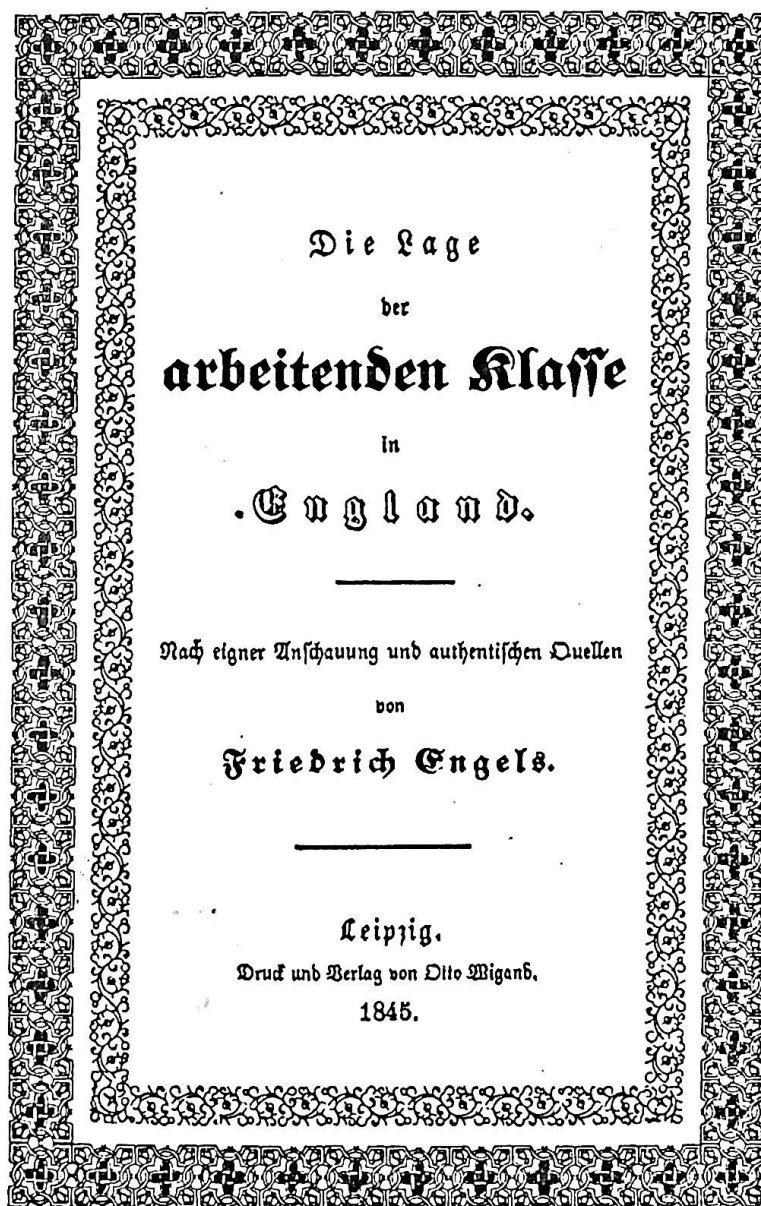


THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND

by Friedrich Engels



Cover of First Edition

Full, Annotated Version

# ENGELS' 'THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND'

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(The full, annotated version of a paper presented at the International Seminar held in Italy in December 1995 to commemorate the Centenary of the death of FRIEDRICH ENGELS).

## INTRODUCTION

A hundred years ago, on a summer day in 1895, a small group of people -- including Eleanor MARX\*, Marx's daughter, and her husband Edward AVELING\* -- journeyed to the south coast of England to scatter over the sea, in accordance with his wishes, the ashes of Friedrich Engels.

## CHILDHOOD (1820-37)

Friedrich Engels was born in Germany in November 1820, the eldest child of a wealthy Rhineland textile manufacturer. His birthplace, Barmen, lying on the river Wupper just east of Düsseldorf in the industrial region of the Ruhr, then had a population of some 20,000.

It was a large family -- Friedrich had three younger brothers and four younger sisters. His mother, of Dutch extraction, was extremely well-read and cultured. His family belonged to a fundamentalist Protestant sect known as Pietism, the adherents of which

" . . . were intolerant and narrow-minded, and branded as 'sinful' all non-religious literature, the theatre and other entertainment".  
(L. F. Ilyichov et al: 'Frederick Engels: A Biography'; Moscow; 1982; p. 16).

He attended the local primary school before transferring to the grammar school in the nearby town of Elberfeld at the age of fourteen. At the insistence of his father, he left school in September 1837, just prior to his 17th birthday, before obtaining his diploma.

A few weeks later he began a year's work in the family textile firm in Barmen.

## TO 'RATIONAL RELIGION' (1838-39)

In mid-August 1838, Engels' father sent him to the northern seaport of Bremen to further his commercial experience in the office of an exporter friend. There, in what was a 'Free City', he became acquainted with progressive literature which had been unavailable in his home town and his ideas began to change.

The first great step in his ideological progress was to throw off, not religion, but the narrow fundamentalist religion of his family. In April 1839, at the age of 18, he was writing to his old schoolfriend Friedrich GRAEBER\*:

"Where does the Bible demand literal belief in its teachings, in its accounts? Where does a single apostle declare that everything he says is directly inspired? This . . . is a killing of the divine in man to replace it with a dead letter. I am therefore just as good a supernaturalist as I was before, but I have cast off orthodoxy".  
(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Friedrich Graeber, 23 April 1839, in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): 'Letters of the Young Engels: 1838-1845'; Moscow; 1976; p. 65).

and by June 1839 he was taking his stand firmly on the supremacy of reason over blind faith:

"I want to tell you quite plainly that I have now reached a point where I can only regard as divine a teaching which can stand the test of reason. Who gives us the right to believe blindly the Bible? Only the authority of those who did so before us".  
(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Friedrich Graeber, 15 June 1839, in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): *ibid.*; p. 96).

The book 'Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet' (The Life of Jesus, critically Examined) by David STRAUSS\*, published in Tübingen in 1835-36, had put forward the view that the Gospels were not the product of divine inspiration, but myths created within a more primitive culture. Strauss's views, which were called by their supporters 'religious rationalism', were eagerly embraced by the 19-year-old Engels, as he told Friedrich's brother Wilhelm GRAEBER\*:

"I am now a Straussian. . . . There lie the four gospels in a crisp and colourful chaos; mysticism lies in front of them and adores them -- and behold, in comes David Strauss like a young god and brings the chaos out into the light of day and -- Adios faith!"  
(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Wilhelm Graeber, 8 October 1839. in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): *ibid.*; p. 112).

#### TO HEGELIANISM (1839-40)

It was the work of Strauss which led Engels on to embrace the idealist philosophy of Georg HEGEL\*:

"I am on the point of becoming a Hegelian. Whether I shall become one I don't, of course, know yet, but Strauss has lit up lights on Hegel for me which makes the thing quite plausible to me. His (Hegel's) philosophy of history is anyway written as from my own heart".  
(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Wilhelm Graeber, 13-20 November 1839, in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): *ibid.*; p. 124).

All philosophies may be divided into two great systems: 1) idealist systems, which assert that spirit -- i.e., ideas, thought -- is primary, and 2) materialist systems, which assert that the material world -- i. e., nature -- is primary:

"The great basic question of all philosophy . . . is that concerning the relation of thinking and being. . . .

The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature . . . comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism". (Friedrich Engels: 'Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy' (February 1888) (hereafter listed as 'Friedrich Engels (1888)', in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1943; p. 430, 431). '

Hegel's philosophy was one not of subjective idealism, which holds that reality is composed of ideas in the mind of an individual person, but one of objective idealism, which holds that reality is composed of ideas in an 'Absolute Mind', which Hegel identified with 'God':

"God is the Idea, the Absolute".

(Georg W. E. Hegel: 'Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion, together with a Work on the Proofs of the Existence of God', Volume 1; London; 1962; p. 25).

By January 1830 Engels had come, through Strauss, to accept Hegel's concept of 'God':

"Through Strauss I have now entered on the straight road to Hegelianism. . . . The Hegelian idea of God has already become mine, and thus I am joining the ranks of the 'modern pantheists'". (Friedrich Engels: Letter to Friedrich Graeber, 21 January 1840, in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): op. cit.; p. 129).

#### 'YOUNG GERMANY' (1939-40)

In April 1839, in Bremen, the 18-year-old Engels came under the influence of the movement called 'Junges Deutschland' (Young Germany),

" . . . a social reform and literary movement . . . influenced by French revolutionary ideas". ('Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia', Volume 12; Chicago; 1994; p. 860).

He wrote to Friedrich Graeber in that month:

"I must become a Young German, or rather, I am one already, body and soul. I cannot sleep at night, all because of the ideas of the century". (Friedrich Engels: Letter to Friedrich Graeber, 8 April 1839, in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): op. cit.; p. 63).

and by February 1840 he had become an outspoken revolutionary democrat, describing the Prussian king, FRIEDRICH WILHELM III\* as

" . . . this same shabby, rotten, god-damned king. . . . I hate him with a mortal hatred, and if I didn't so despise him, the shit, I would hate him still more. . . . There never was a time richer in royal crimes than that of 1816-30; almost every prince then ruling deserved the death penalty".

(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Friedrich Graeber, 1 February 1840, in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): ibid.; p. 135-36).

'LETTERS FROM WUPPERTAL' (1839)

In March 1839, Engels began to contribute articles -- at first anonymously and then, from November, under the pseudonym of 'Friedrich Oswald' -- to the progressive Hamburg newspaper 'Telegraph für Deutschland' (Telegraph for Germany), edited by a leading member of Young Germany, Karl GUTZKOW\*.

