

The Life and Work of
Friedrich Engels

By ZELDA KAHAN-COATES

*In Commemoration of the Engels
Centenary*

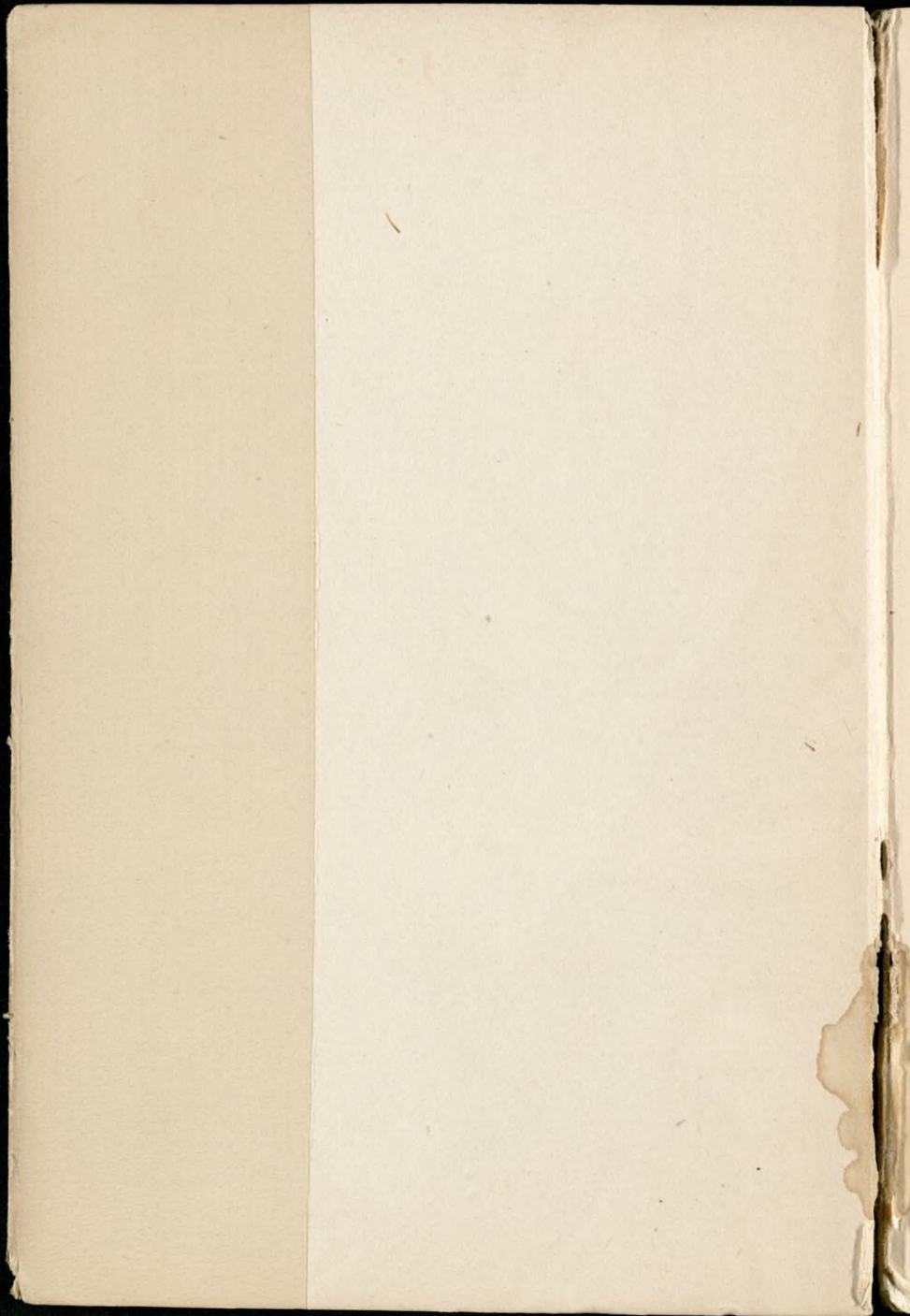
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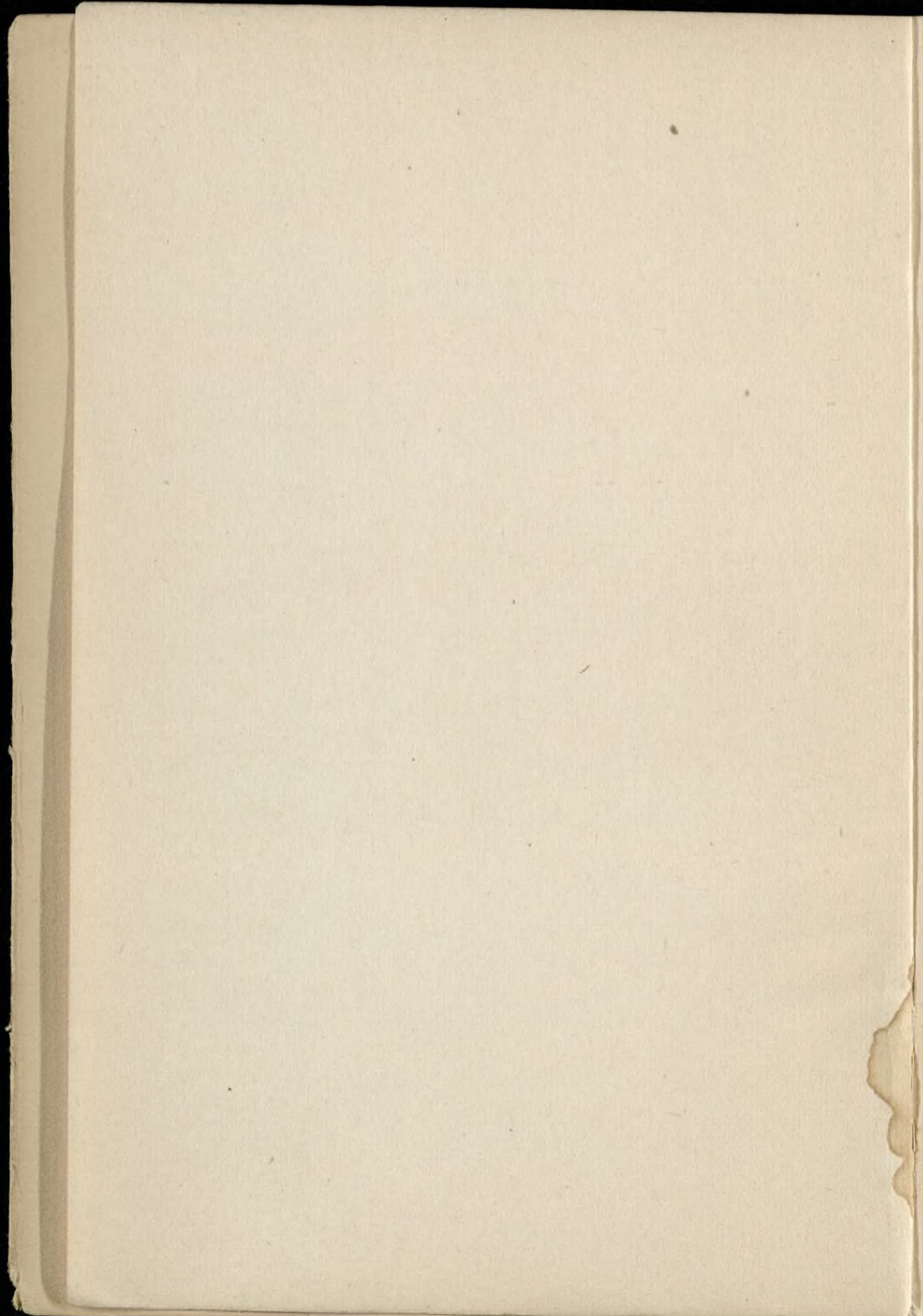
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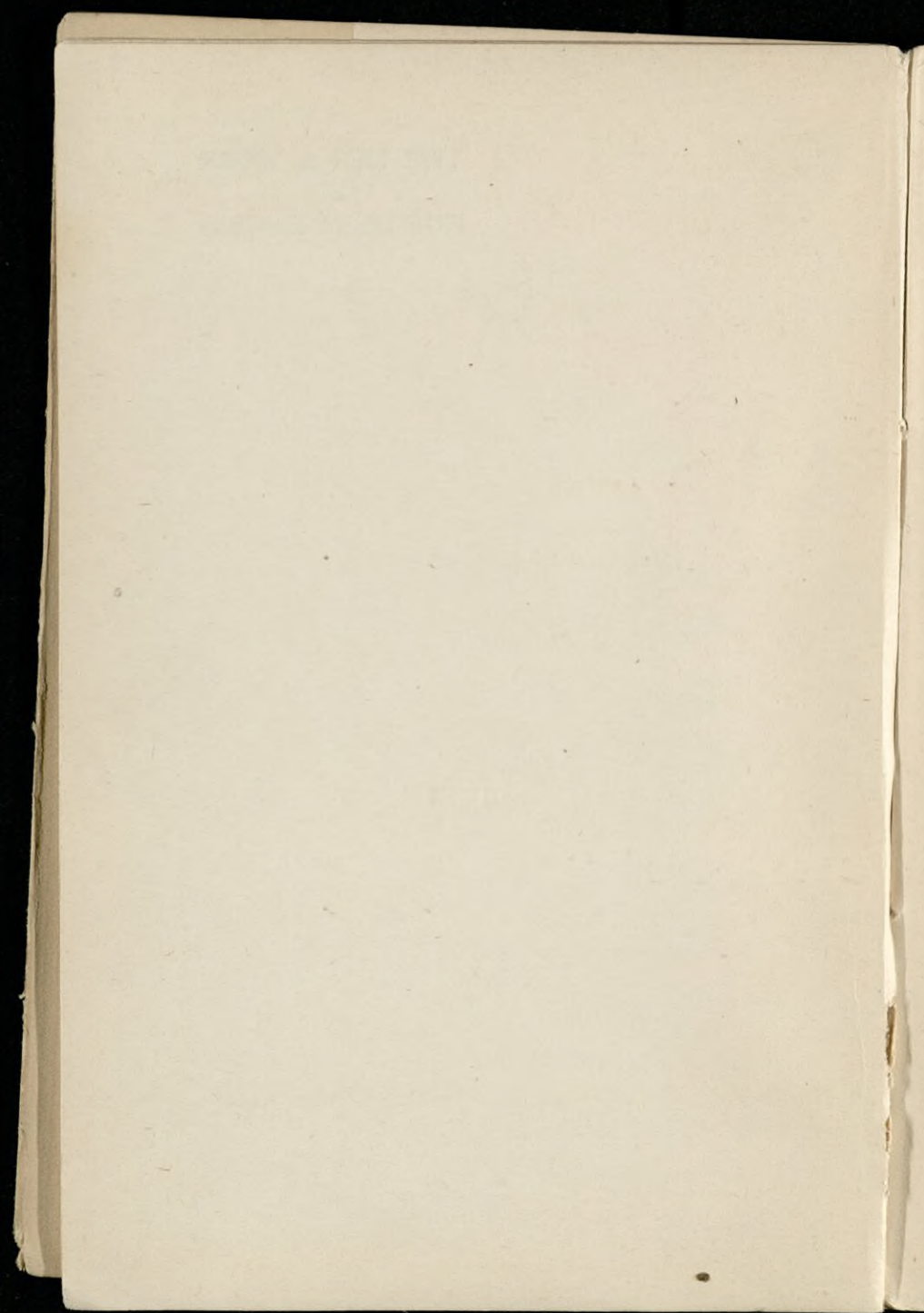
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THE LIFE & WORK
of
FRIEDRICH ENGELS



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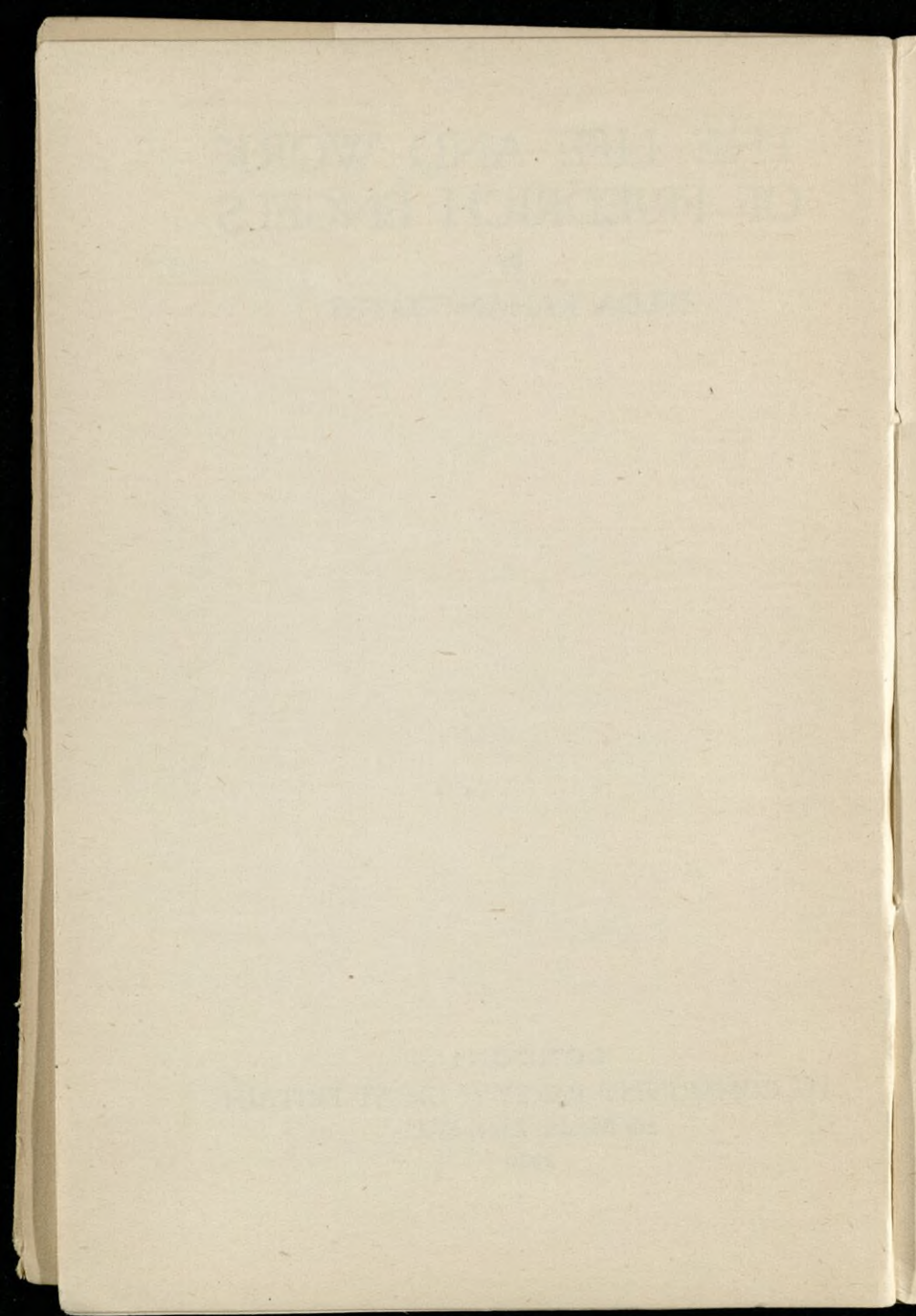
ZELDA KAHAN-COATES

