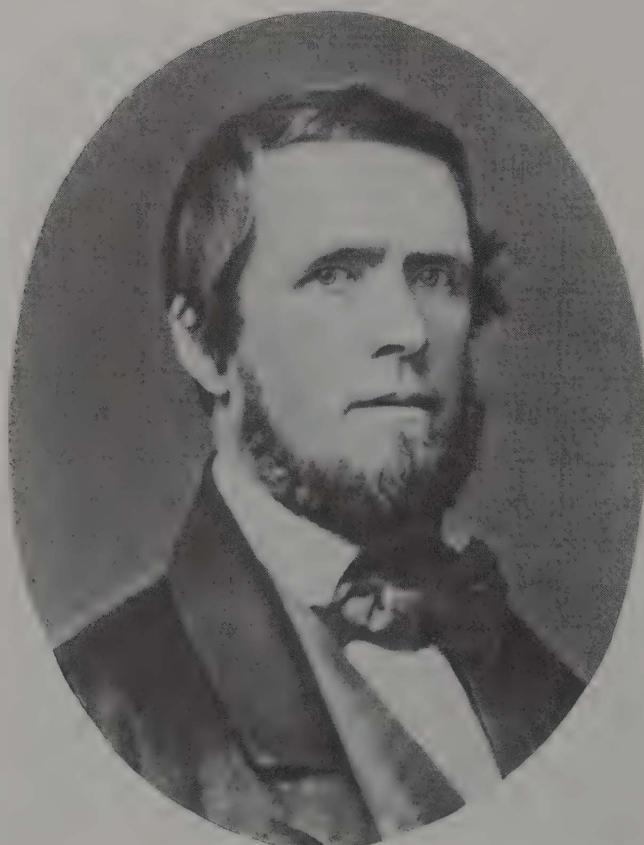
The title page

In his book, Weitling was sharply critical of capitalist society. But he did not understand the role of the class struggle, and refuted the importance of



having a proletarian party or a scientific proletarian theory.

Weitling's nihilistic attitude, wrote a Russian contemporary writer, Pyotr Annenkov, in his memoirs, was likened by Marx to "a vain, dishonest posing as preacher suggesting an inspired prophet, on the one side, and on the other, only credulous asses."





32

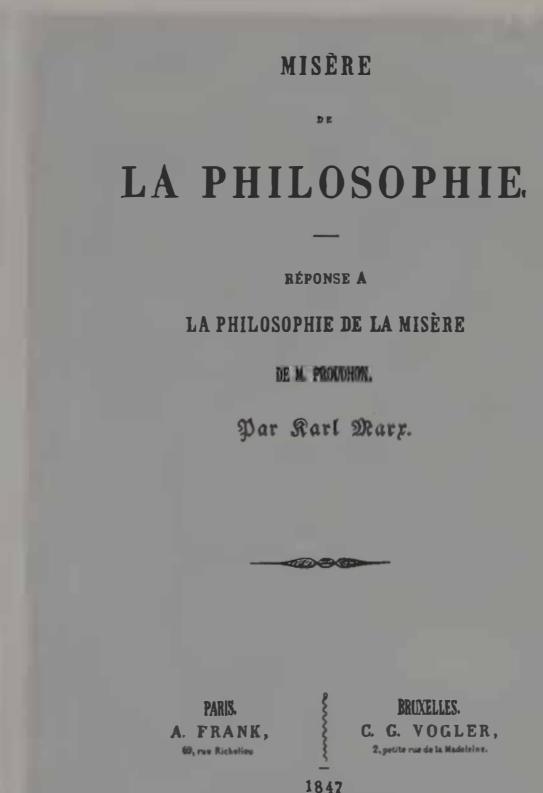
32. Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), French petty-bourgeois socialist, theorist of anarchism

33. Karl Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon, Paris-Brussels, 1847

The title page of the first edition

The Poverty of Philosophy is one of the most important of Marx's works. It contains a scientific analysis of capitalist society's economic pillars, and a profound critique of the French petty-bourgeois socialist Proudhon's views. It also expounds for the first time the basic principles of the materialist doctrine on the objective laws of social development. The book, Marx wrote later, "contains the seeds of the theory developed after twenty years' work in *Capital*".

34. A cartoon of Pierre Joseph Proudhon



34

Am 20. Kommunistische Correspondenzkomitee
London

Die unbewußtseitige Molyneux ist Kommunistischen Zusam-
menfassung. Leidet in London, aber kommt dem Druck im Gefolge
Moll's die Fälligkeit mit der Auflösung in einer Runde
mit dem Dr. Constantine Livingstone in Abstimmungslage
zu stehen und den Fall zu einem Frieden zu bringen. Diese
der fiktiven Zuständen hinzugezogen zu sein. — Zu
gleicher Zeit auszuführen von Dr. Constantine Livingstone
so ist es Molls, welche Molyneux ist fiktives Comité ist
ihm alle gegenwärtige von Molyneux und seinem Auftrag
die geblieben, und ist für mich allgemein auf das Comité in London
beauftragt ist, zu beschließen. —

London am 20. Januar

Charles Moll
1847
Joh. Goebel

Karl Schapper
Henry Bauer
Carl Pfänder
Friedr. Doepel
Albert Lehmann

Statuten des Bundes der Kommunisten.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!

Abschnitt I. Der Bund.

Art. 1. Der Zweck des Bundes ist der Sturz der Bourgeoisie,
die Herrschaft des Proletariats, die Aufhebung der alten, auf Klassen-
gegensätzen beruhenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft und die Gründung
einer neuen Gesellschaft ohne Klassen und ohne Privateigentum

Art. 2. Die Bedingungen der Mitgliedschaft sind:

- A) diesem Zweck entsprechende Lebensweise und Wirksamkeit;
- B) revolutionäre Energie und Eifer der Propaganda;
- C) Bekennung des Kommunismus;
- D) Enthaltung der Theilnahme an jeder antikommunistischen, politischen oder nationalen Gesellschaft und Anzeige der Theilnahme an irgend welcher Gesellschaft bei der vorgesetzten Behörde;
- E) Unterwerfung unter die Beschlüsse des Bundes;
- F) Verschwiegenheit über das Bestehen aller Angelegenheiten des Bundes;
- G) einstimmige Aufnahme in eine Gemeinde.

Wer diesen Bedingungen nicht mehr entspricht, wird ausgeschlossen. (Siehe Abschnitt VIII.)

Art. 3. Alle Mitglieder sind gleich und Brüder und als solche sich Hülfe in jeder Lage schuldig.

Art. 4. Die Mitglieder führen Bundesnamen.

Art. 5. Der Bund ist organisiert in Gemeinden, Kreisen, leitenden Kreisen, Centralbehörde und Kongresse.

35. The official instructions issued to Joseph Moll on January 20, 1847 by the London Committee of the League of the Just and the London Communist Correspondence Committee to negotiate the reorganisation of the League of the Just with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

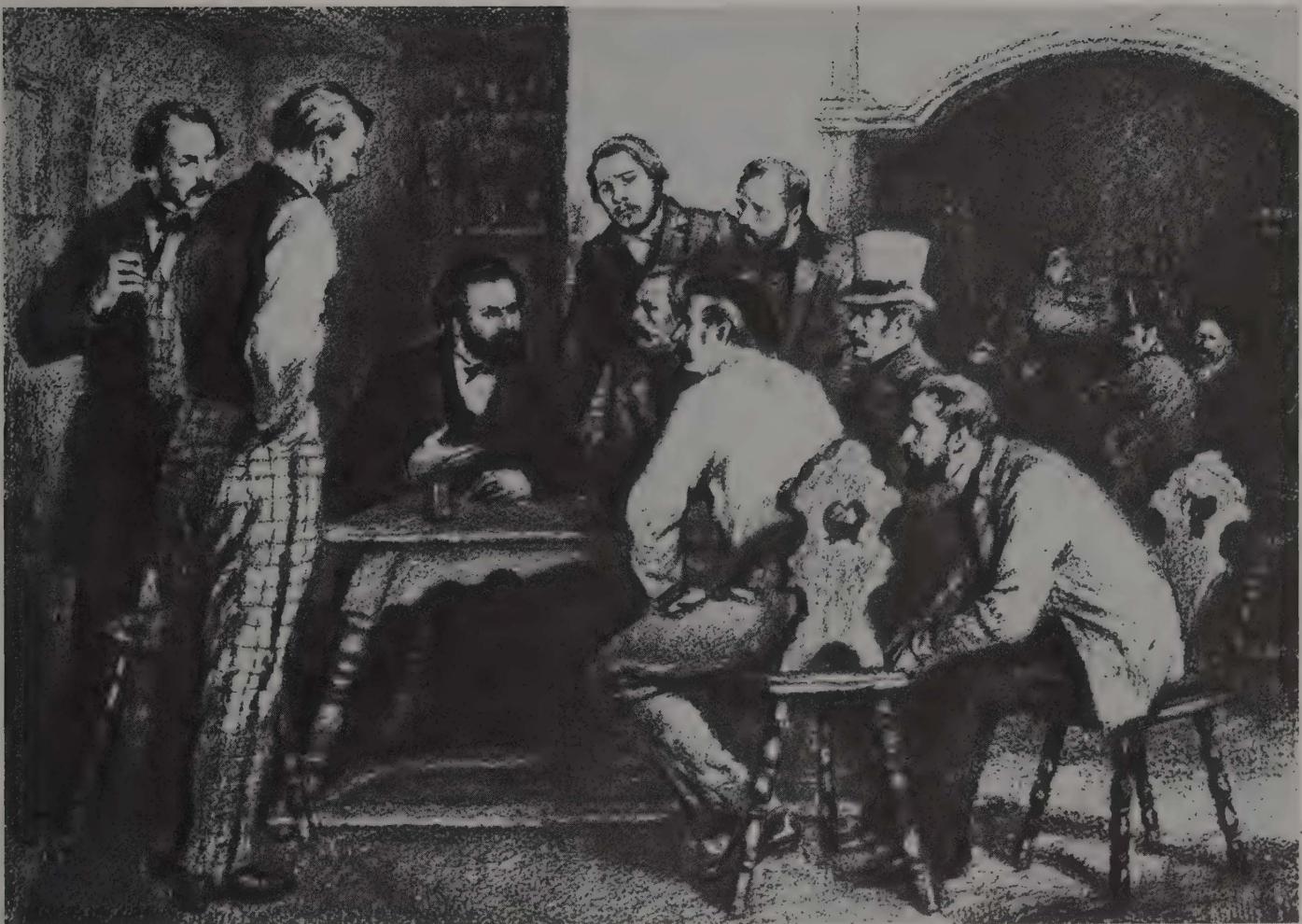
"TO THE BRUSSELS COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE.

"THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF THE LONDON COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE HAVE HEREBY EMPOWERED CITIZEN JOSEPH MOLL TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE IN BRUSSELS ON THEIR BEHALF AND TO GIVE AN ORAL ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN LONDON.

"KARL SCHAPPER, HEINRICH BAUER, KARL PFÄNDER, FRIEDRICH DOEPEL, ALBERT LEHMANN, CHARLES MOLL, JOHANN GOEBEL"

Leaders of the League of the Just were persuaded that the ideas of Marx and Engels provided the right bearings for revolutionary action. In early 1847 they delegated Joseph Moll to offer Marx and Engels to join the League and help reorganise it in line with the principles of the new revolutionary theory. Marx and Engels consented.

"FOR THE PROLETARIAT TO BE STRONG ENOUGH TO WIN ON THE DECISIVE DAY IT MUST—AND MARX AND I HAVE ADVO-



CATED THIS EVER SINCE 1847—
FORM A SEPARATE PARTY DIS-
TINCT FROM ALL OTHERS AND
OPPOSED TO THEM, A CON-
SCIOUS CLASS PARTY."

FREDERICK ENGELS

36. *A page of the first edition of the Rules of the Communist League*

"THE AIM OF THE LEAGUE
IS THE OVERTHROW OF THE
BOURGEOISIE, THE RULE OF THE
PROLETARIAT, THE ABOLITION
OF THE OLD BOURGEOIS SOCIETY
WHICH RESTS ON THE AN-
TAGONISM OF CLASSES, AND
THE FOUNDATION OF A NEW
SOCIETY WITHOUT CLASSES AND
WITHOUT PRIVATE PROPERTY."

RULES, SECTION I, ART. 1

At the congress in June 1847, the League of the Just was radically reorganised. A new proletarian international organisation was inaugurated, named the Communist League.

Frederick Engels and Wilhelm Wolff came to the Congress, while Marx was prevented from doing so by financial difficulties.

The First Congress approved the draft Rules of the Communist League, which were thereupon forwarded for discussion to communities and members of the League. The League of the Just motto, All Men Are Brethren!, was superseded by the rallying cry, Working Men of All Countries, Unite! which expressed the internationalist and class nature of the workers' movement.

37. *Marx and Engels among workers*



Both Marx and Engels took part in the Second Congress. In the several days of discussion they stood up for the principles of scientific communism, which, indeed, prevailed. The Congress adopted the Rules unanimously, and Marx and Engels were asked to work out the Programme of the Communist League. This completed the founding of the League, the first international revolutionary party of the working class espousing scientific communism.

Friedrich Lessner, a veteran of the working-class movement and member of the League, who was present at the Congress, was deeply impressed by Marx:

"MARX WAS THEN STILL A YOUNG MAN OF 28 OR 30. HE WAS OF MEDIUM HEIGHT, BROAD-SHOULDERED, STURDILY BUILT, ENERGETIC, WITH A LARGE NOBLE FOREHEAD, THICK COAL-BLACK HAIR, AND A PENETRATING GLANCE. HIS LIPS ALREADY HAD THAT SARCASTIC TWIST WHICH HIS OPPONENTS FEARED. MARX WAS A BORN LEADER OF THE PEOPLE. HIS SPEECH WAS CURT, COHERENT, AND COMPELLINGLY LOGICAL; HE NEVER SAID A SUPERFLUOUS WORD; EACH SENTENCE WAS A THOUGHT, AND EVERY THOUGHT A NECESSARY LINK IN THE CHAIN OF HIS REASONING."

Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.



Prestation allemande, London le 18^{me} octobre 1847.
nominally £15. W.H. 21/1.

153 fca London
fries Antwort auf das Rumpfholz sehr vors aufmerksam.
Die Fußplatte in Salyes sind entsprechend. - Eine breite
Platte, die dann nach oben mit verlaufen und, das ist, ein
eis fest, gegen das St. nicht abgenommen und hält. -
Warum, weiß ich, um die See vorstossen; wie es mir jetzt
wirkt, daß diese Klappe ganz leicht zu ziehen füllt.
Es ist unverzüglich aufzufordern, daß das Boot so schnell
wie möglich und an dem nächsten Landungsstelle wieder in den
zu sieg auf dem kleinen Schiffchen nach, ob das ganze Boot
in der See falls, oder ob das Boot fest steht. und auf sich neu
eigener Stelle steht, sonst auf gefüllt wird oder will -
unserer Meinung nach müssen diese nur oben
bezeichnet werden. - Es mußte unverzüglich eine solche
Rettung in Linie, ob sie so viele einfache - problemen
in Brücke. Da ist ein großer Felsen zwischen beiden Wellen



42

38. Red Lion Hotel, Great Windmill Street, London, where the Second Congress of the Communist League was held from November 28 to December 8, 1847

39. The Deutsche-Briisseler Zeitung

Marx and Engels became its contributors from this issue on. It appeared until February 1848, and became an unofficial organ of the Communist League.

40. A cartoon by Engels of King Frederick William IV of Prussia making his

speech at the opening of the United Provincial Diet in Berlin, April 11, 1847

Published as a supplement to the Deutsche-Briisseler Zeitung of May 6, 1847

41. Letter of the Central Authority of the Communist League to the Brussels District Committee dated October 18, 1847, requesting it to delegate Karl Marx to the League's Second Congress
A fragment of the manuscript

42. Marx and Engels writing the Manifesto of the Communist Party

M a n i f e s t

der

Kommunistischen Partei.

Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!

London.

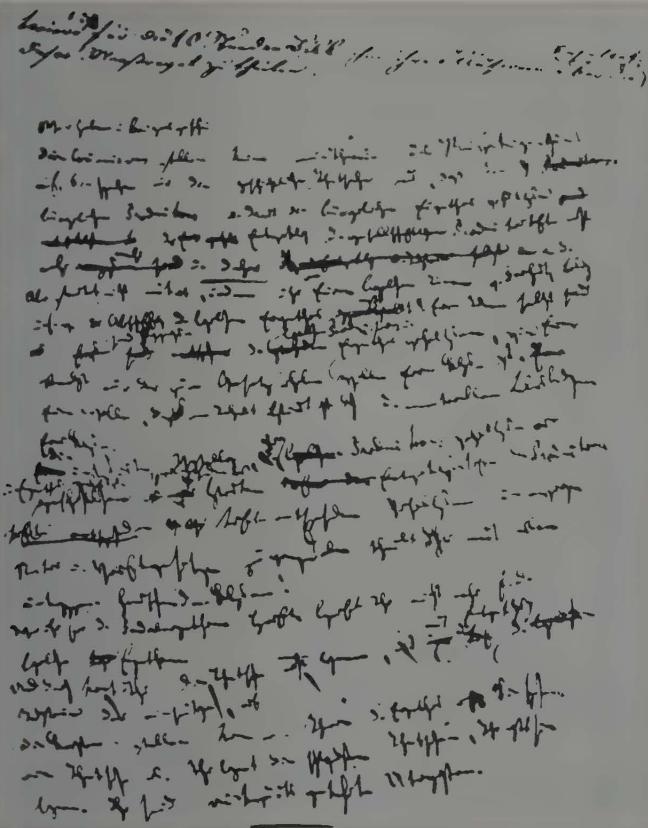
Gedruckt in der Office der „Bildungs-Gesellschaft für Arbeiter“
von J. C. Burghard.

46, LIVERPOOL STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

43. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,
Manifesto of the Communist Party,
London, 1848

Cover of the first edition

Engels described the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* as “THE MOST WIDESPREAD, THE MOST INTERNATIONAL PRODUCTION OF ALL SOCIALIST LITERATURE, THE COMMON PLATFORM ACKNOWLEDGED BY MILLIONS OF WORKING MEN FROM SIBERIA TO CALIFORNIA”.

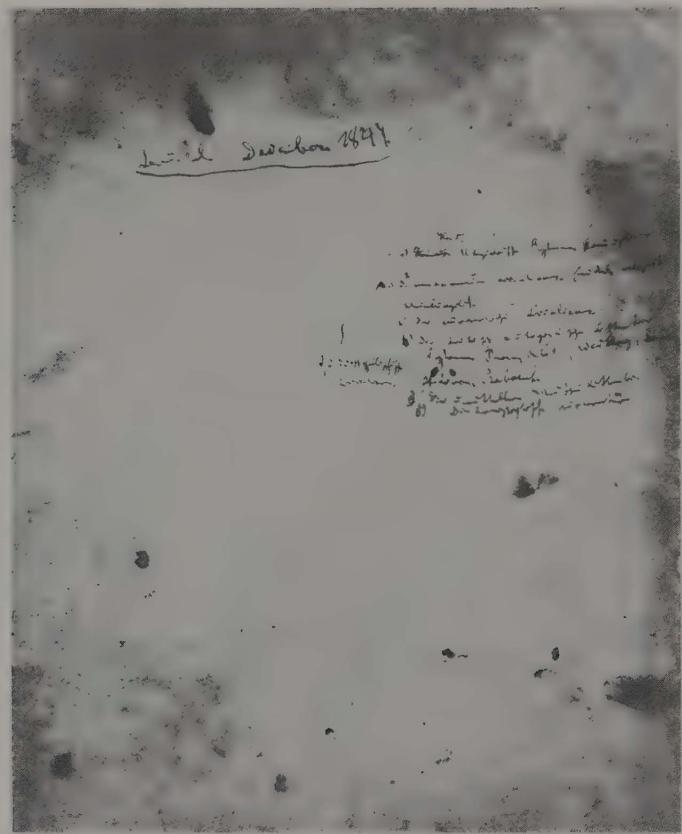


"THIS LITTLE BOOKLET IS WORTH WHOLE VOLUMES: TO THIS DAY ITS SPIRIT INSPIRES AND GUIDES THE ENTIRE ORGANISED AND FIGHTING PROLETARIAT OF THE CIVILISED WORLD."

V. I. LENIN

"WITH THE CLARITY AND BRILLIANCE OF GENIUS, THIS WORK OUTLINES A NEW WORLD-CONCEPTION, CONSISTENT MATERIALISM, WHICH ALSO EMBRACES THE REALM OF SOCIAL LIFE; DIALECTICS, AS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND PROFOUND DOCTRINE OF DEVELOPMENT; THE THEORY OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND OF THE WORLD-HISTORIC REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT—THE CREATOR OF A NEW, COMMUNIST SOCIETY."

V. I. LENIN



44. A page of the rough copy of the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The first two lines were in Jenny Marx's hand

45. Outline plan for the third section of the Manifesto of the Communist Party

A political cartoon by Hon. Wm. H. Seward. The title "THE RED REPUBLICAN." is written in large, jagged, black letters across the top. Below the title, a figure wearing a top hat and a dark coat is seated at a desk, looking down at a piece of paper. The figure's hands are clasped on the desk. The background is light, with some dark, jagged shapes suggesting a stormy sky or a city skyline.

No. 21.—Vol. I.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1850.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.

German Communism.

MANIFESTO OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

(Published in February, 1943.)

I. The ruling Powers of Europe acknowledge

I. The Rising Powers of Europe acknowledging Communism to be also a Power. II. It is time for the Communists to lay before the world an account of their aims and tendencies, and to oppose these silly fables about the bugbear of Communism, by a manifesto of the Communist Party.

ments of the modern Bourgeoisie. The discovery of the New World, the circumnavigation of Africa gave the Middleclass—then coming into being—new fields of action. The colonization of America; the opening up of the East Indian and Chinese Markets, the Colonial Trade, the increase of commodities generally and of the means of exchange gave an impetus hitherto unknown, to Commerce.

Kommunismens Röst.

Förklaring af det Kommunistiska Partiet, offentliggjord i Februari 1848.

Fällets Röf är Ouds Röf

Print: S. F. Banks



proletariado tuvo preparación en durante los meses el poder político se sus masas, siendo lo de lo de, seguramente, el programa revolucionario contenido en el Manifiesto que ha sido uno de las bases de su parte. No consternaron tanto como un año bue la fórmula de Paine la probabilidad a que clase obrera no pondrá en marcha su propia clase social de la máquina de la competencia y la explotación de la mano de obra, que es la fuerza productiva.

VII.—*La Revolución Francesa*, resultado del Congreso general de 1848, desencadenó la guerra civil de los Trabajadores, en la que los franceses de Bruselas y París, contra este sistema se halló más activos que el de Berlín o Viena. Alemania, sin embargo, no se halló tan activa como los franceses, ni tampoco como los belgas, que en su lucha contra el sistema capitalista, se halló más activa que el de Francia. La Revolución francesa, que se inició en 1848, que dio la victoria a los obreros, es la que nos interesa. La Revolución francesa, que dio la victoria a los obreros, es la que nos interesa. La Revolución francesa, que dio la victoria a los obreros, es la que nos interesa. La Revolución francesa, que dio la victoria a los obreros, es la que nos interesa.

que se opera sobre el año de 1847 del año de 1872.

MANIFIESTO DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA.

Europa está acorralada por un fantasma, por el fantasma del comunismo. Tú, los padres de la Raza que has nacido en esta era creando respeto más fuerte al pago y el círculo. McRatón y Guiseppe, los recaudadores y los próceres de la muerte. ¿Dónde está lo que prometiste que no se ha visto? Acuérdate de los romanos, sin pose que nos merecemos en el post-rrf. ¡Ay, ay, ay! La gente se apresura a hacer las cosas. Están acorralados al norte de sus espaldas. Están asustados, lo mismo que de sus enemigos rusos.

penden de la consecuencia de estos hechos:

- I. Los potenciales aliados de Europa venían el comunismo como una amenaza.
- II. Es hora ya, para los europeos, de proclamar abiertamente en el mundo que mira, sus tendencias, que ellos, desean establecer una federación europea, al margen de las naciones y de las fronteras.

46. The first edition of the Manifesto in English

Printed in the Chartist Red Republic in 1850. The introduction by Julian Harney, the journal's editor, first named the authors of the Manifesto—Marx and Engels

47. The first edition of the Manifesto in Swedish, put out in Stockholm in 1848 under the title Voice of Communism. Declaration of the Communist Party made in February 1848

48. The first edition of the Manifesto in Spanish

It appeared in La Emancipacion, organ of the First International, in Madrid in 1872. The translator was José Mesa, a member of the First International

49. A Russian-language edition of the Manifesto appeared in Geneva in 1882 in a translation by Georgi Plekhanov

Marx and Engels wrote a preface specially for it

50. An edition of the Manifesto in Italian with a preface by Engels. It was published in Milan in 1893 in a translation by P. Bettini

51. The Manifesto in Polish, with a preface by Engels. Put out in London in 1892



CARLO MARX e FEDERICO ENGELS

IL MANIFESTO
DEL
PARTITO COMUNISTA

CON UN NUOVO PROEMIO AL LETTORE ITALIANO

FEDERICO ENGELS

Centesimi 25

MILANO
Uffici della CRITICA SOCIALE
Portici Galleria, N. 23

1893

49

50

52. The first edition of the Manifesto in French between separate covers. Paris, 1895

Translated by Laura Lafargue, Marx's daughter. The edition was revised by Engels

53. The Manifesto in Czech, put out in Vienna in 1893. The translation was by A. Radimski, a Czech Social-Democrat. The facsimile is of a copy presented to Frederick Engels by the Czech Socialists

K. Marks i Jr. Engels

Manifest
komunistyczny

Wydanie drugie

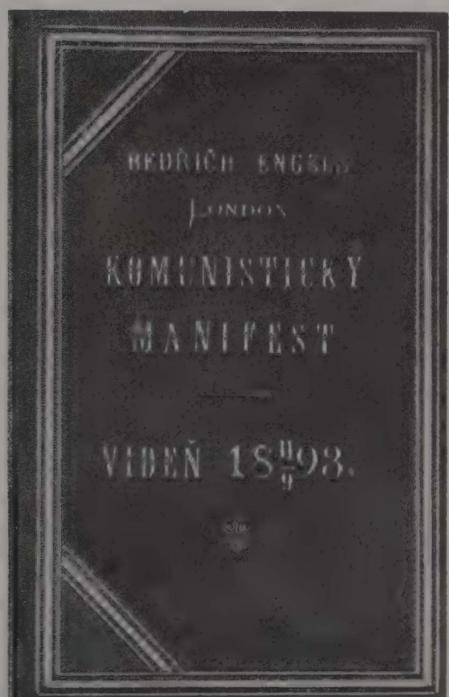
I Oct. 1894
w drukarni „Przedsiębiorstwa”
1892.

KARL MARX & FRÉDÉRIC ENGELS

MANIFESTE
du
Parti Communiste

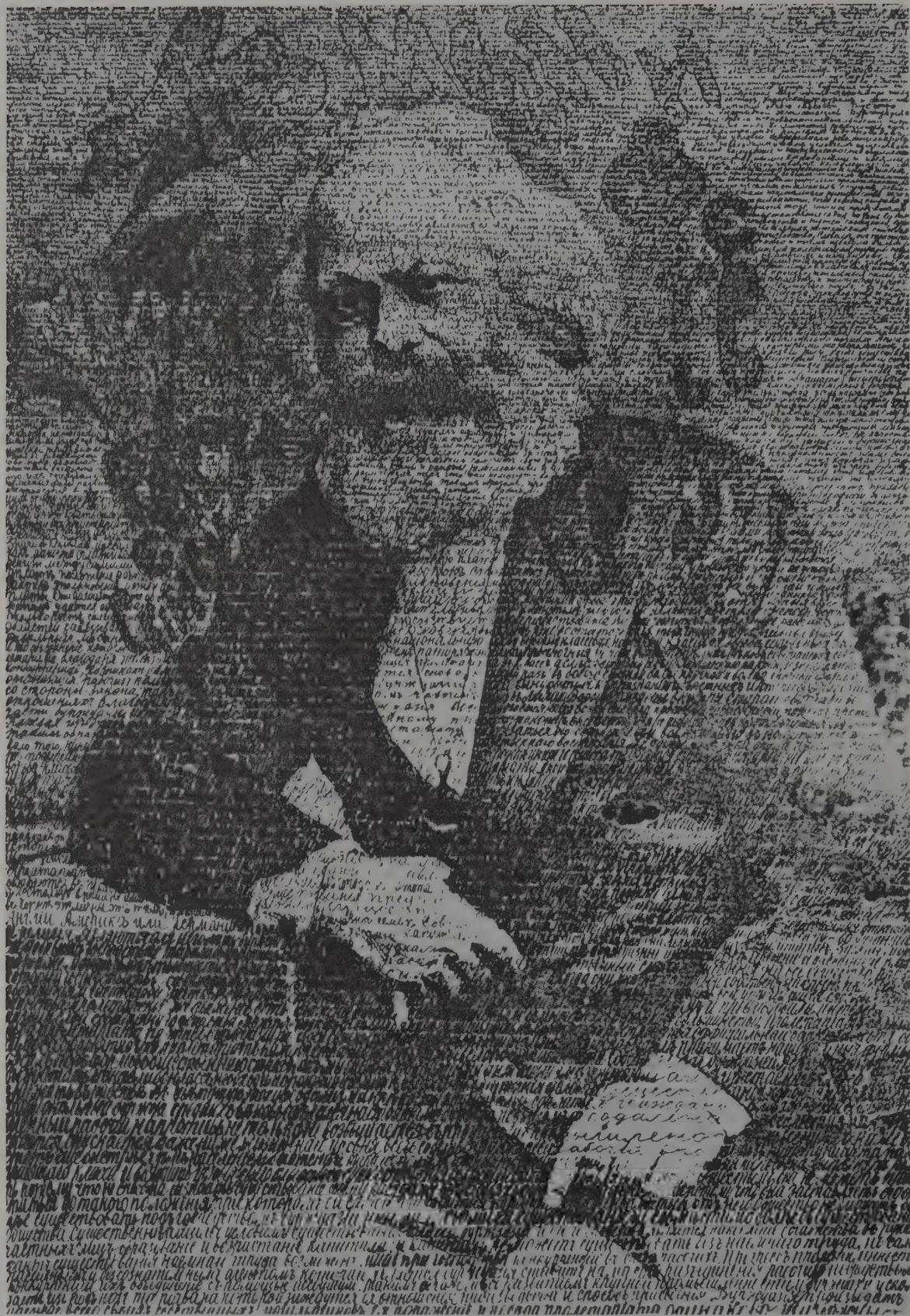
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ÈRE NOUVELLE
9, Rue Daubenton, 9
PARIS



52

53





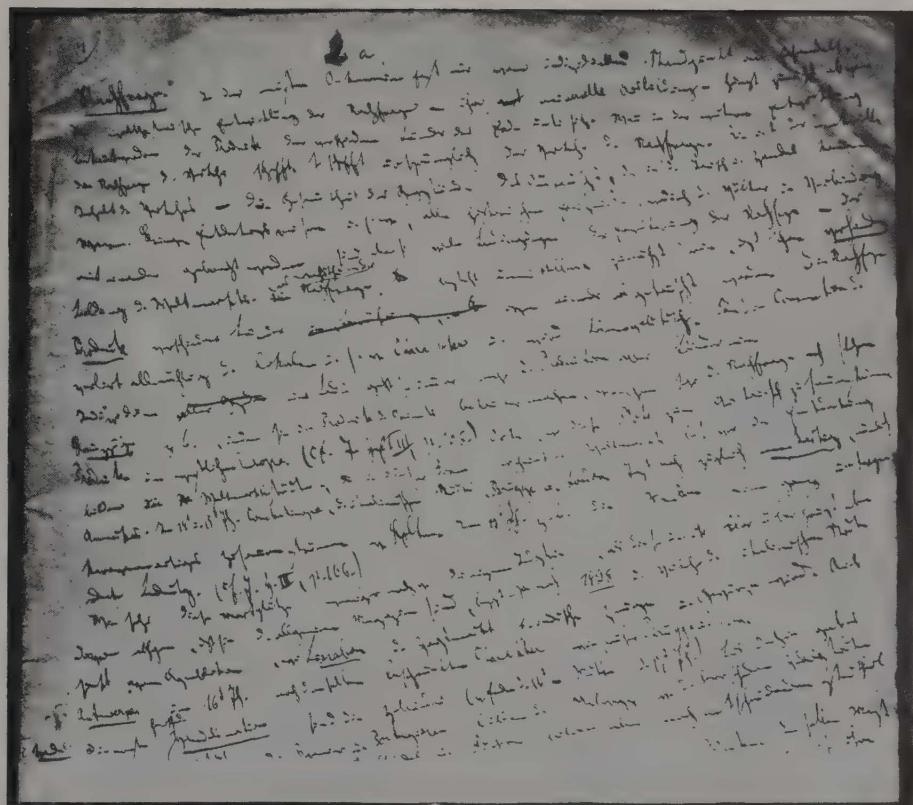
55

54. Marx's portrait with a page of the Manifesto of the Communist Party as the background

A leaflet

The leaflet was circulated among participants in the revolutionary movement in Russia.

56. Karl Marx, "Wages", 1847
A fragment of the manuscript



56

DISCOURS

SUR LA QUESTION

DU LIBRE ÉCHANGE,

PRONONCÉ A

L'ASSOCIATION DÉMOCRATIQUE

DE BRUXELLES,

Dans la Séance Publique du 9 Janvier 1848,

PAR CHARLES MARX.

Imprimé aux frais de l'Association Démocratique.

Messieurs,

L'abolition des lois céréales en Angleterre est le plus grand triomphe que le libre échange ait remporté au 19^e siècle. Dans tous les pays où les fabricants parlent de libre échange ils ont principalement en vue le libre échange des grains et des matières premières en général. Frapper de droits protecteurs les grains étrangers, c'est infâme, c'est spéculer sur la famine des peuples.

To maintain contact with the workers, Marx held, the secret organisation of the Communist League had to have a network of legal workers' associations. "The League standing behind the public educational associations, and guiding them," Marx wrote later, "found them to be a most convenient forum for public propaganda, and also a reservoir whose most useful members could replenish and swell its own ranks."

On the initiative of Marx and Engels, a German Workers' Society was organised in Brussels at the end of August 1847. The leading part in it was played by members of the Communist League. Marx was among the most active of them. In the latter half of December he delivered a series of lectures at the Society on political economy. What was evidently a rough outline of the unpublished part of these lectures, a manuscript entitled "Wages", is extant.

55. The house on Rue de la Tête d'Or in Brussels where the Democratic Association was founded in September 1847

The Democratic Association, which encompassed proletarian revolutionaries and the foremost of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats, was founded in Belgium, the refuge of émigrés from all over Europe. Marx and Engels took a most conspicuous part in launching the Association. Indeed, Marx was its vice-president.

57. Karl Marx, Speech on the Question of Free Trade, published in Brussels in early February 1848

The title page

This speech was delivered at a public meeting of the Brussels Democratic Association on January 9, 1848.

1848-1849

In the activities of Marx and Engels the period of their participation in the mass revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 stands out as the central point.

V. I. Lenin

Revolutions are the locomotives of history.

Karl Marx



1. Clashes at the approaches to the royal palace in Paris. Capture of the Château d'Eau on February 24, 1848



On February 24, 1848, the people of Paris overthrew Louis Philippe, King of the Bankers, and France became a republic.

On March 13, a revolution erupted in Vienna, and on March 18 barricades were thrown up in Berlin, capital of Prussia. The people of Milan, Venice, Piedmont and Rome were in open rebellion. Revolutionary movements sprang up in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.



2. Insurgents overturn the royal throne in the Tuileries on February 24, 1848

3. A cartoon of Louis Philippe fleeing on February 24, 1848

4. Students, workers and craftsmen demand Metternich's resignation. Vienna, March 13, 1848

5. Fighting on barricades in Berlin on March 18 and 19, 1848





6.

6. Italian national flag being raised in Venice on March 17, 1848, as revolution erupts in Italy

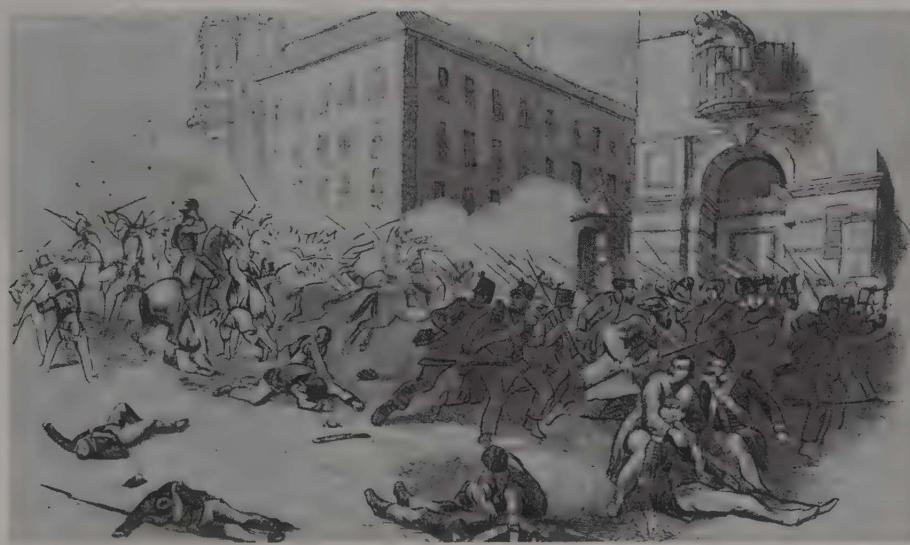
7. People demonstrating in Pest in March 1848, as revolution seizes Hungary

8. Revolution in Spain. Madrid, May 7, 1848

9. Chartists demonstrate in London on April 10, 1848 demanding adoption of the People's Charter

Word of the outbreak of a revolution in France reached Marx and Engels in Brussels. Engels wrote as follows of the sentiment that prevailed in the Belgian capital: "The excitement and inquietude was universal in this town on the evening of that day... The railway station was crowded with people of all classes, anxious for the arrival of news... At half-past twelve at night, the train arrived, with the glorious news of Thursday's revolution, and the whole mass of people shouted, in one sudden outburst of enthusiasm: *Vive la République!* The news spread rapidly all over the town."

Friedrich Lessner, a German worker and member of the Communist League, recollects: "We were in a state of elation and delight. We had just one urge and thought: To sacrifice everything for the liberation of humankind!"



Léopold, Roi des Belges,

A tous présents et à venir. SALUT

U^r l'ordre 1. et 2. Septembre 1835,
25 A^o 1841 et 23 Sevr 1846

Sous rapport de M^{me} Ministre de la Justice

Nous avons arrêté d'arrêter:

Arbèle unguis

Il est injurie au nom de Marx
Charles, docteur en Philosophie, âgé de 24 ans
né à Greves, Prusse) _____
de jetté à l'royaume de la Belgique dont
le décret de vingt-quatre heures avec la
fin de deux ans au Carron, sous les peines
commissées par l'art 6 de la loi pénitiale du
22 Septembre 1835

Notre Ministre de la justice
est chargé de l'exécution du présent arrêté.

Donne à Bruxelles le 2 Mars 1848
Léopold

Par le Roi
Le Ministre de la Justice
Le Roi



A large part of the inheritance he had received on his father's death, Marx contributed for the purchase of arms for the Brussels workers.

The Belgian government, like the Prussian and French governments before it, organised police reprisals against Marx. He and his wife were arrested and put in Amigo prison. After being interrogated, they were released and ordered out of Belgium along with other émigrés. By that time the reactionary French government had been deposed, and Marx set out for revolutionary Paris.



Aux citoyens membres du Gouvernement provisoire de la République française.

Bruxelles, le 28 Février 1848.

Citoyens,
L'association démocratique ayant pour but l'union et la fraternité de tous les peuples, établie depuis qu'il y a temps à Bruxelles et composée de membres de plusieurs nations de l'Europe jouxtant avec les Belges, sur le sol de ceux-ci, d'institutions qui permettent déjà depuis long-temps l'expression libre et publique de toutes les opinions politiques et religieuses, cette association vient vous offrir l'hommage de ses éllections pour la grande tâche que vient d'accomplir la nation française, et de sa gratitude pour l'immense service que cette nation vient de rendre à la cause de l'humanité.

Nous avons eu déjà l'occasion de féliciter les Suisses d'avoir prémédité, comme ils l'ont fait n'importe, à l'œuvre de l'émancipation des peuples, qu'il vous appartenait de poursuivre avec une vigueur que l'énorme population de Paris déploie toujours lorsque son tour est venu. Nous comprenons bien avoir sans grand retard le droit de renouveler auprès des Français notre dévouement auprès des Suisses. Mais la France a devancé de beaucoup le temps où nous espérions avoir à nous adresser à elle. Ce n'est, en effet, qu'une raison pour que toutes les nations hâtent déterminément le pas pour vous suivre.

Nous croyons pouvoir conjecturer avec certitude que celles qui tenteront le plus près la France seront les premières à la suivre dans la carrière où elles vont d'entrer.

Cette conjecture est d'autant plus certaine que la France vient de faire une Révolution destinée bien plus à ressourcer les livres qui la joignent à toutes les nations, qu'à menacer aucune d'elles-ci dans son indépen-

dance. C'est l'exemple des peuples que nous saluons dans la France de février 1848, et non leur puissance. La France désormais n'attend plus d'autre hommage.

Nous voyons déjà la grande nation dont vous dirigez aujourd'hui les destinées avec la seule autorité de la confiance de tous; nous la voyons déjà, citoyens, renouer même avec les peuples qu'ils a considérés longtemps comme des rivaux de puissance, une alliance que l'odieuse politique de quelques hommes était seule parvenue à ébranler. L'Angleterre, l'Allemagne, tendent de nouveau la main à votre grand pays. L'Espagne, l'Italie, la Suisse, la Belgique vont ou se relever ou se réparer trasquilles et libres sous votre égide. La Pologne renaîtra comme Lazaré à l'apôtre.

Il est impossible que la Russie elle-même n'y vienne pas mêlé enfin des succès si pénétriquement chauffée par votre immortel Rêveur. Nous vous offrons, citoyens, dans toute l'effusion des sentiments d'une fraternité inassimilable, le tribut de notre plus profonde reconnaissance.

Le comité de l'association démocratique ayant pour but l'union et la fraternité de tous les peuples, était à Bruxelles.

Sigis : Jourdan, avocat, président; Ch. Marx, vice-président; général Millein, président d'honneur; Spilhout, avocat, président de la société démocratique de Gand; Mayns, professeur à l'université de Bruxelles; Lekeu, I.; Bailliu, trésorier; Bailliu, vice-trésorier; Peletning, ouvrier; Lorius, négociant.

Cette adresse a été présentée ce matin au Gouvernement provisoire de la République française, par MM. Spilhout, délégué de la députation belge, et Biere, avocat démocrate à Namur.

10. Rescript of Leopold I, King of the Belgians, for Marx's expulsion from Belgium

11. Marx arrested in Brussels

12. Amigo prison in Brussels, where Marx and his wife were detained

13. The courthouse in Brussels where Jenny Marx was interrogated on March 4, 1848

14. An address signed by Marx, hailing the French Republic

La Reforme, March 4, 1848

15. A detachment of volunteers in one of the chambers of the Hôtel de Ville in Paris, 1848





Aug 10 1848

Braue et loyal Marx

Le sol de la République
Française est un champ
de bataille pour tous les...
amis de la liberté
La tyrannie vous a banni
la France libre vous

Nouveaux combattants, on
veut, où tous ceux qui
combattaient pour la cause
sainte, la cause fraternelle
de tout le Peuple.

C'est agent des
gouvernements étrangers
qui interpréteront la
Maison. D'autre ce fond

Salut et Fraternité

Ferdinand Flocon

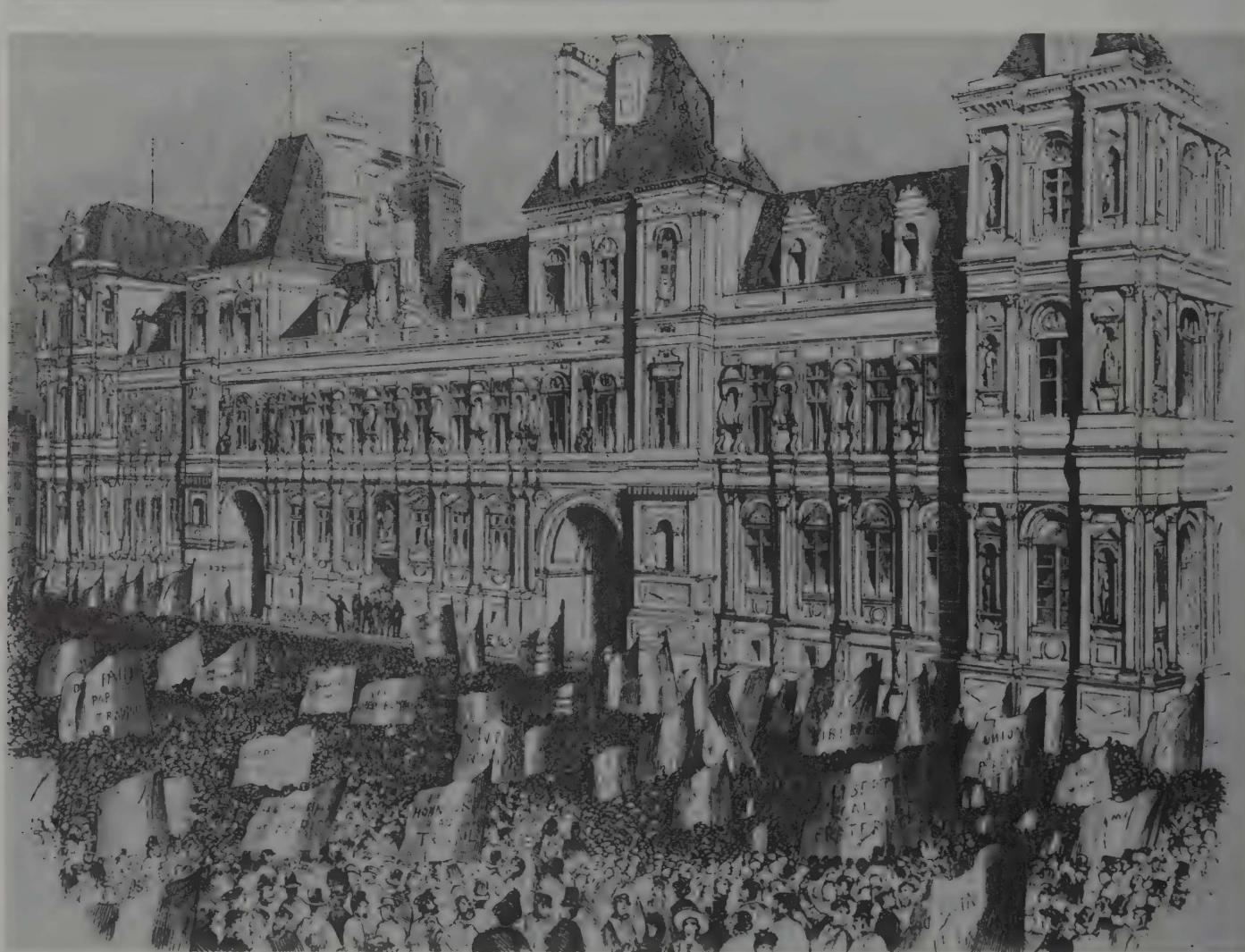
Membre du Gouvernement provisoire

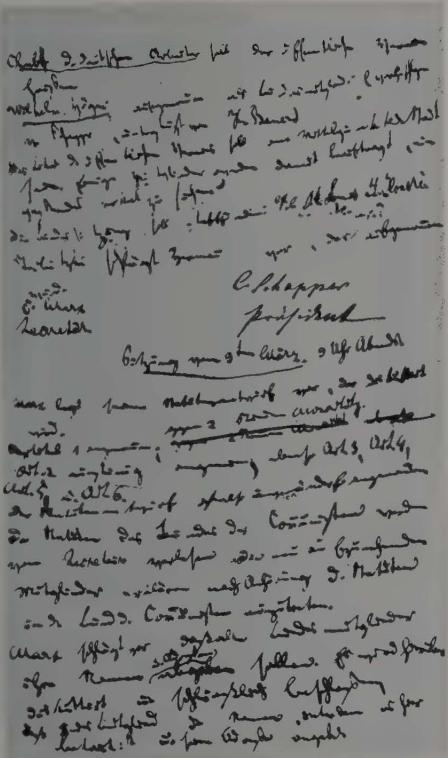
16. The letter from Ferdinand Flocon, member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, inviting Marx to return to France

"PARIS, MARCH 1, 1848
"HONEST AND WORTHY MARX,

"THE SOIL OF THE FRENCH
REPUBLIC IS A PLACE OF
ASYLUM FOR ALL FRIENDS OF
FREEDOM. TYRANNY EXPELLED
YOU, A FREE FRANCE OPENS ITS
DOORS TO YOU ONCE MORE."

17. A mass demonstration in the square outside the Hôtel de Ville in Paris on March 17, 1848





18. A page of the minutes of a sitting of the Paris communities of the Communist League on March 8 and 9, 1848, in Marx's handwriting

19. The letter which Marx and Engels sent Étienne Cabet, a French journalist, at the end of March 1848

In the letter Marx and Engels object against the activity of the German Democratic Society in Paris and its plans to "export" revolution to Germany.

Marx et Engels

à citoyen Cabet

Nous vous prions de vouloir bien recevoir la déclaration ci-jointe dans le numero prochain du Populaire. Il s'agit de ne pas faire retourner sur le parti communiste la responsabilité d'une entreprise et d'un maniement qui, déjà, ont réveillé dans une partie de la nation allemande les vieux préjugés nationaux et réactionnaires contre le peuple français. L'alliance des ouvriers allemands, associés à des diverses sociétés d'ouvriers dans tous les pays de l'Europe, et dont M. Harvey et Jones, chefs des chartistes anglais, font partie, est entièrement composée de communistes, et se déclare ouvertement communiste; la soudain Société démocratique allemande de Paris est également anticomuniste, tant qu'elle déclare ne pas reconnaître l'antagonisme et la lutte des deux entre la classe prolétarienne et la classe bourgeoisie. Il s'agit donc ici d'une démarche, d'une déclaration à faire dans l'intérêt des partis communistes, et c'est ce qui nous fait conter sur votre complaisance. (Cette note n'est confidentielle.) Salut et fraternité!

Friedr. Engels
Charles Marx

Forderungen
der
Kommunistischen Partei
in
Deutschland.

"Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!"

1. Ganz Deutschland wird zu einer einzigen, unteilbaren Republik erklärt.

2. Jeder Deutsche, der 21 Jahre alt ist, ist Wähler und wählbar, vor ausgesetzt das er keine Kriminalstrafe erlitten hat.

3. Die Volksvertreter werden bestellt, damit auch der Arbeiter im Parlament des deutschen Volkes sitzen könne.

4. Allgemeine Volksbewaffnung. Die Armeen sind in Zukunft zugleich Arbeiter-Armeen, so daß das Herr nicht bloß, wie früher, verachtet, sondern noch mehr produziert, als seine Unterhaltungskosten betragen.

Dies ist außerdem ein Mittel zur Organisation der Arbeit.

5. Die Gerechtigkeitspfeile sind unentbehrlich.

6. Alle Grundbesitzer, alle Abgaben, Frohnen, Zehnten, &c., die bisher auf dem Landvolle lasteten, werden ohne irgend eine Entschädigung abgeschafft.

7. Die fürstlichen und andern feudalen Landgüter, alle Bergwerke, Gruben u. s. w., werden in Staatseigentum umgewandelt. Auf diesen Landgütern wird der Ackerbau im Großen und mit den modernsten Hilfsmitteln der Wissenschaft zum Vorteil der Gesamtheit betrieben.

8. Die Hypotheken auf den Bauerngütern werden für Staatseigentum erklärt. Die Interessen für jene Hypotheken werden von den Bauern an den Staat gezahlt.

9. In den Gegenden, wo das Pachtwesen entwickelt ist, wird die Grundrente oder der Pächtershilling als Steuer an den Staat geopfert.

Alle diese unter 6, 7, 8 und 9 angegebenen Maßregeln werden gefasst, um öffentliche und andere Kosten des Bauern und kleinen Pächter zu vermindern, ohne die zur Besteckung der Staatskosten nötigen Mittel zu schwächen und ohne die Produktion selbst zu gefährden.

Der eigentliche Grundbesitzhüter, der weder Bauer noch Pächter ist,

hat an der Produktion gar keinen Anteil. Seine Konsumtion ist daher ein bloßer Missbrauch.

10. An die Stelle aller Privatbanken tritt eine Staatssbank, deren Papier gesetzlichen Wert hat.

Diese Maßregel macht es möglich, das Kreditmassen im Interesse des ganzen Volkes zu regeln und untergräßt damit die Herrschaft der großen Geldmänner. Jeder sie nach und nach Papiergeld an die Stelle von Gold und Silber setzt, verschafft sich sie das unentbehrliche Instrument des bürgerlichen Rechtes, das allgemeine Tauschmittel, und erlaubt, das Gold und Silber nach außen hin wirken zu lassen. Diese Maßregel ist schließlich unverzichtbar, um die Interessen der konservativen Vorgerüste an die Revolution zu knüpfen.

11. Alle Transportmittel: Eisenbahnen, Kanäle, Dampfschiffe, Böge, Posten, &c., nimmt der Staat in seine Hand. Sie werden in Staatseigentum umgewandelt und der unbenutzten Kloße zur wirtschaftlichen Verfügung gestellt.

12. In der Erziehung sämtlicher Staatsschüler findet kein anderer Unterschied statt, als der, daß diejenigen mit Familie, also mit mehr Bedürfnissen, auch ein höheres Gehalt beziehen als die Letzteren.

13. Böliche Errichtung der Kirche vom Statoe. Die Christlichen aller Konfessionen werden lediglich von ihrer freiwilligen Gemeinde besoldet.

14. Befreiung des Erbrenten.

15. Einführung von harten Prozeßstrafen und Abschaffung der Konservanzstrafen.

16. Errichtung von Nationalwerftätern. Der Staat garantirt allen Arbeitern ihr Erbteil; und versorgt die zur Arbeit Unfähigen.

17. Allgemeine, unentbehrliche Volkserziehung.

Es liegt im Interesse des deutschen Proletariats, des kleinen Bürger- und Bauernstandes, mit aller Energie an der Durchsetzung obiger Maßregeln zu arbeiten. Denn nur durch Durchsetzung derselben können die Millionen, die bisher in Deutschland von einer kleinen Zahl ausgebettet wurden und die man weiter in ihrer Unterdrückung zu erhalten scheint, zu ihrem Recht und zu derjenigen Macht gelangen, die ihnen, als der Hervorbringers alles Reichthums, gebührt.

Das Comite:

Karl Marx. Karl Schapper. H. Bauer. F. Engels.

J. Noll. M. Wolff.

On receiving word of the events that had erupted in Germany, Marx and Engels, who were in Paris, worked out a concrete, scientifically based programme for the German proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, entitled, *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*. Published as a leaflet, it was popularised at meetings of workers' associations and distributed among workers and craftsmen.

The main demands, consonant with the historical objectives of the German revolution, were: to put an end to the aftermaths of feudalism, to do away with large landed estates, to form a single and indivisible German republic, to democratise the political system through the establishment of people's representative bodies, to arm the people, to introduce free education, to nationalise feudal estates, mines, and transport, and to take appropriate action in order to provide all workers with jobs.





20. Demands of the Communist Party in Germany—the political platform of the Communist League in the German revolution

Written by Marx and Engels in March 1848 and printed as a leaflet in Paris at the end of March 1848

21. Barricades on the Kronen- and Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, on March 18, 1848

22. A view of Cologne in the mid-19th century

23. Unter Hutmacher, the street in the old part of Cologne where the Neue Rheinische Zeitung had its editorial offices and printing plant

In April 1848, Marx and Engels went to Cologne to take direct part in the German revolution.

There had already been a strong community of the Communist League in that city when the revolution broke out, and thanks to the *Code Napoléon* that was operating in Rhine Province, the press there had more freedom than anywhere else in Germany. This was why Cologne was picked as the seat of the Communist League's Central Authority, where it would launch a daily revolutionary newspaper. The daily was given the name *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, whose first issue came out on June 1, 1848.



Editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

25. Karl Marx, editor-in-chief

26. Frederick Engels, Marx's closest assistant

27. Wilhelm Wolff (1809-1864), member of the Central Authority of the Communist League and assistant editor

28. Georg Weerth (1822-1856), German proletarian poet and journalist, member of the Communist League

29. Ernst Dronke (1822-1891), German journalist, member of the Communist League



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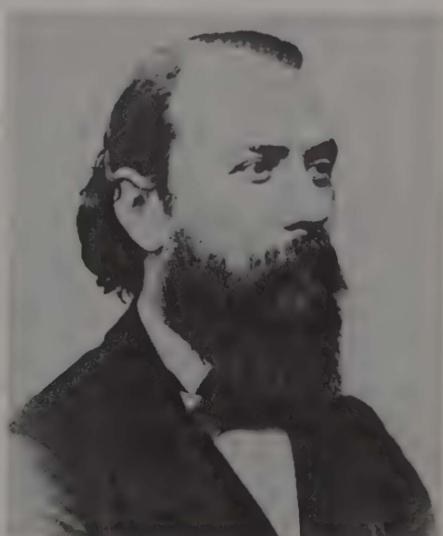
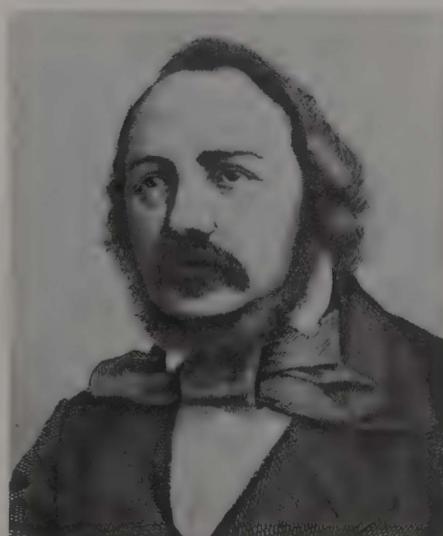


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30. Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876), German revolutionary poet, member of the Communist League

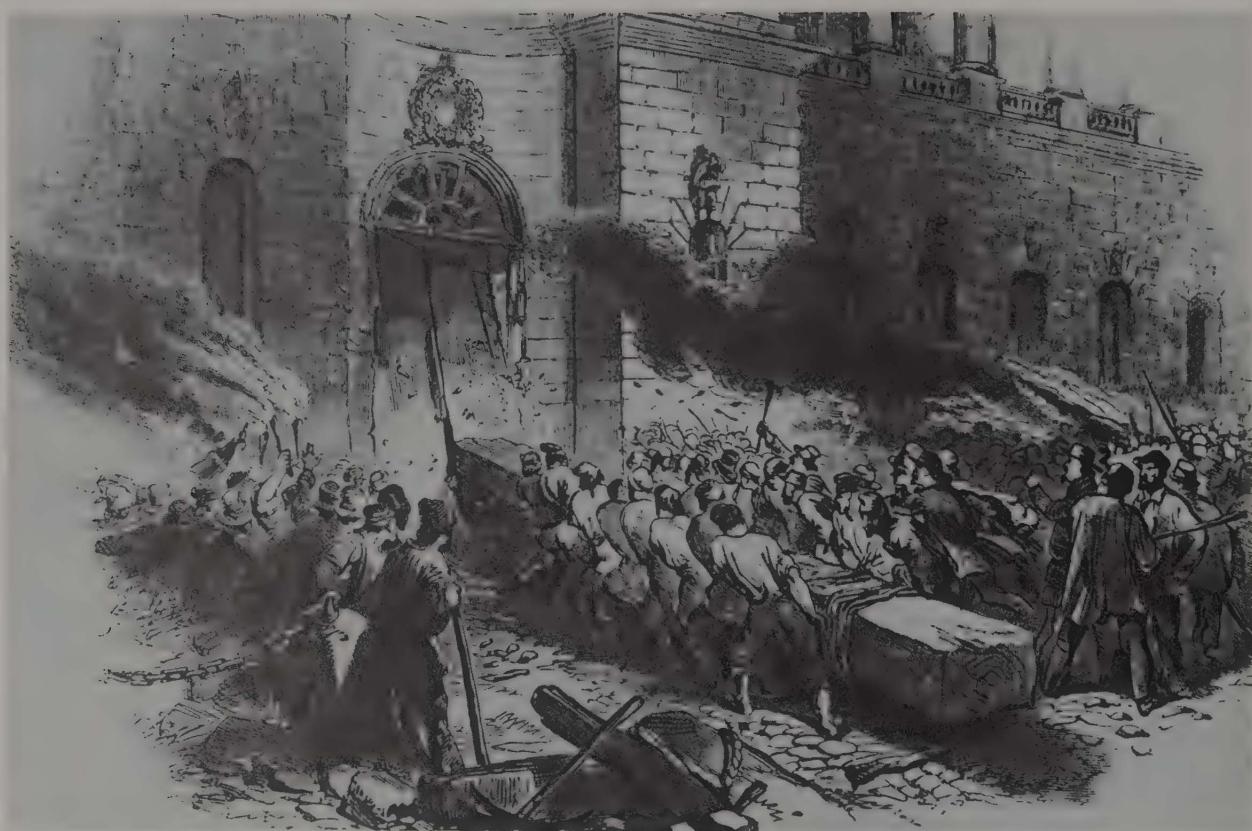
31. Heinrich Bürgers (1820-1878), German journalist, member of the Communist League



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In many ways, the editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* exercised the functions of the Communist League's Central Authority. It set and explained the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution, and directed League members taking part in the revolutionary events in various other cities of Germany as to what they were expected to do.



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In their articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels exposed the counter-revolutionary postures of the German bourgeoisie, which had, as one article said, "concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the reactionary forces, because it was afraid of the people". They called on the mass of the people to carry on with the revolution and to reach deeper. They told the workers that "the present movement is only the prologue to another movement a thousand times more serious, in which the issue will concern their own, the workers', most vital interests".

32. Capture of the armoury in Berlin on June 14, 1848

On June 10, the majority in the Prussian National Assembly opposed official acknowledgement of the results of the March 18 revolution. This angered the workers and petty-bourgeois democrats in Berlin.

On June 14, 1848, Berlin's workers and craftsmen captured the armoury, so as to defend the gains of the revolution with arms in hand.

33. Karl Marx, *Rough outline of the fourth of his series of articles, The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution, which appeared in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung on December 31, 1848*

Facsimile of a page of the manuscript

34. "To my beloved Berliners..."

A cartoon of Prussian King Frederick William IV, who addressed a hypocritical appeal to the people at the time of the June uprising in Berlin.



34



35

35. Engels's cartoon of the Prussian bourgeoisie and Frederick William IV. January 1849



36

Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Organ der Demokratie.

M 1.

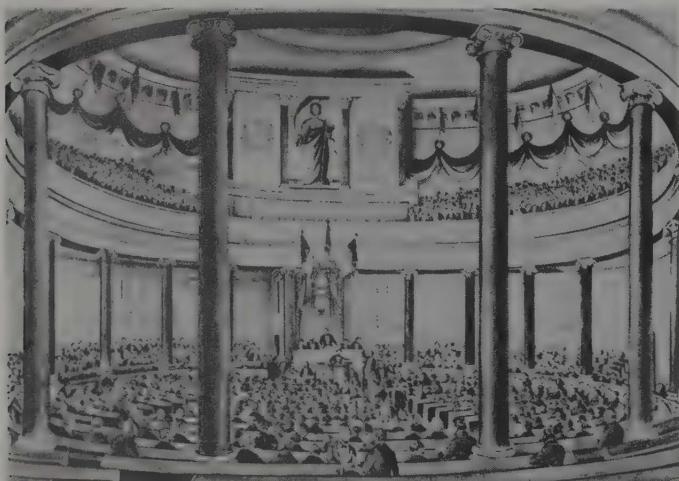
Köln, Mittwoch 7. Juni

1848.

Deutschland.

** Köln, 6. Juni. Wir haben unsern Lesern gestern das „motivirte Manifest der radikal-demokratischen Partei in der konstituierenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main“ mitgetheilt. Unter der Rubrik Frankfurt finden sie heute das Manifest der Linken. Beide Manifeste scheinen sich auf den ersten Blick kaum anders zu unterscheiden als formell, indem die radikal-demokratische Partei einen unbekleideten und die Linke einen gewandten Redakteur

37



38

Marx and Engels resorted to satire, a weapon of devastating power, to attack and expose the all-German National Assembly in Frankfurt on the Main, which had been convened to create a united German state and work out an all-German Constitution. The Assembly, which dreaded the revolution, stood aloof from the democratic movement and proved incapable of unifying Germany. Engels wrote later: "We exposed the parliamentary cretins ... of the various so-called National Assemblies."

36. *Three professors drafting the Imperial Constitution
A cartoon on the work of the Frankfurt Assembly*

37. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, June 7, 1848. This issue contained Marx's and Engels's article, "The Programmes of the Radical-Democratic Party and of the Left at Frankfurt"*

"A Constituent National Assembly must above all be an active, revolutionary active assembly. The Assembly at Frankfurt is engaged in schoolbook parliamentary exercises and leaves it to the governments to act."

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

38. *The Frankfurt National Assembly*

For the revolution to make headway, Marx and Engels held, it had to involve the mass of peasants in the battle against the surviving elements of feudalism in Germany. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* called on the peasants to fight for the complete and uncompensated abolition of all feudal duties.



Signore:

Sotto il titolo della Nuova Gazzetta Romana (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*) e sotto la direzione del sig. Carlo Marx si pubblica fin dal primo giugno un giornale quotidiano in questa città di Colonia. Questo giornale seguirà, nel nostro settentrione, i moderni principi democratici che l'Alba rappresenta in Italia. Non può dunque essere dubbia la situazione che prenderemo relativamente alla questione pendente fra l'Italia e l'Austria. Difenderemo la causa dell'indipendenza italiana, combatteremo e morte il dispotismo austriaco in Italia, come in Germania ed in Polonia. Tendiamo fraternalmente le mani al popolo italiano e vogliamo pravargli che la nazione Alemanna ripeta ogni parte dell'oppressione perpetrata anche da voi per gli stessi uomini che da noi hanno sempre combattuto la libertà. Vogliamo fare tutto il possibile per preparare l'unione e la buona intelligenza di due grandi e libere nazioni che un nefario sistema di governo ha fatto credersi finora nemici l'una dell'altra. Dunqueremo dunque, che la tentata ad detraerla sia senza ritardo ritirata dall'Italia, e che il popolo italiano sia messo nella posizione di poter percepire la sua volontà sovrana rappresentando la forma di governo che vuole scegliere.

Per mettere in stato di conoscere gli affari italiani e per darvi l'occasione di giudicare della sincerità delle nostre promesse, vi proponiamo di cambiare il vostro giornale con il nostro; cosicché vi indirizziamo la Nuova Gazzetta Romana, e voi ci indirizzerete l'ALBA regolarmente ogni giorno. Ci ringhiamo che vi piacerà accettare questa proposta e vi pregiamo di cominciare l'invio dell'Alba il più presto possibile, finché possiamo profittarne più per i primi nostri numeri.

Se si trovasse che avreste altre comunicazioni indirizzarci vi invitiamo di farlo, permettendovi che tutto ciò può servire la causa della democrazia nell'uno o l'altro paese, troverò, da parte nostra, sempre tutta l'attenzione possibile.

Salute e fraternità

La Direzione della Nuova Gazzetta Romana
Il Direttore
Dr. Karlo Marx

43. Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) headed the struggle for Italy's national liberation

44. Garibaldi's detachment in battle

45. Alexander Herzen, Letters from France and Italy, London, 1855

46. Alexander Herzen (1812-1870), Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, journalist and writer

A witness of the events in France and Italy, Herzen described the revolutionary developments in those countries in his *Letters*. His account abounds in stirring character studies of the more conspicuous revolutionaries.

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels came out in support of progressive national liberation movements abroad. They pointed out that the struggle for the liberation of oppressed nationalities was part of the general democratic struggle, and an asset of the European revolution.

41. Fighting in Milan on March 22, 1848

42. Marx's letter to the editor of L'Alba, an Italian democratic newspaper. It was published in the paper on June 29, 1848

"WE SHALL DEFEND THE CAUSE OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE, WE SHALL FIGHT TO THE DEATH AUSTRIAN DESPOTISM IN ITALY AS IN GERMANY AND POLAND."

KARL MARX



ПІСЬМА

ВЪ ФРАНЦІИ И ИТАЛІИ

(1847—1852)

ИСКАНДЕРА

ЛОНДОНЪ

THIEMER & Co. ERANZ UIMM
12-14 Strandgate, New. 3, Strand Street, Old Bond Street,
LONDON.

1855.



Александр Герцен



Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie.

Die "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" erscheint vom 1. Jan. an täglich. Bestellungen für das nächste Quartal. Zeit
bis September, sollen uns baldigst machen.
Die Postkasse freimelden wir gleichzeitig.
Für den ersten Quartalsbezirk der W. R. Zeitung, Nr. 20, Sonntag 21. September, und 21, eine Nach-Poste von Paris;
ein halbes Corresp.-Pkt. auf den 1. J. 1. Werk 27, St. Georges Court in London. Ihre Reise mit Postkasse ist sehr
wichtig, um die Zeitung nicht zu verhindern.
Bestellungen für das zweite Quartal 1. Sept. 15. Cr., zu einer kleinen Postkasse 2. Sept. 2. Cr., bis 1. Sept. bestellte Postkasse von Münster des Abends der Zeitung
oder der Zeitung. Interessant: die Empfehlung Preuß. am 1. Sept. 15. Cr.
Empfehlungen oder die Empfehlung zu großen E-Verhandlungen zu bringen zu zweiten Verhandlungen.

For possible stability the Commonwealth Senate and House of Representatives must be given the right to propose and amend bills, and a President must be elected by the people. The Commonwealth Government must be given the power to tax and to coin money. The Commonwealth must have the power to regulate interstate commerce and to prohibit slavery.

Reuter und Wölfling

Reuter ist ein sehr alter Name, der sich auf einen alten Geschlechterzweig zurückführen lässt, der im 12. Jahrhundert in Sachsen ansässig war. Der Name leitet sich von einem Vorfahren ab, der nach dem Dorf Reutern benannt wurde. Die Reuter waren eine adelige Familie, die in verschiedenen Teilen Deutschlands und Österreichs begütert war. Sie gehörten zu den wichtigsten Adelsfamilien im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert.

Wölfling

Der Name Wölfling ist ebenfalls sehr alt und geht auf eine tierische Bezeichnung zurück. Es handelt sich um einen Nachnamen, der auf einen Vorfahren hinweist, der als Wölfin galt. Diese Bezeichnung war wahrscheinlich aufgrund einer Legende oder eines persönlichen Merkmals gewählt worden. Die Wölfling waren eine kleinadelige Familie, die hauptsächlich in Süddeutschland und Österreich ansässig war.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* championed the cause of the uprising in Posen, exposing the disgraceful behaviour of the Prussian government, which had launched full-scale military operations against practically unarmed Poles. The paper wrote angrily of how brutally Prussian troops shot down insurgent peasants.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* also took the side of the Czechs and Hungarians fighting for national liberation.

47. Battle between Polish insurgents and the Prussian army at Rogalin, May 8, 1848

48. Neue Rheinische Zeitung, July 3, 1848

This issue contains Engels's article, "Germany's Foreign Policy"

"GERMANY WILL LIBERATE HERSELF TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH SHE SETS FREE NEIGHBOURING NATIONS."

FREDERICK ENGELS

49. A barricade beside the bridge tower on the Old Town side of the Vltava, during the Prague uprising of June 12-17, 1848

50. Josef Vaclav Frič (1829-1890), Czech revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Prague uprising in 1848



51. Frederick Engels, "The Democratic Character of the Uprising"
From the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, June 25, 1848

The article is devoted to the Prague uprising of June 12-17, 1848.

"THE UPRISING ... WAS AIMED AS MUCH AGAINST THE CZECH FEUDAL LORDS AS AGAINST THE AUSTRIAN TROOPS.
"THE ALISTEANS ATTACHED

"THE AUSTRIANS ATTACKED THE PEOPLE NOT BECAUSE THEY WERE CZECHS, BUT BECAUSE THEY WERE REVOLUTIONARIES."

FREDERICK ENGELS

Die Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie.

— But the Chinese believe in the immortality of the soul.



52

On June 23-26, the workers of Paris took up arms against the bourgeois government, which was impinging upon the social gains of the February revolution. Some 45,000 fought on barricades against 250,000 well-armed government troops. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* supported the June uprising all down the line. Marx and Engels said it was a cause of the international proletariat. They wrote in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of the insurgents' admirable heroism, dedication, and single-heartedness.



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52. A meeting of the revolutionary club in Paris

53. Arms are issued to Paris workers, April 16, 1848

54. Blanqui, Barbes, Albert and Raspail, leaders of the Paris workers' revolutionary action of May 15, 1848, placed under arrest

55. The fighting in Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Paris, June 1848

"IT WAS A FIGHT FOR THE PRESERVATION OR ANNIHILATION OF THE BOURGEOIS ORDER."