In March-April 1839, the 'Telegraph' published two unsigned articles by 18-year-old Engels entitled 'Briefe aus dem Wuppertal' (Letters from Wuppertal). These articles were

" . . . his first major journalistic work".

(Preface: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 4; London; 1975; p. xiv).

and in them, Engels savagely exposed the hypocrisy of the Pietist factory owners of his native town:

"The wealthy manufacturers have a flexible conscience, and causing the death of one child more or one less does not doom a pietist's soul to hell, especially if he goes to church twice every Sunday. For it is a fact that the pietists among the factory owners treat their workers worst of all; they use every possible means to reduce the workers' wages on the pretext of depriving them of the opportunity to get drunk".

(Friedrich Engels: 'Letters from Wuppertal' (March 1839), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; London; 1975; p. 10).

In March 1841, Engels returned home to Barmen, before -- in September -- proceeding to Berlin to do a year's military service.

TO LEFT HEGELIANISM (1841-42)

By the Congress of Vienna, which was concluded in 1815, the German Confederation was formed, consisting of 39 states and four 'free cities' united in

" . . . a loose political association in which most of the rights of sovereignty remained in the hands of the member governments",  
(*'Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia'*, Volume 20; Chicago; 1994; p. 104).

an association in which the Kingdom of Prussia assumed a pivotal role.

In the next period, a political struggle took place between the progressive social forces striving for a unified, democratic Germany, headed by the German bourgeoisie, and the counter-revolutionary social forces striving to retain an autocratic, disunited Germany, led by the Austrian feudal aristocracy, headed by the HAPSBURGS\*. This social struggle was reflected ideologically in a battle of ideas within German philosophy.

At this time, the 1830s, 'Hegelianism', the philosophy of Hegel,

" . . . reigned almost exclusively, and to a greater or less extent infected even its opponents".  
(Friedrich Engels (1888): op. cit.; p. 425).

The basis of Hegel's philosophy was, as has been said, objective idealism

-- the view that reality consists of Absolute Idea. According to Hegel, this develops dialectically, by the conflict of opposites:

"Although Hegel himself was an admirer of the autocratic Prussian state, . . . Hegel's teachings were revolutionary. Hegel's faith in human reason and its rights, and the fundamental thesis of Hegelian philosophy that the universe is undergoing a constant process of change and development, led some of the disciples of the Berlin philosopher . . . to the idea that the struggle against this situation . . . is also rooted in the universal law of eternal development. . . . Hegel's philosophy spoke of the development of the mind and of ideas; it was idealistic. From the development of mind it deduced the development of nature, of man, and of human social relations".

(Vladimir I. Lenin: 'Friedrich Engels' (autumn 1895), (hereafter listed as 'Vladimir I. Lenin (1895)'), in: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; Moscow; 1960; p. 21).

"Hegelian dialectics, as the most comprehensive, the most rich in content and the most profound doctrine of development, was regarded by Marx and Engels as the greatest achievement of classical German philosophy".

(Vladimir I. Lenin: 'Karl Marx' (July-November 1914), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 11; London; 1943; p. 16).

In spite of its idealist basis, Hegelian philosophy was sufficiently vague to permit of a wide range of variations within its frontiers:

"The doctrine of Hegel, taken as a whole, left plenty of room for giving shelter to the most diverse practical party views".  
(Friedrich Engels (1888): op. cit.; p. 425).

So, under the influence of the rise of the bourgeois revolutionary movement in Germany, Hegelianism split into two currents: a reactionary current -- the Right Hegelians, who supported conservative political views, aristocratic privilege and the dominant Protestant religion -- and a progressive current -- the Left or Young Hegelians:

"In the theoretical Germany of that time, two things above all were practical: religion and politics. Whoever placed the chief emphasis on the Hegelian system, could be fairly conservative in both spheres; whoever regarded the dialectical method as the main thing could belong to the most extreme opposition, both in politics and religion".  
(Friedrich Engels (1888): *ibid.*; p. 425-26).

Thus, Left Hegelian philosophy came to represent the outlook of the rising German radical bourgeoisie:

"The Young Hegelian school revealed itself directly as the philosophy of the aspiring radical bourgeoisie".  
(Friedrich Engels (1888): *ibid.*; ; p. 426).

Then the philosopher Ludwig FEUERBACH\*, particularly in his April 1841 work 'Das Wesen des Christentums' (The Essence of Christianity), broke with idealism, advancing from Hegel's idealism to put forward a new (if limited) brand of materialism:

"Then came Feuerbach's 'Essence of Christianity'. With one blow, . . .

it placed materialism on the throne again. . . . Nothing exists outside nature and man, and the higher beings our religious fantasies have created are only the fantastic reflection of our own essence. . . .

The course of evolution of Feuerbach is that of a Hegelian -- a never quite orthodox Hegelian, it is true -- into a materialist".  
(Friedrich Engels (1888): *ibid.*; p. 428, 434).

In September 1841 Engels joined an artillery brigade quartered near to the University of Berlin. His military training was not exacting, enabling him to attend a course of lectures on philosophy at the university.

The split among Hegel's followers turned the University of Berlin into a battleground between the rival philosophical schools. The Left Hegelians drew atheistic inferences from Hegelianism. Engels wrote later:

"The more advanced section of his (Hegel's -- Ed.) followers . . . subjected every religious belief to the ordeal of a rigorous criticism, and shook to its foundation the ancient fabric of Christianity".  
(Friedrich Engels: 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany' (1851-52), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; London; 1979; p. 14-15).

In Berlin Engels associated with the city's 'Young Hegelians' -- who called themselves 'Die Freien' (The Free), and were grouped around the brothers Bruno BAUER\* and Edgar BAUER\*.

#### ON SCHELLING (1842)

In mid-1841, at the personal request of King FRIEDRICH WILHELM IV\* of Prussia, the philosopher Friedrich SCHELLING\* was transferred from the University of Munich to the University of Berlin

" . . . in order to root out the subversive rationalism of Hegelian philosophy and in particular the political radicalism of the Young Hegelians".  
(Terrell Carver: 'Friedrich Engels: His Life and Thought'; Basingstoke; 1989; p. 65).

Schelling had been a friend and collaborator of Hegel, but had degenerated into an apologist for Christianity.

Between January and March 1842, Engels wrote the pamphlet 'Schelling und die Offenbarung' (Schelling and Revelation), which was published anonymously in Leipzig in April 1842.

Engels presented Schelling as the St. George of conservatives, preparing

" . . . to slay the dreadful dragon of Hegelianism, which breathed the fire of godlessness and the smoke of obscurantism!".  
(Friedrich Engels: 'Schelling and Revelation' (January-March 1842), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; London; 1975; p. 192).

Engels' next broadside was published in Berlin in April 1842, also anonymously, under the title 'Schelling, der Philosoph in Christo' (Schelling, Philosopher in Christ). It was written, satirically, in the style of a fundamentalist pietist tract which demanded that reason be cast out of

Christianity:

"Then let us set to work in earnest with Schelling and cast reason out of Christianity into paganism, for there it belongs".  
(Friedrich Engels: 'Schelling, Philosopher in Christ' (April 1842), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; London; 1975; p. 249).

#### THE BREAK WITH 'YOUNG GERMANY' (1842)

In June 1842, in an article on one of the leaders of 'Young Germany', Alexander JUNG\*, Engels criticised the movement for shutting itself up in an exclusively literary milieu and ignoring politics:

"The battle over principles is at its height, it is a question of life or death, . . . and yet the good Jung still cherishes the naive belief that 'the nation' has nothing better to do than to wait agog for a new play by Gutzkow, a novel promised by Mundt, an oddity to be expected from Laube. At a time when the cry of battle resounds throughout Germany, when the new principles are being debated at his very feet, Herr Jung sits in his study, chews his pen and ruminates over the concept of the 'modern'".  
(Friedrich Engels: 'Alexander Jung: "Lectures on Modern German Literature"' (June 1842), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; London; 1975; p. 285-86).

He censured the 'Young Germany' writers, in particular, for their lack of principle in supporting Schelling, declaring that

" . . . such miserable amphibians and double-dealers are useless for the struggle",  
(Friedrich Engels: *ibid.*; p 297).

and by the time of his departure from Berlin in September 1842, Engels had made a final break with 'Young Germany'.

#### MOSES HESS (1842)

In the spring of 1842, Engels began to collaborate with the daily newspaper 'Rheinisch Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe' (Rhenish Newspaper for Politics, Trade and Industry), edited in Cologne by Moses HESS\*. Hess was a 'Young Hegelian' and a 'Utopian Socialist' who

" . . . preached a tender-minded socialism that was to be achieved through moral persuasion and love".  
(Richard N. Hunt: 'The Political Ideas of Marx and Engels', Volume 1; 'Marxism and Totalitarian Democracy: 1818-1850'; London; 1975; p. 11).

"Throughout his life, Hess's socialism remained founded on purely moral premises. In this respect his opinions resembled those of the 19th century Christian socialists".  
(Isaiah Berlin: 'The Life and Opinions of Moses Hess'; Cambridge; 1959; p. 14).

In October 1842, Engels visited the offices of the 'Rhenish Newspaper' and met Hess several times over a week. Later Hess claimed to have 'converted' Engels to Communism:

"We spoke about current questions, and he, an Anno I revolutionary, departed from me an enthusiastic socialist".

(Moses Hess: Letter to Berthold Averbach (19 June 1843), in: 'Briefwechsel' (Correspondence); The Hague; 1959; p. 193).