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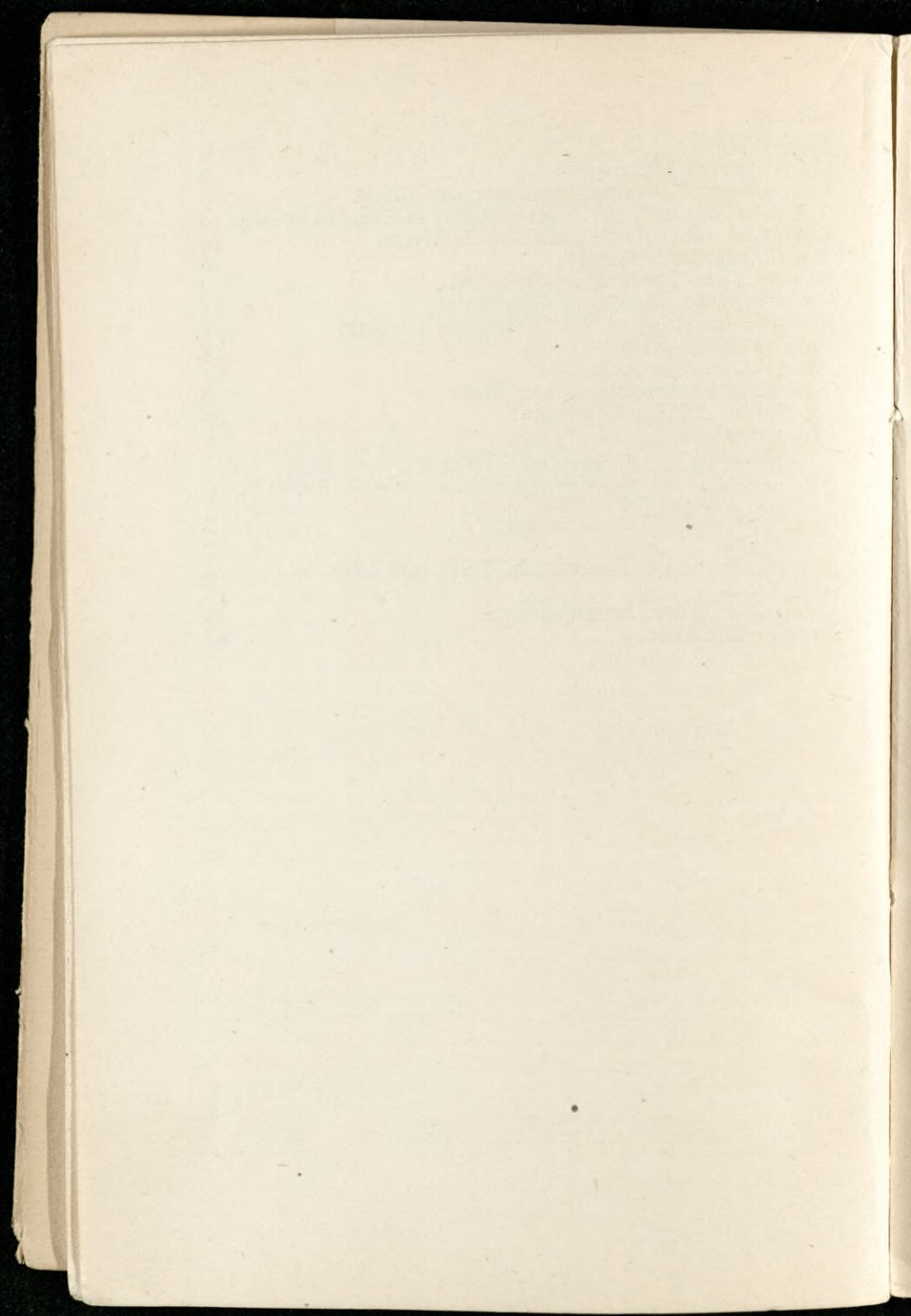
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Contents

EARLY YEARS	7
FIRST VISIT TO MANCHESTER	8
MEETING AND COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH MARX	9
THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN ENGLAND IN 1844	10
HOME LIFE AND EARLY COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES	14
THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO	16
BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY	17
CONSTITUTIONAL RISINGS IN GERMANY	21
FIGHTING ILLUSIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REFUGEES	22
BACK TO MANCHESTER	23
ENGELS' DEVOTION TO MARX	25
TEMPORARY ESTRANGEMENT FROM MARX	28
AN END TO "SWEET COMMERCE"	29
IN LONDON AGAIN	30
ANTI-DÜHRING <i>or</i> THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM	31
AFTER SPLIT IN FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND DEATH OF MARX	34
"THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY"	36
THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY	38
THE STATE	41
THE NATURE OF THE PROLETARIAN TRANSITION STATE	44
LAST YEARS	46
FAILURE OF SECOND INTERNATIONAL	47
ENGELS—THE MAN	48



THE LIFE AND WORK OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS

By

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EARLY YEARS

FRIEDRICH ENGELS was born in Barmen, November 28, 1820, thus being two and a half years younger than Karl Marx. He was the son of a wealthy manufacturer and was brought up in a very conservative and orthodox religious atmosphere. After finishing the Realschule* at Barmen, he went to the Gymnasium† of Elberfeld, but a year before the final examination he entered his father's business. It is interesting to note that the Rhine province, the birthplace and home of Engels, was the most industrially and politically developed district of Germany, owing to its geographical position and to its wealth in coal and metals. Consequently, earlier than elsewhere in Germany there had arisen a powerful capitalist industry, a revolutionary bourgeoisie, the sworn enemy of the still existing feudalism, and the necessary complement of the capitalist bourgeoisie, a strong proletarian class. At the same time, Germany generally was undergoing a revolution in philosophy, the highwater mark of which was the Hegelian philosophy. Like Marx, and like the progressive intellectual German youth of the time, Engels, too, was deeply influenced by this philosophic revival, and became an enthusiastic young Hegelian. Although he showed himself to be a good business man whilst working in mercantile houses, first in Barmen and then in Bremen, yet his heart was never in it, and all his spare time and thoughts were given over to the study of philosophy. In letters written to school friends when he was about eighteen years old, he jokes about his vain poetic efforts, criticises literature, but not a word of business affairs. In these letters he also speaks feelingly of his religious doubts, and of his yearning to get back again to the faith in the God of his childhood. Finally, he broke through his religious fetters and embraced definitely the Hegelian philosophy.

From October, 1841, to October, 1842, Engels served in the Guard Artillery in Berlin, and, just as in his office he was a good business man, so in barracks he became a very good soldier. He studied military science, and subsequently this became one of his favourite studies, so much so that, much later, on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, Engels wrote a series of articles for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in which

* Realschule—a Secondary School in which special stress is laid on the classics.

† Gymnasium—a Secondary School where special stress is laid on the physical and natural sciences.

he made some very apt and true forecasts as to the course of the war. Thus he prophesied that in the event of General MacMahon failing to break through with his army to Belgium, he would be forced to capitulate in the plain of Sedan—and two weeks later this really happened. These articles procured him henceforth the nickname of "General" amongst his friends.

During this year of military service he also worked on the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the *Rheinische Zeitung*, under the nom-de-plume F. Oswald. At the same time he also published some satirical verses in a Swiss paper, and a poem, describing himself and Marx, with whom he was as yet personally unacquainted.

FIRST VISIT TO MANCHESTER

On the conclusion of his military service he returned to Barmen, and, in October, 1842, he went to Manchester as agent to the spinning factory of Ermen and Engels, of which his father was partner. On this journey Engels called at the editorial offices of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, in Cologne, and there met Marx for the first time. But this first meeting between them was very cool. Engels had been influenced against Marx by the brothers Bauer, with whom he was still intimate, whilst Marx had already fallen out with them and was then finally breaking his connection with the Berlin "free" school of philosophers, to whom Engels still paid allegiance. In addition to philosophy, Engels was even then keenly interested in economics, and here in Manchester, the industrial capital of the motherland of capitalism, he had a unique opportunity of studying economics and economic conditions at first hand, of which he was not slow to make use. The twenty-one months he spent in England on this occasion was of supreme importance to his and Marx's future life's work. Studying at first hand the relations between employer and employed, observing the actual miserable conditions of the working class in a system of almost fully-fledged capitalism, his interest in the proletarian movement grew rapidly, and we soon find him taking an active part in the agitation of the Utopian Socialists, as also of the purely Labour and Chartist movement. Thus he was associated with both the Owenite paper, the *New Moral World*, and with the Chartist organ, the *Northern Star*. His philosophic insight and keen intellect very soon appreciated the true tendencies of capitalist production and the present rôle of the workers as well as the great historic future before the working class. In the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, he published a criticism of national economy which Marx characterised as a sketch of true genius, not because it did not contain many mistakes in detail and some errors in judgment, but because of the way in which he treated the feverish acceleration of capitalist production and the dehumanising effect of capitalist competition. This, and his views on Malthus's theory of population, commercial crises, the wage laws, the progress of science, and so forth, already contained the fruitful germs of scientific

communism. Already in this small sketch he showed that he had grasped what was best, what was most revolutionary in the Hegelian philosophy, and was using it as the master key for unravelling the mysteries of historic and economic development. In the same journal he published an interesting criticism of Carlyle's *Past and Present*, which he characterised as the only book in the English literature of the year 1843 that was worth reading.

Considering that he was then only twenty-two years old, that he himself was suffering from none of the disabilities of the workers' life, that he himself belonged by family, education, and profession to the bourgeoisie, it is not without interest to note the judgment he passes on the English classes and parties of the time.

After describing in vigorous language the spiritual emptiness of the English aristocracy and bourgeoisie, he characterises the educated Englishman, according to whom the English national character has generally been judged on the Continent, as the "most abject slave under the sun," and then continues: "Only the section of the English nation hitherto unknown on the Continent, only the workers, the pariahs of England, the poor, are really respectable in spite of all their rawness and all their demoralisation. It is they who will save England, they still present educational material. They have no education, but neither have they narrow prejudices. They still possess power for great national work, they still have a future before them." Of the two parties into which the educated classes were split, Engels finds the Tories, bad as they are, less objectionable than the Whigs, who looked upon everything in industry, which had given them power and wealth, as quite faultless, and regarded its extension as the only aim of all legislation.

MEETING AND COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH MARX

It is remarkable how Marx and Engels—quite independently, the one basing himself on a study of the French Revolution and on philosophy, the other, on the study of English industrial conditions—came practically to the same conclusions regarding the nature of bourgeois society. The materialist conception of history was already colouring both their writings, although at that time, perhaps, in a more finished form in Marx than in Engels.

Their writings in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* led to an exchange of correspondence between them, and in September, 1844, on his way back to Germany, Engels went to Paris for a few days to visit Marx. So complete was their agreement in their outlook upon philosophic and economic questions that they at once began a work in common—*The Holy Family: or, a Review of the Critical Critique Against Bruno Bauer and his Followers*.

It was published in 1845, and its aim was, according to the authors, to make plain to the larger public the illusions of speculative philosophy.

In it they already adopt the proletarian standpoint, although it deals very little with the economic sphere direct.

Engels had written only a few sheets (printer's), but Marx expanded them to many times their number. When Engels received the copy of the whole book he was astounded at its length, but he was delighted with the way in which Marx had treated the subject—only he thought the whole book too big; the subject matter was not worth it; still, he consoled himself that it was better so, for at least it was coming out straightaway, whereas otherwise "who knows how long the material might have still lain in your desk?"

Although himself a very careful and painstaking writer, many were the occasions when Engels urged Marx to hurry up with his work, and not to allow the possibility of making his work a little more perfect to interfere with rapid publication. We shall see later that this feverish haste of his to get things published was due to his belief in the imminence of the revolution. Thus he writes to Marx, January, 1845: "See to it that you complete quickly your work on national economy. Even if you yourself are not quite satisfied with much of it—that is no matter. The time is ripe and we must strike the iron while it is hot . . . it is now high time. So see that you are ready by April. Do as I do; give yourself a definite date by which you absolutely must finish and see about the immediate printing of it . . . It must come out at once."

With their meeting at Paris, and their joint writing of *The Holy Family*, there commenced a loyal friendship, such as is rarely met with in history between two great men, and which lasted to the end of their days. We shall have occasion to speak of this friendship many times again.

Although it is well-nigh impossible to treat of the work of one inseparably from that of the other, yet since we have already given a brief survey of their fundamental economic and philosophic principles in the booklet dealing with the life and teaching of Karl Marx, published two years ago, on the occasion of the Marx centenary, we shall endeavour to deal here only with that part of their work which was, as far as can be, specifically the work of Engels, or with such parts of their common work as were not treated in the Marx pamphlet.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN ENGLAND IN 1844

After their meeting and complete understanding in Paris, Engels went back to Barmen, there to complete and publish the results of his economic investigations in England—his historic *Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844*—a reprint of the English edition of which, we are glad to learn, has just appeared.

The first edition was published in German in the summer of 1845, and was very widely read and criticised. Its chief merit is not so much the actual description of the conditions of life of the English workers,

good as it was, for this had to some extent also been done by others, but the marvellous acuteness with which the young author (Engels was then only twenty-four years old) grasped the true inwardness of capitalist production and the contradictions inherent in bourgeois society.

The central idea of the book was to show how capitalist industry produces the modern working class. How it breeds the miserable conditions under which they live. How it demoralises them, dehumanises them, and reduces them to a condition of slavery in all but name; indeed, to worse than slavery, for the worker under capitalism, whilst he has to sell his body, and at that time, before he had learned the true value of efficient organisation, also his soul, to the owner of the means of production—the capitalist—he is not even sure from day to day whether he will have the wherewithal to satisfy his most elementary bodily needs.

