

**KARL  
MARX  
FREDERICK  
ENGELS**

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**Collected  
Works**



**Volume 10  
Marx and Engels  
1849-1851**

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### KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

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- GREGOR BENTON: Article 7
- RICHARD DIXON: Article 29, Appendices 7
- CLEMENS DUTT: Article 42
- FRIDA KNIGHT: Appendices 1, 11
- RODNEY LIVINGSTONE: Article 23; Appendices 16,  
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## Preface

Volume 10 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels covers the period from the autumn of 1849 to the summer of 1851.

The bourgeois-democratic revolutions which swept across the European continent in 1848-49 had ended in defeat. The last centres of insurrection in Germany, Hungary and Italy had been suppressed in the summer of 1849. In France, the victory of the counter-revolution was already clearing the way for the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte on December 2, 1851. Everywhere workers' and democratic organisations were being destroyed and revolutionaries severely persecuted. Yet the events of the preceding years had left their mark. They had struck at the remnants of feudalism in the European countries, given an impulse to the further growth of capitalism and aggravated its contradictions.

Marx and Engels had already embarked upon their scientific analysis of the European revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century, in which the revolutionary energies of the whole of society had become concentrated in the proletariat—the most active and determined force of the revolution. And now they set out to deepen this analysis by defining the general and specific features of the 1848-49 revolutions and drawing the practical lessons for the consolidation of the proletariat as a class. During the immediately ensuing years they concentrated most of their attention on the theoretical summing up and generalisation of the experience of the revolutionary battles, determining the objective laws of class struggle and of revolution, and working out the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in the new conditions. As Lenin was later to point out, "Here as everywhere else, his [Marx's] theory is a *summing up of experience*, illuminated by a profound philosophical conception of the

world and a rich knowledge of history” (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 412).

In this period Marx and Engels were not, however, solely concerned with theoretical work but with practical tasks of rallying the working-class organisations. They did not at first expect the break in revolutionary battles to last long. And they considered it essential to gather together the dispersed proletarian forces as quickly as possible, and to prepare them for new struggles. By the summer of 1850, however, they had realised that hopes of an early renewal of the revolution were groundless—but they continued to work for the unity of the most conscious elements of the working class and of its supporters, seeing this as a long-term task.

Marx moved to London at the end of August 1849—and there Engels joined him in November. Straight away, they did their utmost to revive and reorganise the Communist League. They tried to stimulate the work of the London German Workers' Educational Society, whose nucleus consisted of the Communist League's local communities, and joined the Society's Committee of Support for German Refugees, seeking to rally the proletarian revolutionary émigrés around the League. At the same time, they established close contacts with revolutionary leaders—with the Blanquist French émigrés in London and the Left-wing Chartists—joining with them in forming the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists in the spring of 1850 (see this volume, pp. 614-15). Especially important were their contacts with the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement under G. Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, and their use of the Chartist journal *The Democratic Review* to propagate scientific communism and explain events on the Continent to British workers.

The “Letters from Germany” and “Letters from France”—published in *The Democratic Review*, and which associates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have recently shown to have been written by Engels—are initial sketches, as it were, for Marx's major political and historical works summing up the results of the 1848-49 revolutions (*The Class Struggles in France* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*), and likewise for Engels' “Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany”. Engels' articles contain the initial formulations of certain important ideas elaborated in these works—the tendency of the bourgeoisie to turn to counter-revolution, the leading revolutionary role of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, and the permanent revolution. In the “Letters from France”, for example, Engels expressed the hope that

in the next round of revolutions the working class would have the support of the broad mass of peasants. The peasants, he wrote, were “beginning to see that no government, except one acting in the interest of the working men of the towns, will free them from the misery and starvation into which ... they are falling deeper and deeper every day” (see this volume, p. 21).

Marx and Engels were convinced that to build and strengthen a proletarian party it was essential to have a publication which would continue the traditions of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. And in March 1850 they launched the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—the theoretical journal of the Communist League, with Marx as editor. Its inaugural announcement defined the purpose of the journal: “A time of apparent calm such as the present must be employed precisely for the purpose of elucidating the period of revolution just experienced, the character of the conflicting parties, and the social conditions which determine the existence and the struggle of these parties” (see this volume, p. 5).

In its six modest-sized issues, the *Revue* published Marx’s *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and Engels’ *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *The Peasant War in Germany*, which contain a wealth of important ideas. Marx and Engels also contributed book reviews, international reviews, and other articles, all of which appear in the present volume.

In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (the title given by Engels to its 1895 edition) Marx for the first time applied to a whole period of history the method of analysis and explanation of historical materialism. And it was to contemporary history that he applied it. In his Preface to the 1895 edition Engels described this as “a development as critical, for the whole of Europe, as it was typical”. Marx, he wrote, had set out “to demonstrate the inner causal connection” and so “to trace the political events back to effects of what were, in the final analysis, economic causes”. (This Preface will appear in its chronological place in Volume 28 of the *Collected Works*.)

It was by analysing and drawing conclusions from the practical experience of revolutionary struggle that Marx was able to demonstrate the objective necessity of social revolutions, and to enrich the whole theory of revolution by the idea that revolutions are the “locomotives of history”, accelerating historical progress and stimulating the constructive energy of the masses. He showed how in revolutionary periods history is speeded up—as was the

case in France when the different classes of society “had to count their epochs of development in weeks where they had previously counted them in half centuries” (see this volume, p. 97). Examining the course of events in France, where the class struggle had been especially acute, Marx found that the bourgeoisie as a class was losing its revolutionary qualities and that the working class had become the principal driving force of revolution and thereby also of historical progress. In the June uprising in 1848 the proletariat of Paris had acted as an independent force and displayed immense energy and heroism. This, he pointed out in *The Class Struggles in France*, was the first great battle between the two classes whose division split modern society in two, serving notice that, despite the defeat of the proletariat, former bourgeois demands had given place to “the bold slogan of revolutionary struggle: *Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!*” (see this volume, p. 69).

This is the first time Marx used the phrase “dictatorship of the working class” (*Diktatur der Arbeiterklasse*) in print. And its appearance meant more than simply the use of a single phrase to express the idea of the proletariat winning political power, which Marx and Engels had already formulated in works written before the 1848 revolution. It marked a step forward in the whole conception of proletarian revolution, the “proletarian” or “working-class” dictatorship being envisaged as a genuinely democratic political organisation of society in which political power would represent and express the interests of the vast majority, the working people, as opposed to the dictatorship of the exploiting classes. Revolutionary socialism, Marx maintained, meant establishing the dictatorship of the working class as the effective power to bring about the socialist reconstruction of society.

“This Socialism,” he wrote (see this volume, p. 127), “is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations.”

*The Class Struggles in France* contains Marx’s classical definition of the tasks of the working-class dictatorship in the decisive field—the economic reconstruction of society, that is to say: “The appropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour, of capital and of their mutual relations” (see this volume, p. 78). This

definition separates off scientific communism from the vague demands for "community of property" characteristic of all varieties of utopian socialism and utopian communism.

In *The Class Struggles in France* Marx also went deeper in his criticism of non-proletarian socialist currents, showing their theoretical weaknesses and their untenability in practice. In particular, he exposed the fallacy in Louis Blanc's idea of class collaboration and state assistance to workers' associations as the means to achieving socialism. In his petty-bourgeois version of socialism, which Marx so exhaustively examined, Blanc had also assured the workers that the rulers of the bourgeois Second Republic were willing to resolve social problems by adopting his plan for the "organisation of labour". Blanc's unreal ideas and conciliatory tactics came to nothing, and Marx saw in their collapse the positive gain that the proletariat was liberated from such harmful illusions.

Other works written by Marx and Engels during this period likewise referred to how bitterly the workers were let down by the various systems of utopian socialism and the empty verbosity of petty-bourgeois democratic leaders. In the "Letters from France", for example, Engels described the gradual liberation of the working class from the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas: "The people ... will soon find socialist and revolutionary formulas which shall express their wants and interests far more clearly than anything invented *for them*, by authors of systems and by declaiming leaders" (see this volume, p. 35).

Finally, in *The Class Struggles in France*, Marx put forward, expounded and justified one of the key principles of the strategy and tactics of workers' revolutionary struggle—that the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeois strata were allies of the proletariat against the bourgeois system. Nothing but the victory of the proletariat, he showed, could deliver the non-proletarian sections of the working people from the economic oppression and degradation brought upon them by capitalism. He demonstrated the necessity for close alliance between the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and at the same time the necessity for the leading political role of the proletariat as the most revolutionary class. And he exposed the limited ideas and impotent politics of the petty-bourgeois democratic leaders, using the failure of the petty-bourgeois *Montagne* party on June 13, 1849, to prove how incapable was such a party to conduct any revolutionary struggle on its own.