After meeting Hess, Engels went home to Barmen to prepare for moving to England to work for the family firm in Manchester.

#### MEETING MARX (1842)

En route to England in November 1842, Engels stopped in Cologne to revisit the offices of the 'Rhenish Newspaper' and to meet its new editor, Karl Marx, who had taken over from Hess the previous month. The paper

" . . . was engaged at this time in a savage dispute with 'The Free'. Marx took his visitor to be one of 'The Free'".

(Grace Carlton: 'Friedrich Engels: The Shadow Prophet'; London; 1965; p. 13).

and Marx, as editor,

" . . . opposed the publication in the paper of insipid pretentious articles from the club ('The Free' -- Ed.), which had lost touch with reality and was absorbed in abstract philosophical disputes"

(Note to: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Critique' (autumn 1844) (hereafter listed as 'Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1844)'); Moscow; 1956; p. 278).

Since Engels was still associated with 'The Free', this first meeting between the two future friends and collaborators was, as Engels later expressed it,

" . . . very cool".

(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Franz Mehring (end of April 1895), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Werke' (Works), Volume 39; Berlin; 1968; p. 473).

Later in November 1842, Engels boarded a boat in Holland for England, and severed connections with 'The Free'.

#### 'THE INTERNAL CRISES' (1842)

Shortly after his arrival in England, in November 1842 Engels wrote an article entitled 'Die innere Krisen' (The Internal Crises), which was published in the 'Rhenish Newspaper' in December.

In light of the wave of strikes in England in 1842, and their suppression, Engels now rejected his earlier view, at least for England, that socialism could be established without a violent revolution:

"The dispossessed have gained something useful from these events: the realisation that a revolution by peaceful means is impossible and that only a forcible abolition of the existing unnatural conditions, a radical overthrow of the nobility and the industrial aristocracy can improve the material position of the proletarians. . . .

The revolution is inevitable for England".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The Internal Crises' (November 1842), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; London; 1975; p. 374).

'THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND' (1) (1842)

The London Working-Men's Association had been formed in June 1836, and in February 1837 had launched the 'People's Charter', a petition to Parliament demanding such democratic reforms as universal male suffrage, abolition of property qualifications for parliamentary candidates and salaries for Members of Parliament. In July 1840 the National Chartist Association had been formed to organise a mass campaign around these demands.

"Britain gave the world Chartism, the first broad, truly mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement".

(Vladimir I. Lenin: 'The Third International and Its Place in History' (April 1919), in: 'Collected Works', Volume 29; Moscow; 1965; p. 309).

"In Chartism it is the whole working class which arises against the bourgeoisie . . . .

Chartism is of an essentially social nature, a class movement".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The Condition of the Working Class in England' (2) (hereafter listed as 'Friedrich Engels (1845)'); London; 1969; p. 254, 261).

In December 1842, the young Engels wrote a short essay entitled 'Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England' (The Condition of the Working Class in England), which may be regarded as the precursor of the book of the same name published three years later. The essay was published in the 'Rhenish Newspaper' in the same month.

The principal point made by Engels in the essay was the link between working class poverty on the one hand and crime, prostitution and Chartism on the other:

"England with her industry has burdened herself not only with a large class of the unpropertied, but among these always a considerable class of paupers, which she cannot get rid of. These people have to rough it on their own; the state abandons them, even pushes them away. Who can blame them if the men have recourse to robbery or burglary, the women to theft and prostitution? But the state does not care whether starvation is bitter or sweet; it locks these people up in prison or sends them to penal settlements, and when it releases them it has the satisfaction of having converted people without work into people without morals. And the curious thing about the whole story is that the sagacious Whig and the 'radical' are still unable to understand where Chartism comes from".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The Condition of the Working Class in England' (December 1842), in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; London; 1975; p. 379).

THE INSOLENTLY THREATENED BIBLE (1842)

In March 1842 Bruno Bauer had been dismissed from Bonn University for his criticism of the Gospels, and later in the year Engels collaborated with Bauer's brother, Edgar Bauer, in writing a satirical epic poem entitled 'Die frech bedr ute, jedoch wunderbar befreite Bibel' (The insolently Threatened, yet miraculously Rescued Bible', which was published as a pamphlet in December 1842 in Neum nster.

In the poem, God and the Devil compete for Bruno Bauer's soul in a parody of the Faust legend. Bauer's supporters ('The Free'), aided by the ghost of

Hegel, go into battle against God, and are on the verge of victory when a piece of parchment bathed in heavenly light flutters down:

"At Bauer's feet it comes to rest,  
Shaking, he stoops and picks it up with heaving breast --  
Why does the cold sweat on his brow spring so abundant?  
What does he murmur, stunned? He murmurs this -- 'Redundant!'  
Hardly has Heaven's word from Hell's own mouth rung out,  
Before 'Redundant!' is the universal shout.  
The Free are horror-struck, the Angels filled with glee,  
The Free take flight, the Host pursues relentlessly.  
The Free are driven down to earth in full confusion,  
That wicked folk shall all receive due retribution".  
(Friedrich Engels: 'The Insolently Threatened yet miraculously Rescued Bible' (December 1842), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. 351).

'PROGRESS OF SOCIAL REFORM ON THE CONTINENT' (1843)

Although he settled in Manchester, where his father was co-owner of a mill, Engels travelled extensively within England during his two-year stay there. In particular, he visited the working-class areas -- his guide often being the Irish mill-girl Mary Burns, whom he married. In England he became friends with poet Georg WEERTH\*, who was working in nearby Bradford and was to become

" . . . the first significant poet of the German working class".  
(Heinrich Gemkow et al: 'Frederick Engels: A Biography'; Dresden; 1972; p. 68)..

and who wrote poems to Mary's

" . . . saucy black eyes".  
(Georg Weerth: 'Sämtliche Werke' (Complete Works), Volume 1; Berlin; 1956; p. 209).

In the summer of 1843, Engels visited Leeds, where the Chartist newspaper the 'Northern Star' was published. Here he met several of the Chartist leaders, and became friends with the paper's editor George HARNEY\*. Years later, Harney wrote:

"It was in 1843 that he (Engels -- Ed.) came over from Bradford to Leeds and enquired for me at the 'Northern Star' office. A tall, handsome young man, with a countenance of almost boyish youthfulness, whose English, in spite of his German birth and education, was even then remarkable for its accuracy. He told me he was a constant reader of the 'Northern Star' and took a keen interest in the Chartist movement, Thus began our friendship over fifty years ago".  
(George Harney: 'On Engels' (January 1897), in: 'Reminiscences of Marx and Engels'; Moscow; n.d.; p. 192).

Engels soon discovered that English Chartists were extremely ignorant of the socialist movement on the European Continent, and to remedy this he wrote at this time -- October-November 1843 -- the article 'Progress of Social Reform on the Continent', which was published in the 'New Moral World' in November 1843. The article stressed the international character of the socialist movement, asserting

" . . . that Communism is not the consequence of the particular position of the English, or any other nation, but that it is a necessary conclusion . . . to be drawn from the premises given in the general facts of modern civilisation".

(Friedrich Engels: 'Progress of Social Reform on the Continent' (October-November 1843), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; London; 1975; p. 392).

'OUTLINES OF A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY' (1843)

Engels' essay 'Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie' (Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy) was also written in October-November 1843 and published in the single issue, which appeared, in Paris in February 1844, of the 'Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher' (German-French Yearbooks), under the joint editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold RUGE\*.

Although Engels' essay was his

" . . . first work on economics",

(Preface: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. xxi),

it was described by Marx as a

" . . . brilliant essay on the critique of economic categories".

(Karl Marx: 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy' (January 1859); London; 1971; p. 22).

and by Lenin as a work in which the author

" . . . examined the principal phenomena of the contemporary economic order from a socialist standpoint, regarding them as necessary consequences of the rule of private property".

(Vladimir I, Lenin: 'Frederick Engels' (Autumn 1895), in: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; Moscow; 1960; p. 24).

However,

" . . . at this stage, he (Engels -- Ed.) had not accepted Smith's and Ricardo's labour theory of value",

(Preface: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. xiv).

which he regarded as a 'mystification' designed

" . . . to keep up some sort of pretence that price is somehow bound up with value".

(Friedrich Engels: 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy' (hereafter listed as 'Friedrich Engels (1843)', in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. 427).

Consequently, Engels was later strongly opposed to the reprinting of 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'. He wrote in April 1871 to Wilhelm LIEBKNECHT\*:

"It is absolutely out of the question for you to reprint my old article from the 'Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher', . . . It is by now

quite obsolete and full of inaccuracies that could only confuse people. Moreover, it was written in the Hegelian style, which likewise will not do nowadays. Its sole value is as an historical document". (Friedrich Engels: Letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht (13 April 1871), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 44; Moscow; 1989; p. 136).

Despite these weaknesses, the essay paints a vivid picture of the social evils of capitalist society -- which Engels called 'modern slavery' -- and stresses that they stemmed from private property in the means of production:

"Modern slavery . . . yields nothing in inhumanity and cruelty to ancient slavery. . . .

Private property has turned man into a commodity. . . . All this drives us to the abolition of this degradation of mankind through the abolition of private property".

(Friedrich Engels (1843): op. cit.; p. 420, 439-40).

and, as a whole, in the essay

" . . . the germs of a surprising number of distinctively 'Marxian' economic theories are to be found".

(Ronald L. Meek: 'Studies in the Labour Theory of Value'; London; 1959; p. 140).