At the same time, and this is the most important point of all, the author saw in this very despairing condition of the workers, the germ of the new hope. He saw how the bringing together of great masses of workers into a collective form of industry (with, of course, individual ownership) would gradually develop a mass consciousness in the workers. How the mastery of man over nature (as illustrated in factory and town life) would breed confidence in the masses in their own power. How the workers would be forced by their very conditions of life to see that their only way out of their misery and degradation was by their combination as fellow workers against the exploiting class—the capitalists—and that in the horrible conditions of the present life of the workers there already existed, and was germinating, the hope of the future; the Communist working-class movement, which would finally deliver mankind from all forms of slavery, from all forms of domination of man by his fellow men. This work was thus the first to lay the foundation of scientific Socialism, and was but the earnest beginning of Engels' life-long work in the Socialist Labour movement.

The book shows how far he had emancipated himself from the intricacies, the useless parts, and the idealism (in a philosophic sense) of German philosophy, whilst yet holding fast and using with a sure hand all that was true and fruitful in the Hegelian philosophy.

In addition to his masterly analysis of capitalist industry and its economic and social results, Engels also investigates the various forms of the English labour movement of the time. He sees the significance, the importance of the Trade Union movement, and yet its inadequacy so long as it remains a purely professional organisation.

He therefore hails the Chartist movement as the compact political form of the proletarian opposition to the bourgeoisie. In Chartism, the workers, as a whole class, stand against the bourgeoisie in order to filch from it political power.

But whilst the Chartists rightly take an active part in all the social

struggles of the Trade Unions (for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions of work and so forth), they are not yet sufficiently imbued with Socialist ideals and ideas. All their strivings are directed to bettering the condition of the workers within the framework of capitalist society. The Chartists are theoretically backward, but, nevertheless, they are in the main real proletarians imbued with the living fighting spirit.

The Socialists of the time, on the other hand, are more far-sighted, but they come mostly from the bourgeoisie and are mainly pacifist, tame, and live on abstract ideals. They see and lament the demoralisation of the lower classes, but they do not realise that the germ of future progress lies in these classes, and that the real demoralisation of the possessing classes, induced by their private interests and hypocrisy, is far greater.

The Socialists do not recognise historical development. They deplore the bitterness displayed by the workers against the bourgeoisie, and they desire and hope to bring about their own Communist ideals by means of wholly fruitless moral suasion and philanthropy.

But if Socialism is to become a living part of the working-class movement, Engels maintains, it must adopt the revolutionary spirit of the Chartists, just as the Chartists need the far-sightedness and clear theoretical understanding of the Socialists. Or, in other words, Socialism must be essentially a proletarian movement, and the proletarian movement must be Socialist ere the working class can gain its emancipation from capitalism.

And although we have travelled far since then, although the workers have gained all the political aims of the Chartists, have indeed gained well-nigh all that there is to be gained within the framework of capitalist society by purely political means, and political action has become more a method of propoganda and agitation than a means of improving to any great extent the lot of the worker, yet it is truer than ever to-day that the working-class movement, unless imbued with Socialist ideals, unless it is consciously working for the overthrow of capitalism and the attainment of a Socialist system of society, will never accomplish its real aim: the emancipation of the worker from its slavery.

Conversely, not only will the Socialists who rely on the moral conversion, on a change of heart of the bourgeoisie as a class, never make any progress, but so long as the Socialist parties, who do rely on the working class, are not an integral part of the general labour movement, so long as they are content to stand outside, hugging their moral and intellectual superiority, and preaching to and at the workers instead of being *within* and *part* of the labour movement itself, so long will most of their work and their sacrifices be in vain.

In the conclusion of his book, Engels expresses the opinion that England is not far from an outbreak of revolution. And it was this

prophecy which was most seized upon by the critics because, at any rate in the form in which Engels predicted it, it was not fulfilled. Of course, the fact that Engels made a mistake in the nearness or the exact form of the revolution does not in the least detract from the value of the book, and we may indeed rather wonder, as Engels himself did shortly before his death, not that some of the hopes and prophecies of his fiery youth had fallen wide of the mark, but that so many of them had, indeed, come to pass.

It may be noted that particularly in their early years both Marx and Engels were prone to overestimate at times the tempo of the revolutionary Labour movement. But we must remember it was the *tempo* not the *course* of the revolution that was sometimes overestimated.

Whilst things did not move as quickly as they sometimes thought they should do, their analysis of the past, present, and future course of development of society has proved remarkably apt and accurate.

But this was only because they saw the final course and aim so clearly themselves that the actual road to be traversed seemed to them shorter than it was. As Lange has said: "In general, what we foresee very clearly we are wont to imagine as being nearer than it really is." The only really valid criticism on the book is that passed by Engels himself in his Introduction to the 1892 edition:

"It will be hardly necessary to point out that the general theoretical standpoint of this book—philosophical, economical, political—does not exactly coincide with my standpoint to-day. Modern international Socialism, since fully-developed as a science chiefly and almost exclusively by the efforts of Marx, did not as yet exist in 1844. My book represents one of the phases of its embryonic development, and as the human embryo in its early stages still reproduces the gill-arches of our fish ancestors, so this book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of modern Socialism from one of its ancestors—German philosophy. Thus great stress is laid on the dictum that Communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory, compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow condition. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless and sometimes worse in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self-emancipation of the working class, so long will the social revolution have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone." And the experience of the last few years in Russia, in Germany, Austria, and Hungary, and, aye, here in England, too, have proved the last few lines to be truer than ever to-day. Unless, which is not altogether impossible, although improbable, England becomes the China of Europe and remains capitalist after all the other European countries have gone through the fire of revolution and established Communism, then, and then only, the English capitalist classes *may* be convinced of the folly of the present system, themselves

resign their power, and help the workers to emancipate the whole of society from the shackles of capitalist production for profit. But no one in their senses would set to work now on such an assumption.

The *Conditions of the Working Classes* was to have been only the first part of an all embracing history of the English people. At the same time Engels was planning a monthly Socialist paper, to be edited together with Moses Hess, and also the publication of an encyclopædia of Socialist literature abroad, the publication of a criticism of List, and so on. The latter work he left to Marx, who had also intended doing it. The stress of the coming years, however, did not allow of the completion of all these plans.

HOME LIFE AND EARLY COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

The first letter Engels wrote Marx after returning from Paris to Barmen was at the end of September, 1844. It is full of the eagerness of youth and enthusiasm for their common work.

He describes the progress made by their Communist teaching in Cologne, and he says: "Our people are very active, but the lack of a proper foundation is very evident. So long as our principles have not been developed in a few works, historically and logically, from our prevailing philosophy (*anschauungsweise*) and history, and shown to be the necessary corollary of these, so long shall we continue for the most part to grope blindly in the dark. . . . Best of all I like my Elberfeld boys, in whom the human philosophy has, indeed, passed into their flesh and blood. These fellows have really begun to revolutionise their families economically, and they read their elders a lesson whenever these attempt to treat their servants or workers aristocratically. And this is, indeed, a great deal in patriarchal Elberfeld. . . ." He describes bourgeois society at home in Barmen and district, and points out that the discontent of the workers is growing and is manifesting itself by the increase of crime and individual terrorist acts, and says: "And if the proletariat of this country develops according to the same law as the English, they will soon become convinced that to protest against the social order in this violent way, as individuals, is quite useless, and they will learn to protest as human beings in their collective capacity through Communism. If only we could show them the way. But this is impossible." (The Communists could not then work in the open for fear of arrest.) And he ends the letter thus:—"Well, now, see to it that the material you have collected is sent forth into the world as soon as possible—it is devilishly high time I, too, set to work in earnest. . . . And so let us work well and publish quickly. . . . Good-bye, dear fellow, and write soon. I have never since been in such a cheerful good-humoured mood as I was during the ten days I stopped with you."

This letter not only characterises the young Engels, but it also shows how close were already the relations existing between himself and Marx. In this letter they are already on quite familiar terms, Engels using the familiar "du" (thou) in addressing Marx. It may be as well to

state here that the correspondence between Marx and Engels fills four fair-sized volumes. In these letters they discuss their economic and philosophical theories, the books they are reading and writing at the time, all the leading European events of the time, such as the commercial crises of 1857, the Crimean War, the French war against Austria, the war between the Northern and Southern States of America, and so on and so forth.

They also discuss the working-class movements and their leaders in Europe and America. They are keenly interested and exchange their views on all the discoveries of science, both practical and theoretical. In one letter Engels describes a discovery in electricity made by himself, and in a letter dated May 3, 1873, Engels communicates to Marx and Schorlemmer some reflections of his own in physical science. Schorlemmer, an eminent chemist and professor of chemistry at that time in Manchester, was an intimate friend of theirs, and, judging by his remarks at the end of the various paragraphs of Engels' letter, thought highly of the points made by Engels.

To deal adequately with this correspondence would require quite a book to itself. We shall, therefore, make no attempt to discuss it, only taking such extracts from it as will serve to illustrate Engels' life and character.

Engels' family very much wanted him to take up commerce as a career, and, of course, to enter his father's business, but every fibre in young Friedrich's soul protested against such a fate. His ambitions lay in a quite different direction. Thus, in March, 1845, he writes to Marx: "I am leading now a veritable dog's life. On account of the affairs with the meetings, and the slovenliness of several of the Communists here, with whom I, of course, associate, all the old religious fanaticism of my old governor (his father) has been re-awakened, and his ire has been increased still more by the declaration of my intention to give up definitely the office bench. Further, since my open appearance as a Communist"—(they had had some meetings at Barmen at which Friedrich had spoken)—"he has developed in addition a passionate bourgeois fanaticism.

"Now, just consider my position. As I am going away in about fourteen days or so, I cannot very well kick up a row. I let everything pass by without protest. They are not accustomed to this, and so their spirits rise. . . . If it were not for my mother, who really possesses a very fine personality, only cannot stand up against my father, and whom I really love, I would not dream for a moment of making the slightest concession to my fanatical and despotic governor. But my mother is in any case ill every now and again, and almost every time she is worried, especially about me, she gets an eight-days' headache. It is unbearable. I must get away, and hardly know how to hold out the few weeks I still have to remain here. Still, they will pass."

In 1845 Engels gave up mercantile life, left Barmen and went to

Brussels. He did this partly because his family and friends hindered his Communist work in his native town, but chiefly because he wanted to work out together with Marx their common philosophic and economic principles. Here in Brussels they worked out together their scientific system of Socialism, whilst at the same time endeavouring to bring the existing working-class movement to class consciousness, and to place it on the foundation of their theoretical system.

Their first work here was a criticism of the later Hegelian philosophy, which was a definite break with the contemporary German philosophy. This book, in two volumes, which was never published on account of a literary boycott of Marx's works in Germany, served the useful purpose of clearing their own thoughts, and giving them a sure grasp of their theories. And this accomplished, they went to work practically as well as theoretically.

They established a German Labour Union in Brussels, and took a leading part in conducting the *Deutschen-Brusseler Zeitung*. At the same time they kept up a close and constant connection with the revolutionary elements of English Chartism and with the French Social-Democrats through the journal *Reforme*, to which Engels supplied news of the English and German movements. They also became associated with the "League of the Just," which ultimately, under the influence of Marx's and Engels' teaching, developed into the International Communist League.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

In the summer of 1847 the League met in congress in London to adopt a new constitution and program. Engels was present as the representative of the Paris group. In November of the same year the Congress met again to discuss the question of issuing a manifesto of its ideas and aims. The draft suggested by Marx and Engels was discussed very fully for ten days, and finally they were commissioned to prepare it for publication.

From a letter from Engels to Marx in November, 1847, we see that it was Engels who was responsible for the title of the manifesto. "Reflect a bit on the confession of faith," he writes. "I think we would do best to do away with the catechism form and entitle the thing 'Communist Manifesto.' Since a certain amount of history must be related therein, the form we have so far adopted is quite unsuitable. I am bringing along the copy I have drawn up; it is simply a statement, but wretchedly put together in very great haste. . . ." Then follows the headings of the various points with which the manifesto deals.

Under their influence the sentimental cry of the old Utopians—"All men are brothers"—was replaced by the living battle-cry of "Workers of all countries unite." The manifesto was published in 1848, and it meant the public unfurling of the banner of modern Socialism. In the Marx pamphlet we have already dealt with this manifesto. We shall, therefore, not stop to analyse it again here—only one quotation

we should like to give from the Introduction to it written by Engels for the 1888 edition, merely to show how the wheel of time, and the present revolutionary era through which we are passing, has, so far as party names are concerned, brought us back very much to the position of 1848. After pointing out that at that time (1888) the manifesto was undoubtedly the most widespread, the most international production of all Socialist literature, Engels says: "Yet when it was written we could not have called it a *Socialist* manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the multifarious social quacks, who, by all manners of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profits, all sorts of social grievances; in both cases, men outside the working-class movement and looking rather to the 'educated' classes for support.

"Whatever portions of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion then called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point. Thus, Socialism was in 1847 a middle-class movement. Socialism was on the Continent at least 'respectable,' Communism was the very opposite; and as our notion from the very beginning was that 'the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself,' there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have ever since been far from repudiating it."

Do not the last lines strike a familiar note? When we reflect how most of the official Socialist parties have dragged Socialism through the mud of Jingoism, Nationalism, and Opportunism during and since the war, and how, on the contrary, the glorious Russian Revolution has sanctified for us the name and idea of Communism, and how all that is best and most virile in the Socialist movement of nearly all the countries of the world have instinctively readopted the Communist title, we see that we have as much, indeed more, reason to drop the too "respectable" title Socialist and proudly proclaim ourselves Communists.

We shall have occasion later to make one more quotation from this preface. For the present we need say no more.

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY

After the second Congress, which established the first International on a firm scientific basis, Engels and Marx went to Paris and thence to Germany, where they established the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. Here they worked both practically and theoretically at combating the illusions of the revolutionaries of 1848, who for the most part thought that all that was needed was the gaining of civil and

political freedom; that, these gained, the chains would at once fall from the people, and they would live thereafter in peace and prosperity. Needless to say, both Marx and Engels called for energetic action for the attainment of political liberties, for the overthrow of the reaction—but this only for the purpose of preparing the ground for the real struggle of the workers for their emancipation from capitalist domination. For Engels as for Marx, democracy without Communism was no democracy.

"Any other democracy" (not Communism), said Engels, "can only exist in the heads of visionary theoreticians, who do not bother about realities, and according to whom men and circumstances do not develop principles, but principles develop of themselves. Democracy has become a proletarian principle—the principle of the masses." But for this democracy to have any value, it must be Communist, not bourgeois, democracy.