*The Class Struggles in France* is, indeed, a major work in which, following the experience of the revolutions of 1848-49, Marx



achieved a new stage in developing the theory of scientific communism. A popular summary of the main conclusions was provided in Engels' article "Two Years of a Revolution" (see this volume, pp. 353-69). Published in *The Democratic Review*, this article by Engels is a model of revolutionary propaganda in the British workers' press.

The key problems of the theory of revolution and working-class strategy and tactics posed in *The Class Struggles in France* were also examined in the "Address of the Central Authority to the League" (March 1850), written jointly by Marx and Engels. This document summed up the experience of the revolution in Germany, and marked an important step forward in the elaboration of the programme and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Address contains a comprehensive and classical definition of the idea of permanent revolution which had been variously formulated in preceding writings by Marx and Engels. Their exhaustive analysis of the 1848-49 revolution showed that the revolutionary reconstruction of society was by nature a long and complex process which would pass through several stages. The objective laws of this process, they found, made feasible an uninterrupted development from the bourgeois-democratic through to the proletarian stage of the revolution. And they concluded that it was in the interests of the working class and its allies that no long period of calm should intervene. The proletarian party should therefore work for the continuous ("permanent") development of the revolution until the working class established its political power—and such a strategy was the most favourable one for the mass of the people and for social-historical progress. "It is our interest and our task," the Address declared, "to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, [and] the proletariat has conquered state power..." (see this volume, p. 281).

The Address indicates some of the practical measures for effecting the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the proletarian revolution. The workers had, it says, to create their own centres of working-class power, alongside the official government, in the form of local self-governing bodies, workers' clubs and committees, by means of which the apparatus of government in the bourgeois-democratic revolution could be brought under effective control by the proletarian masses. And to carry the revolution further, Marx and Engels concluded, the workers had to arm themselves and set up an armed proletarian guard.

Later, in the new context of imperialism, Lenin was to draw on the conclusions about permanent revolution, formulated by Marx and Engels in the Address, in his teachings on the passage from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution, which carried further the Marxist conception of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and of the revolutionary Marxist party.

In March 1850, when they wrote the "Address of the Central Authority to the League", Marx and Engels were still expecting an early new revolutionary outburst, with the petty-bourgeois democrats coming to power in Germany. This made them consider it doubly urgent to liberate the working class from the political and ideological influence of the petty-bourgeois democrats. The most effective means of doing so was to form an independent workers' party, with both clandestine and legal organisations, and with the underground communities of the Communist League serving as the nucleus of the non-clandestine workers' associations. While urging that the workers' party must dissociate itself both ideologically and in its organisation from the petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx and Engels did not deny the importance of agreements for joint struggle against the counter-revolution. But they insisted that in all circumstances the working class must conduct and consolidate its own independent policy.

A second "Address of the Central Authority to the League", in June 1850, lays especial emphasis on creating a strong proletarian party in Germany, and in other European countries, adapted to clandestine activity and yet using all legal opportunities for propaganda and for organising the masses.

Two works by Engels, dealing mainly with events in Germany but summarising, directly or indirectly, the experience of the 1848-49 revolutions, were published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. The series of essays entitled *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* were written by Engels in the wake of the Baden-Palatinate insurrection of the spring and summer of 1849, in which he had taken part. On Marx's advice, he wrote these essays as a pamphlet condemning the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois democrats for their chronic indecision and word-mongering. First-hand reports by a participant were blended with a historical study of the last phase of the revolution in Germany. Engels examined the nature of the revolutionary movement itself, the attitudes of the classes and parties involved in it, and the causes of its failure. And he drew his conclusions on the tactics of a revolutionary party in armed uprising or civil war.

Another of Engels' historical works, and one which has long occupied a prominent place in the legacy of Marxist historiography, was written for the *Revue*—*The Peasant War in Germany*. Though this dealt with events of a long past epoch, Engels wrote it with the contemporary scene in mind. For the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions was bringing its inevitable aftermath of fatigue and disenchantment, and Engels sought to renew contemporary revolutionary convictions by reviving past revolutionary traditions of the people and by drawing attention, in particular, to the dormant revolutionary energy of the peasants, since their alliance with the working class would be decisive for any future success of the revolution. He sought to inspire his contemporary readers by his vivid portraits of sixteenth-century revolutionary leaders—Thomas Münzer, the plebeian revolutionary who was herald of the plebeian Reformation, the brilliant peasant general Michael Geismaier, and other indomitable fighters against feudal oppression.

*The Peasant War in Germany*, like Marx's *The Class Struggles in France*, is a model of how to apply the method of historical materialism to the elucidation of historical events. Throwing new light on a period of world history which was a crucial turning point in the history of Germany, Engels' study combines profound theoretical generalisations with precise political conclusions. He analyses the central problems of German sixteenth-century history, the part played by the anti-feudal peasant and plebeian movements, the specific features of the era when feudalism had already disintegrated, and the transition to capitalism had begun, and the consequences in Germany of the failure of the Peasant War. In most cases, German bourgeois historians had seen nothing but "violent theological bickering" behind the events of 1525 (see this volume, p. 411). But Engels was the first to make clear the profound social and economic causes of both the Reformation and the Peasant War, and to make clear that the political and ideological struggle of that time was, essentially, a class struggle.

*The Peasant War in Germany* is, indeed, organically related to the problems of the working-class and democratic movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. As Engels wrote in a preface to the second edition, in 1870, "the parallel between the German revolution of 1525 and the 1848-49 revolution was much too striking to be entirely renounced at the time". (The Preface of 1870 will appear in its chronological place in Volume 21 of the *Collected Works*.)

Engels described the Reformation and the Peasant War as the earliest of the bourgeois revolutions, and saw the main reason for the

failure of the Peasant War in the vacillation and treachery of the German burghers, whom he regarded as the historical predecessors of the bourgeoisie. The main force in the Peasant War was the peasants themselves along with the urban plebeians. But provincial limitations and the fact that “neither burghers, peasants nor plebeians could unite for concerted national action” were, Engels held, among the reasons for its defeat (see this volume, p. 481). The dispersed state of the revolutionary forces, and their parochial and particularist tendencies, he stressed, had likewise had a distinctly negative effect in the 1848-49 revolution.

The present volume contains a number of book reviews and critical articles examining the ideological impact of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, and attacking bourgeois and petty-bourgeois interpretations of the revolution. The revolutionary upheavals had meant a turning point in the evolution of the views of bourgeois ideologists. In face of the militant independent activity of the working class even previously progressive bourgeois historians and political theorists had lost their capacity for scientific evaluation of the process of history. This shift to the right is remarked upon, for example, in the review of Guizot's pamphlet *Pourquoi la révolution d'Angleterre a-t-elle réussi?* Guizot had previously acknowledged the necessity for revolutions and, in particular, the role of the class struggle of the third estate against the feudal aristocracy in the making of bourgeois society. But now he belittled the significance of revolutionary action. He set up as a model the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688 in England, and made out that the English seventeenth-century revolution (1640-60) had been successful when it had followed the ways of compromise and had, by virtue of its religious character, secured England's further constitutional development without revolutionary explosions and upheavals. Criticising Guizot's reading of history, Marx and Engels produced a classical description of the English seventeenth-century revolution, its peculiarities and significance, and its difference from the French revolution of the eighteenth century.

A similar shift to the right among ideologists of the ruling class is illustrated by the case of Thomas Carlyle—the British Sage of Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. In a review of Carlyle's *Latter-Day Pamphlets* Marx and Engels demolished his subjective idealist concept of history, the “hero cult”, and his counterposing of the “hero” to the masses. By exalting these “heroes”, said Marx and Engels, Carlyle was only “justifying and exaggerating the infamies of the bourgeoisie” (see this volume, p. 310).

The glorification of personalities was typical of petty-bourgeois democrats as well—of their historians and writers, and also of police-sponsored champions who exaggerated the deeds of the petty-bourgeois opposition movement and thereby inflated their own individual merits as “saviours of society” from dangerous red revolutionaries. Marx and Engels denounced this decking up in false colours of members of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition in a caustic review of two books by the French police agents Chenu and de la Hodde. Having made it clear that the two authors were nothing but *agents provocateurs*, Marx and Engels voiced strong objections to the adventurist and conspiratorial tactics which opened the way for *provocateurs* to penetrate the revolutionary movement. They described the exponents of such tactics as “alchemists of the revolution” who sought only “to bring it artificially to crisis-point, to launch a revolution on the spur of the moment, without the conditions for a revolution” (see this volume, p. 318). This criticism of conspiracy and sectarianism could not have been more timely, since adventurism and adventurist illusions were widespread among the members of the Communist League and the petty-bourgeois emigrants.