Among the 'germs of Marxist economics' to be found in the essay are references to:

1) the inherent tendency to periodic crises of over-production, the cycle of boom and slump, i.e.,

" . . . the fluctuations of competition and its tendency to crisis. .

When production is subject to greater fluctuations . . . then the alternation of boom and crisis, over-production and slump sets in. The economist has never been able to find an explanation for this sad situation".

(Friedrich Engels (1843): op. cit.; p. 434, 435-36).

2) the tendency for competition to give way to monopoly

"Every competitor cannot but desire to have the monopoly. . . . Competition passes over into monopoly".

(Friedrich Engels (1843): *ibid.*; p. 432).

3) the tendency to the centralisation of capital

"Large capital and large landed property swallow small capital and small landed property -- i.e., centralisation of property".

(Friedrich Engels (1843): *ibid.*; p. 441).

4) the tendency to the polarisation of society -- the rich getting richer and fewer, the poor getting poorer and more numerous:

"The middle classes must increasingly disappear until the world is divided into millionaires and paupers, into large landowners and poor

farm labourers".

(Friedrich Engels (1843): *ibid.*; p. 441).

5) the class struggle, i.e.,

" . . . the struggle of capital and land against labour".

(Friedrich Engels (1843): *ibid.*; p. 442).

6) the link between capitalism and crime:

"The extension of the factory system is followed everywhere by an increase in crime. The number of arrests, of criminal cases -- indeed, the number of murders, burglaries, petty thefts, etc., for a large town or for a district -- can be predicted year by year with unflinching precision".

(Friedrich Engels (1843): *ibid.*; p. 442).

7) the unscientific and reactionary nature of 'Malthusianism', i.e., the theory of the clergyman Thomas MALTHUS\* to the effect that poverty and hunger stem from 'eternal laws of nature' -- population growing 'in geometrical progression' while the means of subsistence grow only 'in arithmetical progression'. Engels branded 'Malthusianism' as

" . . . this vile, infamous theory, this hideous blasphemy against nature and mankind".

(Friedrich Engels (1843): *ibid.*; p. 437).

#### 'THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND' (1844)

During the first months of 1844, Engels wrote a series of articles under the collective title of 'Die Lage Englands' (The Condition of England), in which he concluded that the future of England lay with the working class and socialism:

"Only the workers, the pariahs of England, the poor, are really respectable, for all their roughness. . . . It is from them that England's salvation will come. . . .

The Socialists . . . are the only party in England which has a future, relatively weak though they may be".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The Condition of England: "Past and Present" by Thomas Carlyle; London; 1843' (January 1844), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. 445-46, 467).

"Democracy by itself is not capable of curing social ills. . . .

A new element is bound to develop. . . .

This principle is the principle of socialism".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The Condition of England: II: The English Constitution' (March 1844), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. 513).

By this time, Engels had come close to the characterisation of the state as the machinery of rule of the propertied classes:

"Who then actually rules in England? Property rules".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The Condition of England: II: The English Constitution' (March 1844), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. 497).

Engels left England at the end of August 1844 and travelled home via Paris, where he stayed for ten days with Marx.

'THE HOLY FAMILY' (1844)

From December 1843 to October 1844 -- Bruno Bauer and his brother Edgar published in Charlottenburg the monthly 'Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung' (General Literary Newspaper), which held that the sole active element in world history is the intellectual activity of an elite of 'pure critical spirits'. In other words, the journal had been putting forward a

" . . . heroic concept of history, according to which change comes about through the ideas of great men".  
(*'Encyclopedia Americana'*, Volume 3; Danbury (USA); 1992; p. 369).

"Bauer and his group . . . slithered into the vilest vulgar subjective idealism, to propaganda of the 'theory' according to which only selected individuals, vehicles of the spirit of 'pure criticism', are the makers of history, while the mass, the people, serves as inert material ballast in the historical process".  
(Note to: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1844): op. cit.; p. 278).

"The Bauer brothers and their fellow-thinkers announced that the sole active element in the world-historical process was their own intellectual activity, to which they gave the name of 'critical criticism'".  
(Preface: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: *'Collected Works'*, Volume 4; London; 1875; p. xvi).

More, the Bauers speak of

" . . . the struggle of history",  
(Cited in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1844): op. cit.; p. 125).

presenting a teleological view of history -- that is, one which implied

" . . . the existence of design or purpose in nature".  
(*'Oxford English Dictionary'*, Volume 17.; Oxford; 1989; p. 728).

Accordingly, at their second meeting in August 1844, Marx and Engels

" . . . had agreed to write a pamphlet in German . . . dealing with themes from philosophy, history and idealism".  
(Terrell Carver: op. cit.; p. 175).

with the specific object of refuting Bauer's subjective idealism and teleology. .

'Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik' (The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Critique) was

" . . . the first joint work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels",  
(Introductory Note: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1844): op. cit.; p. 9).

It was written in September-November 1844 and published in February 1845 in Frankfurt-on-Main, but it was a joint work which was written separately rather than in collaboration, and one

" . . . the greater part of which was written by Marx".  
(Vladimir I. Lenin (1895): op. cit.; p. 23).

The name 'The Holy Family'

" . . . is a facetious nickname for the Bauer brothers and their followers".  
(Vladimir I. Lenin (1895): ibid.; p. 23).

and the book was a strong critique of idealism in general, and that of the Bauer brothers in particular.

'The Holy Family' emphasised that ideas in themselves do nothing, nor does history, Ideas can perform a useful function only when applied by living people:

"Real Humanism has no more dangerous enemy in Germany than spiritualism or speculative idealism, which substitutes 'self-consciousness' or the 'spirit' for real individual man. . . .

Ideas can . . . lead . . . only beyond the ideas of the old system. . . . In order to carry out these ideas, men are needed who dispose of a certain practical force".

History does nothing, it 'possesses no wealth', it 'wages no battles'. It is man, real, living man that does all that, that possesses and fights".

(Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1844): op. cit.; p. 126).

"'The Holy Family' represents a turning-point in Marx and Engels' intellectual development, with its rejection of teleology".

(S. H. Rigby: 'Engels and the Formation of Marxism: History, Dialectics and Revolution'; Manchester; 1992; p. 47-48).

In place of the progressive role of 'history', Marx and Engels substituted the progressive role of social classes -- in present-day society that of the working class, which would be compelled by material reality to abolish private property in the means of production:

"The proletariat executes the sentence that private property pronounced on itself by begetting the proletariat. . . .

The proletariat can and must free itself. . . . Its aim and historical action is irrevocably and obviously demonstrated in its own life situation as well as in the whole organisation of bourgeois society today.

(Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1844): op. cit.; p. 52-53).

Marx and Engels pointed out that workers

" . . . do not believe that 'pure thinking' will be able to argue away their industrial masters and their own practical debasement. They are most painfully aware of the difference between being and thinking".

(Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: Foreword: (1844): op. cit.; p. 73).

On the other hand,

" . . . the Bauers looked down on the proletariat as an uncritical mass. Marx and Engels vigorously opposed this absurd and harmful tendency. In the name of a real human person, -- the worker, trampled

down by the ruling classes and the state — they demanded, not contemplation, but a struggle for a better order of society. They, of course, regarded the proletariat as the force that is capable of waging this struggle and that is interested in it".  
(Vladimir I. Lenin (1895): *ibid.*; p. 23).

Although as yet Marx and Engels called themselves 'humanists' rather than materialists, in Lenin's words,

" . . . this book . . . contains the foundations of revolutionary materialist socialism".  
(Vladimir I. Lenin (1895): *op. cit.*; p. 23).

#### DIFFICULTIES AT HOME (1845)

In early 1845 Engels began to address public meeting in Elberfeld as a Communist:

"Miracles are happening here in Elberfeld. Yesterday in the largest hall in the town's best hotel, we held our third communist meeting. . . . The whole of Elberfeld and Barmen, from the moneyed aristocracy to the épicerie (small shopkeepers — Ed.) were represented, all groups except the proletariat".  
(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Karl Marx (22 February 1845), in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): *op. cit.*; p. 220).

The title which Marx gave to their joint work was regarded as 'blasphemous' by Engels' fundamentalist family, as he tells Marx in a letter of 7 March 1845:

"The new title, 'The Holy Family', will make family differences with my pious and already furious old man worse than ever, but that was something you naturally couldn't have known".  
(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Karl Marx (7 March 1845), in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): *ibid.*; p. 224).

Ten days later the atmosphere at home had become intolerable when Engels announced his intention of giving up 'huckstering' — as he called business:

"I am leading a real dog's life at the moment. . . .; all the old man's religious fanaticism has flared up again and become even worse since my announcement that I plan to abandon huckstering once and for all. Then my public appearances as a Communist have given rise to rabid bourgeois fanaticism on his part into the bargain. . . . I am unable to eat, drink, sleep or utter a sound without being confronted by the same cursed expressions of pious horror".  
(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Karl Marx (17 March 1845), in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): *ibid.*; p. 229).

It was in these circumstances that in early April 1845, Engels left Germany and moved to Brussels where Marx, expelled from France, had been forced to settle.

TO DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM (1845)

By the spring of 1845, both Marx and Engels had come to reject the idealism of the Hegelian dialectic, in favour of a dialectic with a materialist basis:

"Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics from German idealist philosophy and apply it in the materialist conception of history".  
(Preface to the 2nd Edition (September 1885): 'Herr Eugen Duhring's Revolution in Science'; New York; 1939; p. 453).,

"The dialectic of Hegel was . . . turned off its head, on which it was standing before, and placed upon its feet again".  
(Friedrich Engels (1888): op. cit.; p. 453).