It may not be out of place to say a few words here as to this democracy whose praises we hear sung now on all sides, including such sturdy democrats as King George, Lloyd George, Bonar Law and so on, and so on.

Our ideas on democracy illustrate admirably the way in which all our thoughts and ideas are coloured by the prevailing economic conditions and the interests of the governing class. Of course, it is true, in the abstract, that if the working class desired to do so they could simply, by using their vote, set up a Socialist, even a Communist, Government, and proceed to carry out any measure of reform they desired, and even to abolish the private ownership in the means of production and to Socialise them by orderly parliamentary methods.

But a moment's reflection must surely convince us that democracy, as it exists at the present time, is a mere sham so far as the workers are concerned. In the first place, the school and pulpit are in the hands of the governing class, who quite naturally use them as far as they can to inculcate views in their own interests. The Press, which is the most powerful moulder of public opinion, is again in the hands of the capitalist class. For one Socialist or Labour paper there are hundreds of Liberal, Tory, Radical—in short, bourgeois—papers, all inculcating the morals, ideas and ideals of the governing class, whatever particular name or method they may adopt in doing this. The Labour forces have not at their command the halls, motor-cars, and vast sums of money spent on supporting bourgeois candidates. The electoral machinery and institutions, too, are so contrived that it is the Government—the representatives of the ruling classes—that chooses the issues and the moment of the elections.

The consequence is that democracy in a bourgeois society simply tends to strengthen the position and interests of the bourgeoisie by giving to its domination the apparent sanction of the popular vote. Engels, therefore, truly says in his *Origin of the Family*, which we shall

treat in greater detail below, "Universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot, and never will, be anything else but that in the modern State. But that is sufficient. On the day when the thermometer of universal suffrage reaches its boiling point among the labourers, they, as well as the capitalists, will know what to do." That is to say, the granting of universal suffrage shows the growing strength of the working class, the fact that the governing classes in order to maintain their rule must, whilst preserving for themselves the reality, grant the masses the appearance of power. But when the working class or its active class-conscious section is really ready to use this power, then it will have become obsolete, for the capitalist classes, seeing the *reality* of their power about to be filched from them, will take, as so far in history they always have taken, to far different weapons than that of moral suasion and the kissing of grimy little children or shaking hands with bewildered housewives at election times.

And it is necessary to note here that no Socialist or Communist advocates forcible or violent revolution as an end in itself. But we must face realities. If the other side will not abdicate and quietly give up their possessions—what is to be done? So long as they are possessed of their wealth and are allowed to use that wealth freely, so long do the governing classes possess a weapon far stronger than any vote of the workers, and this wealth and the power it gives them they will not yield up without a struggle.

Should the Russian workers' Republic, surrounded by internal and external foes ready and eager to rend it to pieces, should it, figuratively speaking, fold its arms and turn the other cheek to be smitten by its enemies? Would it really be more "moral" for the Russian Red Army, instead of defending themselves and their revolution, to lay down their arms and let the Whites and the Blacks and Tans over-run them and make a shambles of their country like the Horthy gangs are doing in Hungary? The absurdity of the anti-force fanaticism has only to be stated to be at once recognised.

At the same time, we are not, as Engels shows in his *Anti-Dühring*, to make a fetish of force. Force alone will not make a revolution or preserve a dominant class indefinitely in power. It is the underlying economic conditions and the degree of development of the productive forces which gives rise to particular forms of society, and it is the further development of the means of production which again gives rise to our scorn of former or still prevailing forms of society and our will and ability to overthrow them when conditions are ripe for such a step.

Thus, after pointing out the useful and necessary rôle played even by slavery in the progress of society from primitive Communism, Engels says: "It is very easy to make sermons about slavery and to express our moral indignation at such a scandalous institution. Un-

fortunately, the whole significance of this is that it merely says that these old institutions do not correspond with our present conditions, and the sentiments engendered by these conditions. We do not, however, in this way explain how these institutions came into existence, why they came into existence and the rôle which they have played in history. And when we enter upon this matter we have to say, in spite of all contradiction and accusations of heresy, that the introduction of slavery under the conditions of that time was a great step forward."

The old primitive Communism was incapable of expanding because of the limited means of subsistence, and when these became more plentiful, then the productive forces of labour, being still so slight, "yielding only a small surplus over the daily necessities of life, the development of the productive forces, the institution of commerce, the development of the State and of law, and the foundation of Art and Science were only possible through an increase in the subdivision of labour." The most natural and simplest form of this subdivision was that of slavery, which, whilst burdening one section of men with all the menial work of society, left another, the master class, free to direct this work, to carry on the work of the State and to pursue trade, art and science. At that time, had the thought of the iniquity of slavery occurred, it would have been useless to attempt to abolish it, and no mass party could, or did, arise to demand and carry out its abolition.

But the wheel of time does not stand still, and leisured classes tend more and more to become purely parasitic; and now the productive forces have made such gigantic strides as to make the existence of a special leisured class not only superfluous, but a direct obstacle to further social progress; and they will, therefore, be "unceremoniously brushed aside in spite of their possession of 'pure force'" (a term used by Dühring). Nevertheless, force has played an important part in history, and should not be despised and lightly disclaimed.

"According to Herr Dühring" (read now our anti-forcists), says Engels, "force is the absolute evil. The first act of force is to him the first fall into sin. His whole conception is a sort of sermon over the infection of all history up to the present time with the original sin. He talks about the disgraceful falsifying of all natural and social laws by the invention of the devil force. That force plays another part in history, a revolutionary part, that it is in the words of Marx, the midwife of the old society when pregnant with the new, that it is the tool and means by which social movements hack their way through and break up the dead and fossilised political forms—of all this not a word by Herr Dühring. Only with sighs and groans does he admit the possibility that for the overthrow of the system of exploitation force may, perhaps, be necessary, but most unfortunate if you please, because all use of force, forsooth, demoralises him who uses it!

"And this is said in face of the great moral and intellectual advance which has followed every successful revolution! And this is said in

Germany, where a violent collision—which might, perhaps, be forced on the people—should have, at the very least, the advantage that it would destroy the spirit of subservience which has permeated the national mind ever since the degradation and humiliation of the Thirty Years' War."

The reader can himself make the necessary substitutions for Germany in the above passage.

CONSTITUTIONAL RISINGS IN GERMANY

The working classes failed to get their political liberties in the 1848 revolutions: the reaction triumphed.

But they learned some valuable lessons: they learnt to recognise the unreliability of the small property-owners; their treachery, and the need to rely on themselves alone as a class in their struggle with the bourgeoisie. Of course, the subsequent history of Europe shows that this lesson was not learnt thoroughly by all sections of the workers in all Europe; but the foremost ranks of the workers did learn the lesson, and after a short respite from the shock of their defeat there commenced a more definitely class-conscious action amongst the European working class.

In May, 1849, a portion of the Rhine province broke out in revolt, and as soon as Engels heard of this he hastened to the seat of action, to Elberfeld; but the workers being betrayed by the small bourgeoisie, the rising soon fizzled out. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed, and after remaining in hiding in Cologne for a short time, Engels went to the Palatinate, which had risen, together with Baden, for a constitution for the whole German Empire. Here he joined a volunteer corps as adjutant. But this rising also failed, owing to the mismanagement and treachery of the South German Democrats—a small bourgeois party, which, supported by the workers, had led the rising. And it ended, as described by Engels, by a bloody massacre. Engels stopped with the conquered army to the very last, until all was hopelessly lost. He then went to Switzerland. The day after he arrived at Vevey, he writes to Mrs. Marx explaining his long silence, and the course of the rising. Although, he says, he had at first tried to stand aside from this *soi-disant* revolution, still, when he heard that the Prussians had come he could not keep himself from entering the ranks. Although he does not think much of the rising, on the whole he is glad that one from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had taken part; otherwise the democrats might have denounced them as being too cowardly to fight. He is very anxious as to what has become of Marx, and says: "If only I were certain that Marx is free! I have often thought that there, in the midst of the Prussian bullets, I was in a much less dangerous post after all than the others in Germany, and particularly than Marx in Paris. Please relieve me immediately from this uncertainty."

In reply, Marx tells Engels how anxious they had been on his account

and how delighted they were to hear from him again. He urges Engels to take the opportunity now to write a history or pamphlet on the rising.

When, in August, 1849, Marx was expelled from Paris and declared his intention to go to London, he writes to Engels urging him strongly also to come to London, both because it was unsafe for him to remain in Switzerland where the Prussians might get hold of him, and also for the sake of the work they could do together in London; and, indeed, very soon after, Engels followed Marx to London.

FIGHTING ILLUSIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REFUGEES

Here, in London, they started intensive practical and theoretical work. Their first efforts were directed to perfecting, and as far as possible extending, the organisation of the Communist League; and not a little of their energy had to be given to explain to the large number of foreign refugees then in London that for the time being the counter-revolution had won the upper hand and it was useless there and then to appeal for an immediate violent revolution. In a monthly review established by them, and published in Hamburg, they endeavoured to find the economic reason for the failure of the February revolution; and they found it in the discovery of the Californian Goldfields, which gave a fillip to world production and commerce that could not lightly be brushed aside and would not speedily exhaust itself. Just as the commercial world crisis of 1847 was the mother of the revolution, so the industrial prosperity ushered in by the discovery of the Californian Goldfields was the mother of the counter-revolution. The period was one, therefore, for agitation and education, not for revolution. In the fifth and sixth numbers of their review they published a survey of political and economic events of the 'forties, in which they show that the 1847 depression was followed by a period of prosperity, which had not yet reached its zenith in 1850. "The prosperity of England would rise still further by the newly successful opening up of the Dutch Colonies, by the prospective establishment of new means of communication on the Pacific Ocean, and by the great industrial exhibition of 1851 . . . this exhibition is a striking proof of concentrated power, by means of which modern great industry breaks down national barriers and obliterates local peculiarities in production, the social relations and character of the separate nations. . . ." This prosperity in England would, of course, react on the Continent. "In the midst of such general prosperity, when the productive forces of bourgeois society are developing as luxuriantly as is possible at all within the limits of bourgeois society, there can be no question of any real revolution. Such a revolution is only possible in periods when the two factors, the modern productive forces and the bourgeois modes of production, come into conflict. The various quarrels in which the different factions of the party of order now indulge are, on the contrary only possible because of the security of the basis of their immediate relations and,

what the reaction does not know, just because these relations are so bourgeois. In face of this, all bourgeois attempts at restraining reaction are as impotent as all the moral indignations and all the exalted proclamations of the democrats. A new revolution will only be possible as a result of a new crisis. And the one is as inevitable as the other." The last words of their review was a crushing denunciation and merciless criticism of a proclamation by Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Ruge, and Daraz, who had constituted themselves a European central committee, to the whole of the European refugees to unite under one flag, and in which the failure of the revolution was explained with bland simplicity—*i.e.*, as the result of quarrels and jealousies of the various leaders!

Of course, Marx and Engels denounce this as pure philistinism, and show that the bourgeois sentimentalists who think that the enthusiasms and ideals of a few are sufficient to induce a revolution at will in any desired direction, have simply put the cart before the horse, and, therefore, will never get any "farrarder."

In this same review, Engels wrote a number of other articles and series of articles, such as on the Ten Hours Bill, and on the German Peasants' War, which was later published as a pamphlet, and is the first historical description of pre-capitalist relations from the point of view of the materialistic conception of history.

The views held by Marx and Engels on the impossibility of making revolution at any time at will, necessarily caused great dissensions in the ranks of the Communist League. The older members, such as Eccarius, Pfander, Seiler, Freiligrath, Ferdinand Wolff, and Bauer, all with the exception of Schapper and Willich, followed Marx and Engels. The younger, with exceptions here and there, such as Wilhelm Liebknecht and Conrad Schramm, followed the general current of the refugees against them.

The crisis came to a head in the sitting of the central executive committee, September, 1850, in which, although the Marx-Engels tendency had a majority, it became evident that no compromise was possible between the two sections. As a result, both Marx and Engels were unable to do much practical work for some time, and they withdrew themselves into their theoretical works.

BACK TO MANCHESTER

In the meantime, Engels' father was not content to see his son in the midst of the revolutionary movement in England, and he wrote offering him a post in Calcutta; this, however, Engels refused. He found, however, that by means of journalism, which was the career he had decided to follow, he could earn no more than enough to keep himself.

On the other hand, Marx had a wife and three young children, and could, by means of his writings, earn very little to support his family. Engels felt he could not stand by and see a great man like Marx, whose genius he recognised from the first days of their more intimate rela-

tions in Paris, waste his strength in petty writings, for a living. Under these circumstances, he decided that he must earn enough to be able to support Marx, while the latter went on as far as possible with the working out of the economic and philosophic theories they held in common. Consequently, although he hated the idea, he decided, after all, to go back into his father's business. In 1850 we therefore find him back in Manchester as a clerk at the cotton mill of Ermen and Engels, and in December of that year Mrs. Marx writes to thank him for his sympathy with them in the loss of their baby. She says that his letter had comforted her greatly in her sorrow. "My husband and all of us have missed you very much and have often longed to have you with us. Still, I am glad you have gone and are on the way to become a great cotton lord! . . ." She advises him to make himself indispensable to his father, and "I already see you in imagination as Frederick Engels, junior partner of the senior Engels, and the best of it all is that in spite of all cotton trade you will still remain the old Fritz . . . and will not become estranged from the holy cause of freedom . . . the children chatter much about uncle Angels, and the small Till sings the song you have taught him, fine. . . ."

For the next twenty years, Engels and Marx saw one another only for brief intervals from time to time, but they maintained constant intellectual intercourse by corresponding almost daily. No sooner did any idea on economic science or philosophy strike one of them, than he immediately communicated it to the other, asking for his opinion, advice, and further elucidation by means of new facts the other might possess. Whilst in Manchester, Engels, besides his work in the business, continued his studies particularly on military history and science. He also worked at comparative philology and the natural sciences. Speaking of his study of Russian, March, 1852, he deplores the little time he gets for the study of the Slav question, at which he was then working. He would like to write more for Ernest Jones' paper, but what with spending the whole day in the office, writing a weekly report to his father, the *Tribune* article, and almost weekly articles for Wehdemeyer, he has a bit more than he can manage. He must spend some regular time on the Slav question—"I have pegged away at Russian for the last fourteen days, and am fairly well on with the grammar, another two or three months will give me the necessary vocabulary, and then I can start doing something else. I must finish with the Slav languages this year, and in reality they are not so very difficult. Apart from the intrinsic interest the subject has for me, I am also led thereto by the consideration that at least one of us should know the languages, history, literature, and the details of the social institutions of just those nations with whom we shall directly come into conflict. . . . Bakunin has only become of some importance because no one knows Russian. And the old pan-Slav trickery that the old Slav communal ownership can be transformed into Communism, and that the Russian peasants are to be regarded as born Communists, will again be widely canvassed."

