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Karl Marx, Literary Landlord

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ABSTRACT

This essay describes Karl Marx's assertion of copyright and plagiarism claims, as well as his responses to plagiarism accusations. It observes that Marx claimed private ownership of the economic and literary value of his works and ideas, and reflects on whether that decision was consistent with the communist ideals he described.

I treat the ridiculous seriously when I treat it with ridicule. 1

Everyone believes in the legitimacy of the kind of property they want to own, even self-proclaimed communists. Karl Marx argued for the abolition of private property, because it is "the final and most complete expression" of capitalist ideology: "The theory of the Communists may be summed up in a single sentence: Abolition of private property." According to Marx, private property is the means by which capitalism perpetuates itself, by creating and justifying the bourgeoisie.

And yet, Marx never questioned the legitimacy of literary property. On the contrary, he took it for granted. Not only did he claim copyright ownership of his writings, but also he criticized his rivals for plagiarism, especially when they plagiarized him. *J'accuse!* Nevermind that Marx himself was an inveterate plagiarist, who appropriated expressions and ideas with aplomb. "Physician, heal thyself."³

It seems everyone's a landlord, at least when it comes to what they truly love. Marx loved his theory of communism so powerfully, he couldn't see that what he truly wanted - what he desperately needed - was to own it, just like any other landlord. But ownership is the problem, especially when it comes to non-rival goods like ideas. Marx's ironic landlordism could only undermine the credibility of the ideas he loved so well. So, if you love an idea, set it free. The hypocrisy you avoid is likely to be your own.

This is Your Life, Karl Marx

Very few people change the world, but Karl Marx was one of them. His ideas sparked revolutions that shaped the 20th century, and still resonate today. Marx was the epitome of the public intellectual, a thinker who inspired others to see the communist utopia he imagined and try to realize it. If no one

¹ KARL MARX, ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND CENSORSHIP 89-108 (Saul K. Padover ed., 1974).

 $^{^2}$ Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party (1848).

³ Luke 4:23 (King James).

quite succeeded, it wasn't for lack of trying. And Marxism was the vision inspiring them.

Marx was born in 1818, in Trier, Germany, to a bourgeois Jewish family that converted to Christianity. He studied law and philosophy, focusing on Hegel's dialectical method. Soon, he became a socialist, and moved to Paris, where he met Friedrich Engels, who became a lifelong friend and collaborator.

It was an epochal friendship. In 1848, Marx and Engels co-authored a pamphlet titled *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* or *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which explained the political philosophy that eventually became known as Marxism. The Communist League published the first edition of the *Manifesto* in February 1848. The *Manifesto* was initially anonymous, but was soon attributed to Marx and Engels. At first, it was moderately successful: reprinted three times, serialized in a German newspaper, and translated into Polish, Danish, Swedish, and English. But it soon faded into obscurity, and eventually went out of print.

After being expelled from both Germany and France, Marx moved to London in 1849, where he lived for the rest of his life. Engels remained a staunch friend and financial supporter. Throughout the 1850s and early 1860s, both Marx and Engels supported themselves primarily as foreign correspondents for United States newspapers, especially the progressive *New-York Daily Tribune*.

In the meantime, Marx gradually returned to the study of economics. In 1859, he published *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* or *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, a reflection on David Ricardo's "labor theory of value" that sold well. The success prompted Marx to focus on his three-volume magnum opus *Das Kapital: Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* or *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. He published volume one in 1867, but never finished volumes two and three.

As Marx's star rose, so did the importance of the *Manifesto*. It was translated into scores of languages and printed in countless editions. Marx and Engels were there for it, preparing and promoting new, expanded, and annotated editions. Gradually, the *Manifesto* became the canonical statement of the Communist program. And when the October Revolution of 1917 swept Lenin and the Bolsheviks into control of Russia and led to the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the *Manifesto* became one of its foundational texts, distributed worldwide as a statement of Communist exceptionalism. Today, the *Manifesto* is part of almost every high school and college curriculum, much to the chagrin of erstwhile cold warriors everywhere.