In their review of Girardin’s *Le socialisme et l’impôt* Marx and Engels continued their criticism of “bourgeois socialism”, begun in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, and also made a critical examination of anarchist ideas. The latter were fairly widespread at the time in France—notably in the works and utterances of Proudhon—and in Germany too. This review of Girardin’s pamphlet concurs with Engels’ unfinished manuscript “On the Slogan of the Abolition of the State and the German ‘Friends of Anarchy’”, which condemns the anarchist proposals for “abolishing the state”, examines their origin in Germany, and presents a relevant account of Stirner’s anarcho-individualist ideas.

The international reviews included in this volume are of much interest, too. They contain a scientific analysis of the more important current economic and political events in Europe and North America, and several predictions which were confirmed by subsequent development.

Until the summer of 1850, Marx and Engels were convinced that the economic crisis which began in 1847 would continue to get worse, and would generate a new surge of revolution. This view was reflected in *The Class Struggles in France*, the March “Address of the Central Authority to the League”, and in their first and second international reviews. Marx and Engels in fact overestimated the maturity of capitalism—or underestimated its potential of recovery

from economic crisis and of further development—and likewise overestimated the revolutionary potential of the working class at that time. It was this, in part, which had led to their over-optimistic predictions of early revolution. “History,” wrote Engels in his introduction to Marx’s *Class Struggles in France* in 1895 (to be included in Volume 28 of the *Collected Works*), “has proved us, and all who thought like us, wrong. It has made it clear that the state of economic development of the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production.” In the summer of 1850, on resuming his economic researches and making a thorough examination of the economic situation, Marx found that the 1847 economic slump had run its course and that a new period of boom had begun. His study of the processes at work in the economy gave him a clearer and more accurate idea of the prospects of revolution. In their third international review Marx and Engels wrote: “With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution.... A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis” (see this volume, p. 510).

In his subsequent economic research and analysis of social development Marx found that the influence of economic processes on society was not necessarily direct and that economic crisis would not always, or indeed usually, immediately precipitate an outbreak of revolution. Nonetheless, the thought that economic crises exercise a revolutionising influence on society and that, by aggravating the contradictions of capitalism, crises may stimulate the revolutionary movement, is an abiding part of Marxist theory. Lenin drew special attention to the theoretical importance of these propositions (see V. I. Lenin, *Précis of the Correspondence between Marx and Engels, 1844-1883*, second Russ. ed., 1968, p. 30).

In their third international review, Marx and Engels described yet another essential feature of the revolutionary process. Though Britain was, as they put it, “the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos”, the revolution had occurred on the Continent and a new revolutionary explosion should likewise be expected first of all in the continental countries. “Violent outbreaks must naturally occur rather in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there” (see this volume, p. 509). So probabilities favoured the beginning of the revolutionary transformation of society not in the centre but on the outskirts of the bourgeois world, in countries with a less developed capitalist economy than in Britain.

Apart from certain major theoretical works on history, and current book reviews and international reviews, this volume contains articles on current social problems, such as "The Ten Hours' Question" by Engels, "The Constitution of the French Republic" by Marx, and a few others, with their letters and statements to the press exposing the slander and persecution of revolutionary leaders by absolutist and bourgeois governments. "The Constitution of the French Republic", for example, which appeared in the *Chartist Notes to the People*, shows up the limited nature and class essence of bourgeois democracy and the flagrant difference between the proclamations of democratic rights and liberties in bourgeois written constitutions and the anti-democratic practices of bourgeois states, along with constitutional reservations which effectively reduced these rights and liberties to nothing.

Engels' manuscript "Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852" opened a new stage in his elaboration of a Marxist military theory—to which he and Marx attached great importance in the light of the lessons of the 1848-49 revolution. The manuscript examines the material basis of military science, the dependence of the art of war and the military establishment itself on the economy and the social system, the influence of revolutions on the development of warfare, and also the military potentials of the European states in the mid-nineteenth century. Engels wrote, too, about the army of the future socialist state, born in the flames of proletarian revolution—and his ideas about it have proved prophetic. He predicted that it would be unusually strong in combat, highly manoeuvrable, and possess a high degree of striking power since its development would be backed by the rapidly developing productive forces of the new society, its flourishing technology and culture.

Marx's and Engels' entire elaboration of the theory of scientific communism in the light of the experience of the 1848-49 revolution precipitated sharp ideological clashes inside the Communist League between them and their followers, on the one hand, and the sectarian faction of Willich-Schapper, on the other. The controversy focussed on the prospects of revolution and the related questions of proletarian strategy and tactics. The Willich-Schapper faction was for premature actions, including attempts to seize power, which would have been especially dangerous in that period of revolutionary low tide. The minutes of the September 15, 1850, sitting of the Central Authority of the Communist League (published in the Appendices to this volume) mirror clearly enough the issues involved. Speaking at the sitting, Marx insisted on the great harm

which would result for the revolutionary movement from any voluntarist adventurist “playing at revolution” which ignored the real situation and state of the proletarian movement. The tactical errors of the Willich-Schapper faction, he observed, stemmed from the poor theoretical and philosophical equipment of its members. “A German national standpoint,” he said, “was substituted for the universal outlook of the *Manifesto*, and the national feelings of the German artisans were pandered to. The materialist standpoint of the *Manifesto* has given way to idealism” (see this volume, p. 626).

Despite Marx’s proposals, which would have dissociated proletarian revolutionaries from the Willich-Schapper group and preserved the unity of the proletarian organisation, the sectarians managed to split the Communist League. They joined forces with other adventurist elements inside the League, and with petty-bourgeois émigrés, to attack Marx and Engels and their followers. In the end, Marx, Engels and their friends decided to resign from the London German Workers’ Educational Society and from the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, and to break off relations with the Blanquist French émigrés, who had sided with Willich and Schapper. The documents included in this volume and its Appendices portray the struggle of Marx and Engels and the proletarian revolutionaries who rallied to their side against adventurers and splitters in the working-class movement of that time.

The section in the volume headed “From the Preparatory Materials” contains rough manuscripts concerning, in the main, Marx’s study of political economy.

The 1848-49 revolution and their reflections on it had impressed on Marx and Engels the urgency of working out the economic basis of the theory of scientific communism. And from 1850 onwards this became the principal strand in the development of Marxist thought. In 1850-53 Marx filled twenty-four notebooks with transcriptions of passages from various, mainly economic, works. Only one of this large collection of manuscripts illustrating Marx’s understanding of economics at that time and his methods of research has been included in this volume.

The section contains Marx’s manuscript entitled “Reflections”, which sets out some of his own ideas, evidently related to his study of Tooke’s *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*. Taking as point of departure some of Tooke’s and Adam Smith’s principles on the circulation of commodities and money between different groups of producers and consumers in a bourgeois society (capitalists and ordinary individual consumers), Marx goes on to examine a number



of economic problems: the nature of money and its outwardly levelling role which disguises the class character of production relations in capitalist society; the futility of trying to transform capitalist society by reforming the circulation of money; the real causes of economic crises, which stem from the intrinsically contradictory nature of the capitalist mode of production; the superficial and false interpretation of these causes by bourgeois economists, who reduce them to mere swindling in monetary and commercial transactions, speculative fever, and the like. Many of the ideas contained in this manuscript were later developed in Marx's published economic works.

The Appendices to this volume contain documents illustrating the practical revolutionary activities of Marx and Engels in the period covered. Apart from the already mentioned agreements on the establishment of the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists, and materials related to the struggle in the Communist League against the Willich-Schapper group, the Appendices also contain appeals and reports by the Social-Democratic Committee of Support for German Refugees, newspaper accounts of Engels' speeches at various meetings, and documents concerning the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. They also contain the Rules of the Communist League drawn up by its new Central Authority in Cologne (the Central Authority was transferred there after the League split in the autumn of 1850), with Marx's marginal notes, other materials of the League, and some papers of a biographical nature.

Some of the works published in this volume have never before been translated into English. This applies to the second and third international reviews, the article "Gottfried Kinkel", the June Address of the Central Authority to the Communist League, the Statement against Arnold Ruge, a few of the book reviews and some of the statements and letters to editors of various newspapers, all of which were written jointly by Marx and Engels. Works translated into English for the first time also include Marx's article "Louis Napoleon and Fould", and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, "On the Slogan of the Abolition of the State and the German 'Friends of Anarchy'", "Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852", and others.