"Friedrich Engels . . . had by another road . . . arrived with me at the same result".  
(Karl Marx: Preface (January 1859): 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy', in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1934; p. 357).

Thus, by the spring of 1845,

" . . . Marx and Engels had completed the transition from idealism to materialism".  
(Introduction: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1844): op. cit.; p. 9).

and by this time Marx had elaborated the materialist conception of history, the view

" . . . that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up . . . the political and intellectual history of that epoch. . . .

This proposition, which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845, . . . but when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring 1845, he had it already worked out.  
(Friedrich Engels: Preface to the 1888 English Edition of: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party', in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1943; p. 202).

"When, in the spring of 1845, we met again in Brussels, Marx had already fully developed his materialist theory of history".  
(Friedrich Engels: 'The History of the Communist League' (October 1885), in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 2; London; 1943; p. 11).

By this time, therefore, both Marx and Engels had ceased to be 'dialectical idealists' and had become 'dialectical materialists', and their close collaboration continued until Marx's death in March 1883.

'THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND' (2) (1844-45)

Engels wrote his book 'Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England' (The Condition of the Working Class in England) at his home in Barmen in the winter of 1844-45. He was still only 24 years old. The book was first

published (in German) in Leipzig in 1845. An English translation was not published until more than forty years later -- in 1887 -- and the book was not published in Britain itself until 1892.

Engels' work was not the first book to deal with the condition of the working class. There had already been such studies by the French economists Louis VILLERME (1840) and Antoine BURET\* (1840), and by the Belgian economist Edouard DUCPETIAUX\* (1843).

But Engels' book, when it appeared, was unique in at least three respects:

Firstly, it dealt with the whole of the working class, not with individual sectors:

"Even in England there exists as yet not a single piece of writing which, like mine, takes up all the workers".  
(Friedrich Engels: Preface (March 1845) to the First German Edition: Friedrich Engels (18op. cit.; p. 18).

Secondly, it gave not a static picture of the conditions of the working class at the time of writing, but

" . . . a general analysis of the evolution of industrial capitalism, of the social impact of industrialisation and its political and social consequences".  
(Eric J. Hobshawm: Introduction to: Friedrich Engels (1845): ibid.; p. 9).

Thirdly, it presented the workers not primarily as people to be pitied, but rather as the gravediggers of capitalism and the creators of a future, more just society

"Engels was the first to say that the proletariat is not only a suffering class; that it is, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat that drives it irresistibly forward and compels it to fight for its ultimate emancipation".  
(Vladimir I. Lenin (1895): op. cit.; p. 23).

While Engels was working on the book, he wrote to Marx saying:

"I shall be presenting the English with a long list of sins committed. I accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and all sorts of other crimes on a mass scale".  
(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Karl Marx (19 November 1844), in: Boris Krylov (Ed.): op. cit.; p. 206).

And in the book itself, Engels affirms:

"I have never seen a class so deeply demoralised, so incurably debased by selfishness, so corroded within, so incapable of progress, as the English bourgeoisie. . . . It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): op. cit.; p. 301).

And indeed, Engels quotes from the novel 'Sybil' by Benjamin DISRAELI\*, which describes the British people as consisting effectively of

" . . . two different nations".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 154).

and bluntly charges the British capitalist class with mass murder:

"When society . . . deprives thousands of the necessities of life, places them under conditions in which they cannot live, . . . knows that these thousands of victims must perish, and yet permits these conditions to remain, its deed is murder. . . . That it knows the consequences of its deeds; that its act is, therefore, not mere manslaughter, but murder, I shall have proved when I cite official documents . . . in substantiation of my charge".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 126-27).

Factors of this murder charge include malnutrition, atmospheric pollution, unhealthy housing, lack of mental stimulation. Working people who are

" . . . so ill-provided with the most necessary means of subsistence cannot be healthy and can reach no advanced age. . . .

In the working-people's quarters, . . . everything combines to poison the air. . . . They are given damp dwellings, cellar dens that are not waterproof from below, or garrets that leak from above. . . . They are supplied with bad, tattered or rotten clothing, adulterated and indigestible food. . . . They are deprived of all enjoyments except that of sexual indulgence and drunkenness, are worked every day to the point of complete exhaustion of their mental and physical energies. . . .

What else can be expected than an excessive mortality, an unbroken series of epidemics, a progressive deterioration in the physique of the working population? . . .

The means of education in England are restricted. . . . Compulsory school attendance does not exist".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 127, 128, 129, 140).

Marx thought very highly of the book. He wrote in 'Capital':

"How completely Engels understood the nature of the capitalist mode of production is shown by the Factory Reports, Reports on Mines, etc., that have appeared since 1845, and how wonderfully he painted the circumstances in detail is seen on the most superficial comparison of his work with the official reports on Children's Employment Commission, published 18 to 20 years later".  
(Karl Marx: Note: 'Capital', Volume 1; Moscow; 1974; p. 230).

and Lenin testifies that the book is

" . . . written in an absorbing style and filled with the most authentic and shocking pictures of the misery of the English proletariat. The book is a terrible indictment of capitalism and the book created a profound impresssion. . . . Neither before 1845 nor after has there appeared so striking and truthful a picture of the misery of the working class".  
(Vladimir I. Lenin (1895): *op. cit.*; p. 23).

A single example will demonstrate what Lenin means -- Engels' description of the appalling conditions in the district of Manchester known as 'Little Ireland':

"Masses of refuse, offal and sickening filth lie among standing pools in all directions; the atmosphere is poisoned by the effluvia from these, and laden and darkened by the smoke of a dozen tall factory chimneys. A horde of ragged women and children swarm about here, as filthy as the swine that thrive upon the garbage heaps and in the puddles. In short, the whole rookery furnishes such a hateful and repulsive spectacle as can hardly be equalled in the worst court on the Irk. The race that lives in these ruinous cottages, behind broken windows mended with oilskin, sprung doors and rotten door-posts, or in dark, wet cellars, in measureless filth and stench, . . . this race must really have reached the lowest stage of humanity".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): op. cit.; p. 93).

In the book, Engels reaffirms several of the points he had already made in 1843 in the essay 'Outlines for a Critique of Political Economy' concerning

firstly, the centralising character of capitalism:

"The centralising tendency of manufacture continues in full force".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): ibid.; p. 56).

Engels now develops this theme to include

" . . . the centralisation of population",

(Friedrich Engels (1845): ibid.; p. 56).

pointing out the advantages to the capitalists of large, compact markets which bring about

" . . . the marvellously rapid growth of the great manufacturing towns".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): ibid.; p. 56).

in which

" . . . the proletarians are the infinite majority".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): ibid.; p. 56).

Secondly, the tendency of capitalist society to polarise into

" . . . rich capitalists on the one hand and poor workers on the other".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): ibid.; p. 55).

while the petty bourgeoisie

" . . . vanishes more completely with every passing day".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): ibid.; p. 56).

Thirdly, the character of the state under capitalism as the machinery of rule of the capitalist class:

"The bourgeoisie . . . is protected in its monopoly by the power of the State. . . .

The Reform Bill (of 1824 -- Ed.) . . . made the bourgeoisie the ruling class. . . .

The rich hold all the power".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): ibid.; p. 109, 241, 310).

Fourthly, the position of workers under capitalism are effectively 'wage-slaves':

"The proletariat is, . . . in law and in fact, the slave of the bourgeoisie. . . .

The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is far better off under the present arrangement than under the old slave system; it can dismiss its employees at discretion, without sacrificing invested capital, and gets its work done much more cheaply than is possible with slave labour, as Adam SMITH\* comfortingly points out".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 109, 112-13).

Fifthly, the inevitability of recurrent economic crises under capitalism:

"In the present unregulated production and distribution of the means of subsistence, which is carried on . . . for profit, . . . disturbances inevitably arise at every moment. . . .

Everything is done blindly. . . .

Such a crisis usually recurs once in five years. . . .

So it goes on perpetually -- prosperity, crisis, prosperity, crisis".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 114, 115, 117).

and the existence of mass unemployment as a normal feature:

"English manufacture must have, at all times save the brief periods of highest prosperity, an unemployed reserve army of workers, in order to be able to produce the masses of goods required by the market in the liveliest months".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 117).

Sixthly, the inherent opposition of the interests of the capitalist class to those of the workers. Engels tells the workers:

"Their (the capitalist class's -- Ed.) interest is diametrically opposed to yours".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 323).

Seventhly, the character of Malthusianism as 'a declaration of war' against the working class, of which the workhouse system is merely one application:

"The most open declaration of war of the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat is Malthus's Law of Population and the new Poor Law framed in accordance with it. . . .

To make sure that relief be applied for only in the most extreme cases and after every other effort had failed, the workhouse has been made the most repulsive residence which the refined ingenuity of a Malthusian can invent. The food is worse than that of the most ill-paid working-man while employed, and the work harder, or they might prefer the workhouse to their wretched existence outside. . . . The workhouse is a jail too; he who does not finish his task gets nothing to eat. . . . The paupers wear a workhouse uniform. . . . To prevent the 'superfluous' from multiplying and 'demoralised' parents from influencing their children, families are broken up; the husband is placed in one wing, the wife in another, the children in a third, and they are permitted to see each other only at stated times after long intervals, and then only when they have, in the opinion of the officials, behaved well. . . .

Can one wonder that the poor . . . starve rather than enter these bastilles".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 309, 312, 316).

Eighthly, the prevalence of crime a consequence of capitalist society:

"Want leaves the working-man the choice between starving slowly, killing himself speedily or taking what he needs where he finds it -- in plain English, stealing, And there is no cause for surprise that most of them, prefer stealing to starvation or suicide. . . .