Karl Marx, Copyright Cop

Unsurprisingly, no one claimed copyright over the original edition of the *Manifesto*. After all, the Communist League published it anonymously, for the purpose of political agitation, not commercial distribution. Presumably, Marx and Engels intended to release the *Manifesto* into the public domain, if copyright ownership even occurred to them. Of course, at least some subsequent editions and translations were protected by copyright, insofar as they included new and original material.



[Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels], Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei (1848)

It doesn't appear that Marx or his publishers asserted copyright ownership of the German editions of any of the books he published during his lifetime. It stands to reason, given that German copyright protection was almost nonexistent and effectively unenforceable. While Prussia adopted a copyright law in 1837, it was unenforceable anywhere else in the German Empire. Accordingly, asserting copyright ownership was largely pointless, to the extent it was even possible.



Karl Marx, Das Kapital: Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (1867)

However, the title page of the first edition of *Capital* included the phrase, "Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten" or "The right of translation is reserved." In other words, Marx was claiming the exclusive right to publish translations of *Capital*, presumably under the copyright laws of other countries. While he probably realized that asserting copyright ownership in Germany was pointless, apparently he hoped it might be valuable in other countries, if *Capital* proved commercially successful.

And it came to pass. Between 1872 and 1875, Marx asserted his translation right under French copyright law to prepare the authentic French translation of *Capital*. Notably, his contract with the publisher stipulated that the book be sold at a price "which all can afford." After all, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." What a mensch.

One can hardly blame Marx for capitulating to the realities of publication in a capitalist society. Even a historical materialist has to live in a material world, and Marx had plenty

⁴ Karl Marx 'Capital' contract makes a mint at Paris auction, THE JAKARTA POST (Dec. 14, 2018),

https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2018/12/13/karl-marx-capital-contract-makes-a-mint-at-paris-auction.html.

of material needs. In any case, it seems Marx was less interested in the filthy lucre provided by capitalist copyright than in the coin of the scholarly realm, attribution.

Karl Marx, Plagiarism Policeman

As Isaiah Berlin observed, "Marx held violent opinions on plagiarism." Specifically, Marx held violent opinions about being plagiarized. He didn't like it one bit, and let everyone know. And he didn't care if the plagiarist was an ally.

In 1867, Marx accused Johann Baptist von Hofstetten and Wilhelm Leopold August Geib of not only plagiarizing *Capital*, but also mangling its arguments. When *The Social Democrat* published their speeches on the "working day," Marx responded by unfavorably comparing passages from von Hofstetten's speech to passages from *Capital*, and claiming that both copied all of their ideas. "Herr v. Hofstetten makes nonsense of the passage he plagiarises" and "[i]n the same manner as Herr v. Hofstetten, the speaker who followed him, Herr Geib of Hamburg, bowdlerised the history of the English factory legislation given by Marx." He even doubled-down on the plagiarism accusation: "Both gentlemen take the same care not to divulge the source of their wisdom."

Henry Mayers Hyndman was an English conservative, who converted to socialism after reading the *Communist Manifesto*. In 1881, Hyndman formed the Social Democratic Federation, Britain's first socialist party, and befriended Marx, who lived in London. Initially, Marx tolerated Hyndman, who he considered a charming fool.⁸ But Marx's opinion of

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⁵ ISAIAH BERLIN, KARL MARX 259 (Henry Hardy ed., Princeton Univ. Press 2013) (1939).

⁶ Von Hofstetten was one of the publishers of *The Social Democrat*, the newspaper of the General German Workers' Association. Geib was a poet, bookseller, and member of the General German Workers' Association.

⁷ KARL MARX, *Plagiarism*, *in* DIE ZUKUNFT, No. 291 (Dec. 12, 1867), at https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867/reviews-capital/plagiarism.htm.

⁸ While Marx ridiculed Hyndman's naivete and despised Hyndman's plagiarism, he was curiously indifferent to Hyndman's virulent

Hyndman soon soured, when he published *England for All*, a shallow and inaccurate explanation of Marxism that didn't mention Marx.⁹ Apparently, Hyndman tried to excuse his plagiarism by claiming "the English don't like being taught by foreigners" and observing that Marx's "name is so much detested here." Marx wasn't having any of it, and cut Hyndman off for good.