The materials in the section "From the Preparatory Materials" are also appearing in English for the first time. So are the materials

in the Appendices (save for the minutes of the sitting of the Central Authority of the Communist League of September 15, 1850, and the 1850 Rules of the Communist League). And in this volume the documents "Permit to Leave Switzerland Issued to Frederick Engels", "From the Indictment of the Participants in the Uprising in Elberfeld", and some of the transcripts of Engels' speeches, are being published for the first time in any edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels.

Those works that have been previously published in English are given either in new or in carefully revised translations. Particulars about their earlier publications in English are given in the notes. Also described in the notes are peculiarities in the arrangement of the text of certain works, in particular the manuscripts.

Most of the works appearing in this volume have been translated from the German. Translations from other languages are indicated at the end of the texts, as are reproductions of texts written by the authors in English.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Tatyana Yeremeyeva (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism). The name index together with the indexes of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals were prepared by Valentina Kholopova, and the subject index by Marlen Arzumanov (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The publishers express their gratitude to the editors of Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*—MEGA, Bd. 10, erste Abteilung (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany), for the loan of materials used in preparing the volume.

The translations were made by Gregor Benton, Clemens Dutt, Frida Knight, Rodney Livingstone, Hugh Rodwell, Peter and Betty Ross, Barbara Ruhemann, Christopher Upward, and Joan and Trevor Walmsley (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon and Salo Ryazanskaya (Progress Publishers), and edited by Richard Abraham, Clemens Dutt, Sheila Lynd, Margaret Mynatt, Barbara Ruhemann and Alick West (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon, Salo Ryazanskaya, Yelena Chistyakova, Natalia Karmanova and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor, for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

The volume was prepared for the press by Anna Vladimirova and Lyudgarda Zubrilova (Progress Publishers).

KARL MARX  
and  
FREDERICK ENGELS

WORKS

September 1849-June 1851



# The Northern Star, AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

VOL. XIII. No. 632.

LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1849.

PRINTED BY W. H. BARNES, at the "Star" Office, No. 11, St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

Frederick Engels

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS  
AND *THE TIMES*<sup>1</sup>

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE NORTHERN STAR*<sup>2</sup>

Sir,—*The Times* of Friday last<sup>b</sup> contains a letter signed “*Anti-Socialist*”, denouncing to the English public, and to the English Home-Secretary,<sup>c</sup> some of the “hellish doctrines” developed in the London German Newspaper, by a certain Mr. Charles Heinzen, described as a “*shining light of the German Social Democratic party*”. These “hellish doctrines” consist chiefly of a benevolent proposal for killing, in the next continental revolution, “a couple of millions of reactionaries”.

We may safely leave it with you to qualify the conduct of the editors of *The Times*, in allowing their columns to be made the receptacle of direct police information and denunciation in political matters. We are however rather astonished to see in the “*leading journal of Europe*” Herr Heinzen described as “a shining light of the German Social Democratic party”. “The leading journal of Europe” certainly might have known that Herr Heinzen, so far from serving as a shining light to the party in question, has, on the contrary, ever since 1842, strenuously, though unsuccessfully, opposed everything like Socialism and Communism. “The German *Social Democratic party*”, therefore, never took, nor is it likely ever to take, the responsibility of anything said or written by Mr. Charles Heinzen.

As to the danger likely to result from the “hellish doctrines” aforesaid, *The Times* might have known that Mr. Heinzen, far from trying to put these doctrines into practice during the last eighteen months of revolutionary convulsions in Germany, hardly ever

<sup>a</sup> George Julian Harney.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> See *The Times* No. 20341, November 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> George Grev.—*Ed.*

during that time put his foot upon German soil, and played no part whatever in any of those revolutions.

The idea, Sir, of a man who never did any damage even to the most diminutive of German princes, being able to do harm to the gigantic British empire, would be, in our eyes, an insult to the English nation. We therefore beg leave to move that the whole matter be wound up by *The Times* giving a vote of thanks to Mr. Charles Heinzen, for the *courage malheureux*<sup>a</sup> with which he combated Socialism and Communism. I am, Mr. Editor,

Yours very obediently,

*A German Social Democrat*

London, Nov. 28th, 1849

First published in *The Northern Star*  
No. 632, December 1, 1849

Reprinted from the newspaper

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<sup>a</sup> Wretched courage.—*Ed.*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

[ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*.  
*POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE*]<sup>2</sup>

THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*.

*Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

edited by

*Karl Marx*

will appear in January 1850.

The periodical bears the title of the newspaper of which it is to be considered the *continuation*. One of its tasks will consist in returning in retrospect to the period which has elapsed since the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.<sup>3</sup>

The greatest interest of a newspaper, its daily intervention in the movement and speaking directly from the heart of the movement, its reflecting day-to-day history in all its amplitude, the continuous and impassioned interaction between the people and its daily press, this interest is inevitably lacking in a review. On the other hand, a review provides the advantage of comprehending events in a broader perspective and having to dwell only upon the more important matters. It permits a comprehensive and scientific investigation of the *economic* conditions which form the foundation of the whole political movement.

A time of apparent calm such as the present must be employed precisely for the purpose of elucidating the period of revolution just experienced, the character of the conflicting parties, and the social conditions which determine the existence and the struggle of these parties.

The review will be published in monthly issues of at least *five* printers' sheets at a subscription price of 24 silver groschen per quarter, payable upon delivery of the first issue. Single issues 10 sgr. Messrs. *Schubert* and Co., in Hamburg, will attend to retail distribution through *bookshops*.

Friends of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are requested to circulate subscription lists in their respective areas and to send them without delay to the undersigned. Literary contributions and likewise news items for discussion in the review will be accepted only post-paid.

London, Dec. 15, 1849

*K. Schramm*

Manager of the *Neue  
Rheinische Zeitung*  
4 Anderson Street, King's  
Road, Chelsea

Published in the *Westdeutsche  
Zeitung* No. 6, January 8, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper  
Published in English for the first  
time



# THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW

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JANUARY, 1850.

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Frederick Engels

LETTERS FROM GERMANY<sup>4</sup>

I

[*The Democratic Review*, January 1850]

Cologne, Dec. 18th; 1849

“Order reigns in Germany.” Such is the present great motto of our rulers, be they princes, aristocrats, *bourgeois*, or any other fraction of that recently formed party which you might call in English the party of *Ordermongers*.<sup>5</sup> “Order reigns in Germany”; and yet never was there, not even under the “Holy Roman Empire”<sup>6</sup> of yore, such a confusion in Germany as there is at present under the reign of “Order”.

Under the old system, before the revolution of 1848, we knew at least who governed us. The old Federal Diet of Frankfort<sup>7</sup> made itself felt by laws against the liberty of the press, by exceptional courts of law, by checks imposed even upon the mock constitutions with which certain German populations were allowed to delude themselves. But now! We hardly know, ourselves, how many Central Governments we have got in this country. There is, firstly, the Vicar of the Empire, instituted by the dispersed National Assembly,<sup>8</sup> and who, although without any power, sticks to his post with the greatest obstinacy.<sup>a</sup> There is secondly the “*Interim*”,<sup>9</sup> a sort of thing—nobody knows exactly what—but something like a revival of the old Diet, got up under the old prevalent influence of Prussia, and which “*Interim*” is poking at the old Vicar (who more or less represents the Austrian interest), to resign his place into their hands.<sup>10</sup> In the meantime neither has the slightest power. Thirdly, there is the “*Regency of the Empire*”,<sup>11</sup> elected in Stuttgart by the National Assembly during the latter days of its existence, and the remains of that Assembly, the “*Decided Left*” and the “*Extreme Left*”, which two Lefts, along with the “*Regency*”, represent the “moderate and

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<sup>a</sup> Archduke John of Austria.—*Ed.*

philosophical” Democrats and Shopocrats of Germany. This “Imperial” government holds its sittings in a public house in Berne in Switzerland,<sup>a</sup> and has about as much power as the two preceding. Fourthly, there is what is called the Three-Kings’-League,<sup>12</sup> or the “Confined (or Refined, I don’t know which) Federal State”, got up for the purpose of making the King of Prussia<sup>b</sup> Emperor *over* all the lesser states of Germany. It is called the “Three-Kings’-League”, *because* all kings, with the exception of the King of Prussia, are opposed to it! and it calls itself the “Confined Federal State”, because, although travailing in birth ever since the 28th of May last,<sup>13</sup> there is no hope of its ever producing anything likely to live!! There are, fifthly, the Four Kings, of Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg,<sup>c</sup> who are determined to do as they like themselves, and not to submit to any of the above “Central Impotencies”; and lastly, there is Austria, trying every means to keep up her supremacy in Germany, and supporting, therefore, the Four Kings in their efforts for independence from Prussian ascendancy. The *real* governments, in the meantime, those who hold the power, are Austria and Prussia. They rule Germany by military despotism, and make and unmake laws at their liking. Between their dominions and dependencies lie, as *quasi* neutral ground, the four kingdoms, and it will be upon this ground, and particularly in Saxony, that the pretensions of the two great powers will meet each other. There is, however, no chance of a serious conflict between them. Austria and Prussia, both, know too well that their forces must remain united if they want to keep down the revolutionary spirit spread all over Germany, Hungary, and those parts of Poland belonging to the powers in question. In case of need, besides, “our beloved brother-in-law”,<sup>d</sup> the orthodox Czar of all the Russias, would step in and forbid his lords-lieutenant of Austria and Prussia to quarrel any more amongst themselves.

