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# THE EASTERN QUESTION

THE  
EASTERN QUESTION

A Reprint of Letters written 1853-1856 dealing  
with the events of the Crimean War

BY  
KARL MARX

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London  
SWAN SONNENSCH E I N & CO. L I M I T E D  
PATERNOSTER SQUARE  
1897

V58:194.5.M53

C7

2501

**BUTLER & TANNER,  
THE SELWOOD PRINTING WORKS,  
FROME, AND LONDON.**

## Introduction

THIS volume is a reprint of certain letters and articles by Karl Marx, dealing with the Eastern Question as it presented itself in the "fifties," with the particular events that led up to the Crimean War, and with the War itself. The letters and articles appeared in the NEW YORK TRIBUNE. As to the letters which are signed, there has, of course, been no difficulty of identification. As to unsigned letters and leading articles, the exercise of careful investigation and discretion has been necessary. We have been helped and guided in this task by a collection of extracts from the NEW YORK TRIBUNE, made by Hermann Meyer, which were found among the papers of Frederick Engels; by letters from Mr. Dana, the editor of the NEW YORK TRIBUNE; by other letters from friends in America; by personal knowledge of facts; and, above all, by the statements of Marx himself.

The extracts from the TRIBUNE, made by Meyer, formed the original basis of our work. In only one or two cases was Meyer, as far as we can judge, inaccurate in selecting articles supposed to be by Marx; but from his list are omitted a very large number of articles, many of which are signed, that were written by Marx.

Mr. Dana wrote as follows to Marx on March 18th, 1860: "Nearly nine years ago I engaged you to write for the NEW YORK TRIBUNE, and the engagement has been continued ever since. You have written for us constantly, without a single week's interruption, that I can remember."

The following letter, written to Marx by a friend in

Washington, has an interesting and special bearing upon the leaders written by Marx :

" You see the TRIBUNE has again appropriated a leader ; this would be right enough, because it attracts special attention, if only K. M. were printed below it. I believe, too, that they would do this, if it were not against their rules and habits. And, after all, it doesn't harm you much either, for the careful reader can see that it wasn't written by the editorial staff . . .

" WASHINGTON.

" 23/24 October, 1853."

From personal knowledge we can state that many of Marx' letters were used, and printed by the TRIBUNE, as leaders, although Marx had originally written them as correspondence. Upon other occasions, he, of purpose, wrote articles which were intended to be leaders, and in these he naturally wrote in a somewhat different form from that used in his signed correspondence. In several cases where his correspondence has been turned into leaders, a few words of addition and interpolation have been written in by the American editors, to keep up journalistic appearances. (See, for example, pp. 188, 190, 222, and especially the end of p. 193.)

Apparently also, on more than one occasion, ideas or actual passages from letters of Marx were used and written round by the American journalists. This has made the task of selection very difficult, and has certainly, in one case at least, led to the inclusion (see CI.) of an article, the major part of which could not have been written by Marx.

Whilst there may be one or two authentic contributions of his that have been missed, we have designedly left out several of a purely technical military character. On the other hand, we have included certain military articles bearing very directly on the war. Most, if not all, of these were either written by Engels, or grew out of letters from him to Marx.

Marx on several occasions has stated, in writing, the fact that he wrote leaders, as well as letters, for the TRIBUNE, *e.g.*,

in "Herr Vogt" (see Preface to *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, p. ix.). And in a short biographical note, written at his dictation, he says: "A regular collaborator on the TRIBUNE up to the beginning of the American Civil War, writing not only the English correspondence signed with his name, but a mass of leading articles on the European and Asiatic movement."

In one or two cases it would appear that part of his letter was used as a leader, and the rest left in the letter form. Hence, in these one or two cases, the reader will find the leader and the letter bearing the same newspaper date.

The volume ends with four papers on the fall of Kars. These, in substance, appeared in the NEW YORK TRIBUNE. They appeared in the form in which they are now given, in Ernest Jones' *People's Paper*, for which Marx enlarged and revised them. And a summary of these four Kars papers was made by their author for the *Free Press*. This summary is not printed in the present volume. These Kars articles produced at the time a very remarkable sensation, and were the immediate cause of a vote of thanks from the Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee for the "great public service rendered by the admirable exposé."

In the present reprint it has not been thought wise to speak of chapters; so that the letters or leaders are merely numbered in succession. In most cases the letters contained, besides passages dealing with the Eastern Question, passages dealing with other matters. In the present volume all the latter passages are omitted. As a consequence some of the letters appear to be very short. A heading has been given to each of the CXIII. divisions of the book. These headings correspond generally with the headings in the NEW YORK TRIBUNE, for which probably the American editor was responsible.