But Marx despised plagiarists in general, and relished accusing his ideological opponents of plagiarism. For example, Marx hated Thomas Robert Malthus. Accordingly, he claimed Malthus plagiarized the "population theory" presented in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* from Sir James Steuart's *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, among other sources:

The foundation of every division of labour that is well developed, and brought about by the exchange of commodities, is the separation between town and country. . . . Sir James Steuart is the economist who has handled this subject best. How little his book, which appeared ten years before the "Wealth of Nations," is known, even at the present time, may be judged from the fact that the admirers of Malthus do not even know that the first edition of the latter's work on population contains, except in the purely declamatory part, very little but extracts from Steuart, and in a less degree, from [Robert] Wallace and [Joseph] Townsend. 11

Sick burn. Unfortunately, Malthus was long dead and couldn't respond. But Malthus is remembered today almost exclusively for his (comically wrong) population theory, so even

antisemitism. See Satnam Virdee, *Socialist antisemitism and its discontents in England, 1884–98*, 51 PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE 356, 362-63 (2017).

⁹ Henry Mayers Hyndman, England for All (1881).

¹⁰ Letter from Karl Marx to Friedrich Sorge (Dec. 15 1881), *in* 46 MARX & ENGELS COLLECTED WORKS 163 (2010); cf. ibid. 102–3.

¹¹ KARL MARX, 1 CAPITAL: A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY 245 & n.27 (trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling 1887) (comparing Sir James Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy* (1767) and Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798)).

if Marx's takedown was ineffective in the short term, it worked out ok in the end.

Karl Marx, Chauvinist

While Marx was keen on ensuring he got credit for what he considered his intellectual contributions, he was considerably less keen on crediting others, especially women. ¹² Specifically, he ignored the contributions of his wife Jenny, despite his reliance on her work as a copyist. ¹³ By all accounts, Marx was a loving husband and doting father, albeit not without failings. ¹⁴ But familial love didn't extend to literary credit. Jenny is not acknowledged in any of the works Marx published during his lifetime.

And yet, her contribution was substantial. Jenny was Marx's lifelong amanuensis, transcribing his illegible handwriting into legible manuscripts.¹⁵ It was truly a labor of love, which she performed joyfully and selflessly:

At first W. Pieper was Karl's secretary, but soon I took over that post. The memory of the days I spent in his little study copying his scrawly articles is among the happiest of my life.

¹² See generally Terrell Carver, "Mere Auxiliaries to the Movement: How Intellectual Biography Obscures Marx's and Engel's Gendered Political Partnerships, 33 HYPATIA 593 (2020). See also Marc Linder, MacKinnon on Marx on Marriage and Morals: An Otsogistic Odyssey, 41 BUFF. L. REV. 451 (1993) and Cath Feely, Where are the women? Rewriting the history of Marx's Capital, misplacedhabits (May 29, 2016), https://misplacedhabits.wordpress.com/2016/05/29/where-are-the-women-rewriting-the-history-of-marxs-capital/ (""Where are the women in this book?" 'Everywhere."").

¹³ Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny Edle von Westphalen (1814-81) married Karl Marx in 1843.

¹⁴ Among other things, Marx secretly fathered a child, Frederick Lewis Demuth (1851-1929), with Jenny's housekeeper and friend Helene Demuth (1820-90).

¹⁵ As Engels observed, recounting the difficulties he encountered while editing Capital, Volume 2, "And finally there was the well-known handwriting which the author himself was sometimes unable to decipher." Friedrich Engels, Preface to the first edition of Capital, Volume 2 (1885).