KARL MARX





56.



57.

56. Capture of Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Paris, by government troops, June 26, 1848

57. Captured insurgents led through the streets

"THE PLEBEIANS ARE TORMENTED BY HUNGER, ABUSED BY THE PRESS, FORSAKEN BY THE DOCTORS, CALLED THIEVES, INCENDIARIES AND GALLEY-SLAVES BY THE RESPECTABILITIES; THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN ARE PLUNGED INTO STILL GREATER MISERY AND THE BEST OF THOSE WHO HAVE SURVIVED ARE SENT OVERSEAS. IT IS THE RIGHT AND THE PRIVILEGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS TO PLACE LAURELS ON THEIR CLOUDED THREATENING BROW."

KARL MARX



58. Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), French revolutionary, utopian communist; took part in the 1848 revolution, devotee of conspiratorial tactics



59. Joachim Kersausie (1798-1874) drew up the operational plan of the June uprising. Engels called him "first commander-in-chief of barricade fighting"

60. June insurgents face a military tribunal in Paris

61. A cartoon of General Cavaignac, hangman of the June insurrection





62. Marx and Engels in the printshop of
the Neue Rheinische Zeitung

63. Karl Marx, "The June Revolution"
Neue Rheinische Zeitung, June 29,
1848

The article is devoted to the heroic
uprising of the Paris proletariat.

"NONE OF THE NUMEROUS
REVOLUTIONS OF THE FRENCH
BOURGEOISIE SINCE 1789 AS-
SAILED THE EXISTING ORDER,
FOR THEY RETAINED THE CLASS
RULE, THE SLAVERY OF THE
WORKERS, THE BOURGEOIS ORDER...
THE JUNE UPRISE DID
ASSAIL THIS ORDER."

KARL MARX

Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Organ der Demokratie.

Nr. 29.

Köln, Donnerstag 29. Juni

1848.

Die „Neue Rheinische Zeitung“ erscheint vom 1. Juni an täglich. Bestellungen für das nächste Quartal, Juli bis September, wolle man baldigst machen.

Alle Postämter Deutschlands nehmen Bestellungen an.

Für Frankreich übernehmend Abonnements Herr G. A. Alaudre, Nr. 28, Grandgasse in Straßburg, und 23, rue Notre Dame de Nazareth in Paris; so wie das königliche Ober-Post-Amt in Lübeck. Für England die H. & J. Ewer & Comp., 72, Newgate Street in London. Für Belgien und Holland die respektiven Königlichen Briefpost-Amter und das Postbüro zu Lübeck.

Abonnementpreis in Köln vierteljährlich 1 Thlr. 15 Sgr., in allen übrigen Orten Preußens 2 Thlr. 3 Sgr. 9 Pf. Außerhalb Preußens mit Zusatz des fremden Zeitungspostes. Inserate: die vierseitige Zeitzeile oder deren Raum 1 Sgr. 6 Pf.

Anzeigen aller Art erlangen durch die geistigen Verbindungen der Zeitung die weiteste Verbreitung.

Zu Nr. 28 der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung“ ist am 28. Juni Morgens eine außerordentliche Beilage ausgegeben und versandt worden.

Französische Republik.

„Die Pariser Arbeiter sind erdrückt worden von der Ueberzahl, sie sind ihr nicht erlegen. Sie sind geschlagen, aber ihre Gegner sind besiegt. Der augenblickliche Triumph der brutalen Gewalt ist erklungen mit der Vernichtung aller Lauthamen und Einbildungen der Februar-Revolution, mit der Auflösung der ganzen alt-republikanischen Partei, mit der Zerstörung der französischen Nation in zwei Nationen, die Nation der Besitzer und die Nation der Arbeiter. Die trübselige Republik trug nur mehr Eine Farbe, die Farbe der Geschlagenen, die Farbe des Bluts. Sie ist zur rothen Republik geworden.“

„Eine republikanische Reputation, sei es von National, sei es von der Rechte auf Seite des Volks!“ Und andre jubeln, ohne andere Nutzen als die Empörung selbst, widerstreitend es der vereinigten Bourgeoisie und Soldaten länger, als je eine französische Diktatur, mit allen militärischen Vorwerten verbunden, einer mit dem Willen vereinigten Fraktion der Bourgeoisie widerstand. Damit die letzte Illusion des Volks verschwand, damit ganzlich mit der Vergangenheit gebrochen wurde, mußte auch die gewohnte poetische Judentum der französischen Emigranten, die entbündigte Bourgeoisie, die Zöglinge der reale politik, die dreikämpfende Hülle aus der Seite der Unterdrucker sich. Die Zöglinge der medizinischen Zukunft mußten den verwundeten Pfeilern die Hülle der Wissenschaft verliegen. Die Wissenschaft erstirbt nicht für den Pfeiler, das das unglaubliche, das unglaubliche Verbrechen beginnt, sich einmal für seine eigne Erkrankung in die Schanze zu schlagen, statt für Louis Philippe oder für Herrn Martignac.“

Der letzte offizielle Rest der Februar-Revolution, die erstmals Kommission ist vor dem Ernst der Ereignisse vor ein Rebellenkabinett. Kamatino's Kuschelglück haben sich verwandelt in die Branteler-Kamagrac.“

Die Fraternité, die Brüderlichkeit der entgegengesetzten Klassen, von denen die eine die andere erwidert, diese Fraternité im Februar proklamiert, mit großen Prostern auf die Stufen von Paris geschrieben, auf jedes Gefangene — ihr wohnt, unverlässlicher, der profanistischer Ausdruck, das ist der — Bürgerkrieg, der Bürgerkrieg in seiner furchterfüllten Gestalt, der Krieg der Arbeit und des Kapitals. Diese Brüderlichkeit stammte vor allen Jenseiten von Paris am Abend des 25. Juni, als das Paris der Bourgeoisie islamisierte, während das Paris des Proletariats verbrannte, verblieb, verschwand.

Die Brüderlichkeit wäre grade so lang, als das Interesse der Bourgeoisie mit dem Interesse des Proletariats verbündet war, bedauerten die alten revolutionären Überlieferungen von 1793, dem sozialistischen Systematiker, die bei den Bourgeoisie für das Volk beritten und denen erlaubt wurde, lange Proklamationen zu halten und sich so lange zu compromittieren, als der proletarische Pöbel in Schlesien jährt werden würde, Republikaner, welche die ganze alte bürgerliche Ordnung mit Abzug des getrockneten Körbes verlangten, sozialistische Droschken, denen der Auffall an die Stelle eines Wunderwesels des Starziner Dynastie unterstellt. Legitimisten, welche die Kirche nicht abwerten, sondern ihren Schmit verdonnern, das waren die Bundesgenossen, womit das Volk seinen

Februar machte. Was es in Louis Philippe im Innern magazin hatte, war nicht Louis Philippe, sondern die getrocknete Herrschaft einer Klasse, die Rivalität auf dem Throne. Aber wie immer großmuthig, wabte es seinen Feind verächtlich zu haben, nachdem es den Feind seiner Freiheit gemacht hat.

Die Februarrevolution war die schöne Revolution, die Revolution der allgemeinen Sympathie, weil die Gegenseite, die in ihr gegen das Königreich elsterten, auenwidelt, einträchtig neben einander schlummerten, weil der sociale Kampf, der überall Hintergrund blieb, nur eine lustige Gruppe gewonnen hatte, die Erinnerung des Präsidenten des Worts. Die Juxirevolution ist die bürgerliche Revolution, die ablehnende Revolution, weil an die Stelle der Präsidenten die Soziale gekommen ist, weil die Republik das Haupt des Landes selbst entblöste, indem sie ihm die Schönheit und versteckte Krone abschaffte.

Ordnung! war der Schlagtruf Guizots! Ordnung! schrie Sebastian, der Guizot, als Barthélémy rausch wurde. Ordnung! schrie Aragonac, das brutale Echo der französischen Nationalversammlung und der revolutionären Bourgeoisie.

Ordnung! donn rican seine Kartaschen, als sie den Leib des Proletariats zertrümmern. Ordnung! denn rican seine Kartaschen, als sie den Leib der Bourgeoisie zerstören. Ordnung! der zablösen Revolutionen der französischen Bourgeoisie seit 1789 war ein Attentat auf die Ordnung, denn sie ließ die Herrschaft der Klasse, sie ließ die Elendheit der Arbeiter, sie ließ die bürgerliche Ordnung bestehen, so oft auch die politische Form dieser Herrschaft und dieser Elendheit wechselte. Der Janus dieser Ordnung angestarrt. Wie über dem Janus!

Unter der provvisorischen Regierung war es Aufstand und noch mehr, es war Notwendigkeit, den grobmuthigen Arbeitern, die, wie man in tausend von offiziellen Plakaten abdrucken ließ: „Drei Monat Ehren zur Verschaffung der Republik“ bereit stellten“, es war Politik und Schwärmerie zugleich, ihnen vor zu predigen, die Februarrevolution sei in ihrem eigenen Interesse gemacht und es handle sich in der Februarrevolution vor allem um die Interessen der Arbeiter. Seit der Eröffnung der Nationalversammlung — wurde man prosaisch. Es handelt sich nur noch darum, — die Arbeit auf ihre alten Bedingungen, wie der Minister Thiers sagte, zurückzuführen. Also die Arbeiter halten sich in Februar geschlagen, um in einer industriellen Kritik geworben zu werden.

Das Gesetz der Nationalversammlung besteht darin, den Februar ungeschoren zu lassen, wenigstens für die Arbeiter und sie in die alten Verhältnisse zurückzuwerfen. Aber selbst das gelingt nicht, weil es so wenig in der Gewalt einer Versammlung, wie ein König steht, einer industriellen Kritik von universellem Charakter zu juroren: das ist hierhin! Die Nationalversammlung, in brutalen Eifer zu enden mit den verdächtigsten Februarredenarten, ergreift selbst die Maßregeln nicht, die auf dem Boden der alten Verhältnisse möglich waren. Die Pariser Arbeiter von 17—25 Jahr reicht sie für die Armeen oder will sie auf das Pflichter; die auswärtigen verweist sie aus Paris in die Sologne, ohne ihnen selbst die zum Kaufhaus gehörigen Güter auszugeben; den erwachsenen Partern verleiht sie provisorisch ein Brod, im militärisch organisierten Werkstätten, unter der Bedingung, daß sie an keiner Volksversammlung Theil nehmen, d. h. unter der Bedingung, daß sie aufs dornen Republikaner zu sein. Nicht die sentimentalische Rhetorik nach dem Februar reichte aus, nicht die brutale Legislativität nach dem 15. Mai. Häufig, praktisch mußte entschieden werden. Habt ihr Gaullisten die Februarrevolution für Euch gemacht, oder für uns?

Die Bourgeoisie stelltte die Frage so, daß sie den Janus beansprucht werden mußte — mit Kartaschen und Bartlaffen.

Und dennoch schlägt, wie ein Volksrepräsentant am 25. Juni sagt, der Sturz die ganze Nationalversammlung. Sie ist betäubt, als Frage und Antwort das Pflichter von Paris in Blut ertranken, braucht, die Einen, weil ihre Illusionen im Feuerkampf zerstört, die anderen, weil sie nicht gewissen, was das Volk es wagen kann, seine allereigenen Interessen selbstständig zu vertreten. Russisches Geld, englisches Geld, der kontraristische Adler, die Lilie, Amulette alter Art müssen dies sonderbare Ereignis ihrem Berufe vermittel. Beide Thesen der Versammlung aber führen, doch eine unermäßliche Kluft sie von dem Volke trennt. Keine sagt, sich für das Volk zu erheben.

Sobald der Sturz vorüber ist, dringt die Arbeiter aus und mit Recht nicht die Majorität jene elenden Utopisten und Henschler aus, die den Anachronismus begehen, noch die Prasse Fraternité, Brüderlichkeit im Mund zu führen. Sie handeln ja eben um die Abschaffung dieser Prasse und der Illusionen, die ihr vielzweckiger Schoß verbürgt. Als Karo-Bejaquelin, der Legumist, der ritterliche Schwärmer gegen die Infanterie eiferte, mit dem man Van Vieus! Weh den Besiegten! austuft, gerät die Majorität der Versammlung in Bestürzung, als wäre sie von der Tarantel geschockt. Sie schreit Weh! über die Arbeiter, um zu verbrennen, daß Niemand anders der Besiegten ist, als sie selbst. Entweder sie mußt sich untergeben oder die Republik. Und dann stellt sie triumphal: Es lebe die Republik!

Der tiefe Abarun, der sich vor uns eröffnet hat, darf er die Demokraten irren, darf er und wähnen lassen, die Kämpfe um die Staatsform seien innerhalb, illusorisch, null?

Aur schwache frige Gewinner können die Frage aufwerfen. Die Kollisionen, welche aus den Bedingungen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft selbst hervorgehen, sie müssen durchkämpft, sie können nicht wegabontschafft werden. Die beste Staatsform ist die, worin die gesellschaftlichen Gegensätze nicht verwirkt, nicht gewaltsam, also nur funktionell, also nur schamlos getestet werden. Die beste Staatsform ist die, worin sie zum freien Kampf und damit zur Wissung kommen.

Was wird uns fragen, ob wir keine Thräne, keinen Seufzer, kein Wort für die Dyfer haben, welche vor der Wut des Volkes fielen, für die Nationalgarde, die Mobilgarde, die republikanische Garde, die Linie?

Der Staat wird ihre Witwen und Waisen pflegen, Decrete werden sie verherrlichen, feierliche Leichenzüge werden ihre Reste zur Erde bestatten, die offizielle Presse wird sie unsterblich erklären, die europäische Realität wird ihnen huldigen von Osteis bis zum Westen. Aber die Pfeilere, vom Hunger zerfressen, von der Dürre geschädigt, von den Arzten verlassen, von den Hosenhüten, die Möbeln, Branteler, Galerienklassen, ihre Weiber und Kinder in so grämenloser Elend gestürzt, ihre Herden kehren über die See deportiert, — ihnen den Vorrecht, um die drohend dunkle Stürze zu wenden, das ist das Vorrecht, das ist das Recht der demokratischen Freiheit.

Der 25. Juni.

* Mit jedem Tage nahm die Heftigkeit, die Erbitterung, die Wut des Kampfes zu. Die Bourgeoisie wurde immer fanatisch, sie gegen die Injuranten, je weniger ihre Brutalität sofort zum Ziele führten, je mehr sie selbst im Kampf, Nachtwachen und Bivouaiken ermattete, je näher sie ihrem endlichen Siege rückte. Die Bourgeoisie erklärte die Arbeiter nicht für gewöhnliche

(darunter die türkischen Stämme) werden jenseits des Saarlandes von Mainz und Köln, die Russen aber auf Paderborn und Minden vordringen.

Unter Wottes Beistand und mit Brüderlichkeit der mit uns verbündeten Franzosen und Belgier werden Ihr hoffentlich die Russen überwinden. Die Zuwendungen u. s. w. werden mir da-

Allien auch darüber sehr feindlich sein. Ihr einzigerweise belebt werden; dann und erneut neue Kente sollen in dem höheren Theile des Gouvernorates geschehen haben, wie fremde Leute sie abnehmen.

Ich wende mich daher an Euch Alle vom westdeutschen Stamm! Es ist nicht allein ein Kampf um unsere Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit;



Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln.

Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit.

Das Blatt erscheint am Sonntag und Donnerstag jeder Woche. Preis des Abonnements pro Vierteljahr 10 Sgr.; für auswärtige Abonnenten 12½ Sgr. Man abonniert bei allen Postenrediten. Insertionsgebühren 6 Pf. per Petit-Zeile.

N° 40

Köln, Sonntag den 22. October.

1848

Comité Sitzung vom 16. Oktober 1848.

Der vors. Präs. B. Röder erklärte, daß Dr. Marx auf die Bitte der vom Vereine an ihn abgesandten Deputation, sich an die Spitze unseres Vereines zu stellen, eingegangen, er ersuche ihn daher seinen Platz einzunehmen.

Dr. Marx' Seine Stellung zu Köln sei zwecklos. Die Antwort, die er von dem Ernährer Kühlweiter erhalten auf sein Repräsentationsgebot gleich einem verdeckten Abschaffungsbeschuß. Er würde dagegen allerdings protest bei der Nationalversammlung erläutern. Anderseits sei er eines angeblichen Preßergreheus wegen vor die Aissen verwiesen. Ueberdem sei er durch die einstweilige Verhängung des Nedoktionskomites der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung“ mit Arbeitern überhäuft. Richtscheideweniger sei er bereit prositorisch bis zur Freilassung Dr. Gottschalks dem Wahlsche der Arbeiter nachzukommen. Regierung und Bourgeoisie müßten sich überzeugen, daß ihren Verfolgungen zum Trotz sich immer Leute finden, bereit sich den Arbeitern zur Verfügung zu stellen.

Dr. Marx sprach dann ausführlicher über die revolutionäre Wirklichkeit der deutschen Arbeiter im Auslande und hebt schließlich die ausgezeichnete Rolle hervor, die sie in der neuesten Wiener Revolution spielen. Er schlägt daher eine Adress an den Wiener Arbeiterverein vor. (Wir klammern angemommen.)

B. Röder kattete der Versammlung über die am 15. Oktober abgehaltene Volksversammlung Bericht ab. (Vergl.

darüber die vorige Nummer dieses Blattes.) Er stellte den Antrag, gegen das Gesetz, welches das Recht der Versammlung im Freien der Polizeiwillkür preis gibbe, zu protestieren.

Hierauf teilte er die Antwort aus die an den Generalprokurator gestellten Fragen mit, bezüglich Dr. Gottschalks, Annenke und Eßers: ob, wann und wo dieselben vor die Aissen gefollt würden; warum Dr. Gottschalk am Anthele noch immer verneigt würde zu konferieren, da doch höherer Ord. die Erlaubnis dazu ertheilt sei; ferner ob es der Frau Schäffer nicht gestattet werden könnte, ihren Mann zweimal wöchentlich zu besuchen.

In Bezug auf Dr. Gottschalk, Annenke und Eßer antwortete der Herr Generalprokurator, daß dieselben vom Anklageten hier vor die Aissen verwiesen seien, und in Folge dessen eine außerordentliche Anhörenzeitung eingeräumt sei, welche am 27. Nov. d. L. stattfinden solle; jedoch läude es dem öffentl. Ministerium frei, wenn es bei Verhandlung des Prozesses Nutzen befürde, für diesen Fall an den Kastensthof in Berlin zu berichten, um die Verhandlungen vor einem anderweitigen Aissenhofe zu erwirken. Die Sache sei aber noch schwierig und wir sollten uns deshalb an den Obergouvernator wenden, und beantragen daß der Prozeß hier zu Köln verhandelt würde, indem wir uns für die Ruhe und Ordnung verpflichten. (Welches am 18. d. geschehen ist.)

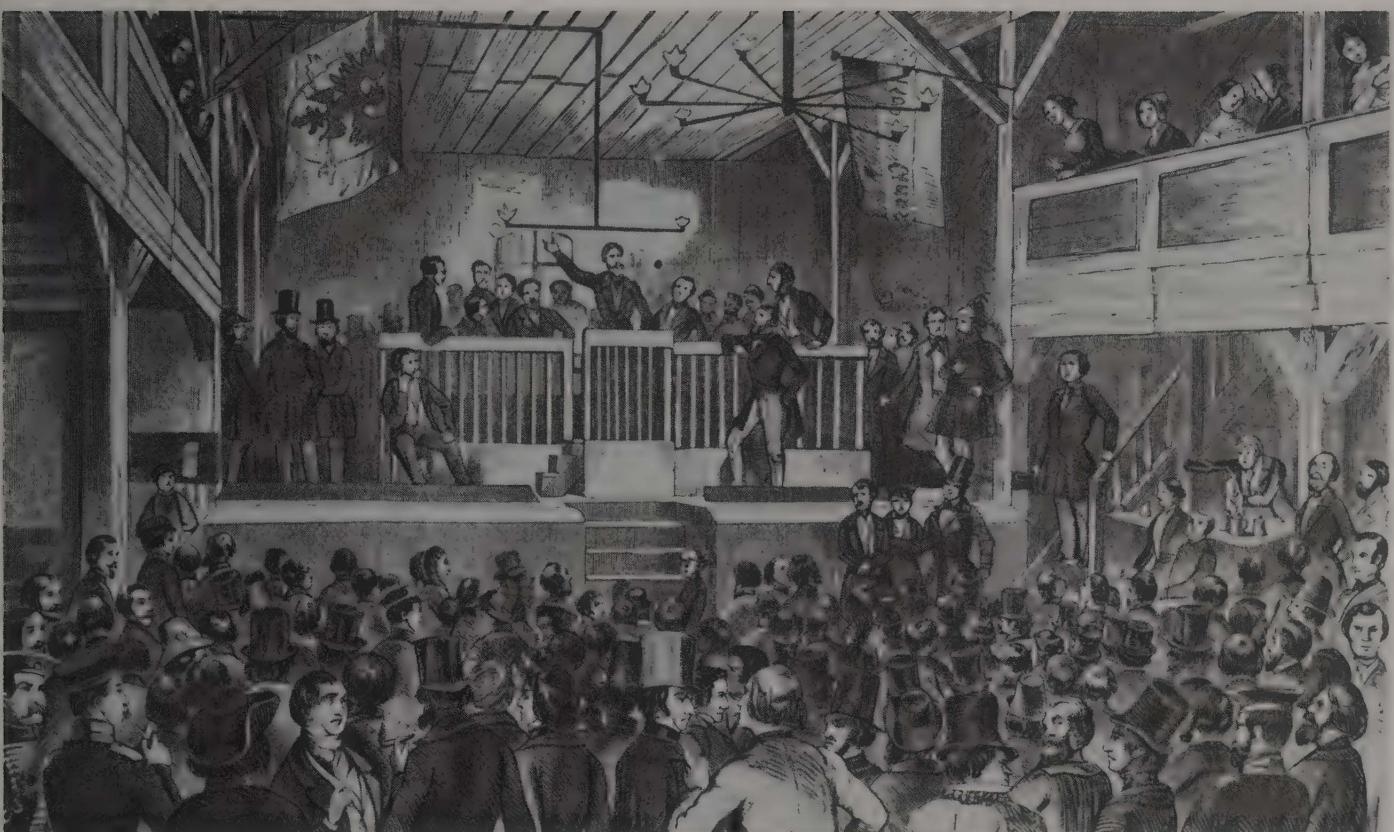
Das Dr. Gottschalk und Annenke die Erlaubnis erhalten hätten zu konferieren, sei ihm nicht bekannt.

Schließlich bemerkte B. Röder: da der Verein bereits

The crushing defeat of the June uprising in Paris was a turning point in the train of revolutionary events in Europe. The reactionary forces, which had been compelled to retreat in the spring of 1848, were now regaining supremacy everywhere. They were taking the offensive.

Among the police reprisals against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the revolutionary movement as a whole, was the refusal to grant Marx Prussian citizenship. He was liable to be expelled from Germany.

With reaction stepping up its offensive, Marx and Engels, as true proletarian leaders, were in the thick of the people's struggle. They took a most active part in the activities of workers' and democratic organisations in Cologne.



64. *The house in Cologne where the Cologne Workers' Association held its meetings*

The Cologne Workers' Association was founded in April 1848 by members of the Communist League. It had a membership of some 7,000. At the workers' request, Marx became its president in October 1848. Accepting the post, Marx said: "The Government and the bourgeoisie ought to realise that, despite their acts of persecution, there were always persons to be found who would be ready to put themselves at the disposal of the workers."

65. *Minutes of the sitting of the Cologne Workers' Association Committee at which Marx was elected president, October 16, 1848*

Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln, October 22, 1848

66. *A meeting of the Democratic Club in the summer of 1848*

In April 1848 a Democratic Society was founded in Cologne. Marx and Engels joined it.

Membership in democratic societies gave Communists access to the mass of the working people. It also enabled them to win petty-bourgeois democrats to their side. This was essential if there was to be a common front of struggle for victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In the summer of 1848, Marx and Engels were active in the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, and saw to it that items publicising the activity of democratic organisations in various parts of Germany should appear regularly in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.



Was 12 Millionen Menschen von der Wiener Reichsversammlung verlangen.

Tag auf Tag vergeht, wo die Reichsversammlung über die Frage debattiert, ob der Bauer auch in der konstitutionellen Zeit noch länger Arbeit und Leben leisten soll, und ob er sich von der Herrschaft und Gesellschaft loslaufen müsse oder nicht.

Diese Verhandlungen werden vielleicht noch einen Monat dauern, da 30 Deputierte über diesen Punkt lange Reden vortragen werden, bis man zu einem Resultat gelangen wird.

Late in August and early in September 1848 Marx visited Berlin and Vienna. The purpose of his visit was to tighten contacts with local democratic and workers' organisations, and to collect funds for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

An die Arbeiter aller Gewerbszweige.

Kameraden!

Wir haben einen Arbeiter-Verein gegründet, der seit dem 1. Juli d. J. in Betrieb ist, und den Zweck hat, Interesse an Kunst, Wissenschaft und gesellschaftlichem Leben durch leichte soziale Vorlesungen bei den Arbeitern zu befördern und, zu verüben, die Anneländerheiten betrachten zu berathen, jedem Gelegenheit zu geben für das Gute und Böse zu werken, um einen Zuschlag zu bitten, was er will Anstellung und würdigen Dienst findet. — Die Abnungen sind: genauer Beispielen der schildgezeichneten Freizeit und der Beitrag von 20 fr. L. R. für den ersten Monat und 10 fr. für jeden folgenden. Einzelne Beispiele werden gegen Belebung von 4 fr. L. R. gehoben. — Die Versammlung findet regelmässig Mittwoch und Samstag Abends 8 Uhr im Saale des Josephshäuser Theaters



Große Arbeiter- Revolution im Prater.

67. Vienna in the 1830s and 40s

68. "What 12 Million People Want of the Vienna Reichsversammlung" (peasants' demands), July-August 1848

69. An appeal to all workers

Poster issued in August 1848 by the first Vienna Workers' Association

70. Dispersal of a workers' demonstration in Vienna on August 23, 1848

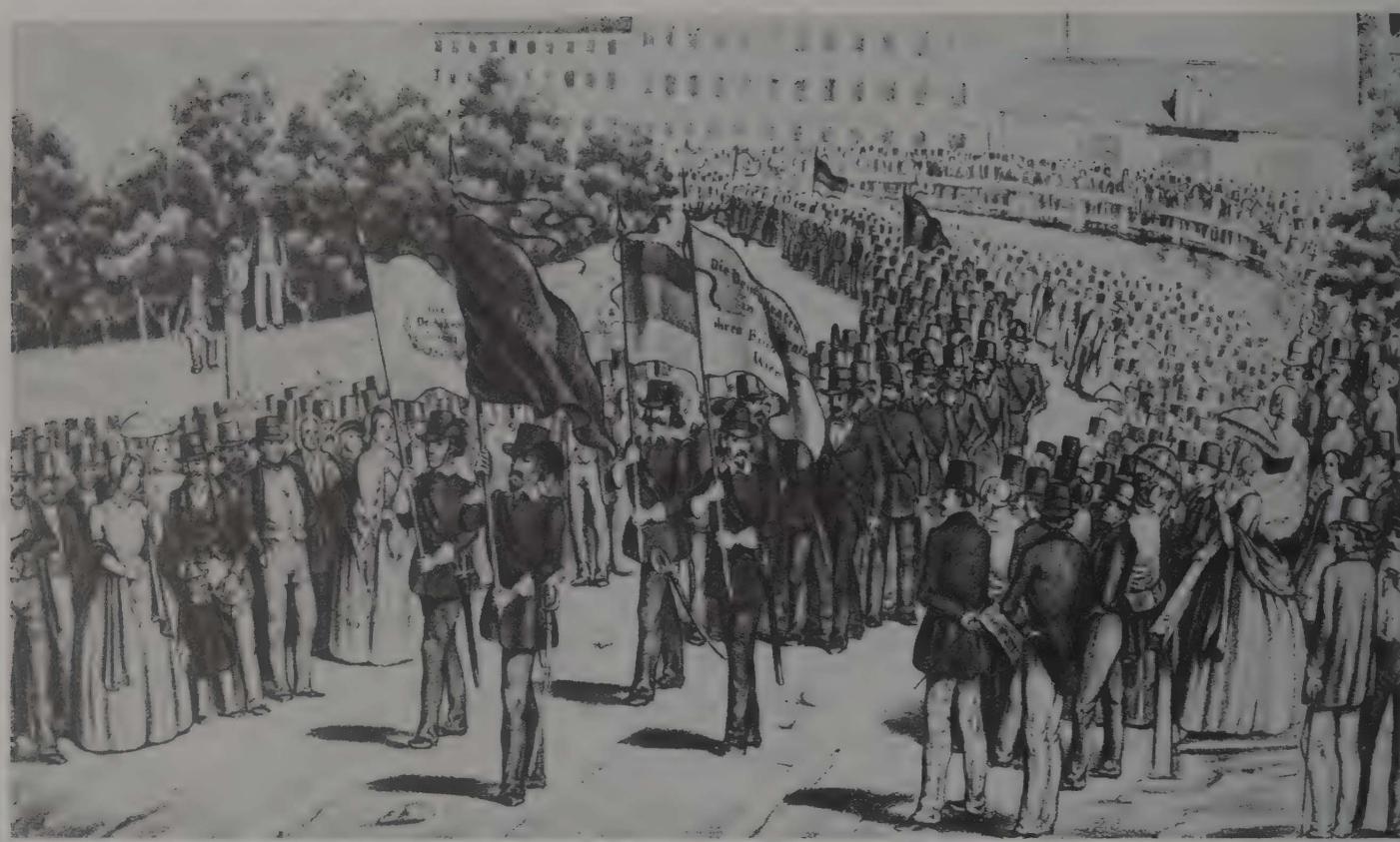
71. "The Great Workers' Revolution in the Prater"

A leaflet describing the events of August 23, 1848, in Vienna

Und wieder ist Blut geslossen, wieder kämpfte Bürger gegen Arbeiter. Es war ein gräßliches Schauspiel, diese halb toden und verhunten Menschen durch die Hauptstraßen schleppen zu sehen. Es war dies wohl das schrecklichste Blutbad Wiens seit den Märztagen, denn ein Gericht ernsthaft einiger hundert Tote und Verwundete aus allen Städten. — Jetzt kam die verteuerte Reaktion niederkriegen auf die gemordeten Brüder, da Wohlwohl und Arbeiter gegenseitig kämpften, und so mit das feste Freundschaftsband des W. K. auf immer zerissen.

Der Vergang dieser blutigen Szenen wird von einigen Augenzeugen folgendermaßen erzählt: Die Arbeiter des Prater-Büreos, nachdem sie mit den Arbeitern Arbeiter sich gesammelt Zeit stritten, und legte von ihrer Thätigkeit abholzen wollten, machten aus Stroh einen Popan, welchen sie beseitigten, den 5 fr. Die nannten Zund nach feierlichem Umtragen verbrennen oder beerdigten wollten. Da sie in dieser Prozession durch die ihnen sehr verhasste Rundschau-Garde abgehalten wurden, so suchten sie sich mit ihren Krampen und Schaufeln mit Gewalt einen Weg gegen die Hörnerzelle zu bauen, um unter Abfingung des Fuchtkleides ihren Gang fortzuführen. Sie wurden durch die Rundschau-Gardecke gestoppt, wobei schon einige Verwundungen vorstehen, und sie sich gegen den Feuerwerksplatz flüchten mussten.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit erbeutete die Sicherheitswache eine schwarze Fahne der Arbeiter, welche sie im Triumph unter Rivalenschrei beim Bahnhofe vorbeitragen. Die Arbeiter des Bahnhofs versammelten sich auf dem Damm, und gaben ihr Missfallen an dem prahlenden Gepränge der



72. Demonstration in Vienna on September 3, 1848, in commemoration of those killed in the workers' actions of August 23, 1848

73. Die Constitution, a daily newspaper, of September 5, 1848

An account of Marx's report to a meeting of the Vienna Workers' Association, *Wage Labour and Capital*, on September 2, 1848, appeared in this issue.

Die Constitution.

Lagblatt
für konstitutionelles Volkswesen und Belehrung

Ammerländer Schriften:
S. Sauer.

Dr. Schlesier
Stadt: Berlin und Berlin

No 136. Wien, Dienstag den 5. September 1848.

Arbeiter-Berein.

(Samstag, den 2. Sept.) Vortrag von Schmit: über das einzige mächtige Österreich. Die Wirkungen der Reaction. Österreich unter Metternich, Ungarn und Croation. Die Unterwerfung Italiens.

hr. Dr. Ritter hält einen längeren Vortrag über Lohnarbeit und Kapital. Er sagt in der Einführung, alle Revolutionen sind sociale Revolutionen. Das Kapital besteht nicht aus Geld, sondern aus Rohstoffen, Produktionsinstrumenten und Lebensproducten, die Lohnarbeit macht das Kapital den Erfolgsmitteln gegenüber. Die Behauptung, daß das Interesse des Capitalisten und des Lohnarbeiters dasselbe sei, ist falsch. Da bei Theilung der Arbeit wächst die Concurrenz unter den Arbeitern, es sinkt der Lohn; noch vielmehr aber durch das Maschinewesen. Die Produktionskosten bestimmen den Arbeitslohn. Die Civilisation verneigt nicht das Wohlbeinden der Arbeiter, sondern bewirkt das Gegenteil. Es wachsen die Stämme und die Preise der Lebensbedürfnisse. Der Redner spricht noch über angewandte Heilmittel und deren Unmöglichkeit, als z. B. Ritter's Überbevölkerungstheorie. Die Armenhäuser

74. Uprising in Frankfurt. Guns fire on a barricade, September 18, 1848

The moment word of the uprising in Frankfurt reached them, workers in Cologne came out in its support. A mass meeting was called on September 20, 1848, on Marx's initiative, which commended the bravery of the insurgents and started a collection of funds for them.

75. Resolution of the mass meeting in Cologne on September 20, 1848, on the uprising in Frankfurt

A leaflet

Dismayed by the scale and scope of the mass movement and the influence of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on the working people, the Prussian government was priming for an assault on the revolutionary forces in Cologne.

76. Announcement of the responsible publishers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on the paper's suspension, Cologne, September 28, 1848



74

Beschluß der Volksversammlung.

Die auf Einladung des Sicherheits-Ausschusses, des Demokratischen- und des Arbeiter Vereins am 20. September in Köln zu einer Volksversammlung zusammengetretenen Reichsbürger:

In Erwagung daß der Beschluß der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung vom 16. d. Ms. über die Genehmigung des ehrlosen Waffenstillstandes mit Dänemark ein Verrat an dem deutschen Volke und der Ehre der deutschen Waffen ist,
erklären:

- 1) Die Mitglieder der Frankfurter Versammlung, mit Ausnahme derjenigen, welche sich dem Volke bereit erklärt haben auszutreten, sind Volksverräther;
- 2) Die Frankfurter Barricadenkämpfer haben sich um das Vaterland wohl verdient gemacht, und beschließen
- 3) daß diese Erklärung durch Zeitungen und durch Mauerschläge verbreitet werden soll.

"DURING THE STATE OF SIEGE IMPOSED ON COLOGNE, WHEN THE PEN HAS TO SUBMIT TO THE SABRE, THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* HAS BEEN FORBIDDEN TO APPEAR."

The far-flung campaign of protests against the state of siege and the suspension of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* compelled the government to beat a retreat: on October 12, 1848, the workers read the paper again. Editor-in-chief Karl Marx announced that the solid workers' support had made it possible to restart the paper.

An unsere geehrten Abonnenten

Durch den für Köln eingetretenen Belagerungszustand, wo die Feder dem Säbel untergeordnet sein muß, ist der

Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung

verbieten zu erscheinen und kann dieselbe ihren Verpflichtungen, den geehrten Abonnenten gegenüber vereit nicht nachkommen.

Wir dürfen indessen hoffen, daß der exceptionelle Zustand nur wenige Tage noch fort dauern wird, und werden wir dann im Laufe des Monats Oktober unser Blatt in vergrößertem Format von neuen kräftigen Mitteln unterstützen, um so pünktlicher zugeben lassen können, da wir binnen Kurzem den Druck mittelst einer neuen Schnellpresse besorgen lassen werden.

Köln, den 28. September 1848.



On October 6, 1848, after the Emperor had despatched the Vienna garrison to suppress the independence movement in Hungary, an uprising broke out in the Austrian capital.

At meetings of the Democratic Society, Marx called for aid to the insurgents. Stressing the international importance of the uprising, he warned that defeat of the revolution in Vienna

would strengthen the hand of reactionaries in Berlin and the rest of Germany.



77. Storming the armoury in Vienna in the early morning hours of October 7, 1848

78. Farmers bringing food supplies to revolutionary Vienna

79. Barricades and street fighting in Vienna, October 1848

80. The uprising in Vienna suppressed, October 1848



79



80



81. The execution of Robert Blum, a deputy of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who had taken part in the October uprising in Vienna

n e u e **Rheinische Zeitung**

Organ der Demokratie.

N 136.

1848

Uebelicht.

Deutschland.

* Köln, 6. Nov. Die kroatische Freiheit und Ordnung hat gefeiert und mit Wordbrand, Schändung, Plündierung, mit donoselbst-verursachten Verlusten ihren Sieg gefeiert. Wien ist den Händen von Windischgrätz, Tilly und Acerberg. Holzhausen von Menzingen werden dem getöteten Vater zu Ehre in sein Grab aufsiedeln.

All dieser Vorberichtigungen aufreizt Wiener Korrespondenten haben sie bestreut und vielleicht ist er selbst in diesem Augenblicke schon abgeschnitten.

Einen Moment hofften wir Wiens Befreiung durch ungarnischen Euccor und noch stärker und die Bewegungen der ungarnischen Armee ratlosheit.

malista erhabenen Camillo und ihrem Herzen Winckelmanns brachte wird. Camillo ist das deutsche Landvolk von Griechen und nicht ausgeschlossen. Seine Stimme wird die östliche Bevölkerungsmasse gegen den Westen einsetzen. Und unter diesen Freien lädt sich der Sturm des volksversprechernden Krieges auf. Einem sozialen Krieg, der im gesellschaftlichen Kampf in den Dienst des Nationalstaates umgesetzt werden muss, der die Legislative des deutschen Reichs und die Auslandspolitik des deutschen Reichs, die durch die deutsche Nationalversammlung ihre endgültige Gestaltung und die deutsche Nationalversammlung ihren Abschluss darin erhält, auf die Europa zu treten, um aufzugehen zu werden von dem europäischen Volk. Trotz ihrer unterschiedlichen Religionen wird der Kampf in Griechenland in Kämpfen zwischen Christen entfacht, die die Weltgläubigkeit ist noch nie gesehen.

In Wien ist es eben der zweite Teil des Dramas ausgeführt worden, der am 20. April 1848 unter dem Titel: „Die Wut“ aufgeführt wurde. Und Paulsen schreibt unter dem letzten Kapitel, bewusst und ehrlich: „Zum protestantischen Segen gab das arbeitende und leidende Protestantentum mehr als das katholische und alle anderen.“ In Berlin wurde das Werk vollständig aufgeführt, ganz Europa durch die Waffe, sie wurde in ganz Europa feierlich durch das Geld. Das Datum, an dem der Sieg festgestellt wurde, wäre der europäische Tag der Befreiung gewesen.

— Bonnertut, der Staatsbankfeind. An den „blöswöhnen“! Potentaten brechen die Erigier der Baponette wie märkte Jäger.

Die Erweckung wortet ein Brieflein seines Brüderl nicht ab, die die europäischen Gesetze auf die europäische Gesellschaft geprägt haben. In Paris wird der demokratische Geisttag der Revolutionen festgestellt werden. Mit dem Siege der „roten Armee“ in Paris, werden die Arbeiter aus dem Jenseit der Wader aus' über die Gräber aufgerückt werden und die willkürliche Macht der ringenden Parteien wird sich rasch beseitigen. Dann werden wir uns erneut an den Jani, an den

ie hörte auf, als es hieß, die Knie sei genommen. Nunmehr
ten die Garden gegen 6 Uhr auf die Baken vor Wertheim-
burg, worauf es bis 6 Uhr viel Schuß. Da geriet die laster-
ung in Brand, obwohl der Feuerzeugbrand des Feuers
geworden ist. Das furchtbar kolossale Haus und die
ausserordentliche durch Bomben zerstört.

Rein Pompejus statimque iugiter ad Etrurias periret. Iuxta eum l' Up. Radix wurde das Bergwerk mit einigen Scherzen & Bierstandswangen ausgespielt und die Truppen radikal die Stadt, eben so als grösste Griechen festgesetzten hätte. Die ersten Kasten der Stadt befanden sich in der Tempelstadt von dieser auf dem Gebiete. Da stand in der Tempelstadt ein großer Tempel des Minervae, der erster war, der den Namen auf dem Blücherberg des Pompeji in der Witten. Wenn jedoch von 10 und 11 Uhr radikal die Truppen in großen Märschen, l' obre das nach weiter Vertheidigung befehligen würden. Das geschah, als hole die Kaiser mit 10.000 Legionen, ihr Heer aus.

Wurde in den Jahren 1900-1901 in mehreren und ihm vom Autoren als "Gesamtausgabe" bezeichneten Banden von Dr. G. C. Lüderitz, Berlin, herausgegeben.
Bewilligt durch die Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Berlin, 10. Oktober 1901.

Wiesenbrücke über die Werra,
am 30. Oktober 1868. W. W. Abend.
Wiesbadener,
und einer Ehe-Gemeinschaft.
Das untergeordnete Ober-Commando der Werra-Grenadiergarde
wurde hierfür feierlich gegen Samstag, den 10. November 1868, auf
Rathausplatz und im Hause des Ober-Commandos abgehalten. Es fanden
anfangs eine Anredesrede und eine kleine Messe statt. Es folgten
löstliche Gemeinschaft auf, um zu segnen, daß es im Gesamtstand
auf dem Lande und in der Stadt keine Verstümmelungen, Verwundungen
oder Todesfälle mehr gebe. Der Ober-Commodore sprach eine
Rede und gab die Herstellung des Kreuzes und der Medaille mit einer Mappe
der Stadt Wiesbaden dar. Er erklärte sich dabei nachdrücklich
für das neue System, das hätte es nicht gerechtfertigt gewesen,
dort eine Grabplatte zu legen.
Am 31. Oktober 1868. *Wiesbadener*,

"IN NOVEMBER 1848, AT A MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, MARX ANNOUNCED THAT DEMOCRAT ROBERT BLUM HAD BEEN COURT-MARTIALLED AND EXECUTED BY A FIRING SQUAD IN VIENNA. A HUSH FELL OVER THE AUDITORIUM. MARX ASCENDED THE PLATFORM AND READ THE CABLE OF BLUM'S DEATH. AT FIRST, WE WERE PETRIFIED. THEN A REAL STORM BROKE OUT IN THE HALL."

FRIEDRICH LESSNER

82. Neue Rheinische Zeitung, November 7, 1848

This issue contains Marx's article,
"The Victory of the Counter-Revolution
in Vienna"

"THE SECOND ACT OF THE DRAMA HAS JUST BEEN PERFORMED IN VIENNA, ITS FIRST ACT HAVING BEEN STAGED IN PARTS UNDER THE TITLE OF THE JUNE DAYS.. WE SHALL SOON SEE THE THIRD ACT PERFORMED IN BERLIN."

KARL MARX

As Marx had predicted, the Prussian reactionaries lost no time to take action against the revolutionary forces. On the orders of King Frederick William IV, the authorities began preparations for dissolving the National Assembly in Berlin.

83. A workers' demonstration in Berlin is fired upon on October 16, 1848

84. At the Prussian National Assembly deputies refuse to back the government's tax policy.



83



84



85

Extra-Blatt

zu Nr. 143 der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.

Mittwoch, den 15. November.

Das Ministerium ist in Anklagezustand versetzt.

Die Stadt Brandenburg will nichts wissen von dem Ministerium Brandenburg und schickt eine Dank-Adresse an die Nationalversammlung.

Das ganze Land erkennt in seinen Adressen nur die Regierung der Nationalversammlung an.

Das Ministerium begiebt neuen Hochverrath, indem es im Gegensage zu dem Habeas-Corpus-Act ohne Genehmigung der Nationalversammlung den Belagerungszustand ausgesprochen und die Nationalversammlung selbst mit Bajonetten aus dem Schlosshause vertrieben hat.

Die Nationalversammlung hat ihren Sitz im Volle, nicht in dem Umkreis dieser oder jener Steinhausen. Vertriebt man sie aus Berlin, so wird sie in einem andern Dorte tagen, in Dresden, Köln oder wo es ihr gaudiert. Sie hat in ihrer Sitzung vom 13. diesen Beschluss gefasst.

Die Berliner moquieren sich über den Belagerungszustand und lassen sich in keiner Weise durch denselben einschränken. Niemand liefert die Waffen ab.

85. Dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly in Berlin on November 10, 1848

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Karl Marx urged action to block the offensive of the counter-revolution. The paper called on the people to refuse to pay taxes and thereby deprive the German counter-revolutionaries of means to fight against the revolutionary movement.

86. Karl Marx, "Impeachment of the Government"

From an extra edition of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of November 15, 1848

Keine Steuern mehr!!!

° Köln, 16. November.

Alle Zeitungen aus Berlin, mit Ausnahme des „Preußischen Staatsanzeigers“, der „Vossischen Zeitung“, und der „Neuen Preußischen Zeitung“ sind ausgeblieben.

Die Entwaffnung der Bürgerwehr ist im Geheimerathsviertel vollzogen worden, aber nur im Geheimerathsviertel. Es ist dasselbe Bataillon, das am 21. Oktober die Maschinenbauer meuchelmordete. Seine Entwaffnung ist ein Gewinn für die Volksfeinde.

Die Nationalversammlung ist wiederum durch bewaffnete Macht aus dem Kölner Rathause vertrieben worden. Sie begab sich dann in das Mylius Hotel, wo sie endlich einstimmig mit 226 Stimmen den unten nachfolgenden Beschluß der Steuerverweigerung fasste.

„Das Ministerium Brandenburg ist nicht berechtigt, über Staatsgelder zu verfügen und Steuern zu erheben, so lange die Nationalversammlung nicht in Berlin ihre Sitzungen frei fortsetzen kann.“

Dieser Beschluß tritt mit dem 17. November in Kraft.

Nationalversammlung vom 15. Novbr.

Bon dem heutigen Tage an sind also die Steuern aufgehoben!!! Die Steuereinzahlung ist Hochverrath, die Steuerverweigerung erste Pflicht des Bürgers!

87. Karl Marx, "No More Taxes!!!"

From a special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung of November 17, 1848

"FROM TODAY TAXES ARE ABOLISHED!!! IT IS HIGH TREASON TO PAY TAXES. REFUSAL TO PAY TAXES IS THE PRIMARY DUTY OF THE CITIZEN!"

KARL MARX

88. Appeal of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats calling on the people to form a militia and public safety committees to repulse the counter-revolution. Signed by Marx and other members of the Committee on November 18, 1848

From the Neue Rheinische Zeitung of November 19, 1848

Legal proceedings were started against Marx and other members of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats in connection with this Appeal.

Deutschland. Aufruf.

Köln, 18. Nov. Der rheinische Kreisausschuß der Demokraten fordert alle demokratischen Vereine der Rheinprovinz auf, die Beschlussnahme und Durchführung folgender Maßregeln zu bewerkstelligen:

- 1) Nachdem die preußische Nationalversammlung selbst die Steuerverweigerung beschlossen hat, ist ihre gewaltsame Eintreibung überall durch jede Art des Widerstandes zurückzuweisen;
- 2) Der Landsturm zur Abwehr des Feindes ist überall zu organisieren. Für die Unbereiteten sind Waffen und Munition auf Gemeindekosten oder durch freiwillige Beiträge zu beschaffen.
- 3) Die Behörden sind überall aufzufordern, sich öffentlich darüber zu erklären, ob sie die Beschlüsse der Nationalversammlung anerkennen und ausführen wollen? Im Beigerungsfalle sind Sicherheitsausschüsse zu ernennen und zwar wo möglich im Einverständnisse mit den Gemeinderäthen. Der gesetzgebenden Versammlung widerstrebende Gemeinderäthe sind durch allgemeine Volkswahl zu neuern.

Köln, den 18. November.

Im Namen des rheinischen Kreisausschusses der Demokraten.

Karl Marr. Karl Schapper. Schneider II.



89. *The Piazza del Popolo in Rome in the first few days of the Republic, 1849*

90. "Proclamation of a Republic in Rome"

Neue Rheinische Zeitung, February 22, 1849

"THE ITALIANS KNOW THAT THE UNITY OF A COUNTRY SPLIT INTO FEUDAL PRINCIPALITIES CAN ONLY BE ESTABLISHED BY ABOLISHING DYNASTIC RULE."

Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Organ der Demokratie.

Belgien.

Brüssel, 18. Febr. Belgien begründet immer mehr die Freiheit, welche die "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" über den Widerstand des Deutschen erachtet hat. Freiheit und Fremdenfeind und demokratische Konstitution sind Worte, womit unsere Herren sich schmücken, um Unbefangene in die Polizeigefangen zu liefern. Während man groß thut vor Europa in den vergangenen Septemberwochen und den Artikel der Konstitution unter die Kampftrichter, während vor dem Ständehaus die Justiz prangte, Gerechtigkeit und Schutz für alle Freunde, beschlossen die Minister einstimmig, daß kein politischer Flüchtling in Belgien aufzufinden werde, ob versteckt sich von ihm, daß Windhund, Brandenburg und Jellach ausgenommen sind und sich derselben Kremnitzschäftschaft zu erfreuen gehabt hätten, welche die Minister aus Pragau gefunden haben. Herr Guisot ist mehrmals mit einem falschen Pass hingegangen, die Journale haben davon gesprochen, die Polizei hat es nicht gelungen; Demokratien aber dürfen ja dergleichen nicht einzufallen lassen.

Italien.

Rom, 9. Febr. Diese Nacht um 2 Uhr verhändete das Ge- lade aller Städte die wirklich erfolgte Einführung der Republik. Sie war nach einer langen, anfangs lärmenden Sitzung der Konstituante durchgelegt worden, welche Mass nach der Niederlage des Ministeriums die Personen zu sichern gewußt hatte.

Florenz, 9. Febr. Der "Livornese Courier" vom heutigen Tage meldet:

"Der Großherzog ist von St. Stefano in westlicher Richtung abgefahren auf einem großen Dampfboot mit englischer Flagge."

* Die italienische Konstituante ist keine Frankfurter Nationalversammlung. Die Italiener wissen, daß die Einheit eines sozialen Fürstenhauses zerstörter Landes nicht anders hergestellt ist als durch Abfassung des Fürstenkultus. Die Italiener haben 1848 den Krieg eröffnet, sie eröffnen ihn 1849. Aber welcher Fortschritt! In Italien kein Plus nonus mehr, wie in Frankreich kein Comptoir. Die phantastische Periode der europäischen Revolution, die Periode der Schwärmelei, des guten Willens und

Zwei politische Prozesse.

Verhandelt vor den Februar-Aussisen in Köln.

I.

Der erste Preszprozeß der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.

III.

Prozeß des Kreis-Ausschusses der rheinischen Demokraten.

Köln, 1849.

Verlag der Expedition der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.

Seeing that attacks, threats and slanders did not unnerve Marx and Engels, the counter-revolutionaries started legal proceedings against them. On February 7 and 8, 1849, Marx was summoned into court on charges of breaching laws pertaining to the press and of incitement to mutiny.

93. Two Political Trials, *Cologne, 1849*
The title page

The pamphlet contains the speeches of Marx and Engels at the trials of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats in Cologne on February 7 and 8, 1849.

94. Karl Marx's notes for the speech he made at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on February 7, 1849
A fragment

"MARX DID NOT DEFEND HIMSELF, HE ACCUSED THE MINISTRY," Friedrich Lessner recalled later. "HE SPOKE FOR ABOUT AN HOUR, HIS LEGAL ARGUMENTS RINGING CALM, DIGNIFIED AND ENERGETIC, ATTACKING WITH EVER-INCREASING FORCE THE STATE PROCURATOR, THE OLD BUREAUCRACY, THE OLD ARMY, THE OLD COURTS, THE OLD JUDGES WHO WERE BORN AND EDUCATED AND HAD GROWN OLD IN THE SERVICE OF ABSOLUTISM. 'THE FIRST DUTY OF THE PRESS,' MARX SAID, 'IS NOW TO UNDERMINE ALL THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE EXISTING POLITICAL SYSTEM.'"

The jury brought in a verdict of not guilty.



In the spring of 1849 Marx and Engels parted ways with the petty-bourgeois democrats by withdrawing from the Rhenish District Committee of Democratic Associations, and set about forming an independent proletarian party. A congress of workers' associations of Rhine Province and Westphalia was convened on their initiative on May 6, 1849. Aiming to set up an all-German workers' association, Marx and his followers travelled across the country soliciting support. The victory of the counter-revolution prevented them from carrying their plan into effect.

In May 1849, armed uprisings broke out in Southern and Western Germany in defence of the Imperial Constitution adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly, which the mass of the people saw as the only surviving gain of the revolution. Engels took part in the Elberfeld rising and in the campaign of the Baden revolutionary army.



96

96. Battle between the Baden revolutionary army and Prussian troops at Heidelberg, June 22, 1849

After defeating the uprising on the Rhine, the counter-revolution set about settling scores with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and its editors. Marx was ordered out of the country, and reprisals were launched against the paper's other editors. This made its further publication impossible.

The final issue of the paper, printed in red ink, appeared on May 19, 1849.

"WE HAD TO SURRENDER OUR FORTRESS," Engels wrote, "BUT WE WITHDREW WITH OUR ARMS

AND BAGGAGE, WITH BAND PLAYING AND FLAG FLYING, THE FLAG OF THE LAST ISSUE, A RED ISSUE..."

97. The last, May 19, 1849, issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

In their Address to the workers of Cologne, Marx and Engels wrote:

"IN BIDDING YOU FAREWELL THE EDITORS OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG* THANK YOU FOR THE SYMPATHY YOU HAVE SHOWN THEM. THEIR LAST WORD EVERYWHERE AND ALWAYS WILL BE: *EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS!*"



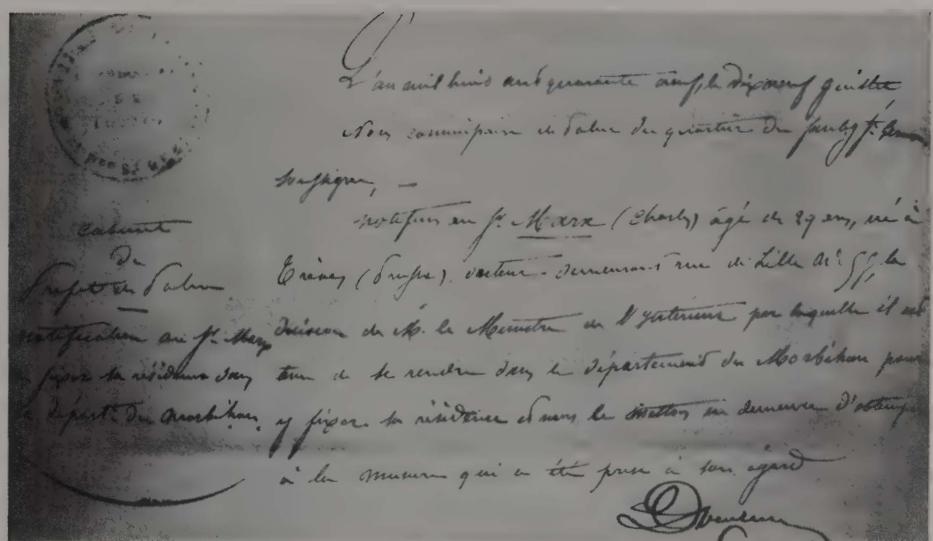
98



99

Marx departed from Cologne, stayed a short time in South-Western Germany, and went on to Paris. But the reactionary government that had come to power in France feared his influence on the workers.

In a letter to Engels of August 23, 1849, Marx informed him the authorities were intending to deport him to a marshy and unhealthy place in the department of Morbihan, Brittany, which amounted to a veiled attempt at murder.



100

98. Reprisals against Republicans. Closure of the Fraternity Club in Paris, January 1849

99. Boulé's printing shop in Paris is smashed, June 13, 1849

100. Writ ordering Marx to leave Paris, July 19, 1849

101. Passport issued to Marx on August 24, 1849

102. A cartoon showing reaction on the rampage and the suppression of revolutions in Europe



101



102

The revolutions of 1848-49 in Europe were defeated. Many revolutionary organisations lay in shambles. Thousands of revolutionaries had been thrown behind bars or had fled abroad. Reaction had regained its grip on the continent for a time.

In these circumstances, Marx could not carry on with his revolutionary activity in any of the countries on the mainland. He and his family had no other choice but to move to London.

1849-1863

In times that were most peaceful,
Marx was able to sense the approach
of revolution and *to rouse* the pro-
letariat to a consciousness of its
advanced revolutionary tasks.

V. I. Lenin



1. London in the 1850s



2. A view of London in the 1850s

3. Emigrants before their ship's departure from Bremen harbour

Marx arrived in London on August 26, 1849. In mid-September he was joined by Jenny, their three children, and Helene Demuth. "We looked in haste for a larger lodging in Chelsea, for the time was approaching when I

would need a quiet roof over my head," Jenny recalled.

They took up residence at 4 Anderson Street, where the Marxes' fourth child, their son Heinrich, was born on November 5.





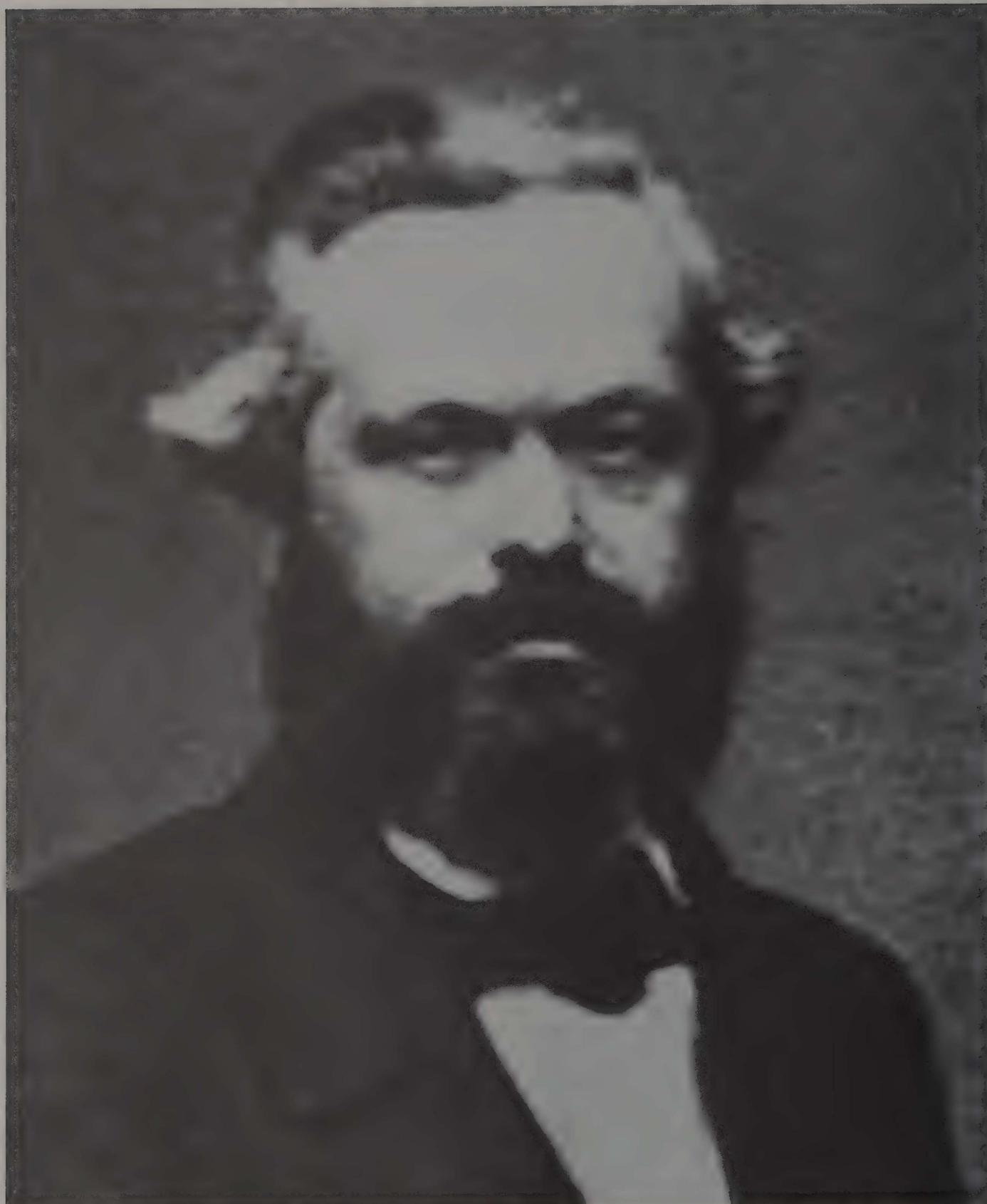
4. The old Chelsea riverside in south-western London

5. The house at 4 Anderson Street, London, where the Marxes lived from the autumn of 1849 to April 1850

Frederick Engels came to London in November 1849. For Marx and Engels Britain became a new, lifelong place of exile.

Many members of the Communist League were compelled to leave continental Europe.









8. Communist League members who emigrated to England

6. Karl Marx, London, 1861

7. Frederick Engels, Manchester, 1856

8. Konrad Schramm (c. 1822-1858), responsible editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue

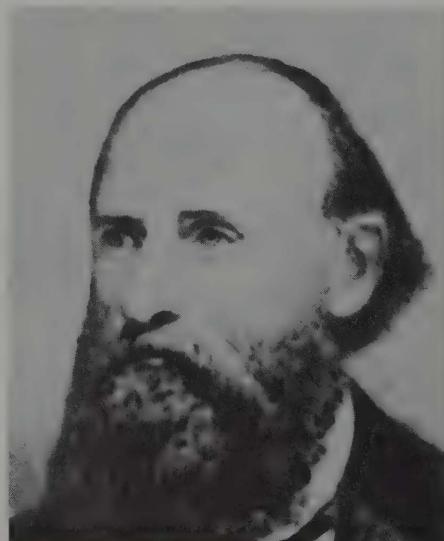
9. Johann Georg Eccarius (1818-1889), German tailor, prominent figure in the Communist League in London

10. Wilhelm Wolff (1809-1864), an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung

11. Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900) took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany



12. August Willich (1810-1878) took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); was expelled from the Communist League for disruptive activities



13. Marx's list of names and addresses of members of the Communist League's Central Authority. Dates to August 1850

A Committee of Support for German Refugees, consisting of members of the Communist League, was founded on Marx's initiative in London in September 1849.

14. Appeal for Support for German Political Refugees signed by Karl Marx and others, dated September 20, 1849, in the Neue Deutsche Zeitung, September 26, 1849

Finsbury, 35, Middleton
Street, Clerkenwell
London. 25 Finsbury
Street. Golden Square
Street.
Chapman, 30, Great
Pulteney Street, golden
Square.
Strand, Engels, Pfänder
Bauer, Philipp, Marx
London.

"THOUSANDS OF EMIGRANTS ARRIVED DAILY (IN LONDON—ED.). FEW OF THEM HAD ANY MEANS OF THEIR OWN, ALL WERE IN MORE OR LESS DIRE STRAITS, NEEDING AND LOOKING FOR HELP." Marx's wife Jenny recalled. "THIS WAS ONE OF THE MOST UNPLEASANT PERIODS OF OUR LIFE IN EXILE. EMIGRANT COMMITTEES WERE FOUNDED TO HELP THEM, MEETINGS WERE ARRANGED, APPEALS MADE, PROGRAMMES DRAWN UP AND GREAT DEMONSTRATIONS PREPARED."

Neue Deutsche Zeitung.
Organ der Demokratie.

No. 228. Frankfurt. Mittwoch, 26. September 1849.

Aufruf zur Unterstützung deutscher Flüchtlinge.

Städten in Deutschland im wilden Kriegsgemüll. Die

Drei und Einzigstes! V. J. Bopp, Abdruck, J. 100.

Ordnung und die Ruhe wieder eingebracht; seitdem auf den Schutze rauhenden Städte und unter dem mörderischen Zorn der Kanonen die Sicherheit des Eigentums wie der Verfaßt' weitergeholft ist; seit das Kriegsgericht kaum genügt, um einen „Rebellen“ über den anderen mit gesetztemmaßt' Haups in's Grab hinzuschaffen; seit die Reiter nicht mehr aufrücken, um all' die „Föderatäber“ zu fassen; seit das einzige übrig gebliebene Recht noch das Sterben ist — seitdem leben Dauerte und abermals Dauerte ohne Ostsee im freien Lande unter.

Vor Tag zu Tag steigt die Woge, und mit ihr das Un-
glück der Heimatlosen; von einem Ort zum andern verschoben,
wissen sie am Morgen nicht, wohin des Klends ihr Huus
legen, und am Abend nicht, woher des Morgens ihr Brod
nehmen.

So ist eine zahllose Auswanderung, welche die Erogenen
der Schweiz, Frankreichs und Englands erfüllt. Aus allen

Provinzen Deutschlands sind die Unglücksfälle verbreittemen.
Aber in Wien gegen die böhmische „Liga“ und den Vor-
zulaten hand und mit dem Österreichischen Schütze's rang; wer in Brüssel vor der Soldaten Brangl's uns Brandenburg's schlägt; wer in Dresden die Reichsverfassung mit der Lüde
prahlte; und wer in Wien als republikanischer Sozialist
wieder das vereinigte Kreuzwerk der Justiz im Güter lag, —
ob Kavalier, ob Temeplat, ob Republikant, ob Sozialist;
die Bindungen der verschiedensten politischen Schen und
Jäschken, sie sind Alle im gleichen Gril und in gleichem Grind
versamt.

In gerissenen Kleid bestellt eine halbe Nation von den
Durch der Freiheit.

Auch auf dem kalten Platzler des glänzenden Weltkast
wenden ihren unter flüchtigen Karneleute unter. Jedes Saß,
das den Kanzl zurückstellt, bringt den jungen des Werks
eine neue Sozial-Homöopathie, in allen Städten der Staat
flieg der Sommer eines Verdamns in univer Stadt.

Doch Reich hat nicht braucht die Kreislaune in renten
nei ergänzen. Am 15. Sept. d. J. wurde daher eine all-
gemeine Verfassung der Situationsgesellschaft vor zweite
Abordnung und den angekündigten Sitzungsleitung unserer Nation
abgeschlossen, um einen Sozial- und zur Unterhaltung betrübtigen
Temeplat zu verhindern. So gingen aus re. Wahl besser:

Karl Marx, ehemaliger Sekretär der „Neuen Ameikaner-
Zeitung“;

Karl Blum, ehemaliger Abgeordneter der sozial-republikanischen
Regierung in Paris;

Anton Jäger, ehemaliger Vitalist, d. s. ehemaligen

Nachrichten zu Ehren;
Karl Bauer, Sozialdemokrat in London; und
Karl Blum, Walter habe.

Dieser Aufruf ist jedem Mental-ökonomische Niederschlag
ablegen, leuchtet in der allgemeinen Verständigung, die auch
ausgeweitet in deutsche Zügelungen. Um alle' Beziehungen
zu verhindern, als die Erinnerung gewünscht werden, daß
seine Mitglieder des Komitees in ganz Europa ein Unternehmen
aus der Kasse betrieben bart. Seine ein Komitee nicht
zu unterstützungserklärt werden, so reicht es färschig
Gegenstand als Rennentmäßigkeit.

Wir bitten Gott nun, Gnade und Gnade, zu thun,
was in Guten Kräften steht. Wenn Gott daran liegt, daß
die Friedensvereinten und Friedliche Freiheit wieder erreich, und
wenn Ihr der Herr habe für die Freien Gute beiden Verb-
lämpfer, so bedarf es einer Seite keiner großen Nachdruck.

All' Gedenk möge nun abrufen an: „Karl Bauer, Sozial-
demokrat, Neuer Street, 64, Soho Square, London.“
Die Einlage möge bezahlt werden mit der Auf-
schrift: „Für das Flüchtlingssemeste.“

Der Aufwand zur Unterhaltung deutscher Flüchtlinge:
Anton Jäger, Karl Marx, Karl Blum.
Karl Bauer, Anton Jäger.

Kunden, den 20. September 1849.

Für die badischen Flüchtlinge

had eingezogen (s. Nr. 227) 259 R.—Dr.

Bei der Operation: 259 R.—Dr.

Bei der böhmen Arbeiters Verhandlung: 20 R.—Dr.

für die französischen Flüchtlinge aus Paris: 1 R.—Dr.

Gesammt: 2850 R.—Dr.

Briefkasse.

Den. W. L... u. a. Den. in Ost. Das Unterrichts würde
hier gar keinen Sinn haben, könnte aber leicht haben. Ausgaben
der Dr. in Ost. und andere, um möglichst etwas zu kaufen.

Den. D. in Österreich. Aber wird nun aufgeglichen
Unterhaltung aufzunehmen. Das Unterrichts ist Mangel.

Herren-Kleider-Magazin.

Da doch wir hiermit einem Brillen-Billboard anzuge-
ben, das wir unten heutigen in Magazin

fertiger Herren-Kleider

daher erscheint dabei; indem ich um gereichten Aufdruck bitte,

daß sie prompte und reelle Bedienung.

Frankfurt a. M., den 9. September 1849.

M. W., Herrenkleidermeister, 9. nächst der Spanische.



15. Marx speaks at German Workers' Educational Society in London, an organisation closely associated with the Communist League

From November 1849 until the autumn of 1850 Marx delivered lectures at the Society on political economy and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

An important part in the reorganisation of the Communist League was played by two addresses of its Central Authority written by Marx and Engels in March and June 1850. They outlined the action programme for League members.

16. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850"

A fragment

"IT IS OUR INTEREST AND OUR TASK TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION PERMANENT... FOR US THE ISSUE CANNOT BE THE ALTERATION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY BUT ONLY ITS ANNIHILATION, NOT THE SMOOTHING OVER OF CLASS ANTAGONISMS BUT THE ABOLITION OF CLASSES, NOT THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE EXISTING SOCIETY BUT THE FOUNDATION OF A NEW ONE."

17. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850"

A fragment

IX. Anhang.

1) Ansprache der Zentralbehörde an den Bund vom März 1850.

Die Zentralbehörde an den Bund.

„Brüder! In den beiden Revolutionsjahren 1848—49 hat sich der Bund in doppelter Weise bewährt; einmal dadurch, daß seine Mitglieder an allen Orten energisch in die Bewegung eingriffen, daß sie in der Presse, auf den Barrikaden und Schlachtfeldern voranstanden in den Reihen der allein entschieden revolutionären Klasse des Proletariats. Der Bund hat sich ferner dadurch bewährt, daß seine Auffassung der Bewegung, wie sie in den Rundschreiben der Kongresse und der Zentralbehörde von 1847 und im kommunistischen Manifeste niedergelegt war, als die einzige richtige sich erwiesen hat, daß die in jenen Altenstücken ausgesprochenen Erwartungen sich vollständig erfüllten und die früher vom Bunde nur im Geheimen propagirte Auffassung der heutigen Gesellschaftsjustände jetzt im Munde der Völker ist und auf den Märkten öffentlich gepredigt wird. Zu gleicher Zeit wurde die frühere feste Organisation des Bundes bedeutend gelockert. Ein großer Theil der Mitglieder, in der revolutionären Bewegung direkt betheiligt, glaubte die Zeit der geheimen Gesellschaften vorüber und das öffentliche Wirken allein hinreichend. Die einzelnen Kreise und Gemeinden ließen ihre Verbindungen mit der Zentralbehörde erschlaffen und allmälig einschläfern. Während also die demokratische Partei, die Partei der Kleinbürgerschaft, sich in Deutschland immer mehr organisierte, verlor die Arbeiterpartei ihren einzigen festen Halt, blieb höchstens in einzelnen Lokalitäten z. ök. in kleinen Zweigen organisiert und geriet dadurch in der allgemeinen Bewegung vollständig unter die Herrschaft und Leitung der Kleinbürgerlichen Demokraten. Diesem Zustande muß ein Ende gemacht, die Selbständigkeit der Arbeiter muß hergestellt werden. Die Zentralbehörde begriff diese Nothwendigkeit

16

2) Ansprache derselben Zentralbehörde an den Bund vom Juni 1850.

Die Zentralbehörde an den Bund.

Brüder!

Wir haben in unserem letzten Rundschreiben, daß der Emissär des Bundes Euch überbrachte, die Stellung der Arbeiterpartei und speziell des Bundes, sowohl im gegenwärtigem Augenblick wie für den Fall einer Revolution, entwidelt.

Der Hauptzweck dieses Schreibens ist der Bericht über den Zustand des Bundes.