This never equalled confusion of governments, of pretensions, of claims, of German Federal Law, has, however, one enormous advantage. The German Republicans were, up to this time, divided into Federalists and Unitarians; the first having their principal force in the south. The confusion ensuing upon every attempt to re-organise Germany into a Federative State, must make it evident that any such plan will prove abortive, impracticable, and foolish, and that Germany is too advanced in civilisation to be governable

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 249.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Ernest Augustus, Frederick Augustus II, Maximilian II, William I.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> The reference is to Nicholas I, married to Frederick William IV’s sister.—*Ed.*

under any form but *the German Republic, One and Indivisible, Democratic and Social*.

I should have liked to have said a few words on the acquittal of Waldeck and Jacoby,<sup>14</sup> but want of room prevents me doing so. Suffice it to say, that for at least some months to come it will be quite impossible for the government in Prussia to obtain in political trials a verdict of guilty, excepting, perhaps, in some remote corners where the jury-class are as fanaticised as the Orangemen of Ulster.<sup>15</sup>

## II

CURIOUS REVELATIONS CONCERNING  
 THE DESPOTS OF GERMANY.—  
 INTENDED WAR AGAINST FRANCE.—  
 THE COMING REVOLUTION

[*The Democratic Review*, February 1850]

Cologne, Jan. 20th, 1850

The day after I sent you my last, news reached here of the “settlement of the question” who was to rule over all Germany. The “Interim”, consisting of two Austrian and two Prussian delegates, have at last prevailed upon old Archduke John to retire from business. They have consequently taken the reins of a power which, however, will not be of long duration. It expires in the month of May next, and there is good reason to expect that even before that term certain “untoward events” will sweep away these four provisional rulers of Germany. The names of these four satellites of military despotism are very significant. Austria has sent M. Kübeck, minister of finance *under Metternich*, and General Schönhals, the right hand of the butcher Radetzki. Prussia is represented by General Radowitz, member of the Jesuit order, favourite of the king, and principal inventor of all those plots by which Prussia has succeeded, for the moment, in putting down the German revolution; and by M. Bötticher, governor, before the revolution, of the province of Eastern Prussia, where he is fondly (?) remembered as a “putter down” of public meetings and organiser of the spy system. What the doings of such a lot of rogues will be you will not need to be told. I will name one instance only. The Wurtemberg government, forced by the revolution, had contracted with the Prince of Thurn and Taxis—who, you know, has the monopoly of forwarding letters by post and conveying of passengers in a large part of Germany, to the exclusion of the governments—the Wurtemberg government, I say, had contracted with this robber on a national scale to part, for a handsome sum, with his monopoly in favour of the said government. Times having got better for those who live upon national plunder, Prince Thurn and Taxis values his monopoly higher than the sum

contracted for, and won't part with it. The Wurtemberg government, freed from the pressure from without, find this change of opinion quite reasonable; and both parties apply—the prince publicly, the government aforesaid secretly—to the “Interim”, which, taking for pretext an article of the old act of 1815, declares the contract void and unlawful. This is all right. It is far better that M. Thurn and Taxis keeps his privilege a few months longer; the people, when they finish with the whole lot of privileges, will take it not only from him without giving him anything, but will, on the contrary, make him give up even the money he has robbed them of up to this time.

The military despotism in Austria is getting more intolerable every day. The press almost reduced to annihilation, all public liberties destroyed, the whole country swarming with spies—imprisonments, courts-martial, floggings in every part of the country—this is the practical meaning of those provincial constitutions which the government publish from time to time, and which they do not care a straw about breaking in the very moment of publication. There is, however, an end to everything, even to states of siege and the rule of the sword. Armies cost money, and money is a thing which even the mightiest emperor cannot create at his will. The Austrian government have, up to this time, managed to keep their finances afloat by tremendous issues of paper money. But there is an end to this, too; and, in spite of that Prussian lieutenant who once would challenge me to a duel, because I told him a king or emperor could not make as many paper dollars<sup>a</sup> as he liked—in spite of that profound political economist, the Emperor of Austria<sup>b</sup> sees his paper money, though inconvertible, at the discount of from twenty to thirty per cent against silver, and almost fifty per cent against gold. The foreign loan he intended has dropped to the ground through the exertions of Mr. Cobden. Foreign capitalists have subscribed to the amount of £500,000 only, and he wants fifteen times that sum; while his exhausted country cannot afford to lend him anything. The deficit, fifteen millions and a half at the end of September last, will, by this time, have reached from twenty to twenty-four millions—the greater part of the Hungarian war expenses being payable in the last quarter of 1849. Thus there is only one alternative for Austria: either bankruptcy, or a foreign war to make the army pay itself, and to reconquer commercial credit by battles gained, provinces conquered, and war contributions imposed. Thus Mr. Cobden, in opposing the

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<sup>a</sup> Here and below the reference is to German talers.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

Austrian and Russian loans<sup>a</sup> on the plea of the preservation of peace, has more than any one else contributed—for Russia is in the same awkward state as Austria—to hasten that coalesced campaign against the French Republic which cannot, under any circumstances, be long delayed.

In Prussia, we assist at another act of “royal conscientiousness”. You know that Frederick William IV, the man who never broke his word, in November, 1848, dispersed by force the national representation, and forced upon his people a constitution<sup>16</sup> after his own heart; that he agreed that this beautiful piece of workmanship was to be revised by the first parliament to be assembled; that in this parliament the Second Chamber (House of Commons) was, even before they got to the revising business, dissolved, another electoral reform forced upon the people, by which universal suffrage was very nicely done away with, and a majority of landed nobility, of government officials, and of *bourgeois*, was secured. This Chamber, to vote for the election of which every democrat refused, so that it has been elected by one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole number of voters—this Chamber, in conjunction with the old First Chamber, set about revising the Constitution, and made it, of course, even more agreeable to the king than he himself had made it originally. They have now almost done with it. Now, you think, his Majesty will please to accept this amended Constitution, and take the oath prescribed in it? Not he, indeed. He sends his faithful parliament a royal message, stating that he is very much pleased with what his two Chambers have made of his Constitution, but that, before his “royal conscientiousness” permits him to take the oath aforesaid, his own Constitution must be altered in about a dozen points.<sup>17</sup> And what are these points? Why, his Majesty is modest enough not to require any more than the following trifles. 1. The First Chamber, now elected by the large landed proprietors and capitalists, to be a complete House of Lords, containing the royal princes, about one hundred hereditary peers chosen by his Majesty, sixty peers elected by the large landed proprietors, thirty by the large monied interest, six by the universities. 2. Ministers to be responsible to the king and country, not to the parliament. 3. All taxes now upon the budget to be levied for ever, without power of parliament to refuse. 4. A “Star Chamber”,<sup>18</sup> or High Court of Justice, to try political offences—no mention being made of juries. 5. A special law to define and restrain the powers of the Second Chamber of parliament, &c. Now what do

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<sup>a</sup> Cobden’s speech delivered on January 18, 1850. (See *The Times* No. 20390, January 19, 1850.)—*Ed.*

you think of this? His Majesty forces upon the good Prussians a new Constitution, to be amended by parliament. His parliament amends it by striking out everything like a remnant of popular rights. And the king, not content with that, declares that his "royal conscientiousness" forbids him to accept his own Constitution, amended in his own interest, without the above further modifications. Verily this is a truly "royal" sort of conscientiousness! There is little chance of even this present mock parliament bowing to such impudence. The consequence will be dissolution, and the end of all parliaments for the moment in Prussia. The secret of all this is the anticipation of the great coalition war, mentioned above. The "conscientious" gentleman on the throne of Prussia expects to have his rebellious country overrun by the month of March or April, by a million of Asiatic barbarians, to march, along with "his own glorious army",<sup>19</sup> against Paris, to conquer that fair country which produces his heart-cherished champagne. And the Republic once done away with, the scion of Saint Louis<sup>a</sup> restored to the throne of France, what then would be the use of constitutions and parliaments at home?

