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Karl Marx an Edward Spencer Beesly in London. London, Freitag, 16. September 1870

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| London, September 16, 1870.

My dear Sir,—

You must excuse my bothering you again with a letter, but à la guerre comme à la guerre.

The worst anticipations of the two addresses of the General Council of the International^a have already been realised.

Having declared to make war against **Louis Bonaparte**¹ and not against the French people, Prussia makes now war upon the French people and the peace with Bonaparte. It has let out the murder. It has declared its intention of restoring him or his family to the Tuileries. The infamous **Times**^m affects to-day to treat this as mere gossip. It knows, or ought to know that the thing has been printed in the Berlin **Staatsanzeiger**ⁿ (the Prussian **Moniteur**). From semi-official Prussian papers, such as the **Cologne Gazette**^o, I see that that old ass, **King William**^p, true to his Hohenzollern family traditions, already prostrates himself at the feet of the **Czar**^q and implores him to be so magnanimous as to employ him as his man-servant against the Turks! Lastly, the reaction has already set in in Germany. Our people at Brunswick, to begin with, have, as I wrote you,

been marched off in chains like common felons of the Eastern frontier. But this is only one fact amongst hundreds.

After the first war of German Independence against **Napoleon I.^r**, the wild and ferocious Government's chase upon the so-called demagogues (die demagogischen Untersuchungen) lasted fully for 20 years! but they set in only after the end of the war. They now begin before the conclusion of peace.

Then their persecutions were directed against the windy idealists and frothy youths (the students at the Universities) of the middle class, bureaucracy and aristocracy. They are now directed against the working class.

For my part, I am delighted at all those misdeeds of the Prussian Government. They will stir Germany. Now what I think you ought to do is this: The first address of the General Council on the war was only published in full by the **Pall Mall^{ts}**, but extracts and even leading articles on it appeared in many other papers. This time, although the address has been forwarded to all London papers, not one has taken the least notice of it, except the **Pall Mall**, which gives a very short extract^v.

[[By-the-by, this **paper^w**, which handles you so nicely in its yesterday's number, has certain private obligations towards me, I having proposed there my friend Engels's "**Notes on the War^x**". I did so at the request of A—B—^y who, from time to time, had smuggled some paragraphs on the "**International^{aa}**" into the **Pall Mall**. Hence our **second address^{ab}** is not altogether burked in that paper.]]

From the Continent, where people were and are used, even at Moscow and St. Petersburg, even in the French papers under the Bonapartist rule, even now at Berlin, to see the manifestoes of the **International^{ac}** treated seriously and reproduced in full by some journal or other, we have been once and again taunted for our negligence in not using the "free" London press. They have, of course, no idea whatsoever, and will not believe in the utter corruption of that vile concern, long since branded by **William Cobbett^{ad}** as "mercenary, infamous, and illiterate".

Now I believe you would do the greatest possible service to the **International^{ae}**, and I should take good care to have your article reproduced in our journals in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Hungary, Germany, France, and the United States—if you in the **Fortnightly Review^{ag}** would publish something on the **International^{af}**, the manifestoes of the General Council on the war and the treatment we have to undergo at the hands of that paragon press, that "free" English press! Those fellows are in fact more enslaved to the Prussian police than the Berlin papers.

Lafargue^{aj}, now editor of a paper^{ak} at Bordeaux, sends you and **Mrs. Beesly^{am}** his best compliments.—

Yours truly,
Karl Marx.

Erläuterungen

a) The General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War^b und Second address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War^c (1870). Siehe dazu: Karl Marx: The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the War^d (MEGA² I/21^e. S. 245–249 und Erl. S. 1594–1612) und Karl Marx: Erste Adresse des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg^f. (MEGA² I/21^g. S. 478–484 und Erl. S. 1744–1750) sowie Karl Marx: Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War.^h (MEGA² I/21ⁱ. S. 485–491 und Erl. S. 1751–1766. / Karl Marx:

Zweite Adresse des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg.^j (MEGA² I/21^k. S. 492–499 und Erl. S. 1767–1776).

- b) [Zotero Link für: The General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War](#)
- c) [Zotero Link für: Second address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War](#)
- d) [Zotero Link für: The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the War](#)
- e) [Zotero Link für: MEGA2 I/21](#)
- f) [Zotero Link für: Erste Adresse des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg](#)
- g) [Zotero Link für: MEGA2 I/21](#)
- h) [Zotero Link für: Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War.](#)
- i) [Zotero Link für: MEGA2 I/21](#)
- j) [Zotero Link für: Zweite Adresse des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg.](#)
- k) [Zotero Link für: MEGA2 I/21](#)
- l) Napoléon III (1808-1873)
- m) The Times
- n) Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger
- o) Kölnische Zeitung
- p) Wilhelm I. (1797-1888)
- q) Aleksandr II (1818-1881)
- r) Napoléon Ier (1769-1821)
- s) Siehe *Working men and the War*. In: *The Pall Mall Gazette*. London. Nr. 1702, 28. Juli 1870. S. 3^u.
- t) The Pall Mall Gazette
- u) [Zotero Link für: Working men and the War. In: The Pall Mall Gazette. London. Nr. 1702, 28. Juli 1870. S. 3](#)
- v) Siehe *The Pall Mall Gazette*. London. Nr. 1745, 16. September 1870. S. 9.
- w) The Pall Mall Gazette
- x) [Zotero Link für: "Notes on the War"](#)
- y) Gemeint ist **Nicolas Léon Thieblin**^z (Pseudonym: Azamat-Batuk).
- z) Thieblin, Nicolas Léon (1834-1889)
- aa) Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation (IAA) / International Workingmen's Association (IWA) / Association Internationale des Travailleurs (AIT)
- ab) [Zotero Link für: second address](#)
- ac) Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation (IAA) / International Workingmen's Association (IWA) / Association Internationale des Travailleurs (AIT)
- ad) Cobbett, William (1763-1835)
- ae) Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation (IAA) / International Workingmen's Association (IWA) / Association Internationale des Travailleurs (AIT)
- af) Beesly kam Marx' Bitte nach; siehe **E. S. Beesly: The International Working Men's Association**. In: *The Fortnightly Review*. London. New series. No. 47, 1. November 1870. S. 517–535^{ah}. Abdruck in: *MEGA² I/21*^{ai}. S. 1067-1086.
- ag) The Fortnightly Review

ah) [Zotero Link für: E. S. Beesly: The International Working Men's Association. In: The Fortnightly Review. London. New series. No. 47, 1. November 1870. S. 517–535](#)

ai) [Zotero Link für: MEGA² I/21](#)

aj) Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)

ak) *Défense nationale*.^{al}

al) (La) *Défense nationale*

am) Beesly, Emily (1840-1899)

Kritischer Apparat