Die Niederlagen der revolutionären Partei im vorigen Sommer lösten die Organisation des Bundes für einen Augenblick fast vollständig auf. Die thätigsten Bundesmitglieder, bei den verschiedenen Bewegungen betheiligt, wurden versprengt, die Verbindungen hörten auf, die Adressen waren unbrauchbar geworden, die Korrespondenz wurde dadurch und durch die Gefahr der Briefverbrechung momentan unmöglich. Die Zentralbehörde war so bis gegen Ende des vorigen Jahres zur vollständigen Unthätigkeit verurtheilt.

17

Unter der Preisse befinden sich:

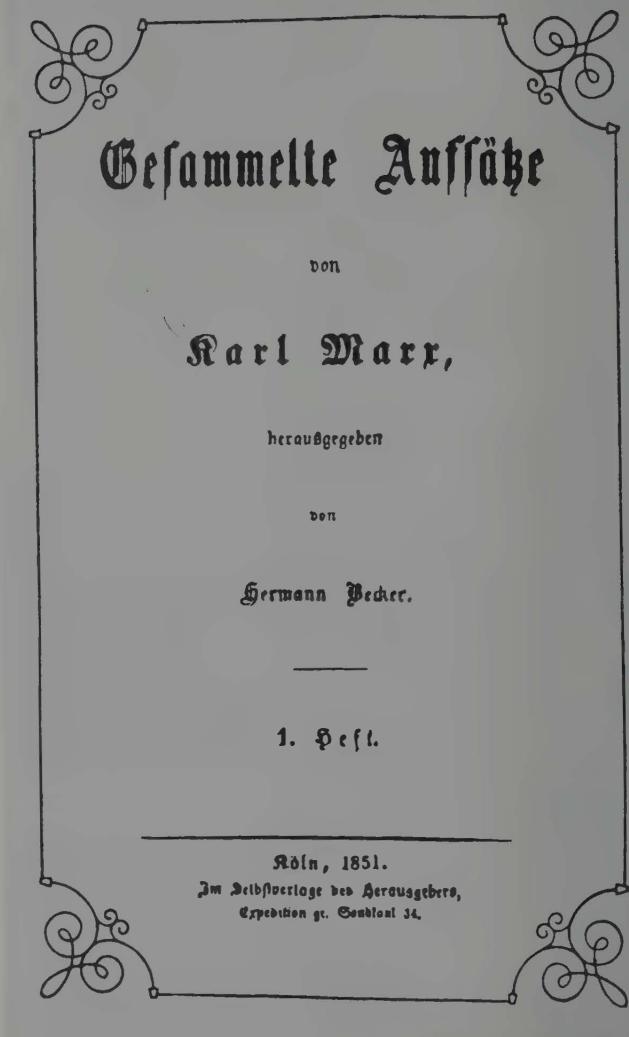
Karl Marx's
gesammelte Aufsätze,
herausgegeben
von
Hermann Becker.

Marx's Arbeiten sind theils in besondern Flugschriften, theils in periodischen Schriften erschienen, jetzt aber meistens gar nicht mehr zu bekommen, wenigstens im Buchhandel ganz vergriffen. Der Herausgeber glaubt deshalb, dem Publikum einen Dienst zu erweisen, wenn er mit Bewilligung des Verfassers diese Arbeiten, welche gerade ein Decennium umfassen, zusammenstellt und wieder zugänglich macht.

Der Plan ist auf 2 Bände berechnet; der Band wird 25 Bogen umfassen. Dem zweiten Bande wird Marx's Portrait beigegeben. Die, welche bis zum 15. März 1851 auf diese Bände subscibit, erhalten solche in 10 Heften à 8 Sgr. Nach diesem Termine tritt der Ladenpreis, 1 Thlr. 15 Sgr. per Band, ein.

Der erste Band wird Marx's Beiträge zu den „Anekdota“ von Nuge, der (alten) „Rheinischen Zeitung“ (namentlich über Pressefreiheit, Holzdiebstahlsgesetz, Lage der Moselbauern u. s. w.), den deutsch-französischen Jahrbüchern, dem Westf. Dampfsboote, dem Gesellschaftsspiegel u. s. w. und eine Reihe von Monographien enthalten, die vor der Märzrevolution erschienen, aber, wie Marx an Becker schreibt, „leider“ noch heute passen.

Bestellungen nimmt an:



18. Front page of Hermann Becker's prospectus announcing the publication of Karl Marx's collected works in two volumes (1850)

19. Cover of the first part of Volume 1 of Marx's Collected Works published by Hermann Becker

The publication was not completed. Soon after the first part of Volume 1 came off the press publisher Becker was arrested. It was on May 19, 1850.

Among the main tasks facing Marx and Engels at that time was to sum up the recent revolutionary events.

"A TIME OF APPARENT CALM SUCH AS THE PRESENT," wrote Marx and Engels, "MUST BE EMPLOYED PRECISELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ELUCIDATING THE PERIOD OF REVOLUTION JUST EXPERIENCED, THE CHARACTER OF THE CONFLICTING PARTIES, AND THE SOCIAL CONDI-

TIONS WHICH DETERMINE THE EXISTENCE AND THE STRUGGLE OF THESE PARTIES."

20. Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue, January 1850. Altogether 6 issues of the review appeared

"THE PERIODICAL BEARS THE TITLE OF THE NEWSPAPER OF WHICH IT IS TO BE CONSIDERED THE CONTINUATION. ONE OF ITS TASKS WILL CONSIST IN RETURNING IN RETROSPECT TO THE PERIOD WHICH HAS ELAPSED SINCE THE SUPPRESSION OF THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG... IT PERMITS A COMPREHENSIVE AND SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WHICH FORM THE FOUNDATION OF THE WHOLE POLITICAL MOVEMENT."

KARL MARX
and FREDERICK ENGELS

N e u e
Rheinische Zeitung.
 Politisch-ökonomische Revue,
 redigirt von
K a r l M a r x.

Erstes Heft. — Januar 1850.



London,
 C. Schramm, Gerant.
 Hamburg & New-York.
 In Commission bei Schnherth & Co.
 1850.

Die
Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich

1848 bis 1850.

Von

Karl Marx.

Abdruck aus der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung“
 Politisch-ökonomische Revue, Hamburg 1850.

Mit Einleitung

von

Friedrich Engels.



Berlin 1895

Verlag der Expedition des „Vorwärts“, Berliner Volksblatt
 (Th. Glöckle).

21. Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, Berlin, 1895
The title page

One of the principal works summing up the recent revolution. Here Marx elaborated his theory of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and also of the proletariat's allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The main part of this study appeared in the first three issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* under the title, *From 1848 to 1849*. In 1895, Engels published it under separate cover, adding material about France that Marx had written a little later.

A counter-revolutionary coup occurred in France on December 2, 1851. Supporters of President Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon's nephew) dissolved the Legislative Assembly, and established a Bonapartist dictatorship. A year later, Louis Bonaparte declared himself Emperor Napoleon III.



22. *The dissolution of the Legislative Assembly on December 2, 1851*

23. *A barricade in Faubourg Saint-Antoine on December 3, 1851*

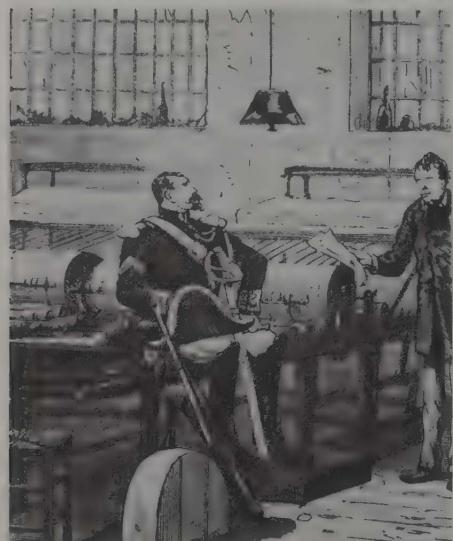




24

24. Those arrested in the Quartier du Temple on December 5, 1851, are shot on the spot

25. Freedom of the press after the coup d'état

25
26

26. A cartoon of Napoleon III

27. Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, first edition, 1852

It was published in Die Revolution, a weekly put out by Joseph Weydemeyer in New York in 1852



Here Marx examines the reactionary Bonapartist coup as a result of the temporary defeat of the revolutionary forces, treachery of the bourgeoisie, and its alliance with the extreme reactionary wing.

Marx declares for the first time that the proletariat must tear down the bourgeois machinery of state. "All revolutions," he says, "perfected this machinery instead of breaking it."

"THE WORDS OF THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE ARE ARROWS AND JAVELINS, THEY ARE A STYLE THAT BRANDS AND KILLS. IF EVER HATE, SCORN AND ARDENT LOVE OF LIBERTY WERE EXPRESSED IN BURNING, DEVASTATING, LOFTY WORDS, IT IS IN THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE, WHICH COMBINES THE INDIGNANT SEVERITY OF A TACITUS WITH THE DEADLY SATIRE OF A JUVENAL AND THE HOLY WRATH OF A DANTE."

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

Die Revolution,

Eine Zeitschrift in zwanalosen Heften.

Herausgegeben von

L. Weydemeyer.

Erstes Heft.

Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Napoleon

von

Karl Marx.

New-York.

Erpedition: Deutsche Vereins-Buchhandlung von Schmidt und Helmich.
William Street Nr. 191.

1852.

28

mit dem bewußt. Sie sind diejenigen, die den
 Freiheit d. Klasse und andere geprägt, und sind darum
 nicht so leicht zu überzeugen. Einzig die jüngste
 Kritik kann sie überzeugen. Ich kann Ihnen
 nur empfehlen, mich mit mir zu treten: 1) um Ihnen
 das die Freiheit d. Klasse selbst an den ersten Tag
für die Abhängigkeit des Proletariats von der Bourgeoisie
 2) um Ihnen zu zeigen, was die Bourgeoisie ist;
 3) um Ihnen zu zeigen, daß es die Freiheit für
ausbeutung aller Classem nicht eine Klasse für sich selbst ist
 und daß die Bourgeoisie nicht nur Eigentümer, sondern auch das
 Gewerbe und die Arbeit d. Klasse hinzunehmen kann
 und daß durch allein einen blithenfundenen Erfolg
 nicht die Bourgeoisie und die Arbeit, die d. geplagten Classem
 keinen Platz mehr haben. Wenn Sie dafür die Klasse
 für das vorstehen, welche d. Opiate für sie halten, dann werden

28. Marx's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852
 A fragment

"MY OWN CONTRIBUTION WAS 1. TO SHOW THAT THE EXISTENCE OF CLASSES IS MERELY BOUND UP WITH CERTAIN HISTORICAL PHASES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION; 2. THAT THE CLASS STRUGGLE NECESSARILY LEADS TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT; 3. THAT THIS DICTATORSHIP ITSELF CONSTITUTES NO MORE THAN A TRANSITION TO THE ABOLITION OF ALL CLASSES AND TO A CLASSLESS SOCIETY."

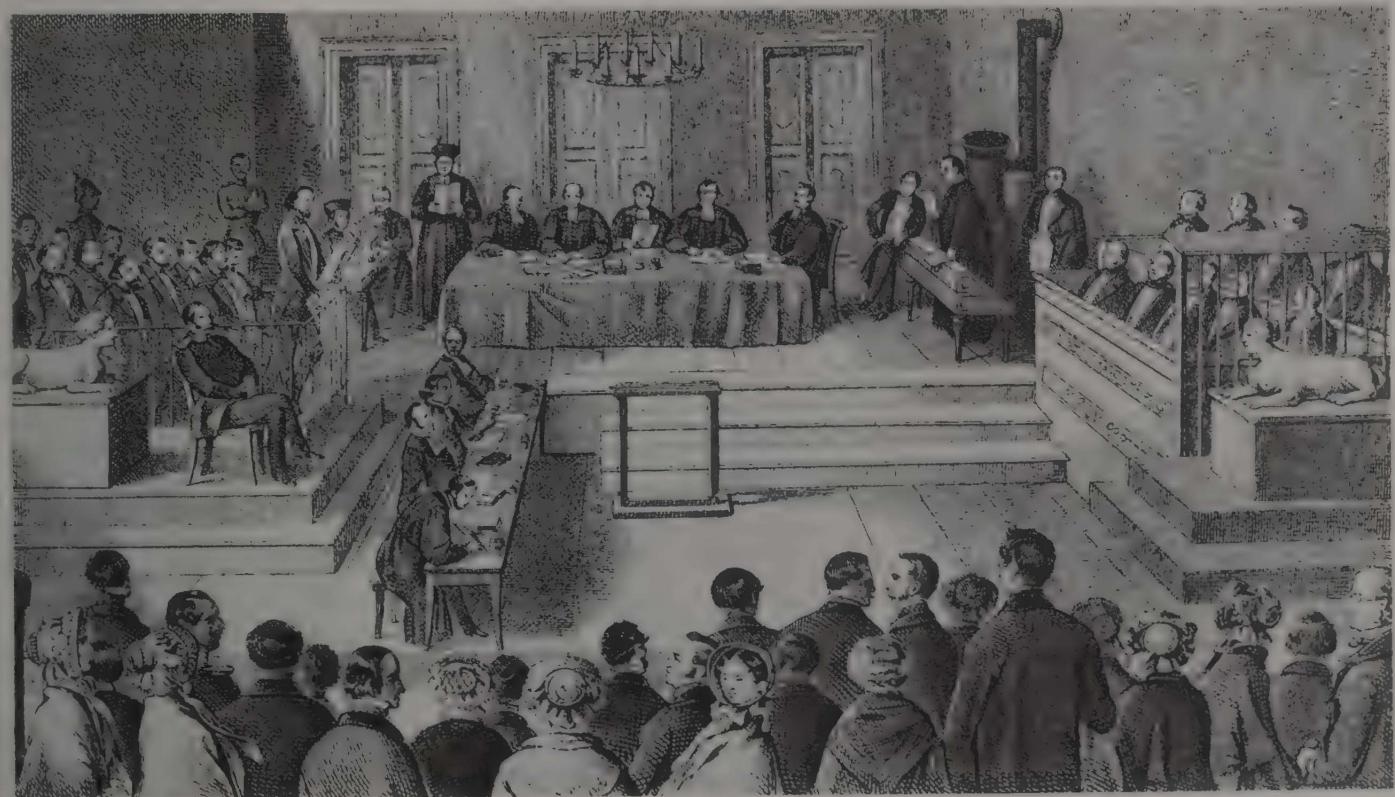
KARL MARX

Most of the leaders of the Communist League in Germany were arrested in the summer of 1851. In a bid to discredit and destroy workers' and democratic organisations, the Prussian government put members of the Communist League on trial in Cologne on charges of high treason. Faking evidence, the police endeavoured to portray the League as a secret terrorist organisation.

The numerous evidence Marx collected of the vile fabrications of the Prussian police and judiciary were sent to Cologne for use at the trial, and then published in a pamphlet, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

29. A view of Cologne in the 1850s

30. In a Cologne court during the trial of Communists, October-November 1852





"THE DEFENDANTS, WHO RE
PRESENTED THE REVOLU
TIONARY PROLETARIAT, STOOD DE
FENCELESS BEFORE THE RUL
ING CLASSES WHO WERE RE
PRESENTED BY THE JURY."

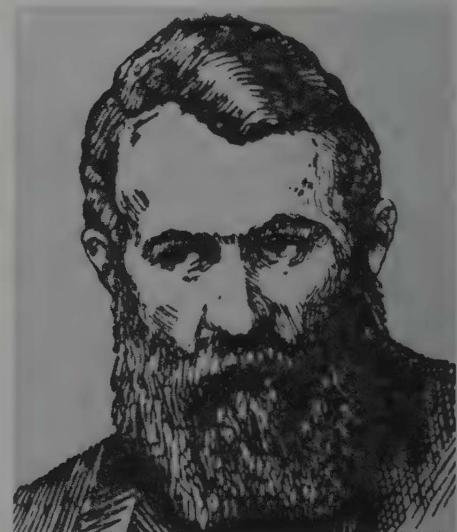
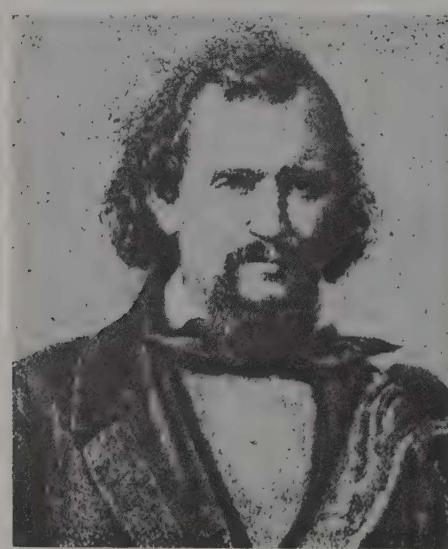
KARL MARX

The defendants at the Communist trial in Cologne

31. Peter Nothjung (c. 1823-1866), member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League; sentenced to six years' imprisonment in a fortress

32. Roland Daniels (1819-1855), physician, prominent figure in the Communist League, was acquitted by the jury

33. Heinrich Bürgers (1820-1878), member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne from 1850; sentenced to six years' imprisonment in a fortress



34. Hermann Heinrich Becker (1820-1855), German journalist, member of the Communist League from 1850; sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a fortress

35. Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876), German poet, member of the Communist League, was charged in absentia

36. Abraham Jacobi (b. 1832), physician, member of the Communist League; was acquitted by the jury

37. Friedrich Lessner (1825-1910), German tailor, member of the Communist League, sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a fortress

Biblio G. Cluff

T. J. Ingolia. T. Travers & Co. Ltd.
11, New Bond Street, London, W.C. 1882.

38. Jenny Marx's letter of October 28, 1852 to Adolf Cluss, member of the Communist League, forced to emigrate to the United States after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution

"EVERYTHING ADDUCED BY THE POLICE IS UNTRUE," wrote Jenny. "THEY STEAL, FORGE, BREAK INTO DESKS, BEAR FALSE WITNESS AND, WITHAL, CLAIM THIS LICENCE VIS-À-VIS COMMUNISTS, WHO ARE OUTSIDE SOCIETY!... WE HERE (IN LONDON—ED.) HAD TO SUPPLY ALL PROOFS OF THE FORGERY. HENCE MY HUSBAND HAD TO WORK ALL DAY AND LATE INTO THE NIGHT."

39. Jenny Marx with her daughter Jenny
in the mid-1850s



The People's Paper,

THE CHAMPION OF
POLITICAL JUSTICE AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT.

LODGE, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30

Prince George

THE EXAMINER.

The Spectator

The Morning Advertiser

The Leader.

THE COLOGNE TRIALS.

(To the Editor of The "People's Paper.")

Sir,—The undersigned call your attention to the attitude of the Prussian Press, including even the most reactionary papers, such as the "Neue Preussische Zeitung" during the pending trial of the Communists at Cologne, and to the honourable discretion they observe, at a moment where scarcely a third part of the witnesses have been examined, when scores of the produced documents have been verified, and not a word has fallen yet from the defense. While these papers, at the worst, represent the Cologne prisoners and the undersigned, their London friends, in accordance with the public accusat., as "dangerous ~~communists~~ who alone are responsible for the whole history of Europe of the last four years, and for all the revolutionary ~~movements~~ of 1848 and 1849"—there are in London two public organs, the "Times" and the "Daily News," which really have not hesitated to represent the Cologne prisoners and the undersigned as a "gang of sturdy beggars," scoundrels, etc. The undersigned address to the English public the same demand which the defenders of the accused have addressed to the public in Germany—to suspend their judgment, and to wait for the end of the trials. Were they to give further explanations at the present time, the Prussian government might obtain the means of calling a revolution of police-tricks, perjury, forgery of documents, falsification of documents, thefts, etc., unprecedented even in the records of Prussian political justice. When that revelation shall have been made in the course of the present proceedings, public opinion in England will know how to qualify the anonymous scribes of the "Times" and "Daily News," who constitute themselves the advocates and mouthpieces of the most infamous and subaltern government spies.

We are, Sir, your friends,

F. ENGELS
F. VASILIEVATE.
K. MARX

Lima, October 24th

Advertiser.

PRICE 5d

Die Communisten

*P*opulus tremuloides More; the
leaves fine. Engels in May, as in Europe
and America, Fructicosa in Wolf
(Lapponia) in Linné; Linné & P. Heidenreich
in Blasius in Oerstet, Virginiana in Donellus
in Linné, North America in Eng. All, in my opinion,
have no right to be used. In Hoffmann's
group, the largest leaf like that, is in Linné,
the rest of the most with few flowers will not
be used.

40-41. Statement of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on the Cologne Trial of Communists, dated October 28, 1852. It was published in a number of English newspapers

42. A police report on Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and the German refugees in London

A page of the manuscript

Enthüllungen

über den

Kommunisten-Prozeß

zu Köln.

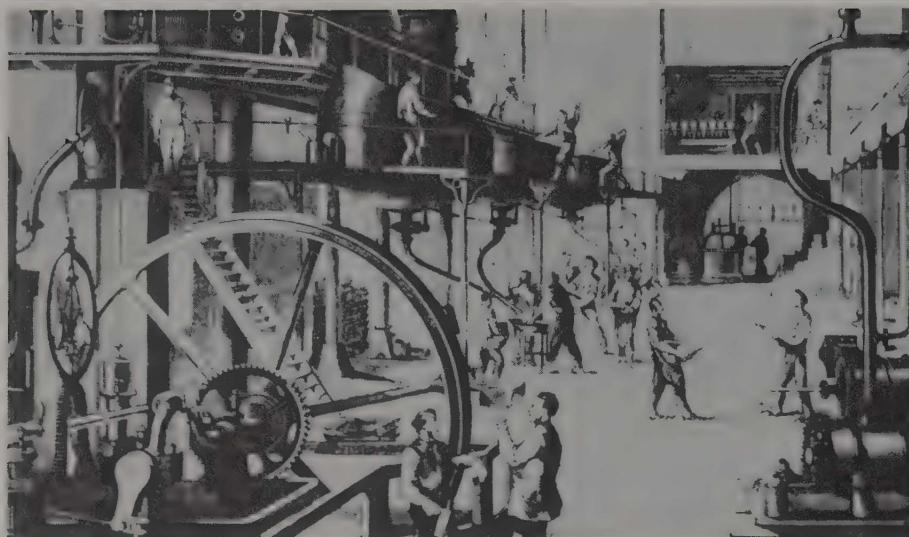
Basel,

Buchdruckerei von Chr. Krüsi.

1853.

43. Karl Marx, Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne, first edition, Basle, 1853

Soon after the Cologne trial of Communists, Marx proposed at a meeting of the London branch of the Communist League to dissolve the local organisation and to declare the further existence of the League untimely.



Examining the specific features of the economic developments in Europe in the 1850s, Engels wrote that the economic revolution "has seized the whole of the Continent since 1848 and has caused big industry to take real root in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland and, recently, in Russia, while it has made Germany positively an industrial country of the first rank—all on a capitalist basis... The industrial revolution ... has everywhere produced clarity in class relations, ... has created a genuine bourgeoisie and a genuine large-scale industrial proletariat and has pushed them into the foreground of social development."



44. A sugar refinery in Nantes, France

45. A foundry in Germany

46. Twisting machines in a British textile factory



47. Marx visited the First Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London, 1851

48. France at the time of the Second Empire. "In the liberal empire a gendarme is always at hand."



"SINCE 1849 COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROSPERITY HAS STRETCHED THE LOUNGE ON WHICH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION HAS SLEPT IN SAFETY."

KARL MARX

48



49. "Go to Paris, my boy. Earn a livelihood..."

50. *The Preston strike of 1853, England*

Living in England, Marx continuously assisted left-wing leaders of the Chartist movement. He exposed the half-baked democracy of bourgeois Britain, and the deceit and hypocrisy of the British parliamentary system.

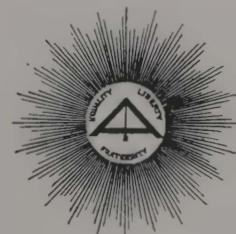
The prime task of the British labour movement, Marx held, was to form an independent political party.

51. *The Democratic Review, London*

Published by Julian Harney, leader of the left-wing Chartists from June 1849 to September 1850. Marx and Engels were its frequent contributors.

THE
DEMOCRATIC REVIEW
OF
BRITISH AND FOREIGN
POLITICS, HISTORY, AND LITERATURE.

EDITED BY
G. JULIAN HARNEY.



VOL. II.

JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1850.

LONDON:
J. WATSON, 8, QUEEN'S HEAD PASSAGE, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1850.

The People's Paper

THE CHAMPION OF
POLITICAL JUSTICE AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT.

OR:

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1854.

Price One Penny.

The Mass Movement. THE LABOUR PARLIAMENT.

FRIDAY'S SITTING.

The house re-assembled at nine o'clock.
Mr. Clark Cropper in the chair.

The minutes having been read and confirmed, it was ordered that instead of 300 copies, 1,500 copies of the balance sheet should be printed.

"Mr. E. Jones then read the following letter from Dr. Marx, of London:—

"28, Dean Street, Soho, London.
"9th March, 1854.

"I regret deeply to be unable, for the moment at least, to leave London, and thus to be prevented from expressing verbally my feelings of pride and gratitude on receiving the invitation to sit as Honorary Delegate at the Labour Parliament. The mere assembling of such a Parliament marks a new epoch in the history of the world. The news of this great fact will arouse the hopes of the working classes throughout Europe and America.

"Great Britain, of all other countries, has seen developed on the greatest scale, the despotism of Capital and the slavery of Labour. In no other country have the intermediate stations between the millionaire commanding whole industrial armies and the wages-slave living only from hand to mouth so gradually been swept away from the soil. There exist here no longer, as in continental countries, large classes of peasants and artisans almost equally dependent on their own property and their own labour. A complete divorce of property from labour has been effected in Great Britain. In no other country therefore, the war between the two classes that constitute modern society has assumed so colossal dimensions and features so distinct and palpable.

But it is precisely from these facts that the working classes of Great Britain, before all others, are competent and called to act as leaders in the great movement that must finally result in the absolute emancipation of Labour. Such they are from the spacious clearness of their position, the vast superiority of their numbers, the disastrous struggles of their past, and the moral strength of their present.

It is the working millions of Great Britain who first have laid down the real basis of a new society—modern industry, which transformed the destructive agencies of nature into the productive power of man. The English working classes, with invincible energies by the sweat of their brows and brains, have called into life the material means of enabling labour itself, and of multiplying its fruits to such a degree as to make general abundance possible.

By creating the inexhaustible productive powers of modern industry they have fulfilled the first condition of the emancipation of labour. They have now to realize its other condition. They have to free those wealth-producing powers from the infamous shackles of monopoly, and subject them to the joint control of the producers, who, till now, allowed the very products of their hands to turn against them and be transformed into a mighty instruments of their own subjugation.

The labouring classes have conquered nature; they have now to conquer men. To succeed in this attempt they do not want strength, but the organisation of their common strength, organisation of the labouring classes on a national scale—such, I suppose, is the great and glorious end aimed at by the Labour Parliament.

If the Labour Parliament proves true to the idea that called it into life, some future historian will have to record that there existed in the year 1854 two Parliaments in England, a Parliament at London, and a Parliament at Manchester—a Parliament of the rich, and a Parliament of the poor—but that men sat only in the Parliament of the rich and not in the Parliament of the masters.

Yours truly,
KARL MARX

52. Karl Marx, "Letter to the Labour Parliament", The People's Paper

A Labour Parliament was convened on March 6, 1854 on the initiative of a revolutionary group of Chartists headed by Ernest Jones.

"ORGANISATION OF THE LABOURING CLASSES ON A NATIONAL SCALE—SUCH, I SUPPOSE, IS THE GREAT AND GLORIOUS END AIMED AT BY THE LABOUR PARLIAMENT," wrote Marx.

53. The file on Karl Marx and the file on Frederick Engels in the archives of the Prussian police, 1852-53

Acta

Königlichen Polizeipräsidit
zu Berlin

betreffend

Dr. Liberal Doctor Karl Marx
/Sommerstrasse 1/ 1852

Geheimes Justizarchiv.

To Dr. Rep. 30 Berlin
C Ad. Pres. 144 Ls.
To H. Get. Praes. Registr.
Sitz. II.

Acta

Königlichen Polizeipräsidit
zu Berlin

betreffend

Dr. Philosophus Friedrich Engels
Vergleichungsamt

Isatchw 1853.1854

W.W.

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Pres.
Registratur.

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- 2. Rommelsk. Friederick
- 3. Philistin. Dauersch
- 4. Tempelhof
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54. Karl Marx



55. Announcement of the meeting to be held in London on February 27, 1855, to mark the anniversary of the French Revolution of 1848. Marx was among those invited

COMMEMORATION OF THE
Great Revolutionary Movement of 1848.
Alliance of All Peoples!

**INTERNATIONAL SOIREE,
FOLLOWED BY
A PUBLIC MEETING
ST. MARTIN'S HALL
LONG ACRE.**

Tuesday, Feb. 27, 1855.

The following distinguished representatives will speak:
French: Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Barbes, Felix Pyat, Ledru Rollin, Raspail, Pierre Leroux, Eugene Sue. German: Kinkel, Marx, Ronge, Schapper. Italian: Pianciani, Saffi, Mazzini, Teckhi. Hungarian: Kossuth. Polish: Worcell, Zeno Swientoslawski. Russian: Herzen. English: W. Coningham, J. Beal, J. Finlen, Cooper, Mayne Reid, Gerald Massey.

At the Royal Exchange, London, February 27, 1855.
RICHARD CHAPMAN, Englishman.
DAHEROWSKI, Polishman.
TICKETS, 2s 6d.—SINGLE DITTO, 1s 6d. MEETING DITTO, 2s.

Tickets may be had at St. Martin's Hall.
1s 6d. Box Seats, Private & Upper Boxes, 2s 6d.

The first few years of life in London were especially trying for the Marx family. The want they lived in was compounded with painful bereavements. One-year-old Heinrich died of pneumonia on November 19, 1850, and little Franziska, born in March 1851, followed him to the grave 18 months later, on April 14, 1852. "Our beloved child's death," Jenny Marx recalled years later, "occurred at the time of the hardest privations, our German friends being unable to help us just then."

The most painful blow of all was the death of eight-year-old Edgar on April 6, 1855.

In all those years Frederick Engels's friendship and assistance were indispensable.



56. Jenny Marx, wife of Karl Marx, in the early 1850s

57. The house at 28 Dean Street, Soho, London, where the Marxes lived from December 1850 to September 1856





58. Jenny Marx, eldest daughter of the Marxes, in the early 1850s



59. Laura Marx, daughter of the Marxes, in the mid-1850s

60. Edgar's letter to his mother

61. Edgar Marx (Musch), son of the Marxes

My dear Mother
This is written
by your son him
self as you know
the kisses



62. *Frederick Engels, Brussels, 1862*63. *Engels's home in Manchester*

In November 1850 Frederick Engels was compelled to leave London for Manchester to devote himself to "filthy commerce" at the trading firm of Ermen & Engels. This enabled him to assist the Marxes financially.

Although the two friends lived in different cities, they were in constant and close communication with each other. Chiefly by mail. They sent each other letters almost every day, discussing crucial points of theory and practice. When Marx's girls grew up, they were frequent guests at Engels's home in Manchester. From time to time, Marx, too, would come to Manchester to relax or do a bit of work.





64. Marx, Engels and Marx's daughters
(left to right) Laura, Eleanor, Jenny,
London, 1864

Marx's articles posted to the New-York Daily Tribune		From train
1	Aerital... from Maff. Lady and I	28 January
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3	Aerital	11 February
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6	" "	28 March
7	" "	4 March
8	"	18. March.
9	"	22 "
10	"	25 "
11	"	1 April.
12	"	8 April
13	"	12 April.
14	"	19 April
15	"	22 "
16	"	29 "
		32 £
		16 August at Liverpool 2 Friday Home of Patterson 19 August 20. (Colombia 16 July) Colombia 23 August
		24 September 3 Saturday Liverpool 30 August 9 September trials of Peel acts etc. Thewrelle 13 October LW January Gabon etc.
		6. 21 August 13 October covering Turkey rainy weather etc trials
		7 Sunday 20 October 23 October Aigues 24 October 25 October 26 October 27 October 28 October 29 October 30 October Mild rain
		11 Tuesday 4 Oct. <u>the weather</u>
		12. 5 Wednesday 7 Oct. Liverpool England <u>Wales</u> <u>Irland</u>
		13. 6 Friday 14 October <u>St</u> <u>Palmerston</u>

In the summer of 1851, Marx accepted the offer to be correspondent of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, a progressive bourgeois paper. Marx enlisted Engels to help him out. In the subsequent ten years they contributed more than 500 articles on economy and international relations.

While a correspondent of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, Marx was also a frequent contributor to various other progressive publications, notably the workers' press in Britain and elsewhere.

65. Some of the periodicals to which Karl Marx contributed

66. A page from the notebook of Marx's wife Jenny, showing when the articles of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels where posted to the *New-York Daily Tribune* (some of the entries are in Marx's hand)

Marx's articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, Engels wrote, "were not ordinary despatches but expositions of the political and economic situation in various European countries based on thorough study and often comprising a whole series of articles".



67

When a bourgeois revolution broke out in Spain in 1854, Marx set about studying the history of that country. "My principal study is now Spain," he wrote to Engels on September 2, 1854.

67. Revolution in Spain. The insurgents at the royal palace in Madrid on July 17, 1854

68. Karl Marx, Revolutionary Spain, 1854
A page of the manuscript

Marx's studies of Spanish history culminated in a series of articles, *Revolutionary Spain*, which appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune* from September to December 1854. They contained a searching examination of the Spanish people's struggles from the time of Napoleon's invasion to the bourgeois revolution of 1820-23.

A few of the articles were devoted to the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1854.

Marx kept his finger on the pulse of events in Italy. In his articles, he showed that the country's liberation would involve a great revolutionary national insurrection. He called therefore for unity of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, the progressive intelligentsia, and the then as yet numerically small working class. The aim of the insurrection would be the national liberation of Italy from Austrian and French rule, and the country's unification. The state that would emerge, he pointed out, should have a genuinely democratic basis, and should wipe out the remnants of feudalism.

"A SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION IN ITALY," Marx wrote, "WILL BE THE SIGNAL FOR A GENERAL STRUGGLE ON THE PART OF ALL THE OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES TO RID THEMSELVES OF THEIR OPPRESSORS."



69



70

69. The king's troops fire on insurgents in Palermo

70. Townsmen demonstrate for the incorporation of Naples in the Italian state

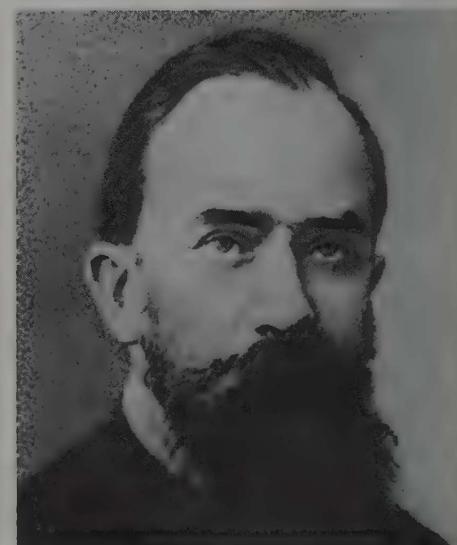
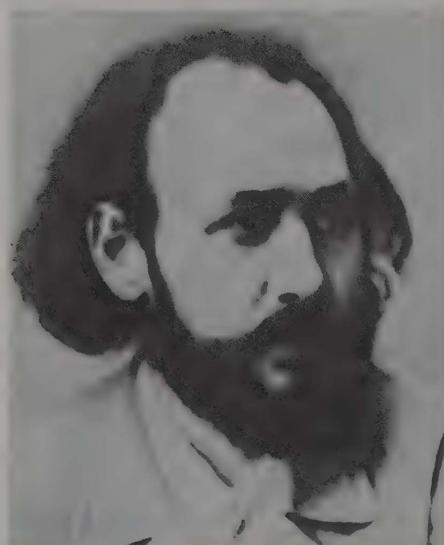


71. Garibaldi's 1,000 men on the march

"IN GARIBALDI, ITALY HAD A HERO OF ANTIQUE DIGNITY, WHO WAS ABLE TO PERFORM WONDERS AND ACTUALLY DID. WITH A THOUSAND VOLUNTEERS, HE OVERTHREW THE ENTIRE KINGDOM OF NAPLES, IN

FACT UNITED ITALY, AND TORE TO PIECES THE ARTIFICIAL WEB OF BONAPARTIST POLITICS. ITALY WAS FREE AND ESSENTIALLY UNITED—THOUGH NOT BY LOUIS NAPOLEON'S INTRIGUES, BUT BY THE REVOLUTION."

FREDERICK ENGELS



Democrats from Russia took part in the struggle for the liberation of Italy.

The Russian Garibaldians

72. Lev Mechnikov (1838-1888), geographer and public figure

73. Anna Toliverova-Jacobi (1842-1918), Russian writer

74. Vladimir Kovalevsky (1842-1883), palaeontologist, member of the revolutionary movement in Russia



75. The house at 1 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill (north-western part of London)

The Marxes lived here from 1856 to 1864. This was the time when Karl Marx defined the basic points of his economic theory.

"The money inherited after my mother's death," Jenny Marx recalled, "enabled us to move from Dean Street into a little house in romantic Hampstead at the foot of delightful Primrose Hill. When we first slept in our own beds, sat on our own chairs, and even had a drawing room of our own, with rococo furniture or, more precisely, with the old junk that we had bought by chance, it really seemed to us that we were in a magic castle and that trumpets and kettledrums were hailing our magnificence."



76. Karl Marx, London, 1861

77. Marx's letter to his wife in Trier, where Jenny and her children stayed at her sick mother's, June 21, 1856

A page of the manuscript

"My darling Sweetheart,

"I am writing to you again because I am alone and because it is irksome to converse with you all the time in my head without you knowing or hearing or being able to answer me. Bad as your portrait is, it serves its end well enough, and I now understand how it is that even the least flattering portraits of the mother of God, the 'Black Madonnas', could have their inveterate admirers—more admirers, indeed, than the good portraits."

21 Jun 1876
34, Bull's Head
green bay, Wisconsin



78. Jenny Marx

79. *Jenny and Laura, Marx's daughters*

"They are both endowed with exceptionally warm hearts, are gifted and have becoming modesty and maidly good manners. Little Jenny will be seventeen years old on the first of May (1861—Ed.). She is a girl of great charm and very attractive appearance, with her thick, shiny dark hair and

equally dark, shining, gentle eyes and dark, Creole-like complexion, which has, however, acquired a genuine English bloom.

"Laura, who was fifteen years old last September (1860—Ed.), is perhaps prettier and has more regular features than her elder sister, whose very opposite she is. As tall, slender and finely built as little Jenny, she is in all other

respects lighter, more radiant and transparent ... so lovely is her curly, wavy chestnut hair, so sweet the dear, greenish sparkling eyes, which flicker like eternal *feux de joie*, so noble and finely shaped is her forehead..."

"At school they have always carried off the first prize. They are completely at home in English and know quite a lot of French. They can read Dante in



80



the Italian and also know a bit of Spanish...

"Little Jenny has a special talent for drawing and her pastels are the finest adornment of our rooms."

From Jenny Marx's letter
to Louise Weydemeyer



84

80. Eleanor Marx, the youngest daughter of the Marxes, in the early 1860s

"The baby had only just been born when my poor, dear Edgar departed this life (in 1855—Ed.), and all the love we felt for the dear little boy, all the tenderness towards him, was transferred to his little sister, whom our elder daughters tended and nursed with almost maternal solicitude. Indeed, a more delightful child can hardly be imagined—pretty as a picture, guileless and with a whimsical sense of humour... She is a real pet of Karl's and dispels many a care with her laughter and chatter," Jenny Marx wrote to Louise Weydemeyer.

81. A copy of Rafael's "Madonna in the Armchair" by Marx's daughter Jenny. Jenny made a gift of it to Frederick Engels in 1859

82. A plate painted by Marx's daughter Jenny

83. A copy of Horace's portrait by Marx's daughter Jenny

84. A locket with a portrait of Karl Marx and a lock of Jenny Marx's hair. It belonged to the Marxes' eldest daughter, also Jenny

85. Marx's wallet

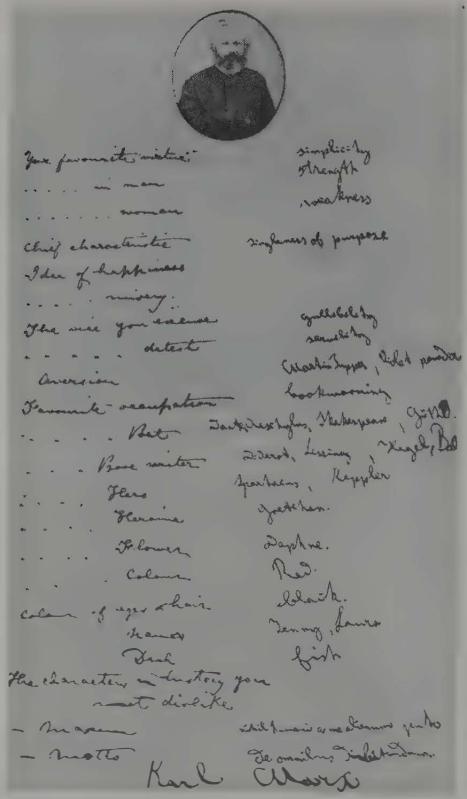
86. Marx's cigar-holder in a case



85



86

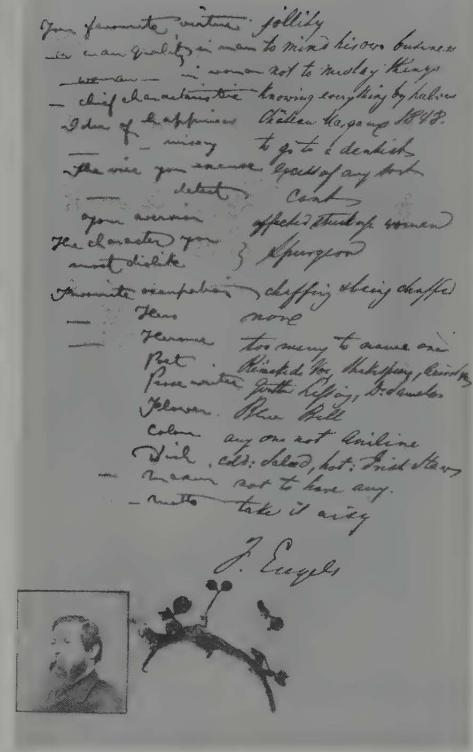


Marx's daughters were fond of a questions and answers game called Confessions popular in England in the mid-1860s.

Marx, all members of his family, Frederick Engels and other prominent personalities of the international working-class movement who happened to visit the Marxes, would take part in the game. Their answers are recorded in an album belonging to Marx's eldest daughter Jenny. Charles Longuet, Marx's great-grandson, made a gift of it to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU in 1960.

87. The "confession" of Karl Marx

Your favourite virtue	simplicity
" " in man	strength
" " woman	weakness
Chief characteristic	singleness of purpose
Idea of happiness	" misery



88. The "confession" of Frederick Engels

Your favourite virtue	jollity
" " in man	to mind his own business
" " in woman	not to mislay things
Chief characteristic	knowing everything by halves
Idea of happiness	chateau margaux 1848 (a wine—Ed.)
" misery	to go to a dentist
The vice you excuse	excess of any sort
" detest	cant
Your aversion	affected stuckup women
The character you most dislike	Spurgeon (Baptist preacher—Ed.)
Favourite occupation	chaffing & being chaffed
" hero	none
" heroine	too many to name one
" poet	Reinecke Fox, Shakespeare, Ariosto, etc.
" prose writer	Goethe, Lessing, Dr. Samelson (oculist—Ed.)
" flower	Blue bell
" colour	any one not animaline
" dish	cold: salad, hot: Irish stew
" maxim	not to have any motto
" motto	take it easy

The vice you excuse	gullibility
" detest	servility
Aversion	Martin Tupper, violet powder
Favourite occupation	bookworming
" poets	Dante, Aeschylus, Shakespeare, Goethe
" prose writers	Diderot, Lessing, Hegel, Balsac
" hero	Spartacus, Keppler
" heroine	Gretchen
" flower	Daphne
" colour	Red
colour of eyes & hair	Black
Names	Jenny, Laura
Dish	fish
The character in history you most dislike	nihil humani a me alienum puto de omnibus disbitandum
" maxim	
" motto	

89. The "confession" of Jenny, Marx's wife

Your favourite virtue	sincerity
" in man	perseverance
" woman	affection
" chief characteristic	sensitiveness
" idea of happiness	health
" misery	dependence
The vice you excuse most	indecision
" detest most	ingratitude
Your aversion	debts
Favourite occupation	needlework
" poet	Goethe
" prose writer	Martin Luther
" hero	Coriolanus
" heroine	Florence Nightingale
Flower	rose
Colour	blue
Favourite maxim	Never mind
Motto	Nil desperandum



Your favorite virtue sincerity

89



My favorite virtue Humanity

90



Your favorite virtue Truth

91



Your favorite virtue Truth

92

90. The "confession" of Marx's eldest daughter Jenny

91. The "confession" of Marx's daughter Laura

92. The "confession" of Marx's daughter Eleanor



93



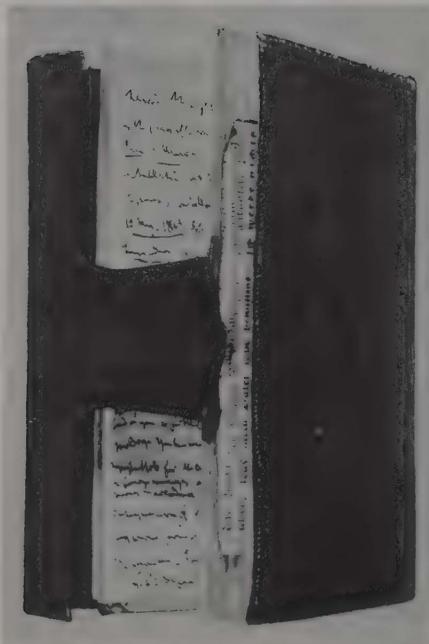
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97. An anti-slavery meeting in London

98. Marx's pocketbook with notes on Poland, 1863. Some of the notes are by Laura, who often helped her father

99. Encampment of Polish insurgents



"THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS HAS WON IMMORTAL HISTORICAL HONOUR FOR ITSELF BY THWARTING THE REPEATED ATTEMPTS OF THE RULING CLASSES TO INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE-HOLDERS BY ITS ENTHUSIASTIC MASS MEETINGS."

KARL MARX

Marx followed the liberation struggle of the people of Poland with close attention. He maintained that it could succeed only if the large mass of peasants became involved in it and it blended with the struggle for revolutionary democratic change.



100. Karl Marx and his daughter Jenny,
Margate, 1866

101. Laura, Marx's daughter, London,
1864



102

During the Crimean War (1853-56) fought by Great Britain, France, Turkey and Sardinia against Russia, Marx and Engels followed all developments and examined their substance in articles for the press.



103

102. Bombardment of Sebastopol by British, French and Turkish warships on October 3, 1854

103. A Russian battery on Malakhov Hill

104. Chart of the battle on the Chernaya river near Sebastopol. Drawn by Frederick Engels



104



105

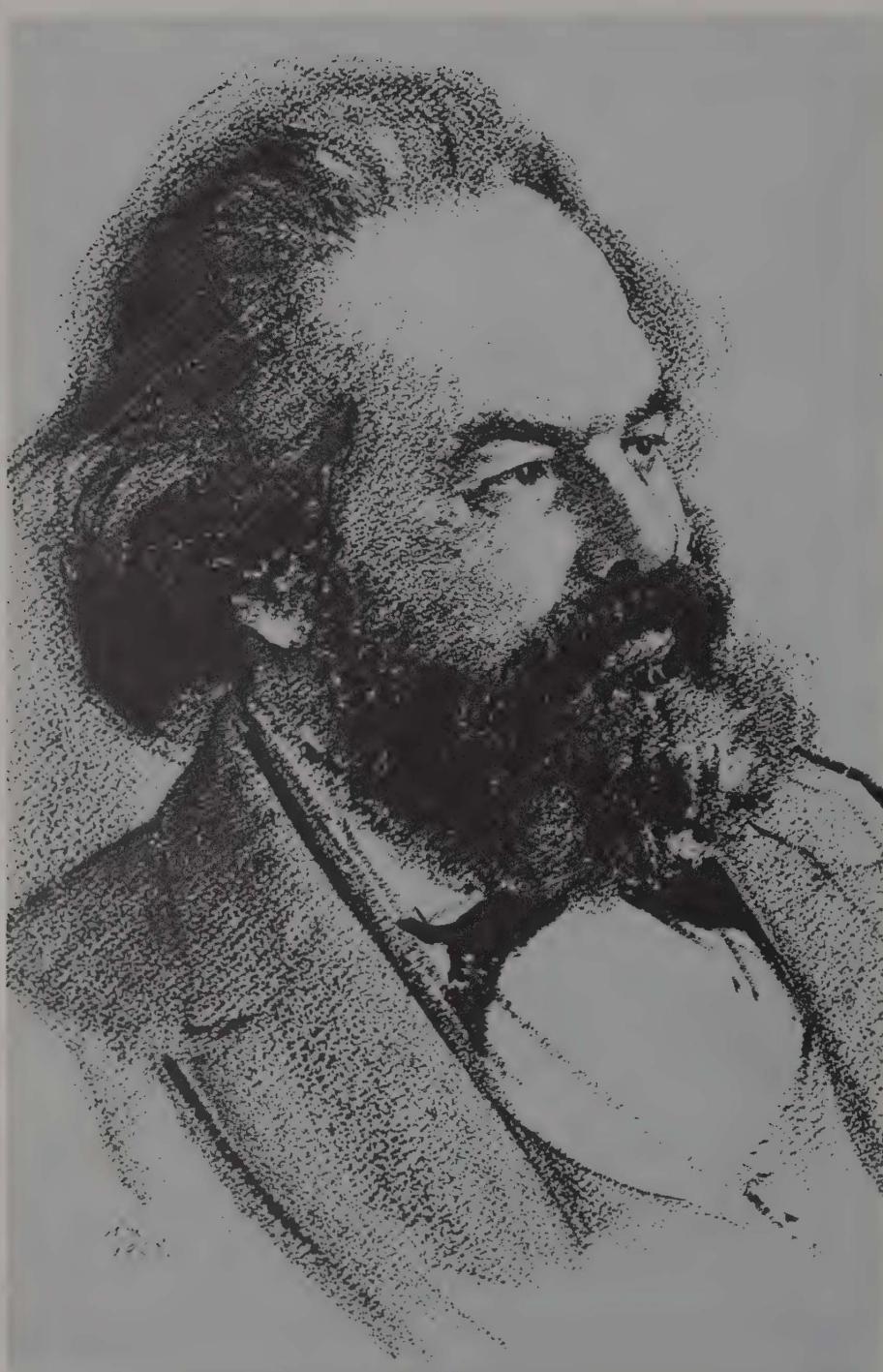


106

Following developments in Russia after its defeat in the Crimean War, Marx drew special attention to the movement for the abolition of serfdom. He contributed several articles on the subject to the *New-York Daily Tribune*, pointing out that "combustible matter" had accumulated and symptoms of "a servile war", a war of peasant serfs, were at hand.

105. Exaction of arrears

106. A peasant riot



107

An economic crisis erupted in 1857—first in the United States, then also in European countries.

Writing about it, Marx showed its specificity from country to country, and drew important theoretical conclu-

sions about the objective laws governing economic crises. He demonstrated their impact on the political situation and how they stimulated the working-class and democratic movement.

"THE PRESENT COMMERCIAL CRISIS," wrote Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle, "HAS IMPELLED ME TO SET TO WORK SERIOUSLY ON MY OUTLINES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND ALSO TO PREPARE SOMETHING ON THE PRESENT CRISIS."

107. Karl Marx

108. Graphs by Marx containing figures related to the crisis

A fragment

Reference material for articles that Marx wrote on the economic crisis of 1857-58



108



109

109. *The Stock Exchange*

110. *The cotton famine in Britain.*

People in Manchester line up for bread,
meat, milk and coal ration cards



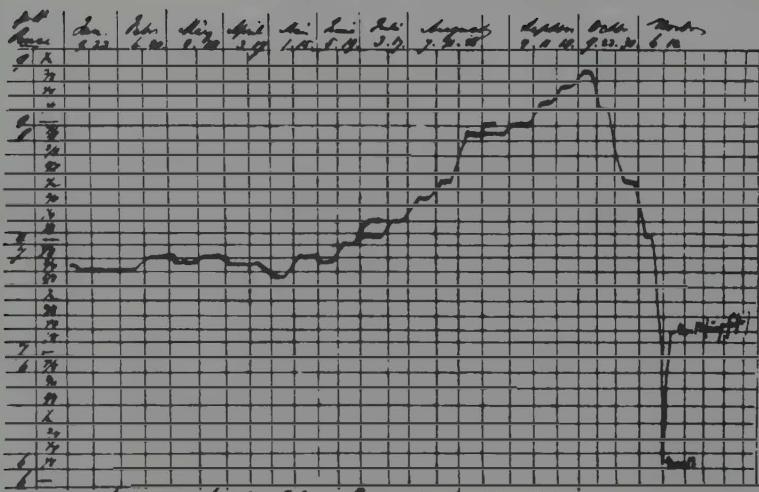
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The worldwide economic crisis of 1857 gave impulse to a fresh revolutionary surge in Europe and America.

111. A building workers' strike in London in 1859

112. A chart showing the movement of cotton prices as from January 1, 1857, which Engels drew at Marx's request



112. A chart showing the movement of cotton prices as from January 1, 1857, which Engels drew at Marx's request



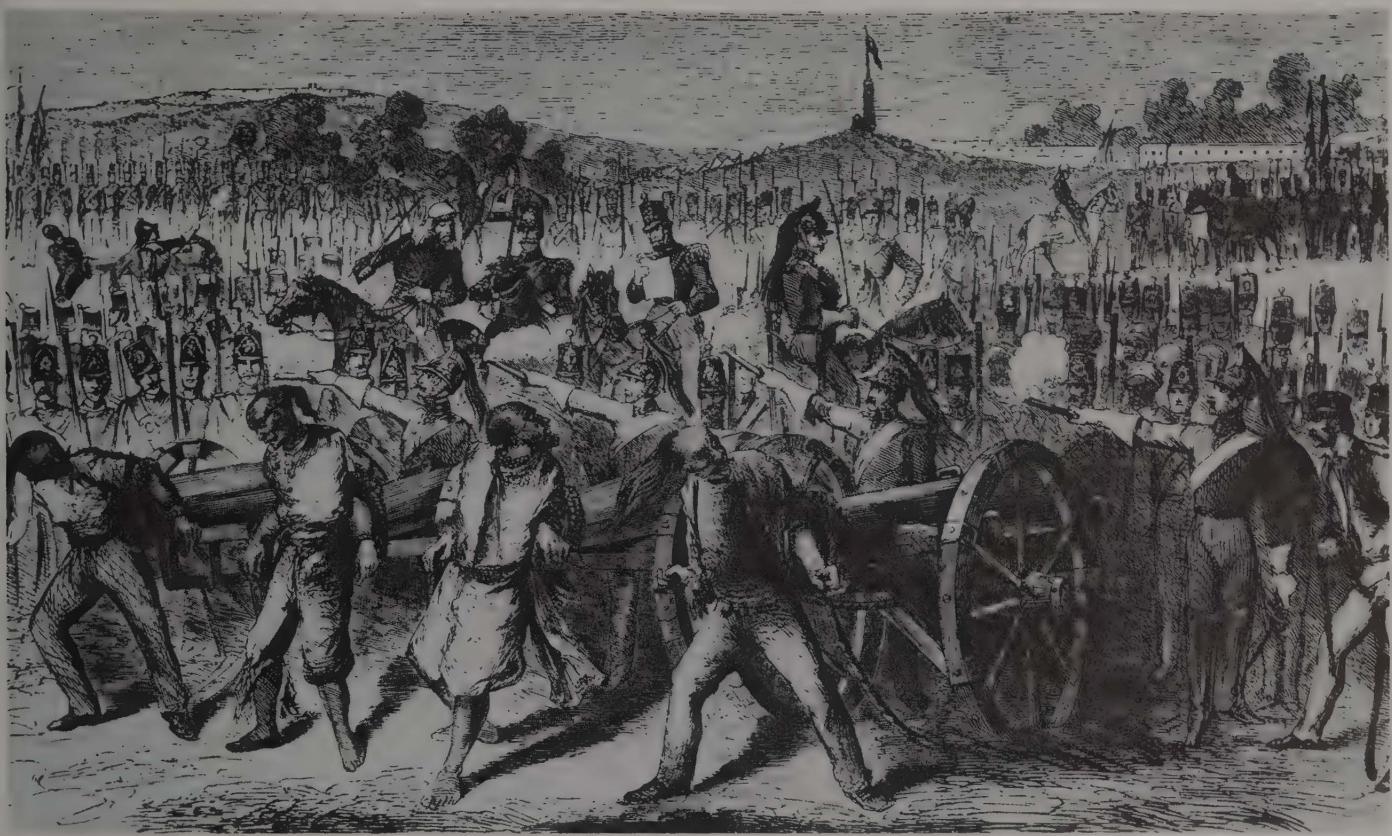
113. Barricades being thrown up on Montmartre Boulevard in Paris in 1860

"I CONCLUDE," Marx wrote at the time, "THAT NEITHER THE DECLAMATION OF THE DEMAGOGUES, NOR THE TWADDLE OF THE DIPLOMATICS WILL DRIVE MATTERS TO A CRISIS, BUT THAT THERE ARE APPROACHING ECONOMICAL DISASTERS AND SOCIAL CONVULSIONS WHICH MUST BE THE SURE FORERUNNERS OF EUROPEAN REVOLUTION."



In his articles on affairs in India, China, Persia, Algeria, Afghanistan, and Ireland, Marx set forth the basic theoretical principles that should govern the proletariat's nationalities and colonial policy.

Marx and Engels considered the national liberation movement in colonial countries an ally of the revolution in Europe.



116

114. The revolt in India in 1857. The battle at the walls of Delhi

115. The battle of Meerut on May 10, 1857

116. Suppression of the revolt in India

117. Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India", New-York Daily Tribune, June 25, 1853

New-York Tribune.

NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE, SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1853.

The British Rule in India.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LONDON, Friday, June 25, 1853.
Telegraphic dispatches from Vienna announce that the pacific solution of the Turkish, Sardinian and Swiss questions, is regarded there as a certainty.

Last night the debate on India was continued in the House of Commons, in the usual dull manner. Mr. Blackett charged the statements of Sir Charles Wood and Sir J. Hogg with bearing the stamp of optimism falsehood. A lot of Ministerial and Directorial advocates rebuked the charge as well as they could, and the inevitable Mr. Hume summed up by calling on Ministers to withdraw their bill. Debate adjourned.

Hindostan is an Italy of Asiatic dimensions, the Himalayas for the Alps, the Plains of Bengal for the Plains of Lombardy, the Deccan for the Apennines, and the Isle of Ceylon for the Island of Sicily. The same rich variety in the products of the soil, and the same dismemberment in the political configuration. Just as Italy has, from time to time, been compressed by the conqueror's sword into different national masses, so do we find Hindostan, when not under the pressure of the Mohammedan, or the Mogul, or the Briton, dissolved into as many independent and conflicting States as it numbered towns, or even villages. Yet, in a social point of view, Hindostan is not the Italy, but the Ireland of the East. And this strange combination of Italy and of Ireland, of a world of voluptuousness and of a world of woes, is anticipated in the ancient traditions of the religion of Hindostan. That religion is at once a religion of sensualist exuberance, and a religion of self-torturing asceticism; a religion of the Lingam and of the Juggernaut; the religion of the Monk, and of the Bayadera.

I share not the opinion of those who believe in a golden age of Hindostan, without recurring, however, like Sir Charles Wood, for the confirmation of my view, to the authority of Khuli-Khan. But take, for example, the times of Aurung-Zebe; or the epoch, when the Mogul appeared in the North, and the Portuguese in the South; or the age of Mohammedan invasion, and of the Heptarchy in Southern India; or, if you will, go still more back to antiquity, take the mythological chronology of the Brahman himself, who places the commencement of Indian misery in an epoch even more remote than the Christian creation of the world.

There cannot, however, remain any doubt but that the misery inflicted by the British on Hindostan is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindostan had to suffer before. I do not allude to European despotism, planted upon Asiatic despotism, by the British East India Company, forming a more monstrous combination than any of the divine monsters startling us in the Temple of Salsette. This is no distinctive feature of British Colonial rule, but only an imitation of the Dutch, and so much so that in order to characterise the working of the British East India Company, it is sufficient to literally repeat what Sir Stamford Raffles, the English Governor of Java, said of the old Dutch East India Company:

"The Dutch Company, actuated solely by the spirit of gain, and viewing their subjects, with less regard or consideration than a West India planter formerly viewed a gang upon his estate, because the latter had paid the purchase money of human property, which the other had not, employed all the existing machinery of despotism to squeeze from the people their utmost mite of contribution, the last dregs of their labor, and thus aggravated the evils of a capricious and semi-barbarous Government, by working it with all the practical ingenuity of politicians, and all the monopolizing self-hood of traders."

"THE PROFOUND HYPOCRISY AND INHERENT BARBARISM OF BOURGEOIS CIVILISATION LIES UNVEILED BEFORE OUR EYES, TURNING FROM ITS HOME, WHERE IT ASSUMES RESPECTABLE FORMS, TO THE COLOCIES, WHERE IT GOES NAKED."

KARL MARX

New-York



Tribune.

Vol. XIII.....No. 3,794.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 14, 1853.

PRICE TWO CENTS.

REVOLUTION IN CHINA AND IN EUROPE.

A most profound yet fantastic speculator on the principles which govern the movements of Humanity, was wont to extol as one of the ruling secrets of nature, what he called the law of the contact of extremes. The homely proverb that "extremes meet" was, in his view, a grand and potent truth in every sphere of life; an axiom with which the philosopher could as little dispense as the astronomer with the laws of Kepler or the great discovery of Newton.

Whether the "contact of extremes" be such a universal principle or not, a striking illustration of it may be seen in the effect the Chinese revolution seems likely to exercise upon the civilized world.

118. Karl Marx, "Revolution in China and in Europe", New-York Daily Tribune, June 14, 1853

New-York



Tribune.

Vol. XVI.....No. 4,984.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 10, 1857.

PRICE TWO CENTS.

A few days since, when the frightful system of torture in India was exposed in Parliament Sir James Hogg, one of the Directors of the Most Honorable East India Company, boldly asserted that the statements made were unfounded. Subsequent investigation however, proved them to be based upon facts which should have been well known to the Directors, and Sir James had left it to admit either "wilful ignorance" or "criminal knowledge" of the horrid charge laid at the Company's door. Lord Palmerston the present Premier of England, and the Earl of Caledon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, seem just now to be placed in a similar unenviable position. At the late Lord Brougham's banquet the Premier said, in effect, while attempting to justify the atrocious treatment given the Chinese:

"The Government had, in this case apparently, done all they could do; they had undoubtedly committed a crime which deserved to incur the censure of the world and of the country. We were presented, however, on the contrary, with those proceedings were necessary and vital. We felt that a great wrong had been inflicted on our country. We felt that our fellow countrymen in a distant part of the globe had been ex-

posed to a series of insults, outrages and atrocities which could not be passed over in silence ("Cheers"). We felt that the treaty rights of this country had been violated, and that those heavily charged with the defense of our interests in that quarter of the world were not only justified, but obliged to resent those outrages so far as the power in their hands would enable them to do so. We felt that we should be betraying the trust which the citizens of the country had reposed in us if we had not approved of the proceedings which we thought to be right, and which we, if placed in the same circumstances, should have deemed it our duty to have pursued ("Cheers")."

Now, however, much as people of England and the world at large may be deceived by such plausible statements, his Lordship himself certainly does not believe them to be true, or if he does, he has betrayed a willful ignorance almost as unjustifiable as "criminal knowledge." Ever since the first report reached us of English hostilities in China, the Government journals of England and a portion of the American Press have been heaping wholesale denunciations upon the Chinese—sweeping charges of violation of treaty obligations—insults to the English flag—degradation of foreigners residing on their soil, and the like; yet not one single distinct charge has been made or a single fact instanced in support of these denunciations, save the case of the Ioreha Arrow, and, with respect to this case, the

119. Karl Marx, "English Atrocities in China", New-York Daily Tribune, April 10, 1857



120. British fleet firing on Chinese warjunks

121. Capture of Peking, October 12, 1860

"WHATEVER BE THE SOCIAL CAUSES, AND WHATEVER RELIGIOUS, DYNASTIC, OR NATIONAL SHAPE THEY MAY ASSUME, THAT HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THE CHRONIC REBELLIONS SUBSISTING IN CHINA FOR ABOUT TEN YEARS PAST, AND NOW GATHERED TOGETHER IN ONE FORMIDABLE REVOLUTION, THE OCCASION OF THIS OUTBREAK HAS UNQUESTIONABLY BEEN AFFORDED BY THE ENGLISH CANNON FORCING UPON CHINA THAT Soporific DRUG CALLED OPIUM."

KARL MARX



In 1857, Marx was invited to write for *The New American Cyclopaedia*. Engels produced a number of items on military subjects. Marx wrote a few biographical pieces, notably on Simon Bolivar, leader of national liberation movements in Latin America, and on Robert Blum, a participant in the 1848 revolution in Germany.

122. Frederick Engels, "Algeria"
From *The New American Cyclopaedia*, Vol. I, 1858

123. French troops fighting the insurgents at Ali-Mahdi, Algeria, 1859

ALGERIA, a division of northern Africa, formerly the Turkish pashalic of Algiers, but since 1830 included in the foreign dominions of France. It is bounded N. by the Mediterranean, E. by Tunis, W. by Morocco, S. by the Great Sahara. The extreme length is 500 miles from E. to W.; the extreme breadth 200 miles from N. to S. The Atlas ridge constitutes an important physical feature in the country, and divides the arable land of the sea-board from the desert. It also constitutes the northern and southern watershed of the province. The main ridge runs from east to west, but the whole province is intersected in all directions with spurs from the central range. The loftiest of the western mountains is Mount Wanashrees, the Mons Zalacus of Ptolemy; of the eastern the Jurjura and Aurep. These attain a height of nearly 7,000 feet. The principal river is the Shelliff. There are rivers of considerable size also, which flow from the south side of the Atlas, and lose themselves in the desert. None of these rivers are navigable. They are nearly dried up in the summer, but overflow a considerable extent of country in the spring and fertilize the soil.—The climate is not considered unhealthy by some travellers. Ophthalmia and cutaneous diseases are common. It is said there are no endemic fevers, but the great loss of the French troops by disease may perhaps lead to a different conclusion. The atmosphere is pure and bright, the summer very hot; and in the winter severe weather is occasionally experienced, especially in the hill country. On the limits of the desert the soil is arid and sandy, but between the mountain districts it is fertile, and especially so in the neighborhood of the streams. Grain crops of all kinds, fruits, European and tropical; flowers, and particularly roses, of remarkable beauty; and a species of sugar-cane,

said to be the largest and most productive of any known species, grow in Algeria. The domestic animals of every variety are numerous. Horses, of course, are excellent; asses are of fine growth and much used for riding. The camel and dromedary of Algeria are very superior. The merino sheep is indigenous, and Spain was first supplied from Algeria. The Numidian lion, the panther and leopard, ostriches, serpents, scorpions, and other venomous reptiles, are abundant.—The Berbers, Kabyles, or Mazidi, for they are known by the three names, are believed to have been the aboriginal inhabitants. Of their history as a race little is known, further than that they once occupied the whole of north-western Africa, and are to be found also on the eastern coast. The

Kabyles live in the mountain district. The other inhabitants are Arabs, the descendants of the Mussulman invaders. Moors, Turks, Koulougha, Jews, and negroes, and lastly the French, are found in the country. The population in 1852 was 2,078,035, of which 134,115 were Europeans of all nations, beside a military force of 100,000 men. The Kabyles are an industrious race, living in regular villages, excellent cultivators, and working in mines, in metals, and in coarse woollen and cotton factories. They make gunpowder and soap, gather honey and wax, and supply the towns with poultry, fruit, and other provisions. The Arabs follow the habits of their ancestors, leading a nomadic life, and shifting their camps from place to place according as the necessities of pasturage or other circumstances compel them. The Moors are probably the least respectable of the inhabitants. Living in the towns, and more luxurious than either the Arabs or Kabyles, they are, from the constant oppression of their Turkish rulers, a





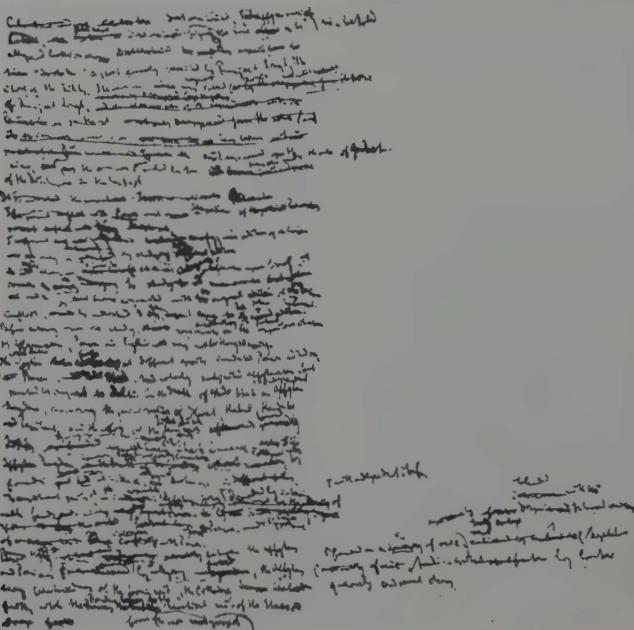
"FROM THE FIRST OCCUPATION OF ALGERIA BY THE FRENCH TO THE PRESENT TIME, THE UNHAPPY COUNTRY HAS BEEN THE ARENA OF UNCEASING BLOODSHED, RAPINE, AND VIOLENCE... THE ARAB AND KABYLE TRIBES, TO WHOM INDEPENDENCE IS PRECIOUS, AND HATRED OF FOREIGN DOMINATION A PRINCIPLE DEARER THAN LIFE ITSELF, HAVE BEEN CRUSHED AND BROKEN BY THE TERRIBLE RAZZIAS."

FREDERICK ENGELS



125

125. Simon Bolívar y Ponte (1783-1830), leader of the war of independence in the South American Spanish colonies; President of the Republic of Colombia (1819-30)



them. On his return from London, he again withdrew to private life, until Sept. 1811, he was prevailed upon by Gen. Miranda, then commander-in-chief of the insurgent land and sea forces, to accept the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the staff, and the command of Puerto Cabello, the strongest fortress of Venezuela. The Spanish prisoners of war, whom Miranda used regularly to send to Puerto Cabello, to be confined in the citadel, having succeeded in overcoming their guards by surprise, and in seizing the citadel, Bolívar, although they were unarmed, while he had a numerous garrison and large magazines, embarked precipitately in the night, with 8 of his officers, without giving notice to his own troops, arrived at daybreak at La Guayra, and retired to his estate at San Mateo. On becoming aware of their commander's flight, the garrison retired in good order from the place, which was immediately occupied by the Spaniards under Monteverde. This event turned the scale in favor of Spain, and obliged Miranda, on the authority of the congress, to sign the treaty of Vittoria, July 26, 1812, which restored Venezuela to the Spanish rule. On July 30 Miranda arrived at La Guayra, where he intended to embark on board an English vessel. On his visit to the commander of the place, Col. Manuel María Casas, he met with a numerous company, among whom were Don Miguel Peña and Simón Bolívar, who persuaded him to stay, for one night at least, in Casas's house. At 2 o'clock in the morning, when Miranda was soundly sleeping, Casas, Peña, and Bolívar entered his room, with 4 armed soldiers, cautiously seized his sword and pistol, then awakened him, abruptly told him to rise and dress himself, put him into iron, and had him finally surrendered to Monteverde, who dispatched him to Cádiz, where, after some years' captivity, he died in iron. This act, committed on the pretext that Miranda had betrayed his country by the capitulation of Vittoria, procured for Bolívar Monteverde's peculiar favor, so that when he demanded his passport, Monteverde declared "Col. Bolívar's request should be complied with, as a reward for his having served the king of Spain by delivering up Miranda." He was thus allowed to sail for Curaçoa, where he spent 6 weeks, and proceeded, in company with his cousin Elba, to the little republic of Cartagena. Previous to their arrival, a great number of soldiers,

126. Karl Marx, "Bolívar y Ponte"

From The New American Cyclopaedia, Vol. III, 1858

127. Karl Marx, "The War against Persia", January 1857

A page of the rough draft

With the democratic movement on the upgrade, the bourgeoisie redoubled its attacks on Marx and Engels. Karl Vogt, a petty-bourgeois democrat and paid agent of Napoleon III, was to have played a central role in the campaign of slander that was unleashed after the Cologne trial. Marx exposed Vogt in a brilliant pamphlet, *Herr Vogt*, written in 1860.

The clash with Vogt is "crucial to the historical vindication of the party and its subsequent position in Germany," wrote Marx to Ferdinand Freiligrath in February 1860.