All quotations have been printed in smaller type, and all italics in them are those of Marx.

In the original letters there was necessarily a great deal of quotation from newspapers and despatches. In almost all cases *précis* have been made of these quotations, some of

which were of very great length. In the case of the Kars articles, however, all the very important extracts are given in full. These *précis* are printed within square brackets and in italics, so as to distinguish them from actual quotations. Italicised passages in the original are marked off in the *précis* by being printed in small capitals; and wherever, as often happened, Marx has interpolated comments of his own in the quotations, those comments are printed within secondary brackets.

Except in cases where obvious misprints have occurred (it must be remembered that Marx never saw the proofs of his American contributions), no corrections or alterations have been made.

One great difficulty has been the spelling of the names of people and places. In this we have followed the best authorities; there are one or two cases, however, of double spelling.

The volume contains two maps—one of the Balkan Peninsula at the time of the Crimean War; the other of the Balkan Peninsula at the present time.

In compiling the Index, in consequence of the very large number of times that certain names recur, it has only been found possible, in such cases, to give the page where the name first occurs.

This volume will, we think, be found of especial use at the present time. The ever-recurring Eastern Question has entered upon another phase. During the last forty years the conditions, geographical, historical, economic, of Europe have changed vastly. Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, *e.g.*, have become independent States; Alsace-Lorraine has changed hands. The relations between the Great Powers have undergone numberless modifications. Perhaps most important of all, as a factor, has been the growth of Social Democracy. With this, the Continental nations at least have to reckon. One thing, however, has remained constant and persistent: the Russian Government's policy of aggrandizement. The methods may vary—the policy remains the same. To-day the Russian Government, which

is no longer to-day wholly synonymous with Russia, is, as it was in the "fifties," the greatest enemy of all advance, the greatest stronghold of reaction.

Great as these changes have been, nevertheless to understand the present relations of the States of Europe to one another and to the Eastern Question, it is necessary to have a knowledge of those relations in the past. This volume, therefore, is not only of interest and importance as a collection of historical writings, but as throwing a singular light upon what is occurring to-day, and what may occur to-morrow.

Readers of the following papers will probably be especially struck with the immense mass of information contained in them; the remarkable historical acumen shown, and the great power of piercing through the semblance of things to the things themselves; the accuracy with which, in almost every case, events and consequences likely to follow have been foretold. Of course, not all the prophecies have come true, or have been realized in the precise form in which they were made. But the accuracy of them in the main is astonishing. We are tempted to quote one case out of a great number. That which is foretold in No. XCIII., of what would happen if Bonaparte went personally to the war, did actually happen in 1871 when Bonaparte did go personally to the Franco-German war.

Besides the treatment of the Eastern Question and the War, the volume will be found to be of great personal interest. There are many trenchant and plain-speaking descriptions and analyses of prominent men of the time. Among these figure Bonaparte and his riff-raff, especially Marshal St. Arnaud; Lord John Russell ("the little earthman," as Marx calls him); the "good" Aberdeen; the letter-stealer, Sir James Graham; the Napiers; Gladstone (for whom Marx had a particular loathing); the Russian diplomats; the "prolific father and obsequious husband," Prince Albert.

In all these sketches there comes out, not only Marx' acuteness of observation, but his quite original humour.



His studies and merciless exposure of Palmerston, though ought once for all to dispel the popular illusion that Palmerston was an enemy of Russia, are of the greatest importance. So many letters and articles are devoted to the account of this "charlatan," that exigencies of space have compelled the omission of a whole series called "The Story of the Life of Lord Palmerston." This series, with another on the "Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century" together with some more character sketches, will, it is hoped, be published at an early date.

Our heartiest thanks are due to Mr. C. D. Collett, and Mr. Seddon, of the Free Reference Library, Manchester, for their help and kindness. And the exceedingly difficult task of selecting, collating, analysing, the enormous mass of letters and articles would have been almost impossible but for the unvarying courtesy and ready assistance of the officials of the Reading Room, the Large Room, and the Newspaper Room of the British Museum. We are especially glad to have this opportunity of thanking the British Museum officials, as it had been the intention of Marx, who read there for some thirty years, to make public acknowledgment of their ready assistance always given, and especially of the invaluable services rendered to him in his work for so many years by Dr. Richard Garnett.

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.  
EDWARD AVELING.

SYDENHAM,  
8th July, 1897.

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**TURKEY**  
 IN EUROPE,  
 GREECE,  
 WALLACHIA, MOLDAVIA,  
 SERVIA, &c.  
 1856.

English Miles  
 0 50 100 150  
 Kilometers  
 0 100 200  
 Heights in feet

Longitude East 22 of Greenwich