In the meantime the revolutionary spirit is rapidly reviving all over Germany. The most inveterate ex-Liberal<sup>b</sup> who, after March, 1848, joined the king to combat the people, now sees that—as the saying is in Germany—although he gave to the devil only the end of his little finger, that gentleman has since seized the whole hand. The incessant acquittals by juries in political trials are the best proofs of this. Every day brings a new fact in this way. Thus, a few days ago, the Mulheim workpeople—who, in May, 1849, tore up the railway, in order to stop the sending of troops to insurged Elberfeld—have been acquitted here at Cologne. In the south of Germany, financial difficulties and increased taxation show to every bourgeois that this present state cannot last. In Baden the very same *bourgeois* who betrayed the last insurrection, and hailed the arrival of the Prussians, are punished and driven to madness by these very same Prussians and by the government, which under their protection drives them to ruin and despair. And the working people and peasantry everywhere are on the *qui vive*, waiting for the signal of an insurrection which, this time, will not subside until the political dominion and social progress of the proletarians shall have been secured. *And this revolution is drawing nigh.*

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<sup>a</sup> Count Chambord.— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Ludolf Camphausen.— *Ed.*

## III

THE PRUSSIAN KING SWEARING TO THE CONSTITUTION  
AND "SERVING THE LORD!"—GRAND CONSPIRACY OF THE HOLY  
ALLIANCE.—THE APPROACHING ONSLAUGHT ON SWITZERLAND.—  
PROJECTED CONQUEST AND PARTITION OF FRANCE!

[*The Democratic Review*, March 1850]

Cologne, Feb. 18th, 1850

At last His Majesty, the King of Prussia, has taken the oath to the so-called "Constitution".<sup>20</sup> Had it not been for the occasion of making a speech, there is no doubt but that royal farce would never have taken place. But his speech-loving majesty, for the sake of the speech, resolved to swallow the oath, quite as humbly as he has been seen to swallow so many unpalatable things before, such as the celebrated "Hat off!"<sup>21</sup> shouted to him by the people of Berlin on the 19th of March, 1848. The oath is of no consequence. What is the oath of a king, and particularly of a Frederick William IV! The speech is the principal feature, and a precious speech it is. Think of the Prussian Majesty declaring most seriously, and neither him nor any one else in the assembly bursting forth in laughter, that he is a *man of honour*, and that he is about to give what is dearest to him—his royal word! But, he continues—after a series of most whimsical oratorical efforts—he gives his word on one condition only: that it be made possible for him to govern with this constitution, and to fulfil the promise he made three years ago, viz., "I and my house will serve the Lord!"<sup>22</sup>

What this new-fashioned "man of honour" means by governing with the constitution and serving the Lord, is already becoming pretty clear. His Majesty's ministers have come out since that swearing farce; firstly, with two laws, doing almost entirely away with the liberty of the press and the right of association and of public meeting; secondly, with a demand for eighteen millions of dollars (two millions and a half sterling) for *increasing the army*. The meaning of this is evident. First destroy in detail the few sham liberties left to the people by the precious mock-constitution, and then raise the army to the war footing, and march with Russia and Austria against



France. There is no doubt of the bourgeois chambers agreeing to all this, and thus making it possible to the king to govern with the constitution, and serve the Lord with his house.

This Prussian credit for the army "to meet eventualities which might present themselves during spring", must be taken, together with the other measures of the Holy Alliance,<sup>23</sup> in order to make us see clearly through their plots. Prussia, besides these eighteen millions, is already treating for a loan of sixteen millions—ostensibly for the purpose of constructing the great Eastern Railway. You know, too well, since the Russian loan affair, what a splendid pretext for raising money railways are made by the governments of the Holy Alliance. Prussia, thus, will soon raise five millions sterling, the whole of which will be at the disposal of the war-office. Russia, besides the five millions sterling already raised, is about to contract for another loan of thirty-six millions of roubles silver, or five millions sterling. Austria alone, after the shabby result of her late effort to raise money, must be satisfied with what she can get at home. Her deficit, as I stated in my last, really amounts to two hundred million florins (twenty millions sterling) in one year! Thus, while Russia and Prussia raise money to make war, Austria must make war in order to raise money!

There is no doubt that if there are no untoward events in France, the "holy" campaign will be opened next month against Switzerland,<sup>a</sup> and perhaps Turkey. Russia keeps in Poland, and its vicinity, an army of 350,000 men, ready to march at a moment's notice. She has already contracted for large supplies of victuals, to be delivered next month, not in Poland, but in Prussia, at Dantzic. The Prussian army—about 150,000 now—can in a month be raised to 350,000, by calling in the reserve and the first class of the Landwehr. The Austrian army—about 650,000—has never been diminished, but, on the contrary, increased by the Hungarian prisoners. The whole of the forces, which may be disposable for a foreign war, may be something like a million; but two-thirds of the Prussians and Austrians are infected with the democratic disease, and would most likely pass to the other side, as soon as an opportunity presented itself.

The first pretext for attacking Switzerland is the German refugees living in that country. This pretext will soon cease to exist, as the cowardly persecutions of the federal government directly or indirectly force all refugees to leave Switzerland. There are now perhaps 600 German refugees in that country, and even they will

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 28.—*Ed.*

soon have to leave it. But then there is another pretext—the demand of Prussia to restore the Prussian king's authority in the ex-principality of Neuchâtel, which made itself a republic in 1848.<sup>24</sup> And if even this be complied with, there will be the question of the Sonderbund raised again, in connection with the new federal constitution, which, in 1848, replaced the old reactionary treaty of 1814, guaranteed by the Holy Alliance.<sup>25</sup> Thus, there will be no chance for Switzerland escaping war and foreign occupation.

But the final aim of the Holy Alliance is the conquest and partition of France. The plan designed to finish at once this great revolutionary centre is as follows: France, once conquered, will be divided into three kingdoms—the South-west, or Aquitania (capital, Bordeaux), will be given to Henry, Duke of Bordeaux<sup>a</sup>; the East, or Burgundy (capital, Lyons), will be given to Prince Joinville; and the North, or France proper (capital, Paris), will be awarded to Louis Napoleon, for the signal services he has rendered to the Holy Alliance. Thus France, reduced to the old state of division it was in some centuries ago, would be utterly powerless. What do you say to this pretty scheme, which no doubt originated in the “historical” head of the king of Prussia?

But, be assured, the People—without whom the Holy Alliance have reckoned—will very soon put a stop to all these plots and schemes, and that as soon, too, as the Holy Alliance commence to put their plans into execution. For the people are wide awake, both in France and Germany, and, fortunately, they are strong enough to put down all their opponents, as soon as matters are brought to a general, decisive, and open contest. And then the enemies of democracy will, to their terror, see that the movements of 1848 and '49 were nothing, in comparison to the universal conflagration which will burn up the old institutions of Europe, and light the victorious nations to a future—free, happy, and glorious.

Written between December 18, 1849, and  
February 18, 1850

Reprinted from the journal

Published in *The Democratic Review*  
in January-March 1850, marked by the  
editors “From Our Own Correspondent”

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<sup>a</sup> Count Chambord.— *Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

### LETTERS FROM FRANCE<sup>26</sup>

#### I

[*The Democratic Review*, January 1850]

Paris, December 20th, 1849

The great question of the day is the excise upon "potable liquors", now under discussion in the National Legislative Assembly. This question is of such importance, and contains, in fact, in itself, so much of the whole present situation, that it will not be amiss to devote to it the whole of this letter.

The tax on potable liquors is of very old date.<sup>a</sup> It formed one of the principal features of the financial system under the monarchy of the eighteenth century, and one of the main grievances of the people at the time of the first revolution. It was done away with by that revolution. But Napoleon restored it in a somewhat modified shape about the year 1808, at a time when, forgetting his revolutionary origin, he made the establishment of his dynasty in the midst of the ancient European royal families, his principal aim. The tax was so exceedingly obnoxious to the people, that at the downfall of Napoleon, the Bourbon family promised its immediate repeal, and Napoleon himself, at St. Helena, declared it had been that tax more than anything else which caused his fall, by setting against him the whole of the South of France. The Bourbons, however, never thought of redeeming their promise, and the tax remained as before up to the revolution of 1830, when, again, its abolition was held out to the country. This promise was no more fulfilled than the preceding one; and thus the excise existed when the revolution of 1848 broke out. The provisional government,<sup>27</sup> instead of immediately repealing it and substituting for it a heavy income-tax upon the large capitalists and landed proprietors, only promised

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. this volume, pp. 117-20 and 328.—*Ed.*

either its repeal, or at least its revision; the Constituent Assembly<sup>a</sup> even went so far as to continue the tax altogether. It was only in the last days of its existence, when royalism was rife than ever, that the "honest" and "moderate" members of that Assembly voted the repeal of the tax on potable liquors, to take effect from the 1st of January, 1850.