128. Karl Marx, Herr Vogt, London, 1860

The title page

— 9 —

G e r r V o g t.

Bon

Karl Marx.



London,
A. Peltz & Co., deutsche Buchhandlung,
78, FENCHURCH STREET, E.C.

1860.

"VOGT WAS MERELY ONE OF THE COUNTLESS MOUTHPIECES THROUGH WHOM THE GROTESQUE VENTRILOQUIST IN THE TUILLERIES (NAPOLEON III—ED.) SPOKE IN FOREIGN TONGUES..."

KARL MARX

129. A page from the ledger showing payments out of Louis Bonaparte's secret budget

The ledger shows that in August 1859, Karl Vogt received 40,000 francs for his pro-Bonapartist activity in Germany and Switzerland.

130. A caricature of Karl Vogt

mens égaux, c'est un don, peut-être une dot, de 25,000 francs

Alexandrine figure encore, sur la liste des pensions en 1853, pour 6,000 francs mensuels; mais l'article qui la concerne est rayé au crayon.

Viallet, de Combreux, membre de sociétés chorales et de secours mutuels dans l'Isère, a fait au Prince impérial un legs dont nous ignorons la valeur et que M. Auselme Potelin conseille de rendre public.

Vieillard, ancien perceiteur de Louis-Napoléon, sénateur, avait quelques menues dettes, payées en 1858; en tout, 10,000 francs. Cette somme ne paraît pas être une pension, car elle est soldée par parties inégales : 5,784 fr. 85 c. et fr. 4,215-15

Vignon (Claude). Pension de 6,000 francs, à partir de septembre 1862

Villaume père (à Nancy). Peusion de 1,500 fr. (1853).

Vinet (Renan) En 1862 pension de 6,000 fr. Vogt (?) Il lui est remis, en août 1859, 40,000 fr.

	fr.	fr.
	25,000	
	10,000	
	6,000	
	1,500	
	6,000	
	40,000	
	5,000	
	2	

W

Waldor (Mme Mélanie) a reçu, en 1858, une somme de 5,000 francs

En décembre 1856, elle sollicite pour son cousin, M. Moret d'Aiguesbelle, une place préfectorale dans le Midi.

Elle offre, en 1863, une cantate, Paris au désert, intercalée dans une pièce ('*Le circonstance (Voyage de l'Empereur en Allemagne)*).





131



The International Industrial Exhibition in London opened in May 1862. It was attended by French workers' delegations from Paris, Lyons, and Amiens, and by workers from Germany. Their contacts with British trade union leaders helped establish more enduring ties between the proletariats of Britain, Germany, and France.

131. *The International Industrial Exhibition in London, 1862*

132. *Medal in commemoration of the Exhibition put out in 1862*

133. *Passport of Karl Marx, 1861*



In 1861, Marx went to Berlin to negotiate with Lassalle concerning the publication of a newspaper.

The General Association of German Workers was founded in Germany in 1863. It was the first mass organisation of German workers. While noting that the Association had good points, Marx and Engels chastised the opportunism that Ferdinand Lassalle, its initial president, had fostered there.

134. *A page from the Statutes of the General Association of German Workers, adopted on May 23, 1863*

135. *Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864)*

136. *Ferdinand Lassalle's letter to Bismarck, June 8, 1863*
A page of the manuscript

Engels had no idea that Lassalle was conniving with Bismarck, then president of the Prussian cabinet, when he wrote to Marx on June 11, 1863, that "the chap's now operating purely in the service of Bismarck".

137. *A caricature of Bismarck*



Statut des Deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins.

In den Arbeiterversammlungen zu Leipzig, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Solingen, Köln ist beschlossen worden, einen Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiterverein zu gründen und zwar den Grundsätzen gemäß, welche F. Laßalle in seinem an uns gerichteten "Antwortschreiben" ausgesprochen hat. Wir legen hiermit den Statutenentwurf zu diesem Verein vor, und bitten, denselben der Berathung in Arbeiterversammlungen zu unterziehen. Wir werden dann in den nächsten Wochen eine Versammlung Deutscher Arbeiter nach Leipzig einberufen, um von dieser die Statuten festzulegen und den Vorstand des Vereins wählen zu lassen.

Leipzig, den 23. April 1863.

Für das Comité zur Gründung eines Allgemeinen
Deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins

51

Unter keinem Namen

Deutscher Arbeiter-Verein

begründen die Unterzeichneten für das deutsche Bundesgebiet und die Provinzen Ost- und Westpreußen einen Verein, welcher, von der Überzeugung ausgehend, daß nur durch das Allgemeine Wahlrecht der deutsche Arbeitervolk eine genügende Vertretung seiner Interesse in den gesetzgebenden Körpern Deutschlands erlangen kann, den Zweck verfolgt: auf friedlichem und legalem Wege, insbesondere durch das Gewinnen der öffentlichen Überzeugung für die Herstellung des Allgemeinen Wahlrechts zu wirken.

62

Jeder Deutsche Arbeiter wird durch einfache Beitragsklärung Mitglied des Vereins mit vollem gleichem Stimmrecht und kann jederzeit austreten. Über die Frage, wenn dies streitig werden sollte, ob ein zurstehender ein Arbeiter im Sinne des Vereins sei, entscheidet lediglich das Vorstand.



mera Aufgaben rücksichtigt werden soll
seien, in welches Logistik genutzt
die offene Ablaufgruppe und die
feste je ausreicht, auf eine beginnende
Ablaufgruppe, die Lernschwierigkeiten, die
auf einer Fertigkeit beruhen, erkennt und
die entsprechenden Voraussetzungen
bereitstellt, je fehlen öffnen. Wenn nun
eine Fertigkeit in alle
Ablaufgruppen übertragen werden,
so kann die gewünschte Differenzierung nicht
Differenzierung ein aufgabende
Kontrollen erlangt werden, und ist es leicht
um das zu tun. Es kann in
Kombination mit abgetrennt.

Niet vergifteßt deinen
Ew. Br. vallens

Berlin 8/1/63.

*Argoonauta
flaevula
Rousseau, 13*



98 Politischer Orientierung

Und dem politischen Eiertanz
Holt Edmund Sebe vom Leben.
Er glaubt, sie sterben alle ganz
Und keines ging letztem
Zeitstrom, wenn, wie
König der Löwe —

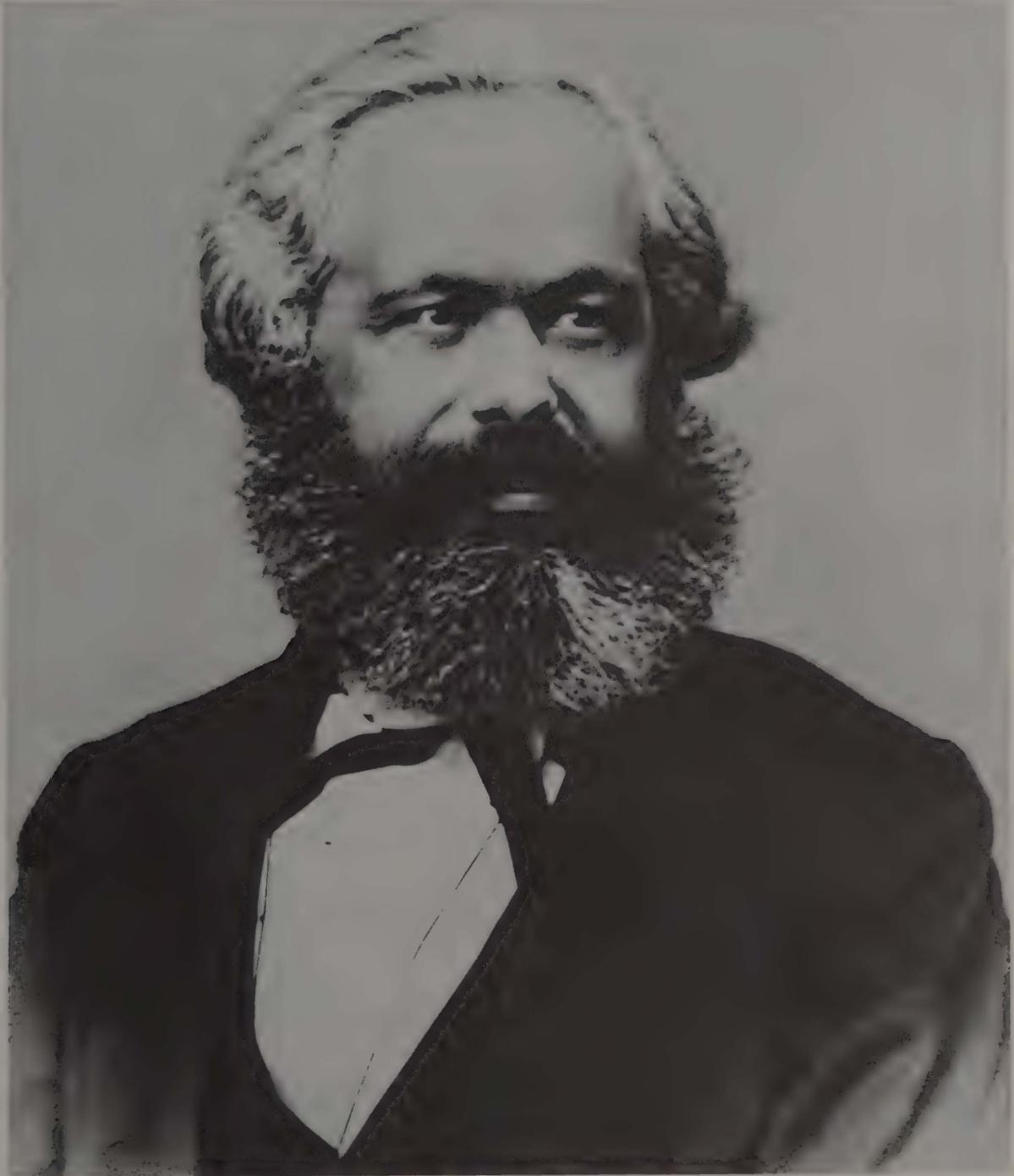
(Frankfurter Talerne, 20. Sept. 1863.)

CAPITAL

As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers...

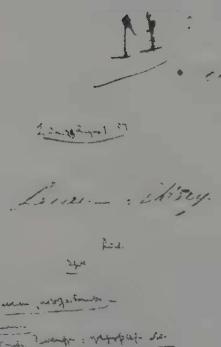
Frederick Engels

1. Karl Marx, Hanover, end of April 1867



2
3

Handwritten notes from Marx's manuscript, showing dense economic theory.



Handwritten notes from Marx's manuscript, continuing the economic theory.



At the height of the economic crisis of 1857, Marx set about collating his many years of economic research. The Marxian theory of revolution needed thorough economic grounding. "I am working like mad all night and every night collating my economic studies," Marx wrote Engels on December 8, 1857.

Between October 1857 and May 1858 Marx produced a manuscript of vast proportions, which he gave the title, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*. This manuscript, indeed, was the first rough outline of *Capital*.

Here Marx worked out his theory of value and went on to formulate the theory of surplus value.

2. Page 19, Notebook III of the 1857-1858 manuscript where Marx first used, and explained, the term *Mehrwert* (surplus value)

"THE THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE IS THE CORNERSTONE OF MARX'S ECONOMIC THEORY."

V. I. LENIN

3. Cover of Notebook M containing the "Introduction"

Before he began working on his manuscript, Marx produced the rough draft of an "Introduction" (August 23, 1857), setting forth more fully than anywhere else his understanding of the subject and method of political economy as a particular science.

4. A page from Marx's letter to Engels of April 2, 1858

The plan of Marx's contemplated economic, philosophic and socio-political study, as set forth in this letter, speaks of its immensity. It was to be divided into six books: 1) On Capital; 2) Landed Property; 3) Wage Labour; 4) The State; 5) International Trade; 6) The World Market.

5. An illustration for the first volume of Marx's Capital by US artist Hugo Gellert

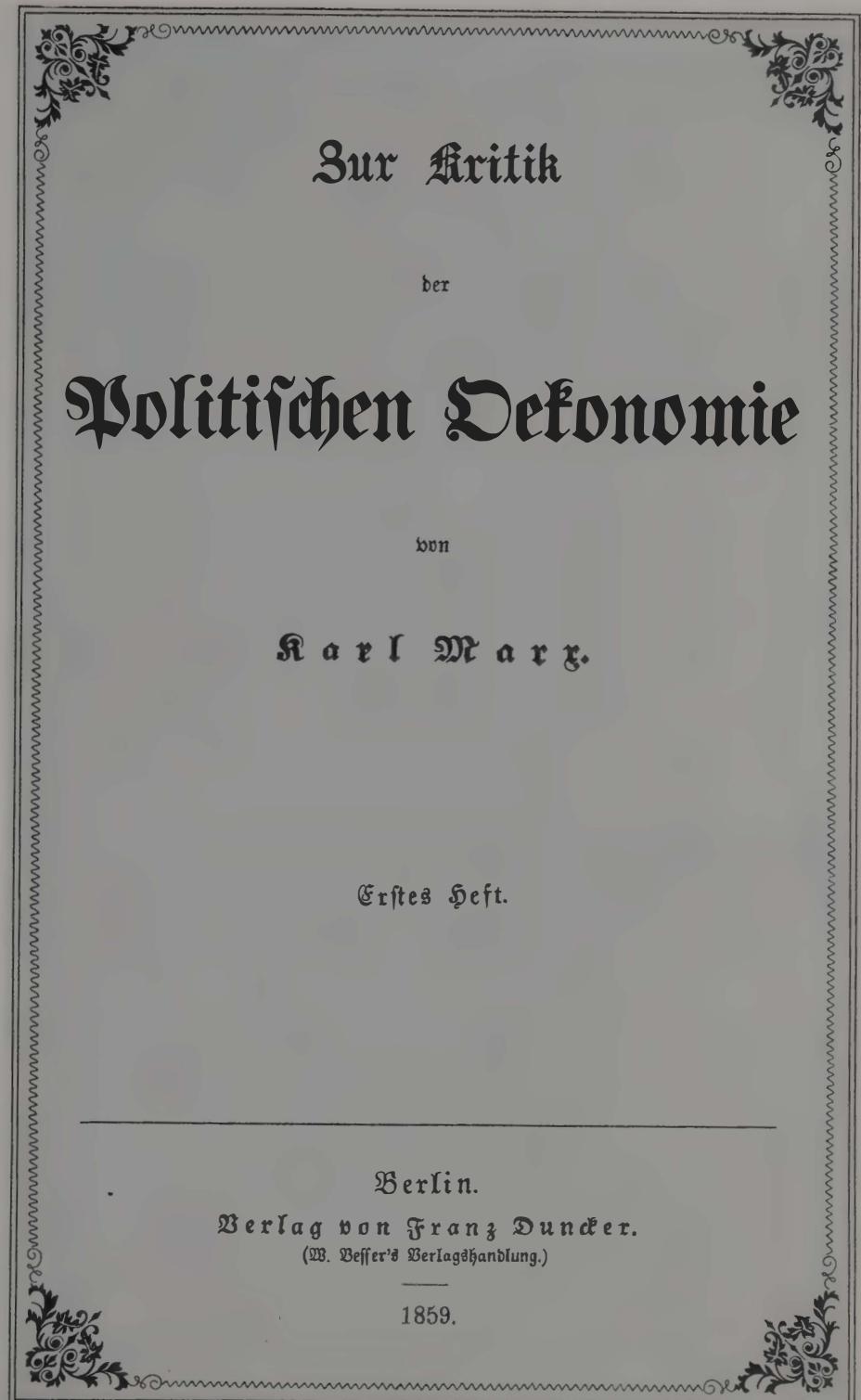
Making use of his economic manuscripts of 1857-58, Marx produced the original text of his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* in August-November 1858, and made arrangements with Duncker, a Berlin publisher, to put it out in instalments. The book (Part One) came off the press on June 11, 1859 in 1,000 copies.

6. Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Part One, Berlin, 1859

The title page

This study contains the initial exposition of the Marxian theory of value. It shows the nature of commodities and labour in the setting of commodity production. The preface gives the classic definition of the materialist understanding of history.

"IN THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF THEIR EXISTENCE, MEN INEVITABLY ENTER INTO DEFINITE RELATIONS, WHICH ARE INDEPENDENT OF THEIR WILL, NAMELY RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION APPROPRIATE TO A GIVEN STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR MATERIAL FORCES OF PRODUCTION. THE TOTALITY OF THESE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION CONSTITUTES THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY, THE REAL FOUNDATION, ON WHICH ARISES A LEGAL AND POLITICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE AND TO WHICH CORRESPOND DEFINITE FORMS OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS. THE MODE OF PRODUCTION OF MATERIAL LIFE CONDITIONS THE GENERAL PROCESS OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE. IT IS NOT THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF MEN THAT DETERMINES THEIR EXISTENCE, BUT THEIR SOCIAL EXISTENCE THAT DETERMINES THEIR CONSCIOUSNESS. AT A CERTAIN STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT, THE MATERIAL PRODUCTIVE FORCES OF SOCIETY COME INTO CONFLICT WITH THE EXISTING RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION OR—THIS MERELY EXPRESSES THE SAME THING IN LEGAL TERMS—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. FROM FORMS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES THESE RELATIONS TURN INTO THEIR FETTERS. THEN BEGINS AN ERA OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION."





"THE ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF MATERIAL RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY ASSEMBLED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, THE FACT THAT LONDON IS A CONVENIENT VANTAGE POINT FOR THE OBSERVATION OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY ... INDUCED ME TO START AGAIN FROM THE VERY BEGINNING AND TO WORK CAREFULLY THROUGH THE NEW MATERIAL."

KARL MARX

7. *The British Museum*

8. *In the British Museum's reading-room Marx usually occupied seat 7a*

9. *Karl Marx's address in the visitors' book of the British Museum's reading-room*

For many years, each day from nine in the morning until seven at night, Marx worked in one of the world's richest libraries, studying the prolific economic literature.

"I have been going to the Museum in the day-time and writing at night," Marx noted in one of his letters to Engels.

Modena Villas :
 '74 Marx Karl, D. 1/ Maitland Park
 P. Ad. 11. 6. 57. aw.
 Read 21. 7. 73. 3 Grafton Terrace, Mayfair, W.C. 102.



10. *The British Museum's reading-room after its reconstruction in the 1860s*



11



12



13

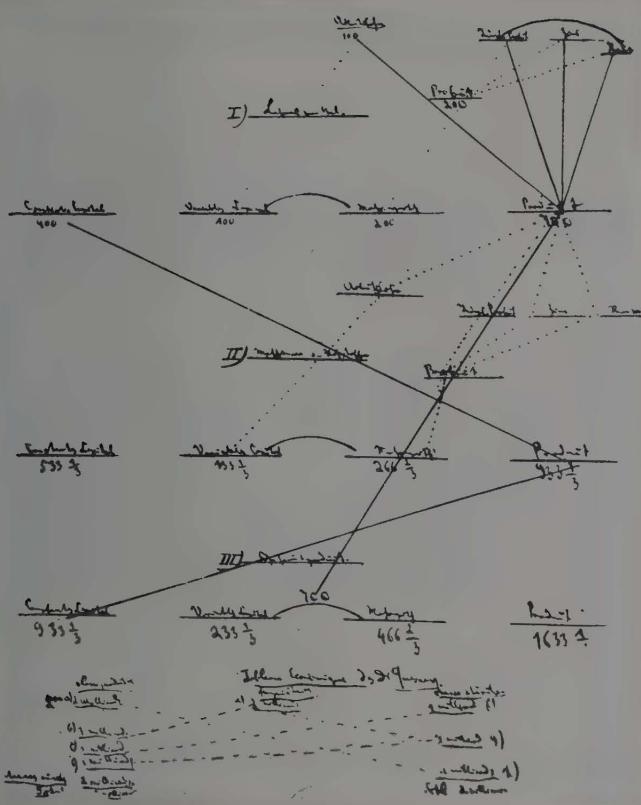
Outstanding classical English economists

11. William Petty (1623-1687)
12. Adam Smith (1723-1790)
13. David Ricardo (1772-1823)

From August 1861 to July 1863, Marx produced a new version of his economic study, setting forth his ideas in 23 notebooks totalling well over a thousand pages. The manuscript covers the main subjects that later went into the first, second and third volumes of *Capital*, and also contains the sole existing version of the fourth volume: *Theories of Surplus Value*.

While working on the manuscript, Marx decides on giving it the title of *Capital*, and to have the initial title, *A Critique of Political Economy*, as the sub-title.

The new manuscript of *Capital* as a whole was ready at the end of December 1865. On Engels's advice, Marx had only the first book printed for a start.



14. Draft of a chart showing the process of reproduction elaborated upon subsequently in Volume II of Capital
It was enclosed in Marx's letter to Engels of July 6, 1863

15. A page from Marx's manuscript, Theories of Surplus Value (beginning of Notebook VI of the 1861-1863 Manuscript)

16. An illustration for the first volume of Marx's Capital by US artist Hugo Gellert

"THERE CAN BE FEW BOOKS THAT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN IN MORE DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES, AND I AM SURE I COULD WRITE A SECRET HISTORY OF IT WHICH WOULD TELL OF MANY, EXTREMELY MANY UNSPOKEN TROUBLES AND ANXIETIES AND TORMENTS. IF ONLY THE WORKERS HAD AN INKLING OF THE SACRIFICES THAT WERE NECESSARY TO COMPLETE THIS WORK, WHICH WAS WRITTEN ONLY FOR THEM AND FOR THEIR SAKE ..."

JENNY MARX

c) Urgent also Rep. of.

2. Spots in water: Consider two things as really existing and quite different.
a) the mass of spots, b) consider two things as really existing and quite different.
from water: The real value of the concretes, and the qualitative open solution. (1889)



Montreal 4 April 1889

17. Engels's letter to Marx, April 4, 1867

Here Engels voices his delight over the completion of Marx's *Capital* (Volume I)

18. A view of the Harbour in Hamburg

On April 12, 1867, Marx came to Hamburg to hand the manuscript to Otto Meissner. It had been decided to print *Capital* at Otto Wigand's printshop in Leipzig. The printer started on the book on April 29, 1867.

19. The house in Leipzig where Volume I of Marx's Capital was printed

From Hamburg, Marx went to see his friend Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover. He stayed with the Kugelmans for nearly a month. Here he received the first lot of proofs of his *Capital*.

20. Ludwig Kugelmann (1830-1902), German physician, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the International; friend of Marx and Engels

In her *Reminiscences*, Kugelmann's daughter Franziska wrote the following of Marx's visit:

"Instead of the morose revolutionary she had expected my mother was greeted by a smart, good-humoured gentleman whose warm Rhenish accent at once reminded her of home. Young dark eyes smiled at her from under a mane of grey hair, his movements and his conversation were full of youthful freshness."





19



The book came off the press on September 14, 1867, in 1,000 copies.

"IN THIS WORK I HAVE TO EXAMINE THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION, AND THE CONDITIONS OF PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE CORRESPONDING TO THAT MODE..."

"IT IS THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THIS WORK TO LAY BARE THE ECONOMIC LAW OF MOTION OF MODERN SOCIETY."

KARL MARX

20

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten.

Hamburg

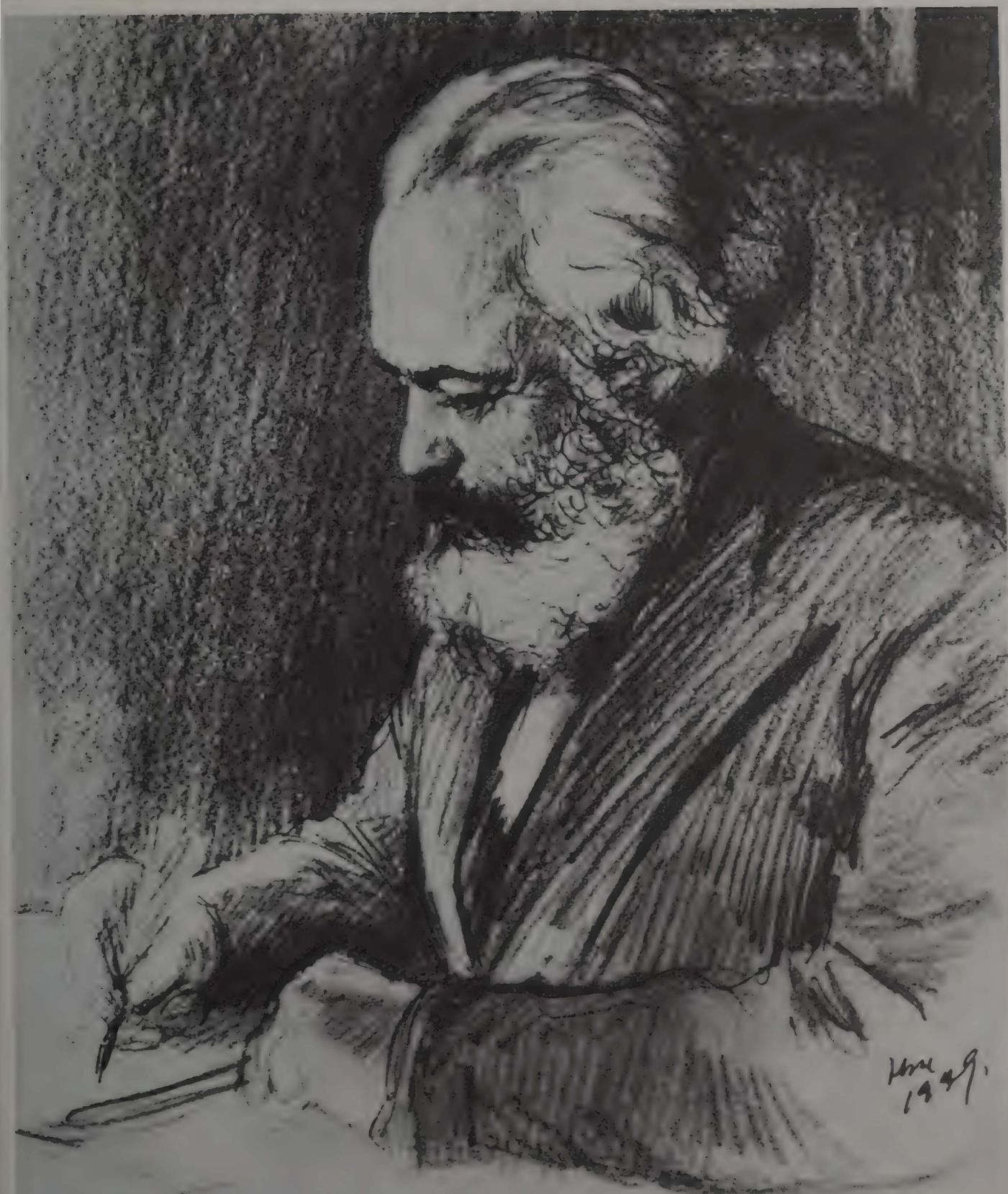
Verlag von Otto Meissner.

1867.

New-York: L. W. Schmidt, 24 Barclay-Street.

21. Karl Marx,
Capital, Volume I,
Hamburg, 1867

22. Karl Marx





3



23. *Wilhelm Wolff*

Marx dedicated *Capital* to Wilhelm Wolff. The following was inscribed on the title page:

"DEDICATED TO MY UNFORGETTABLE FRIEND WILHELM WOLFF, INTREPID, FAITHFUL, NOBLE PROTAGONIST OF THE PROLETARIAT, BORN IN TARNAU ON JUNE 21, 1809, DIED IN EXILE IN MANCHESTER ON MAY 9, 1864."

24. Charles Darwin (1809-1882), English naturalist, founder of the scientific theory of evolution in biology

25. Darwin's letter to Marx of October 1, 1873, in which he thanks the latter for sending him a copy of Capital

"THOUGH OUR STUDIES HAVE BEEN SO DIFFERENT, I BELIEVE THAT WE BOTH EARNESTLY DESIRE THE EXTENSION OF KNOWLEDGE AND THAT THIS IN THE LONG RUN IS SURE TO ADD TO THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND."

CHARLES DARWIN

Oct 6 73
Dear Sir
I thank you for the kind card
you have given me & enclosing me
your first work on Capitalism
" " which I was
much " " I receive it &
thank " " now I hope to
make " " a political Economy.
The last " " has been so
thought out & lucid that we both
agreed " " to receive it
earlier " " at a session of the
Royal Society in London to
which " " a long time in view of
the " " it is beginning of next week
so you may be
Yours faithfully
Charles Darwin

"JUST AS DARWIN DISCOVERED THE LAW OF DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIC NATURE, SO MARX DISCOVERED THE LAW OF DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN HISTORY..."

"BUT THAT IS NOT ALL. MARX ALSO DISCOVERED THE SPECIAL LAW OF MOTION GOVERNING THE PRESENT-DAY CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION AND THE BOURGEOIS SOCIETY THAT THIS MODE OF PRODUCTION HAS CREATED. THE DISCOVERY OF SURPLUS VALUE SUDDENLY THREW LIGHT ON THE PROBLEM..."

"TWO SUCH DISCOVERIES WOULD BE ENOUGH FOR ONE LIFETIME. HAPPY THE MAN TO WHOM IT IS GRANTED TO MAKE EVEN ONE SUCH DISCOVERY."

FREDERICK ENGELS

2 Aug Thurf. 16 Aug. 1867
2 Aug 2nd
Reading of your book has been very difficult
Dear Fred,

from 2 Aug to Aug 4 (49.) I have
been working on the manuscript -
including, except 1 1/4 hours
Monday. To this you can add
also 2 more hours of work. This
means about 2 days work per day! Of course
you will be surprised to hear of
such a long time. Whether you can
understand me. I embrace you, full
of thanks!

Enclosed 2 large numbers.

I am not yet done with them.
Sent to Mr. Smith, New York.
Dear H. Marx

26. Marx's letter to Engels saying he has finished reading the proofs of Volume I of Capital.

"16 AUGUST 1867, 2.0 A.M.

"DEAR FRED,

"HAVE JUST FINISHED CORRECTING THE LAST SHEET (49th) OF THE BOOK... SO, THIS VOLUME IS FINISHED. I OWE IT TO YOU ALONE THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE! WITHOUT YOUR SELF-SACRIFICE FOR ME I COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE MANAGED THE IMMENSE LABOUR DEMANDED BY THE 3 VOLUMES. I EMBRACE YOU, FULL OF THANKS!..."

"SALUT, MY DEAR, ESTEEMED FRIEND."





27. Marx's study in the house at 1 Maitland Park Road, where the Marxes lived from 1864 to 1875 and where Karl Marx completed Volume I of Capital

A mock-up on display at the Marx and Engels Museum in Moscow

28. Marx's desk chair

КАПИТАЛЪ.

КРИТИКА ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ЭКОНОМИИ.

СОЧИНЕНИЕ

КАРЛА МАРКСА.

ПЕРЕВОДЪ СЪ НЪМЕЦКАГО.

ТОМЪ ПЕРВЫЙ.

КНИГА I. ПРОЦЕССЪ ПРОИЗВОДСТВА КАПИТАЛА.

С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.
ИЗДАНІЕ Н. П. ПОЛЯКОВА.

1872



Volume I of *Capital* in Russian, the first translation of the volume into a foreign language, appeared in St. Petersburg in 1872 in 3,000 copies.

29. *Karl Marx, Capital. A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I, St. Petersburg, 1872*

Cover

30. *Hermann Alexandrovich Lopatin (1845-1918), Russian revolutionary; friend of Karl Marx; translator of Capital into Russian*

31. *Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson (1844-1918), Russian economist; translator of Capital into Russian*

Marx commended the translation. "It is masterly," he wrote to Danielson on May 28, 1872.

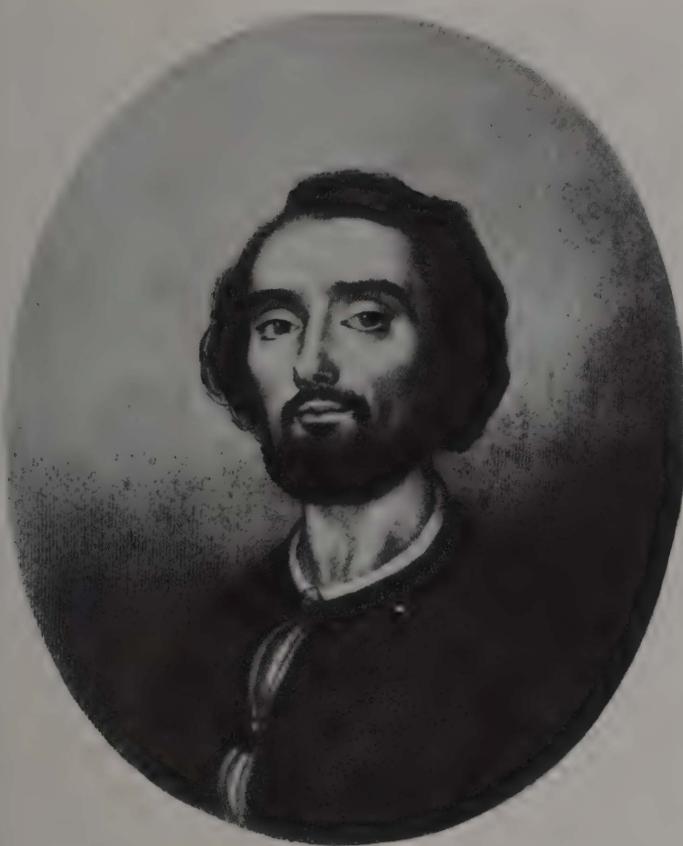
KARL MARX



PARIS

ÉDITEURS, MAURICE LACHATRE ET C^{IE}

38, BOULEVARD DE SÉBASTOPOL, 38



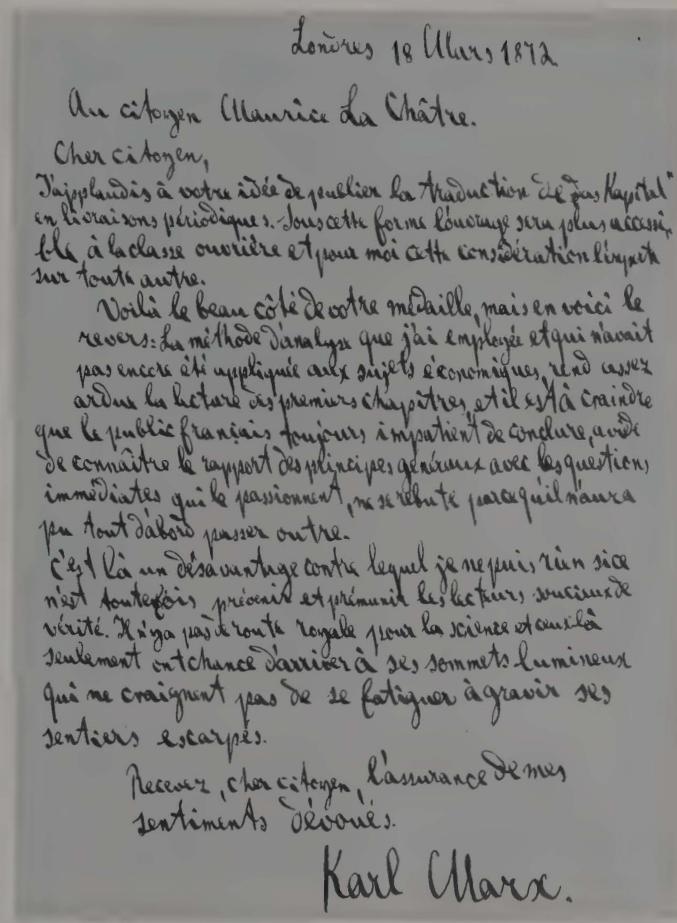
33

The French translation of Volume I of *Capital* was first published in Paris in separate parts (instalments), the first coming out in 1872 and the last in 1875. Marx took part in preparing the edition.

32. Karl Marx, Capital
Paris, Maurice Lachâtre Publishing
House, 1872-75

Cover

33. Maurice La Châtre (1814-1900),
progressive French journalist; took part
in the Paris Commune; publisher of
Volume I of Marx's Capital in French



34. Marx's letter to Maurice La Châtre, March 18, 1872

"I APPLAUD YOUR IDEA OF PUBLISHING THE TRANSLATION OF DAS CAPITAL AS A SERIAL. IN THIS FORM THE BOOK WILL BE MORE ACCESSIBLE TO THE WORKING CLASS, A CONSIDERATION WHICH TO ME OUTWEIGHS EVERYTHING ELSE."

34

Bei **Otto Meissner** in
Hamburg erscheint:

Das Kapital.

**Kritik der politischen
Oekonomie**

von

Carl Marx.

Zweite verbesserte Auflage.

In 9 Lieferungen à 10 Ngr.

Bestellungen erbittet die
**Königl. Hofbuchhand-
lung von H. Burdach,**
18 Schloss-Strasse 18.

35. Newspaper advertisement of the second German edition of Volume I of Capital in March 1872

36. Cover of the Berlin Polizei-präsidium's file concerning the second German edition of Volume I of Capital



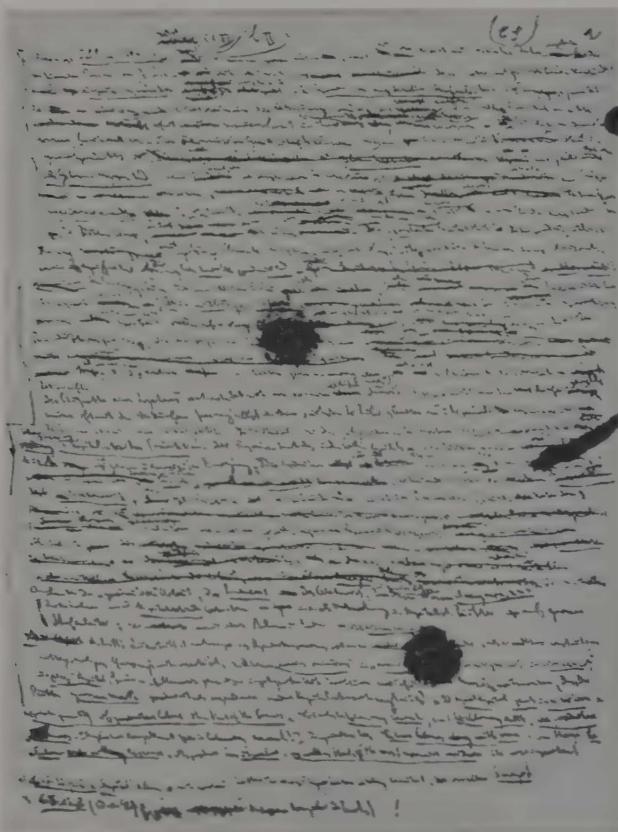
"AFTER THE DEATH OF HIS FRIEND, ENGELS UNDERTOOK THE ONEROUS TASK OF PREPARING AND PUBLISHING THE SECOND AND THE THIRD VOLUMES OF *CAPITAL*. HE PUBLISHED VOLUME II IN 1885 AND VOLUME III IN 1894 (HIS DEATH PREVENTED THE PREPARATION OF VOLUME IV). THESE TWO VOLUMES ENTAILED A VAST AMOUNT OF LABOUR..."

"BY PUBLISHING VOLUMES II AND III OF *CAPITAL* ENGELS ERECTED A MAJESTIC MONUMENT TO THE GENIUS WHO HAD BEEN HIS FRIEND, A MONUMENT ON WHICH, WITHOUT INTENDING IT, HE INDELIBLY CARVED HIS OWN NAME. INDEED THESE TWO VOLUMES OF *CAPITAL* ARE THE WORK OF TWO MEN: MARX AND ENGELS."

V. I. LENIN



37. Frederick Engels, London, summer of 1888



38

38. A page of Marx's manuscript related to Volume II of Capital

39. The same page as dictated by Engels to a scribe, with his subsequent changes

40. Karl Marx, Capital. A Critique of Political Economy, Volume II, Hamburg, 1885

The title page

"AH, THAT SECOND VOLUME! IF YOU ONLY KNEW, MY OLD FRIEND, IN WHAT A HURRY I AM TO COMPLETE IT... I AM WORRIED BECAUSE I AM THE ONLY ONE ALIVE WHO CAN DECIPIER THIS HANDWRITING AND THE ABBREVIATIONS OF WORDS AND OF ENTIRE PHRASES."

ENGELS TO P. L. LAVROV



Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Zweiter Band.

Buch II: Der Cirkulationsprocess des Kapitals.

Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1885.



41. Jenny, Karl Marx's wife

"THE SECOND AND THIRD BOOKS OF *CAPITAL* WERE TO BE DEDICATED, AS MARX HAD STATED REPEATEDLY, TO HIS WIFE."

FREDERICK ENGELS

42. *Karl Marx, Capital. A Critique of Political Economy, Volume III, Hamburg, 1894*

The title page

"DAS *KAPITAL* IS OFTEN CALLED, ON THE CONTINENT, 'THE BIBLE OF THE WORKING-CLASS'. THAT THE CONCLUSIONS ARRIVED AT IN THIS WORK ARE DAILY MORE AND MORE BECOMING THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE GREAT WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT, NOT ONLY IN GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND, BUT IN FRANCE, IN HOLLAND AND BELGIUM, IN AMERICA, AND EVEN IN ITALY AND SPAIN, THAT EVERYWHERE THE WORKING-CLASS MORE AND MORE RECOGNISES, IN THESE CONCLUSIONS, THE MOST ADEQUATE EXPRESSION OF ITS CONDITION AND OF ITS ASPIRATIONS, NOBODY ACQUAINTED WITH THAT MOVEMENT WILL DENY."

FREDERICK ENGELS

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Dritter Band, zweiter Theil.

Buch III:
Der Gesamtprocess der kapitalistischen Produktion.
Kapitel XXIX bis LII.

Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1894.

CAPITAL:

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

By KARL MARX

*TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION, BY
SAMUEL MOORE AND EDWARD AVELING*

AND EDITED BY
FREDERICK ENGELS

VOL. I.



LONDON:
SWAN SONNENSCHEIN, LOWREY, & CO.,
PATERNOSTER SQUARE.
1887.



43. The title page of the first English edition of Capital

44. Eleanor Aveling (1855-1898), Karl Marx's youngest daughter, wife of Edward Aveling. Took part in translating Volume I of Capital into English

45. Edward Aveling (1851-1898), English socialist; a translator of Volume I of Capital into English

46. Samuel Moore (c. 1830-1912), English lawyer, friend of Marx and Engels. Translated Volume I of Capital into English



45



46

"IN ENGLAND, TOO, THE THEORIES OF MARX, EVEN AT THIS MOMENT, EXERCISE A POWERFUL INFLUENCE UPON THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT WHICH IS SPREADING IN THE RANKS OF 'CULTURED' PEOPLE NO LESS THAN IN THOSE OF THE WORKING-CLASS."

FREDERICK ENGELS

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

Let us bear in mind this fundamental principle of the International: solidarity! It is by establishing this life-giving principle on a reliable base among all the workers in all countries that we shall achieve the great aim which we pursue.

Karl Marx



1. *The International Working Men's Association, commonly known as the First International, was founded at an international meeting at St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864*

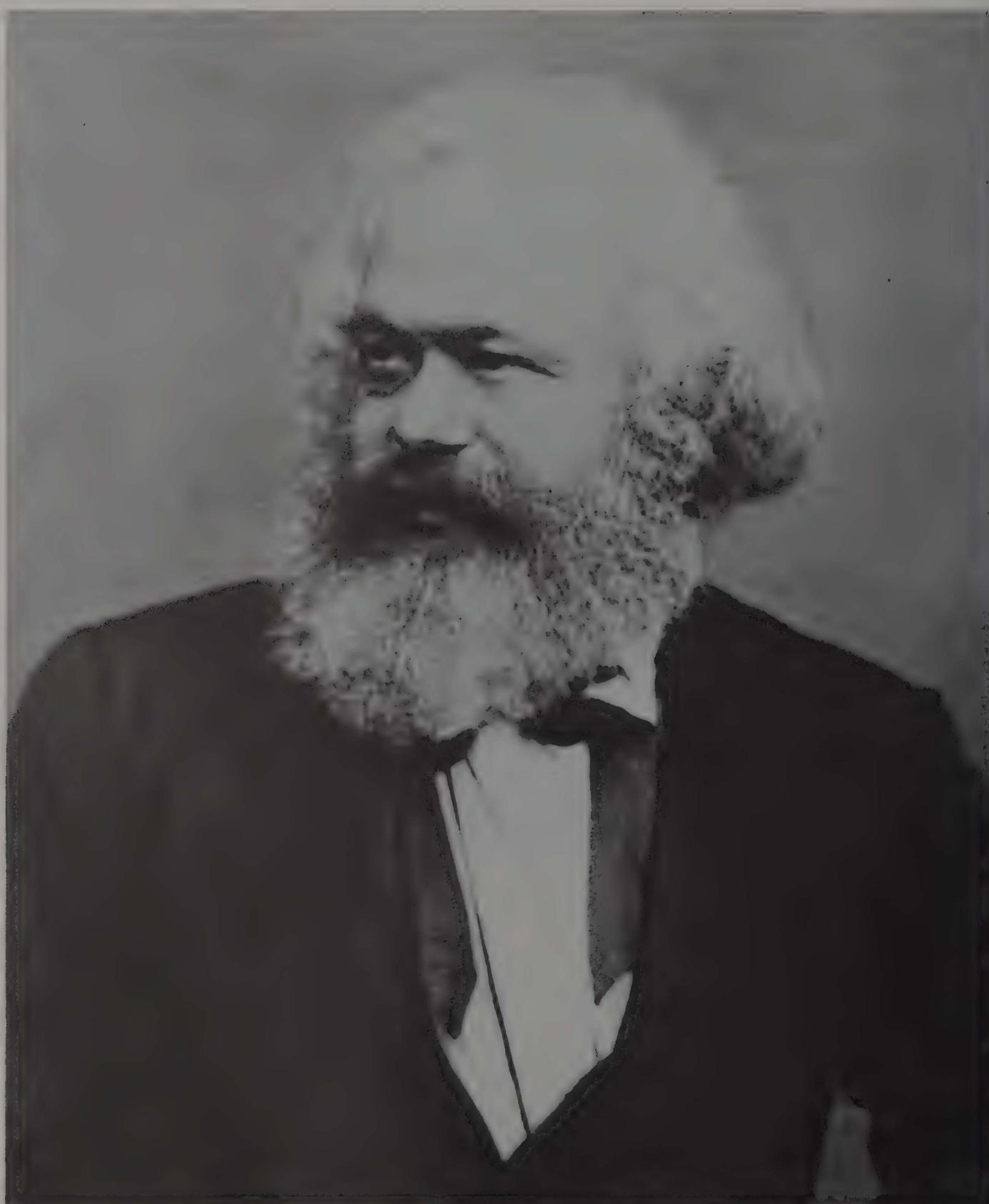
"PAST EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN HOW DISREGARD OF THAT BOND OF BROTHERHOOD WHICH OUGHT TO EXIST BETWEEN THE WORKMEN OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, AND INCITE THEM TO STAND FIRMLY

BY EACH OTHER IN ALL THEIR STRUGGLES FOR EMANCIPATION, WILL BE CHASTISED BY THE COMMON DISCOMFITURE OF THEIR INCOHERENT EFFORTS. THIS THOUGHT PROMPTED THE WORKING MEN OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES ASSEMBLED ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1864, IN PUBLIC MEETING AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL, TO FOUNDED THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION."

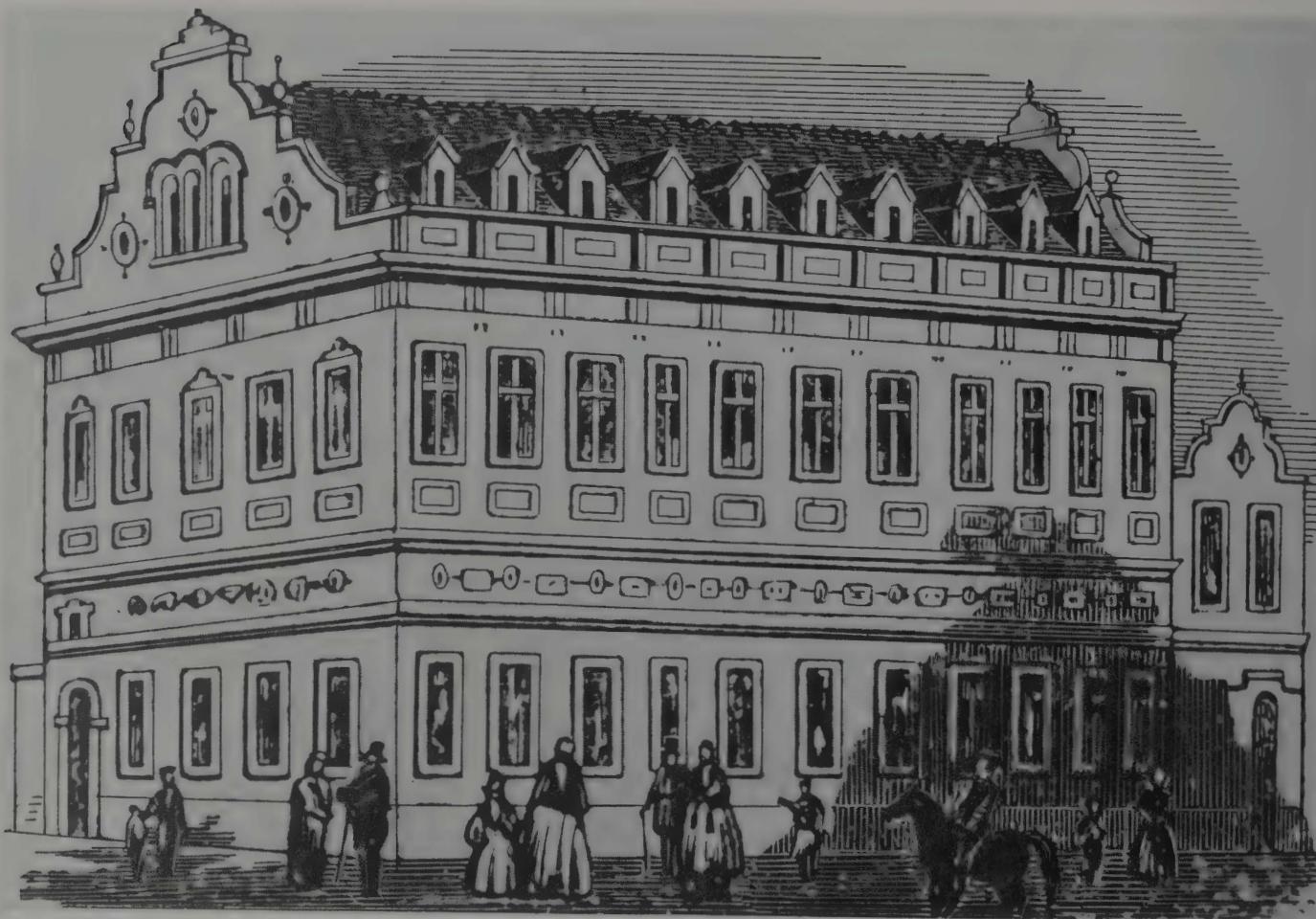
KARL MARX

2. *Karl Marx, London, 1872*

3. *Frederick Engels, Manchester, 1864*







BEE-HIVE NEWSPAPER.

A JOURNAL OF GENERAL INTELLIGENCE, ADVOCATING INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS

No 156.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1864.

Price Two Pounds

THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL.—The committee appointed at the meeting above referred to assembled at 18, Greek street, Soho, on Wednesday evening, Mr. Odgers in the chair. There was a very full attendance, about 40 being present. Several French and Italian friends were added to the committee, which now represents nearly all the Nationalities of Europe.

4. St. Martin's Hall, London

5. Report about the first meeting of
the International's General Council
Bee-Hive Newspaper, October 8,
1864

Marx was the heart and soul, the true organiser and leader, of the International, and, in fact, the head of its General Council, the writer of its programme documents, of its many addresses, appeals, reports, and resolutions. "To describe Marx's activity in the International," Engels once said, "is to write the history of this Association."

263

Marx is depicted upon a like page opposite the date
International "Workers' League."
Engels as his in the same thing, so
that he is equal to the workers. (This is what
he does) says that Marx will speak, but also not do all.
of the Workers' International Association.

Now as you know now that there are the officials
for the general election and the associations.
Dr. Karl Marx spoke yesterday for one hour --
James Seward Proposed Workers' International
in the name of the (American Congress was to go with him.)
For 28 days he had been working in St. Martin's Hall and addressed
to 1000 (or more) foreign comics of all trades and nations as well
as to the American Suffrage Association mainly. Dr. -- Dr. Bright is
speaking (or) Dr. -- Dr. Blagdon -- Dr. Morris (Dr. --)
and others from the British Workingmen's Union (Dr. --)
and others from the American Workingmen's Union (Dr. --)
from America in the same hall as those gathered. Dr. Mr. Dr.
Garrison (Member of the) for the Leviathan reading
that, if you do not attend, we will not be able
to have another at 8pm for the meeting etc. because you all
will be in the International (or) Workers' International Association which
we have to go to. That is the reason why
you all have to go to the Workers' International Association --
because it is the Workers' International Association --
because it is the Workers' International Association --
because it is the Workers' International Association.

6. Marx's letter to Engels in Manchester, November 4, 1864
A page of the manuscript

"AT THE MEETING, WHICH WAS CHOCK-FULL (FOR THERE IS NOW EVIDENTLY A REVIVAL OF THE WORKING CLASSES TAKING PLACE) ... IT WAS RESOLVED TO FOUND A WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, WHOSE GENERAL COUNCIL IS TO HAVE ITS SEAT IN LONDON AND IS TO 'INTERMEDIATE' BETWEEN THE WORKERS' SOCIETIES IN GERMANY, ITALY, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND."

"BUT IT IS GOOD," Engels wrote in his reply of November 7, 1864, "THAT WE ARE AGAIN MAKING CONTACT WITH PEOPLE WHO DO AT LEAST REPRESENT THEIR CLASS, WHICH IS WHAT REALLY MATTERS ULTIMATELY."

ADDRESS
AND
PROVISIONAL RULES
OF THE
WORKING MEN'S
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION,

ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 28, 1864,

AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT ST. MARTIN'S
HALL, LONG ACRE, LONDON.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

PRINTED AT THE "BEE-HIVE" NEWSPAPER OFFICE,
10, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.

1864.

7. *Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association, London, 1864*
The title page

The Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules, which were the International's initial programme documents, were written by Marx and unanimously adopted by the General Council. They defined the aims and methods of the liberation struggle of the working class, and asserted the principles of proletarian internationalism.



8

8. The house at 18 Greek Street, London, where the General Council of the International held its meetings in 1864 to 1866

The General Council held weekly meetings to discuss the crucial issues of the working-class movement—mutual aid, joint action, propagation of the revolutionary doctrine, and so on.

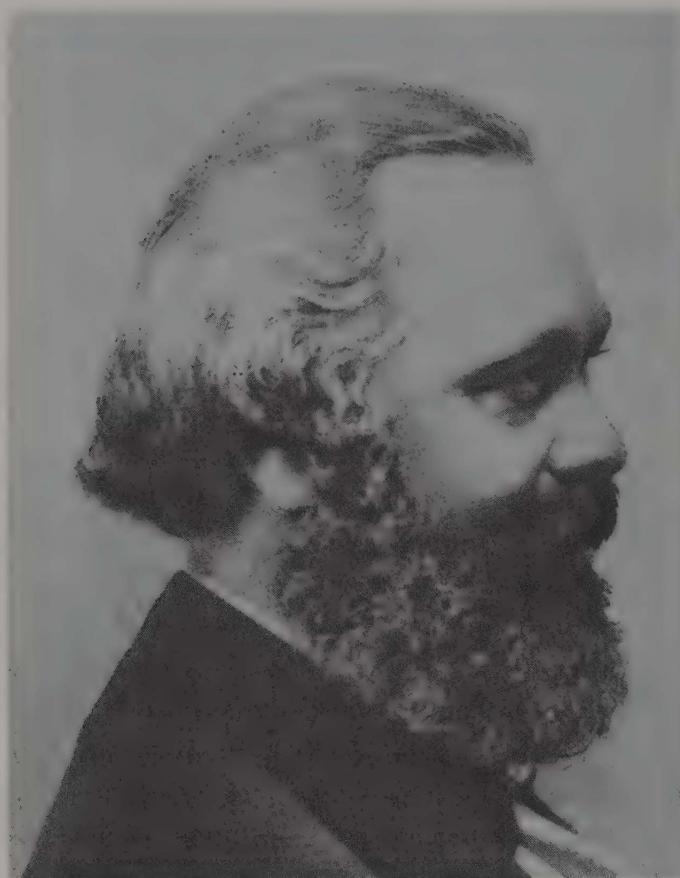


9

9. The house at 256 High Holborn, London, where the General Council of the International held its meetings in 1868 to 1872

"THE MEETINGS IN HIGH HOLBORN, WHERE THE GENERAL COUNCIL USED TO GATHER AT THAT TIME, WERE AS DISTURBING AND TIRING AS ANYONE COULD IMAGINE. THE BABBLE OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES, THE TREMENDOUS DIFFERENCES IN TEMPERAMENT, AND THE VARIETY OF VIEWS—IT WAS ENORMOUSLY DIFFICULT TO COPE WITH ALL THAT. AND THOSE WHO ACCUSED MARX OF INTOLERANCE SHOULD HAVE SEEN AT LEAST ONCE HOW HE MANAGED TO GRASP THE THOUGHTS OF OTHER PEOPLE IN FLIGHT AND PROVE THEIR CONCLUSIONS INCORRECT."

FRIEDRICH LESSNER



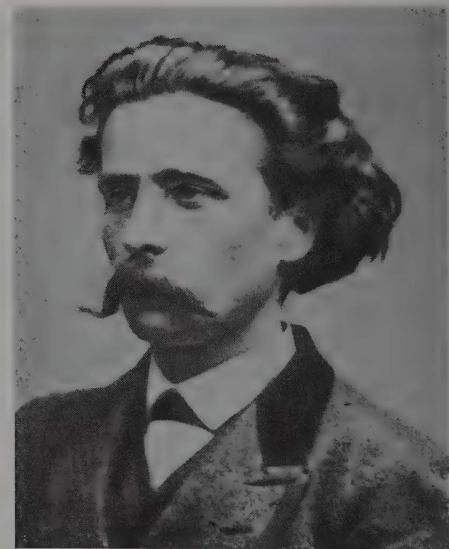
10

Members of the General Council
of the First International

10. Karl Marx, Hanover, 1867

11. Eugène Dupont (c. 1831-1881)

12. Friedrich Lessner (1825-1910)



11



15

13. Hermann Jung (1830-1901)

14. Johann Georg Eccarius (1818-1889)

15. Hermann Alexandrovich Lopatin (1845-1918)



16

16. The International's card of membership issued to
Hermann Jung



International Workingmen's Association

The first meeting of the Committee elected by the Public Meeting held at St. Martin's Hall on the 28th of September 1864; was held at 18 Greek St. on October 5th 1864 and on the motion of Mr Weston seconded by Mr Whitlock Mr G Olders was voted to the Chair.

The Chairman said the first business was the appointment of a Secretary to the Committee when Dr Marx prop[osed] and Mr Whitlock sec[onded] that Mr Cremer be appointed. Mr Cremer would prefer the appointment of Mr Lea Lubbock who was he believed in every way qualified to fill the office Mr Lea Lubbock having for various reasons declined the office Mr Cremer was unanimously elected.

The next question discussed was the meeting rights of the Committee when several resolutions and Amendments were proposed but ultimately on the motion of Mr Longmaid 'sec by Mr Bell' it was carried with one dissentient. That under the Association is in working order the Committee meet at 18 Greek St every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

At question being asked as to the expenses of meeting in the Room it was agreed to adjourn the consideration of that matter till the hour of

17. A page of the minutes of the first meeting of the International's General Council on October 5, 1864

From the General Council Minute Book

	Attendance of Members from January to the end of March 1871.					
	1/1/71	29/3/71	31/3/71	7/1/71	14/1/71	21/1/71
Applegarth						
Born	+	++	+	+	+	
Cairil						+
Cohn	+	✓	+			+
Eccarius	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++
Engels	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++
Hales J.	++	○		+	+++	+++
Harris	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++
Jung	III	III	+	+++	+++	+++
Lapatinus						
Lessner	++	++	++	++	++	++
Lucraft	III	+	Indisposed	+		
Marx	++	++	++	++	++	++
Maurice	II					
Milner	✓	++	✓	++	++	++
Mitford						
Mitfordhead						
Murray						
Odger						
Pfänder	II	++	++	++	++	++
Ricke						
Robin	++	++	++	++	++	++
Stepney	++	++	++	++	++	++
Townshend	++	+	+	++	++	++
Wootton	++	++	++	++	++	++
Zabiecki						
Gob	+	++	++	++	++	++
Veraillier	Client in Paris			+++	+++	+++

18. A page of the General Council's Minute Book recording attendance of its meetings

"DURING THE TIME OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARX NEVER MISSED A MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. AFTER THE MEETINGS, MARX AND MOST OF US MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL GENERALLY WENT TO A DECENT PUBLIC-HOUSE FOR A GLASS OF BEER AND A CHAT. ON THE WAY HOME, MARX OFTEN SPOKE OF THE NORMAL WORKING-DAY IN GENERAL AND OF THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN PARTICULAR. HE OFTEN SAID, 'WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THE EIGHT-HOUR WORKING-DAY, BUT WE FREQUENTLY WORK MORE THAN TWICE AS LONG OURSELVES'..."

International Working Men's Association.

CENTRAL COUNCIL,

18 GREEK STREET, LONDON, W.

Trade, Friendly, or any Working Men's Societies are invited to join in their corporate capacity, the only conditions being that the Members subscribe to the principles of the Association, and pay for the declaration of their enroachment (which is varnished and mounted on canvas and roller), the sum of 5s. No contributions are demanded from Societies joining, it being left to their means and discretion to contribute or not, or as they may from time to time deem the efforts of the Association worthy of support.

The Central Council will be pleased to send the Address and Rules, which fully explain the principles and aims of the Association, to any Society applying for them: and, if within the London district, deputations will gladly attend to afford any further information that may be required. Societies joining are entitled to send a representative to the Central Council. The amount of contribution for individual members is 1s. per annum, with 1d. for Card of Membership; which may be obtained, with every information concerning the Association, by applying to the Honorary Secretary, or at the Central Council's Meetings, which are held every Tuesday Evening, at 18 Greek Street, from Eight to Ten o'clock.

E. DUPONT,	Corresponding Secretary for France.
K. MARX,	" " Germany.
E. HOLTORF,	" " Poland.
H. JUNG,	" " Switzerland.
J. LEWIS,	" " America.

G. ODGER, President of Central Council.
G. W. WHEELER, Hon. Treasurer.
W. R. CREMER, Hon. Gen. Sec.

"IN FACT, MARX UNFORTUNATELY WORKED FAR TOO MUCH. IT IS BEYOND THE CONCEPTION OF OUTSIDERS HOW MUCH LABOUR AND TIME HE SPENT ON THE INTERNATIONAL ALONE. YET HE ALSO HAD TO WORK HARD FOR HIS LIVING AND TO STUDY FOR HOURS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM TO COLLECT MATERIAL FOR HIS WORKS ON HISTORY AND ECONOMICS."

FRIEDRICH LESSNER

19. A leaflet published in London in the summer of 1865 calling on working men's societies to join the International

20. Application to join the International Working Men's Association

The first to apply for affiliation with the International was the German Workers' Educational Society in London, followed by Italian workers living in London.

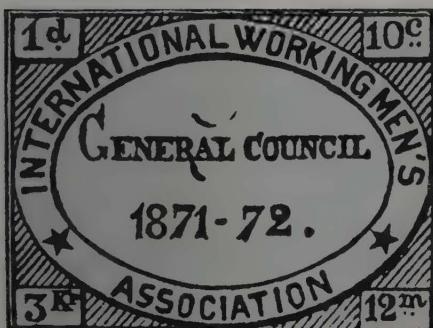
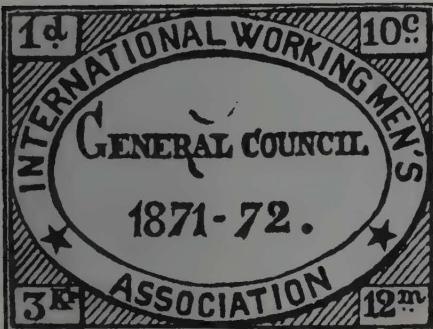
FORM OF APPLICATION
FOR SOCIETIES WISHING TO JOIN THE
International Working Men's Association.

We, the Members of the _____
assembled
at the _____
declare our entire concurrence with the principles and aims of the International Working Men's Association, and pledge ourselves to disseminate and reduce them to practice; and as an earnest of our sincerity we hereby apply to the Central Council to be admitted into the fraternal bond as an affiliated Branch of the Association.

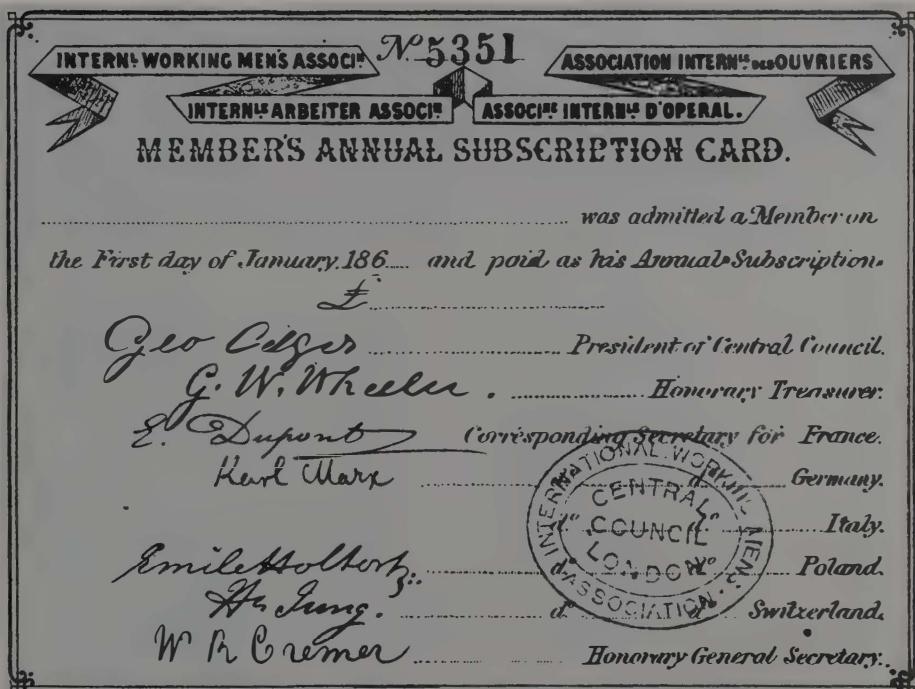
Signed on behalf of the Members, _____ in number.

Secretary.

President.
_____ 186



21. Stamps in payment of IWA membership dues



22. Member's Annual Subscription Card No. 5351 signed by Karl Marx and other members of the General Council

177 American at 2d Court 1871
ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS

Section des Gobelins

CARNET DÉLIVRÉ

CARNET DÉLIVRÉ
au citoyen Lindner
employé de Commerce
rue Maubouy 71

Le Secrétaire correspondant.

E. F. Bestelle



ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE
DES TRAVAILLEURS.

STATUTS ET RÈGLEMENTS.

1856

(Prix vingt centimes.)

IMPRIMERIE CO-OPÉRATIVE INTERNATIONALE,
30, TAVISTOCK STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
LONDRES.

Allgemeine Statuten

Verwaltungs-Verordnungen

14

Internationalen Arbeitersoziation.

ПЕРВЫЙ МАНИФЕСТЪ

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ТОВАРИЩЕСТВА РАБОЧИХЪ

(1864 года)

Amtliche deutsche Ausgabe,

ИЗДАНИЕ
ПЕРВОЙ РУССКОЙ СЕКЦИИ
МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ТОВАРИЩЕСТВА
ЗАВОДИКЕ

Leipzig.
Verlag der Expedition des „Volksstaat“

Trust me. I'm a girl.

ЖИНЕВА
Типографія Національного Дому
Paquis Rue du Nord, 13



23. Card of membership in the IWA section of tapestry makers (Paris)

24. The document certifying that the London Operative Bricklayers' Society had been admitted to the International

25. Karl Marx, The Inaugural Address and the Rules of the International Working Men's Association published in different countries

26. Meeting in a workers' quarter

Results of Central Bank on Study, (20th June 1944).

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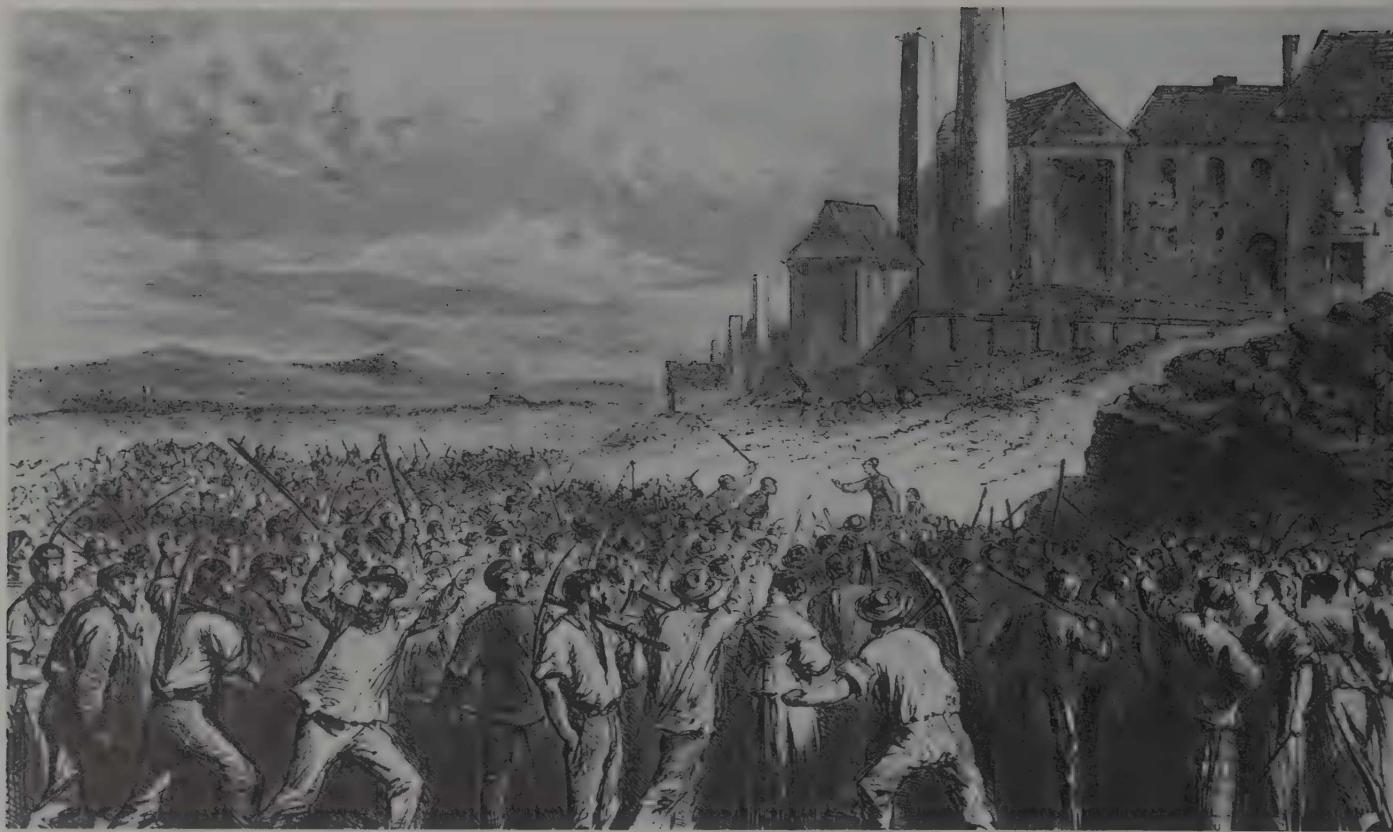
After many hours of flight we have to make a few short stops.
We stop over at a ranch and stay for dinner. The ranch is located along a river, and I am going to be able to obtain
something right here. After dinner we take a walk around, looking for anything interesting, and we find a lot of
interesting specimens to bring back.

Another economic crisis erupted in European countries in 1866. Unemployment, the high cost of living owing to a crop failure, and the famine that resulted from it, built up tensions. A powerful wave of strikes rolled across the continent.

With Marx at its head, the General Council conducted campaigns of solidarity with strikers in Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, and other countries.

—
جَنَاحُ الْمُلْكِ مُهَاجِرٌ لِلْأَجْنَافِ





32

THE BELGIAN MASSACRES.

To the Workmen of Europe and the United States.