Louis Napoleon's *coup d'etat* took place at the end of 1851 and the following year Karl wrote his *Eighteenth Brumaire*, which was published in New York. He wrote the book in our small lodgings in Dean Street amidst the noise of the children and the household bustle. By March I had copied the manuscript out and it was sent off, but it did not appear in print till much later and brought in next to nothing.¹⁶

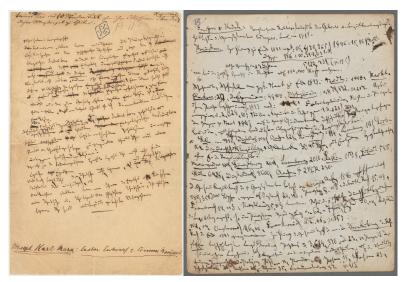
Indeed, Jenny worked side by side with Marx, enabling him to complete epochal works like the *Communist Manifesto*:

Jenny worked as his secretary to help speed the project. Their handwriting intertwined on the page as he scribbled his thoughts on paper and she followed in an elegant, feminine hand, patiently copying out and making legible her husband's blistering indictment of the bourgeoisie and his belief that revolution was right, inevitable, and imminent.¹⁷

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¹⁶ Jenny Marx, *Short Sketches of an Eventful Life*, *in* REMINISCENCES OF MARX AND ENGELS 228 (1959) (Jenny's autobiographical notes date to 1865).

 $^{^{17}}$ Mary Gabriel, Love and Capital: Karl and Jenny Marx and the Birth of a Revolution 116-17 (2011).



L: Karl Marx, Communist Manifesto (1848) R: Karl Marx, Notes for Capital (c. 1860)

While there is no direct record of Jenny making substantive contributions to Marx's works, it's hard to believe she didn't make any. After all, she was a highly intelligent and well-educated woman, who was deeply committed to the advancement of Marx's ideas. She must have made corrections and emendations while collecting and transcribing Marx's writings. And at least apocryphally, she added her own thoughts to Marx's works while copyediting the manuscripts.¹⁸ Unfortunately, many of the manuscripts are lost, so it is difficult or impossible to discern Jenny's role with any degree of confidence.¹⁹

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¹⁸ See Juliane Tatarinov, *Editing practices of Arthur Schnitzler's and Karl Marx's works: Impressions from a visit to Trier*, DIGITAL HIST. & HERMENEUTICS (Sept. 6, 2019), https://dhh.uni.lu/2019/09/06/editing-practices-of-arthur-schnitzlers-and-karl-marxs-works/ ("She explained that Jenny was constantly adding her own thoughts during the editing process, which is not recognized in the collective memory, let alone not mentioning her as a co-author. This fact can only be discovered by examining the preserved handwritten documents from Jenny.") (paraphrasing a tour guide at the Karl Marx House in Trier, Germany).

¹⁹ Special thanks to Saru Matambanadzo for suggesting this discussion of Jenny Marx.

Karl Marx, Plagiarist

Ironically, Marx himself was an inveterate plagiarist. Or to put it more gently, his thought and writing was notably syncretic, drawing from many different sources in order to form his own novel combinations. It's no secret that Marx's writings borrow liberally from historical and contemporary sources. Often he quoted, but just as often he didn't. Much of his source material was instantly recognizable. A quotation would have been superfluous, even insulting. But not always.

For example, the *Manifesto* famously concludes:

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of the world, unite!

The first sentence was borrowed from Jean-Paul Marat, who himself adapted Rousseau's observation, "Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains." And the last sentence was probably a version of Karl Schapper's slogan "Proletarians of the world, unite!"

Does it matter? Of course not. Rousseau and Marat were canon. Quoting them was like quoting scripture. Citation was superfluous. By contrast, Schapper's slogan was not only too banal to attribute, but also improved in the borrowing. In any case, the manifesto is a genre that demands pastiche. At its best, a cascade of cliches catches the light of reason to produce a rainbow of insight.