It is clear that the tax in question belongs essentially to the monarchical traditions of France. Repealed as soon as the mass of the people got the upper hand, it was restored as soon as either the aristocracy or the *Bourgeoisie*, represented by a Louis XVIII or a Louis Philippe, held the reins of government. Even Napoleon, though in many points opposed to both aristocracy and *Bourgeoisie*, and overthrown by the conspiracy of both—even the great Emperor thought himself obliged to re-establish this feature of the ancient traditions of Monarchical France.

The tax in itself weighs very unequally upon the different classes of the nation. It is a grievous burden upon the poor, while upon the rich the pressure is exceedingly light. There are about twelve millions of wine-producers in France; these pay nothing upon their consumption of wine, it being of their own growing; there are, further, eighteen millions of people inhabiting villages and towns under 4,000 inhabitants, and paying a tax from 66 centimes to 1 fr. 32 centimes per 100 litres of wine; and there are, finally, some five millions inhabiting towns of more than 4,000 inhabitants, and paying upon their wine the *droit d'octroi*,<sup>28</sup> levied at the gate of the town, and varying in the different localities, but at all events incomparably higher than what is paid by the preceding class. The tax, further, falls quite as heavy upon the most inferior as upon the higher-priced wines; the hectolitre which sells at 2, 3, 4 francs, and the one sold at 12 to 1,500 fr., both pay the same tax; and thus, while the rich consumer of choice champagne, claret, and Burgundy, pays almost nothing, the working man pays to the government upon his inferior wine a tax of 50, 100, and, in some cases, 500 or 1,000 per cent upon the original value. Of the revenue derived by this tax, 51 millions of francs are paid by the poorer classes, and 25 millions only by the wealthier citizens. There cannot, under such circumstances, exist the slightest doubt that this tax is exceedingly injurious to the production of wine in France. The principal markets for this produce, the towns, are to the wine-producer so many foreign countries where he has to pay, before bringing his produce to sale, a regular custom-house duty of from 50 to 1,000 per cent *ad valorem*.

<sup>a</sup> The Constituent National Assembly (May 4, 1848-May 1849).—*Ed.*

The other part of the market, the open country, is at least subject to a duty of from 20 to 50 per cent of the original value. The inevitable consequence of this is the ruin of the wine-growing parts of the country. It is true the production of wine has been augmenting in spite of the tax, but the population has outgrown this augmentation at a far quicker rate.

Why, then, has it been possible to keep up under the middle-class government such an obnoxious tax as this? In England, you will say, even Cobden and Bright would have swept it away long ago. And so they would. But in France, the manufacturers never found a *Cobden* or a *Bright* who stood up for their interests with invincible tenacity,<sup>a</sup> nor a *Peel* to give way to their claims.<sup>29</sup> The French financial system, although so much vaunted by the majority of the Assembly, is the most confused and artificial, *mixtum compositum*,<sup>b</sup> that ever was imagined. None of the reforms carried in England since 1842 were attempted in France under Louis Philippe. Postage Reform was considered almost as blasphemy in the blessed time of Guizot. The tariff was, and is now, neither a free-trade nor a mere revenue, nor a protectionist, nor a prohibitive tariff, but contains something of all, except free-trade. Old prohibitions and high duties, that for many years have been to no purpose, nay, that are decidedly injurious to trade, are to be found in all parts of the tariff. Yet no one dared touch them. Local taxation, in all towns of more than 1,000 inhabitants, is indirect, and collected upon the produce brought into town. Thus the freedom of trade even in the interior is interrupted every ten or fifteen miles by a sort of inland-custom-house.

This state of things, disgraceful even to a middle-class government, remained untouched from different causes. With all this oppressive taxation, with receipts of 1,400 or 1,500 millions of francs, there was a deficit at the end of every year, and a loan after every fourth or fifth year. The stockjobbers of the Paris Bourse found an inexhaustible source of profit-making, jobbing, and peddling in this low state of the Public Exchequer. They and their associates formed the majority in the two Chambers, and were thus the real dominators of the state, and always demanding fresh supplies of money. Financial Reform, besides, could not have been effected without sweeping measures, which would have brought the budget to its equilibrium, changed the allotment of taxes, and, besides taxing these stockjobbers themselves, given a greater political weight to other fractions of the middle classes. And what consequences such

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. this volume, p. 116.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Mixture.—*Ed.*

a change would have had under the worm-eaten government of Louis Philippe you may judge, from the comparatively trifling pretext which led to the revolution of February.<sup>30</sup>

That revolution brought into office no man able to reform the financial system of France. The gentlemen of the *National*,<sup>31</sup> who took possession of that department, felt themselves borne down by the weight of the deficit. Many attempts were made at bit-by-bit reform; all proved abortive, excepting the abolition of the tax upon salt and the Postage Reform. At last, in a fit of despair, the Constituent Assembly voted the repeal of the wine tax, and now the "honest" and "moderate" men of order<sup>32</sup> in the present precious Assembly restore it! Nay, more: the Minister<sup>a</sup> intends restoring the salt tax, and re-augmenting the Postage; so that the old financial system, with its eternal deficiencies and difficulties, and consequent absolute sway of the Paris Bourse, with its jobbing, peddling, and profitmongering, will very shortly be restored in France.

The people, however, do not seem likely to submit quietly to a measure which restores a heavy tax upon an article of prime necessity for the poor, while it almost exempts the rich. Social democracy has spread wonderfully over the agricultural districts of France; and this measure will convert the remainder of the millions who, twelve months ago,<sup>b</sup> voted for that ambitious blockhead, Louis Napoleon. The country once won for social democracy, there will be very few months, nay, weeks, indeed, ere the Red Flag floats from the Tuileries and the Elysée-National.<sup>33</sup> Then only will it be possible to radically upset the old, oppressive financial system, by at one stroke doing away with the National Debt, by introducing a system of direct, progressive taxation; and by other measures of a similarly energetic character.<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Achille Fould, Minister of Finance.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> In December 1848 during the election of the President of the French Republic.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Cf. this volume, p. 116.—*Ed.*

## II

**STRIKING PROOFS OF THE GLORIOUS PROGRESS  
OF RED REPUBLICANISM!**

[*The Democratic Review*, February 1850]

Paris, January 21st, 1850

A great many important events have occurred since my last, but as the generality of readers will have been informed of them from the daily and weekly papers, I shall refrain from going over the same ground from beginning to end, and instead shall limit this letter to some general observations on the state of the country.

During the last twelve or fifteen months, the revolutionary spirit has made immense progress throughout France. A class, which by its social position was kept apart, as much as possible in civilised society, from taking an interest in public business, which by the old monarchical legislation was shut out from all political rights, which never read a newspaper, and which, nevertheless, forms the vast majority of Frenchmen—this class, at last, is rapidly coming to its senses. This class is the small peasantry, numbering about twenty-eight millions of men, women, and children, counting amongst its ranks from eight to nine millions of small landed proprietors, who possess, in the shape of freehold<sup>34</sup> property, at least four-fifths of the soil of France. This class has been oppressed by all governments since 1815, not excepting the provisional government, which imposed on it the tax of 45 additional centimes upon every franc of the land-tax,<sup>35</sup> which in France is very heavy. This class, borne down also by a band of usurers to whom their property almost without exception is mortgaged at extraordinary high interest, is at last beginning to see that no government, except one acting in the interest of the working men of the towns, will free them from the misery and starvation into which, notwithstanding their land-allotments, they are falling deeper and deeper every day.<sup>a</sup> This class,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. this volume, pp. 27-28, 122-23 and 262-63.—*Ed.*

which in a great measure forced the revolution of 1789, and which formed the basement upon which arose the vast empire of Napoleon, has now, in its immense majority, joined the revolutionary party and the working men of Paris, Lyons, Rouen, and the other large towns of France. The tillers of the soil now see clearly enough how they have been cheated by Louis Napoleon, to whose presidential majority they at least furnished six millions of votes, and who has repaid them with the re-imposition of the wine and brandy tax. And thus, the vast majority of the French people are now united to overthrow, as soon as a proper occasion shall present itself, the insolent sway of the capitalist class, which, hurled down by the storm of February, has again seized the helm of government, and exercises its rule far more arrogantly than ever it did under its own well-beloved Louis Philippe.