THERE passes hardly a week in England without strikes—and strikes upon a grand scale. If, on such occasions, the Government was to let its soldiers loose upon the Working Class, this land of strikes would become a land of massacres, but not for many a week. After a few such physical force experiments, the powers that be would be nowhere. In the United States, too, the numbers and scale of strikes have continued to increase during the last few years, and even sometimes assumed a riotous character. But no blood was spilt. In some of the great military states of continental Europe, the era of strikes may be dated from the end of the American civil war. But here, again, no blood was spilt. There exists but one country in the civilised world where every strike is eagerly and joyously turned into a pretext for the official massacres of the Working Class. That country of single blessedness is *Belgium*! the model state of continental constitutionalism, the snug, well-hedged, little paradise of the landlord, the capitalist, and the priest. The earth performs not more surely its yearly revolution than the Belgian Government its yearly Working Men's massacre. The massacre of this year does not differ from last year's massacre, but by the ghastlier number of its victims, the more hideous ferocity of an otherwise ridiculous army, the noisier jubilation of the clerical and capitalist press, and the intensified frivolity of the pretenses put forward by the Governmental butchers.

It is now proved, even by the involuntary evidence of the capitalist press, that the quite legitimate strike of the paddlers in the Cockerill Ironworks, at Seraing, was only converted into a riot by a strong posse of cavalry and gendarmes suddenly launched upon that place in order to provoke the people. From the 9th to the 12th of April these stout warriors not only recklessly charged with sabre and bayonet the unarmed workmen, they indiscriminately killed and wounded harmless passers by, forcibly broke into private houses, and even amused themselves with repeated furious onslaughts on the travellers pent up in the Seraing Railway Station. When these days of horror had passed away, it became bruited about that Mr. Kamp, the mayor of Seraing, was an agent of the Cockerill Joint Stock Company, that the Belgian Home Minister, a certain Mr. Pirmec, was the largest shareholder in a neighbouring colliery also on strike, and that His Royal Highness the Prince of Flanders, had invested 1,500,000 francs in the Cockerill concern. Hence people jump to the truly strange conclusion that the Seraing massacre was a sort of joint stock company *coup d'état*, quietly plotted between the firm Cockerill and the Belgian Home Minister, for the simple purpose of striking terror unto their disaffected subjects. This calumny, however, was soon after victoriously refuted by the later events occurring in Le Borinage, a colliery district where the Belgian Home Minister, the said Mr. Pirmec, seems not to be a leading capitalist. An almost general strike having broken out amongst the miners of that district, numerous troops were concentrated, who

32. Rioting Belgian miners at Charleroi in 1868

"IN BELGIUM THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION HAS MADE IMMENSE STRIDES. THE COAL LORDS OF THE BASIN OF CHARLEROI, HAVING DRIVEN THEIR MINERS TO RIOTS BY INCESSANT EXACTIONS, LET LOOSE UPON THOSE UNARMED MEN THE ARMED FORCE WHICH MAS-SACRED MANY OF THEM. IT WAS IN [THE] MIDST OF THE PANIC THUS CREATED THAT OUR BELGIAN BRANCH TOOK UP THE CAUSE OF THE MINERS, DISCLOSED THEIR MISERABLE ECONOMICAL CONDITION, RUSHED TO THE RESCUE OF THE FAMILIES OF THE DEAD AND WOUNDED, AND PROCURED LEGAL COUNSEL FOR THE PRISONERS."

KARL MARX



33. Karl Marx, "The Belgian Massacres"

A leaflet Marx wrote on instructions of the International's General Council on May 4, 1869

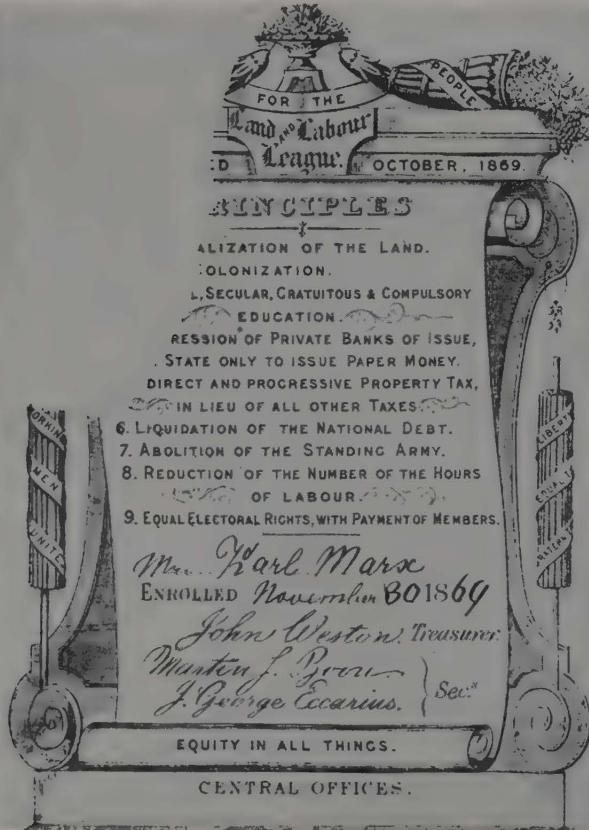
The leaflet tells of the bloody massacre that the Belgian authorities visited upon striking metal workers and miners in Seraing and Borinage.

34. Strikers assaulted by police in Britain



35

35. A meeting of English workers in Hyde Park, London, demanding universal suffrage, 1866



36

36. Membership card of the Land and Labour League issued to Karl Marx

The Land and Labour League founded in London in 1869 with the assistance of the IWA General Council and Karl Marx, had general democratic demands in its programme, namely: nationalisation of land, reduction of the working-day, and so on. Marx held that the League would facilitate the propagation of revolutionary ideas and that it would help organise the British working class.

37. Strike at a sugar refinery in Paris

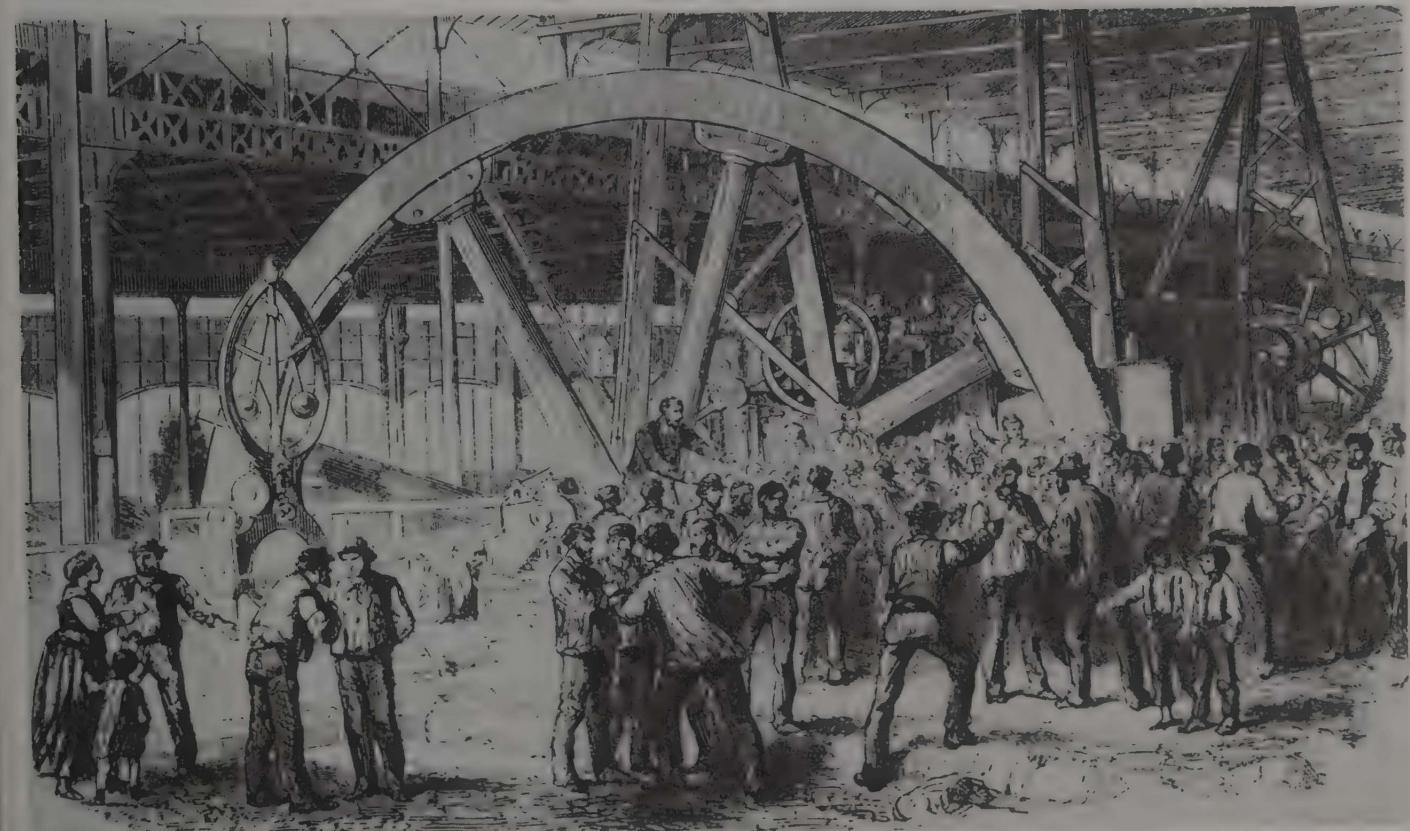
"THE GROWING POWER OF THE INTERNATIONAL ... MANIFESTED ITSELF IN THE STRIKES OF ROUBAIX, AMIENS, PARIS, GENEVA, AND SO ON."

KARL MARX

38. A strikers' meeting in Paris, 1869



37



38



39. Strike at a cigar factory in Berlin in the 1860s

40. Iron and steel works in Freiburg, a centre of the German working-class movement

41. Karl Marx, "To the Striking Miners of the Ruhr Valley"

Der Volksstaat, July 27, 1872

Written on the instructions of the General Council of the International

42. Karl Marx, A Warning. An Appeal to the German Workers

A page of the manuscript

It was written on the instructions of the International's General Council on May 4, 1866, to warn German and Danish workers that they were being recruited by British industrialists for use as strikebreakers.

"IT IS A POINT OF HONOUR WITH THE GERMAN WORKERS TO PROVE TO OTHER COUNTRIES THAT THEY, LIKE THEIR BROTH-





44. *A view of Geneva in the 1860s*

Marx did a tremendous amount of work in preparation of the International's congresses and conferences. He worked out their agendas, drafted resolutions, and planned the activity of General Council congress delegations.

During the International's period of activity in Europe (1864-72) it held two conferences, both in London, and five congresses. Marx took a direct part in the London Conferences (1865 and 1871), and the Hague Congress (1872).



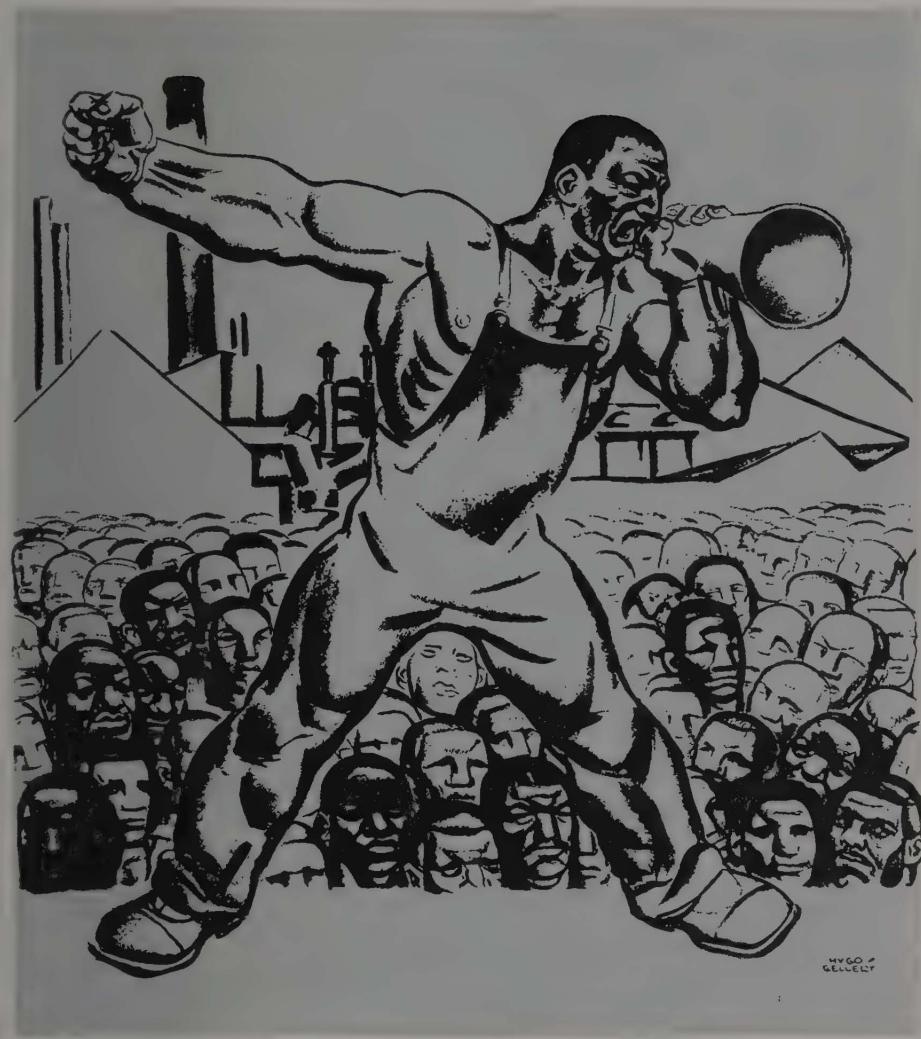
45

The International's First Congress was held in Geneva from September 3 to 8, 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates from IWA sections in Britain, France, Germany, and Switzerland. Marx was highly active in organising the congress.

45. Delegates to the Geneva Congress of the First International

"IT IS ONE OF THE GREAT PURPOSES OF THE ASSOCIATION TO MAKE THE WORKMEN OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES NOT ONLY FEEL BUT ACT AS BRETHREN AND COMRADES IN THE ARMY OF EMANCIPATION."

KARL MARX



48. An illustration for the first volume of Marx's Capital by US artist Hugo Gellert

49. The International's Brussels Congress resolution in which workers of all countries are advised to study Marx's Capital

Supplement to Le Peuple Belge,
Brussels, 1868

APPENDICE.

Néances administratives.

Les séances de la matinée, de 9 à 1 heure, ont été consacrées au règlement des comptes du Conseil général de Londres et des diverses sections, aux modifications à apporter aux statuts, aux élections, à la fixation du siège du Conseil général et du prochain Congrès, au vote sur les résolutions présentées dans les séances publiques, etc., en un mot à toutes les propositions relatives aux affaires et à l'administration de l'Association internationale.

Voici cependant quelques résolutions prises dans ces séances et destinées à être publiées :

Dans la séance de mercredi matin, le délégué de la branche française de Londres a donné lecture d'un long mémoire émanant de nos commettants. Outre plusieurs propositions de l'ordre administratif, ce mémoire donne une longue série de questions économiques à étudier et à discuter par l'internationale. L'Association prendra ces questions en considération pour composer les ordres du jour des Congrès des années suivantes.

Dans la séance de vendredi, les délégués allemands recommandent à tous les travailleurs la lecture et la traduction du grand ouvrage de Karl Marx : « Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie. » C'est le plus bon plaidoyer scientifique en faveur de l'affranchissement des prolétaires, que l'école socialiste allemande ait produit jusqu'à ce jour.

Voici cette résolution : « Nous allemands délégués au Congrès international des ouvriers, recommandons aux hommes de toutes les nationalités l'ouvrage de Marx : « Le Capital » et les engageons à faire leur possible pour que cet ouvrage important soit traduit dans les langues dans lesquelles il ne l'est pas encore, et déclurons que Karl Marx à l'inénarrable mérite d'être le premier économiste qui a scientifiquement analysé le capital et qui l'a réduit à ses éléments primordiaux. »

Une résolution semblable a été passée sur Congrès des ouvriers allemands, tenus à Hambourg et à Nuremberg ; — un des membres les plus actifs du Congrès de Nuremberg, Laskerowit, membre de la dictée de l'Allemagne du Nord, Laskerowit, rédacteur en chef du « Démocrate-allemand », un des principaux organes de la classe ouvrière, a dénoncé publiquement et directement les économistes bourgeois de vouloir faire la conspiration du silence autour de cet ouvrage, qu'il leur est impossible de réfuter.

Il a été voté également dans la séance de vendredi :

1^e Que la décision prise par les Congrès de Genève et de Lausanne, concernant les cotisations à payer au Conseil général, soit mise en exécution ;

2^e Que pour pouvoir participer et avoir le droit de prendre part aux conclusions des Congrès à venir par l'intermédiaire de leurs délégués respectifs, les sections doivent se conformer à la résolution des Congrès de Genève et de Lausanne ;

3^e Que tous les Comités centraux des différents groupes de sections soient tenus d'envoyer chaque trimestre au Conseil général, un rapport touchant l'Administration et l'état financier des sections situées dans leur ressort.

Dans la séance de samedi matin, le Congrès a décidé, à l'unanimité des membres présents, de protester contre certaines invasions malveillantes, contenues dans un article du journal la *Cigale*, à l'adresse de la délégation parisienne et des délégués qui, au Congrès, avaient traité la question de la guerre exclusivement au point de vue de l'économie sociale.

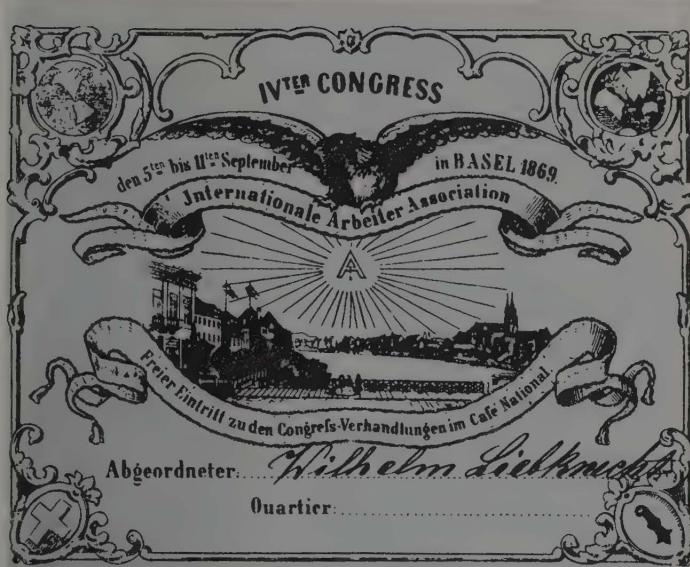
Quant aux séances de l'après-midi, de 3 à 6 heures, elles ont été annes au local du *Cygne* et consacrées aux réunions des diverses commissions d'étude nommées pour élaborer des rapports et rédiger des résolutions sur les neuf questions à l'ordre du jour.



50



51

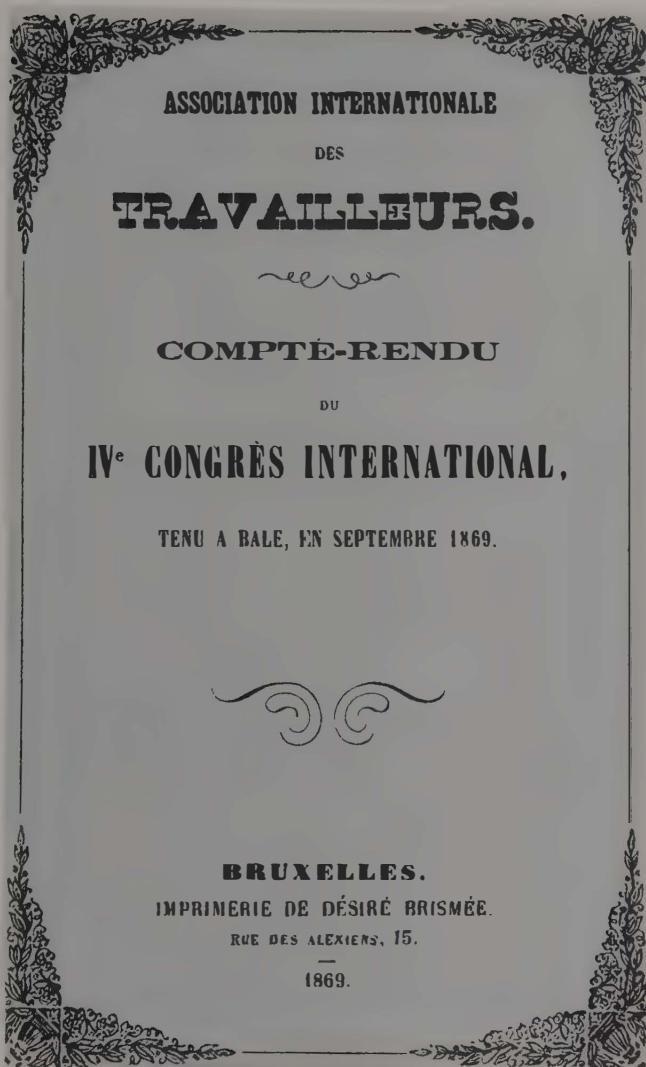


50. A view of Basle in the 1860s

The Fourth Congress of the International was held in Basle from September 6 to 11, 1869. It was attended by 78 delegates from IWA sections in Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and the United States.

The General Council's report to the congress compiled by Marx was wholeheartedly approved by the delegates. Like the Brussels Congress, the forum in Basle called for the abolition of private landownership, thus reaffirming the socialist platform of the IWA.

51. Delegates to the International's Basle Congress



52. A pass to Basle Congress sittings issued to Wilhelm Liebknecht

53. Proceedings of the Basle Congress, Brussels, 1869
The title page

Bakunin and his followers, who urged abstention from political struggle, suffered ignominious defeat. "Bakunin displayed his antipathy for political action. However, Liebknecht, Rittinghausen and others gave him a good drubbing; even after the meeting he roared like a wild lion. Most of the French came out against him," Lessner wrote to Marx.

54. The standard of the International's Basle section

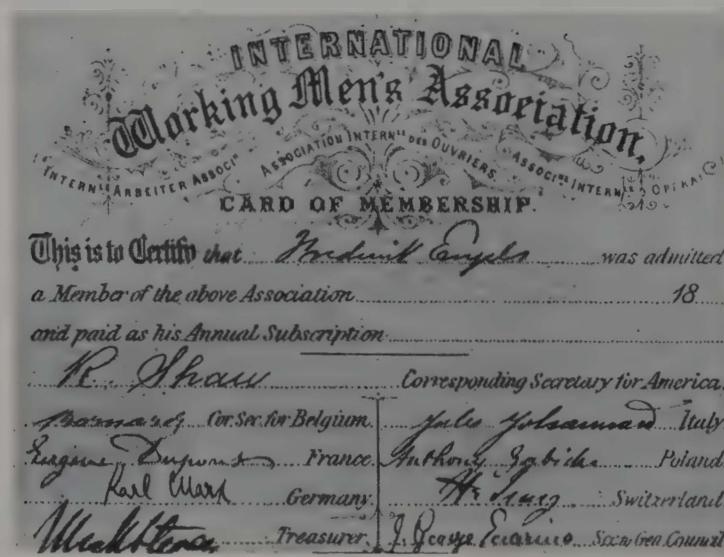




55. Frederick Engels, Hamburg, 1862

Though Engels was an active member of the International Working Men's Association, he was not on its General Council until he moved from Manchester to London in 1870. Marx kept him informed of the General Council's activity by mail and took counsel with him on crucial issues related to the International. During his years in Manchester, Engels wrote dozens of articles on the strategy and tactics of the labour movement.

56. The International's card of membership issued to Frederick Engels





58

57. *Frederick Engels, The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party, Hamburg, 1865*
The title page of the first edition

Here Engels takes the Lassalleans to task for their conciliatory line. He says the main objective of the German proletariat should be forming a truly independent workers' party.

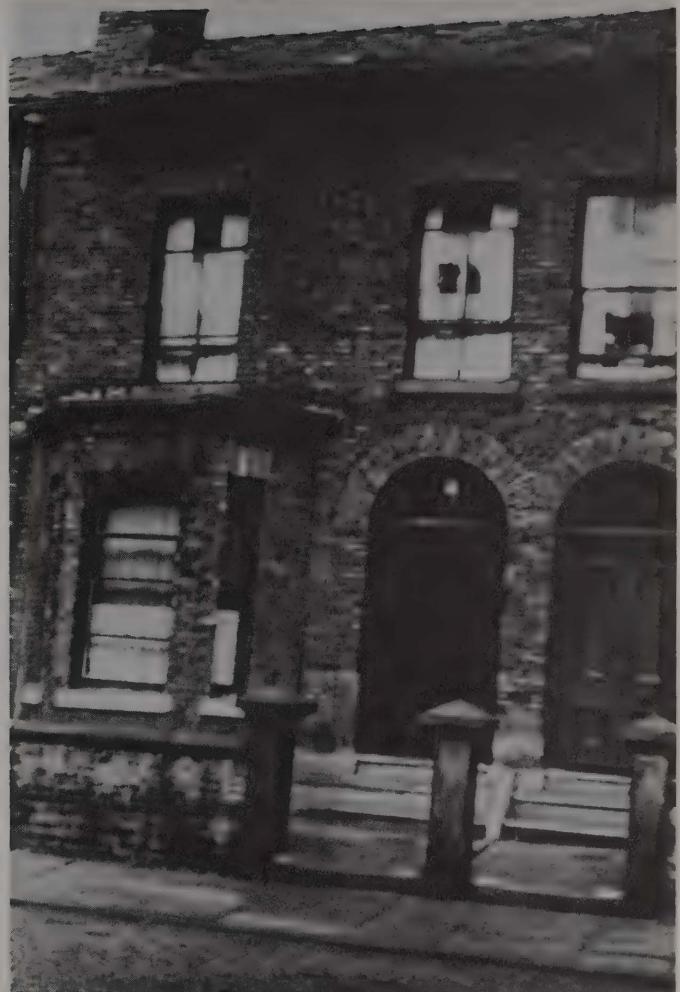
"THE WORKERS' PARTY WILL NOT PLAY THE PART OF A MERE APPENDAGE TO THE BOURGEOISIE BUT OF AN INDEPENDENT PARTY QUITE DISTINCT FROM IT. IT WILL REMIND THE BOURGEOISIE AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY THAT THE CLASS INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS ARE DIRECTLY OPPOSED TO THOSE OF THE CAPITALISTS AND THAT THE WORKERS ARE AWARE OF

THIS. IT WILL RETAIN CONTROL OF AND FURTHER DEVELOP ITS OWN ORGANISATION AS DISTINCT FROM THE PARTY ORGANISATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE, AND WILL ONLY NEGOTIATE WITH THE LATTER AS ONE POWER WITH ANOTHER. IN THIS WAY IT WILL SECURE FOR ITSELF A POSITION COMMANDING RESPECT, EDUCATE THE INDIVIDUAL WORKERS ABOUT THEIR CLASS INTERESTS AND WHEN THE NEXT REVOLUTIONARY STORM COMES ... IT WILL BE READY TO ACT."

FREDERICK ENGELS

58. *Lizzie Burns, Frederick Engels's wife, in the 1870s*

59. *The house in Manchester where Frederick Engels lived*



59



60

In the 1860s Marx and Engels again devoted themselves mostly to the workers' movement in Germany. They thought it most important and urgent to disprove Lassalleism and to see to the revival of revolutionary traditions among the German workers.

Marx was corresponding secretary for Germany in the International's General Council and had close contacts with Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, those two outstanding German labour leaders, and the foremost German workers.

60. Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900)

61. August Bebel (1840-1913)



61

The election of Bebel and Liebknecht, those two leaders of the social-democratic movement in Germany, to the North-German Reichstag in 1867, was a big success for labour.

62. A meeting of the Union of German Workers' Educational Associations, 1868

In July 1868, the Union formally recognised the principles set forth in the programme documents of the International worked out by Karl Marx.



62

63. A view of Eisenach in the 1860s

64. The house in Eisenach where the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany was founded at the congress held August 7 to 9, 1869

For the first time an essentially Marxist programme was adopted as a guide to action by a mass workers' party.

Marx and Engels called the Eisenach party "our party", and helped its leaders energetically in every way they could.

Januar.

Erster Jahrgang.

Nº 1.

Der Vorbote.

Organ

der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association.

Monatsschrift

redigirt von Joh. Ph. Becker.

Der Preis à 6 Monate für Genf mit Postlohn 80 Cent., für die übrige Schweiz 90 Cent., für Deutschland 36 Kreuz. oder 10 Sgr., für Frankreich und Italien Fr. 1 20, für England 1 1/2 Sch. Der Preis für 12 Monate ist der doppelte und für einzelne Nummern 10 Cent.

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Was wir wollen und sollen.

Gestützt auf das Recht der Selbstbestimmung, wollen wir für alle Völker in Beseitigung jedweden Restes mittelalterlicher Einrichtungen und moderner Klassenherrschaft, die Herstellung des einen freien Volksstaates anstreben.

Wir werden nie eine andere Sonveränität und Majestät als die Volkssonveränität und Volksmajestät anerkennen.

Als unumgängliches Mittel zum Zwecke wollen wir die Solidarität (Gesamtverbindlichkeit) aller Völker verwirklichen helfen.

Wir werden nur solchen Nationalitätsbestrebungen Vorschub leisten, welche auf ganze Freiheit, Selbstständigkeit und Gleichberechtigung Aller hinzielen um jedes Volk in Ebenbürtigkeit, als organisches Glied der großen Kette des Menschenthums dem freien Bunde allgemeiner Eidgenossenschaft einverleiben zu können.

Wie wir nach Außen die Racenabneigungen und den Kriegsgeist,



67

66. Der Vorbote, No. 1, 1870

Published as an organ of the International in Switzerland. Its editor was Johann Philipp Becker

67. Johann Philipp Becker (1809-1886), friend and associate of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, organised German sections of the International in Switzerland

68. Karl Marx, "Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections"

A page of the manuscript pasted into the General Council's Minute Book

In a bid to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas in France, the government of Napoleon III started court proceedings against the local sections of the International on the ludicrous charge of conspiracy. Marx tore the charges to bits in his articles and public utterances.

"THE VERY NATURE OF AN ASSOCIATION WHICH IDENTIFIES ITSELF WITH THE WORKING CLASSES, WOULD EXCLUDE FROM IT EVERY FORM OF SECRET SOCIETY. IF THE WORKING CLASSES, WHO FORM THE GREAT BULK OF ALL NATIONS, WHO PRODUCE ALL THEIR WEALTH, AND IN THE NAME OF WHOM EVEN THE USURPING POWERS ALWAYS PRETEND TO RULE, CONSPIRE, THEY CONSPIRE PUBLICLY, AS THE SUN CONSPIRES AGAINST DARKNESS, IN THE FULL CONSCIOUSNESS THAT WITHOUT THEIR PALE THERE EXISTS NO LEGITIMATE POWER."

KARL MARX

69. The trial of members of the Paris section of the International



"(The government-Papier had endeavoured to spread it abroad, but
the Revolution was complicated on a pretended plot against the emperor
to execute their resolutions, he proposed the following:

In the opinion of the last proletarian Congress, the French government
has, and can, practice many virtues, open hand, and liberal actions, but nothing
is more like the empire that the bourgeoisie. What you demand is an
example of that pretended conduct. Marxism is the basis of our Statecraft
in excluding the special interests of all classes in order to the benefit of all
the working classes. Look what you are doing in organization of the
working class, look what you are doing in the equal countries all you have done,
nothing. The accomplishment of our demands will be the conventional
solution of the working class. As we have those standards, and all the
restrictions of association based on Marxism, right, fitting, good, healthy,
we are bound in that point, the only virtue of the bourgeoisie is to
divide itself with the working class, and nothing good can come
of moral society if the working classes, who form the great bulk of all
workers, who produce all these wealths, and in the organization
are the money power among public funds, money, they compete
publicly, as no competitor respects hardness, in the full consciousness
that without their rule there exists no legitimate power.
By the other side of the people demand by the French government
as a right and obligation of the revolution, expand the centralized
Working-class Association, that must now be done, in my...
by the members of parliament, ready to carry on what
measures agreed on their action, we carried on in our meeting
on July papers - The organization of the proletariat.

Let Stoebe seconded the proposal which was adopted unanimously



70

70. A view of New York in the 1870s

71. A street in New York

72. Friedrich Adolph Sorge (1828-1906),
friend and associate of Karl Marx,
organised sections of the International
in the USA73. Membership card of the North
American section of the International

71



72

RECEIPT.Stamp,
a. c.Stamp,
a. c.

Month | 1873 | 1874

January	..	..
February	..	..
March	..	..
April	..	..
May	..	..
June	..	..
July	..	..
August	..	..
September	..	..
October	..	..
November	..	..
December	..	..

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.**Address to the National Labour Union of the United States.****FELLOW-WORKMEN,**

In the initiatory programme of our Association we stated:—"It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England, that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic." Your turn has now come to stop a war, the clearest result of which would be, for an indefinite period, to hurl back the ascendant movement of the working class on both sides of the Atlantic.

We need hardly tell you that there exist European powers anxiously bent upon hurrying the United States into a war with England. A glance at commercial statistics will show that the Russian export of raw produce, and Russia has nothing else to export, was rapidly giving way before American competition, when the civil war suddenly turned the scales. To convert the American ploughshares into swords would just now rescue from impending bankruptcy that despotic power which your republican statesmen have, in their wisdom, chosen for their confidential adviser. But quite apart from the particular interests of this or that government, is it not the general interest of our common oppressors to turn our fast-growing international co-operation into an internecine war?

In a congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln on his re-election as president, we expressed our conviction that the American civil war would prove of as great import to the advancement of the working class as the American war of independence had proved to that of the middle class. And, in point of fact, the victorious termination of the anti-slavery war has opened a new epoch in the annals of the working class. In the States themselves, an independent working class movement, looked upon with an evil eye by your old parties and their professional politicians, has since that date sprung into life. To fructify it wants years of peace. To crush it, a war between the United States and England is wanted.

The next palpable effect of the civil war was, of course, to deteriorate the position of the American workman. In the United States, as in Europe, the monster incubus of a national debt was shifted from hand to hand, to settle down on the shoulders of the working class. The prices of necessaries, says one of your statesmen, have since 1860 risen 78 per cent., while the wages of unskilled labour rose 50 per cent., those of skilled labour 60 per cent. only. "Pauperism," he complains, "grows now in America faster than population." Moreover, the sufferings of the working classes set off as a foil the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats, and similar vermin bred by wars. Yet for all this the civil war did compensate by freeing the slave, and the consequent moral impetus it gave to your own class movement. A second war, not hallowed by a sublime purpose and a great social necessity, but of the old world's type, would forge chains for the free labourer instead of tearing asunder those of the slave. The accumulated misery left in its track would afford your capitalists at once the motive and the means to divorce the working class from its bold and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army.

On you, then, depends the glorious task to prove to the world that now at last the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war.

In the name of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, British nationality: R. Applegarth, carpenter; M. J. Boon, engineer; J. Backley, painter; J. Hales, elastic webb weaver; Harriet Law, B. Lucraft, chairmaker; J. Milner, tailor; G. Odger, shoemaker, J. Ross, bootcloser; B. Shaw, painter; Cowell Stepney; J. Warren, trunkmaker; J. Weston, hand-railmaker. French nationality: E. Dupont, instrument maker; Jules Johannard, lithographer; Paul Lafarque. German nationality: G. Eccarius, tailor; F. Lessner, tailor; W. Limbury, shoemaker; Marx Karl. Swiss nationality: H. Jung, watchmaker; A. Muller, watchmaker. Belgian nationality: P. Bernard, painter. Danish nationality: J. Cohn, cigar maker. Polish nationality: Zabicki, compositor.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman.**COWELL STEPNEY, Treasurer.****J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary.**

London, May 12th, 1869.



Members of the Russian section of the First International

76. Nikolai Isaakovich Utin (1841-1883)

77. Victor Ivanovich Bartenev (1838-1918)

78. Elizaveta Lukinichna Dmitrieva-Tomanovskaya (1851-after 1917)

79. Anna Vasilievna Korvin-Krukovskaya (1843-1887)

78
79

80. The Russian section's letter to Marx of March 12, 1870, asking him to represent it in the General Council

"THE RUSSIAN DEMOCRATIC YOUTH HAS NOW WON THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS ITS DEEP GRATITUDE TO YOU THROUGH ITS EXILED BROTHERS FOR THE HELP YOU HAVE GIVEN OUR CAUSE WITH YOUR THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PROPAGANDA..."

81. Marx's letter to members of the Committee of the International's Russian section in Geneva, of March 24, 1870. It was published in Narodnoye Delo on April 15, 1870

A fragment

Genève. Monthillant. 8. -
Citoyen Marx. le 12 Mars 1870.
A. Trouessoff. "Citoyen" Comité du Peuple.
Cher et vénérable Citoyen. Monthillant.
C'est au nom d'un groupe des réfugiés que
nous nous adressons à vous pour vous
prier de nous faire l'honneur de nous présenter
au Conseil général de l'Association Interna-
tionale à Londres. Ce groupe russe vient de
se constituer en une section de l'International.
La grande idée de ce mouvement international
prolétariat présente aussi en Russie; notre
but à nous, en constituant cette première
section russe, est (comme vous le verrez
dans les Statuts ci-joint) d'aider énergique-
ment autant qu'il est en notre pouvoir,
à la propagande active des principes interna-
tionaux parmi les travailleurs russes, et
de les groupes solidement au nom de ces mêmes

ГЛАВНЫЙ СОВЕТЪ МЕЖДУНАРОДНАГО ТОВАРИЩЕСТВА РАБОЧИХЪ

ЧЛЕНЫ КОМИТЕТА РУССКОЙ СЕКЦИИ ВЪ ЖЕНЕВѢ.

Граждане,

Въ своемъ засѣданіи 22-го Марта Главный Советъ объявилъ, единодушнѣ вѣтъ, что ваша программа и статутъ согласны съ общими статутами Международнаго Товарищества Рабочихъ. Онъ поспѣшилъ принять вашу вѣтвь въ составъ Интернационала. И съ удовольствіемъ принималъ почетную обязанность, которую Вы миѣ предлагаете, быть вашимъ представителемъ при Главномъ Совѣтѣ.

81

LA EMANCIPACION.

PERIODICO SOCIALISTA.

SE PUBLICA TODOS LOS SABADOS.

LA TRIBUNE DU PEUPLE

ABONNEMENT :
POUR TOUTE LA BELGIQUE
EN AN. FR. 8.00
SIX MOIS 2.75

JOURNAL DE LA SOCIÉTÉ : LE PEUPLE,

ON SABADO
CHEZ L'IMPRIMEUR
RUE DES ALESIENS 13.
A BRUXELLES

Organe de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs.

BEE-HIVE NEWSPAPER.

A JOURNAL OF GENERAL INTELLIGENCE, ADVOCATING INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS

L'INTERNATIONALE

ORGANE DES SECTIONS BELGES

DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS.

The International



HERALD.

Der Vorbote.

Organ

der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association.

82. The press media of the International

"OUR ASSOCIATION HAS MADE GREAT PROGRESS. IT ALREADY HAS 3 OFFICIAL ORGANS, ONE IN LONDON, *THE WORKMAN'S ADVOCATE*, ONE IN BRUSSELS, *LA TRIBUNE DU PEUPLE*, ONE PUT OUT BY THE FRENCH SECTION IN SWITZERLAND, *JOURNAL DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS*, SECTION DE LA SUISSE ROMANDE (GENEVA), AND IN A FEW DAYS TIME A JOURNAL IS TO BE PUT OUT BY THE GERMAN-SWISS SECTION, *DER VORBOTE*, UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF J. P. BECKER."

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

Marx and the International's General Council never failed to back democratic and liberation movements.

The Irish national liberation movement was in a period of drive and animation in 1867 when, examining the developments on the island, Marx concluded that the workers' struggle in the metropolitan country, England, should align itself with the Irish national liberation movement.



83

83. Karl Marx and his eldest daughter Jenny, 1869

In commemoration of the Polish uprising of 1863, Jenny wore a Polish insurgents' cross. After the execution of the Irish Fenians in 1867, she wore it on an emerald ribbon, emerald being the colour symbolising Ireland's struggle for liberation.

84. La Marseillaise of March 19, 1870, printed Jenny Marx's article on the Irish problem. She wrote the article jointly with her father



Londres, le 16 mars 1870.

La lettre de O'Donovan Rossa, que je vous avais communiquée dans ma dernière correspondance, a été l'événement de la semaine passée.

Le Times a reproduit la lettre sans commentaire, le Daily News a publié

un commentaire sans la lire. « Comme on s'y devait attendre, » dit-il, M. O'Donovan Rossa prend pour son thème les règles de prison auxquelles il est assujetti pour quelque temps (for a while). « Que c'est airoce, ce à pour quelque vîmes, » en parlant d'un homme déjà emprisonné depuis cinq ans et con-

84

The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Workingmen's Association.

At a special meeting of the General Council of the I. W. A. held at the office 16 Castle Street first fl. on Wednesday evening the following memorial was adopted:

"Memorial of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association.

"To the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy hereto-
by Secretary of State.

"The memorial of the undersigned, representing Workingmen's Associations in all parts of Europe where - That the execution of the Irish prisoners condemned to death at Manchester will greatly impair the moral influence of England upon the European continent. The execution of the four prisoners resting upon the same evidence and the same verdict which by the friends of Maguire have been officially declared, the one false, the other erroneous, will bear the stamp not of a judicial act but of political wrong. Even if the verdict of the Manchester jury in the evidence it rests upon had not been tainted by the British Government itself, the latter would now have to choose between the blood handed practices of old Europe and the magnanimous humanity of the young Transatlantic Republic.

The execution of the sentence for which no prey will be or not only of justice, but of political wisdom.

By order of the General C. of the I. W. Association.

John Weston Chairman

A. Shaw, Secretary for America

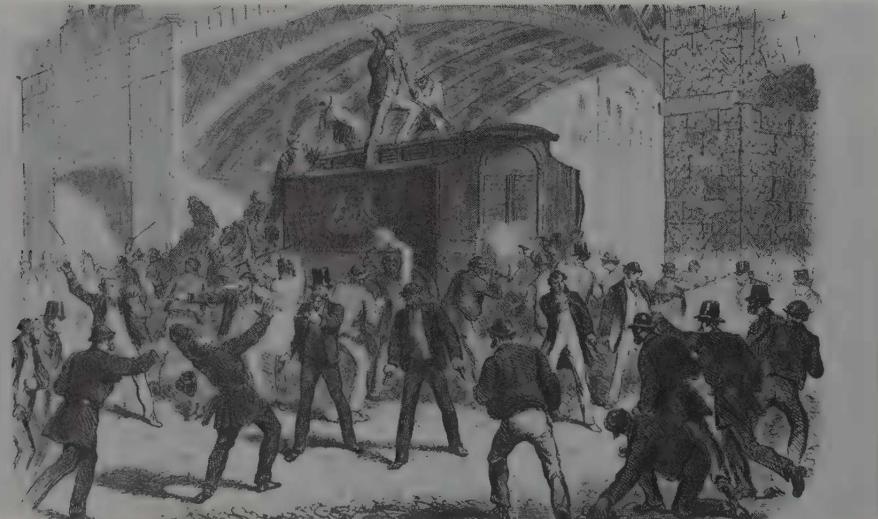
Eugene Dwyer " " France.

85. Karl Marx, The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Workingmen's Association

A page of the manuscript
Transcribed by Marx's wife Jenny

The memorial was written on the instructions of the General Council in November 1867. It exposes the British government's brutality in suppressing the liberation movement of the Irish.

86. An attempt to free the imprisoned Fenians in Manchester, 1867.





87. British troops suppress Irish Fenians, 1871

"ON THE IRISH QUESTION, TOO, MARX AND ENGELS PURSUED A CONSISTENTLY PROLETARIAN POLICY, WHICH REALLY EDUCATED THE MASSES IN A SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM. ...THE POLICY OF MARX AND ENGELS ON THE IRISH QUESTION SERVES AS A SPLENDID EXAMPLE OF THE ATTITUDE THE PROLETARIAT OF THE OPPRESSOR NATIONS SHOULD ADOPT TOWARDS NATIONAL MOVEMENTS, AN EXAMPLE WHICH HAS LOST NONE OF ITS IMMENSE PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE."

V. I. LENIN

To Abraham Lincoln
President of the United States
of America

113
 We congratulate the American People upon your Re-election by a large majority.
 If resistance to this Slave power was the reserved Watchword of your first election, the triumphant Watchword of your first re-election, the triumphant Watchword of your second election will be Death to Slavery.
 From the commencement of the Atlantic American Slave, the Working men of Europe fell into the hands of the Slaveholders. Denmark earned the Detesting of their class. This Comittee for the freedom which opened the day epoch. Was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of European fields should be devoted to the labour of the Slave, or predestined by the stamp of the Slave Power?

When an Oligarchy of Slaveholders desired to interfere, for the first time in the annals of the World, Slavery in the Dominions of French, Portugal, whom other Slaveholders who had hitherto kept up the idea of one great democratic Slaveholding had great sprung up. When the first Declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first went to give to the European Revolutionaries of the 18th Century, thereon these very slave owners revolution, with assistance throughout Europe, in regarding "The Slave as the instrument of the formation of the old Slaveholding our movement." They set to a transatlantic war and the subjection of the slaves and the law of abolition of Slaveholding to Europe, and especially maintained property in man. The revolution of the 18th century; since the Working-class of Europe under their name, even from the fanatic participation of the Upper Classes to the religious quack has given its dismal warning that the Slaveholders will now, as before, force general battle-fields of奴役 against Labour, and that the Men of Labour, with their wives and families in their paternal way of life in their numerous fortresses on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, they have therefore naturally to hardship imposed upon them by the Colonists, oppose individually the Slaveholding Slaveholders, and those of their own race who contributed their quota allotted to the great cause.

While the Working men, the true political power of the World, allowed themselves to be led into War, while the Negro, master and sold without his consent, they contested the big-battle-ground of the whole Southern States. It will be seen that he has won. They were unable to attain the true freedom of Labour or to submit their European Patriotic in this struggle for Compensation, but this battle has been fought by the old side of Capital-War.

The fighting men of Europe feel, now that the American War is decided, that associated a power of resistance for the Middle Class, to the New race that Slaveholding puts up for the Slave's freedom. This consideration is an incentive to the ranks of the Comittee of Abraham Lincoln, the slaves made free in the Working-class, to lead their Country through the established strength for the rescue of an oppressed race and the like extension of a Socialist World.

Signed on behalf of the International Working Men's Association
 The Central Council

J. Lubet, Paris	J. Lame	G. Emanuelli	M. Hillebrand
J. Rybnicki, Pol	J. Lame	for France	J. Carter
Emile Walberg, D	J. Lame	for Germany	J. Mayor
J. Piquet,	J. Lame		Wilson Dall
Secretary correspond-	J. Lame		
ent of the International	J. Lame		
Working men	J. Lame		
John W. Wheeler	J. Lame		
J. De Saal	J. Lame		
P. M. Dye	J. Lame		
L. Marx	J. Lame		
Edouard	J. Lame		
Journalist	J. Lame		
Supervisor	J. Lame		
R. Gray	J. Lame		
J. C. Morris President of Comittee			
William A. Brown Honorary General Secretary			

88. Karl Marx, "To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America"

Written in November 1864 when Abraham Lincoln was re-elected President of the United States for a second term.

"WE CONGRATULATE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UPON YOUR RE-ELECTION BY A LARGE MAJORITY."

"IF RESISTANCE TO THE SLAVE POWER WAS THE RESERVED WATCHWORD OF YOUR FIRST ELECTION, THE TRIUMPHANT WARCRY OF YOUR RE-ELECTION IS, DEATH TO SLAVERY."

KARL MARX

89. Abraham Lincoln and the Northern army commanders at a field headquarters in 1865





90

90. Volunteers cheer Garibaldi in Florence, 1866

Commending the great Italian patriot Garibaldi for his part in the liberation of Italy, Marx exposed the Bakuninists' attempt to belittle his role.

91. The credentials issued to Giuseppe Boriani, a member of the Italian workers' movement of the 1870s. Drawn up by Frederick Engels, corresponding secretary of the General Council for Italy

"Citizen Giuseppe Boriani," the credentials said, "is accepted member of the International Working Men's Association and is authorised to admit new members and form new sections, on condition that he, and the members and sections newly admitted, recognise as obligatory the official documents of the Association..."

Frederick Engels



International Working Men's Association

C. H. November 1871

St. Galadano Giuseppe Boriani
recento Membro dell' Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori, è autorizzato
ad ammettere nuovi soci e
formare nuove sezioni nella
sua città e nell'intero territorio
dell' Italia e d' Europa.
Per questo riconosce i documenti
della Federazione Italiana
e della Federazione del Lavoro
della Francia.
Per questo riconosce il diritto
di legge per O Italia
Tomas Engels

92. *Frederick Engels, Manchester, 1860s*





93

*General Council of the International Workingmen's Association
Mandate.*

Frederick Engels, of No. 122 Regents Park Road,
London, is appointed provisionally representative of the
General Council of the International Workingmen's Association
for Italy. He is authorized and directed to act in
the name of the General Council according to the instructions
he will receive from time to time.

By order &c in the name of the General Council
New York, Jan 25th 1873.

The general secretary
F. A. Soergel

93. The house at 122 Regent's Park Road, London, where Engels lived from September 1870 to 1894

94. The mandate issued to Frederick Engels as corresponding secretary of the International's General Council for Italy

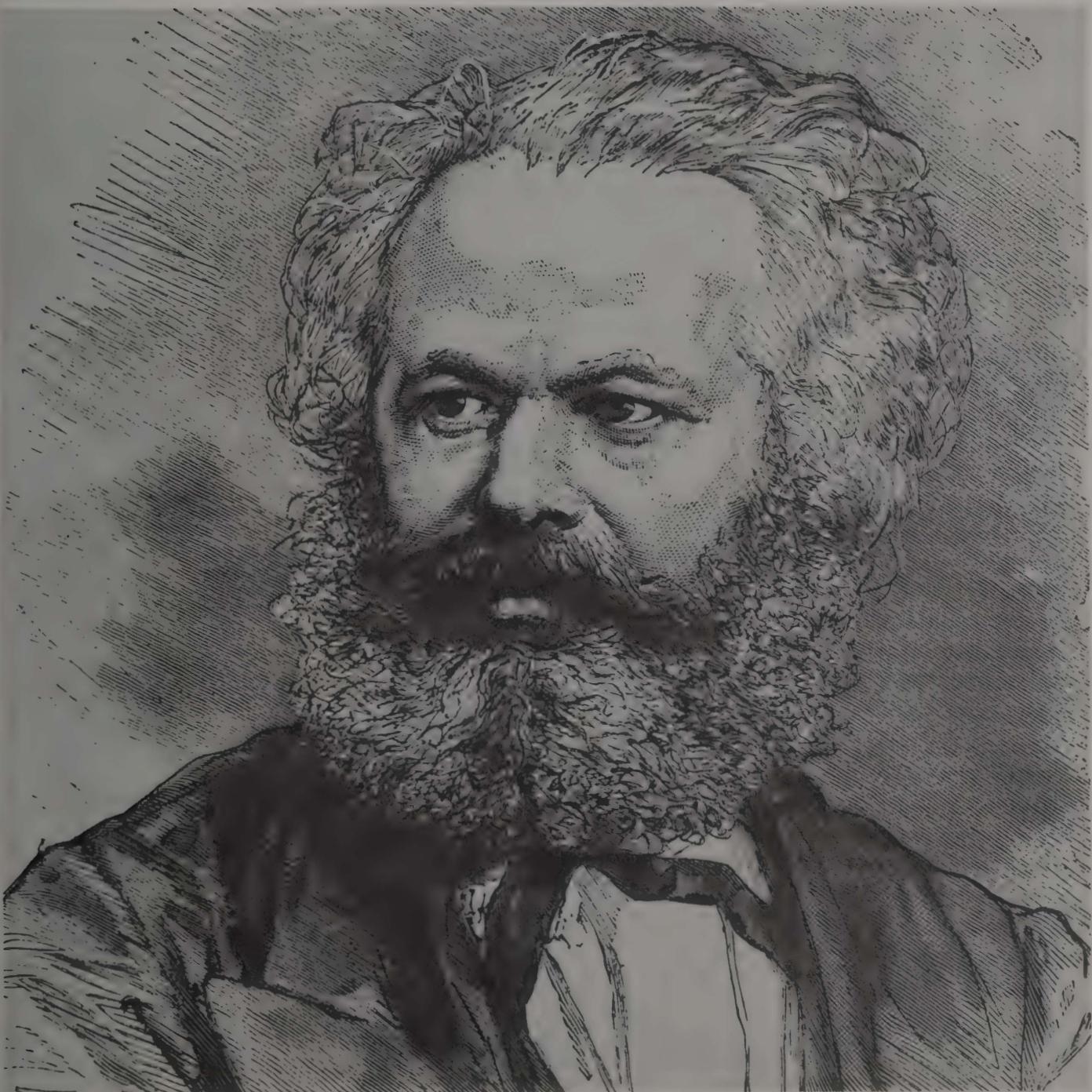
On moving to London on September 20, 1870, Engels joined in the work of the General Council, and was made corresponding secretary for Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark.

THE PARIS COMMUNE. 1871

Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society.

Karl Marx

I. Karl Marx



THE GENERAL COUNCIL

OF THE

International Workingmen's Association
ON THE WAR.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION

IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES.

In the inaugural Address of the INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, of November, 1864, we said:—"If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?" We defined the foreign policy aimed at by the International in these words:—"Vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the laws paramount of the intercourse of nations."

No wonder that Louis Bonaparte, who usurped his power by exploiting the war of classes in France, and perpetuated it by periodical wars abroad, should from the first have treated the International as a dangerous foe. On the eve of the plebiscite he ordered a raid on the members of the Administrative Committees of the International Workingmen's Association throughout France, at Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, Brest, &c., on the pretext that the International was a secret society dabbling in a complot for his

The Franco-Prussian War began on July 19, 1870. On the same day the General Council gathered to draw up an address to members of the International. It was essential to show the character of the war, to define the tactics of the working class, to call upon it to resist the policy of annexations, militarism, and chauvinism. The address was drawn up by Karl Marx on the instructions of the General Council.



2. "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War"

Written by Karl Marx on July 19-23, 1870

A fragment of the front page of the leaflet

Marx praised the anti-war actions of the foremost French and German workers, and the sections of the International. He wrote:

"THE VERY FACT THAT WHILE OFFICIAL FRANCE AND GERMANY ARE RUSHING INTO A FRATRICIDAL FEUD, THE WORKMEN OF FRANCE AND GERMANY SEND EACH OTHER MESSAGES OF PEACE AND GOODWILL; THIS GREAT FACT, UNPARALLELED IN THE HISTORY OF THE PAST, OPENS THE VISTA OF A BRIGHTER FUTURE. IT PROVES THAT IN CONTRAST TO OLD SOCIETY, WITH ITS ECONOMICAL MISERIES AND ITS POLITICAL DELIRIUM, A NEW SOCIETY IS SPRINGING UP, WHOSE INTERNATIONAL RULE WILL BE PEACE, BECAUSE ITS NATIONAL RULER WILL BE EVERYWHERE THE SAME—LABOUR!"



Protestation contre la guerre

Commune de Neuilly-sur-Seine

La guerre est-elle juste? — Non.

La guerre est-elle nationale? — Non.

Elle est dynastique.

Au nom de l'humanité, de la démocratie et des véritables intérêts de la France, nous adhérons complètement et énergiquement à la protestation de l'*Internationale* contre la guerre.

Guérin, tisseur, Quedy, Normandin, Messier, Brousse, Valet, Leimaire, Marchandise, Lafarge, Danez, Labbé Caron,

Bouzy, Girard, Bonjour, Bony, Boisse, Langlois, Laplace, Legrey, Marsalot, Michel, Decamp, Viton fils, Théveult, Frach, Blandin, Hennequin, Delair, Amand, Lefèvre, Trainé, Chrétien, Bouëts, Péröt, Froment, Prevost, Guille, fils, Decamps père, Guille père, Four, Obry, Deveille, Brumant, Rigault fils, Roger, Boursier, Martin, Binet, Rigaud, Leclercq, Viton père, Laplace, Davoust, Morcier (Achille), Heussay, Brignolet. A. Bernadot, J. Carré, Rochard, J. Bonin, Bressier, E. Delalande, Bonneville, Pugny, Emile Leroy, Dumont, G. Seyller, Thomas, O. Bacquoy, Nicolas, Marielle, Cevallois père, Charlet, Colombier, Malardier.



4

3. Dispersal of an anti-war demonstration in Paris in August 1870

4. The protest of the Neuilly-sur-Seine section of the International against the war

La Marseillaise, July 22, 1870

"IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY, OF DEMOCRACY, AND THE TRUE INTERESTS OF FRANCE, WE ADHERE COMPLETELY AND ENERGETICALLY TO THE PROTESTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL AGAINST THE WAR."

5. Conveyance of shells

6. German soldiers departing for the frontlines



5

6



7. Defeat of the French army at Sedan

The disaster at Sedan on September 2 completed the chain of Napoleon's defeats. It showed that the Second Empire was in a deep crisis.

"THE FRENCH CATASTROPHE OF 1870 STANDS UNPARALLELED IN THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD," wrote Marx. "IT SHEWED OFFICIAL FRANCE, THE FRANCE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE, THE FRANCE OF THE RULING CLASSES AND THEIR STATE PARASITES—A PUTRESCENT CADAVER."

"THE VERY MOMENT THAT THE UTTER ROTTENNESS OF THE IMPERIALIST ARMS BECAME EVIDENT, THE PRUSSIAN MILITARY CAMARILLA HAD RESOLVED UPON CONQUEST."

KARL MARX

8. A caricature of Napoleon III and Wilhelm





9. France is proclaimed a republic, September 4, 1870

10. Demonstration in Paris hailing the overthrow of the monarchy and the proclamation of a republic, September 1870

On September 4, when word of the defeat at Sedan reached Paris, a revolution broke out there.

Bowing to the demands of the people, the Corps législatif deposed Napoleon III, and a republic was proclaimed in France.

The head of the government, which declared itself a government of national defence, was General Louis Trochu, a reactionary and a follower of the Duc d'Orléans. The vice-president and foreign minister was a right-wing republican, Jules Favre.



SECOND ADDRESS.

In our first manifesto of the 23rd of July we said:—

"The death-knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end, as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Napoleon to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire*."

Thus, even before war operations had actually set in, we treated the Bonapartist bubble as a thing of the past.

If we were not mistaken as to the vitality of the Second Empire, we were not wrong in our apprehension lest the German war should "lose its strictly defensive character and degenerate into a war against the French people." The war of defence ended, in point of fact, with the surrenders of Louis Bonaparte, the Sedan capitulation, and the proclamation of the Republic at Paris. But long before these events, the very moment that the utter rottenness of the imperialist arms became evident, the Prussian military camarilla had resolved upon conquest. There lay an ugly obstacle in their way—King William's own proclamations of the commencement of the war. In his speech from the throne to the North German Diet, he had solemnly declared to make war upon the Emperor of the French, and not upon the French people. On the 11th of August he had issued a manifesto to the French nation, where he said:—"The Emperor Napoleon having made, by land and sea, an attack on the German nation which desired and still desires to live in peace with the French people, I have assumed the command of the German armies to repel his aggression, and I have been led by military events to cross the frontiers of France." Not content to assert the defensive character of the war by the statement that he only assumed the command of the German armies "to repel aggression," he added that he was only "led by military events" to cross the frontiers of France. A defensive war does, of course, not exclude offensive operations, dictated by "military events."

Thus this pious king stood pledged before France and the world to a strictly defensive war. How to release him from his solemn pledge? The stage-managers had to exhibit him as reluctantly yielding to the irresistible behest of the German nation. They at once gave the cue to the liberal German middle class, with its professors, its capitalists, its aldermen, and its pensioners. That middle class, which in its struggles for civil liberty had, from 1848 to 1870, been exhibiting an unexampled spectacle of irresolution, incapacity, and cowardice, felt, of course, highly delighted to beatride the European scene as the roaring lion of German patriotism. It re-vindicated its civic independence by affecting to force upon the Prussian Government the secret designs of that same Government. It does penance for its long-continued and almost religious faith in Louis Bonaparte's infallibility, by shouting for the dismemberment of the French Republic. Let us for a moment listen to the special pleadings of those stout-hearted patriots!

They dare not pretend that the people of Alsace and Lorraine pant for the Germans embrace: quite the contrary. To punish their French patriotism, Strasburg, a town with an independent citadel commanding it, has for six days been wantonly and fiendishly bombarded by "German" explosive shells, setting it on fire, and killing great numbers of its defenceless inhabitants! Yet, the soil of those provinces once upon a time belonged to the whilom German Empire. Hence, it seems, the soil and the human beings grown on it must be confiscated as imprescriptible German property. If the map of Europe is to be remade in the antiquary's vein, let us by no means forget that the Elector of Brandenburg, for his Prussian dominions, was the vassal of the Polish Republic.

The more knowing patriots, however, require Alsace and the German-speaking part of Lorraine as a "material guarantee" against French aggression. As this contemptible plea has bewildered many weak-minded people, we are bound to enter more fully upon it.



11. "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War"

Written by Karl Marx on September 9, 1870

The first page of the leaflet

The Second Address exposed the annexationist plans of Bismarck's government, which wanted to seize Alsace-Lorraine. Marx called on the sections of the International to come out against the partitioning of France and for the recognition of the French Republic proclaimed after the downfall of the Second Empire.

Marx also warned workers against over-rating the bourgeois provisional government of France.

12. "Undersized" was the title of the cartoon of the government of the French Republic

13. "Me, I don't want a king..."

"PARIS ARMED WAS THE REVOLUTION ARMED. A VICTORY OF PARIS OVER THE PRUSSIAN AGGRESSOR WOULD HAVE BEEN A VICTORY OF THE FRENCH WORKMAN OVER THE FRENCH CAPITALIST AND HIS STATE PARASITES. IN THIS CONFLICT BETWEEN NATIONAL DUTY AND CLASS INTEREST, THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE DID NOT HESITATE ONE MOMENT TO TURN INTO A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFEC-TION."

KARL MARX



13 J EN VEUX PAS DE ROI, MOI ...

14. May the Nations Follow Our Example

15. The francs-tireurs in action at Rouen, October 6, 1870

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE



14



15

The mass of the people resisted the German invaders. The war turned gradually into a people's war. Yet that was what the ruling clique and the propertied classes of France dreaded most. At first secretly, then overtly, they conspired with Bismarck, obtaining his consent to help suppress the revolutionary movement in France.



16

*16. The uprising of October 31, 1870
National Guardsmen, carrying a red
banner inscribed, "Long Live the
Commune!", tender their demands to the
Trochu government*

*17. The uprising of October 31, 1870
Gustave Flourens speaks in the con-
ference hall of the National Defence
Government*

*18. A group of Paris workers who had
taken part in revolutionary actions*

In response to the treacherous policy of the National Defence Government—its capitulation of Metz and its surrender negotiations with the Prussians—the workers of Paris rose up on October 31, 1870. They captured the Hôtel de Ville, and arrested some members of the government. Owing to its poor organisation, the workers' uprising was defeated.



17



18



19

The bombardment of encircled Paris began at the end of December. Hunger and disease carried away thousands of lives. Frightened by the prospect of fresh revolutionary upheavals, the government was counting on its compact with the Prussians.

19. A view of Paris bombarded by German guns



20

20. A cartoon of Bismarck being given the key to Paris

21. The surrender of Jules Favre and Trochu

"TROCHU'S PLAN, FROM THE VERY DAY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC, WAS THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS AND OF FRANCE... IN A LETTER TO GAMBETTA, JULES FAVRE HIMSELF CONFESSED SO MUCH THAT THE ENEMY TO BE PUT DOWN, WAS NOT THE PRUSSIAN SOLDIER, BUT THE PARIS 'DEMAGOGUE REVOLUTIONIST'... THE ATTEMPTS OF THE PARIS WORKMEN ON THE 5TH OF OCTOBER, THE 31ST OF OCTOBER ETC., TO SUPPLANT THESE TRAITORS BY THE COMMUNE, WERE PUT DOWN AS CONSPIRACIES WITH THE PRUSSIANS!"

KARL MARX

22. Vinoy, Thiers and Favre pilloried

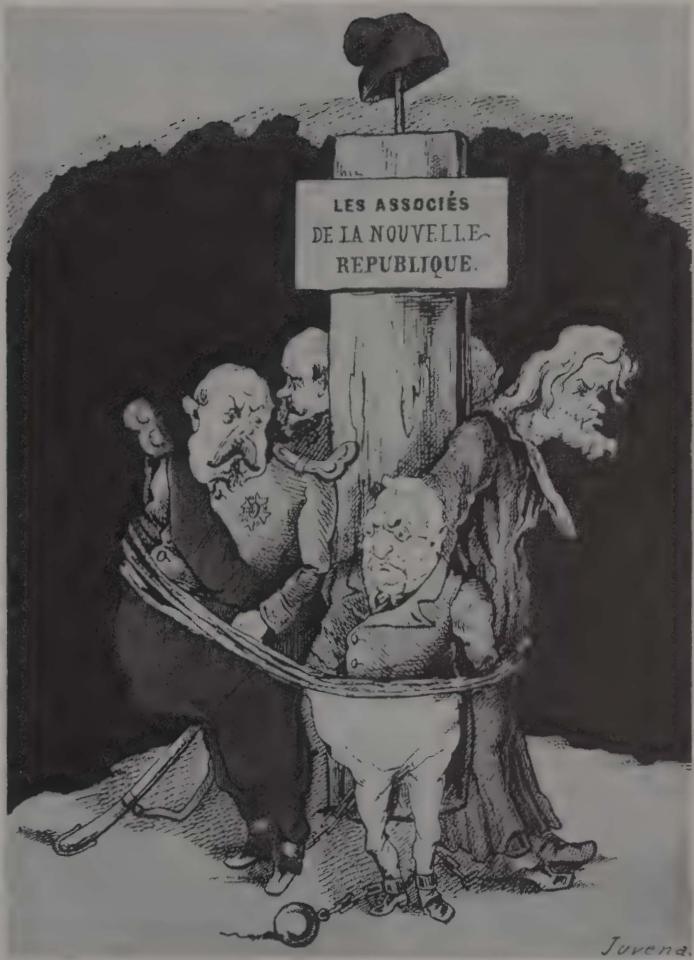
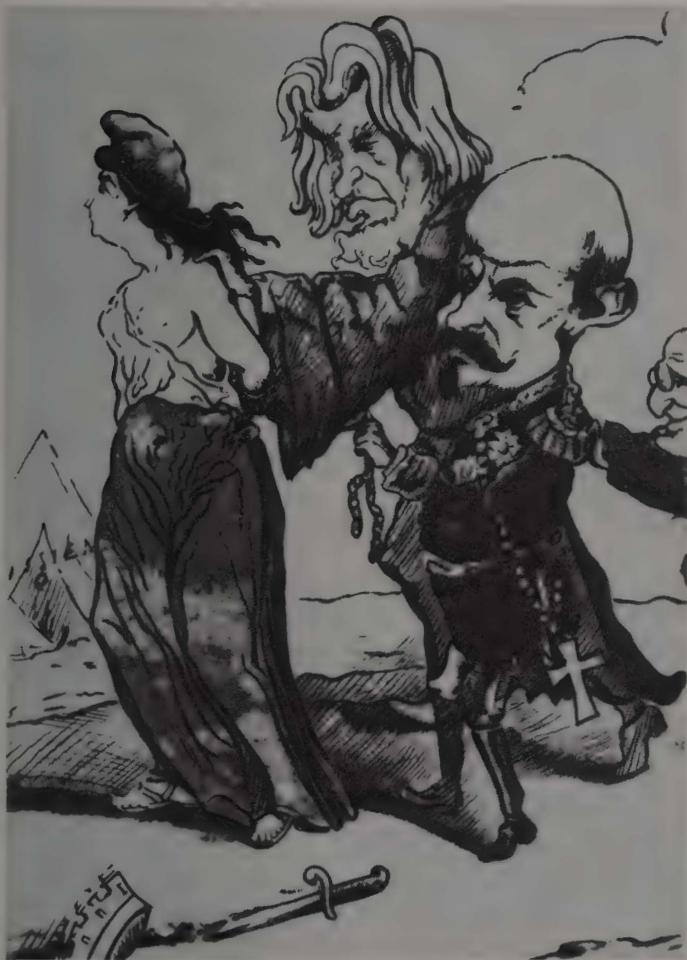
The National Assembly in Versailles ratified the humiliating treaty of peace with the Bismarck government.

Under the terms of that predaceous treaty, France lost Alsace-Lorraine and undertook to pay the enormous indemnity of 5 billion gold francs, the burden of which the government intended to shift to the shoulders of the people.

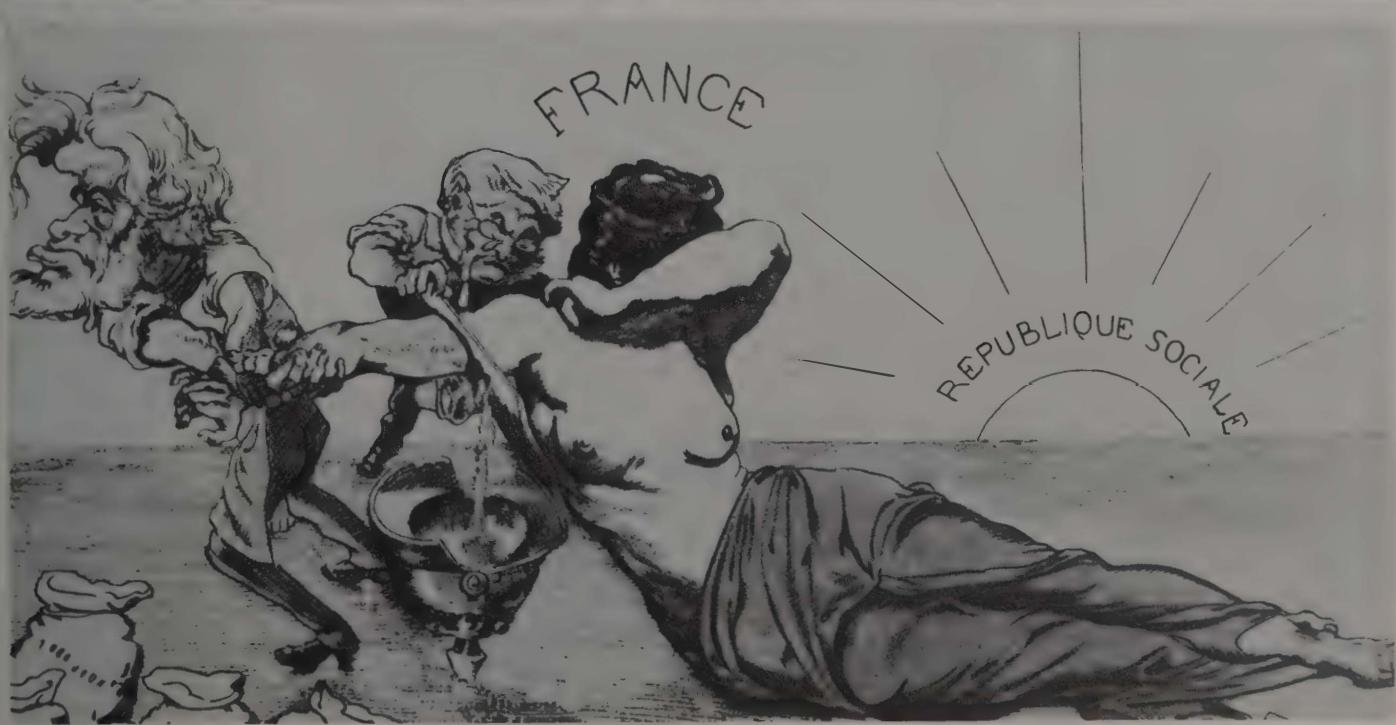
23. Thiers and Favre separate Alsace and Lorraine from France

"HISTORY WILL MEASURE ITS RETRIBUTION, NOT BY THE EXTENT OF THE SQUARE MILES CONQUERED FROM FRANCE, BUT BY THE INTENSITY OF THE CRIME OF REVIVING, IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY, THE POLICY OF CONQUEST!"