Hence, with the extension of the proletariat, crime has increased in England, and the British nation has become the most criminal in the world. . . .

The offences . . . are, in the great majority of cases, against property".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 145, 159, 160, 259).

The most notable feature of the book, however, is its presentation of the key facet of the Industrial Revolution as the formation of the working class as a permanent feature of society:

"The mightiest result of this industrial transformation is the English proletariat. . . .

The working class became, for the first time, an integral, permanent class of the population, whereas it had formerly been merely a transition leading to the bourgeoisie".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *op. cit.*; p. 50, 51).

And Engels portrayed the working class not so much as poor, suffering people to be pitied, but as the class which

" . . . from the beginning to the present day formed the nucleus of the labour Movement".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 54).

Engels thus depicted capitalism as a social system in which a worker could express his humanity

" . . . only in hatred and rebellion against the bourgeoisie. . . . No single field for the exercise of his manhood is left him save his opposition to the whole conditions of his life".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 239-40).

and declared that experience soon taught them that individual action was powerless to improve their conditions, so that after 1824 combinations of workers

" . . . very soon spread all over England and attained great power. In all branches of industry, Trades Unions were formed with the outspoken intention of protecting the single working-class man against the tyranny and neglect of the bourgeoisie".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 242).

Engels presents strikes as

" . . . the strongest proof that the decisive battle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is approaching. They are the military school

of the working-men in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 250-51).

and so must inevitably be the future creators of a new society, the gravediggers of capitalism:

"In this class (the working class -- Ed.) reposes the strength and the capacity of development of the nation".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 266).

Because the conditions of life imposed on the working class by its capitalist exploiters are fuel for its inevitable revolutionary overthrow. Engels speaks of

" . . . the deep wrath of the whole working class, from Glasgow to London, against the rich, by whom they are systematically plundered and mercilessly left to their fate, a wrath which before too long a time goes by . . . must break out into a Revolution in comparison with which the French Revolution . . . will prove to have been child's play".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 53).

Indeed, Engels dedicated his book

" . . . to the Working-Classes of Great Britain".  
(Dedication: Friedrich Engels (1845): *op. cit.*; p. 323).

and concluded the dedication:

"Be firm and undaunted -- your success is certain".  
(Dedication: Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 324-25).

#### RETROSPECT (1892)

In January 1892, in the preface to the English edition of the book, Engels summed up the development of industrial capitalism in England in the forty-seven years since he had written the book 'The Condition of the Working Class in England' by saying that

" . . . England has . . . outgrown the juvenile state of capitalist exploitation described by me",  
(Friedrich Engels: Preface (January 1892) to the English Edition: 'The Condition of the Working Class in England' (hereafter listed as 'Friedrich Engels (1892)'); London; 1969; p. 24).

and he declares that, as a result of this 'growing up',

" . . . the most crying abuses described in the book have either disappeared or have been made less conspicuous".  
(Friedrich Engels (1892): *ibid.* p. 24).

although he points out that many of these improvements, such as the fact that

" . . . drainage has been introduced or improved, wide avenues have been opened out athwart many of the worst 'slums' I had to describe",  
(Friedrich Engels (1892): *ibid.* p. 24).

were introduced not because of altruistic concern on the part of the bourgeoisie for the health of the working people, but because

" . . . the repeated visitations of cholera, typhus, smallpox and other epidemics have shown the British bourgeois the necessity of sanitation in his towns and cities if he wishes to save himself and his family from falling victims to such diseases".  
(Friedrich Engels (1892): *ibid.* p. 24).

Of course, some of the facts in Engels' original book, written more than a hundred and fifty years ago, are no longer accurate today in detail. For example, Engels devotes a chapter of his book to immigration from Ireland as a source of 'reserve labour':

"The rapid extension of English industry could not have taken place if England had not possessed in the numerous and impoverished population of Ireland a reserve at command. . . . More than a million have already immigrated, and not far from fifty thousand still come every year, nearly all of whom enter the industrial districts, especially of the great cities, and there form the lowest class of the population".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *op. cit.*; p. 122).

The position is different today only in the source of immigrant labour. Over the last fifty years the principal source of such immigrant labour has been the Indian sub-continent and the West Indies, rather than Ireland. But the picture which Engels drew in 1844 of the sweat-shops of the garment industry in the East End of London is still accurate, except for the skin colour of the victims. Engels writes of

" . . . one section of workers in London who deserve our attention by reason of the extraordinary barbarity with which they are exploited by the money-greed of the bourgeoisie. I mean the dressmakers and sewing-women".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 235).

Indeed, since Engels wrote this preface more than a hundred years ago, capitalism has entered its final period of decay, so that some of the worst social evils, which he imagined in 1892 had gone for ever, have now returned, making his picture of England in 1844 striking topical in many respects in 1995.

One example is the large number of beggars which he noted:

"When these people find no work and will not rebel against society, what remains for them but to beg. And surely no one can wonder at the great army of beggars . . . with whom the police carries on perpetual war. . . . It is a striking fact that these beggars are seen almost exclusively in the working people's districts, that it is almost exclusively the gifts of the poor from which they live. . . . They reckon upon the sympathy of the workers alone, who know from experience how it feels to be hungry".  
(Friedrich Engels (1845): *op. cit.*; p. 118-19).

And, as any visitor to London in recent years will be aware, the following passage in Engels' book of 1844 could certainly have been written today:

"In spite of all this, they who have some kind of shelter are fortunate, fortunate in comparison with the utterly homeless. In London fifty thousand human beings get up every morning, not knowing where they are to lay their heads at night. . . . They sleep where they find a place, in passages, arcades, in corners where the police and the owners leave them undisturbed. A few individuals find their way to the refuges which are managed, here and there, by private charity; others sleep on the benches in the parks".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *ibid.*; p. 64-65).

In his 1892 retrospect, Engels frankly admits that his views on certain important questions have matured since the pre-Marxism days when the book was written:

"The general theoretical standpoint of this book . . . . does not exactly coincide with my standpoint of today. Modern international Socialism, since fully developed as a science, . . . did not as yet exist in 1844. My book represents one of the phases of its embryonic development. . . . This book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of Modern Socialism from one of its ancestors, German philosophy".

(Friedrich Engels (1892): *ibid.* p. 25-26).

Firstly, Engels criticises the 'Utopian Socialist' statement in his book to the effect that

" . . . Communism is a question of humanity, and not of the workers alone".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): *op. cit.*; p. 321).

On this he comments forty-seven years later:

"Great stress is laid on the dictum that Communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely worthless, and sometimes worse, in practice. . . . The social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class".

(Friedrich Engels (1892): *op. cit.*; p. 25-26).

Secondly, Engels amends his earlier statement that the cyclical crises of capitalism, tend to occur every five years:

"This was the period apparently indicated by the course of events from 1825 to 1842. But the industrial history from 1842 to 1868 has shown that the real period is one of ten years; that the intermediate revulsions were secondary and tended more and more to disappear. . . .

From 1850 to 1870 . . . progress was indeed interrupted, as before, by a crisis every ten years".

(Friedrich Engels (1892): *ibid.*; p. 26, 30).

Thirdly, Engels criticises -- while leaving intact -- some of his over-optimistic forecasts, arising from 'youthful ardour', such as that, even in 1845, a socialist revolution in England was 'imminent'

"I have taken care not to strike out of the text the many prophecies,

amongst others that of an imminent social revolution in England, which my youthful ardour induced me to venture upon. The wonder is not that a good many of them proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right". (Friedrich Engels (1892): *ibid.*; p. 26-27).

Marx, in fact, wrote to Engels in April 1863 welcoming this over-optimistic 'youthful ardour' as giving 'warmth', 'freshness' and 'passion' to the book:

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

(Karl Marx: Letter to Friedrich Engels (9 April 1863), in: Dona Torr (Ed.): 'The Correspondence of Marx and Engels'; London; 1934; p. 147).

#### CONCLUSION: THE ROLE OF ENGELS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM

It is usual for Engels to be regarded as very much the secondary member of the Marx-Engels partnership -- as in Grace Carlton's biography of Engels, which she subtitles 'The Shadow Prophet'.

Certainly Engels himself always presented his role as a secondary one. For example, in October 1884, Engels wrote to the German revolutionary democrat Johann BECKER\*:

"All my life I have done what I was cut out for -- namely to play second fiddle -- and I think I have done quite well in that capacity. And I have been happy to have had such a wonderful first violin as Marx".

(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Johann P. Becker, 15 October 1884, in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Werke', Volume 36; Berlin; 1967; p. 218).

In February 1888, he wrote in a note to his 'Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy':

"What I contributed -- at any rate with the exception of a few special studies -- Marx could very well have done without me. What Marx accomplished, I would not have achieved. Marx stood higher, saw farther, and took a wider and quicker view than all the rest of us. Marx was a genius; we others were at best talented".

(Friedrich Engels (1888): *op. cit.*; p. 451).

and in July 1893 he wrote to the German historian Franz MEHRING\*:

"You attribute more credit to me than I deserve, even if I count in everything which I might possibly have found out for myself -- in time -- but which Marx with his more rapid coup d'oeil (grasp of things -- Ed.) and wider vision discovered much more quickly. When one has the good fortune to work for forty years with a man like Marx, one does not usually get the recognition one thinks one deserves during his lifetime. Then, if the greater man dies, the lesser easily gets overrated, and this seems to me to be just my case at present; history will set all this right in the end, and by that time one will be safely round the corner and know nothing more about anything".