In 1859, during the Italian war, Engels published the pamphlet *The Po and the Rhine*. Marx was enthusiastic in its praise when he read the manuscript. In accordance with his advice, it was published anonymously at first, in order that it might be "attributed to some high-placed general," and in May, 1861, on the occasion of a trip to Germany, Marx writes to Engels saying that in high military circles the pamphlet is indeed so regarded.

After the conclusion of the Italian war, Engels wrote another pamphlet, entitled *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*, and in 1865, in the pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Labour Party*, Engels attacked the incompetency and half-heartedness of the liberals and radicals, pointing out that a solution of the military problems of Prussia, as of every other serious question, could only be arrived at by a proletarian party.

In the middle of the sixties, the Labour movement began to revive in England and the Continent, and in 1864 the International Workingmen's Association was formed. Though Marx was the intellectual leader of the International, Engels, too, did a great deal of work for it.

ENGELS' DEVOTION TO MARX

At the end of March, 1860, Engels lost his father, and in September, 1864, he became a partner in the firm. This, of course, meant added responsibilities and work, and was by no means to his liking, as we have seen above, and as we also see from a letter to Marx in May, 1860, in which he says that he is trying to make the contract as onerous as possible for Gottfried (Ermen), in order that at the decisive moment he may be only "too pleased to let me go," from which we can conclude that he already then had no intention of remaining in the business for ever. In the meantime his income rose, and that was, of course, of the greatest importance to himself and Marx.

During all the time that Engels worked at the Manchester cotton mills he felt anything but happy, and how both he and Marx regarded Engels' activity in the commercial world we shall see from extracts of their letters we give below.

Speaking of what may happen when his contract will be up in 1869, he says that as things are he will probably have to go out of the business. He cannot reconcile himself to starting a new business. If he had to do that he would be done for. "I long for nothing so much as to get free of this dastardly commerce, which, with all the loss of time involved, is completely demoralising me. So long as I am in it, I am useless for anything; particularly since I became a partner it has become much worse, because of the greater responsibilities. Were it not for the larger income, I should really prefer to be a clerk again." The one thing that worries him is what to do about Marx when he has to leave the business in a couple of years. He consequently the more wishes and hopes that Marx will at last meet with literary success (from a financial point of view, too), and then comes the incurable optimist, and adds

"even should the revolution not come in between and make an end to all financial projects."

Marx undoubtedly understood the sacrifice Engels was making, and in reply to this letter, after expressing his own hope and belief (which, however, in a material sense, was not fulfilled) that in another year he would be a made man and would be able to stand on his own feet financially, he says, amongst other things, "Without you I could never have brought the work (*Capital*) to a conclusion, and I assure you that a load like a mountain has always lain on my mind: that chiefly on my account you have allowed your splendid powers to go to waste and to grow rusty in commerce."

Already in 1865, after describing his sad economic position at the moment—debts, etc. (and Engels, as always, came to the rescue as far as he possibly could)—Marx deplores his dependent position, and says: "The only thought that sustains me in it all is that we two form a sort of business company in which I give my time to the theoretical and the party section of the business." And it was so indeed. Engels' sacrifice was not only for the friend in whom he recognised genius of the highest order, but it was also a noble sacrifice of his own inclinations and powers for the purpose of furthering the interests of the party, and the ideals both he and Marx had at heart.

In addition, when in the beginning of 1851 Marx was invited to write for the *New York Tribune*, Engels was of great assistance. In the first place, at that time Marx was not yet a sufficient master of the English language to write in English. Engels, therefore, translated his articles for him. Secondly, when Marx had no time to write, or was unwell, or when the question to be dealt with was a military one, or anything more in Engels' domain, Engels wrote the article himself. Often enough Engels would write one or two articles during the week in addition to his work in the office and all his other studies and writings. These articles all went to the *Tribune* under Marx's signature and highly valued they were (though miserably paid) whether they came from Marx's or Engels' pen.

January 5, 1854, Marx writes to Engels telling him that his military articles (on the position of affairs in the Crimean War, printed by the *Tribune* as leading articles on November 15 and December 16, 1853) had made a "great stir and have been attributed to General Scot" (a leading military authority at that time).

In the spring of 1854, Engels seemed for a while to have had great hopes of getting well paid work on the *Daily News*, and he was already making joyous plans for throwing up his commercial life and coming back to London. Unfortunately, the plan came to nothing, and, much to his disgust, Engels had to remain at his Manchester office.

Early the following year Marx's only boy, a very gifted but delicate child, fell ill and died. Marx, writing to Engels, says in one letter: "I cannot thank you enough for the friendship with which you con-

stantly work on my account and for the sympathy you feel for the child."

April 6 the child died and Marx writes: "Poor Musch (Edgar—Musch was his nick-name) is no more. . . . I shall never forget how your friendship has relieved this terrible time for us. . . ." Then a week later Marx writes again: "The house is, of course, quite desolated and deserted since the death of the dear child who was its vitalising soul. It is impossible to describe how we miss the child everywhere. I have gone through all sorts of misfortunes, but only now do I understand what real sorrow is. I feel broken down. . . . In the midst of all the frightful sufferings I have gone through in these days, the thought of you and of your friendship has sustained me, and the hope that we still have something rational to do in the world together." In 1857 we find Engels troubled by a very serious illness—a disease of the glands. Marx, during these years, is much troubled by poverty, and the illness of his wife, and so on; Engels is all sympathy and helps as far as he can, but Marx is very much disturbed by his friend's illness and writes: "In spite of all our misfortunes you may be quite sure that both my wife and I were much less concerned about our own affairs than by the last account of your state of health."

He urges Engels not to be obstinate and childish, and to give up work immediately to go away to the sea and not to bother about the *Tribune* articles until he is much better. Finally, Engels followed the advice of going away, but even whilst away he continued to send Marx articles; nor did he forget before going away to send Marx a good case of wine. Engels was no teetotaller, his wine cellars were always well stocked, and he usually saw to it that whatever else might be lacking in Marx's household, the wine cellar or its equivalent was not empty.

It is characteristic of the thoroughness with which both studied every subject to which they gave any attention at all, that, when advising Engels strongly to take iron, Marx says he is supported in his contentions by the "whole of the newest French, English and German medical literature" that he has just read through on the subject of his (Engels') illness. Engels replies in an equally learned treatise showing the superiority of cod-liver oil; agrees, however, to take both as the two do not necessarily exclude one another.

It is interesting to note that during all the time that Marx was writing his main work, *Capital*, not only did he discuss every theory advanced therein with Engels, but he asked for and received from Engels exact information as to how exactly the manufacturer works with the various parts of his capital—how he looks upon it, how he divides it in his account books, etc. Also regarding wages value, surplus value and so forth, Engels supplied Marx with essential information, for being himself a manufacturer he could do so at first hand.

And how much Marx valued Engels' help, advice and opinions is shown by many passages in his letters. Thus, June 7, 1859, he writes

regarding the Critique: "First of all, let me tell you how delighted I was that you liked the first part, for your judgment alone is important for me in this matter. To the great amusement of my wife, I awaited with considerable anxiety your judgment." Then again, in sending Engels some further sheets of the manuscript of *Capital* in June, 1867, he says: "I hope you will be satisfied with these four sheets. Your satisfaction with what has gone before is more important to me than anything the rest of the world might say." Where necessary, Engels criticised Marx's works quite freely, and Marx almost invariably utilised these criticisms and often altered his writings in accordance with them.

Finally, August 16, 1867, Marx had corrected the last proof sheet of the first volume of his great work, and that same day wrote to Engels:—

DEAR FRED,—Have just finished correcting the last sheet. The appendix—forms of value—in small print contains $1\frac{1}{4}$ sheets.

The preface corrected yesterday and sent back. And so this volume is finished. It is only thanks to you that this was possible. Without your self-sacrifice on my behalf, I could never have accomplished the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you full of thanks.

Enclosed two sheets of corrected proof.

Have received the £15 with best thanks.

Greetings, my dear, my beloved friend.—

Yours,

K. MARX

When at length the first volume of *Capital* was published, Engels left no stone unturned to advertise it, and to get the world, which tried its best to kill it by silence, to take notice of it.

TEMPORARY ESTRANGEMENT FROM MARX

In January, 1863, there occurred the first and only estrangement between Engels and Marx, an event which only serves to illustrate their deep and lasting friendship.

Whilst in Manchester, Engels had become acquainted with an Irish family, Burns, and had become deeply attached to one of the daughters, Mary, with whom he had lived for many years as man and wife. She was a bright, pretty, witty girl, who loved Engels passionately. On January 6, 1863, Mary died quite suddenly, probably from heart disease; the evening before he had been with her, and she had been quite well. Her death was a terrible shock to Engels, but when he wrote to Marx telling him of his bereavement, Marx answered by expressing his regret in a couple of sentences, and then proceeded to relate his own household difficulties. Engels let six days pass by before replying, and then reproached Marx for the "frosty" manner in which he had received the news of the misfortune that had befallen him (Engels). In contradistinction to Marx, "All my friends, even phili-

stines, have shown me more sympathy and friendship in my loss than I could expect." Marx was evidently much touched, and wrote apologising for his seeming coldness. It was not due to want of feeling at Engels' loss, which he had been terribly upset about, but when Engels' letter came, the brokers were actually in the house, the various tradesmen were clamouring for payment, there was no food in the house, and his daughter, Jenny, was ill. As a consequence, he was almost mad with anxiety, could not work, and did not know where and to whom to turn.

But Engels was quick to forgive—he answered immediately: "I thank you for your sincerity. You can understand yourself the impression made on me by your previous letter. One cannot live with a woman for so long without being frightfully upset by her death. I felt that with her I was burying the last remains of my youth. When I received your letter she was not yet in her grave. I tell you that your letter was in my head the whole week; I could not forget it. Never mind, your last letter has made up for it, and I am glad that I have not lost, together with Mary, my oldest and best friend." He then goes on to outline a plan of saving Marx from his immediate pecuniary anxieties.

Marx replies in the same tone. "I can tell you now without further formalities, that in spite of all the strain I have gone through these last few weeks, nothing weighed on me anywhere near so much as the fear of a break in our friendship. I have repeatedly declared to my wife that the whole wretched business is as nothing to me, compared with the fact that these bourgeois worries and their consequent agitation should have made me capable instead of consoling you at such a moment, to worry you with my private difficulties."

Towards the end of 1864, Engels married Lizzy, the sister of Mary Burns. They lived very happily together until her death in 1878. Mrs. Engels was a highly intelligent woman, who shared her husband's ideals and was an enthusiastic Fenian to the end of her life. They had no children, but Mrs. Engels' niece, Mary Ellen, nicknamed Pumps, lived with them and was educated and treated by both as their own daughter.

AN END TO "SWEET COMMERCE"

Towards the end of 1868 we find Engels concerned with the ending of his partnership in the cotton business, and it proves what a good man of business he must have been that his partner, Ermen, was willing to buy him out with a large sum of money in return for Engels binding himself not to open up a business in the same trade on his own account (a thing Engels would, in any case, not have dreamt of doing, as we have seen above).

However, Engels' one concern was that he should have enough to support Marx adequately, and as the sum offered him by Ermen would be sufficient to enable him to give Marx a regular £350 a year,

besides paying for unforeseen incidental expenses—doctor's bills, etc., for about five or six years, he asks Marx to let him know the exact sum of his debts and whether if he (Engels) clears these completely first he could then manage to live on £350 (and extras) without making any further debts, as upon that depends how he will deal with Ermen's offer. What will happen after the five or six years he does not know. He will even then be able to assure Marx at least £150 a year, and he hopes that something else may turn up so as to enable him to make that sum larger, and that Marx's literary work may bring him in something. If £350 is not sufficient, Marx must let him know immediately what yearly sum would be enough. No wonder Marx replies that he is quite "knocked down" by Engels' goodness!

At last, July 1, 1869, Engels writes:—

"Hurrah! To-day I have done with sweet commerce and am a free man. . . . Gottfried (Ermen) has given way in everything. Tussy (Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor, who was spending a few weeks with Engels and his wife) and I have celebrated my first free day by taking a long country walk this morning. In addition, my eye (he had been troubled with his eyes for some time) is getting much better, and with a little care will be quite all right soon.

"The balances and lawyers will still tie me somewhat for a few more weeks—but this will no longer mean the enormous loss of time of hitherto. . . ."

To this Marx replies:—

"Best congratulations on your liberation from the Egyptian bondage! In honour of this event, I have taken a glass too much, but late in the evening, not like the Prussian gendarmes before dawn. . . ."

IN LONDON AGAIN

Finally, at the end of September, 1870, having won over his wife, whose relatives were all in Manchester, to the idea, Engels removed to London. Here the division of labour between him and Marx took on a more definite character. Not a single piece of work by one or the other but was discussed by both before publication, but whilst Marx devoted himself mainly to a systematic working-out of their fundamental economic and philosophic theories, Engels undertook the carrying on of polemics and the discussion and solution of important questions of the day in the light of these theories. But how intimate was their co-work is proved by Engels' statement in the preface to the second edition of his *Anti-Dühring*:—

"The greater part of the point of view developed here was founded and worked out by Marx and only a small part of it by me. Its presentation has not been made without his knowledge. I have read the whole

manuscript to him before publication, and the tenth chapter of the section on economics was written by Marx, and, apart from some superficial observation, was merely abridged by me. It was always our custom to assist each other reciprocally in our special fields."

Engels wrote an enormous number of articles and pamphlets on current controversies and questions of interest which we cannot even enumerate here. But many of them are not only of interest historically, but are even applicable to present-day problems. Such, for instance, is his historic treatment of the "*Housing Question*" which appeared originally in 1872, as a series of articles in the *Volkstaat*. It was a polemic against the small bourgeois followers of Proudhon and Mühlberger, and afterwards went through several publications in pamphlet form. Much of it is even applicable at the present time, and has actually been adopted by our comrades in Russia, as the following extract will show:—

"How can the housing problem be solved? In modern Society this question is solved like every other social question by a gradual economic equalisation of supply and demand. This, however, is a kind of solution which itself constantly creates the problem anew, that is, gives no solution. How the Social Revolution will solve this question depends not only on circumstances of time and place, but it is bound up with questions which go much further, amongst which one of the most important is the abolition of the distinction between town and country. As we are not interested in utopian speculations on the structure of future society, it would be more than a waste of time to dwell upon this point. One thing is certain; even now there are sufficient habitable buildings in the large town to relieve materially the real shortage of accommodation if sensible use were made of them. This, of course, could only be brought about by the expropriation of their present possessors, and by settling in them the homeless workers or the workers who are now living in overcrowded homes. And as soon as the workers win political power, such a measure, based on the best interests of society, will be as easily carried out as every other act of expropriation or commandeering is carried out by the modern state."