KARL MARX



Juvénal. 22



23



24



25

24. Guns of the National Guard outside the Hôtel de Ville

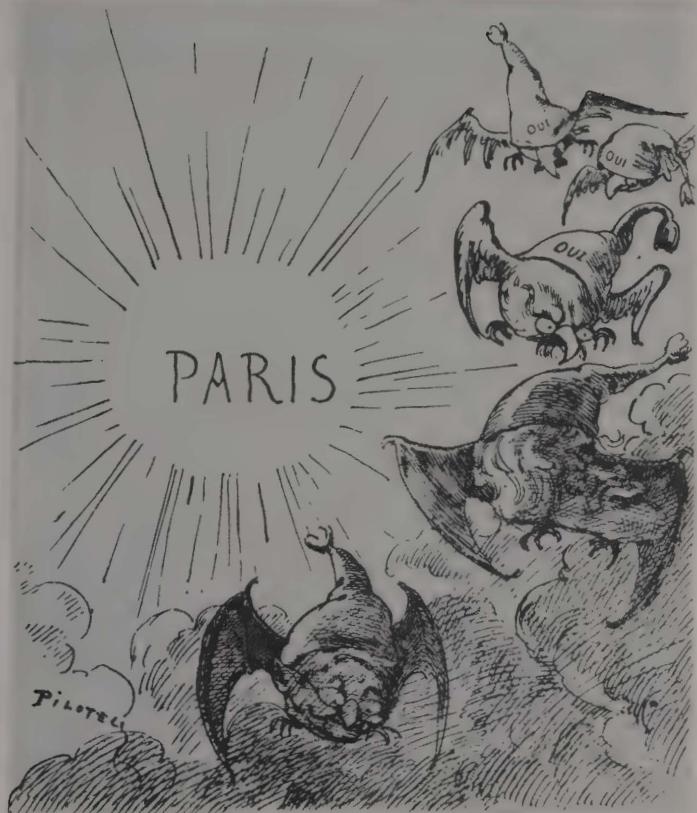
25. Up in the heights of Montmartre on the eve of the uprising

"THIERS OPENED THE CIVIL WAR BY SENDING VINOY, AT THE HEAD OF A MULTITUDE OF SERGENTS-DE-VILLE AND SOME REGIMENTS OF THE LINE, UPON A NOCTURNAL EXPEDITION AGAINST MONTMARTRE, THERE TO SEIZE, BY SURPRISE, THE ARTILLERY OF THE NATIONAL GUARD. IT IS WELL KNOWN HOW THIS ATTEMPT BROKE DOWN BEFORE THE RESISTANCE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD AND THE FRATERNISATION OF THE LINE WITH THE PEOPLE."

KARL MARX

26. "Daylight frightens them"

27. National Guard headquarters in the Hôtel de Ville, March 18, 1871





28

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ.

AU PEUPLE.

Citoyens,

Le Peuple de Paris a secoué le joug qu'on essayait de lui imposer.

Calme, impassible dans sa force, il a attendu sans crainte comme sans provocation les fous éhontés qui voulaient toucher à la République.

Cette fois, nos frères de l'armée n'ont pas voulu porter la main sur l'arche sainte de nos libertés. Merci à tous; et que Paris et la France jettent ensemble les bases d'une République acclamée avec toutes ses conséquences, le seul Gouvernement qui fermera pour toujours l'ère des invasions et des guerres civiles.

L'état de siège est levé

Le Peuple de Paris est convoqué dans ses sections pour faire ses Élections communales.

La sûreté de tous les citoyens est assurée par le concours de la Garde nationale.

Hôtel-de-Ville. Paris, le 19 mars 1871.

28. In the Hôtel de Ville, the armed people in National Guard uniforms gather after the March 18, 1871 revolution

In the revolution of March 18, 1871, it was the Central Committee of the National Guard that took power first. It was then taken over by the Paris Commune, the world's first worker government, elected by the people of the city.



29

30



29. *Manifesto of the National Guard on the victory of the revolution in Paris, March 19, 1871*

A poster

"CITIZENS, THE PEOPLE OF PARIS HAVE THROWN OFF THE YOKE WHICH WAS BEING IMPOSED ON THEM... PARIS AND FRANCE WILL JOINTLY LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF A REPUBLIC, TO BE ACCLAIMED WITH ALL THE CONSEQUENCES THAT MAY ENSUE, THE ONLY GOVERNMENT THAT WILL FOREVER END THE ERA OF INVASIONS AND CIVIL WARS."

30. "Citizens, the carnival is over. I'm sweeping out the masks"

31. *Place de Corderie 6, where the Bureau of the International's Paris sections had its offices*

After the March 18 revolution, the International's sections in France invigorated their activities.

32. *Address of the Federal Council of the International's Paris sections to the working people of the French capital, calling on them to back the Commune at the elections on March 26, 1871*

A poster

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

Liberté — Égalité — Fraternité

Association Internationale DES TRAVAILLEURS

CONSEIL FÉDÉRAL DES SECTION PARISIENNES

Chambre Fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières

TRAVAILLEURS.

Une longue suite de revers, une catastrophe qui semble devoir entraîner la ruine complète de notre pays, tel est le bilan de la situation actuelle à l'France par les gouvernements qui l'ont dominée.

Assimilons les qualités nécessaires pour nous relever de cet abaissement. Sommes-nous dégénérés au point de subir avec resignation le dépitisme hypocrite de ceux qui nous ont livrés à l'étranger, et de ne retrouver d'énergie que pour rendre notre ruine irremédiable par la guerre civile?

Les derniers événements ont démonté la force du peuple de Paris, nous sommes convaincus qu'une entente fraternelle démontrera bientôt sa sagesse.

Le principe d'autorité est désormais impuissant pour rétablir l'ordre dans la rue, pour faire renaître le travail dans l'atelier, et cette impuissance est sa négation.

L'insolidarité des intérêts a créé la ruine générale, engendré la guerre sociale : c'est à la liberté, à l'égalité, à la solidarité qu'il faut demander d'assurer l'ordre sur de nouvelles bases, de réorganiser le travail qui est sa condition première.

TRAVAILLEURS.

La révolution communale affirme ces principes, elle écrit toute cause de conflit dans l'avenir. Restons-nous à lui donner votre sanction définitive?

L'indépendance de la commune est le gage d'un contrat dont les citoyens libérément délibérés feront cesser l'antagonisme des classes et assureront l'égalité sociale.

Nous avons revendiqué l'abstention des travailleurs et la délégation communale en est la garantie, car elle doit fournir à chaque citoyen les moyens de défendre ses droits, de contrôler d'une manière efficace les actes de ses mandataires chargés de la gestion de ses intérêts, et de déterminer l'application progressive des réformes sociales.

L'administration de chaque commune enfin doit exercer apposé à ses revendications et affirme la République dans sa plus haute expression

TRAVAILLEURS.

Nous avons combattu, nous avons appris à souffrir pour notre principe égalitaire, nous ne saurions reculer alors que nous pouvons aider à mener la première partie de l'éclat social!

Qu'avons-nous demandé?

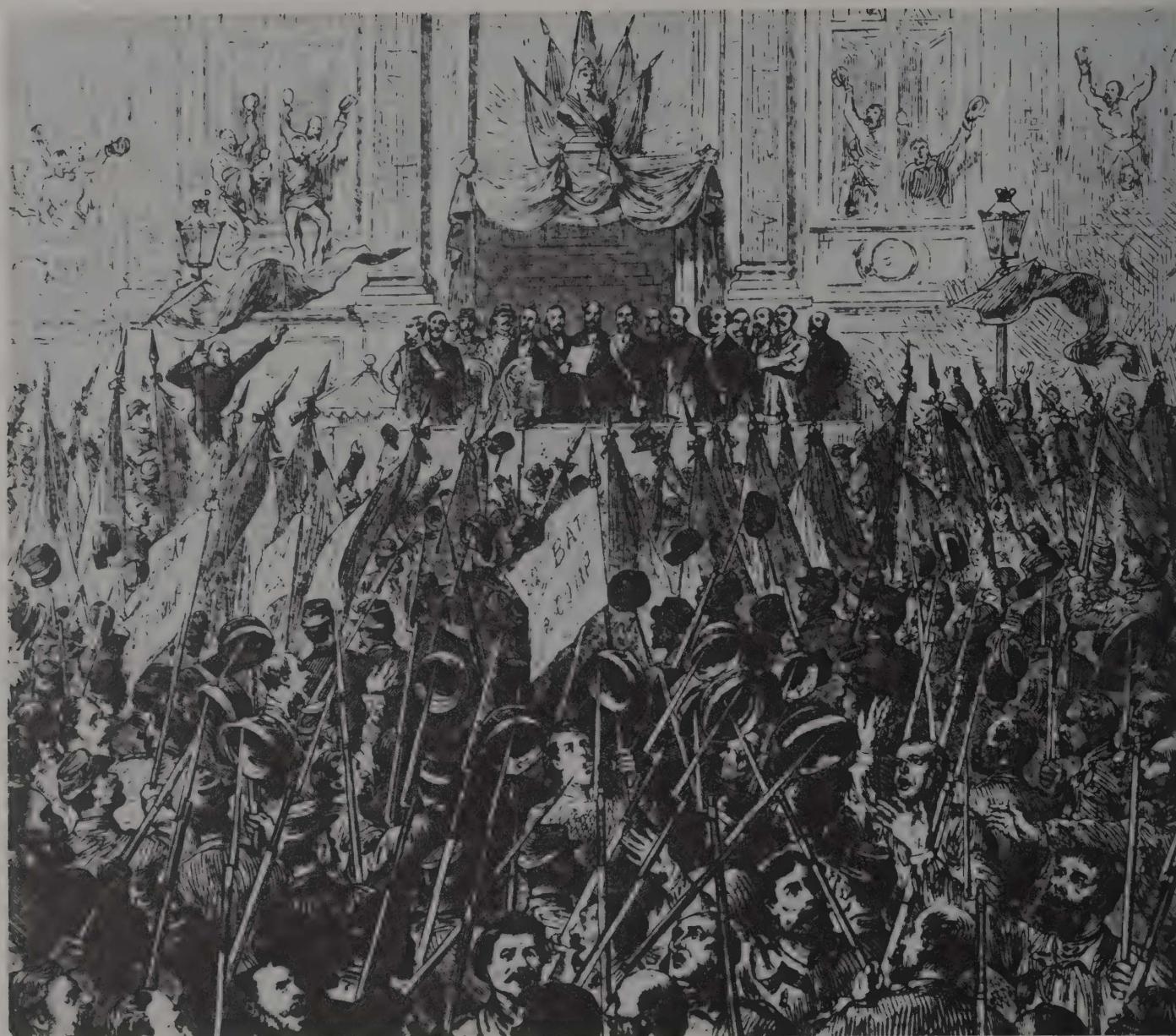
L'organisation du Crédit, de l'Échange, de l'Assurance afin d'assurer au travailleur la valeur intrinsèque de son travail.

L'instruction gratuite, bâtie et intégrale;

Le Droit de Rejeton et d'Association, la liberté absolue de la Presse, celle du cinéma;

L'organisation au point de vue municipal des services de police, de force armée, d'hygiène, de statistique, etc.

Nous avons été dupes de nos gouvernements, nous nous sommes laissé prendre à leur jeu, alors qu'ils ravaussion et réprimandaient tout à leur profit.



33. The Paris Commune is festively proclaimed in the square outside the Hôtel de Ville

34. The red flag on the July Column

"THE RED FLAG, HOISTED BY THE PARIS COMMUNE, CROWNS IN REALITY ONLY THE GOVERNMENT OF WORKMEN FOR PARIS!"

KARL MARX

35. The Paris Commune addresses the people, March 29, 1871

"YOU ARE THE MASTERS OF YOUR DESTINY. DRAWING

STRENGTH FROM YOUR SUPPORT, THE REPRESENTATIVES YOU HAVE JUST CHOSEN WILL REPAIR THE DISASTERS CAUSED BY THE DEPOSED AUTHORITIES; THE DISLOCATED INDUSTRIES, THE SUSPENDED WORK, THE PARALYSED COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS, WILL RECEIVE POWERFUL IMPULSE."

"WHAT FLEXIBILITY, WHAT HISTORICAL INITIATIVE, WHAT A CAPACITY FOR SACRIFICE IN THESE PARISIANS! AFTER SIX MONTHS OF HUNGER AND RUIN, CAUSED BY INTERNAL

TREACHERY EVEN MORE THAN BY THE EXTERNAL ENEMY, THEY RISE, IN THE FACE OF THE PRUSSIAN BAYONETS, AS IF THERE HAD NEVER BEEN A WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY AND THE ENEMY WERE NOT STANDING AT THE GATES OF PARIS! HISTORY HAS NO COMPARABLE EXAMPLE OF SIMILAR GREATNESS!"

KARL MARX

36. The National Guard in the square outside the Hôtel de Ville on March 28, 1871, hails the inauguration of the Paris Commune

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

N° 44

LIBERTÉ — ÉGALITÉ — FRATERNITÉ

N° 44

COMMUNE DE PARIS

Citoyens,

Votre Commune est constituée.

Le vote du 28 mars a sanctionné la Révolution victorieuse. Un pouvoir lâchement agresseur vous avait pris à la gorge : vous avez, dans votre légitime défense, repoussé de vos murs ce gouvernement qui voulait vous déshonorer en vous imposant un roi.

Aujourd'hui, les criminels que vous n'avez même pas voulu suivre abusent de votre magnanimité pour organiser aux portes même de la cité un foyer de conspiration monarchique. Ils invoquent la guerre civile; ils mettent en œuvre toutes les corruptions; ils acceptent toutes les complicités; ils ont osé mendier jusqu'à l'appui de l'étranger.

Nous en appelons de ces menées exécrables au jugement de la France et du monde.

Citoyens,

Vous venez de vous donner des institutions qui défient toutes les tentatives.

Vous êtes maîtres de vos destines. Forte de votre appui, la représentation que vous venez d'établir va réparer les désastres causés par le pouvoir déchu : l'industrie compromise, le travail suspendu, les transactions commerciales paralysées, vont recevoir une impulsion vigoureuse.

Dès aujourd'hui, la décision attendue sur les loyers;

Demain, celle des échéances;

Tous les services publics rétablis et simplifiés;





37. Karl Marx, Margate,
1866

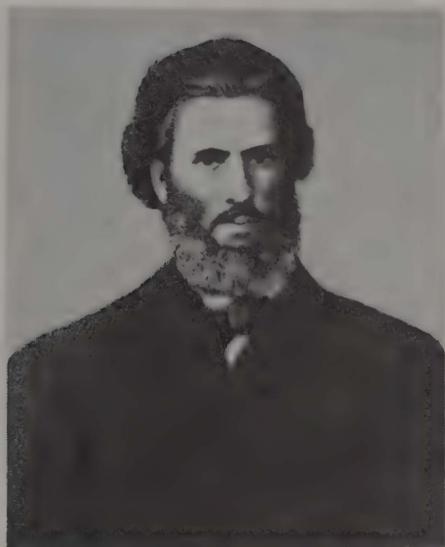
Marx and Engels, who were in London, lost no time marshalling aid for the Paris Commune. Whatever the Commune did, and all the developments in revolutionary Paris, were closely followed by the International's General Council.

Marx was in close communication with the Paris Communards, members of the International's sections in Paris, helping them with his advice and criticising their mistakes.

38. Léo Frankel

39. Louis Eugène Varlin

In a letter to the Communards Frankel and Varlin, Marx warned of the French reactionaries' conspiring with the Prussians to suppress the Commune. Prominent Commune functionary, elected to the Commission of Labour and Exchange, Léo Frankel wrote Marx, asking for his opinion of the reforms that were to have laid the foundation for a social republic.



38

39

40. Paul Lafargue

In a letter to Marx dated April 8, 1871, Lafargue wrote: "I've been in Paris since two days ago. I saw the leaders of the Commune, who, like the rest of Paris, are full of enthusiasm. They still hope to capture Versailles and are acting to that effect. Vaillant has told me there was no lack in people, though leaders were scarce. Perhaps Engels could come here and apply his talents in the service of the revolution? I'll write in greater detail later..."



40



24 Avril
1871

Cher Monsieur
C'est impossible d'écrire pour le front de
l'assassinat et l'incendie. La
guerre est dans les mains des révolutionnaires. Cela
nous nomme à la Commune. Je
ne sais pas si je pourrai écrire à T. D.,
et pourtant il faut que j'écrive et je ferai
ce rapport à Londres. Il nous sera envoyé un
communiqué à Paris et une L. de Paris,
qui nous apprendra nos succès et
nos revers. Il nous sera également fait état
de l'activité de l'Union des Femmes
à Londres. Comme vous le savez, nous
avons constitué des comités dans
toutes les villes et dans tous les
districts. Nous avons aussi une
organisation dans les provinces
et nous agissons dans les deux

41. Elizaveta Lukinichna Dmitrieva-Tomanovskaya

42. Dmitrieva-Tomanovskaya's letter to Hermann Jung in London, of April 24, 1871 (letters to Marx were also sent care of Jung, who was a member of the International's General Council)

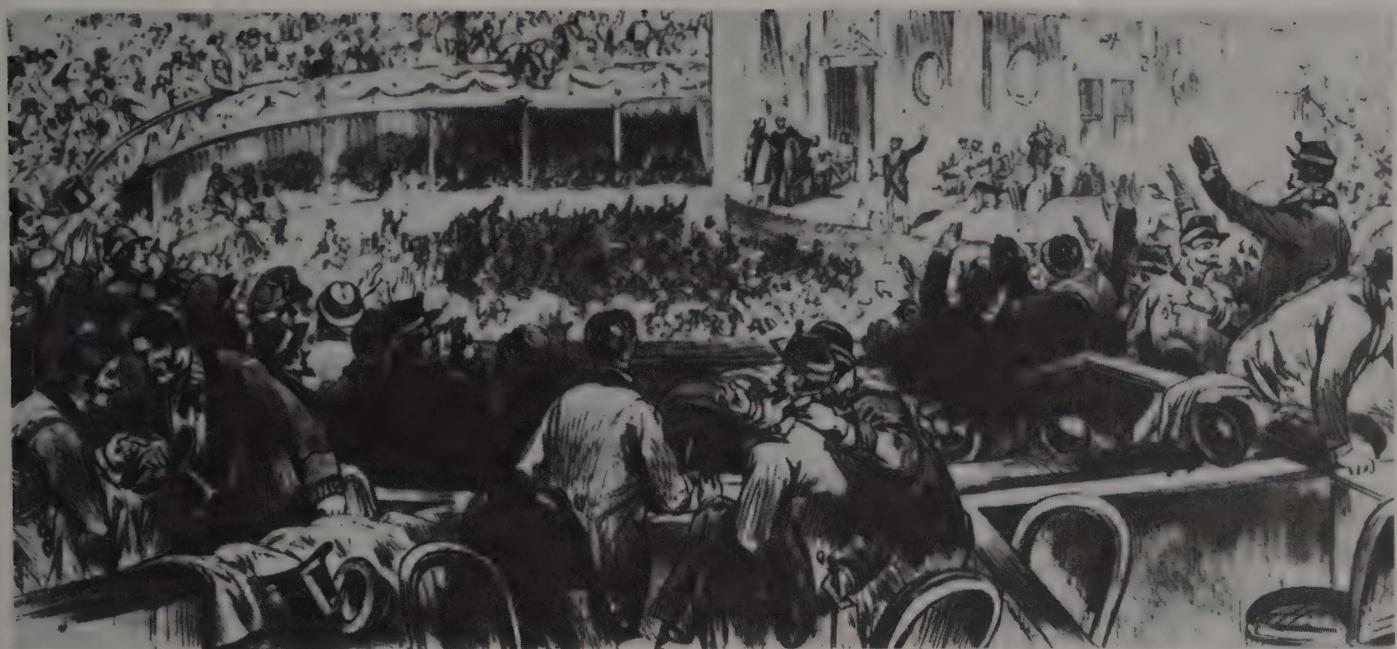
Dmitrieva left for Paris on March 28, 1871, the day the Commune was constituted, to take part in the struggle of the Paris workers. In letters meant for Marx and the General Council, she referred to the need for agitation in the provinces and among peasants, and wrote of her own part in the activities of the Union of Women in Defence of Paris and in Aid of the Wounded.

"I call public meetings," she wrote. "We have constituted women's committees in all districts and in the town halls, and, besides, a central committee... I speak every evening, and write a lot... If the Commune wins, our organisation will turn from a political into a social body, and we will set up sections of the International. This idea is highly popular..."



43. A meeting of women Communards

An active role in marshalling the mass of the people at the time of the Commune was played by the revolutionary Paris clubs.



44. A revolutionary club at the Folies-Bergère

45. A list of Paris Commune functionaries drawn up by Marx in July 1871

From the very start, Marx followed the progress of the Paris revolution, and took detailed notes on what the papers reported about the Communards and their activity, and their heroic resistance to the onslaught of the Versailles reactionaries.



Prominent personalities of the Paris Commune

46. *Adolphe Alphonse Assi (1840-1886), mechanic, member of the International; member of the General Security Commission of the Commune*

47. *Edouard Vaillant (1840-1915), journalist, member of the International; member of the Executive Commission of the Commune*

48. *Eugène Varlin (1839-1871), worker, a leader of the Paris sections of the International; member of the Finance Commission and Food Commission of the Commune; shot by the Versailles people*

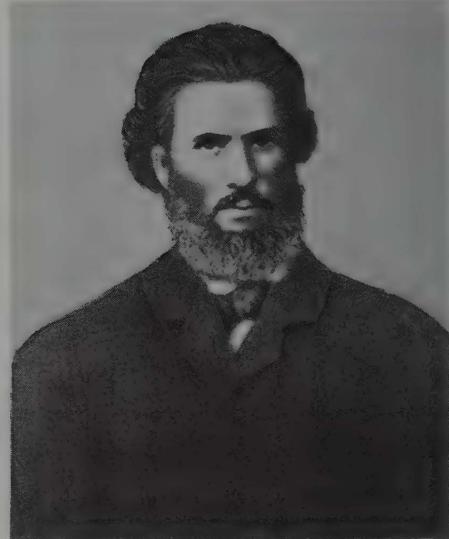


49. *Auguste Vermorel (1841-1871), journalist and historian; member of the Paris Commune*

50. *Walery Wróblewsky (1836-1908), Polish revolutionary democrat; member of the International; general of the Commune*

51. *Pascal Grousset (1845-1909), journalist, Blanquist; Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Commune*

52. *Charles Delescluze (1809-1871), journalist, member of the Military Commission of the Commune; killed on the barricades in Paris*

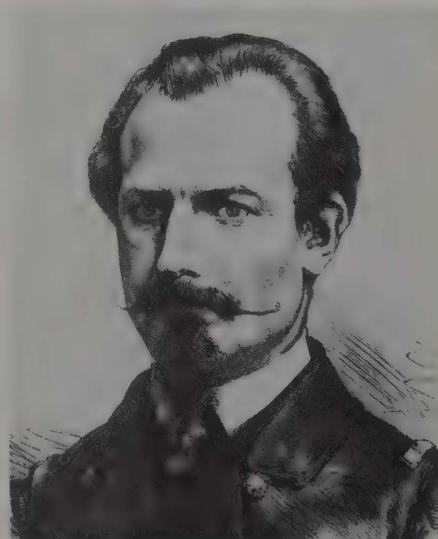


53. *Simon Dereure (1838-1900), member of the International; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune*

54. *Jarosław Dombrowski (1836-1871), Polish revolutionary democrat; general of the Commune; in May 1871 became Commander-in-Chief of its Armed Forces, was killed on the barricades*

55. *Jules Paul Johannard (1843-1892), member of the General Council of the International; member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Commune*

56. *François Jourde (1843-1893), a leader of the uprising of March 18, Chairman of the Finance Commission of the Commune*

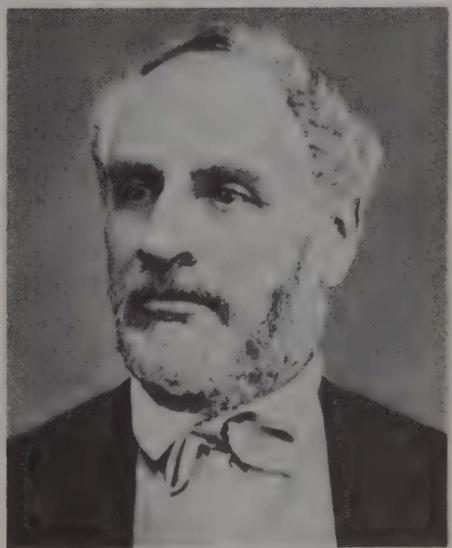




57. Zéphyrin Camelinat (1840-1932), member of the International; active member of the Paris Commune; organised minting of coins of the revolution



58. Anna Vasilievna Korvin-Krukovskaya (married Jaclard), (1843-1887), Russian revolutionary; member of the Commune; writer; corresponded with Marx

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59. Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), realist painter; member of the Educational Commission of the Commune

60. Frédéric Courbet (1839-1885), journalist, Blanquist; member of the General Security Commission of the Commune

61. Pyotr Lavrovich Lavrov (1823-1900), Russian sociologist and journalist; an ideologist of Narodism; member of the International; took part in the Paris Commune

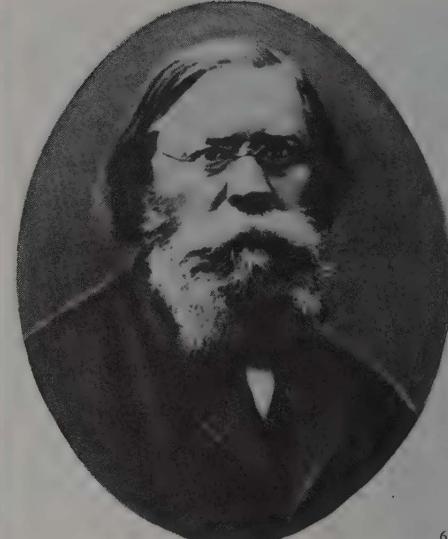
62. Paul Lafargue (1842-1911), member of the General Council of the International; took part in the Paris Commune, husband of Karl Marx's daughter Laura



63. Gustave Lefrançais (1826-1901), member of the International; member of the Commune's Executive Commission, Labour and Exchange Commission, and Finance Commission

64. Prosper Olivier Lissagaray (1838-1901), journalist; though he held no official posts, he promoted the Commune in his newspapers

65. Charles Longuet (1839-1903), socialist, active member of the International; editor-in-chief of the Commune's Journal Officiel de la République Française; in 1872 married Karl Marx's eldest daughter Jenny



66. Benoît Malon (1841-1893), Left Proudhonist; member of the International and the Paris Commune

67. Jean Baptiste Millière (1817-1871), lawyer and journalist; member of the editorial board of the socialist newspaper Commune; arrested by the Versailles people and shot without trial

68. Louise Michel (1830-1905), active member of the Paris Commune; teacher and writer

69. Jean Louis Pindy (1840-1917), worker, member of the International and the Paris Commune; Proudhonist

66
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70. Eugène Pottier (1816-1887), member of the International; member of the Commune's Commission of Public Services, author of the text of the workers' anthem *Internationale*



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71. Anna Teofilovna Pustovoitova (1843-1881), Russian revolutionary; took part in the Polish national liberation movement; a nurse who tended the wounded on the barricades at the time of the Commune



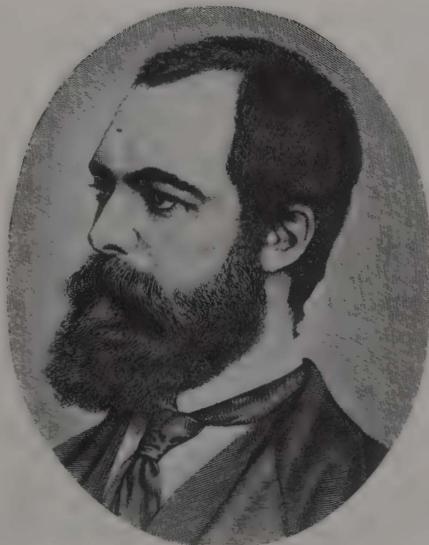
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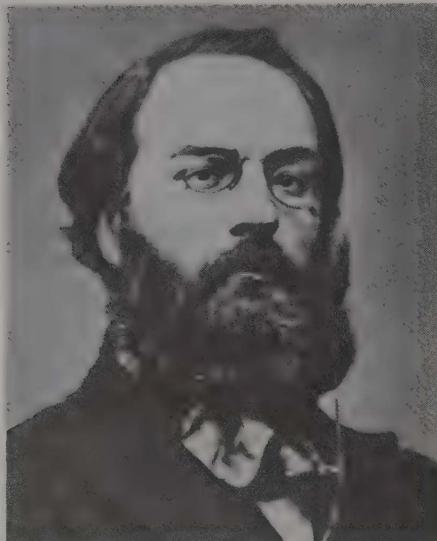
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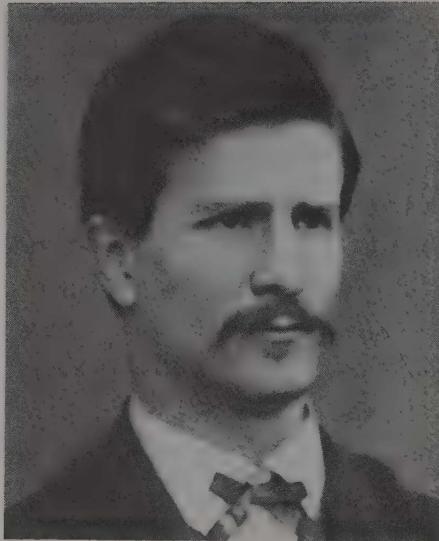
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72. Raoul Rigault (1846-1871), journalist, made Prosecutor at the time of the Commune; shot by the Versailles people



76. Gustave Flourens (1838-1871), journalist, member of the International; general of the Commune and member of the Military Commission; assassinated by the Versailles people



77. Léo Frankel (1844-1896), worker, member of the International; headed the Labour and Exchange Commission of the Commune; associate of Marx and Engels



78. Émile François Desire Eudes (1843-1888), general of the Commune, Blanquist

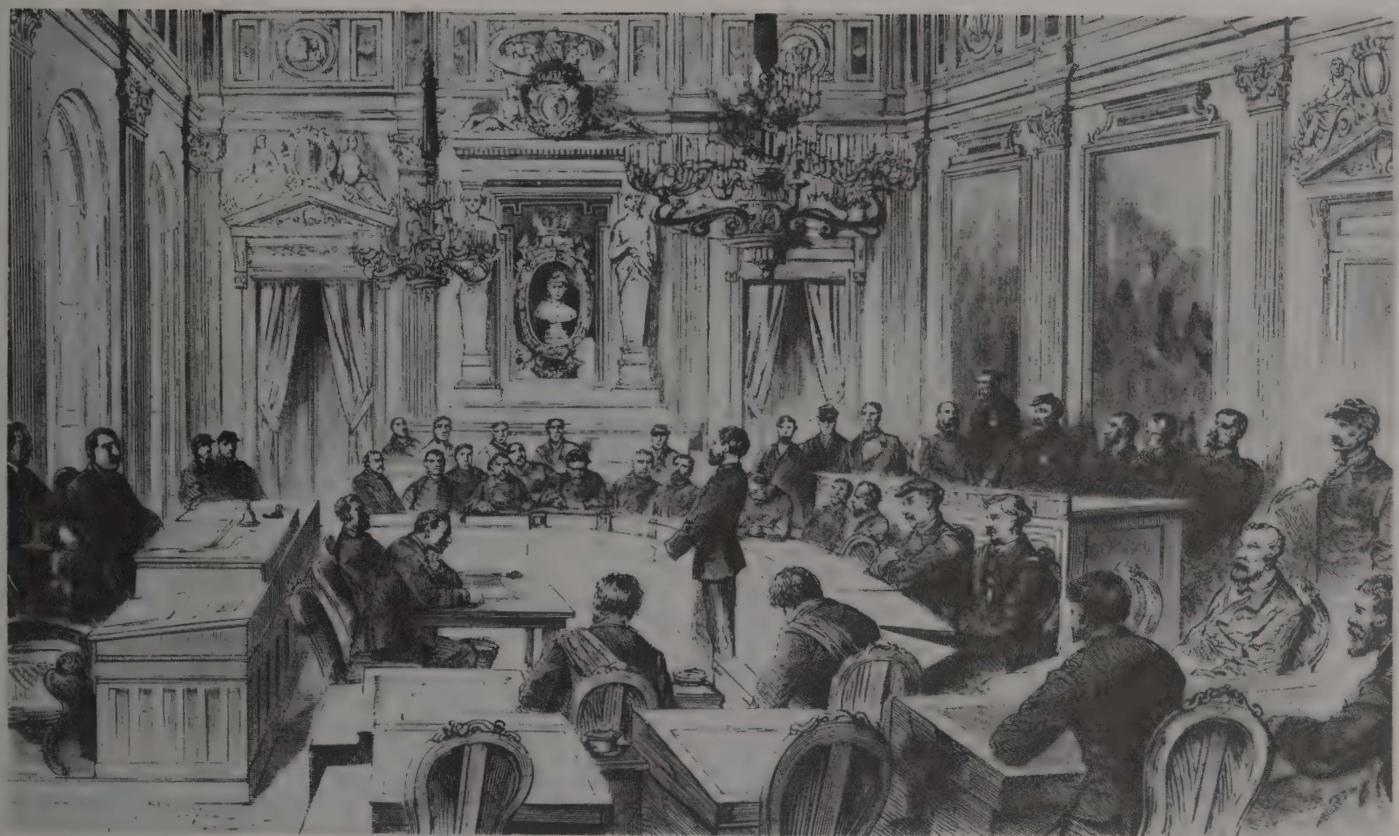
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73. Louis Rossel (1844-1871), military delegate of the Commune; shot by the Versailles people

74. Mikhail Petrovich Sazhin (1845-1934), Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; took part in the Paris Commune

75. Albert Theisz (1839-1880), worker, member of the International and the Paris Commune





RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

N° 46

LIBERTÉ — ÉGALITÉ — FRATERNITÉ

N° 46

COMMUNE DE PARIS

La Commune de Paris DECRETE:

ARTICLE PREMIER.

Les membres de la Commune ont la direction administrative de leur arrondissement.

ART. 2.

Ils sont invités à s'adjoindre, à leur choix et sous leur responsabilité, une commission pour l'expédition des affaires.

ART. 3.

Les membres de la Commune ont seuls qualité pour procéder aux actes de l'état-civil.

Paris, le 30 mars 1871.

LA COMMUNE DE PARIS.

79. *Meeting of members of the Paris Commune in the Hôtel de Ville*

80. *Decree of the Paris Commune of March 30, 1871, placing administrative authority in the hands of its members*
A poster



81. Front page of the Commune's official newspaper

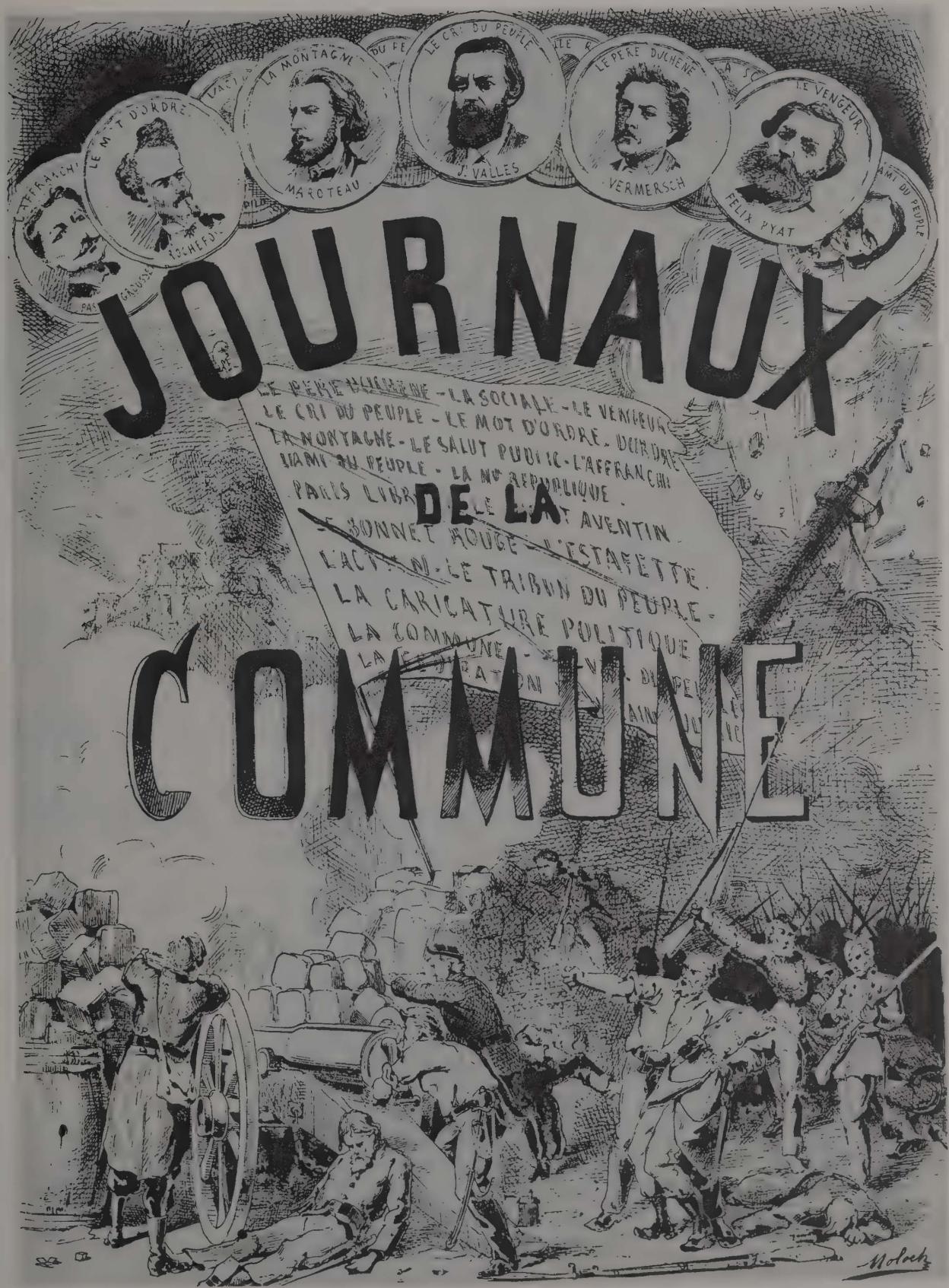
The official newspaper of the Commune published its documents, decrees, reports of meetings, and the decisions of the various institutions of revolutionary Paris, notices, and military reports.



82. "Le Pere Duchene's Fury"

Le Pere Duchene was a popular revolutionary newspaper. The cartoon shows the part the revolutionary press played in exposing enemies of the Commune, leaders of the Thiers government, and the Versailles reactionaries.

83. The press media of the Commune



Such is the case - the political form of the social organization, of the liberation of labor from the奴役 of the employer, of the
means of labor, owned by the laborers themselves or forming the right of return. (3) The revolutionary and educational work of the
revolutionaries, notably Thompson and others of the Newcomen, as the political generalized forces and supporters of Nationalism
of Hong Kong, as the Chinese or not the world warrant of the unity of the workers of the world, and the revolutionaries
organized as men of action. In China, does not every worker class struggle, which is the work of the revolutionaries, done to the
workers of all classes (but it does not represent a general strike of agents of labor), the forward
and backward working of advanced industrial life relatively by organization, and political autonomy can be obtained
from the few years (the money), but it often has been and is considered that the class struggle can run Hong Kong in different ways
in National and International. It would not be better to consider the workers and their conditions. It helps the revolutionaries
and great work on the way to the organization, and the workers' work of the state government by running the production
of labor force, carrying away the spirit of freedom with the support of the nation of the revolutionaries and to
the workers of the country, always carrying out the revolutionaries. The policy of the revolutionaries always been to
carry on the battle, the real work of education, local and national, but not through any means. It helps the revolutionaries to carry on
many of the workers with the common reform with small to the political transformation of the

84. Extract from the First Draft of Karl Marx's The Civil War in France

The bourgeois press built a wall of slander round the events in Paris. In the circumstances, Marx considered it his duty to tell the working class in all countries about the true nature of the Paris revolution, to demonstrate the general "tendency of the struggle", and portray the international character of the Paris Commune.

In the latter half of April 1871, Marx set about writing a General Council Address on the Paris Commune. By May 10, he had produced two preliminary variants, which were in themselves a profound scientific examination of the Commune. These two variants were the basis for the final text of the address, *The Civil War in France*.

In his drafts of *The Civil War in France*, Marx wrote that the Communards did "their work publicly, simply, under the most difficult and com-



plicated circumstances, ... acting in bright daylight, with no pretensions to infallibility, not hiding themselves behind circumlocution office, not ashamed to confess blunders by correcting them". He noted admiringly how modest, conscientious and successful the simple workers were as they went about the functions of government that had only a short time before been the exclusive privilege of the ruling classes.

85. "Bad times, Good times"

Marx followed the socio-economic and political measures taken by the Commune most closely. Using the earliest information he had obtained about the Commune's economic measures, he wrote of the need for organising production along new lines, and for harmoniously coordinating national and international socialised forms of production.



LA COMMUNE DE PARIS.

Considérant que le premier des principes de la République française est la liberté;

Considérant que la liberté de conscience est la première des libertés;

Considérant que le budget des cultes est contraire ce principe, puisqu'il impose les personnes contre leur propre foi

Considérant, enfin, que le clergé n'est le complice des récesses de la monarchie contre

DECRETÉ :

Art. 1^e. L'Église est séparée de l'Etat,

Art. 2^e Le budget des cultes est supprimé,

Art. 3^e. Les biens dits de mammonie, appartenant aux congrégations religieuses, monastiques et monastiques, sont déclarés propriétés nationales.

86. Decree on the separation of the Church from the State, April 2, 1871
A poster

87. Decree abolishing night work at bakeries, April 28, 1871
A poster

88. Decree prohibiting fines and deductions from wages and salaries, April 27, 1871
A poster

89. Decree on the transfer of inoperative workshops whose owners had fled from Paris to the workers' production associations, April 16, 1871

90. A pawn-shop in Paris returns pawned articles (excluding luxuries) to their owners free of charge, as ordered by a decree of the Commune



LA COMMISSION EXÉCUTIVE,

En exécution du décret relatif au travail de nuit dans les boulangeries,

ARRÊTE :

ART. 1^e Le travail de nuit est interdit dans les boulangeries, à partir du Mercredi 8 mai.

ART. 2^e Le travail ne pourra commencer avant 5 heures du matin.

ART. 3^e Le Délégué aux services publics est chargé de l'exécution du présent arrêté.

Paris, le 28 avril 1871.

La Commission exécutive:

Paris, le 16 avril 1871

La Commune de Paris,

Considérant qu'une quantité d'ateliers ont été abandonnés par ceux qui les dirigeaient afin d'échapper aux obligations civiques, et sans tenir compte des intérêts des travailleurs;

Considérant que par suite de ce lâche abandon, de nombreux travaux essentiels à la vie communale se trouvent interrompus, l'existence des travailleurs compromise,

DECRETÉ :

Les chambres syndicales ouvrières sont convoquées à l'effet d'instituer une commission d'enquête ayant pour but :

1^e De dresser une statistique des ateliers abandonnés, ainsi qu'un inventaire exact de l'état dans lequel ils se trouvent et des instruments de travail qu'ils renferment;

2^e De présenter un rapport établissant les conditions pratiques de la prompte mise en exploitation de ces ateliers, non plus par les déserteurs qui les ont



LA COMMISSION EXÉCUTIVE,

Considérant que certaines administrations ont mis en usage le système des amendes ou des retenues sur les appointements et sur les salaires;

Que ces amendes sont infligées souvent sous les plus faibles prétextes et constituent une perte réelle pour l'employé et l'ouvrier;

Qu'en droit, rien n'autorise ces prétendus arbitrages et vexatoires;

Qu'en fait, les amendes dégagent une diminution de salaire et profitent aux intérêts de ceux qui l'imposent;

Qu'aucune justice régulière ne préside à ces sortes de punitions, aussi immorale soit-elle fondée dans la forme;

Sur la proposition de la Commission du travail, de l'industrie et de l'échange,

ARRÊTE :

ARTICLE PREMIER. Aucune administration privée ou publique ne pourra imposer des amendes ou des retenues aux employés, aux ouvriers, dont les appointements, convenus d'avance, doivent être intégralement soldés.

ART. 2^e. Toute infraction à cette disposition sera déférée aux tribunaux.

abandonnés, mais par l'association coopérative des travailleurs qui y étaient employés ;

3^e D'élaborer un projet de constitution de ces sociétés coopératives ouvrières ;

4^e De constituer un jury arbitral qui devra statuer, au retour des patrons, sur les conditions de la cession définitive des ateliers aux sociétés ouvrières, et sur la quotité de l'indemnité qu'auront à payer les sociétés aux patrons.

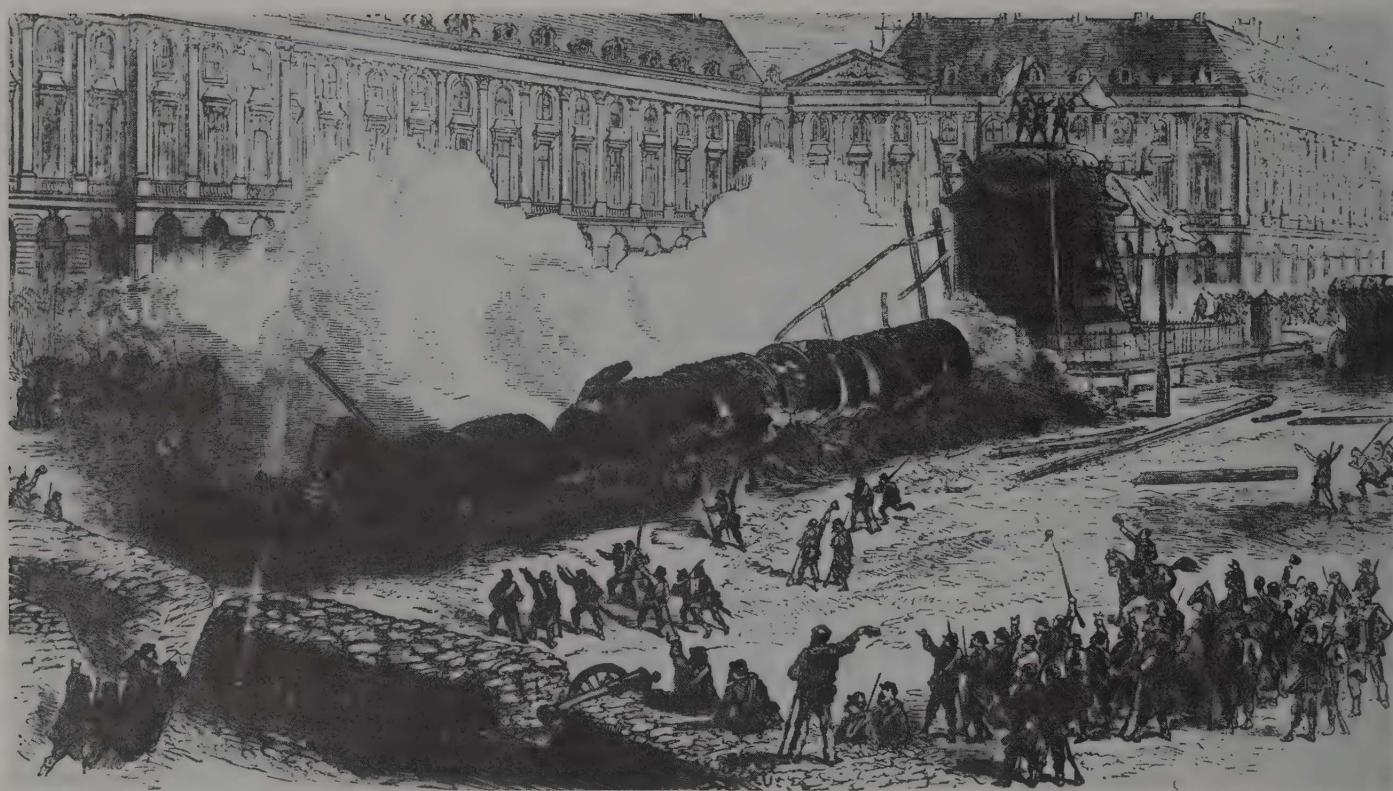
Cette commission d'enquête devra adresser son rapport à la commission communale du travail et de l'échange, qui sera tenue de présenter à la Commune, dans le plus bref délai, le projet de décret donnant satisfaction aux intérêts de la Commune et des travailleurs.

Paris, le 16 avril 1871.



"WORKING, THINKING, FIGHTING, BLEEDING PARIS—ALMOST FORGETFUL, IN ITS INCUBATION OF A NEW SOCIETY, OF THE CANNIBALS AT ITS GATES—RADIANT IN THE ENTHUSIASM OF ITS HISTORIC INITIATIVE!"

KARL MARX



91

La Commune de Paris,

Considérant que la colonne impériale de la place Vendôme est un monument de barbarie, un symbole de force brute et de fausse gloire, une affirmation du militarisme, une négation du droit international, une insulte permanente des vainqueurs aux vaincus, un attentat perpétuel à l'un des trois grands principes de la république française, la fraternité,

DÉCRÈTE :

Article unique. La colonne de la place Vendôme sera démolie.

Paris, le 12 avril 1871.

92

91. Tearing down the imperial column in the Place Vendôme in Paris, May 16, 1871

92. The Commune's decree of April 12, 1871, on tearing down the column of Napoleon I in the Place Vendôme in Paris

93. Facsimile of the pass to attend the deposition of the column in the Place Vendôme

The imperial column in the Place Vendôme was torn down as a "MONUMENT TO BARBARISM, A SYMBOL OF BRUTE FORCE AND FALSE GLORY, AN AFFIRMATION OF MILITARISM, NEGATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, THE CONQUEROR'S PERMANENT INSULT OF THE CONQUERED, A PERPETUAL ENCROACHMENT UPON ONE OF THE THREE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, THAT OF FRATERNITY."



93

94. Appeal of the Paris Commune to rural labourers, April 9, 1871. This and other appeals were directed to various provinces by balloons

"BROTHER, YOU ARE BEING DECEIVED. OUR INTERESTS ARE THE SAME. WHATEVER I DEMAND, YOU WANT AS WELL; THE EMANCIPATION WHICH I CLAIM, WILL BE YOURS TOO."

95, 97. Badges of National Guard battalions

96. A Communard's ring

98. Public burning of the guillotine beneath the Voltaire monument

95



96



97



COMMUNE DE PARIS

AU TRAVAILLEUR DES CAMPAGNES

Frère, on te trompe. Nos intérêts sont les mêmes. Ce que je demande, tu le veux aussi; l'affranchissement que je réclame, c'est le tien. Qu'importe si c'est à la ville ou à la campagne que le pain, le vêtement, l'abri, le secours, manquent à celui qui produit toute la richesse de ce monde? Qu'importe que l'opresseur ait nom : gros propriétaire ou industriel? Chez toi, comme chez nous, la journée est longue et rude et ne rapporte pas même ce qu'il faut aux besoins du corps. A toi comme à moi, la liberté, le loisir, la vie de l'esprit et du cœur manquent. Nous sommes encore et toujours, toi et moi, les vassaux de la misère.

Voilà près d'un siècle, paysan, pauvre journalier, qu'on te répète que la propriété est le fruit sacré du travail, et tu le crois. Mais ouvre donc les yeux et regarde autour de toi; regarde-toi toi-même, et tu verras que c'est un mensonge. Te voilà vieux; tu as toujours travaillé; tous tes jours se sont passés, la bêche ou la fauille à la main, de l'aube à la nuit, et tu n'es pas riche cependant, et tu n'as pas même un morceau de pain pour ta vieillesse. Tous tes gains ont passé à élever péniblement des enfants, que la conscription va te prendre, ou qui, se mariant à leur tour, mèneront la même vie de bête de somme que tu as menée, et finiront comme tu vas finir, misérablement, car, la vigueur de tes membres s'étant éprouvée, tu ne trouveras guère plus de travail; tu chagrineras tes enfants du poids de ta vieillesse et te verras bientôt obligé, e bissac sur le dos et courbant la tête, d'aller mendier de porte en porte l'aumône méprisante et sèche.

Cela n'est pas juste, frère paysan; ne le sens-tu pas? Tu vois donc bien que l'on te trompe; car s'il était vrai que la propriété est le fruit du travail, tu serais propriétaire, toi qui as tant travaillé. Tu posséderais cette nette maison, avec un jardin et un enclos.

94



Ma chère Jenny
J'arrive à Bordeaux où... stupéfaction.
Je vous parle vers 10 Bruxelles pour des
batailles qui partent de Liverpool, qui
vont jusqu'à la mer, puis reviennent dans
une à Paris. — L'expédition dure une
semaine et demi, et coûte 75 francs par tête;
vous n'avez pas le droit à l'assurance; il faut
que vous achetez un billet à Paris et
que vous achetiez une assurance sur ce billet.
C'est maintenant que je parle de Bordeaux,
que vous voyez. Il faut venir voyager
par mer, ou par le train, et Prendre
des révoltes ou des combats auquel
vous ne le devriez pas faire.

Paul revient à Paris! nous en savons
absolument rien, et nous devons le savoir.

Magnifique pour faire quelque chose
à Bordeaux; peut-être que
vous pouvez jouer avec Paul
quelque campagne à la grande
nationale, le préfet sera bientôt
à Paris et sera mis à la porte.

Il va sans doute être
d'une réalité — la révolution
européenne deviendra au tout égale
à négocier avec le grand chef
Paul Marx, prêcheur à tout bout de champ
à mort, tout au contraire de Bismarck
et résistant à Berlin avec la force
de l'énergie.

On verra le résultat
D. Lafargue



99. Paul Lafargue's letter to Jenny Marx (daughter), April 23, 1871

"WHAT AN AWAKENING IN PARIS! WE ARE STUPEFIED HERE, AND ARE TRYING TO GET ORGANISED IN ORDER TO DO SOMETHING IN BORDEAUX; MAYBE IN A FEW DAYS WITH THE HELP OF A FEW COMPANIES OF THE NATIONAL GUARD THE PREFECT WILL SUFFER THE SAME FATE AS THIERS AND WILL BE GIVEN THE BOOT."

"FROM A SPECTRE, THE INTERNATIONAL IS TURNING INTO A REALITY—ALL THE REACTIONARY NEWSPAPERS ARE WITH AN AIR OF MYSTERY DENOUNCING ITS 'SUPREME CHIEF KARL MARX, THE PRUSSIAN', WHO IS ONE DAY CONDEMNED TO DEATH AND THE NEXT DAY CALLED AN AGENT OF BISMARCK'S IN BERLIN, ETC. THEY HAVE SIMPLY LOST THEIR HEADS."



100. "With their faces always turned to the enemy"

101. A republican demonstration in London supporting the Paris Commune

102. Appeal of the Committee of Public Safety to the people of Paris on May 12, 1871

A poster



103. Light barricades thrown up in the streets of Paris in a matter of a few days





104

104. Fighting in the Rue de Rivoli



105

105. Women on the barricades in the Place Blanche

"CITIZENS, THE HOUR OF DECISION HAS COME! WE MUST PUT AN END TO THE OLD WORLD! WE WANT TO BE FREE! FRANCE IS NOT ALONE! THE EYES OF ALL THE CIVILISED NATIONS ARE TURNED TO PARIS. THEY ARE WAITING FOR US TO WIN BEFORE THEY RISE TO FREE THEMSELVES AS WELL."

FROM DMITRIEVA'S APPEAL
TO THE WOMEN OF PARIS

Minutes of General Meeting held on Tuesday evening May 23rd 1871
Members present. Bonn, Escarius, Engels, Hale, Harris, Jung, Lengsf; Leinen
Kort, Pfander, Robin, Schmitz, Townsend, and Weston. Citizen Jung in the
Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed
a letter was read from the English speaking section of the United States. It gave
a glowing account of the progress the Association was making, and said that an
mass meeting had been held in New York, sympathizing with the Commune of Paris
and the miners locked out in Pennsylvania. Hale stated that the Painters of the State
had forced themselves into a Secret Society and many of the Lodges were imbued
with the principles of the late storm. A letter was also read from the Birmingham
Trades Council enclosing a subscription of £1.0.0.

Citizen Hale explained that he had been ill, and had not been able to finish the
address upon which he was engaged, but he hoped to have it ready by Tuesday next.

106. Minutes of the General Council's
meeting of May 23, 1871, with a record
of Marx's speech on the Paris
Commune

A fragment

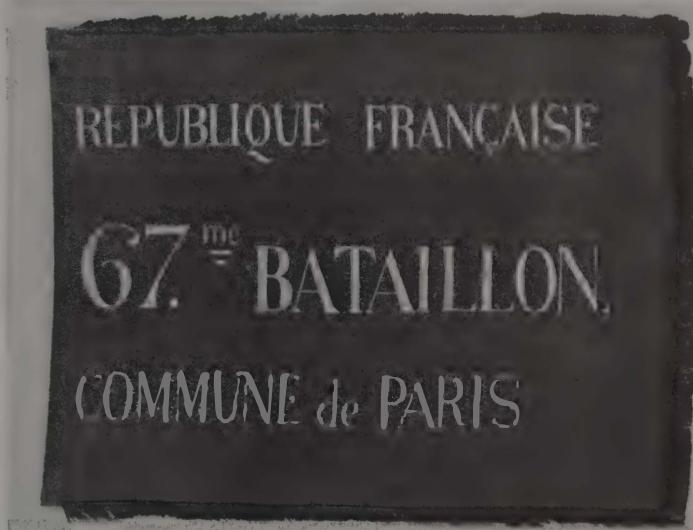


107

On May 21, the Versailles troops thrust into Paris. By that time they held an 8:1 advantage in numbers over the National Guard defending the city. The "bloody week" of May began, highlighted by the heroism of the Communards and the brutality of their antagonists.

107. Fighting outside the Palais de l'Élysée

108. Battle standard of the 67th Battalion of the Paris Commune, under the command of Assi, a member of the International



108



109. The battle at Neuilly



110. The fighting at the Père Lachaise Cemetery

111. Execution of Communards at the wall of the Père Lachaise Cemetery

112. The last man on the barricade



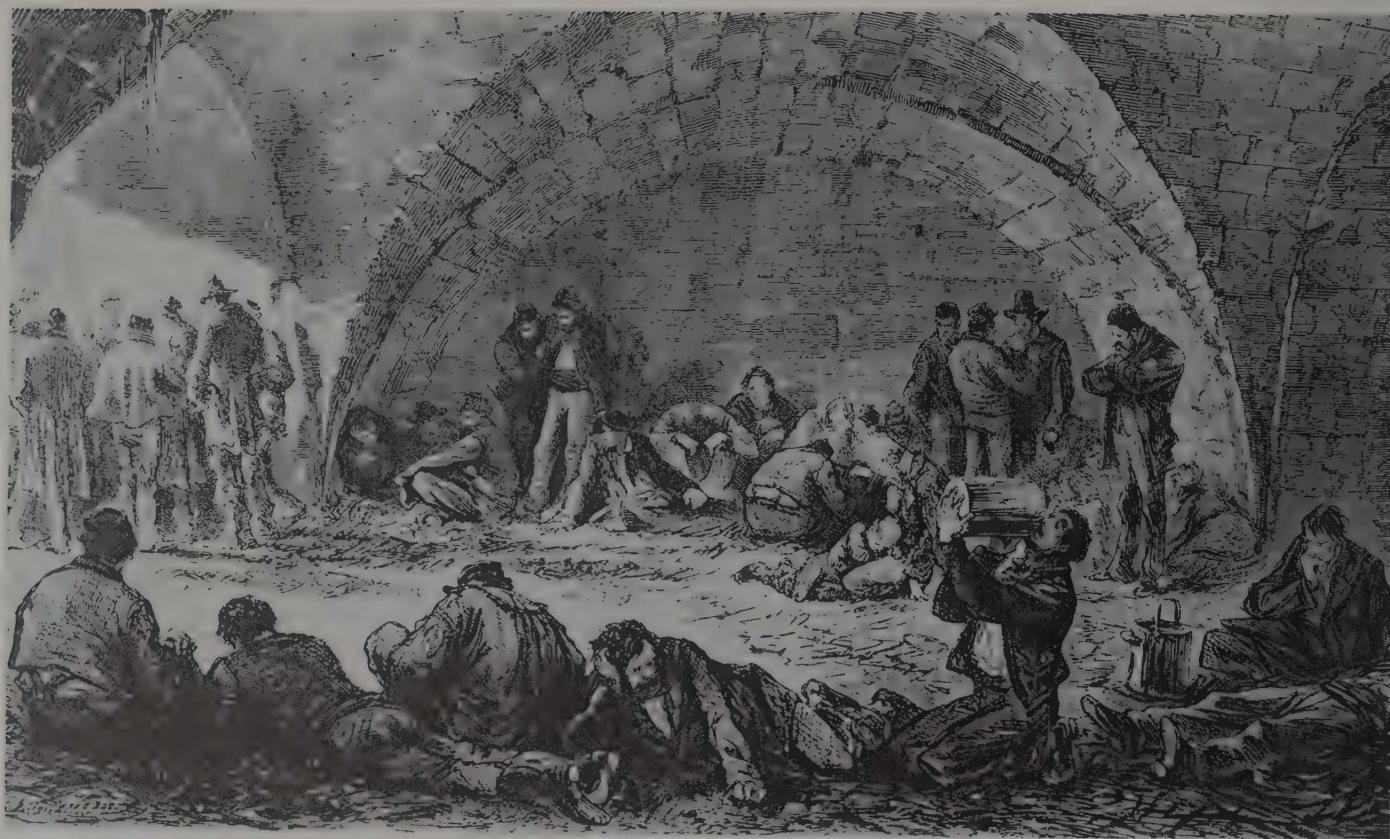
III

"EVEN THE ATROCITIES OF THE BOURGEOIS IN JUNE, 1848, VANISH BEFORE THE INEFFABLE INFAMY OF 1871. THE SELF-SACRIFICING HEROISM WITH WHICH THE POPULATION OF PARIS—MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN—FOUGHT FOR EIGHT DAYS AFTER THE ENTRANCE OF THE VERSAILLESE, REFLECTS AS MUCH THE GRANDEUR OF THEIR CAUSE, AS THE INFERNAL DEEDS OF THE SOLDIERY REFLECT THE INNATE SPIRIT OF THAT CIVILISATION OF WHICH THEY ARE THE MERCENARY VINDICATORS."

KARL MARX



III



113



114

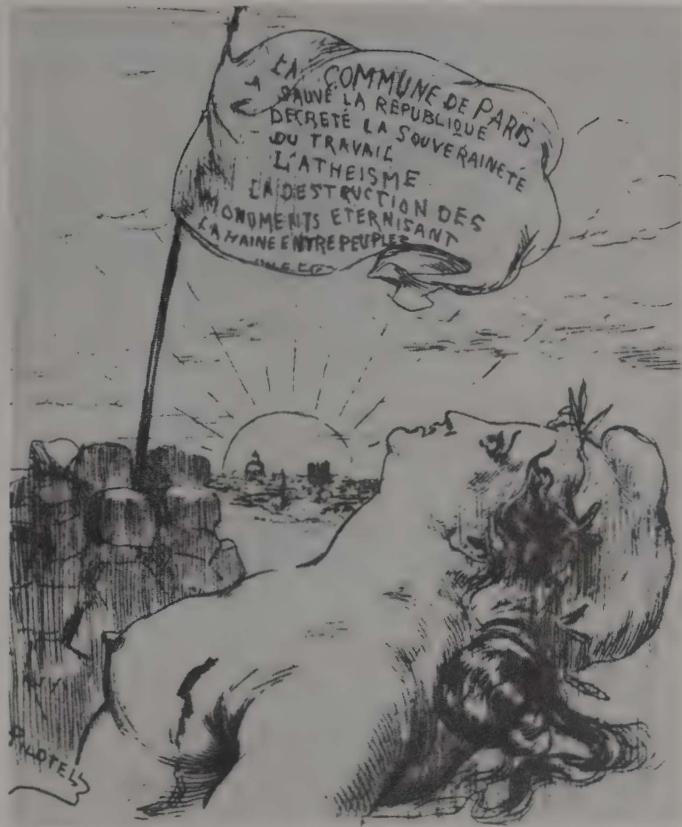


113. *Captive Communards in the dungeon of Orangerie prison in Versailles*

114. *Wall of the Communards*

115. "Poor France—the trunk is no more, but the roots are intact"

116. "The corpse is buried, the idea survives."



"THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNE WERE ETERNAL AND COULD NOT BE CRUSHED; THEY WOULD ASSERT THEMSELVES AGAIN AND AGAIN UNTIL THE WORKING CLASSES WERE EMANCIPIATED."

KARL MARX

"THE CIVILISATION AND JUSTICE OF BOURGEOIS ORDER COMES OUT IN ITS LURID LIGHT WHENEVER THE SLAVES AND DRUDGES OF THAT ORDER RISE AGAINST THEIR MASTERS. THEN THIS CIVILISATION AND JUSTICE STAND FORTH AS UNDISGUISED SAVAGERY AND LAWLESS REVENGE. EACH NEW CRISIS IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE APPROPRIATOR AND THE PRODUCER BRINGS OUT THIS FACT MORE GLARINGLY."

KARL MARX

"THE LAST MOVEMENT WAS THE COMMUNE, THE GREATEST THAT HAD YET BEEN MADE, AND THERE COULD NOT BE TWO OPINIONS ABOUT IT—THE COMMUNE WAS THE CONQUEST OF THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE WORKING CLASSES."

KARL MARX

THE
CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE.
 ADDRESS
 OF
 THE GENERAL COUNCIL
 OF THE
 INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S
 ASSOCIATION

Printed and Published for the Council by
 EDWARD TRUELOVE. 256, HIGH HOLBORN
 1871.

117. Karl Marx, The Civil War in France

The English, Russian, German, and French editions that appeared in 1871 and 1872.

The *Civil War in France* gained a wide readership all over the world in next to no time. In 1871 and the following year it appeared in English, French, German, Russian, Italian,

Spanish, and Dutch, and was circulated in Europe and the United States. A later Russian translation was edited by Vladimir Lenin.

Lenin wrote that Marx's evaluation of the Commune was "profound, clear-cut, brilliant, effective". Looking back on the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx elaborated upon the theory of class struggle, revolution, and of the state in the period of transition from capitalism to communism.

ГРАЖДАНСКАЯ ВОЙНА

ВО ФРАНЦИИ.

(1870—71)

КАРЛЬ МАРКСЪ

ПЕРЕВОДЪ СЪ ИЗДѢЦКАГО.

Der

Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich.

Adresse des Generalraths

der

Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation

an

alle Mitglieder in Europa und den
Vereinigten Staaten.

Segensdruck aus dem Volkstaat.

LA

GUERRE CIVILE

EN FRANCE.

ADRESSE

DU

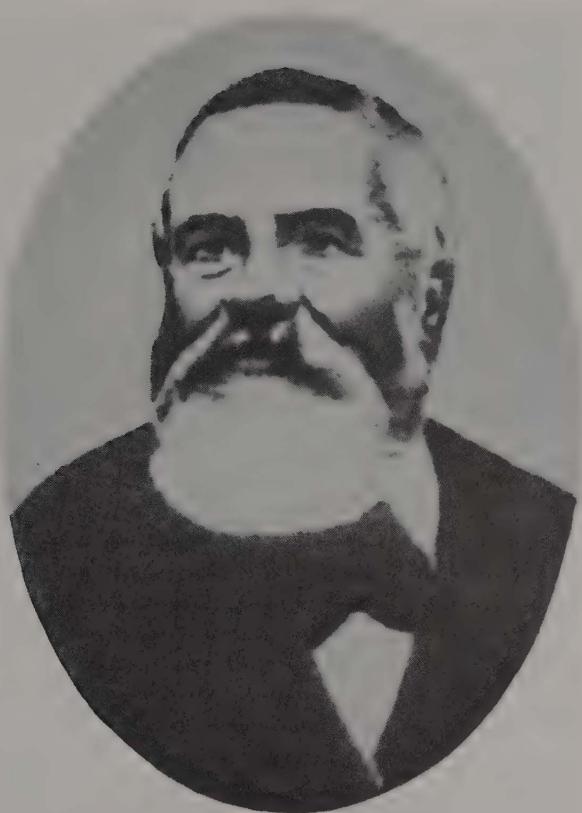
CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL

DE

L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE

des Travailleurs.

TROISIÈME ÉDITION REVUE



119

L'internationale.

C'est la bataille finale.
Groupons nous et demain.
L'internationale.
Sera le genre humain.

Debout ! l'âme du proléttaire !
Bravoueurs, groupons nous enfin.
Debout ! les damnés de la terre !
Debout ! les forces de la faim !
Pour vaincre la misère et l'oscurité
Toute esclave, debout ! debout !
C'est nous le droit, c'est nous la morale :
Nan qui n'ètous rien, soyons tout

C'est la bataille finale,
groupons-nous et demain
L'internationale.
Sera le genre humain :

Il n'en par de Sauraux Suprêmes,
Ni dieu, ni cesar, ni tribun.
Bravoueurs sauve-nous nous-mêmes,
Bravoueurs au Ideal Commun.
Pour que les rois, rendent justice !
Pour tirer l'esprit du cauchemar !
Allumons notre grande forge !
Battons le fer quand il est chaud !

E Pottier

"NO PUBLICATION IN THE HISTORY OF LONDON HAS CAUSED SUCH A STIR AS THE ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL (*THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE—ED.*)... THE ENTIRE PRESS HAS HAD TO CONFESS UNANIMOUSLY THAT THE INTERNATIONAL IS A GREAT POWER IN EUROPE TO BE RECKONED WITH, WHICH CANNOT BE ELIMINATED BY REFUSING TO TALK ABOUT IT."

FREDERICK ENGELS

In the summer of 1871, fleeing from persecution, Eugène Pottier, a member of the Paris Commune and of the International, arrived in London. He brought with him verse he had written at the height of the Versailles reaction.

118. Eugène Pottier's verse for the Internationale
Manuscript

Years have passed, but Pottier's verse translated into several scores of languages, has become the anthem of the proletariat of all countries, a rallying cry for peoples rising against oppression.

119. Eugène Pottier



120

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

Passerelle 10 Rue de la

PREFECTURE
DE LA HAUTE-GARONNE.
CABINET DE POLICE.

Mesdemoiselles Jenny et Eleanor Marx
Marx, quittant l'Asie pour aller en Espagne,
sont autorisées à circuler librement, et les autorités
sont priées de leur faire accès, et ces deux
femmes.

Signature de Mme Jenny Marx
Signature de Mme Eleanor Marx

(P. Marx)
Jenny Marx
Eleanor Marx
Signature de Mme Jenny Marx
Signature de Mme Eleanor Marx

Signature de Mme Jenny Marx
Signature de Mme Eleanor Marx

120. Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's eldest daughter

121. Eleanor Marx, Karl Marx's youngest daughter

122. The pass issued to Jenny and
Eleanor Marx by the French police for
crossing into Spain, and giving their
descriptions

Worried about what had happened to the Lafargues, who were living in France, Marx's daughters Jenny and Eleanor left London for Bordeaux at the end of April 1871. From that city they observed the events in Paris. After the fall of the Commune, reprisals were loosened on participants in the revolution. The two sisters followed the Lafargues to the south of France, whence Lafargue, pursued by the French police, was forced to cross urgently into Spain. A few days later Laura, Jenny and Eleanor visited him, and thereupon the girls returned to France. On the border, they were detained by the French police, interrogated and searched, and their British passports were taken from them. The police wanted information from them about Lafargue and the International. The passports were returned to them ten days later, and they were able to return to London.

International Working Men's Association.

REFUGEE FUND: IN AID OF THE FRENCH COMMUNAL EXILES.

OFFICE—256, HIGH HOLBORN.
August 8th, 1871

JOHN HALES, GENERAL SECRETARY.