(Friedrich Engels: Letter to Franz Mehring, 14 July 1893, in: Dona Torr

(Ed.): op. cit.; p. 510).

One must ask, however, whether in these assessments Engels is being unduly modest.

Let us look first at two of the principal components of Marxist theory.

### The Materialist Conception of History

The materialist conception of history states, in brief,

" . . . that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up . . . the political and intellectual history of that epoch".

(Friedrich Engels: Preface to the 1888 English Edition: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' (1848), in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1943; p. 202).

Engels describes the materialist conception of history as

" . . . destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology".

(Friedrich Engels: Preface to the 1888 English Edition of: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party', in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1943; p. 202).

He says that, as a result of his experience of industrial capitalism

" . . . while in Manchester, I was forcibly brought to realise that economic facts . . . are, at least in the modern world, a decisive historical force".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The History of the Communist League' (October 1885), in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 2; London; 1943; p. 11).

Consequently, he insists that

" . . . we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845"

(Friedrich Engels: Preface to the 1888 English Edition: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1943; p. 202).

the formulation of the materialist conception of history, but that its final elaboration was due to Marx, since when he -- Engels --

" . . . again met Marx at Brussels, in spring 1845, he had it already worked out and put it before me in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here".

(Friedrich Engels: Preface to the 1888 English Edition: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1943; p. 202).

Engels confirms this assessment when he says that the formulation of the materialist conception of history

" . . . is essentially the work of Marx, . . . in which I can claim

for myself only a very insignificant share".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The History of the Communist League' (October 1895), in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1943; p. 11-12).

and repeats this in a note of 1888 on the materialist conception of history:

"The greater part of its leading basic principles, and above all its final, clear formulation, belong to Marx.

(Friedrich Engels (1888): op. cit.; p. 451).

### The Theory of Surplus Value

Engels describes the theory of surplus value as Marx's 'second most important discovery':

"The second most important discovery of Marx is . . . the demonstration how . . . the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist takes place. . . . The present capitalist mode of production has as its presupposition the existence of two social classes; on the one hand that of the capitalists, who are in possession of the means of production and subsistence, and on the other hand that of the proletarians who, being excluded from this possession, have only a single commodity for sale: their labour power, and who therefore have to sell this labour power of theirs in order to obtain possession of the means of subsistence. The value of a commodity is, however, determined by the socially necessary quantity of labour embodied in its production . . .; the value of the labour power of an average human being during a day, month or year is determined therefore by the quantity of labour embodied in the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of this labour power during a day, month or year. Let us assume that the means of subsistence of a worker for one day require six hours of labour . . ., so that the product of the seventh, eighth and following hours is a product of unpaid labour and falls in the first place into the pocket of the capitalist. Thus the worker in the service of the capitalist not only reproduces the value of his labour power, for which he receives pay, but over and above that he also produces a surplus value . . . appropriated in the first place by the capitalist".

(Friedrich Engels: 'Karl Marx' (1878), in: Karl Marx: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; London; 1943; p. 13-14).

Indeed, Engels describes the theory of surplus value as

" . . . the pith and marrow of Political Economy",

(Friedrich Engels: Preface (May 1885) to: Karl Marx: 'Capital', Volume 2; Moscow; 1974; p. 2).

It is true that the existence of the concept of surplus value predates Marx, being found in such economic works as 'The Wealth of Nations', by Adam SMITH\* (1776); 'Principles of Political Economy and Taxation', by David RICARDO\* (1817); 'A Few Doubts as to the Correctness of Some Opinions generally Entertained on the Subjects of Population and Political Economy', by Piercy RAVENSTONE\* (1821); 'An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth most conducive to Human Happiness', by William THOMPSON\* (1824); 'Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital' by Thomas HODGSKIN\* (1825); 'Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy' by John BRAY\* (1839). Indeed, Marx frequently expressed his indebtedness to these earlier economists in this respect. But Marx's outstanding achievement in this field was to lay bare the

precise mechanism by which surplus value was extracted from the workers.

As the British economist George COLE\* states,

" . . . it was left to the German, Karl Marx, to rediscover Hodgskin and to weave his and William Thompson's critique of the classical economists into the system of 'Scientific Socialism'".  
(George D. H. Cole: Introduction: Thomas Hodgskin: 'Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital'; London; 1922; p. 15-16).

and to place it on a scientific basis through the separation of labour from labour power:

"In order to be able to extract value from the consumption of a commodity, our friend Moneybags must be so lucky as to find . . . in the market a commodity whose use-value . . . is . . . a creation of value. The possessor of money does find on the market such a special commodity in capacity for labour or labour-power.  
(Karl Marx: 'Capital', Volume 1 (July 1867); Moscow; 1974; p. 164).

### Specialisation

But, in assessing the contribution of Marx and Engels to the creation of Marxism, it must be noted that in the partnership there was considerable specialisation.

Engels, for example, became the specialist in, first of all, the natural sciences. While undergoing treatment at Ramsgate in England in the summer of 1876, Engels read a number of books by the German philosopher and economist Eugen DÜHRING\*, a lecturer at the University of Berlin, and in 1877 wrote a devastating response to it entitled 'Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft' (Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science), becoming known as 'Anti-Dühring'.

Engels' 'Anti-Dühring' has been described as an

" . . . encyclopaedia of Marxism",  
(L. F. Ilyichov et al 1982): op. cit. p. 296).

its three sections covering philosophy, economics and socialism.

In 1873 Engels had begun to collect material for a book on the dialectical materialist conception of the natural sciences, to be entitled 'Dialektik der Natur' (Dialectics of Nature), which he began writing in 1875-76. After completing 'Anti-Dühring' in 1877-78, Engels returned to working on 'Dialectics of Nature', but the book was never completed and the manuscript was published only after his death. Although parts appeared at the end of the 19th century, the complete manuscript was published only in 1925 in the Soviet Union.

Engels declares that his research into

" . . . the natural sciences was undertaken to convince myself in detail -- of which in general I was not in doubt -- that amid the welter of innumerable changes taking place in nature, the same dialectical laws of motion are in operation as those which in history govern the apparent

fortuitousness of events".

(Friedrich Engels: Preface to the 2nd Edition of September 1885: 'Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science'; New York; 1939; p. 15-16).

Again, from the 1850s on, Engels made himself a specialist in military affairs, to become, in Lenin's words,

" . . . the great expert on this matter".

(Vladimir I. Lenin: 'The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government' (July 1905), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 3; London; 1946; p. 315),

### The State

But if it was Marx who first developed the materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value, it was Engels' experience of the developed capitalist state in Britain which enabled him to see, even before Marx, the true character of the state as essentially a machinery of force by which one social class ruled over the rest of the people.

We have seen that by March 1844 Engels had already come close to the Marxist characterisation of the state under capitalism as the machinery of rule of the capitalist class:

"Who then actually rules in England? Property rules".

(Friedrich Engels: 'The Condition of England: II: The English Constitution' (March 1844), in Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. 497).

and his view of the class character of the state was further clarified in 'The Condition of the Working Class in England', written in the winter of 1844-45:

"The bourgeoisie . . . is protected in its monopoly by the power of the State. . . .

The Reform Bill (of 1832 -- Ed.) made the bourgeoisie the ruling class. . . .

The rich hold all the power".

(Friedrich Engels (1845): op. cit.; p. 109, 241, 310).

In contrast, in the spring and summer of 1843, Marx was still describing the state in semi-Hegelian terms as 'the spiritual essence of society', controlled by the 'bureaucracy', i. e., by the heads of the civil service:

"The bureaucracy has the state, the spiritual essence of society, in its possession as its private property".

(Karl Marx: 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law' (spring-summer 1843), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. 47).

and even in July 1844 he was equating the state with 'the system of society':

"The state and the system of society are not two different things. The state is the system of society".

(Karl Marx: 'Critical Marginal Notes on the Article "The King of Prussia and Social Reform", by a Prussian' (July 1844), in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 3; London; 1975; p. 197).

Thus, Marx's analysis of the state at this time

" . . . contains no mention of class rule. . . . Only when Marx began his collaboration with Engels would the class-dominated state transform his thought".

(Richard N. Hunt: op. cit.; p. 66).

and priority in the elaboration of the Marxist conception of the state as the organ of class rule must be accorded to Engels.

The importance of this conception is illustrated by the fact that revisionist distortions of Marxism have been directed particularly at it.

A revisionist is one who distorts Marxism so as to make it serve the interests of the capitalist class, for example by putting forward the view that the capitalist state is not a dictatorship of the capitalist class which has to be smashed in a socialist revolution, but a democratic structure which can be utilised by the working class to establish socialism.

Karl KAUTSKY\*, whom Lenin as early as 1914-16 called

" . . . a renegade",

(Vladimir I. Lenin: Preface to: 'The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky' (November 1918), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 7; London; 1946; p. 117).

was writing in August 1912 in an article entitled 'The New Tactics':

"The aim of our political struggle remains, as hitherto, the conquest of state power through the winning a majority in parliament and by converting parliament into the master of the government".

(Karl Kautsky: 'Die neue Taktik' (The New Tactics), in: 'Die neue Zeit' (The New Time), Volume 30. No. 46 (16 August 1912); p. 732).

After Lenin's devastating critique, it was difficult for pseudo-Marxists to put forward revisionist theories without exposing themselves as revisionist renegades. Thus later revisionists tried to solve this problem by claiming that the Second World War had so changed world conditions as to make the analysis of the state made by Engels -- and later by Marx, and Lenin -- no longer valid.