This passage is a very good illustration of Engels' forcible, clear, and popular style. It is also interesting to note, as illustrating the concrete way in which both Marx and Engels founded and tested their theories, that already in this work, as in all the subsequent work of Marx and Engels, he takes into account the experience of the Commune, the first attempt at full emancipation made by the working class, checking his theories, deductions, and predictions thereby.

ANTI-DÜHRING or THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM

In 1875 Engels published his famous *Anti-Dühring* as a scientific supplement to the *Vorwärts*. The following year it was published in book form, and later, a popular edition was issued under the title—

The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science. This edition met with great success, and was translated in a large number of languages. In the early seventies, the growth and success of the German Social Democracy tended to attract to a greater and greater extent the more discontented and liberal sections of the bourgeoisie. Now there is no objection whatever to welcoming members of the middle and upper classes in our Socialist organisations, providing these elements have completely freed themselves from their own class modes of thought and ideals, and have completely adopted the proletarian revolutionary standpoint. But the stampede of the bourgeoisie to the Socialist camp by no means conformed to this rule. On the contrary, the new bourgeois elements sought to deprive it of its proletarian character, to make it acceptable to the middle classes, in short, to make Socialism "respectable." Amongst the most talented of these new bourgeois leaders was Eugene Dühring, who was beginning to have great influence, especially over the younger men of the party. He was a man of undoubted great abilities who had overcome many great difficulties in the circumstances of his early life. He wrote on, and knew a fair amount of, a very large number of subjects, but he lacked thoroughness in them all, and, above all, he had no unifying principle, no fundamental conception of the relations existing between the various branches of knowledge and their development. Nevertheless, on account particularly of his growing influence in the party, he was not an unworthy opponent, and Engels, with his own encyclopædic knowledge and his incomparable mastery of the dialectic method, followed Dühring into the subjects touched on by him, and not merely made short work of him, but what was of far greater importance, produced a work of enduring value, forming a brilliant exposition of scientific Communism; and treating the whole of modern science from the Marxian materialistic point of view; whilst in its treatment of practical questions, arising from the social revolution, it is as valuable to us as a guide at the present day as it was when first written.

In the first place, it forms a searching investigation into the sources of historic materialism, and elucidates the dialectic method of investigation employed by himself and Marx, and gives it its rightful place in science and philosophy. It illustrates the dialectic principle—that is, the growth of the new within the old, and, indeed, as a result of it, until the new at a certain stage of development or maturity inevitably replaces the old—Engels illustrates this principle in the various physical, natural, and biological sciences as well as in the realms of history, philosophy, and so forth.

"According to the dialectic method of thinking," says Engels, "which regards things and their concepts in relation to their connection with each other, their concatenation, their coming into being and passing away, phenomena like the preceding (various natural occurrences), are so many confirmations of its own philosophy. Nature is

the proof of the dialectic. . . . "A correct notion of the universe, of the human race, as well as of the reflection of this progress in the human mind, can only be obtained by the dialectic method together with a steady observation of the change and interchange which goes on in the universe, the coming into existence and passing away, progressive and retrogressive modification." The dialectic is, as a matter of fact, nothing but "the science of the universal law of motion and evolution in nature, human society, and thought." He castigates with all the scorn of which he is such a master those pseudo-Socialists (and we have them in our midst still) who would have us believe in and act according to "eternal laws of morality, truth, and justice." "We here call attention to the attempt to force a sort of moral dogmatism upon us as eternal, final, immutable, moral law, upon the pretext that the moral law is possessed of fixed principles which transcend history and the variations of individual peoples. We affirm, on the contrary, that, so far, all ethical theory is, in the last instance, a testimony to the existence of certain economic conditions prevailing in any community at any particular time. And in proportion as society developed class-antagonisms, morality became a class morality and either justified the interests and domination of the ruling class, or as soon as a subject class became strong enough, justified revolt against the domination of the ruling class"; or, again, "If we have no better security for the revolution in the present methods of distribution of the products of labour with all their crying antagonisms of misery and luxury, of poverty and ostentation, than the consciousness that this method of distribution is unjust and that Justice must finally prevail, we should be in evil plight and would have to stay there a long time. . . . In other words, it has come about that the productive forces of the modern capitalist mode of production, as well as the system of distribution based upon it, are in glaring contradiction to the mode of production itself, and to such a degree that a revolution in the modes of production and distribution must take place which will abolish all class differences, or the whole of modern society will fall. It is in these actual material facts, which are necessarily becoming more and more evident to the exploited proletariat, that the confidence in the victory of modern Socialism finds its foundation, and not in this or that bookworm's notions of justice and injustice."

Refuting Dühring's arguments that the course of class subjection is to be sought in political conditions, and that political force is the primary and economic conditions merely the secondary cause of class distinctions, Engels shows how private property arose amongst primitive peoples, not by forcible robberies as a rule, but because of a limitation of certain things in the early tribal communes—hence arises the necessity for exchange and the production of wares for exchange instead of for use.

The modes of distribution are also altered thereby, and there arise

inequalities in the possessions by individuals. Primitive Communism persists for centuries in spite of external violent despotisms, but competition by the products of great industry kills it in a comparatively short time. With regard to the bourgeois revolution, it put an end to all feudal fetters, "but the economic conditions did not, as Dühring would imply, forthwith adapt itself to the political circumstances . . . on the contrary, it threw all the mouldy old political rubbish aside and fashioned new political conditions in which the new economic conditions could find their being and develop. And it has developed splendidly in the suitable political atmosphere, so splendidly, indeed, that the bourgeoisie is now not very far from the position which the nobility occupied in 1789. It is becoming more and more not only a social superfluity, but a social impediment. It takes an ever-diminishing part in the work of production, and becomes more and more, as the noble did, a mere revenue consuming class. And this revolution—and the creation of a new class, the proletariat—was brought about not by any force nonsense, but by purely economic means."

It is with difficulty we refrain from giving further quotations from this book, so rich in ideas, so profoundly and well reasoned, so full of interesting matter, presented in a forcible, clear, logical style. Unfortunately our space is limited, and even if we have not given the best quotations we might have done—partly at any rate because such would have had to be more lengthy—we hope that what has been given will be sufficient to whet the reader's appetite to make him read the book itself. One more quotation we shall give below when dealing with what Engels had to say about the State.

AFTER SPLIT IN FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND DEATH OF MARX

After the split in the International, brought about as a last straw by the Marx-Bakunin conflict, and the removal of its headquarters to New York, both Marx and Engels devoted themselves to their theoretical work, at the same time acting as advisers to the working-class and Socialist movements of Europe and America. Numerous letters, pamphlets and manifestos written by them since that time amply testify to the fact that no one who came to them with a sincere desire to learn, went away empty-handed, or, perhaps, we should say, empty-headed, after seeing them.

In 1883 Marx died, and the whole of this work fell on Engels' shoulders.

When Marx died, Engels was already sixty-three years of age, but, nevertheless, not only did he continue to defend with all his wonted vigour his and Marx's theories, not only did he continue to apply the materialistic conception of history to all the important questions of the day—writing numerous pamphlets and articles—but he continued his own philosophic and historical studies, acted as general adviser to the workers and Socialists of all nations, and last, and what he considered to be most important of all, and as a first duty, he worked on the comple-

tion of the work began by Marx. Perhaps we cannot more vividly bring to the mind of the reader the life of Engels after the death of Marx than by quoting Engels' own description of it in his preface to the third volume of *Capital* in 1874. We shall see from it, too, how much *Capital* is really the work of Engels almost as much as that of Marx.

"In the first place it was a weakness of my eyes which restricted my time of writing to a minimum for years, and which permits me even now only exceptionally to do any writing by artificial light.

"There were, furthermore, other labours which I could not refuse, such as new editions and translations of earlier works of Marx and myself, revisions, prefaces, supplements, which frequently required special study, etc. There was, above all, the English edition of the first volume of this work, for whose text I am ultimately responsible and which absorbed much of my time. Whoever has followed the colossal growth of international Socialist literature during the last ten years, especially the great number of translations of earlier works of Marx and myself, will agree with me in congratulating myself that there is but a limited number of languages in which I am able to assist a translator and which compel me to accede to the request for a revision.

"This growth of literature, however, was but an evidence of a corresponding growth of the International Working-Class Movement itself. And this imposed new obligations on me. From the very first days of our public activity, a good deal of the work of negotiation between the national movements of Socialists and working people had fallen on the shoulders of Marx and myself. This movement increased to the extent that the movement, as a whole, gained in strength. Up to the time of his death, Marx had borne the brunt of this burden. But after that the ever-swelling amount of work had to be done by myself alone.

"Meanwhile, the direct intercourse between the various national Labour parties has become the rule, and fortunately it is becoming more and more so. Nevertheless, my assistance is still in demand a good deal more than is agreeable to me in view of my theoretical studies. But if a man has been active in the movement for more than fifty years, as I have, he regards the work connected with it as a duty, which must not be shirked, but immediately fulfilled. In our stirring times, as in the 16th century, mere theorizers on public affairs are found only on the side of the reactionaries, and for this reason these gentlemen are not even theoretical scientists, but simply apologists of reaction.

"The fact that I live in London implies that my intercourse with the parties is limited in winter to correspondence, while in summer time it largely takes place by personal interviews.

"This fact, and the necessity of following the course of the movement in a steadily growing number of countries and a still more rapidly increasing number of party organs, compelled me to reserve matters which brooked no interruption for the winter months of the year.

"When a man is past seventy, his brain's fibres of association work with a certain disagreeable slowness. He does not overcome interruptions of difficult theoretical problems as easily and quickly as formerly. Thus it came about that the work of one winter, if it was not completed, had to be largely done over the following winter.

"And this took place particularly in the case of the most difficult section—the fifth.

"The reader will observe by the following statements that the work of editing the third was essentially different from that of the second volume. Nothing was available for the third volume but a first draft, and it was very incomplete.

"The beginnings of the various sections were, as a rule, pretty carefully elaborated, or even polished as to style. But the farther one proceeded, the more sketchy and incomplete was the analysis, the more excursions it contained into side issues whose proper place in the argument was left for later decision, the longer and more complex became the sentences in which the rising thoughts were deposited as they came. In several places, the handwriting and the treatment of the matter clearly revealed the approach and gradual progress of those attacks of ill-health, due to overwork, which at first rendered original work more and more difficult for the author, and finally compelled him from time to time to stop work altogether. And no wonder. Between 1863 and 1867, Marx had not only completed the first draft of the last two volumes of *Capital*, and made the first volume ready for the printer, but had also mastered the enormous work connected with the foundation and expansion of the International Working-men's Association. The result was the appearance of the first symptoms of that ill-health which is to blame for the fact that Marx did not himself put the finishing touches to the second and third volumes."

"THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY"

In the summer of 1884 Engels published his best-known book—*The Origin of the Family, of Private Property and the State*, and this is the last of his works with which we shall deal in any detail here.

With his characteristic modesty he opens his preface to the first edition thus:—"The following chapters are in a certain sense executing a bequest. It was no less a man than Karl Marx who had reserved to himself the privilege of displaying the results of Morgan's investigations in connection with his own materialistic conception of history—which I might call ours within certain limits. He wished thus to elucidate the full meaning of this conception. For in America, Morgan had, in a manner, discovered anew the materialistic conception of history originated by Marx forty years ago. In comparing barbarism and civilisation he had arrived in the main at the same results as Marx. And just as *Capital* was zealously plagiarised and persistently passed over in silence by professional economists in Germany, so Morgan's

Ancient Society was treated in the same way by the spokesmen of pre-historic science in England.

"My work can offer only a meagre substitute for that which my departed friend was not destined to accomplish. . . ."

Needless to say, in this short booklet we cannot give any adequate résumé of this work, but in view of its interest and importance we shall attempt to give as much as space will permit.

By filling in the gaps in Morgan's investigation, by working on the rich material in *Ancient Society* on the development of the gens and the family, and by applying to it the materialistic conception of history, Engels traces in this book the development of the family from the early group marriage through various stages corresponding with the economic development of society, to its present monogamic form.

Like every other existing institution of society hallowed by time and the convenience of the governing class, the present form of the family is looked upon as a divinely ordained institution, or as the most natural form of relation between the sexes without any relation to our particular form of society.

As a matter of fact, however, the family, like every other social institution, has had a long history, and has developed in accordance with the development of society and the growth of private property. The earliest form of the family corresponding to the state of savagery was that of group marriages. As society progressed to the state of society known as barbarism, we have the pairing family, in which each man has a principal wife, and to the wife this man is her principal husband. The marriage of near relations was more and more prohibited, but so long as society was organised in the form of gentes, the family in the modern sense did not exist. On the contrary, we have the communistic form of the household, in which most or all the women belonged to one and the same gens, while the husbands came from various gentes. In these households, the women naturally played a leading rôle and were anything but the slave of man. Thus, says Arthur Wright, quoted by Engels: "The female part generally ruled the house; the provisions were held in common, but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too indolent or too clumsy to contribute his share to the common stock. No matter how many children, or how much private property he had in the house, he was liable at any moment to receive a hint to gather up his belongings and get out. And he could not venture to resist. The house was made too hot for him, and he had no other choice but to return to his own clan (gens), or, as was mostly the case, to look for another wife in some other clan. The women were the dominating power in the gentes (clans) and everywhere else. Occasionally they did not hesitate to dethrone a chief and degrade him to a common warrior." But the growth of wealth and of private property changed all this.