But some plagiarism allegations were more cutting. Marx was jealous of his ideas, and wanted them attributed to him and him alone. So when Marx was accused of plagiarizing his "labor theory of value" from Frédéric Bastiat, he wrote an angry memorandum to file, complaining that he had the idea first and that Bastiat's version was garbled anyway:

The definition of value contained in my work *Capital*, published in 1867, is to be found two decades earlier in my work attacking Proudhon, *Misire de la Philosophie*, Paris 1847. Bastiat's words of wisdom on value did not see the light of day until some years later. I could not

therefore have copied from Bastiat, though Bastiat could well have copied from me. However, in fact Bastiat gives absolutely no analysis of value. He only dilates upon empty notions as consoling proof that "the world abounds in great and excellent daily services."²⁰

But the most galling accusation was that Marx had plagiarized the *Manifesto* - and by extension, his entire intellectual project - from Victor Prosper Considerant's essay "*Principes du Socialisme: Manifeste de la démocratie au XIX siècle*" or "Principles of Socialism: Manifesto of Democracy in the 19th Century," which was first published in 1843 and republished in 1847. While Considerant is almost entirely forgotten today, he was much more famous than Marx at the time, and Marx obviously borrowed elements from his essay.

Again, so what? The ideas were in the air. Considerant expressed his version of them. Marx appropriated those ideas and made them his own. Obviously, Marx's version was far superior, as it prevailed in the marketplace of ideas. And if the market has spoken, who are we to argue with it? In any case, Marx took a page from Wittgenstein and remained silent, never responding to the charges that he plagiarized Considerant.²¹

But the Marx-hive kept buzzing. His disciples were pissed, and only got angrier over time. How dare anyone insult the Father of Communism by accusing him of plagiarism? And they clapped back with a vengeance.

In his introduction to the 1885 edition of *Capital*, Engels responded to allegations that Marx had plagiarized most of the ideas in the book from Johann Karl Rodbertus. Essentially,

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 $^{^{20}}$ See Karl Marx, My Plagiarism of F. Bastiat, in Karl Marx & Freidrich Engels, Works (1st ed. 1936). The piece was written around July 6, 1868 and is available at

https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867/reviews-capital/bastiat.htm.

²¹ But see Letter from Karl Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer (Mar. 5, 1852) ("And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic economy of the classes.").

Engels argued that Marx had never read Rodbertus's work, and even if he had, Rodbertus was an idiot and his arguments were unsophisticated.

And in 1906, Uncle Joe himself responded to claims that Marx had plagiarized Considerant.²² The argument was more or less the same, albeit in the somewhat blunter style Stalin preferred:

It is the accusation that Marx and Engels indulged in "plagiarism"! Would you believe it? It appears that Marx and Engels wrote nothing original, that scientific socialism is a pure fiction, because the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels was, from beginning to end, "stolen" from the Manifesto of Victor Considerant. This is quite ludicrous, of course, but V. Cherkezishvili, the "incomparable leader" of the Anarchists, relates this amusing story with such aplomb, and a certain Pierre Ramus, Cherkezishvili's foolish "apostle," and our homegrown Anarchists repeat this "discovery" with such fervour, that it is worth while dealing at least briefly with this "story."

Listen to Cherkezishvili:

The entire theoretical part of the Communist Manifesto, namely, the first and second chapters . . . are taken from V. Considerant. Consequently, the Manifesto of Marx and Engels—that Bible of legal revolutionary democracy—is nothing but a clumsy paraphrasing of V. Considerant's Manifesto. Marx and Engels not only appropriated the contents of Considerant's Manifesto but even . . . borrowed some of its chapter headings

This story is repeated by another Anarchist, P. Ramus:

It can be emphatically asserted that their (Marx-Engels's) major work (the Communist

²² Joseph Stalin, Anarchism or Socialism? (1907).

Manifesto) is simply theft (a plagiary), shameless theft; they did not, however, copy it word for word as ordinary thieves do, but stole only the ideas and theories.

While alternative pleading is always inelegant, perhaps both Engels and Stalin can be forgiven for this minor transgression. After all, what alternative exists to a plagiarism charge? Plagiarism is always in the eye of the beholder. Any response amounts to asking, "Who you gonna believe, me or your lying eyes?"

Copyright for Communists

So, what the hell? It sure looks like Karl Marx, the father of communism, mister abolition of private property, not only claimed copyright ownership of what he wrote, but also claimed ownership of his ideas, and was a hypocrite to boot. What gives?