Thus, the same illusory 'peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism' put forward by Kautsky in 1912 was put forward after the Second World War by such revisionists as Harry POLLITT\* in Britain:

"The conditions created by the great political changes arising out of this war are now objectively more favourable for the peaceful transition to socialism than they have ever been. . . .

There is, up to a point, a common interest between all progressive sections of the nation, labour and capitalist alike".

(Harry Pollitt: 'Answers to Questions' (May 1945); London; 1945; p. 39, 44).

and, after the death of Stalin, by the Soviet revisionist leader, Nikita KHRUSHCHEV\* in February 1956:

"Since then (1917 -- Ed.), . . . the historical situation has

undergone radical changes which make possible a new approach to the question. . . .

In a number of capitalist countries . . . the working class . . . is in a position to capture a stable majority in parliament, and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. In such an event, this institution . . . may become an organ of genuine democracy -- democracy for the working people".

(Nikita S. Khrushchev: Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU: 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union'; London; 1956; p. 30).

The formulations of Pollitt and Khrushchev are essentially those of the 'renegade Kautsky'.

In conclusion, IT IS RIGHT THAT, AT THIS SEMINAR, WE SHOULD PAY TRIBUTE TO FRIEDRICH ENGELS, NOT AS A PALE SHADOW OF MARX, BUT AS AN OUTSTANDING FIGURE IN HIS OWN RIGHT, WHO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM WHICH BEARS THE NAME OF HIS FRIEND KARL MARX .

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BAUER, Bruno, German philosopher and historian (1809-82); lecturer in theology, University of Berlin (1834-42); leader of Young Hegelians, who interpreted Hegel's philosophy as anti-Christian; deprived of teaching licence for radical criticism of Bible (1842).

BAUER, Edgar, German journalist (1820-86); brother of Bruno Bauer.

BECKER, Johann P., German revolutionary democrat (1809-86); commander in revolutionary militia (1848-49); editor, 'Der Vorbote' (The Herald) (1866-71); died in Switzerland (1886).

BRAY, John F., American-born English economist (1809-05); to England (1822); active in labour movement; wrote 'Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy' (1839); to USA (1842).

BURET, Antoine E., French economist (1811-42); author of 'On the Poverty of the Working Classes in France and England' (1841).

COLE, George D. H., British economist (1889-1959); Fellow, Magdalen College, University of Oxford (1912-19); Secretary, Fabian (later Labour) Research Dept. (1916-24); Reader in Economics, University of Oxford (1925-44); Chairman, Fabian Society (1939-46, 1948-50); Chairman, Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey, University of Oxford (1941-44); Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory, University of Oxford (1944-57); President, Fabian Society (1952-59); Research Fellow, Nuffield College, University of Oxford (1957-59).

DISRAELI, Benjamin, English author and politician, of Jewish descent (1804-81); baptised as Christian (1817); solicitors' clerk (1821-24); stockbroker (1824-26); lawyer (1826-31); MP (1837-80); leader, Conservative Party (1846-80); Chancellor of Exchequer (1852, 1859-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80); created Earl of Beaconsfield (1876); retired (1880).

DUCPÉTIAUX, Edouard, Belgian economist (1804-68); author of 'On the Influence of Poverty on the Number of Crimes' (1843).

DÜHRING, K. Eugen, German economist, lawyer and philosopher (1833-1921); practised law (1856-59); Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Berlin (1864-77).

FEUERBACH, Ludwig A., German philosopher (1804-72); born in Bavaria; to Berlin (1824); outside lecturer, University of Erlangen (1828-30); dismissed (1830); broke from Hegelianism and embraced materialism (1839); published 'The Essence of Christianity' (1841); retired, to Nuremberg (1860); joined German Social Democratic Labour Party (1870).

FRIEDRICH WILHELM III (1770-1840; eldest son of Friedrich Wilhelm II; King of Prussia (1797-1840).

FRIEDRICH WILHELM IV (1795-1861); son of Friedrich Wilhelm III; King of Prussia (1840-61); reactionary opponent of democracy and German national unification; forced to grant constitution (1850); declared insane (1858), and his brother (later Wilhelm I) appointed Regent (1858-61).

GRAEBER, Friedrich (1822-95). schoolfriend of Friedrich Engels, later pastor.

GRAEBER, Wilhelm (1820-95), schoolfriend of Friedrich Engels, later pastor; brother of Friedrich Graeber.

GUTZKOW, Karl F. German journalist, novelist and playwright (1811-78); leader, Young Germany movement; all writings banned (1837); editor, 'Telegraph for Germany' (1838-423); literary adviser to Court Theatre, Dresden (1847-49); killed in fire (1878).

HAPSBURG, German noble, later royal, family which supplied rulers to Austria, Bohemia. Germany, the Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, Spain and other countries.

HARNEY, George J., British Chartist leader and journalist (1817-97); founder member, 'East London' (later 'London') 'Democratic' Association (1837-40); member, London Working Men's Association (1837-38); in Scotland (1840-41); Sheffield correspondent 'Northern Star' (1841-42); sub-editor, 'Northern Star' (1843-46); to London (1844); editor, 'Northern Star' (1846-49); editor, 'Democratic Review' (1849-50); to Newcastle (1853); to Jersey (1855); editor, 'The Independent' (Jersey) (1855-57); to USA (1863); to England (1888); died in England (1897).

HEGEL, Georg W. F., German idealist philosopher (1770-1831); tutor at Bern, Switzerland (1791-96), at Frankfurt (1796-1800); outside lecturer in philosophy, University of Jena (1801-06); reader in philosophy, University of Jena (1805-07); editor, 'Bamberg Newspaper' (1807-08); headmaster, Latin School, Nuremberg (1808-16); Professor of Philosophy, University of Jena (1816-18); Professor of Philosophy, University of Heidelberg (1816-18); Professor of Philosophy, University of Berlin (1818-31).

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HODGSKIN, Thomas, English economist and journalist (1787-1868); naval officer (1799-1811); on European continent (1815-18); to Edinburgh (1819); to London (1822); founded Mechanics' Institute (1823).

JUNG, Alexander, German poet, literary historian and author (1799-1884).

KAUTSKY, Karl, German revisionist author and politician (1854-1938); founder and editor, 'The New Time' (1883-1917); joined Austrian Social-Democratic Party (1875); to Germany (1890); main creator of Erfurt Programme (1891); founder member, Independent Social Democratic Party (1914-24); editor, German Foreign Office documents (1919); in Vienna, as author (1924-38); became naturalised Czechoslovak citizen (1934); to Holland (1938); died in Holland (1938).

- KHRUSHCHEV, Nikita S., Soviet revisionist politician (1894-1971); joined CPSU (1918); 2nd Secretary, Moscow Region CPSU (1934-35); 1st Secretary, Moscow Region CPSU (1935-38, 1949-52); Premier, Ukraine (1947-48); 1st Secretary, CP Ukraine (1938-46, 1947-49); member, Political Bureau, CPSU (1939-64); lieutenant-general (1941); secretary, CPSU (1949-53); 1st Secretary, CPSU (1953-64); USSR Premier (1958-64).
- LIEBKNECHT, Wilhelm, German journalist and politician (1826-1900); participated in revolution (1848-49); fled to England (1849); returned to Germany (1862); expelled from Prussia (1865); to Leipzig (1865); founder-member, German Social Democratic Labour Party (1869); member, Reichstag (1867-70, 1874-1900); imprisoned for treason (1872); editor, 'The People's State' (1869-76); editor, 'Forward!' (1890-1900).
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- MARX, Eleanor, British socialist pioneer (1855-98); youngest daughter of Karl Marx; foundation member 'Socialist League' (1884); leader, textile- and gas-workers' strikes (1889); foundation member of Independent Labour Party (1893).
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- RUGE, Arnold, German author and editor (1803-80); editor, Young Hegelian journals (1838-43); joint editor in Paris with Marx of 'German-French Yearbooks' (1844); deputy, Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); fled to England (1849); teacher in Brighton, England (1850-80).
- SCHELLING, Friedrich W. J. von, German idealist philosopher (1775-1854); Professor of Theology, University of Jena (1798-1803); Professor of Philosophy, University of Würzburg (1803-06); secretary, Academy of Plastic Arts, Munich (1806-20); lecturer in Theology, University of Erlangen (1820-26); Professor of Theology, Munich Academy (1827-41); Professor of Theology, University of Berlin (1841-46); retired (1846); died in Switzerland (1854).

SMITH, Adam, Scottish economist (1723-90); Professor of Logic, University of Glasgow (1751-52); Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Glasgow (1752-64); tutor to young Duke of Buccleuch (1764-66); in Scotland (1766-73); to London (1773); published 'Wealth of Nations' (1776); Commissioner of Customs, Edinburgh (1776-87); Lord Rector, University of Glasgow (1787-90).

STRAUSS, David F., German philosopher, theologian and biographer (1808-74); developed theory of gospels as 'myth'; appointed professor at University of Zurich (1839), but prevented by reactionaries from taking up post and forced to leave city; writings banned (1843).

THOMPSON, William, Irish economist (c1785-1833); published 'An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth' (1824).

VILLERME, Jean-Louis, French physician and statistician (1782-1863); member, Academy of Medicine (1823-63); published 'Table of the Physical and Moral State of Workers in the Cotton, Wool and Silk Factories' (1840); member, Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (1832-63); .

WEERTH, Georg, German poet (1822-56); book-keeper in Cologne (1840-42); secretary to uncle (1842-43); in Bradford, England as clerk (1843-46); in Brussels (1846-48); in Paris on editorial staff of 'New Rhenish Newspaper' (1848-49); businessman (1850-56); to Virgin Islands (1852); died in Cuba (1856).