How great a rôle the question of property already played in later

gentile society, is shown for instance by the fact, amongst many others, that although, generally speaking, marriage was not allowed between the various members of the gens, an exception was made in the case of an orphan heiress, who was allowed to marry within the gens, so that her property might remain within it. However much the laws of inheritance might change, property still had to remain within the gens. Speaking of the organisation of the gens, Engels says: "How wonderful is this gentile constitution in all its natural simplicity! No soldiers, gendarmes or policemen, no nobility, kings, regents, prefects or judges, no prisons, no law suits—and still affairs run smoothly. All quarrels and disputes are settled by the entire community involved in them, either the gens or the tribe or the various gentes among themselves. Only in very rare cases is the blood revenge threatened as an extreme measure. Our capital punishment is simply a civilised form of it afflicted with all the advantages and drawbacks of civilisation. Not a vestige of our cumbersome and intricate system of administration is needed . . . the communistic household is shared by a number of families, the land belongs to the tribe, only the gardens are temporarily assigned to the households. The parties involved in a question settle it . . . there cannot be any poor and destitute—the communistic household and the gentes know their duties towards the aged sick and disabled. All are free and equal, including the women."

But these gentile institutions were such only within the tribe. Tribe and tribe were enemies to one another, and as private property increased so at first the laws of inheritance changed, there developed paternal law and the inheritance of property by the father's children, thus giving greater power to particular families; and as the means of production developed, that is, as the methods of creating wealth required more and more labour, slavery came into vogue, and the family, first in the patriarchal form and then in the more private form of the present day, gained greater importance and the gens institution became weaker and weaker, until it gave rise to the primitive form of present-day society in which the possessing classes live on the exploitation of the dispossessed classes, whether the position of the latter in society is that of body slave, serf, or wage slave. But in all these changes private property was the driving force, as Morgan says in speaking of the change of Grecian society from the gens organisation into that of political society. "Property was the element which was demanding the change. The development of municipal life and institutions, the aggregation of wealth in walled cities, and the great changes in the mode of life thereby produced, prepared the way for the overthrow of gentile institutions."

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

Side by side with this, the household, as a social institution or function, necessarily shrinks in importance, the social life of society

is now in the new industries, and the man who now has to occupy himself as heretofore with obtaining the means of subsistence, now becomes the owner of herds of animals, of the tools for tilling the soil, then, later, also of slaves, and thus, owing to the fact that the household is now no longer a social function, but purely a private one, the man begins to take the *first*, the woman the *second*, place in society.

At the same time, to insure the inheritance to his own children—since he knew them now—the man used his new power to definitely change the law of inheritance from the mother's to the father's side, thus further strengthening his position in the family and in society. The position of woman in society, as that of every class at a given epoch, thus has nothing to do with her inferiority to man, but is due to the historical development in the modes of obtaining the means of subsistence and the growth of private property. Speaking of the woman's question, Engels says:—"Only by the great industries of our times was the access to social production again opened to women. . . . This occurs in such wise as to exclude them from earning anything in public industries, if they fulfil their duties in the private service of the family; or that they are unable to attend to their family duties, if they wish to participate in public industries and earn a living independently. As in the factory, so women are situated in all business departments up to the medical and legal professions.

"The modern monogamous family is founded on the open or disguised domestic slavery of women, and modern society is a mass composed of molecules in the form of monogamous families. In the great majority of cases the man has to earn a living and to support his family; he thereby obtains a superior position that has no need of any legal special privilege. In the family he is the bourgeois; the woman represents the proletariat. . . . It will be seen that the emancipation of women is primarily dependent on the reintroduction of the whole female sex into the public industries. To accomplish this the monogamous family must cease to be the industrial unit of society. . . . We are now approaching a social revolution in which the old economic foundation of monogamy will disappear just as surely as those of its complement—prostitution. Monogamy arose through the concentration of considerable wealth in one hand—a man's hand—and from the endeavour to bequeath this wealth to the children of this man to the exclusion of all others. This necessitated monogamy on the woman's part, not on the man's part. . . . Now, the impending social revolution will reduce this whole case of inheritance to a minimum by changing at least the overwhelming part of permanent and inheritable wealth—the means of production—into social property."

As to the question whether monogamy will survive when the economic reason for its existence has disappeared, Engels, refusing to prophesy and to indulge in useless speculation, simply points out that prostitution must certainly disappear with the introduction of Com-

munism, since there will no longer be any economic reason for it. If monogamy continues to exist for the woman, for the first time in history it will be equally compulsory for the man.

Whilst the private household of the present day, with all its wastefulness and pettiness, will certainly disappear, and children, whether legal or illegal, will be the equal care of the State, yet for the first time in history individual sex-love, which is supposed to form the basis of all marriages and of the monogamic family, will attain to this position in actual fact as well as in theory. Mutual love will then be the only real consideration which will force a couple to live together, and to be true to one another.

As for how exactly the men and women of the future will regulate their lives, Engels says: "That will be decided after a new generation has come to maturity—a race of men who have never in their lives had occasion for buying with money or other economic means of power the surrender of a woman; a race of women who have never had any occasion for surrendering to any man for any other reason but love, or for refusing to surrender to their lover for fear of economic consequences. Once such people are in the world, they will not give a moment's thought to what we to-day believe should be their course. They will follow their own practice and fashion their own public opinion about the individual practice of every person—only this and nothing more."

Thus, whilst private ownership in wealth and the means of production, with its concomitant existence of classes and subjection of women, was a necessary result of the accumulation of wealth, it yet bears within itself the germs of its own destruction. Private property and class domination can no longer cope with the problems confronting it. By the rise of the great towns, by the massing together of large numbers of men in factory and workshop, by forcing them to unite in defence of their interests, by the recurrence of trade crises and unemployment, by the production of unheard-of luxuries side by side with the direst misery, by the collective methods of production the owners of private property have themselves been forced to introduce—in short, all the facts of our modern industrial life have been digging and are rapidly completing the grave of private property and the inevitable extinction of all class or sex domination. But if we say that this is inevitable, it does not mean that we are to fold our hands and do nothing. All things in society are brought about by human beings, but the psychology of these human beings is moulded by the economic conditions of the time, and this psychology again reflects and exerts an influence in changing these economic conditions. In pure self-defence, and partly unconsciously, the workers are compelled to carry on a constant class struggle. Some of them are led again by these economic conditions to see the real trend of this struggle, its necessary aim, the doing away with private property, and the establishment of the Socialist

Commonwealth or Communism. The more consciously and vigorously we work for this aim, the sooner shall we do away with all class domination and bring the organisation of society into harmony with the present vast and still developing productive forces.

THE STATE

Engels traces the effect of the overthrow of the gens institutions in Greece, and shows how, unknown to its members, they lost control of their products, for when the producers no longer produce for their own consumption, but for exchange, the products become commodities and their producers lose all control of them. The result of all this is production for exchange without any direct relation to the needs of society and the enslavement of the producers of the commodities by the owners of the means of production. With this came the tilling of the soil by individuals on their own account, and this was necessarily followed by the private ownership of land, and there arose a great landless class. With the production of commodities came money, the general commodity for which all others could be exchanged, and this, in its turn, facilitated the growth of commodity production, circulation and exchange. This necessitated again new social and political forms; the gens had outgrown the new methods of production. It was no longer capable of maintaining order within society or of allowing the new productive forces to expand. Nor was it capable of regulating the new relations between debtor, creditor, and all the intricacies of social organisation within a society based on commodity production and class domination. Hence arose the State. In view of the fact, however, that the State as such is still so largely deified and looked upon as something quite permanent which we can at most only modify here and there to suit our purposes, it will be well to dwell a little longer on what Engels has to say on the subject of the State. Discussing the influence which was undermining gentil society in the Greece of heroic times, Engels shows how the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the paternal family, and the consequent laws of inheritance, raised the power of the family as against the gens and formed the rudiments of a hereditary nobility and monarchy. With the growth of the possibility of accumulating wealth came slavery, first only applying to prisoners of war, but soon embracing the poorer members of one's own tribe. "In short," says Engels, "wealth is praised and respected as the highest treasure, and the old gentil institutions are abused in order to justify the forcible robbery of wealth. Only one thing was missing: an institution that not only secured the newly acquired property of private individuals against the communistic traditions of the gens, that not only declared as sacred the formerly-despised private property and represented the protection of this sacred property as the highest purpose of human society, but that also stamped the gradually developing new forms of acquiring property, of constantly increasing wealth with the universal sanction of society. An institu-

tion that lent the character of perpetuity not only to the newly rising division into classes, but also to the right of the possessing classes to exploit and rule the non-possessing classes. And this institution was found. The State arose."

Thus, in place of the free armed nation, spontaneously acknowledging its Elder as their military and civic chief, armed only for their defence against external foes, there arises the State which is a "product of society at a certain stage of its development. The State is tantamount to an acknowledgement that the given society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has broken up into irreconcilable antagonisms, of which it cannot rid itself." To keep the conflict of these antagonisms or classes within certain limits some force standing seemingly above society, but really expressing the will and power of the governing class, becomes necessary. "And this force, arising from society, but placing itself above it—this force is the State." The State is distinguished first by "the grouping of the subjects of the State according to territorial divisions" (the tribal or clan organisation was independent of territory), secondly, by the existence of "a public power no longer identical with the whole population and which is organised as an armed force," consisting "not only of armed men, but also of material additions in the shape of prisons and repressive institutions of all kinds which were unknown in the gentile (clan) form of society."

Engels traces the various forms through which the State has passed, and shows that in "most historical States the rights of the citizens are differentiated according to their wealth. This is a direct confirmation of the fact that the State is organised for the protection of the possessing against the non-possessing classes." Engels further shows how class morality and class ideals permeate the whole of our modern State institutions, and how, with the emancipation of the working class the whole of the modern State machinery will have to be scrapped. "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purpose," says Engels, in his preface to the 1888 edition of the Communist manifesto. No, they must break it up, for the triumph of the working class means the end of class rule and the class State. This, of course, does not mean the abolition of representative institutions. On the contrary, it means their real establishment and the abolition of institutions which *misrepresent* the workers. It means the abolition of bureaucracy. It means the setting up of bodies composed of direct representatives of the workers elected for very short periods and subject to recall at any time should they act contrary to the wishes of their electors; these representative bodies not forming a privileged section of the community, their members receiving moderate salaries, placing them on the same footing as any other citizen of the country, and whilst making the laws at the instruction of their electors, they are themselves to carry out these

laws, thus doing away with all bureaucracy and gradually with the incubus of permanent officialdom.

Finally, Engels sums up his teaching on the State and our attitude towards it thus: "The State has not always existed. There have been societies without it that had no idea of the State or of State power. At a given stage of economic development which was, of necessity, bound up with the division of society into classes, the State became the inevitable result of this division. We are now rapidly approaching a stage of development in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but is becoming a positive fetter on production. Hence these classes must fall as inevitably as they once inevitably arose. With the disappearance of classes, the State, too, must inevitably disappear. The society that will reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of producers will banish the whole State machine to the most suitable place for it: into the museum of antiquities by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe."

We shall give but one more passage dealing with this subject to illustrate Engels' views as to how the proletariat must deal with the State, namely, from the anti-Dühring we promised above:—

"The proletariat takes control of the State authority, and, first of all, converts the means of production into State property. But by this very act it destroys itself, as a proletariat, destroying as it does all class differences and class antagonisms and with this also the State. Past and present society, which moved amidst class antagonisms, had need of the State to enforce the will of the possessing classes on the exploited. . . . In ancient times it was the State of the slave-owners—the only citizens of the State; in the Middle Ages it was the State of the feudal nobility; in our own times it is the State of the capitalists. When, ultimately, the State really becomes the representative of the whole of society it will make itself superfluous. From the time when, together with class domination and the struggle for individual existence, resulting from the present anarchy in production, those conflicts and excesses which arise from this struggle will all disappear, from that time there will be nobody to be oppressed; there will, therefore, be no need for any special form of oppression—no need for the State. The first act of the State, in which it really acts as the representative of the whole of Society—namely, the assumption of control over the means of production on behalf of society—is also its last independent act as a State. The interference of the authority of the State with social relations will then become superfluous in one field after another, and finally will cease of itself. The authority of the government over persons will be replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production. The State will not be 'abolished,' it will wither away."

Thus, in gaining power, the working class, organising itself as a ruling class by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, breaks up

and scraps the present State machinery, setting up in its place a *sort* of State which is no longer a State in the present sense of the word, for by the very assumption of power the working class does away with all classes in society. This *sort* of State continues to function throughout the transition period towards complete Communism, using at the same time every means at its disposal, armed forces where necessary, etc., to do away with the remnants of class antagonisms and the resistance of the overthrown classes. As, however, the working class—or rather, it would be more correct now to say the workers' Republic—becomes consolidated and the remnants of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy disappear, as the Republic becomes more and more a purely workers' Republic with no exploited or oppressed classes, so this *sort* of transition State withers away, and its place is taken by an elected executive body organising the affairs of the whole society; and for the first time, since primitive Communism, and in a far more perfect form, carrying out the will and representing the whole of society and not one particular group or class.

And how far this analysis and prognostication of Engels is correct and to the point has been shown particularly by the experience in the Russian Revolution. Before it could become effective, before the working class could gain control, they had to break up, to scrap the whole capitalist form of the State. Even this cannot be done overnight, of course, but it is useless to try and simply modify it as Kerensky tried. And the Revolution in Germany and Austria is still ineffective, and will remain so until the workers finally leave off tinkering with the capitalist State and set up their own *sort* of transition State in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How the opportunists of the Second International have distorted this teaching of Marx and Engels will be found excellently explained in Lenin's *The State and Revolution*.

THE NATURE OF THE PROLETARIAN TRANSITION STATE

In view of the history of the world during the last few years, it is of special importance to make some analysis of the most natural form of this *sort* of transition state of the proletariat, basing ourselves, of course, as we do throughout, on the Materialist Conception of History. Because the present State is based on territory and the election to the State organs are territorial, it does not, of course, follow that the transition State set up by the dictatorship of the proletariat need necessarily also be based on the present or similar electoral division. On the contrary, since it will be a *workers'* Republic, the most natural unit is the factory and workshop, or other place of work or union of similar workers—whether these be State, literary or skilled or unskilled manual workers. But this will exclude all the non-workers who can live on the wealth they have saved from the hands of the revolution, or who can live on the proceeds of illegitimate secret

trade and so forth! Naturally! In a real workers' Republic there is, and should be, no room for parasitic elements. Marx and Engels, and the whole of history, have taught us that there are no such things as abstract moral truths or ethical rules that hold for all times. What might seem to be a universal rule of conduct or absolute truth in reality receives a particular interpretation in different ages even though we may use the almost identical words, but if there is a maxim, the justice of which would appeal in the abstract to all, in the concrete to the working class, certainly it is that "he who will not work (when able to do so by brain or hand) neither shall he eat." In any case, this is a maxim which is bound to, and rightly will, receive its full due and application in a Communist society, and the first stage in the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth is therefore to make *work* of all able-bodied and able-brained adults the test of citizenship. Territory, possessions were the characteristic tests of citizenship of the feudal and capitalist eras. It was, therefore, no wanton denial of rights or hatred towards an enemy, but sure instinct of the needs of the new society which caused our Russian comrades, and the Paris Commune (to a more limited extent, because of the different conditions) before it, to scrap the whole of the old State machinery, with its own peculiar methods and forms of elections and modes of work and introduce in its place institutions really representative of the workers as distinct from bourgeois or parasitic interests, namely, the Soviets or Councils of Workers, which, in their essence, cannot be other than democratic, in which every citizen of the workers' Republic has equal opportunity and equal right to exercise all his duties and privileges of citizenship. There is yet another reason why the Soviet or Workers' Councils system is the one most peculiarly adapted to the workers' Republic in its transition state towards complete Communism. Particular circumstances induce in all of us corresponding modes of thought and feelings. Thus the manufacturer or trader for instance, has a dual personality. As a manufacturer, it is his interest and his aim to get as high a price as possible for his wares, but as a consumer he quite as naturally grumbles at high prices, at the high cost of living.