Mr. _____

Collecting Sheet, No. _____

123. Collection List of the Paris Communards' refugee fund

124. Engels' letter to Marx, dated August 23, 1871, on the inclusion of Léo Frankel and other Paris Commune members who had escaped to London in the General Council of the International

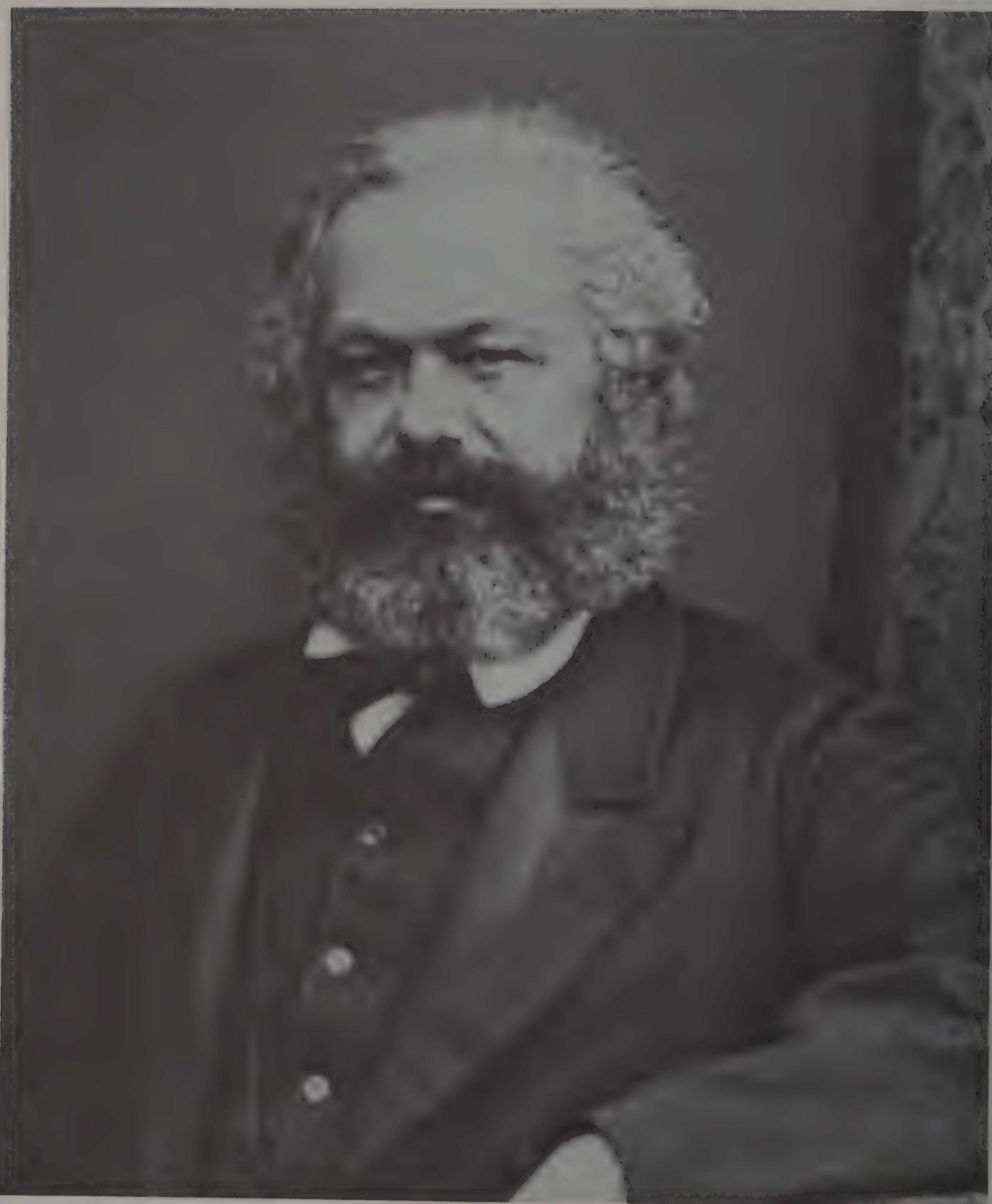
A page of the manuscript

125. Karl Marx, London, 1869

126. Frederick Engels, Manchester, 1868-69

Liebe Freunde
 In aller Eile. Inf. B. 63867, London 27. Juli.
 fünf Pf., blau rot gelb. Die Kasse ist, so
 wie Sie mich geschrieben haben, die
 Marke kommt von J. C. V. nicht der
 Fall soll es Lefèvre auf sein.
 Deutlich, daß die Regierung ... nicht mehr
 kann man sie die Galerie nicht mehr mit
 fallen, bis sie verfallen!
 Frankel ist frei, ist jetzt nach Chile
 und Brasilien zuerst. Ich habe den General Council gewählt.
 Das steht bei mir und kostet, öffnet mir ein
 neues Leben.
 Alles ist gut, wir haben in Comodoro
 für die fünfzigtausend Einwohner von fünf
 Millionen geplant und die Stadt ist bei
 vierzigtausend, die sind jedoch weiter
 keine Telegraphenwirkt mit dem Landkreis
 zusammen.

Der Brief ist von mir auf einer
 Yankees wegen politischen Gründen auf dem Schiff über
 alle grünen. Begegnete auf der See durchweg
 Erneuerung von neuen Kaufmannen aus allen







127

Sennet = demande que la Conf^e ait un temps limité pour faire cette enquête de qu'elle puisse appeler dans son sein que elle voudra entendre

Outram - demande quelle seront les attributions de cette Conf^e
Il doit se croire rapporté
En fait, on n'ira pas plus loin
que rédiger des conclusions

Moffatshiem = la Conf^e aura le droit de chercher l'évidence
Mais la Conf^e décidera

Marx = dit qu'il faut que la Conf^e prenne des heures pour réexaminer la Conf^e

Engels - queut à la question des conclusions - la Conf^e aura toujours le droit de proposer à quelle page convenable de la Conf^e nous toujours décider elle-même

Marx and Engels attended the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872), which held a special place in the history of the IWA. Their resolutions summed up the experience of the revolutionary movement and the Paris Commune, and charted the further course of the class struggle: constitution of independent proletarian parties and invigoration of the political struggle congruent with scientific revolutionary theory, which will thus merge with the workers' class struggle.

127. A view of London in the latter half of the 19th century

128. Minutes of the afternoon session of the London Conference on September 19, 1871

A page of the minutes

"REVOLUTION IS THE SUPREME ACT OF POLITICS; WHOEVER WANTS IT MUST ALSO WANT THE MEANS, POLITICAL ACTION, WHICH PREPARES FOR IT, WHICH TRAINS WORKERS FOR REVOLUTION AND WITHOUT WHICH WORKERS WILL ALWAYS BE DUPED BY THE FAVRES AND THE PYATS THE DAY AFTER THE STRUGGLE. BUT THE POLITICS WHICH ARE NEEDED ARE WORKING-CLASS POLITICS; THE WORKERS' PARTY MUST NOT BE CONSTITUTED AS THE TAIL OF SOME BOURGEOIS PARTY."

FREDERICK ENGELS

3/14th with fin. ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~purple~~ ^{purple} Lark
griffon, Kew - 1st Jan, Calif.
and Coffin & Brown, Kew. ~~19~~
Lia journal, 1st Oct. 19
with him at first in to Drayton,
3/14th Friday by ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~purple~~ ^{purple} ~~purple~~
of ~~purple~~ ^{purple} - up to 2nd. Kibbel.
fall it is ~~purple~~ ^{purple}, oh no the
growing out E? to fall in and C
who are we for ~~purple~~ ^{purple}?
4/14th, night and we ~~purple~~ ^{purple} to
Bolton next. Dr. Eng. ~~purple~~ ^{purple}
spoke as ~~purple~~ ^{purple} well in
of ~~purple~~ ^{purple}. one in his place
to speak in and Dr. Eng. ^{purple} ^{purple}
one in ~~purple~~ ^{purple} Dr. Eng. ^{purple} ^{purple}.
now, of ~~purple~~ ^{purple} ^{purple}.

RÉSOLUTIONS

DES DÉLÉGUÉS DE LA CONFÉRENCE

DE

L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE

DES

TRAVAILLEURS

Réunie à Londres, du 17 au 23 Septembre 1871.

(Circulaire publiée par le Conseil Général de l'Association)

"CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKING CLASS INTO A POLITICAL PARTY IS INDISPENSABLE IN ORDER TO INSURE THE TRIUMPH OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS ULTIMATE END—THE ABOLITION OF CLASSES... THE COMBINATION OF FORCES WHICH THE WORKING CLASS HAS ALREADY EFFECTED BY ITS ECONOMICAL STRUGGLES OUGHT AT THE SAME TIME TO SERVE AS A LEVER FOR ITS STRUGGLES AGAINST THE POLITICAL POWER OF LANDLORDS AND CAPITALISTS."

KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS

LONDRES

Imprimé pour l'Association, par l'Imprimerie Internationale.

1871



131

131. The Hague in the 1860s

132. Marx's mandate to the Hague Congress issued by the International's Federal Council of North America and signed by Friedrich Adolf Sorge

133. Engels's mandate to the Hague Congress issued by the 6th New York section of the International

This is to certify that Mr. Fredr. Engels of London is duly elected to represent section six of the S. W. S. of New York North America in the General Congress which is to be held at Haag from the 9 of September 1872.
New York August 8th 1872.

for S Bertrand
Chairman pro temp.

John Stock Society
To certify the genuineness of the
above credentials I affix herewith
the seal of the Federal Council for
North America and my signature
New York, August 9th, 1872.
F. J. Bolte, Gen. Sec.
of the F. C. I. N. A. N. A.

New York Section No. 1, as Dist. Off. Ass.
in North America.
Mandat
Danckers Diplo. "Karl Marx" arrived in
the U. S. during October and 20th Feb. 1872
at New York for diplomatic and other purposes. He goes
to Haag without and I do New York the
Section of New York furnish him sufficient facilities
from and until his departure.

20th Feb. 1872

C. Speyer con Sec.
F. A. Sorge, New York
in Ditzingen



The last of the International's congresses gathered in The Hague on September 2 through 7, 1872, under the immediate direction of Marx and Engels.

Sixty-five delegates attended from 15 countries. Marx had a mandate from the German section of North America and the Leipzig section, and also from the Italian Workers' Society of Porto Maurizio.

The Congress was of the utmost importance for the international working-class movement, for it set the stage for the establishment of independent political parties in various countries on the basis of scientific revolutionary theory.

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE

DES

TRAVAILLEURS.

RÉSOLUTIONS DU CONGRÈS GÉNÉRAL

TENU A LA HAYE

du 2 au 7 septembre 1872.

LONDRES,

Imprimerie DE GRAAG et Cie

59, Greek street. Soho-square.

—○—
1872.

134. *Resolutions of the Hague Congress of the International*

The Congress incorporated in the IWA Rules the resolution of the London Conference on working-class political action and the constitution of proletarian parties.



135

Association Internationale des Travailleurs

LISTE NOMINALE DES DÉLÉGUÉS

composant le 5^e Congrès universel, tenu à la Haye. (Hollande),
du 2 au 7 Septembre 1872.

1. Arnaud, (Antoine) Chimiste, délégué de la Section de Carouge, (Genève). (Suisse.)
2. Alerai, délégué de la Fédération d'Espagne.
3. Becker, (Philippe) Brossard, délégué du comité Fédéral Romand de deux sections de Pale, section de Zürich, section de Lausanne, section allemande de Genève. (Suisse.)
4. Barry, Cordemier, délégué d'une section de Chicago, (Amérique du Nord).
5. Becker, (Bernard) Homme de Lettres, dél. sect. de Brunswick, (Prusse).
6. Briffaut, (Désiré) Imprimeur, dél. section de Bruxelles (Belgique).
7. Courbet, (Frédéric) Peintre, dél. du Comité Général de Lourdes et dél. du comité central de Copenhague (Danemark).
8. Cune, dél. sect. de Düsseldorf, Prusse Rhénane et Bavière de Stuttgart, (Wurtemberg).
9. Coenen, Cordemier, dél. sect. d'Anvers, (Belgique).
10. Cyrille, Employé de Commerce, dél. sect. française de Paris, (Belgique).
11. Duroux, dél. sect. française de Paris et Rouen.
12. Dietrich, Tailleur, dél. sect. de Dresde. (Allem.)
13. Dupont, (Engels) Facteur d'instruments de musique, dél. du Conseil Général de Londres.
14. Dave, (Victor) dél. sect. de la Haye. Hollande.
15. Duval, Henriot, dél. du comité Fédéral Romand, (Genève/Suisse).
16. Doree, (Simon) Cordemier, dél. du Congrès de New-York, Amérique du Nord.
17. Eberhard, Tailleur, dél. sections des Métières, Cordemiers, Tailleurs, menuisiers, peintres, tapisseurs en peaux et marbrier de Bruxelles, (Belgique).
30. Hepner, (Adolphe) Journaliste, dél. sect. 8 de New-York (Amérique du Nord).
31. Hale, (John) dél. sect. de Hackney-road, Branche de Londres.
32. Heim, dél. sect. de Bohème, (Autriche).
33. Johannard, Feuillagier, dél. sect. Française, (France).
34. Karl Marx, homme de Lettres, dél. du Conseil Général, acci. 1 de New-York, dél. sect. de Leipzig et sect. de Mayence (Prusse.)
35. Kugelmann, Docteur en médecine, dél. sect. de Celle, (Hanovre.)
36. Lacau, dél. sect. Française, (France).
37. Leesner, Tailleur, dél. sect. Allemande de Londres.
38. Lafargue, (Paul) Docteur en médecine, dél. de la Nouvelle Fédération de Madrid et de la Fédération de Lisbonne, (Portugal).

135. Hague Congress delegates after a session

136. List of delegates to the Hague Congress

Bakuninism suffered a crushing defeat at the Hague Congress.

The Congress condemned the divisive activity within the IWA of a secret Bakuninist organisation called Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Mikhail Bakunin and his followers were expelled from the International. "Here we have a society," wrote Marx and Engels of the Alliance, "which, under the mask of the most extreme anarchism, directs its blows not against the existing governments but against the revolutionaries who accept neither its dogma nor its leadership... It infiltrates the ranks of the international organisation of the working class, at first attempts to dominate it and, when this plan fails, sets to work to disorganise it. It brazenly substitutes its sectarian programme and narrow ideas for the broad programme and great aspirations of our Association."

L'ALLIANCE
DE LA
DÉMOCRATIE SOCIALISTE
ET
L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE
DES TRAVAILLEURS.

RAPPORT ET DOCUMENTS PUBLIÉS PAR ORDRE DU
CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DE LA HAYE.

LONDRES :
A. DARSON, SUCCESEUR DE FOUCAULT,
46B, RATHBONE PLACE, OXFORD ST.
HAMBOURG :
EN VENTE CHEZ OTTO MEISSNER.
1873.

LES
PRÉTENDUES SCISSIONS
DANS
L'INTERNATIONALE

CIRCULAIRE PRIVÉE
DU
CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL

L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS

GENÈVE
IMPRIMERIE COOPÉRATIVE, RUE DU CONSEIL-GÉNÉRAL, 8
1872

137. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,
The Alliance of Socialist Democracy
and the International Working Men's
Association, London-Hamburg, August
1873

*Report and documents, published by
decision of the International's Hague
Congress*

The title page

138. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,
Fictitious Splits in the International.
Private Circular from the IWA General
Council, Geneva, 1872

The title page

"THE INTERNATIONAL DOMINATED ONE SIDE OF EUROPEAN HISTORY—THE SIDE ON WHICH THE FUTURE LIES—FOR TEN YEARS AND CAN LOOK BACK UPON ITS WORK WITH PRIDE."

FREDERICK ENGELS

"THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL HAD PLAYED ITS HISTORICAL PART, AND NOW MADE WAY FOR A PERIOD OF A FAR GREATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN ALL COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, A PERIOD IN WHICH THE MOVEMENT GREW IN SCOPE, AND MASS SOCIALIST WORKING-CLASS PARTIES IN INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL STATES WERE FORMED."

V. I. LENIN

1873-1883

1. Karl Marx,
London, 1875

Karl Marx was one of the rare men who could be leaders in science and public life at the same time: these two aspects were so closely united in him that one can understand him only by taking into account both the scholar and the socialist fighter.

Paul Lafargue



Arne Lef. Die Aufklärung gegen Schengen.

W.H. Dugdale Hargrave, Tadworth:- Part I

جیساں کے

1) Infestation → Parasitism.
An infestation of 2-4 larvae in the adult of Epilachna is Correlation positive & L.S. Infestation > Correlation
positive & infestation (child adult) infective adult Epilachna > Infestation adult. L.S. infestation adult
infestation adult Epilachna < infestation adult Epilachna > infestation adult, to say if 2 less than 3. Epilachna 5
infestation adult = survivor Epilachna adult infestation adult < infestation adult Epilachna < infestation adult
Epilachna adult < survivor Epilachna adult < infestation adult Epilachna < infestation adult
Epilachna adult < survivor Epilachna adult < infestation adult Epilachna < infestation adult
Epilachna adult < survivor Epilachna adult < infestation adult Epilachna < infestation adult
Epilachna adult < survivor Epilachna adult < infestation adult Epilachna < infestation adult

Coming attractions

Capital \rightarrow Equity Capital \rightarrow Debt Capital \rightarrow Preference Capital

2) -- Explain what happens when you try to multiply by zero.

Following the defeat of the Paris Commune, a relatively tranquil period began for capitalism. "The West had finished with bourgeois revolutions," Lenin wrote of that period. "The East had not yet risen to them. The West entered a phase of 'peaceful' preparations for the changes to come."

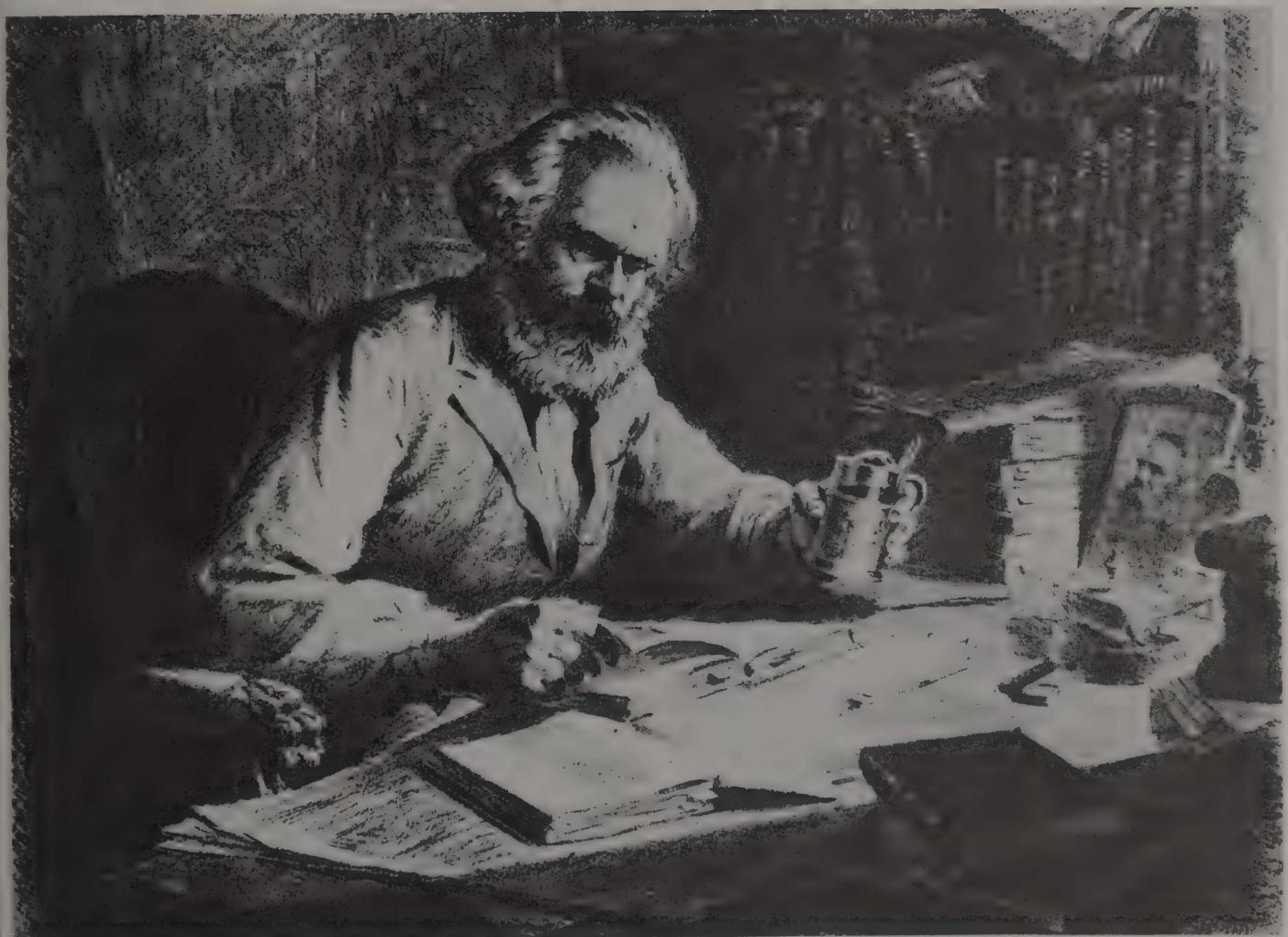
For Marx the years 1873 to 1883 were a period of intense scientific and practical revolutionary activity.

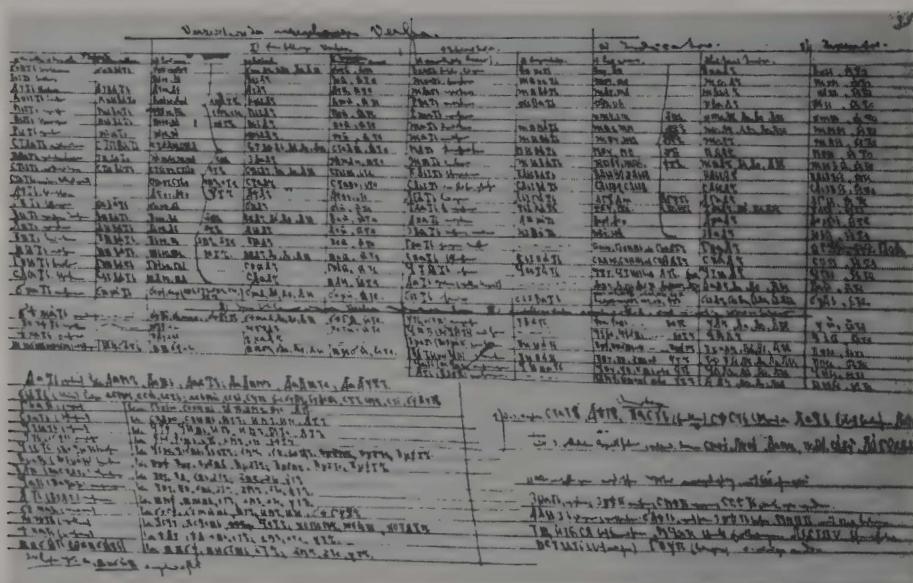
He was mainly occupied with completing his *Capital*. In those last ten years of his life he was busy summing up and gathering new material for the second and third volumes of his major academic project.

Marx made an especially careful study of new developments in the capitalist economy that surfaced in the 1870s and early 80s—the unheard-of concentration and centralisation of capital, the gravitation towards monopoly, the grown role of the banks, and the mounting export of capital.

2. A page of the manuscript of Volume II of Marx's Capital

*3. The first page of the manuscript of
Volume III of Capital*





Working on the manuscripts of volumes II and III of *Capital*, Marx concluded that he needed data on capitalism's development in Russia, especially in the period since the abolition of serfdom in that country.

In 1869, he began learning Russian on his own. As his wife wrote at that time, he began to study Russian "hammer and tongs".

5. A page of Marx's notebook with exercises in Russian grammar, 1870



Слово — Арефьев — Покровский — Новиков —
и О. Орлов — Владыкин.

I.

...Разъ весною 1834 года пришел я утромъ къ Вадиму; ни его не было дома, ни его братьевъ и сестеръ. Я взошелъ на верть, въ небольшую комнату его и сѣлъ писать.

Дверь тихо отворилась и вошла старушка, матъ Вадима; шаги ся были едва слышны, она подошла устало, боязливо къ кресланъ и сказала мнѣ, садясь въ нихъ: Пишите, пишите — я пришла взглянуть не воротясь ли Вадя. Дѣти пошли гулять, внизу такая пустота, мнѣ слышалось грустно и страшно, я посижу здесь, и ванъ не идти. Дѣлайте свое дѣло...

Лицо ея было задумчиво, въ немъ яснѣе обыкновенного видѣлся отблескъ вынесенного изъ прошлого

The first text that Marx read in Russian with the aid of a dictionary was the chapter, "Prison and Exile", from Alexander Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts*, published in London in 1854. Notes in Marx's and Engels's hand are extant on the margins of the book.

6. Alexander Ivanovich Herzen (1812-1870)

7. A. Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts*. The first page of the chapter, "Prison and Exile"

With deep interest, Marx read N. Flerovsky's book, *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*, in Russian. He observed: "This is the first book to tell the truth about Russian economic conditions."

8. N. Flerovsky, pen-name of Vassily Vassilievich Bervi (1829-1918), Russian sociologist, journalist and economist

9. N. Flerovsky, *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1869

10. Building a railway in Russia



ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ
РАБОЧАГО КЛАССА
ВЪ РОССИИ.

МАСТЕРСТВО И ТЕХНИКА
Н. ФЛЕРОВСКОГО.

С. ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.
ИЗДАНИЕ Н. П. ДОЛГИХА.
1869.





11

02 a *unvollständige handschriftliche*
D. Marx — der Sohn und sein Bruder waren mit ihm zusammen, nach Scherzer'scher Seite:
Einmal in Sankt Petersburg (1843) geschrieben am 7. Februar 1874.
Es ist ein ausführliches Bericht über die Ereignisse des 18. Februar 1847, in dem Marx mit seinen Freunden und Bekannten über die Revolution spricht. Er beschreibt die Ereignisse in Petersburg und die Reaktionen der verschiedenen Gruppen. Es ist eine sehr detaillierte Analyse der politischen und sozialen Situation in Russland zu jener Zeit.

ПИСЬМА

БЕЗЪ

АДРЕСА.

НЕИЗДАННАЯ СТАТЬЯ

Н. Г ЧЕРНЫШЕВСКАГО

ЦЮРИХЪ.

Издание журнала „Ницше“.

1874

12

Marx and Engels thought highly of Nikolai Chernyshevsky's activity as publicist, scholar, and revolutionary democrat. They commended his tenacity and civic courage in coming to grips with the tsarist autocracy. They admired his faith in the future socialist reconstruction, and his thorough knowledge of Russia. Engels referred to him as "that great thinker to whom Russia owes so much".

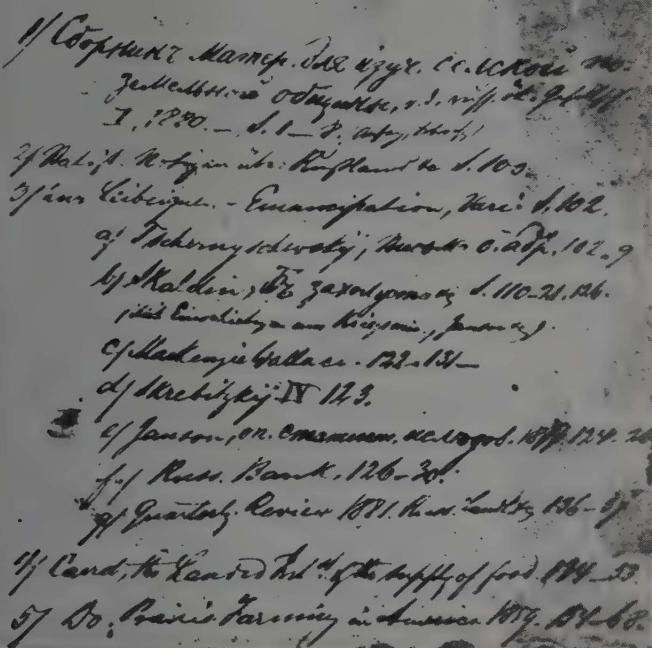
11. Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky (1828-1889)

Marx read Chernyshevsky's *Unaddressed Letters* in a handwritten copy sent him by Danielson in 1881, and assisted in their being published. Later, on the basis of the *Unaddressed Letters*, Marx produced a manuscript which he called, "Apropos of the Abolition of Serfdom in Russia".

12. Nikolai Chernyshevsky, Unaddressed Letters, Zurich, 1874

Russia in my bookshelf.

- 1) Сборник статистических сб. Альбина по Московскому губернанию (Учебник хозяйственной статистики) Издание Московского губернатора Земства. (1870) - but also from 1871-1872 - Альбин хозяйственной статистики
- 2) Банд - изображение на Оренбургской карте Кобзя
- 3) Банд - Генерал-Губернаторство Кобзя, изображение в Бюллетене (Бюллетень № 2 2-го пол. 1874)
- 4) Банд - Кобзя в Бюлетеине Кобзя. Изображение на Кобзя
- 5) Банд - изображение на Кобзя
- 6) Банд - Кобзя (Кобзя = Бюлетеин) cf. n. 21.
- 7) Свод материалов по Кубанской Тирольской провинции в России - (Карта и география Кубани) 1874
- 8) Ежегодник Морского Третий Департамента - 4 тома в 1869, 1874, 1875, 1876
- 9) Национальный Пионерский путь в 1868-1870гг. 1872
- 10) Статистический Сборник Пионерской Коттеджной 1878 в 2 томах
- 11) ТО же в 2 томах 1876-1877
- 12) Статистический Сборник Пионерской Коттеджной 1877 в 2 томах 1877-1878
- 13) Сборник Кубанской Администрации Административный Кубань - 1870 - 1871 в 2 томах. Альбум для изображения Кубань - 1875
- 14) Опыт по земельному праву в России в 1873-1874 гг. - включая Петербург 1873
- 15) Труды Третьего земельного комитета в 1874
- 16) Опыт по земельному праву в России в 1874-1875 - 2 тома 1874



13. A page from the notebook containing Marx's "Apropos of the Abolition of Serfdom in Russia"

Marx read countless books on the economy, politics, social relations and culture of Russia, and made a thorough study of Russia's history. "I know nobody who understood Russia as well and as thoroughly, inside-out, as he did," Engels wrote. Marx's deep knowledge of the internal processes in Russia led him to the following conclusion:

"THIS TIME THE REVOLUTION BEGINS IN THE EAST, HITHERO THE UNTOUCHED CITADEL AND RESERVE ARMY OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION."



14. The list of contents attached to Marx's notebook with entries for 1881. Written by Engels after Marx's death

15. Marx's notebook, with an entry made in 1881: "Russian on My Bookshelf"

16. "Off to town and apprenticeship in a factory"

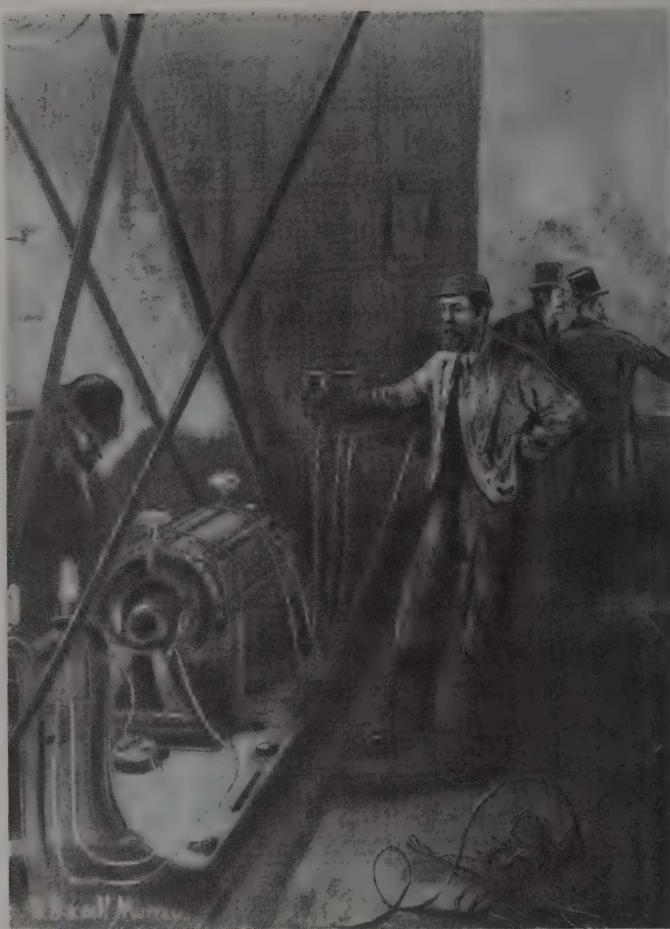
34) 100% 3m-14. 246 Grafting.

3) Es gelten die in den obigen Theoremen, sofern diese Theoreme nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Alle Ergebnisse werden ausgeschlossen, wenn ausgeschlossene Theoreme und ausgeschlossene Sätze ausgewiesen werden. Es gelten in diesem Fall die folgenden Aussagen:

Einzelne Sätze mit demselben Vertrag ab und nicht immer zusammenhängende Sätze sind ebenfalls meistens bestellt, wobei zwischen ihnen keine Abhängigkeit besteht.

...with the following table for areas under which quaking aspens grow, where it reaches its maximum extent, and the number of trees per acre.

2. *Thlaspi arvense* Linn. *Thlaspi arvense* Linn.



Studying political economy, Marx also kept abreast of the latest developments in natural science. Looking into the ground rent, for example, he also read up on agro-chemistry, chemistry, biology, geology, and so on. Often, he turned to Carl Schorlemmer, one of his close friends, for advice and explanations.

Some of Marx's economic studies called for complicated calculations. That was why he devoted much time to mathematics. He also studied the history of mathematics, commercial arithmetic, and algebra. All this back in the 1850s. And in 1878 to 1882 he compiled extensive material on the history of differential calculus, having preliminarily studied Descartes, Leibniz, Newton, Euler, Maclaurin, and others.

After his death, Engels intended to publish Marx's mathematical writings under separate cover. He considered them highly original. Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts*, however, were not published until 1968 in the Soviet Union.

17. "On the Concept of the Derived Function"—a page from Marx's notebook, "Algebra I"

18. Zénobe Théophile Gramme's industrial dynamo

was at the International with all the young Lts.

卷之三

1921 1922 1923 1924

$$C_2 = \frac{C_1 C_3}{C_1 + C_3} = \frac{C_1 C_3}{C_1 + C_3} \cdot \frac{C_1 + C_3}{C_1 + C_3} = \frac{C_1^2 + C_1 C_3}{C_1 + C_3} = \frac{C_1(C_1 + C_3)}{C_1 + C_3} = C_1$$

REMARKS - The species is very similar to *Leucosoma annulipes* (Fabricius) and *L. annulipes* var. *annulipes* is probably the same as *L. annulipes* var. *annulipes*.

نوع	الكمية	الوحدة	القيمة	النوع	الكمية	الوحدة	القيمة
السلع	١٠٠	كيلو	٢٥٠٠	السلع	٣٠٠	كيلو	٢٥٠٠
السلع	٦٠٠	كيلو	٢٥٠٠	السلع	٣٠٠	كيلو	٢٥٠٠
السلع	٦٠٠	كيلو	٢٥٠٠	السلع	٣٠٠	كيلو	٢٥٠٠
السلع	٦٠٠	كيلو	٢٥٠٠	السلع	٣٠٠	كيلو	٢٥٠٠

19. Marx's exercises in chemistry A page from an exercise-book

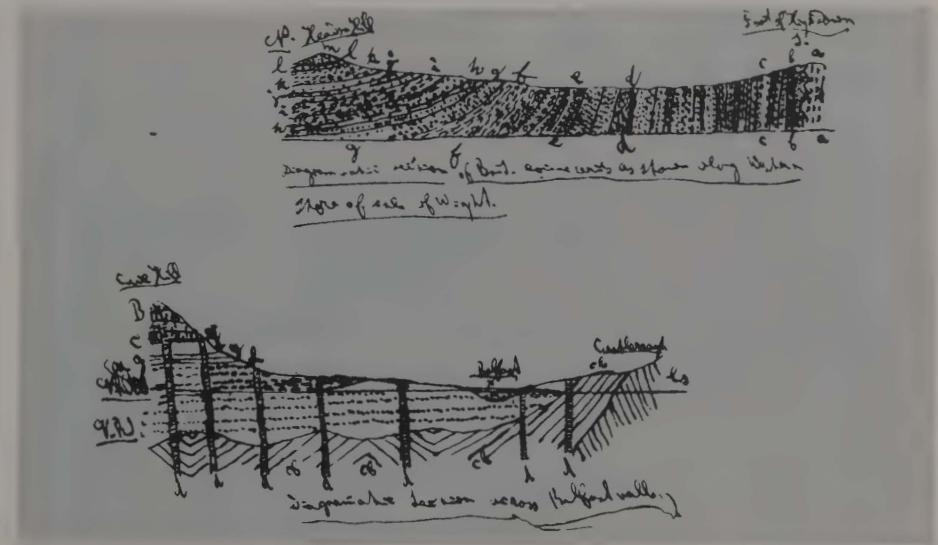
20. The opening page of Marx's exercise-book for 1878 with a summary of Jones's Geology and Johnston's

Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry and Geology

21. Carl Schorlemmer (1834-1892), German scientist, specialised in organic chemistry; dialectical materialist,

member of the German Social-Democratic Party, a friend of Marx's and Engels's

22. Marx's exercises in geology. A drawing



ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

RESEARCHES IN THE LINES OF HUMAN PROGRESS
FROM SAVAGERY, THROUGH BARBARISM
TO CIVILIZATION

BY

LEWIS H. MORGAN, LL.D.

Member of the National Academy of Sciences. Author of "The League of the Iroquois," "The American System of Civilization," "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," &c.

PRINTED FOR MACMILLAN & CO.

HORACE.

London
MACMILLAN AND CO
1877

The Malaya sib and has passed quickly on to the Hindoo Kshatriya sibship. With the end of the family,
the system (Incas) terminates in the Malaya (unto the end of the three families, with the return of the last two
consanguineous sibships; obtained evidence and its points from eight books on the Incas and from
from L. 1870).

The consanguineous relationships of the Bornean sibship created by consanguinity - several of the members relate among
themselves - the brothers of the husband and the sisters of the wives formed brotherhoods of the relatives fully expressed
by the Melanesian custom of affinity. Similarly the Castilian Highland was coextensive with the group
with the family marriage relations; but gradually it had been reduced to boundaries of smaller families
for convenience of better recognition. Brothers, by 10 and 12 of the same, married to each other
sons, may divide the sons of an adulterous relationship of a consanguineous group.

Communal society seems to have sprung in the members of the consanguineous family, to have been carried on in the
members and brought this to the sympathetic intra-familial kinship, without ever reaching a point where
it is the point of that division - (and the bold slavery? and so long before Engels?)

Partie ch. 1. The Iroquois and the consanguineous family.

Ingenious 2. consanguinity expressed in husbandry in American clanries with Potowatamies who were in
the inner circle of Indians, married peers (formerly chiefly widowers) though not gradually descended from
one family for years to consanguineous family.

Married consanguineous brothers usually found more sons than twins to them: But consanguinity function,
forming a united household and children's independence: These parents were not referred to as consanguineous
among the principles of common subsistence respecting surplus labor that they had no right to use it
as private property; both old and young sons had equal rights to use it as private property.

During the first century of your colonial period, but you concerned as nothing so far away the manners of that
colonial time, the Irish peasant concerned himself oft a thought long about his surviving relations; at the present time
they were dispensed with the Irish peasant economy and its survivors to many less decrepit in many other Irish
families handed to the newcomer, parents to their children the name of the land, working in shares of portionary titles,

Studying agrarian relations and ground rent, Marx delved into the origin and development of landownership. In the 1870s he examined communal landownership in Asia, Europe, Africa, and America.

His studies helped him determine the specificities of the primitive communal system. He followed, too, the discoveries of the 1870s in archaeology, ethnography, anthropology, and paleontology.

Lewis Henry Morgan's book, *Ancient Society*, which Marx and Engels praised highly, appeared in 1877.

23. Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society*, London, 1877
The title page

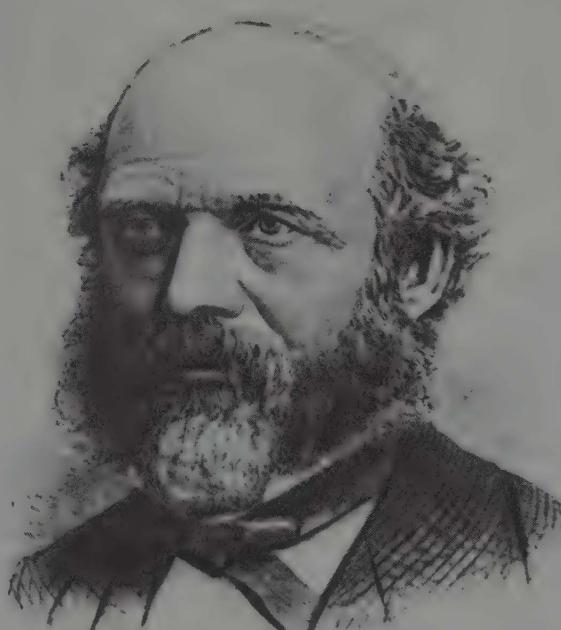
24. Marx's précis of Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society*
A fragment of the manuscript

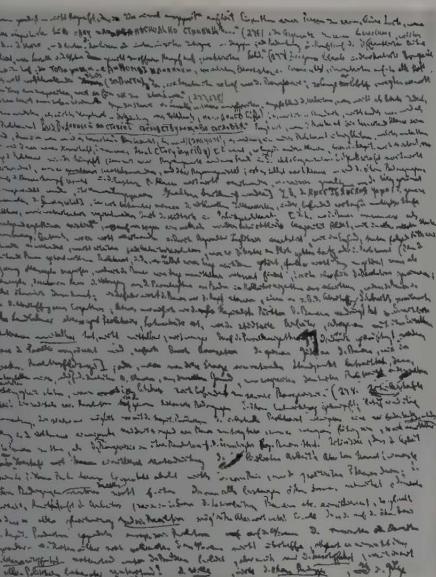
25. Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), American historian and ethnographer, student of primitive society

The critical remarks concerning Morgan in Marx's précis were later used by Engels in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884).

Paul Lafargue wrote of Marx's wide-ranging interest and the depth of his knowledge:

"YOU COULD QUESTION HIM AT ANY TIME ON ANY SUBJECT AND GET THE MOST DETAILED ANSWER YOU COULD WISH FOR... HIS BRAIN WAS LIKE A MAN-OF-WAR IN PORT UNDER STEAM, READY TO LAUNCH INTO ANY SPHERE OF THOUGHT."





Though his scholarly research took up much of his time, Marx never failed his other duties—those of directing the working-class movement.

By the end of the 1870s revolutionary workers' parties were founded in a fairly large number of countries: in 1874 in Austria, two years later in Denmark, in 1879 in Belgium and Spain, and in Poland and Italy in 1882. All of them requested and expected assistance from Marx and Engels.

Assisting them, Marx and Engels did their best to consider the distinctive features and specificity of the country concerned, and the difficulties and obstacles facing the working-class movement there.

In countries with an as yet underdeveloped capitalism, such as Spain, Switzerland, and Italy, anarchist elements obstructed the founding and activity of mass proletarian parties.

26. Karl Marx, *Summary of Mikhail Bakunin's Statehood and Anarchy* A page from the summary

Marx took Bakunin to task, and set forth a number of important ideas concerning revolutionary theory: on the subjective factor, on the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry, and so on.

L'INDIFFERENZA in materia politica

« La classe operaia non deve costituirsi in partito politico; essa non deve, sotto alcun pretesto, avere azione politica, poiché combattere lo Stato è riconoscere lo Stato: ciò che è contrario ai principii eterni. Gli operai non devono fare degli scioperi; poiché fare degli sforzi per farsi crescere il salario o per impedirne l'abbassamento, è come riconoscere il *Salario*: ciò che è contrario ai principii eterni dell'emancipazione della classe operaia !

« Se nella lotta politica contro lo Stato borghese, gli operai non giungono che a strappare delle concessioni, essi fanno dei compromessi: ciò che è contrario ai principii eterni. Si deve quindi disprezzare ogni movimento pacifico, come gli operai inglesi ed americani hanno la cattiva abitudine di fare. Gli operai non devono fare sforzi per stabilire un limite legale della giornata di lavoro, perché gli è come fare dei compromessi coi pa-



Marx mounted an attack on anarchism in the Italian socialist press. At the request of Italian Socialist Enrico Bignami, Marx wrote an article, "Political Indifferentism", which appeared in the journal, *Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874*. Here Marx demonstrated the true implications of the anarchist postulate of abstaining from politics. The anarchists, Marx wrote, may pretend to be revolutionary, but in fact they doomed the working class to inaction and demoralisation. The anarchist call of abstaining from political action and class struggle, from setting up proletarian parties, was tantamount to perpetuating capitalism.

27. Karl Marx, "Political Indifferentism" A page from the Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874

28. Enrico Bignami (1846-1921)



29

After the crushing defeat of the Paris Commune, the centre of the working-class movement shifted to Germany. The country's unification and the elimination of feudal fragmentation spurred

swift industrial development. The number of the proletariat increased, and favourable conditions appeared for the development of the labour movement.



30

29. An iron-and-steel works at Saarbrücken, 1876

30. A new gas factory in Cologne, 1879



31

When following the defeat of the Paris Commune, the government loosened reprisals against the German Social-Democrats, Marx countered by reissuing his pamphlet, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. In an Epilogue, he demonstrated the fallacy and impotence of Bismarck's attempts "to drive the workers' party out of existence".

Der Volksstaat

Organ der sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei und der internationalen Gewerkschaften.

Untertitel: Die Meldung von Sozial-, Sozial- und Volksversammlungen, sowie die Sozial-Opferkassen und Soziale Wohlf.-Kapitalgenossenschaften veranlassen, zwecks vor 1 Mgr. — Sozial- und Volkszeitung.

10 Kopeks pro Central.

Central: Einheitszeitung nach dem sozialen Befreiungskampf auf dem Namen des Herrn Marx wird auf dem gesamten Territorium des Kaiserreichs unter der Bezeichnung "Sozial- und Volkszeitung" auch auf den Namen des Central 10 Kopeks.

Nr. 126. Mittwoch, 28. Oktober. 1874.

Mittheilungen über den Kommunisten-Prozeß zu Köln.

Bon Karl Marx.

1858.

(Uneränderter Abdruck.)

I. Vorläufiges.

Röthung wurde am 10. Mai 1851 in Leipzig verhaftet, kurz nach Bürgers, Röder, Daniels, Becker u. s. w. Am 4. Okt. 1852 erschienen die Verhafteten vor den Kölner Amtsen unter der angeklagten "hochverräthschen Komplote" gegen den preußischen Staat. Die Unterwerfungshaft — Zellengefängnis — hatte also $\frac{1}{2}$ Jahre gewährt.

Bei der Verhaftung von Röthung und Bürgers saß man als Manifest der kommunistischen Partei vor, die „Statuten zu den der Kommunisten“ (einer kommunistischen Propaganda), 2 Ansprachen der Centralabtheilungen dieses Bundes, einige Abreiter und Proschriften. Nachdem die Verhaftung von Röthung schon 8 Tage bekannt war, fanden Haushaltungen und Verhandlungen in Köln vor. Wenn also noch etwas zu finden waren, so war es jetzt sicher verschwunden. In der That entdeckte sich der Gang auf einige irrelevante Briefe. 1½ Jahre später, als die Verhafteten erlich vor dem Schiedsgericht erschienen, war das ganze alte Material der Anklage auch nicht um ein Dokument verweht. Dennoch hatten sowohlliche Behörde

den preußischen Staats, wie das öffentliche Ministerium (vertraut durch v. Siedendorf und Sädt) versichert, die angeklagtesten verfeindigste Thätigkeit entwickelt. Womit waren sie also beschuldigt? Nein vertron!

Die ungewöhnliche Lauer der Untersuchungshaft wurde in der preußischen Seite motivirt. Galt doch so, die sädliche Regierung wollte Bürgers und Röthung nicht an Preußen ausliefern. Das Gericht zu Köln reklamierte vergeblich bei dem Ministerium Berlin, das Ministerium zu Berlin vergeblich bei den Böhringen in Sachsen. Intrieb des sächsischen Staats ließ sich erweichen. Bürgers und Röthung wurden angeleitet. Endlich Oktober 1852 war die Sache so weit gediehen, daß die Alten dem Anklageamt des Kölner Appellhofes vorlagen. Der Anklageamt entdeckte, daß ein objektiver Thatsachenstand für die Anklage vorliege — die Untersuchung daher von Neuem beginnen müsse.“

Der Richter des Gerichts war unterbrochen worden durch einen erloschenen Disciplinargesetz, das die preußische Regierung erlaubte, jeden ihr zugehörigen richterlichen Beamten zu befehligen. Damals also wurde der Prozeß sistiert, weil kein Thatsachenstand vorlag.

Im folgenden Amissenquartal wußte er anzuschreiben welche zu viel Thatsachenstand vorlag. Der Richter schrieb es, sei es nun, daß der Anklager sich nicht durchsetzen könne. Er schreibt sich nach und nach durch, der Anklageamt wurde den Beurtheilungen zugestellt, die Eröffnung der Behandlungen für den 28. zu gegeben. Unterbrochen war aber das große Vierterungsstreitbad

31. Trial of the German Social-Democrats in Leipzig, 1872

32. Karl Marx, Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne

Der Volksstaat, October 28, 1874

32



33

From 1869 on, two socialist parties were active in Germany—the Social-Democratic Workers' Party founded in 1869 at the congress in Eisenach, and the Lassalleian General Association of German Workers founded in 1863. Marx maintained close contacts with the leaders of the Eisenach party, which followed some basic Marxist principles, though it did make concessions to Lassalleianism.

The existence of two proletarian political organisations tended to dissipate workers' activity in Germany, and, after long-drawn-out negotiations between the leaders of the two parties it was decided to hold a unity congress in Gotha in 1875.

33. The Gotha Congress

34-35. The house in Gotha and the premises where the unity congress (May 22-27, 1875) established the single Socialist Workers' Party of Germany



34



35

M. Bracke London, 5. Mai '79
+ "Kinder" - Zugangsweg zu den Kindernachrichten
Dann ein wichtiges Fazit zu folgen steht.

Liebes Brüder, Liebe Freunde

Wiederholte Fortsetzung ^{zum Ende} und es wird recht nach Durchdringung, zu leicht von Geist schlägt, Beliebtheit mit Vierlini & Schlesier übereinstimmt und muss eben nicht über die Meinungen herausstehen. Das mir erzählte vorgezeichnet ist, was ein sehr langer Fernweg von 4 Jahren soll lange Wartezeit schaffen. Gestaltete doch waren, schreinende Dant und auf seinem Thron thende Kleinkinder aus der Antike, für welche diese Mithilfe bestimmt ist, nicht vorbereitet werden.

Während dieser intensiven Phase sah auch diese Überzeugung darüber aus, welche politische Partei demokratische Programme mit nicht durch diplomatische Mittel einzuführen anstreben.

deren Politik schrift verdeckte Theorie, ist wichtiger als ein 2-teiliges Programm.
Kontrolle kann das nicht in die Lerninhalte lehren, das richtige - aber das gesuchte
Programm heraustragen, wodurch man einfach einige ~~theoretische~~ Lehrinhalte aufhebt
für aktiveren gegen den gegenwärtigen Raum einzukämpfen sollen. Gleichzeitig werden
soziologische Programme (dafür müssen wir uns Zeit aufbringen, was vergleichbar
mit dem längeren gewöhnlichen Pädagogik unterrichtet wird), so erarbeitet man vor allem
Welt Orientierung, an dessen Hilfe die Schüler zur Partizipationsfähigkeit werden.
Die Chefs der Schulen müssen wissen, mit den Verbindungen zu den engagierten. Wollen
man diese von ihren Klassen abziehen, man kann nicht auf keine soziologischen
Schichten eindringen, so können sie nicht mit einem Aktionsprogramm über

The draft of the unity programme published in the party press on March 7, 1875, disappointed Marx and Engels. It contained a succession of erroneous approaches. To show his comrades in Germany the faults of their draft, Marx wrote marginal notes on the programme of the German Workers' Party. Subsequently, they were published under the title, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, and sent by Marx to the leaders of the Eisenach party care of Wilhelm Bracke on May 5, 1875.

The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* contains important Marxist ideas concerning the period of the revolutionary conversion of capitalist into socialist society, on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the State of that period, on the two phases of communist society, production and distribution in the first phase of commun-

ism, and the basic features of the higher phase.

36. Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke,
May 5, 1875 Pages of the manuscript

37. Wilhelm Bracke (1842-1880), organiser of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers)

Urgewohnheiten konnten nicht leicht verändert werden. Gott kann endlich
nur eine ~~gewisse~~^{erhebliche} Macht über Menschen ausüben und diese ist
durch Gottes heilige gesetzliche Verordnungen, ergründet also den Willen
Gottes und greift auf jene Sitten und Bräuche ein, die der Körper
der Kirche dienen. Aber Gott hat keine außergewöhnlichen, welche
die Kirche einer Sünde ~~und~~^{oder} Verfehlung, während die anderen
Punkte ihrer Sitten ~~und~~^{mit} geringen Sünden oder leichter offenkundigen
Verfehlungen verbunden sind. Aber solche Sitten können die Kirche
unterstützen und das eigene Tun nicht zum Schaden bringen lassen. Wenn
man sie als Sühne-Nahrungs der Vereinigung des Fleisches (versteht), das
man nicht mit dem angestammten Dienst angestellt, welche sie nicht
zu Heil und Segen
verhelfen kann, so kann sie nicht, entgegen dem Ziel der Vereinigung
der katholischen Gemeinschaft.

zu wie man in Tschirnhaus' Zeit die Höhenstufungen d. Ges. Klasseys d. Kugels
wissen. Es folgten D. D. und auf längstes Zeit durch Einheit d. P. P. den
geometrischen. Eine solche oder Uebertragung ist sicher nicht d. Inthe-
gelingt, da sie die Geometrie & Topographie erheblich trennen will
un gefolgt wird die Theorie von "Kugel" mit Kugel, dem sich aber fällig
Höhenstufungen erheben muss.
Die Physikalisch-Geometrische hat zwei Meister. Es handelt sich um Leibniz
Johann Gottlieb F. G. und wohl ein wenig Eusebius d. Alberici d.
Kölner Konzilien, der proklamirt hat.

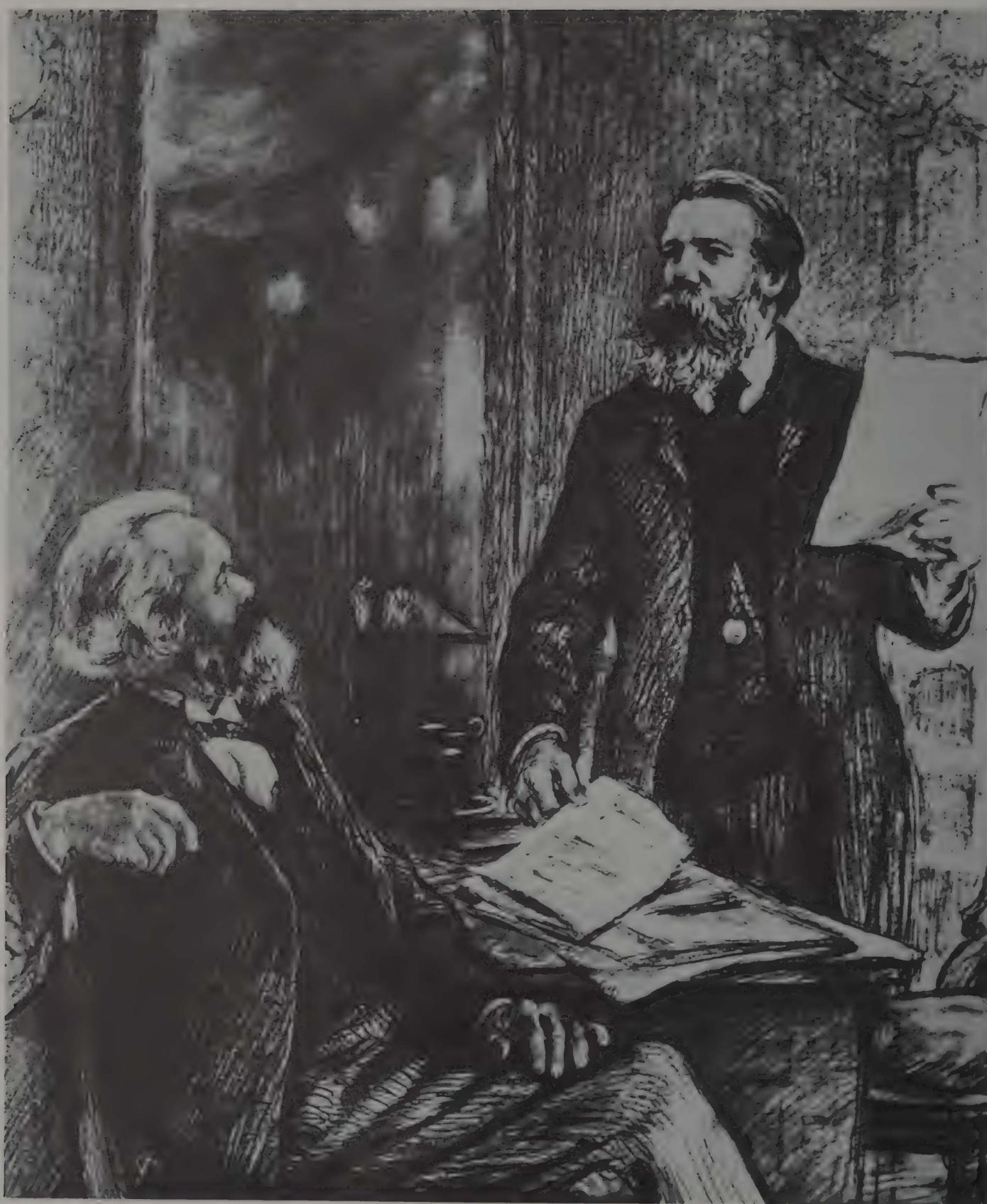
(Milwaukee Young)

The Head (Mary)

Reaktionen des Programms der Deutschen Arbeitsgemeinschaft.

I. d. Zu beiden ist die Quelle aller Reichtums und aller Macht und untersteht sie
unserer nur in der Gotteswelt ein durch die Gottesmacht eingeschafft ist, gehört der
Lobpreis des Heilands unbedingt, nach gleichem Rechte, allen Gottesdienstgefehlern
unterst der Lobegebet: „... zu beiden ist die Quelle aller Reichtums und aller Macht“
zu beiden ist nicht der Gottes alle Reichtum. Die Quelle ist ebenso wie die Quelle des
Reichtums der Gotteswelt (z. am rechten herab nicht mehr den rechten Reichtu-
mam.) nicht der Gottes, die aber an die Würdigung eines Menschenfels ist, den
manches aus kleinem Wohlstande.





Vorwärts

Central-Organ der Sozialdemokratie Deutschlands.

雅 1

Die feindlichen Brüder.

Wiederholung 1863 sei der Wettbewerb um die Herrschaft über Sachsen-Anhalt und Sachsen-Meiningen, um die Herrschaft über das Herzogtum Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha und über das Herzogtum Sachsen-Altenburg. Dieser war der erste, höchst von den sächsischen Fürsten gewünschte, Krieg, der im Jahre 1863 ausgetragen wurde; Kaiser Wilhelm II. schreibt darüber: »Gescheitert war es, daß Sachsen-Anhalt und Sachsen-Meiningen, die verlustreichen Nationalversammlungen folgten, jedoch haben die bestreitenen Forderungen noch weiterhin die Basis für die späteren Befreiungskriege geworden.« Der Krieg war ein Sieg des preußischen Heeres, mehr unterliegen und der Regierung, welche er ausführte, als unter dem Kommando des Generals von Roon. Er war ein Sieg des preußischen Heeres, mehr unterliegen und der Regierung, welche er ausführte, als unter dem Kommando des Generals von Roon. Er war ein Sieg des preußischen Heeres, mehr unterliegen und der Regierung, welche er ausführte, als unter dem Kommando des Generals von Roon. Er war ein Sieg des preußischen Heeres, mehr unterliegen und der Regierung, welche er ausführte, als unter dem Kommando des Generals von Roon. Er war ein Sieg des preußischen Heeres, mehr unterliegen und der Regierung, welche er ausführte, als unter dem Kommando des Generals von Roon.

Bettu Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der

Philosophie.

Parlamentarischer Jugendspiegel

Rundfunk - Die kritisches Geschichte der "National"

Österrike

I) Was spricht die Albertina.

Der Sozialismus stellt nicht die Lösung dar, mit der endlich das soziale Verhältnis zwischen den Parteien eine "eigene moderne Erziehung" erhält. (V. 12)

Der Sozialismus ist eigentlich (1860) eine politische Doktrin - als eigene "Wissenschaft" kommt er erst an den Plan, fiktiv zuerst aufgestellt und zu "der Wirklichkeit der politischen Doktrin" (1859, V. 29) übertragen. In England ist William Petty, ein Theoretiker mit politischer Doktrin, in England mit Ricardo, in Deutschland mit Klemm-Strübing. Der Sozialismus folgt diesem charakteristischen Gang, nur dass die ältere Doktrin (Ricardo) mit den späteren Abstößen, welche die englische Wissenschaft nach Ablauf zweier Jahrzehnte wurde zu Tage gefordert hat - Strübing und Sozialismus mit anderen Rechten an einer tollkühnen Leidenschaft und kriegerischen Gewalt usw. - "Was aber schon diese Naturtheorie in seiner wissenschaftlichen Unbrauchbarkeit und der unzureichenden Klarheit und Vollheit gewesen oder vorgegangen ist, mag nicht nur von sehr kleinen inneren theoretischen Geschwätzchen, sondern allgemeinen Maßnahmen nach eingeschätzt werden (V. 3) wie z.B. die Thaten des Krieges, einzelne und mehrere Kriege, sein "Unternehmen" (soziale Kriege durchsetzt und nicht gewollt), ~~oder~~ anzusehen können als "der Ersatz der ~~und~~ neuen Eigentümern".

Time and again Marx voiced his fears that the Gotha Programme, which contained considerable concessions to the Lassalleans, would fling open the party's doors to all sorts of opportunists. This came true within the next year, as the petty-bourgeois socialist ideas of Eugen Dühring, an assistant professor at Berlin University, gained currency in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. Marx urged Engels to take public issue with that gentleman. That was how Engels's *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, more commonly known as *Anti-Dühring*, came into being. Marx took part in writing the book. He produced the chapter criticising Dühring's views on the history of political economy.

Engels did not confine himself to refuting Dühring's unscientific outlook. He produced an integral exposition of the three components of Marxist theory: dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, and the doctrine on socialism and communism. The book contributed to the spread of Marxist ideas and to the ideological advancement of the German Social-Democrats.

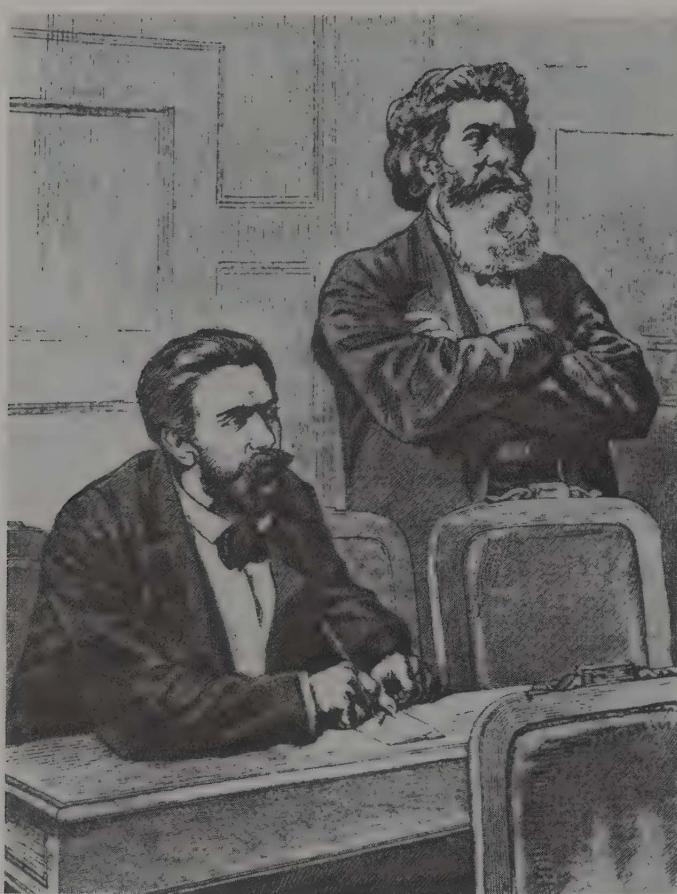
38. Marx and Engels at work, 1870s

39. *Frederick Engels, Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Philosophy*

The book was first published in the form of articles, appearing in *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the German Social-Democrats, as from January 1877.

40. Karl Marx, Remarks on Dühring's book, "A Critical History of Political Economy"

A page of the manuscript



41

Laden Bild

Die Begegnung v. Engels u. Marx
Dargestellt durch einen jungen Studenten
der Universität Berlin. In der Bildmitte
steht Marx, der eine lange, dichte Brille
hat und eine dicke, graue Jacke trägt. Er
ist mit einer Hand auf den Kopf gelegt und
schaut nach oben. Engels steht hinter ihm
und hält eine Pfeife in der rechten Hand.
Er ist ebenfalls mit einer Brille ausgestattet
und trägt eine dunkle Jacke. Beide sind
in einem Raum, der wie ein Klassenzimmer
oder ein Studienraum aussieht. Im Hintergrund
sind Bücherregale und Tische zu sehen.



42

N° 24. — 2^e Série.

LIBERTÉ — SOLIDARITÉ — JUSTICE

30 Juin 1880

L'ÉGALITÉ

ORGANE COLLECTIVISTE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE

PARAÎSSANT LE MERCREDI

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PROGRAMME ÉLECTORAL DES TRAVAILLEURS SOCIALISTES

Considérant,

Que l'émancipation de la classe productive est celle de tous les êtres humains sans distinction de sexe ni de race ;

Que les producteurs ne sauraient être libres qu'autant qu'ils seront en possession des moyens de production ;

Qu'il n'y a que deux formes sous lesquelles les moyens de production peuvent leur appartenir :

1^o La forme individuelle qui n'a jamais existé à l'état de fait général et qui est éliminée de plus en plus par le progrès industriel ;

2^o La forme collective dont les éléments matériels et intellectuels sont constitués par le développement même de la société capitaliste.

Considérant,

Que cette appropriation collective ne peut sortir que de l'action révolutionnaire de la classe productive — ou prolétariat — organisée en parti politique distinct ;

Qu'une pareille organisation doit être poursuivie par tous les moyens dont dispose le prolétariat, y compris le suffrage universel quadruplé ainsi d'instrument de duperie qu'il a été jusqu'ici en instrument d'émancipation ;

Les travailleurs socialistes français en donnant pour but à leurs efforts, dans l'ordre économique, le retour à la collectivité de tous les moyens de production, ont décidé comme moyen d'organisation et de lutte d'entre dans les élections avec le programme minimum suivant :

A. — Programme politique.

1^o Abolition de toutes les lois sur la presse, les réunions et les associations et surtout de la loi contre l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. — Suppression du livret, cette mise en carte de la classe ouvrière, et de tous les articles du Code établissant l'infériorité de l'ouvrier vis-à-vis du patron.

2^o Suppression du budget des cultes et retour à la nation, « des biens dits demain-mort, meubles et immeubles, appartenant aux corporations religieuses » (Décret de la Commune du 2 avril 1871), y compris toutes les annexes industrielles et commerciales de ces corporations.

3^o Armement général du peuple.

4^o La Commune entraîne de son administration et de sa police.

B. — Programme économique.

1^o Jours de lundi ou interdiction légale pour les employeurs de faire travailler le lundi. — Réduction légale de la journée de travail à 8 heures pour les adultes. — Interdiction du travail des enfants dans les ateliers privés au-dessous de 14 ans; et, de 14 à 18 ans, réduction légale de la journée de travail à 6 heures.

2^o Minimum légal des salaires, déterminé, chaque année, d'après le prix local des denrées.

3^o Égalité de salaire pour les travailleurs des deux sexes.

4^o Instruction scientifique et technologique de tous les enfants, mise pour leur entretien à la charge de la société représentée par l'Etat et non les Communes.

Marx and Engels helped the German Socialists to find the right forms of struggle and to get around the Anti-Socialist Law that operated in the country from 1878 to 1890. Right-wing opportunism had grown into the chief menace at that time. In a letter to Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke, and others, Marx and Engels warned that concessions to opportunism, and any conciliatory approach, would jeopardise the revolutionary proletarian character of the party.

41. Deputies August Bebel and Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche during the debate of the Anti-Socialist Law in the Reichstag in October 1878

42. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke, and others, September 17-19, 1879

. A page of the manuscript

43. A cartoon ridiculing the Anti-Socialist Law

Marx and Engels sought to assist the French Socialists in founding and consolidating an independent revolutionary party of the French working class. At the request of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, Marx took part in drafting a programme, which was eventually adopted at the party's congress in Le Havre in 1880. This was a big success for Marxism in France.



45



46

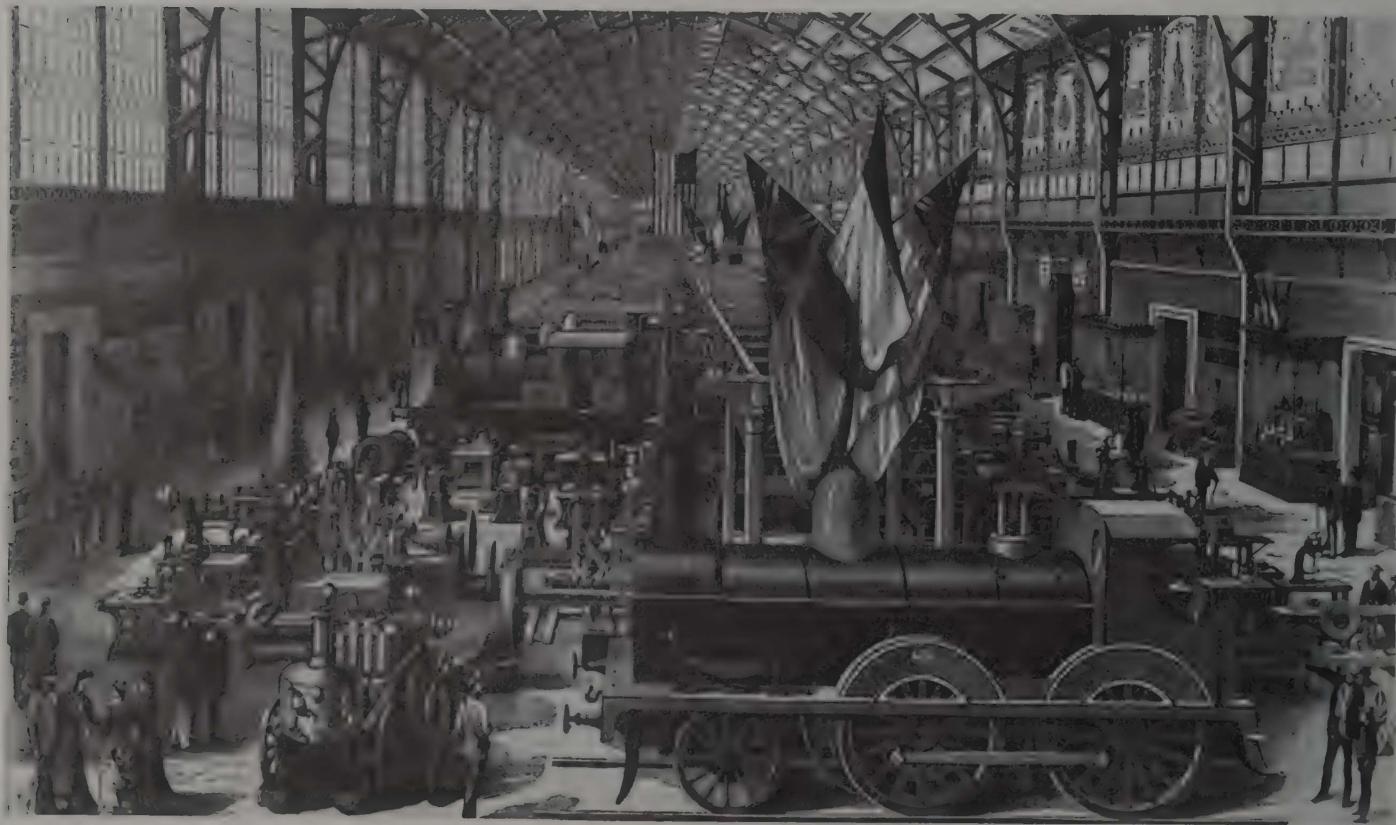
44. Karl Marx, Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party L'Égalité, June 30, 1880

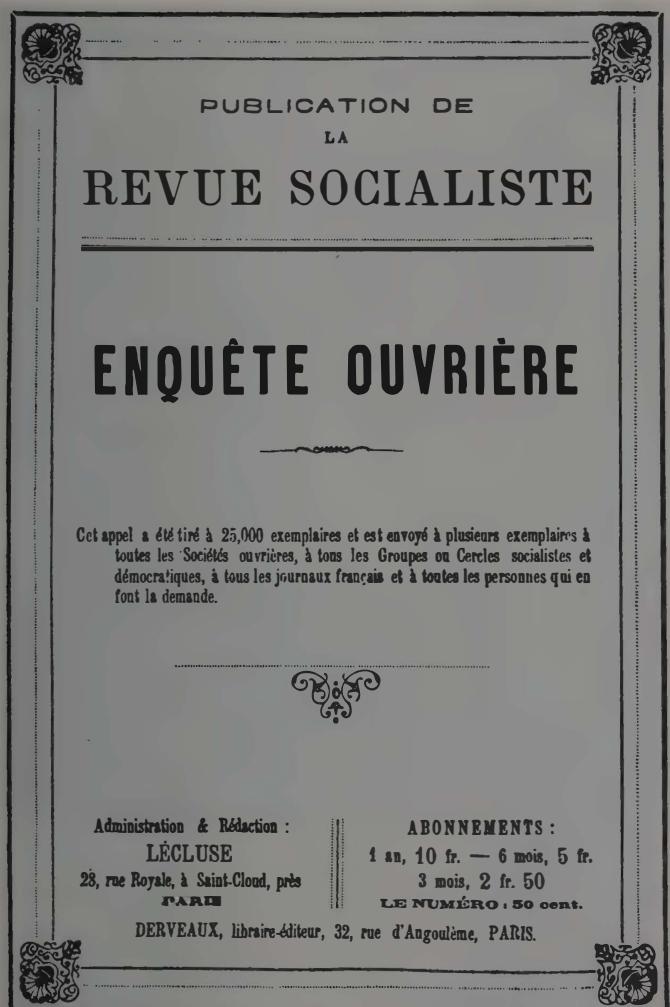
“IT WAS AN ENERGETIC STEP TOWARDS PULLING THE FRENCH WORKERS DOWN TO EARTH FROM THEIR FOG OF PHRASEOLOGY.”