You'll search in vain for any justification in Marx's own writings or theories. While he never wrote about copyright or literary ownership, both are comically inconsistent with the most fundamental premises of his entire ideological program.

In fairness, Marx didn't really advocate the total abolition of private property. Rather, he argued that communism requires collective ownership of the "means of production," but doesn't preclude private ownership of personal property. As he put it, "Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriations." In other words, people can own consumption goods, but not the land and factories necessary to make them.

So, can that distinction salvage Marx's belief in the legitimacy of literary property? Maybe copyright and attribution are forms of personal property consistent with Marxist theory.

²³ MARX & ENGELS, *supra* note 2.

Forget about it. Copyright is the purest form of capitalist rent-seeking. In the absence of private property rights created and enforced by the government, works of authorship aren't even scarce and in need of distribution. They are the paradigmatic public good, perfectly non-rival and perfectly suited to the communist ideal of everything to everyone. Copyright is the apogee of capitalism, artificial scarcity created only in order to enable capitalists to extract rents, justified by an ideology of "fairness" to authors that camouflages the reality of capitalists collecting all the rents.

Yes, authors are "workers," when they are producing works of authorship. But when the work is done, the author becomes a copyright owner, and the worker becomes the landlord. As many Marxists have long realized, "intellectual property" is just as capitalistic as any other kind.²⁴

What if authors need a property incentive in order to produce works of authorship? Come on. Landlords are landlords, why should authors be treated any differently than anyone else? In any case, Marx knew otherwise. "Milton produced *Paradise Lost* as a silkworm produces silk. It was an expression of *his own* nature."

If anything, the plagiarism disputes make even less sense. Plagiarism norms are just intellectual property rights by other means. Scholars want to own ideas, because ideas are what make them distinctive. As a scholar, your ideas are your brand, and exclusivity is how you sell your schtick.

But if your goal is a communist revolution, who cares? It doesn't matter whose idea it was, it matters whether it's right, or at least whether it works. Marx said he wanted to abolish private property. Why didn't he want to abolish his own? Or rather, why did he get so upset about people "stealing" his ideas, or being accused of "stealing" theirs? Surely a true communist

²⁴ See, e.g., Johan Soderberg, Copyleft v. Copyright: A Marxist Critique, 7 FIRST MONDAY 1 (Mar.2002), at https://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/download/938/860.

²⁵ Karl Marx, *Productivity of Capital, Productive and Unproductive Labour*, in 34 MARX & ENGELS COLLECTED WORKS 136 (2010).

would be delighted to share and share alike? After all, revolutionary ideas are the "means of production" of revolution.

Epilogue

Hegel remarks somewhere that all great, world-historical facts and personages occur, as it were, twice. He has forgotten to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce.²⁶

For better or worse, Karl Marx remains as popular as ever. Teenage kicks means reading Karl Marx, among other things. So, the exclusive right to publish certain works by Karl Marx is an attractive and valuable property. And it just so happens to be owned by the "radical" publishing company Lawrence & Wishart, formerly associated with the Communist Party of Great Britain, and currently the landlord collecting rents from the English translations of the collected works of Karl Marx.

For years, Lawrence & Wishart published a print edition of Marx's collected works, and let the Marxist Internet Archive provide free copies of the works online. But in 2014, Lawrence & Wishart decided it wanted to collect a little more rent, by selling Marx online as well, and threatened the Marxist Internet Archive with a copyright infringement action.

Sadly, capitalism won out, and Marx's collected works are only available to those willing and able to pay rent. What a shame. So many of us hoped for better.²⁷

All sighed when lawless law's enclosure came And dreams of plunder in such rebel schemes Have found too truly that they were but dreams.²⁸

²⁶ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, DIE REVOLUTION Chapter 1 (1852).

²⁷ See, e.g., Eben Moglen, *The dotCommunist Manifesto* (Jan. 2003), at http://moglen.law.columbia.edu/publications/dcm.html.

²⁸ John Clare, The Mores (1820).