So, too, the shopkeeper, as such, will be interested in the improvement of his district, roads, means of communication and so forth for it improves his business, but as a ratepayer he constantly grumbles at the increase in rates.

So the worker, when he votes as a resident of a district, will vote largely as a citizen of the bourgeois democracy to which he has been accustomed all his life. The social standing, wealth, charitable propensities and so forth of the particular candidate has considerable effect upon him. But when he votes in his union or workshop, he votes surrounded by the actual daily facts of his existence. He will then be less prone to be influenced by outside factors. When confronted by national and international questions he will view them in the first

instance from the point of view of his life as a worker, and will thus reflect more truly the interests of himself and his fellow workers.

This is another reason why it is so important to be clear from the first on this point. Why in any proletarian revolution the first step must be as Marx and Engels have said repeatedly, to break up, to scrap the bourgeois State machinery—the degree of force used to do this will depend not on the desire of the revolutionary working class, but simply and solely on the degree of resistance of the governing classes—and to set up in its place a purely proletarian transition State.

As to the future, we may say what Engels said regarding the sex relations of the future men and women—when a race of men and women have grown up to whom the idea of parasitic, exploiting elements in society is absolutely foreign. Men and women who will regard the performance of some useful work for the good of society as a first duty and who will look upon the enjoyment of all the best that life can offer, of all the joys of nature, science and art as the inalienable right of every human being, such men and women will know how to order their lives in accordance with their principles—we, however, are only concerned with the building up of the first stage of Communism upon the ruins of the Capitalist State and from the materials now at our hand.

LAST YEARS

In 1888 Engels published his book on *Feuerbach*, in which, with his customary clear logic, he annihilates the later Hegelian philosophy of which Feuerbach was a leading exponent. He then goes on to explain in clear concise language the materialistic conception of History as worked out by Marx and himself. As we have already dealt with this subject, we shall not stop here to examine this book any further.

Almost to a few weeks before his death, Engels kept his freshness for work. Only a few months before his death he was still planning new labours for himself or the re-editing of some of Marx's works, and the writing of introductions to them. The last work he completed was the introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggle in France from 1848—1850*. This work he wrote only five months before his death, but it is characterised by all the vigour, logic and merciless criticism of which he was always such a master. In it Engels gives a short but comprehensive continuation of European history from 1850 to 1895.

Like Marx, Engels was not much of a public speaker. His last public appearances were in 1893, at the Congress of Zürich. Also at Vienna and Berlin.

In March, 1895, he developed cancer of the throat, and on August 6 of the same year he died of this disease. He had requested that he should be cremated and his ashes thrown into the sea. This last sad service was performed by some of his best friends, amongst them Eleanor Marx, who travelled to his favourite seaside resort, Eastbourne, August 27, hired a boat and threw his ashes into the sea.

FAILURE OF SECOND INTERNATIONAL

All his life Engels had been an incurable optimist and ever saw the imminence of the revolution. This is seen throughout his letters to Sorge in the latter years of his life. In 1895, the year of his death, he wrote enthusiastically of the progress made by the Socialist parties of all countries and of his hopes of the International.

From its first foundation Engels had hoped very great things from the Second International. And he had reason to do so at the time.

One could not have foreseen then, that all its fine international sentiments and phrases would fall together like a pack of cards on the first war cry of the capitalist masters of the world. The Second International fell on the outbreak of war, because it had outlived its time. It had grown to be a body of comfortable representatives of, on the whole, safe and comfortable Socialist movements. It represented very largely a parlour socialism which had become fairly respectable. The First International had fallen because the Socialist parties of which it had been composed had outgrown their then narrow international connection and required a period to develop nationally before they could again unite into a fuller international organisation: the First International fell because its sections were not yet sufficiently developed nationally. Similarly, the Second International fell because it was not sufficiently developed internationally for the growing national Socialist parties, and the needs of the times. It lacked international organisation, enthusiasm, ideals, and consciousness.

A friend of the writer of these lines, an old Russian exile, and, theoretically, a good Marxian to wit, once told her in confidence (as the friend in question is now dead—luckily he died *after* the outbreak of revolution in Russia, and lived to go back to his native country and to see it with his own eyes—there can be no objection to mentioning what he said now) that although he worked in the movement, although he did all he could by pen and mouth to advance Socialism, in his heart of hearts he had little faith in the realisation of Socialism within measurable distance. He worked as he did more out of habit and because he could not bring himself to avow his feelings to his Socialist friends. Now and again he was buoyed up by hope, but on the whole he had little faith. At the time one could assume that this was an exception—that it was merely a mood brought on by pessimism due to the miserable economic position of the friend in question—for the life of a poor Russian exile in London or America was no sweet one. But we can now see that in reality this was no exception, that what this man brought himself to avow to a particular friend, was what a large section of the Second International consciously or unconsciously felt. The movement had outgrown the revolutionary ardour of its youth.

The members of the Second International Socialist Bureau, more successful materially than this comrade, continued to *talk* about revolution, but in their heart of hearts they did not believe in it.

At most they thought it might perhaps come in a few centuries. In the meantime it was pleasant to meet similar Socialists of other countries, and whilst expressing loud international sentiments, they yet kept a very warm corner of their hearts for their own fatherland.

Small wonder that the first real test found them wanting, and that the logic of events is simply brushing them aside in favour of an international of action—a Communist International imbued with the real spirit of Marx's and Engels' teaching, and such an one as they would have been the first to welcome in the present revolutionary epoch in which we are now living.

We should remember in this connection that whilst Marx was originally, before the event, against the Communist coup of 1871, because he did not think conditions were ripe for it, yet when once the step was taken, he and Engels threw aside all criticism, rallied to its side enthusiastically, gave it every possible support and encouragement, and when it was over studied carefully all the lessons that could be derived from it. How different is the attitude of many "Socialists" of to-day towards Russia!

ENGELS—THE MAN

And now in conclusion we must say a few more words as to Engels—the man. About his personal life we shall say little more. Whilst he, too, knew what it was to be in straitened circumstances, yet there were not in his life those terribly poignant pathetic times of suffering which we know Marx and his family had to go through during their life of exile in London.

That he was a remarkably clear thinker, that he had a most original mind, and that quality of taking infinite pains to study and thoroughly master every problem and subject which interested him—which appertains to every true genius—that we have already seen above.

In addition to his knowledge of history and philosophy, he made a searching study of the natural sciences, of military science and of comparative philology. Like Marx, he was a good linguist. He knew ten languages, and at the age of seventy he learnt Norwegian so as to read Ibsen in the original. His personal appearance is described thus by Lessner, who knew him well. "Engels' personal appearance was quite different from that of Marx. Engels was tall and slender, his movements quick and impulsive, his language short and to the point, his bearing erect and with a soldierly effect. He was of a lively nature with an effective wit, and everyone who came into contact with him could feel at once that he had to deal with an unusually intellectual man."

This description is borne out by a letter of Mrs. Marx to Sorge, written January 21, 1877, in which, after telling him all the latest news of her daughters and their families, and so forth, she also speaks about Engels: "Our friend Engels is getting on as well as ever. He is always

in good health, fresh, lively, and in good spirits, and he has a great relish for his beer, especially if it is Viennese."

That he was often wrong in his judgment of men, that he had no patience with anyone whom he suspected of the least intellectual dishonesty, or of dilettantism, that he was not as polite, as tolerant, or as the Germans would call it, as "höflich," to those for whom he had no regard, of that we can have little doubt; nevertheless, the strictures passed on him by Hyndman in his memoirs are quite undeserved.

That his estimate of Hyndman personally was unjust and too harsh, we readily admit. Both Engels' and Marx's judgment on Lassalle and others was also far from accurate always, but after all we cannot say that Engels was so far wrong when he said of the Social Democratic Federation that it had made a dogma of Marxism which it wished to force down the throats of the workers, that its leaders were trying to make a sect of the party instead of making it a real Labour movement—that it was better to have a real proletarian movement, although it may at times make grievous mistakes, than to be a sect which hugs correct theories but knows not how to apply them, and, therefore, does nothing, and so comes "from nothing through nothing to nothing."

We can now see that had the early leaders of the S.D.F. not held the party outside the Labour movement, had the party been allowed to work with and through it, both the party and the movement would not have presented the sorry spectacle they did present for so long a time.

Mehring tells us that Engels himself once said that in England Hyndman and the men of the S.D.F. understood the Marxian theory the best. What Engels attacked was their application of the theory.

From a different point of view, and with quite equal justice, he attacked the leaders of the Fabians, with their mortal fear of revolution, and of the Independent Labour Party. But throughout he had faith in the rank and file of both the S.D.F. and the I.L.P., and of the Labour movement in general. And on the whole his faith has not proved to have been misplaced. In Engels, as in Marx, there was no trace of the philistine. Engels could be, and was, exceedingly friendly and considerate to his friends, but to an opponent or what he considered to be a false friend, an enemy to the cause he had at heart, he could be merciless and even rude. His relations with Marx were throughout life of a most affectionate and sincere nature. To this not only their interchange of letters testify, but also the way in which Mrs. Marx and her daughter Eleanor refer to him. It is interesting to note that before Marx's second daughter Laura would consent to a formal engagement with Lafargue, so Marx wrote, she insisted on having Engels' consent to it. So again later on when Marx was anxious about Lissagaray's attachment to his youngest daughter Eleanor it is with Engels he talks matters over. He was a real intimate of the whole family, and

we cannot help thinking that what Hyndman says in his memoirs his wife told him of Mrs. Marx having said about Engels must have been due to some misapprehension on Mrs. Hyndman's part. It surely speaks volumes for the characters of both men, that during the stress and storm of their forty years' friendship, through success and disappointment, and they had many, no shadow of discord came between them, never did their friendship flag except on the one occasion mentioned above, which was due to a misunderstanding.

Already in 1845, when Engels heard that Marx had been expelled from Paris, he at once opened up a subscription for him "in order," he wrote, "that the extra cost occasioned thereby should be shared by all of us communistically." And later he says: "As I do not know whether this (the money collected) will suffice for your settling down in Brussels, it goes without saying that my honorarium for my first English thing (*The Condition of the Working Classes in England*), which I hope very soon to get at least in part, and which for the moment I can do without, will be placed, with the greatest pleasure, entirely at your disposal. The hounds shall not at least have the pleasure of causing you pecuniary embarrassment through their infamy." And, as we have seen above, he was ever afterwards always ready to help Marx in every way.

During the last illness of Marx's wife, and later that of his daughter Jenny, Engels was not only all sympathy in words, but did all he could practically to mitigate their suffering. When Marx had gone to Paris with his wife on her last visit to her daughters, he writes to Marx telling him to let him know if he needs anything—not to hesitate in the least about naming whatever sum of money he may need. "Your wife must be denied nothing. Whatever she wants, or whatever any of you think may cause her pleasure, that she must have," he writes—July 29, 1881.

Lessner bears testimony to the fact that Engels was always ready to help anyone who came to him in need. Perhaps, however, no better testimony to his generosity can be adduced than the truly remarkable way in which both during Marx's lifetime and after his death Engels always belittled his own share of their joint work, and gave Marx credit for all that was best and most profound in it. The quotations given above already prove this. At other times he said: "Marx stood higher, saw farther, observed more, and comprehended more rapidly than any of us." He maintained that what he (Engels) had discovered Marx would in any case have discovered without him.

But, after all, this does not detract in the least from his own merit, and as Mehring well says: "History has to do with what *was*, not with what might have been." If Marx was the greater genius, Engels undoubtedly runs him a very close second, and is almost absurdly modest about it.

But Engels always was very modest. Thus, regarding the congratulations on his seventieth birthday, he writes: "I wish it were all over. I

am not in the least in a birthday humour . . . and, after all, I am only just the one who is gathering in the harvest of Marx's fame."

In 1893 he made a journey through Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. Naturally, as the veteran founder, leader, and guide of a movement that was gaining strength every day, he was accorded a very warm and noisy welcome. In a letter dated October 7, 1893, this, however, is what he says about it: "This was, indeed, all very nice of the people, but it is not the thing for me. I am glad it is over, and next time I shall demand a written pledge that there will be no need for me to parade before the public, but that I travel as a private person under private circumstances. I was and am amazed at the magnitude of the welcome prepared for me wherever I went, but I had rather leave this sort of thing to the parliamentarians and peoples tribunes to whose rôle this sort of thing belongs—but for my work this is hardly the thing."

But he was, of course, delighted with the splendid progress made by the movement in Germany and Austria during the seventeen years of his absence.

Perhaps we cannot better conclude this short sketch of Engels' life and work than by reproducing the quotation by Lessuer of the words of Julian Harney, one of the finest of the Chartist leaders, and at one time editor of the Chartist organ, the *Northern Star*:—

"I have known him, he was my friend and occasional contributor for many years. It was in 1843, when he came from Bradford to Leeds and inquired after me at the office of the *Northern Star*. . . . I found a tall, stately young man, with an almost boyish face; his English was already at that time—in spite of his German birth and education—without fault. He told me he was a constant reader of the *Northern Star*, and with the greatest interest had followed the Chartist movement. And so commenced our friendship thirty-two years ago. Engels, with all his work and troubles, found always time to remember his friends, to give advice, to help where required. His vast knowledge and influence never made him proud; on the contrary, with fifty-five years, he was just as modest and ready to acknowledge the work of others as when he was twenty-two. He was extremely hospitable, full of fun, and his fun was contagious. He was the soul of an entertainment, and managed admirably to make his guests comfortable, who at that time were mostly Owenites, Chartists, Trade Unionists and Socialists.

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