KARL MARX

45. Paul Lafargue (1842-1911)

46. Jules Guesde (1845-1922)





47. Building workers' strike in Paris
48. Machinery on display at the World
Exhibition in Paris in 1878

49. Karl Marx, Workers' Questionnaire, Paris, 1880

At Paul Lafargue's request, Engels revised three chapters of *Anti-Dühring* for publication under separate cover, entitled *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Marx wrote a special introduction to the French edition, with a biographical sketch of Frederick Engels, describing him as one of "the foremost representatives of contemporary socialism".

In April 1880, Marx composed a 100-question *Workers' Questionnaire* for *La Revue socialiste*. It helped pinpoint all the forms and methods of exploiting the working class, and was of great help to the proletarian party in directing the labour movement.

50. Karl Marx, "Introduction to the French Edition of Frederick Engels's booklet Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", 1881

A page of the manuscript

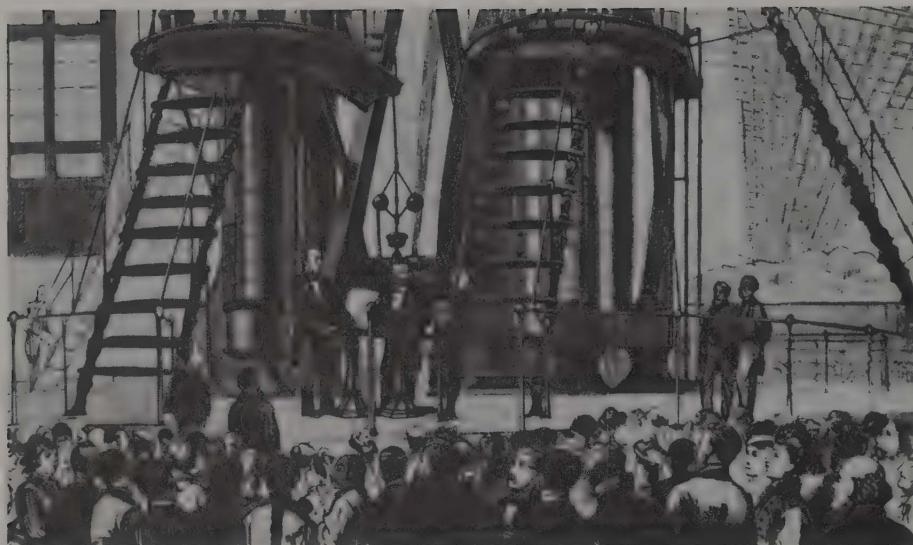
3^e éme La Guerre des Paysans allemands, qui fut, 15 ans après, report à l'Espagne comme bataille et perso pas tout à faire.
Après la reprise du mouvement socialiste en Allemagne, Engels contribua au Dühring et au Vorwärts avec des articles les plus importants. Dont le plus important a été réimprimé sous forme de pamphlet intitulé Le mouvement social en France, l'Espresso dans le Reichstag allemand. La question des habitations, l'immigration cantonale en Espagne etc.
En 1870, après avoir quitté Manchester pour Londres, Engels entra dans le Conseil Général de l'Internationale, où il fut chargé de correspondre avec l'Espagne, le Portugal et l'Italie.
La série des derniers articles qu'il contribua au Vorwärts, sous le titre Sur l'avenir du socialisme dans la société, fut répondu aux questions des théories nouvelles de W. Dühring sur les sciences en général et le socialisme en particulier. Ces derniers étaient très bons et permirent les socialistes allemands, lors de leurs deux dernières réunions, d'arriver au plus haut de la partie doctrinale de ce livre, qui futur ce qu'on pourrait appeler une Introduzione aux socialistes scientifiques.

Cher Lafargue

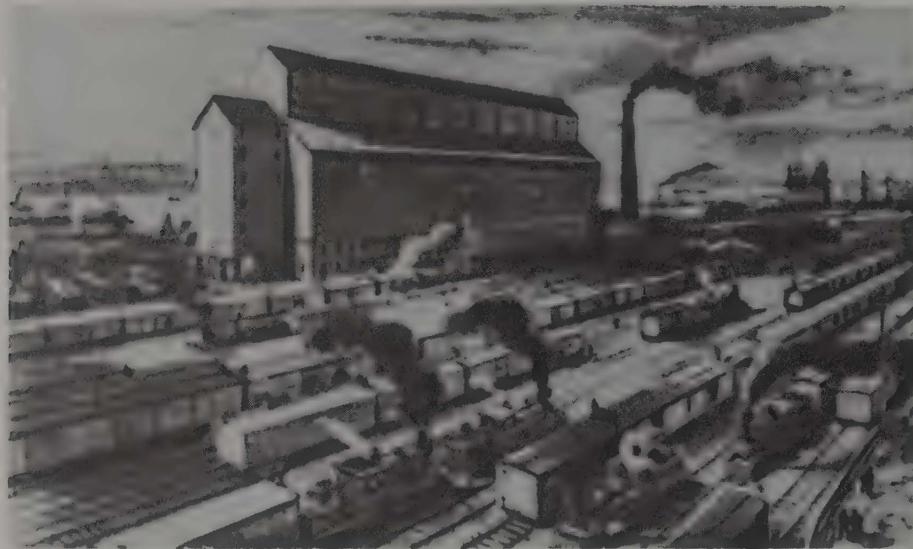
Voilà le point de ma correspondance (d'hier soir) avec M. Lafargue les phrases, lesquelles je vous ai faites, sont celles

Tout à vous

Karl Marx.



51



52



53

In the last few years of his life, Marx followed the swift growth of capitalism in the United States. He saw the difficulties that hampered the development of the labour movement in the USA, where the bourgeoisie was cunningly creating what he called a "workers' aristocracy". The continuous influx of emigrants from Europe was a big reason why the US working class was of a gaudily heterogeneous nature.

In 1876, a Workingmen's Party of America was founded under the influence of the IWA, with some of the leaders, like Friedrich Sorge, Otto Weydemeyer (Joseph Weydemeyer's son), and Patrick MacDonnel, being well known to Marx. They maintained continuous contact with Marx and Engels.

51. The World Exhibition in Philadelphia, 1876

52. Approach tracks and granary in the New York port, 1877

53. The New York police disperses a demonstration of émigré Communards

In 1877, labour-capital clashes proliferated in the United States. On July 25, 1877, Marx wrote to Engels:

"WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES? THIS FIRST ERUPTION AGAINST THE OLIGARCHY OF ASSOCIATED CAPITAL WHICH HAS ARisen SINCE THE CIVIL WAR WILL OF COURSE BE PUT DOWN, BUT IT COULD QUITE WELL FORM THE STARTING POINT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SERIOUS LABOUR PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES."



Das

Kommunistische Manifest

Neue Ausgabe

Mit einem Vorwort der Verfasser.

54. Railroad workers' strike in the USA, 1877

55. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,
Manifesto of the Communist Party
Published in Chicago in German in
1883 by the Federation of the North
American States

Chicago, 1883.

Berlag des Chicagoer Central-Comites der Soz. Böerberation
in Nord-Amerika

The cover



56

In the last ten years of his life, Marx devoted much of his time to studying the revolutionary movement in Russia, and Russia's economic and political condition, history and culture. The letters Marx and Engels wrote to Russian revolutionaries are filled with deep hatred for tsarism and with hope for the success of the revolutionary movement.



57

56. The foundry at an iron-and-steel works in the Urals

57. A revolutionary being arrested by tsarist gendarmes

58. A demonstration outside the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg on December 18, 1877

59. Georgi Valentinovich Plekhanov (1856-1918), an outstanding leader of the Russian and international social-democratic movement, the first propagandist of Marxism in Russia

60. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, translated into Russian by Plekhanov, with a special preface by the authors, Geneva, 1882

The cover

The preface to the Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* spoke of the bright outlook for revolutionary struggle in Russia and stressed the need for deposing the tsarist tyranny. It noted that revolution in Russia was inescapable. "Russia," the authors of the *Manifesto* said, "forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe."



58



59

MANIFESTE DU PARTI COMMUNISTE
par Karl MARX et Fr. ENGELS

РУССКАЯ СОЦИАЛЬНО-РЕВОЛЮЦИОННАЯ БИБЛИОТЕКА
Книга Третья

МАНИФЕСТЬ КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ

Карла Маркса и Фр. Энгельса

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ВОЛЬНАЯ РУССКАЯ ТИПОГРАФІЯ.

1882

60



61

М. Ковалевского.

ОБЩИНОЕ ЗЕМЛЕВЛАДЕНІЕ, ПРИЧИНЫ, ХОДЪ И ПОСЛѢДСТВІЯ ЕГО РАЗЛОЖЕНИЯ.

«Не знать, не смеяться
и сомневаться»
Савинова.

ЧАСТЬ ПЕРВАЯ.

МОСКВА.
Типография Ф. Б. Малера. Покровка, Милютин. пер., 2 № 62
— 15 —

63

64



Seeing that a polemic had broken out among the Narodniks over the Russian peasant commune and the development of capitalism in Russia, Vera Zasulich requested Marx to elucidate the matter. In a letter to Zasulich of March 8, 1881, Marx warned against the Narodniks' infatuation with the peasant commune.

61. Vera Ivanovna Zasulich (1849-1919), prominent figure in the Narodnik and then social-democratic movement in Russia. In the 1880s and 90s she translated into Russian *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Marx and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Engels

62. Karl Marx, *Draft of the letter to Vera Zasulich, March 8, 1881*

A fragment

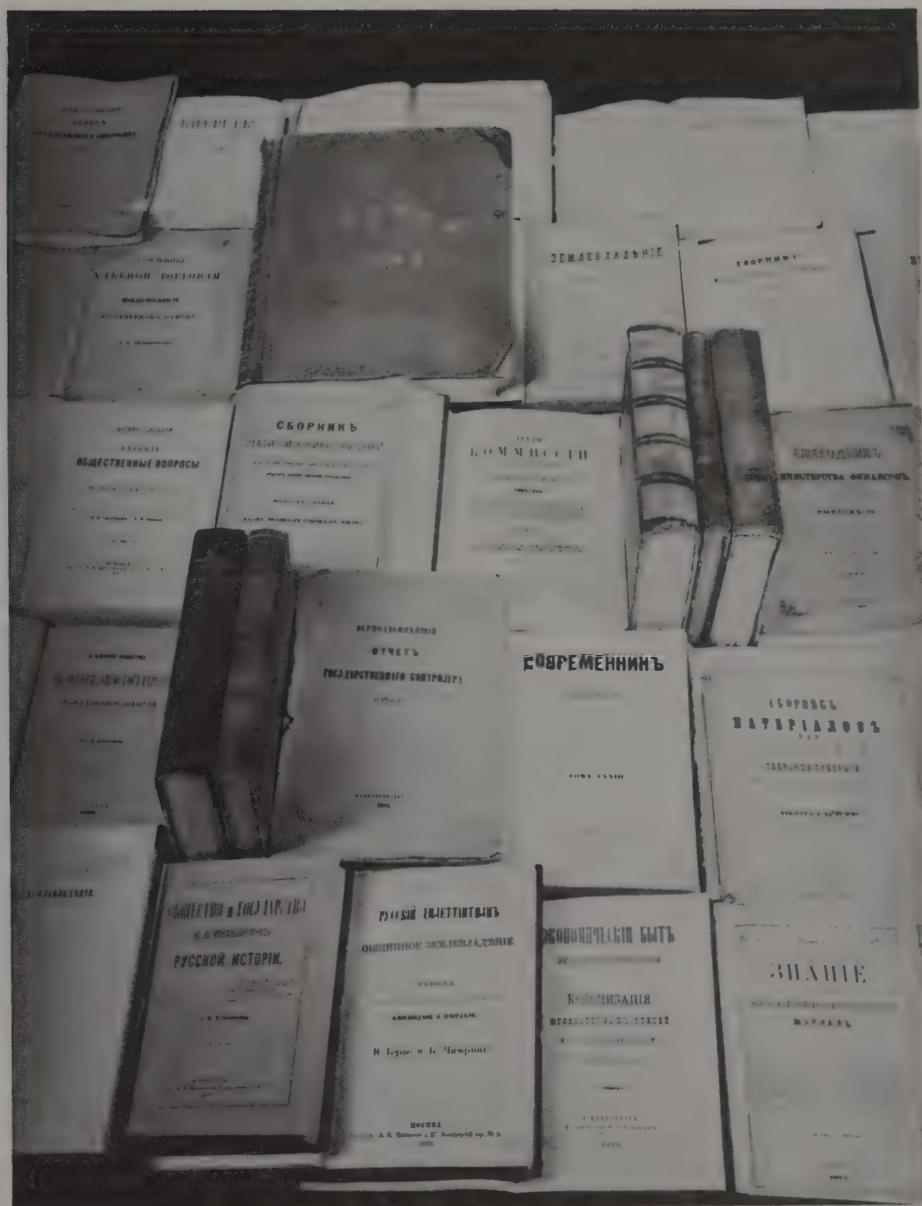


Marx showed a deep interest in Maxim Kovalevsky's scholarly study, *Communal Landownership, and the Causes, Course and Consequences of Its Disintegration*, which he was given as a gift by its author, a Russian scholar.

63. Maxim Kovalevsky, Communal Landownership, and the Causes, Course and Consequences of Its Disintegration, Moscow, 1879

64. Maxim Maximovich Kovalevsky (1851-1916), historian, lawyer and sociologist

65. Engineering works in Kolomna, Russia



66

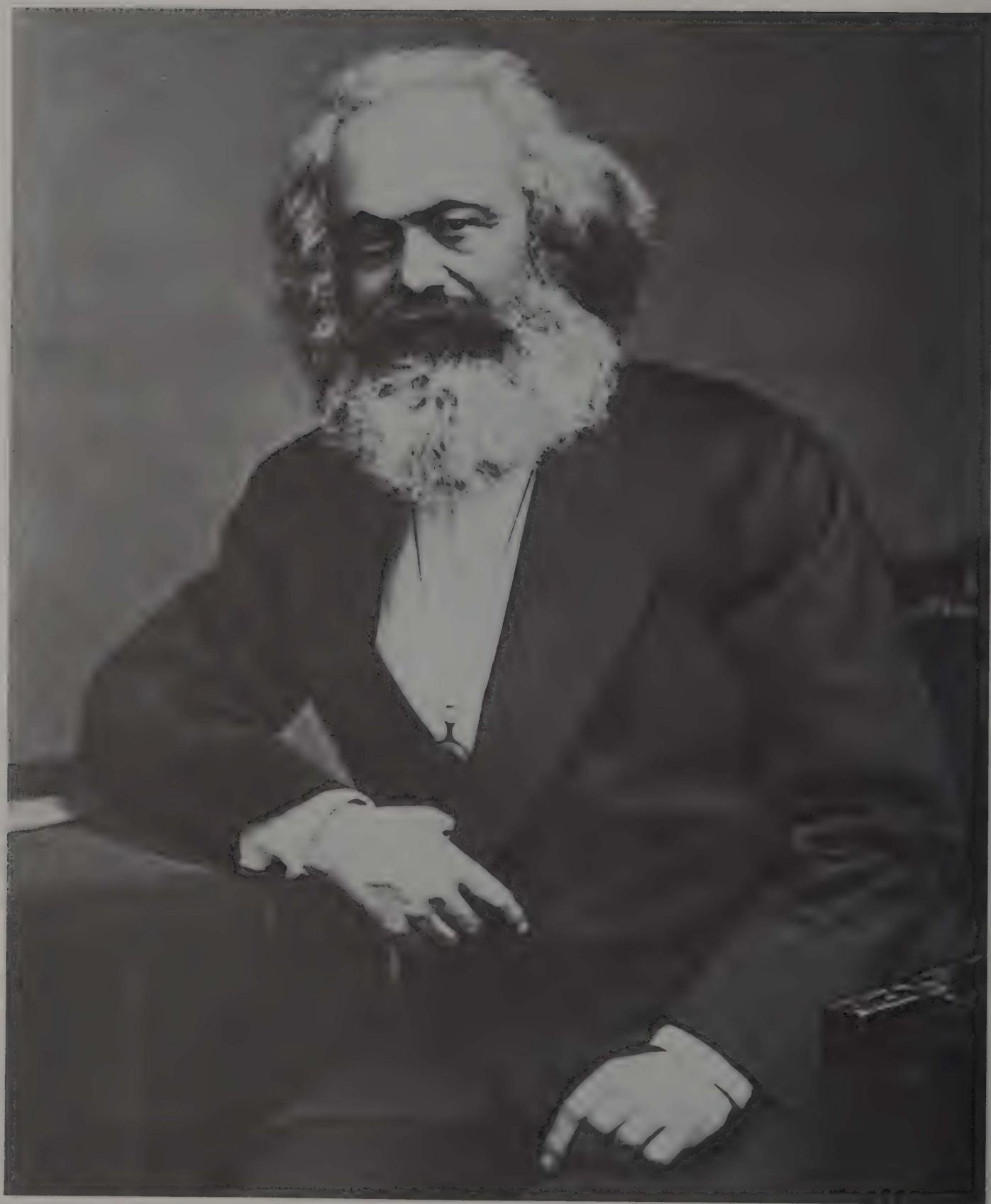
66. Russian books in Karl Marx's library

67. Marx's letter to the Editorial Board of Otechestvenniye Zapiski, November 1877

A page of the manuscript

In that letter, Marx wrote:

"IF RUSSIA WANTS TO BECOME A CAPITALIST NATION ... SHE WILL NOT SUCCEED WITHOUT HAVING FIRST TRANSFORMED A GOOD PART OF HER PEASANTS INTO PROLETARIANS..."



Members of the labour movement in all countries had boundless trust and deep respect for Marx.

"HIS POWER OF 'DRAWING OUT PEOPLE', OF MAKING THEM FEEL THAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN WHAT INTERESTED THEM WAS MARVELLOUS. I HAVE HEARD MEN OF THE MOST DIVERSE CALLINGS AND POSITIONS SPEAK OF HIS PECULIAR CAPACITY FOR UNDERSTANDING THEM AND THEIR AFFAIRS," Eleanor, Marx's youngest daughter recollects. "WHEN HE THOUGHT ANYONE REALLY IN EARNEST HIS PATIENCE WAS UNLIMITED. NO QUESTION WAS TOO TRIVIAL FOR HIM TO ANSWER, NO ARGUMENT TOO CHILDISH FOR SERIOUS DISCUSSION. HIS TIME AND HIS VAST LEARNING WERE ALWAYS AT THE SERVICE OF ANY MAN OR WOMAN WHO SEEMED ANXIOUS TO LEARN."



68. Karl Marx, London, August 1875

69. Jenny Marx, Marx's wife, the end of the 1870s

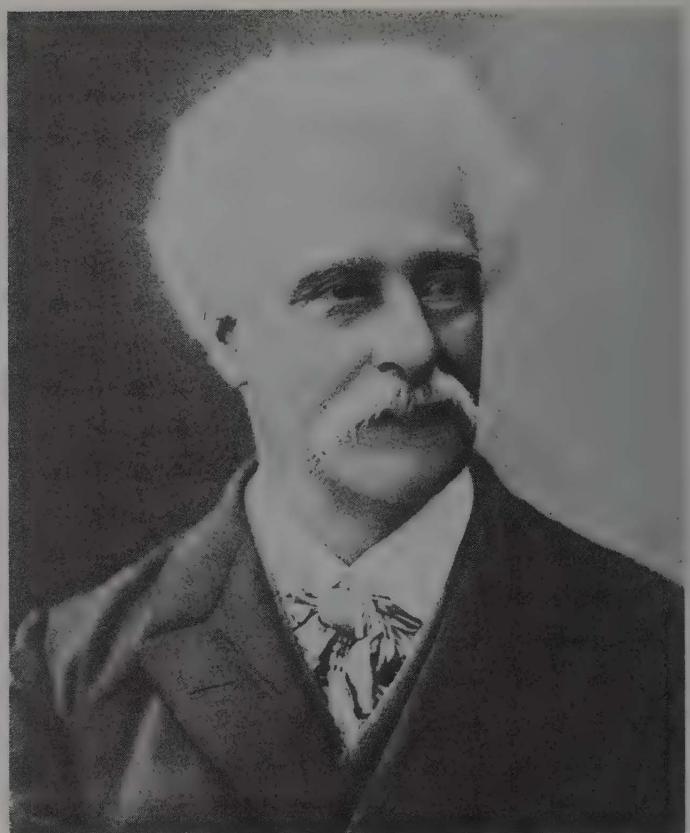
70. The house in London at 41 Maitland Park Road, where the Marxes lived from March 1875 to March 1883



71

The twenty years of émigré life in London saw many changes in the Marx family. By 1879, the elder daughters Jenny and Laura had grown up, and the youngest, Eleanor, was eighteen.

All three were exceedingly able, with highly fertile minds. All their lives they had compassion for the disinherited, and were always eager to help them in the fight for liberation. Marx's eldest daughter Jenny studied the history of the labour movement, and natural sciences. Laura was a gifted translator, and had translated many of her father's works into French, including the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. In 1868, she married French Socialist Paul Lafargue, and was his faithful companion, helper and comrade in his revolutionary endeavours. In October 1872, Jenny left her father's home; she married Charles Longuet, a prominent personality in the IWA.



72

71. *Laura, Marx's daughter, the mid-1880s*

72. *Paul Lafargue, Laura Marx's husband*

73. *Charles-Étienne Lafargue (1868-1872), Marx's grandson, son of Paul and Laura Lafargue*



73



74. 74. Jenny Marx and her husband Charles Longuet



75. Eleanor Marx

76. Jean-Lorran-Frederick (Jonney) Longuet (1876-1938), Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet



After Jenny, Marx's eldest daughter, married, Eleanor succeeded to her duties as her father's secretary. Like the elder sisters, she was happy to be of help to him: she copied manuscripts, and acted as his special ambassador. Like her sisters, she was on friendly terms with many leaders of the Paris Commune and the International.



77



Marx's powerful constitution had enabled him to bear superhuman physical and mental strains for several dozen years. But his hair turned gray at 40, and at 50 he looked far older. This was the effect of the hardships of émigré life, which had claimed the lives of four of his children.

In 1873, Marx's health deteriorated. On the insistence of his wife and Frederick Engels, he went for a rest cure to Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary).

Jenny, Marx's wife, died on December 2, 1881. This was a mortal blow for Marx. He had lost wife, friend, companion, and helper. Engels spoke with deep affection of this fine woman at her graveside: "What such a woman, with such a clear and critical intellect, with such political tact, with such passionate energy of character, with such capacity for self-sacrifice, has done in the revolutionary movement, that has not been pushed forward into publicity, that is not registered in the columns of the periodical press. That is only known to those who lived near her."

The doctors advised Marx to go to Algeria for a rest in February 1882, but he was forced to return soon owing to inclement weather. On the way home, he visited his daughter Jenny in Paris, and also saw Laura.

After his return to London, his health deteriorated again. On January 11, 1883, he suffered one more bereavement: his eldest daughter Jenny died after a short illness.

The efforts of his doctors and the devoted care lavished upon him by Helene Demuth, a loyal friend of the family, sustained the hope that Marx would recover. But that was not to be. He died on March 14, 1883.

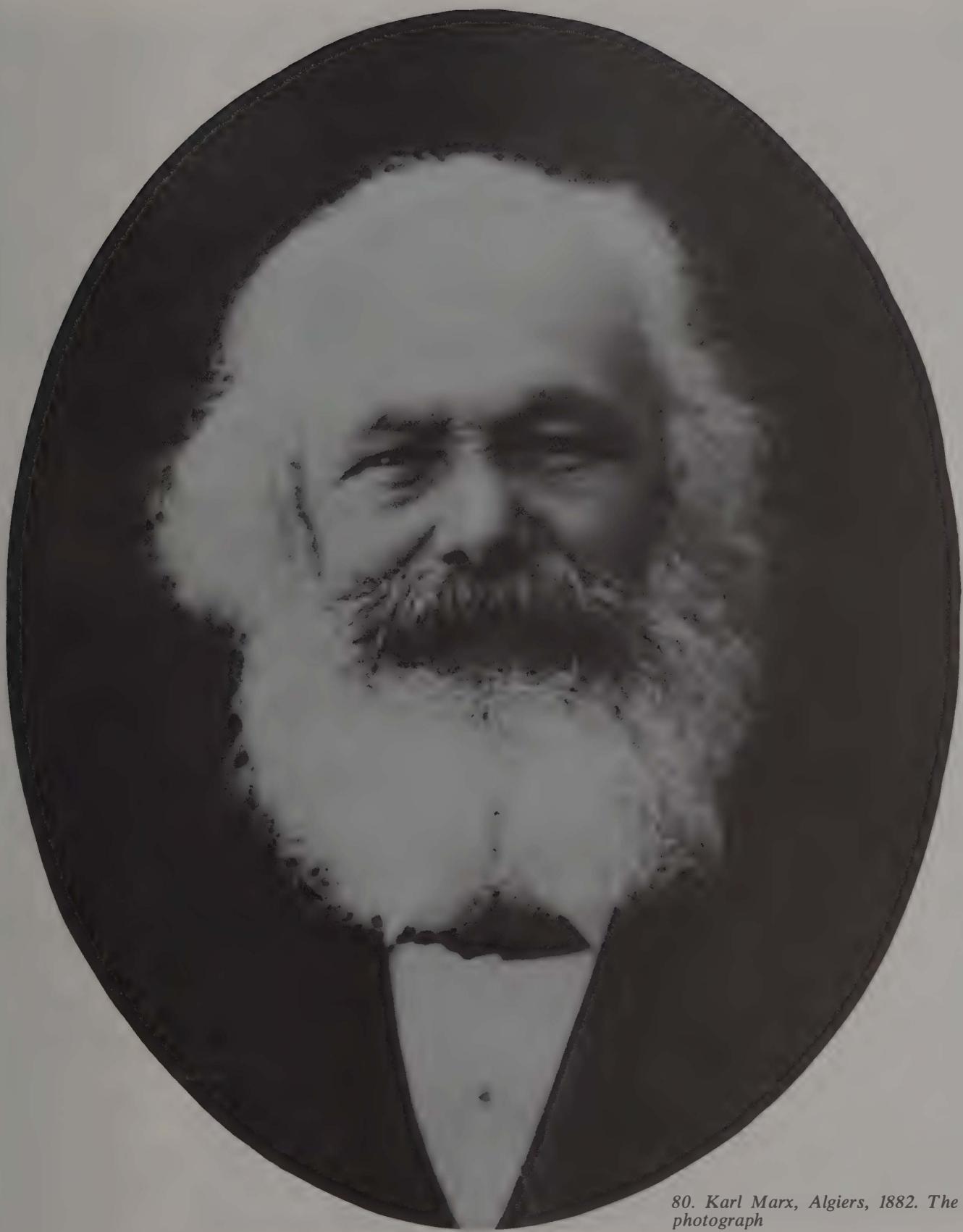
77. Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary)

78. Germania Hotel in Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) where Karl Marx stayed in 1874, 1875 and 1876

Eleanor twice accompanied him on these trips

79. Eleanor Marx

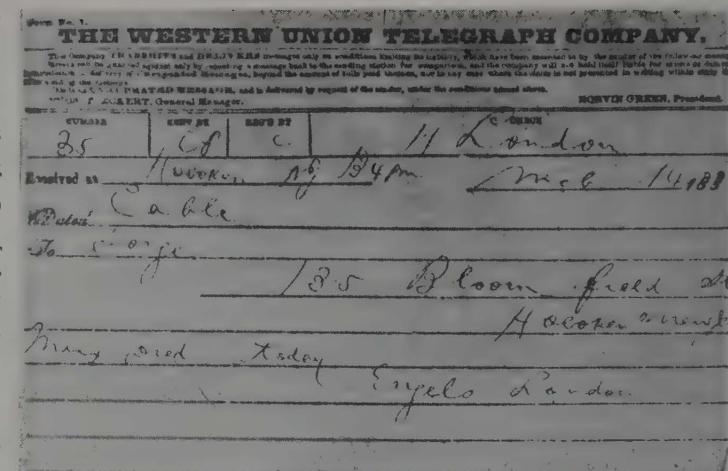




80. Karl Marx, Algiers, 1882. The last photograph

81. Engels's cable to Adolf Sorge, informing him of Marx's death

"MANKIND IS SHORTER BY A HEAD," Engels wrote, "AND THAT THE GREATEST HEAD OF OUR TIME. THE MOVEMENT OF THE PROLETARIAT GOES ON, BUT GONE IS THE CENTRAL POINT TO WHICH FRENCHMEN, RUSSIANS, AMERICANS, AND GERMANS SPONTANEOUSLY TURNED AT DECISIVE MOMENTS TO RECEIVE ALWAYS THAT CLEAR INDISPUTABLE COUNSEL WHICH ONLY GENIUS AND CONSUMMATE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SITUATION COULD GIVE... THE FINAL VICTORY REMAINS CERTAIN, BUT THE DETOURS, THE TEMPORARY AND LOCAL MISTAKES—WHICH ARE UNAVOIDABLE IN ANY CASE—WILL NOW OCCUR MUCH MORE OFTEN. WELL, WE MUST SEE IT THROUGH; WHAT ELSE ARE WE HERE FOR?"



82. The Karl Marx memorial in Highgate Cemetery, London, by sculptor Lawrence Bradshaw

The memorial was put up in 1956 on funds collected among workers of different countries.

After Marx's death, Engels carried on, elaborating upon the theories of scientific communism. He was adviser and leader of socialists in different countries.

Engels survived Marx by twelve years. During this time, he prepared for the printer the second and third volumes of *Capital*, which proved a gigantic undertaking. He also continued work on Marxist theory, and defended Marxist ideas against distortion by bourgeois ideologists and opportunists. His books of 1884 and 1886, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, have come down to us as brilliant contributions to Marxism's literary legacy.

While devoting much time to research and science, Engels had all those years also directed the international working-class and socialist movement.

"After his friend Karl Marx," Lenin wrote, "Engels was the finest scholar and teacher of the modern proletariat in the whole civilised world... Engels continued alone as the counsellor and leader of the European socialists... They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age."

The train of events after Marx and Engels has confirmed the correctness of their scientific theory and the great cause to which they had dedicated all their lives.

83. Frederick Engels,
London, 1891





THE BEGINNING OF A NEW REVOLUTIONARY ERA

The great leader of the new generation of revolutionaries and of the world proletariat, and a brilliant successor to Marx and Engels, was Vladimir Lenin. Careful study of the works of Marx and Engels was for Lenin a rule he never failed to follow.

In the new historical environment, in the era of imperialism, when ever more intricate and complex tasks faced those who headed the proletarian struggle, Lenin safeguarded Marxism from distortion by opportunists and revisionists. In Lenin's works all aspects of the Marxist doctrine have been taken a step further.

In these and other works, Lenin took the Marxist science—philosophy, economic doctrine, and scientific socialism—a substantial step further. Having delved into the laws of capitalism in its monopoly stage, and drawing the profound conclusion that the revolution can initially win in one separate country, Lenin directed the Bolshevik Party and the working people during the victorious revolutionary overthrow of the autocracy in Russia. He created an integral doctrine on the party, and revealed its enormous powers as guide and organiser in building communist society. He shored up the party with his theory of the socialist state. And in doing all this, tilting the scales in favour of the Russian and international revolutionary movement, Lenin always acted on the theory of Marx and Engels.

84. *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, 1897*

85. *Lenin's summary, "The Marx-Engels Correspondence", 1913*
A page of the manuscript

86. *V. I. Lenin, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Moscow, 1909*
The cover

87. *V. I. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Petrograd, 1917*
The cover

88. *V. I. Lenin, The State and Revolution, Petrograd, 1918*
The title page

ВЛ ИЛЬИНЪ.

МАТЕРИАЛИЗМъ
и
ЭМПИРИОКРИТИЦИЗМъ
критическая замѣтки объ одной
реакціонной философіи.

Н. ЛЕНИНЪ (ВЛ. ИЛЬИНЪ).

ИМПЕРИАЛИЗМъ,
КАКЪ НОВЪЙШІЙ ЭТАПЪ
КАПИТАЛИЗМА.
(Популярный очеркъ).

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ГОСУДАРСТВО
и
РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ
Ученіе марксизма о государствѣ и задачи
пролетариата въ революціи.

ВЫПУСКЪ I.

ИЗДАНІЕ „ЗВЕНО“
МОСКВА
1909

СКЛАДЪ ИЗДАНІЯ:
Книжный складъ и магазинъ „Жизнь и Знаніе“
Петроградъ, Поварской пер., 2, кв. 9 и 10. Тел. 227-42.
1917 г.

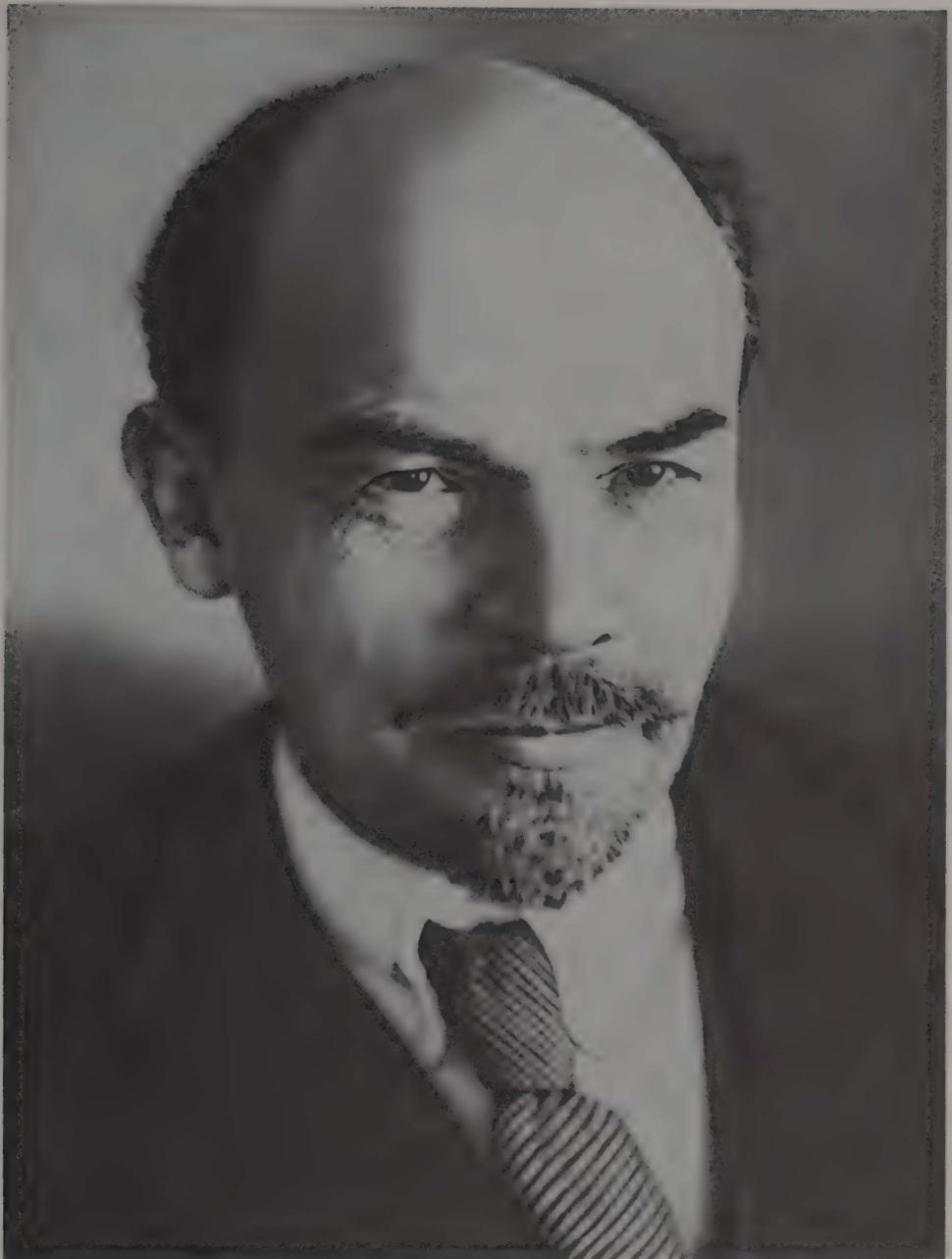
ПЕТРОГРАДЪ
1917



89. *Storming the Winter Palace,*
Petrograd, October 1917

The Great October Socialist Revolution was an event of worldwide historic significance. It ushered in a new stage in the international working-class movement.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become a guide in building communist society.



90. V. I. Lenin, 1918

91. Jubilee medal of Karl Marx issued in Petrograd in 1918



92. Lenin speaks at the unveiling of a monument to Marx and Engels in Moscow on November 7, 1918

93. Monument to Karl Marx in Moscow unveiled in 1962; by sculptor Lev Kerbel









The Life and Work of Karl Marx.

Outstanding Dates

May 5, 1818	A son Karl is born to barrister Heinrich Marx and his wife, Henriette, in Trier	January-February 1842	Marx writes "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction", a critique of the Prussian feudal-absolutist system. That was Marx's first piece of journalism
November 28, 1820	A son Frederick is born to textile manufacturer Friedrich Engels and his wife, Elisabeth, in Barmen	May 1842	Marx begins to contribute to the <i>Rheinische Zeitung</i> founded in Cologne by the liberal bourgeoisie of the Rhine Province. His articles stress the need to protect the rights of the toiling masses
July 27-29, 1830	Revolution in France	October 15, 1842-March 18, 1843	Marx becomes editor-in-chief of the <i>Rheinische Zeitung</i> . Under his direction the paper's line becomes increasingly more revolutionary and democratic. Marx's articles denoted a shift from idealism to materialism, and from revolutionary democracy to communist ideas
September 1830-31	Revolution in Belgium	Latter half of November 1842	Marx first meets Engels, who visits the <i>Rheinische Zeitung</i> offices in Cologne on his way to England
October 1830	Uprisings in Poland	January 19, 1843	The Prussian Government decides to ban the <i>Rheinische Zeitung</i> as of April 1, and introduces an especially stringent censorship for it in the interim
1831, 1834	Karl Marx is enrolled at the Trier Gymnasium	March 18	Police reprisals launched by Prussian authorities made further publication of the paper impossible. Marx is forced to resign
May 27, 1832	Uprisings of Lyons weavers in France	May-October	Marx stays at Kreuznach, a small resort town, where Jenny von Westphalen and her mother were staying at the time. There, Marx begins a critical revision of Hegel's doctrine of the state and law. The outcome of this work is an unfinished manuscript, published for the first time in 1927 in the Soviet Union under the title, <i>Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law</i> .
Late 1830s	The Hambach festivities, a mass political demonstration in the Palatinate demanding the unification of Germany and political freedoms		Simultaneously, Marx studies world history, concentrating on analysis of socio-economic and socio-political processes.
August-September 24, 1835	Chartism, the first mass revolutionary workers' movement, emerges in England		Seeing that political activity in Germany is impossible, Marx decides to move to France. He negotiates the publication in Paris of a magazine, <i>Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher</i>
October	Marx graduates from the Trier Gymnasium and receives his school-leaving certificate		Marx marries Jenny von Westphalen
Summer 1836	Marx enrolls at Bonn University as a law student		Marx and his bride move to Paris, where he takes up the history of the
Mid-October	Marx is engaged to Jenny von Westphalen in Trier		
Spring 1837	Marx moves to Berlin. On October 22, he enrolls at Berlin University as a law student and soon becomes a member of the Young Hegelian Doctors' Club		
May 10, 1838	When on vacation in Stralow, a suburb of Berlin, Marx begins a serious study of Hegel's philosophy		
1839-41	Marx's father dies		
March 30-early April 1841	Marx studies the history of philosophy, mainly in Antiquity. <i>Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature</i> is the subject of his doctoral dissertation		
April 15	Marx graduates from Berlin University and submits his dissertation to the University of Jena	June 19, 1843	
	The University of Jena confers on him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy	Late October	

	French Revolution, studies the works of utopian socialists and English and French economists. In Paris, Marx attends workers' meetings, gets in touch with the leaders of the secret League of the Just, and meets members of clandestine French workers' societies	document in which is deposited the brilliant germ of the new world outlook"
Late December	Marx meets Heinrich Heine	Engels moves from Barmen to join Marx in Brussels
Late February 1844	The first and last, and double, issue of the <i>Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher</i> comes out in Paris. Marx's articles in it show his final acceptance of materialism and communism	Marx and Engels establish contacts with Belgian democrats and socialists
April-August	Marx works on economic and philosophic manuscripts, in which he criticises bourgeois political economy for the first time	Engels's <i>The Condition of the Working-Class in England</i> , which, as Lenin put it, "was a terrible indictment of capitalism and the bourgeoisie", is published in Leipzig
May 1, 1844	A daughter, Jenny, is born to Karl and Jenny Marx	July 12-August 21
June 4-6	The uprising of the Silesian weavers	Marx and Engels visit England to study the latest English books on economics and also to gain insight into England's economic and political life and the English working-class movement. In London, Marx and Engels get in touch with Chartist leaders and heads of the London communities of the League of the Just
August 7 and 10	<i>Vorwärts!</i> , a German-language newspaper in Paris, publishes Marx's article, "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'". It underscores the tremendous significance of the Silesian uprising as an intimation of the power of the working class	September 26
August 28	Marx and Engels meet in Paris; this is the beginning of a lifelong friendship and joint work. They embark on their first joint venture, <i>The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company</i>	September 1845-summer 1846
Early September	After staying with Marx for ten days, Engels returns to Barmen, Germany, where he becomes involved in socialist propaganda, speaking at workers' meetings. He also works on the book, <i>The Condition of the Working-Class in England</i>	December 1, 1845
January 16, 1845	Under pressure of the Prussian government, Marx is ordered to leave France	Early 1846
Early February	Marx moves to Brussels, where his family joins him in mid-February	May 5
Late February	Marx's and Engels's book, <i>The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company</i> , appears in Frankfort on the Main. It expounds the foundations of the revolutionary materialist outlook	The Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee adopts the "Circular against Kriege", criticising the sentimental preaching of the "true socialists"
Spring, c. April	Marx writes <i>Theses on Feuerbach</i> , which Engels describes as "the first	Early 1847
		Marx's son Edgar is born
		The London Committee of the League of the Just sends its representative, Joseph Moll, to Marx and Engels with a proposal that they join the League, take part in its reorganisation and draw up a new programme. Marx and Engels accept the proposal

January-June 15	Marx is working on <i>The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty"</i> by M. Proudhon	February 22-24	Revolution in France
June 2-9	A congress of the League of the Just, in which Engels takes part, is held in London. The League of the Just is renamed the Communist League. The congress lays the foundation for an entirely new organisation with new ideological principles and structure. Engels participates in drawing up the new Rules subject to approval by the next congress. The congress also adopts the new motto of the League suggested by Marx and Engels, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"	Late February	Marx's and Engels's <i>Manifesto of the Communist Party</i> , the first programme document of scientific communism, is published in London
		February 28	On behalf of the Brussels Democratic Association, Marx signs a greeting to the Provisional Government of the French Republic
		March 1	Ferdinand Flocon, a member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, invites Marx to France
Early July	Marx's <i>Poverty of Philosophy</i> is published in French in Brussels. Lenin regarded it as one of the first works of mature Marxism	March 3	The King of Belgium orders Marx out of the country within 24 hours. The Brussels Central Authority of the Communist League announces its dissolution and transfers its seat to Paris. Marx is authorised to form a new Central Authority there
August 5	On Marx's suggestion a community and district organisation of the Communist League are set up in Brussels	March 4	Marx and his wife are kept under arrest for 18 hours by the Brussels police. They and the children leave Brussels and head for France
August-September	The <i>Westphälische Dampfboot</i> journal prints one of the chapters of <i>The German Ideology</i> containing criticism of "true socialism"	March 5	Marx arrives in Paris where, on the instruction received from the Central Authority, he forms a new central body of the Communist League
Late August	On Marx's and Engels's initiative, a German Workers' Society is established in Brussels; it unites mostly German working-class refugees	Early March	On Marx's suggestion, a German Workers' Club is set up in Paris. At its meetings, Marx opposes the adventurist "export of revolution" planned by the petty-bourgeois leaders of the German émigrés in Paris
September 1847-February 1848	Marx and Engels contribute to the <i>Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung</i> which, up to its last issue published on February 27, 1848, was, to all intents and purposes, the organ of the Communist League	March 13	Revolutionary events flare up in Vienna
September-November 1847	Marx helps set up the Brussels Democratic Association which unites proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats	March 15	Revolution begins in Hungary
November 15	Marx is elected Vice-President of the Brussels Democratic Association	March 18	Barricade fighting in Berlin
November 29-December 8	London is the venue of the Second Congress of the Communist League, with Marx and Engels taking part in it. The congress supports their stand, and instructs them to draft the programme of the League in the form of a manifesto. The congress approves the Rules of the Communist League	March 21	Engels arrives in Paris
Latter half of December	Marx delivers lectures on political economy at the German Workers' Society. They come to be known as <i>Wage Labour and Capital</i>	Late March	In view of the revolution in Germany, Marx and Engels draw up the Communist League's political platform in the revolution: the <i>Demands of the Communist Party in Germany</i>
Early January 1848	Revolutionary events begin to brew in Italy. Revolution in Palermo	Early April	Marx and Engels go to Germany to take part in the revolution
		April 11	On arrival in Cologne, Marx and Engels endeavour to start a daily paper
		May 31	The first issue of the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> dated June 1 is published in Cologne, its subtitle being <i>Organ der Demokratie</i> . Marx is its editor-in-chief, and Engels an editor.

	Marx and Engels use the paper to campaign for a unified democratic German state and support the peasants' and workers' struggle and the national liberation movement in Bohemia, Italy, Poland, and other countries	February 7 and 8, 1849	Trials of the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> , and Marx as its editor-in-chief, on charges of insulting the authorities. At the trials, Marx and Engels defend their newspaper and freedom of the press in Germany. The jury brings in a verdict of not guilty
June 23-26	Rising of the Paris proletariat	April 5-8 and 11	The <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> prints Marx's <i>Wage Labour and Capital</i>
June 29	The <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> carries Marx's article "The June Revolution" on the heroic effort of Paris workers	Early May	Armed uprisings flare up in Dresden, the Palatinate, Baden and Rhenish Prussia in defence of the Imperial Constitution adopted by the National Assembly on March 28, 1849. The <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> takes the side of the insurgents and urges them to close their ranks
August 23-September	Marx goes to Vienna and Berlin to establish contacts with democratic and workers' organisations, and to collect money for the publication of the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i>	May 10-15	Engels takes part in the Elberfeld uprising
August 30	Marx speaks at the first Vienna Workers' Association on social relations in Europe and the place of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle	May 16	The Prussian authorities hand Marx a government order to leave Prussia. Legal proceedings are instituted against Engels for participating in the Elberfeld uprising
September 2	Marx speaks at the first Vienna Workers' Association on wage labour and capital	May 19	The last, "red" issue of the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> is published. Marx and Engels go to South-Western Germany, where the revolutionary events are still in progress. Engels is involved in the Baden-Palatinate uprising
September 13	On the initiative of the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> , a mass public meeting is held in Cologne to rebuff counter-revolution. It elects a Committee of Public Safety, including Marx, Engels and other editors of the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> . The Committee is to be the organising centre for the revolutionary struggle	Early June	Marx comes to Paris, where a major revolutionary outburst is expected. However, democratic petty-bourgeois leaders fail to direct the struggle of the people, and an attempted uprising fails
September 25	Due to the defeat of the Frankfurt uprising and the declaration of a state of siege in Cologne, publication of the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> is suspended	August 23	Marx is ordered by the French authorities to leave Paris within 24 hours
October 3	Publication of the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> is resumed	August 26	After being deported from Paris, Marx arrives in London, where his family joins him on September 17. In London, he helps organise the work of the Communist League's Central Authority, and sets up a Committee of Support for German Political Refugees
October 6-31	Uprising in Vienna ending in victory for the counter-revolution		
November 7	The <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> prints Marx's article, "The Victory of the Counter-Revolution in Vienna"	Early September	Marx joins the London German Workers' Educational Society closely associated with the Communist League
November 8	Counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia	November 5	A fourth child, son Heinrich Guido, is born to the Marxes
November 11	In view of the Prussian counter-revolutionary coup, the <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</i> campaigned for refusal to pay taxes to undermine the finances of the counter-revolution and rally the masses	c. November 10	Engels arrives in London
December	Marx publishes a series of articles, <i>The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution</i> , analysing specific aspects and the main stages of the revolution in Germany	November 1849-autumn 1850	Marx lectures on political economy and the <i>Manifesto of the Communist Party</i> at the Educational Society
		March 1850	Marx and Engels draw up the "Address of the Central Authority to the League,"

March 6- November 29	March 1850", one of the first documents summing up the experience of the proletariat in the past revolution and outlining the action programme of Communists for the future	October 4- November 12	The Cologne trial of Communist League members
Spring	Marx and Engels publish six issues of the magazine, <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue</i> , which prints Marx's <i>The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850</i> and Engels's <i>The German Campaign for the Imperial Constitution and The Peasant War in Germany</i> , as well as a number of international and other jointly written reviews	October- December	Marx and Engels expose the Prussian government's frame-up in letters, articles and statements to the press. Between late October and December, Marx writes a pamphlet, <i>Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne</i> , in which he offers documentary evidence of fabrications by the Prussian police and judiciary. In January 1853 the pamphlet was published in Switzerland and in April in the United States
Early June	Marx resumes his study of political economy	November 17	As reaction gains ground on the European continent and many active members of the Communist League are arrested, a meeting of the League's London District assents to Marx's proposal to dissolve its branches and recommends the branches on the continent to close down as well
November 19	Marx and Engels write the second "Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850", with tactical and organisational advice and instructions to local branches	October 22- December 24, 1853	The Chartist <i>People's Paper</i> prints a series of Marx's articles, <i>Lord Palmerston</i> , a satirical portrayal of that prominent English politician. Also published in the <i>New-York Daily Tribune</i> and, later, as a separate pamphlet
November	Heinrich Guido Marx dies	March 1854	Marx covers the Labour Parliament for the <i>New-York Daily Tribune</i> . In an open letter to the Labour Parliament in <i>The People's Paper</i> of March 18, 1854, Marx calls for the establishment of a mass working-class political party in England
March 28, 1851	Marx's daughter Franziska is born	August- December	The <i>New-York Daily Tribune</i> runs Marx's series of articles, "Revolutionary Spain", with an in-depth examination of the train of events in the light of the revolutionary history of the Spanish people
June 1851-1862	Marx and Engels contribute to the Chartist papers <i>Notes to the People</i> and <i>The People's Paper</i> , and generally assist the Chartist movement	January 16, 1855	Marx's daughter Eleanor is born
August 1851- March 1862	Marx and Engels contribute articles to the <i>New-York Daily Tribune</i> on national liberation movements, international affairs, and the economics and politics of leading capitalist states	January- December	Marx contributes to the democratic <i>Neue Oder-Zeitung</i> , which prints his articles on the Crimean War and the economic and political situation in Britain and France
December 1851- March 1852	Marx writes <i>The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte</i> , developing on the theory of revolution. In May 1852, it was printed in New York by the journal <i>Die Revolution</i> ; publisher Joseph Weydemeyer	April 6 1857	Marx's eight-year-old son Edgar dies
April 14, 1852	Marx's daughter Franziska dies	July 1857-March 1859	Worldwide economic crisis. Marx's articles on the progress of the crisis in Europe and the USA appear in the American, British, and German press
May-June	Marx and Engels write a pamphlet, <i>The Great Men of the Exile</i> , exposing the ambitions of petty-bourgeois refugee leaders, their pursuit of popularity and adventurist plans of revolution in a situation that was not yet ripe		Marx sums up his economic studies. He hastens to complete his study of political economy, wanting the proletariat to have a knowledge of the

	objective economic laws governing the life of society	March 19-April 8, 1865	Marx stays with his Dutch relatives in Zalt-Bommel
July 1857- November 1860	Marx contributes to <i>The New American Cyclopaedia</i>	June 20 and 27	Marx lectures on wages, price and profit at General Council meetings, expounding the fundamental ideas of the future Volume I of <i>Capital</i>
June 11, 1859	<i>A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy</i> , Part One, is published in Berlin	September 25-29	The first conference of the International is held in London. Marx helps to prepare it, and takes part in it
June-August	Marx and Engels examine the proletariat's revolutionary theory and tactics in the columns of <i>Das Volk</i>	January 1866- April 1867	Marx works on the final version of Volume I of <i>Capital</i> and prepares it for the printer
Late January 1860	Slanderous attacks on the proletarian party prompt Marx to start collecting material for a pamphlet, <i>Herr Vogt</i>	March 15-April 13, 1866	Marx has a holiday in Margate
December 1	<i>Herr Vogt</i> appears in London, exposing Vogt as a typical underling of the bourgeoisie	July	Marx draws up instructions for delegates to the Geneva Congress of the International, stressing the need for working men's international unity
April 1861-April 1865	The US Civil War	September 3-8	The Geneva Congress of the First International gathers to approve the programme documents submitted by the General Council
August 1861-July 1863	Marx works on an economic manuscript containing all parts of the future <i>Capital</i> , including its historical and critical section, <i>Theories of Surplus Value</i>	April 10, 1867	Marx takes the manuscript of Volume I of <i>Capital</i> to publisher Otto Meissner in Hamburg
October 1861- December 1862	Marx contributes to the Viennese liberal newspaper <i>Die Presse</i> , on the US Civil War, economic conditions in Britain, and the foreign policy of Napoleon III	April 17-May 15	Marx stays with Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover
May 23, 1863	The General Association of German Workers is founded in Leipzig	September 2-8	The Lausanne Congress of the First International, at which a fight flares up with Proudhonists over the agrarian question (socialisation of land) and the question of struggle for political freedoms
August 1863- December 1865	Marx writes a new version of <i>Capital</i> , with a special interest in the problems dealt with in the future volumes II and III	September 14	Volume I of <i>Capital</i> , Marx's principal economic study, comes off the presses
November 30, 1863	Marx's mother dies in Trier	October 12, 1867-late June 1868	Engels writes reviews of <i>Capital</i> with an eye to popularising it
May 9, 1864	Wilhelm Wolff, Marx's close friend and staunch supporter, dies in Manchester. Marx dedicates <i>Capital</i> to him	Spring 1868	Marx goes back to economic manuscripts written before 1865. He works on them until his last day
September 28	At a meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London, the International Working Men's Association (the First International) is founded. Marx is elected member of its Provisional Committee, which later became known as the General Council	April 2	Marx's daughter Laura marries Paul Lafargue, a French socialist
Late October	Marx drafts the Provisional Rules and Inaugural Address of the IWA	September 6-13	The Brussels Congress of the First International, where the conflict with the Proudhonists comes to a head. Proudhon's theory is torn to pieces. The Congress passes a resolution confirming the advantages of collective, socialist ownership of the means of production and of land.
Late 1864- February 1865	Marx and Engels contribute to <i>Der Social-Demokrat</i> , popularising the International and its ideas in Germany		

August 7-9, 1869	It also passes a resolution recommending working men in all countries to study Marx's <i>Capital</i>	September 4	Following the French defeat at Sedan, a revolution breaks out in Paris, resulting in the downfall of the Second Empire and proclaiming the French Republic
September 6-11	The Inaugural Congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany is held in Eisenach	September 9	The General Council approves Marx's "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War", in which Marx calls on the proletariat to prevent the Prussian militarists from carrying out their expansionist plans
c. September 10-October 11	The Basle Congress of the First International is held. It confirms the socialist platform of the International	c. September 20	Engels moves from Manchester to London
October 2	Marx and his daughter Jenny visit the Kugelmanns in Hanover	October 4	Engels is unanimously elected to the General Council of the First International. He is made corresponding secretary for Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Denmark
November	The first issue of <i>Der Volksstaat</i> , the central newspaper of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, comes out in Leipzig; Marx and Engels become its contributors	March 18, 1871	Proletarian revolution in Paris
Late November	On Marx's proposal, the General Council of the First International discusses the Irish people's national liberation movement	March 18-May 28, 1871	As the proletarian revolution wins in Paris and the Commune is established, Marx and Engels organise workers' demonstrations in its support. The General Council discusses the Commune, and sends representatives to Paris. Marx and Engels keep in touch with the Commune, give recommendations to the Communards, and launch a large-scale campaign in defence of the Commune
February-April 1870	Volume II of <i>Capital</i> is devoted to landownership. Marx sets out on a close study of Russian economic writings, and starts learning Russian. Six months later, he reads official Russian publications and other literature on the country's agrarian relations and socio-political development	March 28	Festive proclamation of the Paris Commune
March 24	In collaboration with her father, Jenny, Marx's eldest daughter, writes eight articles for <i>La Marseillaise</i> , a Paris newspaper, exposing British policies in Ireland	March 29	The Commune passes a decree on the abolition of levies and substitution of the armed people for a standing army
July 19	Responding to the request of the Russian section of the First International, Marx becomes corresponding secretary of the General Council for Russia	March 30	The Commune passes a decree on the transfer of administrative powers in Paris arrondissements to the Commune
July 19-23	France declares war on Germany. The Franco-Prussian War begins	April 2	The Commune passes a decree separating the Church from the State
	On the instructions of the General Council, Marx writes the "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War", exposing its true character and urging German workers to prevent the war against Bonapartist France from becoming a war against the French people	April 16	A decree on the transfer of inoperative workshops to workers' production associations
July 29, 1870-February 18, 1871	On Marx's proposal, Engels writes a series of articles on the Franco-Prussian War for the British <i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>	April 18-May 30	Marx works on an address of the General Council, <i>The Civil War in France</i> , which stresses the worldwide significance of the Paris Commune as the first attempt at establishing a proletarian dictatorship
September 1-2, 1870	The Battle of Sedan culminates in the defeat of the French army	May 30	The General Council unanimously approves the address, <i>The Civil War in France</i>
		September 17-23	The London Conference of the First International. Drawing on the lessons

	of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels substantiate the need for political struggle by the working class and for independent proletarian parties in each country; these ideas are incorporated in a resolution of the Conference	May 22-27	The unity congress in Gotha. The foundation of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany
March 5, 1872	The General Council approves a private circular, <i>Fictitious Splits in the International</i> , written by Marx and Engels, which exposes Bakuninist intrigues and disruptive activity in the International	August 15-September 11	Marx takes a cure in Karlsbad. Meets Maxim Kovalevsky, a Russian ethnographer, historian and lawyer
March 27	Publication of the Russian translation of Volume I of <i>Capital</i> , its first foreign edition	August 16-September 15, 1876	Marx is accompanied by Eleanor on a cure in Karlsbad
May	<i>Fictitious Splits in the International</i> is published in Geneva as a pamphlet	1877	Marx works on Chapter X of Part II of Engels's <i>Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science</i> originally published in instalments by <i>Vorwärts</i>
July 1872-June 1873	The second German edition of Volume I of <i>Capital</i> appears in nine instalments	August 8-c. September 27	Marx, accompanied by his wife and daughter Eleanor, takes a cure in Neuenahr (Germany) and Scotland
September 2-7, 1872	Marx and Engels take part in the Hague Congress of the First International, which confirms the principal resolutions of the London Conference and takes to task the anarchists for their divisive activity. It expels their leaders Bakunin and Guillaume from the International, and resolves to move the seat of the General Council to New York	1878-1882	Marx studies mathematics, and continues his research into mathematical analysis begun in the 1860s
September 17	The first series of five instalments of the French edition of Volume I of <i>Capital</i> is published	Late May-June 1878	Marx studies agrochemistry and geology
October 10	Marx's daughter Jenny marries French socialist Charles Longuet	October 19	The German Reichstag passes a law against "the harmful and dangerous aspirations" of social-democrats (the Anti-Socialist Law)
Early June 1873	The second German edition of Volume I of <i>Capital</i> appears in Hamburg	January-December 1879	Marx continues his political and economic research, drawing on Russian and American sources
December	The Italian annual, <i>Almanacco Repubblicano</i> , carries Marx's article "Political Indifferentism" and Engels's "On Authority", which show the harm of anarchist theories	Mid-September	Marx and Engels write a "Circular Letter" to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and other German social-democratic leaders, criticising opportunism
August 19-early October 1874	Marx accompanied by his daughter Eleanor takes a cure in Karlsbad. On his way to London, he stops over at Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg and meets Liebknecht and Blos to discuss the situation in the Party and the need to combat Lassalleanism	September 28, 1879	The first issue of <i>Der Sozialdemokrat</i> , central organ of the German social-democrats who continue their struggle underground, is published in Zurich. Marx and Engels contribute to it
May 5, 1875	Marx despatches to Germany his marginal notes on the draft programme drawn up for the forthcoming unity congress of Eisenachers and Lassalleans in Gotha. Subsequently, it came to be known as the <i>Critique of the Gotha Programme</i> which was first published in 1891 on Engels's initiative	c. October 1879-October 1880	Making a special study of the ground rent and agrarian relations, Marx reads up on the village commune (Maxim Kovalevsky's <i>Communal Landownership, and the Causes, Course and Consequences of Its Disintegration</i>)
		January-December 1880	Marx works on volumes II and III of <i>Capital</i>
		April	Marx draws up a <i>Workers' Questionnaire</i> for the monthly <i>La Revue socialiste</i> , elucidating the economic demands of the working class
		May	Marx writes Engels's biography as a preface to a separate edition of three

January-June 1881	chapters of <i>Anti-Dühring</i> prepared by Engels for French readers under the title, <i>Socialism: Utopian and Scientific</i>	February- October	forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe"
July 26- August 16	Marx studies material, monographs and other writings on Russia's social and economic development after the peasant reform of 1861	June 1882- January 1883	With his health deteriorating, Marx goes to Algeria, the south of France and Switzerland for a rest and cure, and visits his daughter Jenny in Argenteuil
December 2	Marx and his wife visit their daughter Jenny in Argenteuil near Paris	January 11, 1883	Marx studies organic and inorganic chemistry
January 21, 1882	Marx's wife Jenny dies in London after a long illness	March 14	Marx's eldest daughter Jenny dies in Paris
	Marx and Engels write a preface to the Russian edition of the <i>Manifesto of the Communist Party</i> , stating that "Russia	March 17	Marx dies in London
			Marx is buried at Highgate Cemetery, London

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67. Drawing by F. Engels, 1839.
69. Lithograph, 19th cent. In: *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. Ihr Leben und ihre Zeit*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978.
72. Drawing by L. Kuznetsov, 1961, MEM.
75. Drawing by F. Engels.
76. Water-colour, 19th cent.
77. A. Winkles's engraving from a drawing by J. Harwood. In: Ed. Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, London, Paris and New York, 1836.
79. Engraving, 19th cent.
80. Engraving, *The Illustrated London News* (I.L.N.), 1842.
81. Engraving, I.L.N., 1842.
11. Drawing by N. Zhukov, 1930s, MEM.
13. Lithograph, 19th cent., MEM.
15. Engraving, 19th cent.
17. Engraving, I.Z., 1848.
21. Chromolithograph by F. Nordmann, 1848. In: *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. Ihr Leben und ihre Zeit*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978.

22. Engraving by I. Kolb from a drawing by H. Osterwald, 19th cent., MEM.
23. Lithograph from a drawing by L. Arntz, 19th cent.
32. Engraving, *Der Wahre Jacob*, 1898.
34. Lithograph, 19th cent.
35. Drawing by F. Engels, 1848.
36. Lithograph by A. Boddien, 19th cent., MEM.
38. Lithograph, mid-19th cent., MEM.
39. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1848.
41. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1848.
43. Lithograph, 19th cent.
47. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1848.
49. Engraving, mid-19th cent., MEM.
50. Painting by an unknown artist, 1st half of the 19th cent.
52. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1848.
53. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, Paris, 1848.
54. Engraving, 19th cent., MEM.
55. Engraving by Deschamp, mid-19th cent.
56. Lithograph by V. Adam and J. Arnout, mid-19th cent.
57. Engraving, *Journées illustrées de la Révolution 1848*, Paris, 1848.
58. Lithograph, 19th cent., MEM.
60. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1848.
61. Lithograph by M. de L'Aigle, 19th cent., MEM.
62. Painting by Ye. Sapiro, 1961, MEM.
64. Engraving by J. Poppel from a drawing by L. Lange, 19th cent., MEM.
66. Pen drawing by Kretschmer, *L'Illustration*, Paris, 1848.
67. Lithograph by Sandmann, 19th cent., MEM.
70. Lithograph, mid-19th cent., MEM.
72. Lithograph, 19th cent., MEM.
74. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1848.
78. Lithograph, 1848, MEM.
79. Engraving, 1848.
80. Lithograph, mid-19th cent., MEM.

81. Lithograph, mid-19th cent., MEM.
83. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1848.
84. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1848.
85. Lithograph by Loeillot de Mars from a drawing by K. Steffek, mid-19th cent., MEM.
91. Lithograph from a drawing by J. Albrecht, mid-19th cent., MEM.
95. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1849.
96. Lithograph, 19th cent., MEM.
98. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1849.
99. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1849.
102. Engraving, 19th cent. In: *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. Ihr Leben und ihre Zeit*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978.

1849-1863

1. Engraving. In: *Meyer's Universum oder Abbildung und Beschreibung des Sehenswertesten und Merkwürdigsten der Natur und Kunst auf der ganzen Erde*, Bd. 2, Druck und Verlag vom Bibliographischen Institut, Hildburghausen, Amsterdam und Philadelphia, 1835.
2. Engraving, 1861, MEM.
3. Engraving, 19th cent. In: *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. Ihr Leben und ihre Zeit*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978.
4. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1872.
15. Drawing by N. Zhukov, 1930s, MEM.
22. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1872.
25. Engraving. In: T. Delord, *Histoire illustrée du Second Empire*, t. II, Paris, 1880-83.
26. Lithograph, mid-19th cent., MEM.
29. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1859.
30. Engraving, 19th cent.
44. Engraving by E. Bourdelin, 19th cent.
45. Engraving, 19th cent.
46. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1851.
47. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1851.
48. Engraving. In: T. Delord, *Histoire illustrée du Second Empire*, t. IV, Paris, 1880-83.

49. Lithograph by Gavarni, 19th cent., MEM.
50. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1853.
54. Drawing by N. Zhukov, 1930s, MEM.
67. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1854.
69. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1860.
70. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1860.
78. Painting by an unknown artist, 1st half of the 19th cent. A copy of 1937-39, MEM.
81. A copy of Rafael's "Madonna in the Armchair" by Marx's daughter Jenny, 19th cent., MEM.
82. A plate painted by Marx's daughter Jenny, 19th cent., MEM.
83. A copy of Horace's portrait by Marx's daughter Jenny, 19th cent., MEM.
84. A locket which belonged to Marx's daughter Jenny, MEM.

1850-1863

85. Marx's wallet, MEM.
93. Engraving, 19th cent.
94. Engraving, 19th cent.
97. Engraving, 19th cent.
99. Engraving, *L'Univers illustré*, Paris, 1863.
102. Lithograph, *Russky khudo-zhestvenny listok Timma*, St. Petersburg, 1854.
103. Lithograph, *Russky khudo-zhestvenny listok Timma*, St. Petersburg, 1854.
105. Painting by V. Pukirev, 2nd half of the 19th cent.
106. Painting by S. V. Gerasimov.
107. Drawing by N. Zhukov, 1930s, MEM.
109. Lithograph by H. Daumier, 19th cent., MEM.
110. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1858.
113. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1860.
114. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1857.
115. Engraving, 19th cent.
116. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1857.
120. Engraving by L. Lebreton, 19th cent.
121. Engraving, 19th cent.
125. Engraving, 19th cent., MEM.
130. Lithograph, 19th cent., MEM.
131. Lithograph, *Russky khudo-zhestvenny listok Timma*, St. Petersburg, 1862.
132. Medal in commemoration of the Exhibition, 19th cent., MEM.

Capital

1. Lithograph by H. Gellert, 1933, MEM.
10. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1857.
16. Lithograph by H. Gellert, 1933, MEM.
18. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1882.
22. Drawing by N. Zhukov, 1939, MEM.
27. A mock up of Marx's study, 1961, MEM.
28. Marx's desk chair, MEM.

The First International

1. Easel engraving by O. Vereisky, 1961, MEM.
4. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1850.
26. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1869.
28. Painting by M. Munkacsy, 1895.
32. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1868.
34. Engraving, *The Graphic*, London, 1870.
35. Engraving, 19th cent.
37. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1870.
38. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1870.
39. Engraving, 19th cent. In: *120 Jahre deutsche Arbeiterbewegung in Bildern und Documenten*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1964.
40. Drawing, *I.Z.*, 1866.
44. Engraving, 19th cent., MEM.
46. Lemonnier's lithograph from a drawing by Lauters, 19th cent., MEM.
48. Lithograph by H. Gellert, 1933, MEM.
50. Engraving, 19th cent., MEM.
54. Standard, MEM.
63. G. Heisinger's engraving from a drawing by L. Rohbock, 19th cent. In: *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. Ihr Leben und ihre Zeit*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978.

69. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1870.
70. Engraving, 19th cent.
86. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1867.
90. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1866.

The Paris Commune. 1871

1. Drawing by I. Robertsen, *L'Illustration*, 1871.
3. Engraving. In: L. Roussel, *Histoire générale de la guerre franco-allemande 1870-1871*, Vol. I, Paris, 1912.
5. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1870.
6. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1870.
7. Engraving, 19th cent.
8. Lithograph by A. Said, 19th cent.
9. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1870.
10. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1870.
12. Lithograph by G. Pilotell, 19th cent., MEM.
13. Lithograph by G. Pilotell, 19th cent., MEM.
14. Lithograph by J. Corseaux, 1871, MEM.
15. Lithograph, 19th cent. In: *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. Ihr Leben und ihre Zeit*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978.
16. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1870.
17. Engraving, *Le Monde illustré*, Paris, 1870.
18. Photo. In: Georges Soria, *Grande histoire de la Commune*, t. 1, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1970.
19. Engraving, 19th cent. In: Georges Soria, *Grande his-*

- toire de la Commune*, t. 1, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1970.
20. Lithograph by Faustin, 1871, MEM.
21. Lithograph, 19th cent. In: Georges Soria, *Grande histoire de la Commune*, t. 1, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1970.
22. Lithograph by Juvenal, 1871, MEM.
23. Lithograph by G. Pilotell, 1871, MEM.
24. Photo. In: Georges Soria, *Grande histoire de la Commune*, t. 2, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1970.
25. Photo, *Paris sous la Commune*, No. 7, 1871.
26. Lithograph by G. Pilotell, 1871, MEM.
27. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1871.
28. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1871.
30. Lithograph by F. Fréville, 1871, MEM.
33. Engraving, *Le Monde illustré*, 1871.
34. Engraving, *The Graphic*, 1871.
36. Engraving, *Le Monde illustré*, 1871.
43. Engraving, *Le Monde illustré*, 1871.
44. Engraving, 19th cent.
79. Engraving, *Le Monde illustré*, 1871.
82. Lithograph by A. Démare, 19th cent., MEM.
83. Poster by Moloch, 1871, MEM.
85. Lithograph by A. Said, 1871, MEM.

90. Engraving, 19th cent.

91. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1871.

95. Photo, *Paris sous la Commune*, No. 25, 1871.

97. Photo, *Paris sous la Commune*, No. 25, 1871.

98. Engraving, 19th cent.

100. Lithograph by de la Tremblais, 1871, MEM.

101. Engraving, *The Graphic*, 1871.

103. Photo. In: Georges Soria, *Grande histoire de la Commune*, t. 4, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1971.

104. Engraving, *The Graphic*, 1871.

105. Lithograph by Moloch, 1871, MEM.

107. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1871.

108. Battle standard, 1871, MEM.

109. Painting, 19th cent.

110. Engraving from a drawing by Robid, *Le Monde illustré*, Paris, 1871.

111. Painting by Pichio, 1873, MEM.

112. Water-colour, MEM.

113. Engraving, *Le Monde illustré*, 1871.

115. Lithograph by H. Daumier, 19th cent., MEM.

116. Lithograph by G. Pilotell, 19th cent.

127. Engraving, 19th cent.

131. Engraving, 19th cent. MEM.

135. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1872.

1873-1883

4. Lithograph by V. Lapin, 1957, MEM.

10. Painting by K. Savitsky, 1879.

16. Painting by A. Fendrikh, 19th cent.

18. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1878.

29. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1876.

30. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1879.

31. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1872.

33. Painting by Kohlmann.

38. Drawing by N. Zhukov, 1930s, MEM.

48. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1878.

51. Engraving, *I.Z.*, 1876.

52. Engraving, 19th cent. In: *Vsemirnaya istoria*, Vol. VII, Moscow, 1960.

53. Engraving, *L'Illustration*, 1874.

54. Engraving, *I.L.N.*, 1877.

56. Photo. In: *Vsemirnaya istoria*, Vol. VII, Moscow, 1960.

57. Painting by I. Repin, 19th cent.

58. Drawing by Broling, *I.Z.*, 1876.

77. Engraving from a drawing by J. Poppel, 19th cent., MEM.

89. A shot from S. Eisenstein's film *October*, 1927.

91. Medal, 1918, MEM.

92. Photo, Moscow, November 7, 1918.



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