The history of the last months affords innumerable proofs of this most important fact. Take the circular of Minister d'Hautpoul to the *gendarmérie*, by which espionage is carried into the very heart of the most obscure village; take the law against the schoolmasters,<sup>36</sup> who, in French villages, are generally the best expression of the public opinion of their localities, and who are now to be placed at the mercy of government, because they now almost all profess social-democratic opinions; and many other facts. But one of the most striking proofs is to be found in the election which has just taken place in the department *du Gard*.<sup>37</sup> This department is known as the most ancient stronghold of the "Whites"—the Legitimists.<sup>38</sup> It was the scene of the most horrid outrages against the republicans in 1794 and '95, after the downfall of Robespierre; it was the central seat of the "white terrorism" in 1815, when Protestants and Liberals were publicly murdered, and outrages of the most horrible nature were committed on the wives, daughters, and sisters of those victims by Legitimist mobs, headed by the renowned Trestaillon, and protected by the government of legitimate Louis XVIII. Well, this department had to elect a deputy, in the place of a Legitimist, deceased<sup>a</sup>; and the result was, a great majority for a thoroughly Red candidate,<sup>b</sup> while the two Legitimist candidates were in a signal minority.<sup>c</sup>

Another proof of the rapid progress of this alliance of the working men in the towns and the peasantry of the country, is the new law on public education.<sup>39</sup> The most inveterate Voltairians of the bourgeoisie, even M. Thiers, see there is no way left to oppose that

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<sup>a</sup> Jean Baptiste de Beaune.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Étienne Favand.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> E. de Grail and H. de Lourdoueix.—*Ed.*



progress but by surrendering their old theories and principles, and by prostrating public education at the feet of the priesthood!

Again. There is, now, a general rush of all public papers and public characters, that are not exactly reactionaries, to claim the once despised title of "Socialist". The oldest enemies of Socialism now proclaim themselves Socialists. The *National*, even the *Siècle*, monarchist under Louis Philippe, declare they are Socialists. Even Marrast, the infamous traitor of 1848, now hopes, though in vain, to get elected by proclaiming himself a Socialist. The people, however, are not thus to be duped, and the rope to hang that vagabond is ready, and only waiting for the occasion.

To-day they discuss in the National Assembly the law for killing the remaining 468 prisoners of the June insurrection,<sup>40</sup> by transporting them to, and setting them to work in the most unhealthy parts of Algeria. No doubt the law will pass by an immense majority. But before the unfortunate heroes of that grand battle of labour can reach the shore destined to bury them, there is little doubt but another popular storm will have swept away the voters of this law of murder, and carry, perhaps, to that land of banishment, those of the present majority who may have escaped a prompter, more radical, and most righteous revenge on the part of the people.

## III

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.—  
THE ANTICIPATED REVOLUTION[*The Democratic Review*, March 1850]

Paris, February 19th, 1850

I must limit this letter somewhat in space, but the facts which have occurred in the course of this month are so striking, that they will speak for themselves. The revolution is advancing so rapidly, that every one *must* see its approach. In all spheres of society it is spoken of as imminent; and all foreign papers, even if opposed to democracy, declare it an unavoidable thing. Nay, more, you may with almost certainty foresee, that if no unexpected events give a turn to public affairs, the great contest between the united Ordermongers and the vast majority of the people, can hardly be postponed beyond the latter end of this spring. And what the result of that contest will be, is a matter admitting of no doubt. The people of Paris are so sure of having very shortly the most splendid case for a revolution they ever had, that there is a general order amongst them—“Avoid all petty squabbles, submit to anything which puts not a vital question to you.” Thus, with all their efforts, the other day, when the trees of liberty were cut down, the government could not excite the working people to even a petty street-row, and the individuals dancing round the tree at the Porte Saint-Martin, which your *London Illustrated News* depicted in such a terrific manner,<sup>a</sup> consisted of a set of police spies who lost all their day’s job through the coolness of the people.<sup>41</sup> Thus, in spite of what the government papers say to the contrary, the 24th of this month will pass off very quietly.<sup>b</sup> The government would give almost anything if they could have a row in Paris, with some fictitious conspiracies and outbreaks

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<sup>a</sup> See *The Illustrated London News* No. 412, February 9, 1850.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The second anniversary of the February Revolution. Cf. this volume, p. 128.—*Ed.*

in the departments, in order to inflict the state of siege upon the capital and those departments which, on the 10th of March, will have to elect new deputies in lieu of the condemned of Versailles. A word on the new system of military despotism.<sup>42</sup> To keep the provinces in bondage, the government have invented the new system of commanders-in-chief. They have united a number of the seventeen military divisions of France into four grand districts, each of which is to be under the command of one general, who, thus, has almost the arbitrary power of an eastern satrap or a Roman proconsul. These four military districts are so arranged, that they surround Paris and the whole centre of France, as it were, with an iron circle, in order to keep it down. This measure, illegal as it is, has however been adopted not only on account of the people, but on account of the Bourgeois opposition too. The Legitimist and Orleanist<sup>43</sup> parties now see clear enough that Louis Napoleon is serving them very badly. They wanted him as a means to the re-establishment of monarchy, as an instrument to be shuffled aside when worn out, and they now see him aspiring to a throne for himself, and going a good deal faster than they want. They know well enough that at this moment there is no chance for monarchy, and that they must wait; and yet Louis Napoleon does everything in his power to come to a settlement, and to risk a revolution which may cost him his head, rather than wait his time. They know, too, that neither party, Legitimist or Orleanist, has gained so much ground upon the other as to make the victory of one of the two an undeniable necessity; and as before the 10th of December, 1848, they want another neutral man, who, while they await the course of events, may govern according to the common interests of both. Thus, these two parties, the only important fractions of the Ordermongers, are now against the prolongation of Louis Napoleon's presidency, although four months ago they would have done anything to carry it; they are again, for once, for the neutral ground of the republic, *with General Changarnier as president*. Changarnier seems to be in the plot; and Napoleon, who does not trust him but dares not dismiss him from his proconsulate at Paris, has put the four military districts as a fetter around him. This may explain why M. Pascal Duprat's (a traitor of June '48, who now courts popularity again) speech<sup>a</sup> against the new military system and against Louis Napoleon himself, was very tolerantly listened to by the majority. There occurred two curious incidents on this occasion. When M. Duprat said, according to a newspaper, Louis Napoleon

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<sup>a</sup> Duprat's interpellation made in the Legislative Assembly on February 16, 1850. dealt with the new system of military administration.—*Ed.*

had to choose between the position of his uncle,<sup>a</sup> or that of Washington, a voice from the left shouted, “or that of the Emperor Soulouque of Haiti”.<sup>b</sup> A general burst of laughter hailed this comparison of the French would-be-emperor to a personage, than whom none offers more matter for ridicule to all the *Charivaris* of Paris; and yet not even the President of the Assembly interposed.<sup>c</sup> You see what even this precious majority thinks of Louis Napoleon! The Minister of War<sup>d</sup> then got up, and, turning to the left, concluded a most violent speech with these words: “And now, gentlemen, if you like to commence we are ready!”<sup>e</sup> This expression of the Minister will show you more than anything, how generally a violent struggle is expected.

In the meantime, the Social-Democratic party are actively preparing for the elections. Although there is a chance for the “honest and moderate”, to elect one or two of their candidates in Paris, where some sixty thousand working men have been, under a variety of pretexts, struck off the voting register; yet there is no doubt that the socialists will have a signal triumph in the departments. The government themselves are expecting it. They therefore have prepared a measure for doing away with what is now openly called the conspiracy of “Universal Suffrage”. They intend to make the suffrage indirect; the voters to elect a limited number of electors, who again name the representative. In this the government are sure of the support of the majority. But as this amounts to an open overthrow of the constitution, which cannot be revised before 1851, and by an assembly elected for the purpose, they expect violent resistance on the part of the people. These, therefore, are to be intimidated by the foreign armies making their appearance on the Rhine at the time this measure is brought into the House. If this really come to pass—and Louis Napoleon seems foolish enough to risk such a thing—then you may expect to hear something like the thunder of a revolution. And then, the Lord have mercy upon the souls of all Napoleons, Changarniers, and Ordermongers!

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<sup>a</sup> Napoleon I Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> See *Le Moniteur universel* No. 48, February 17, 1850.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> André Dupin.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Alphonse d'Hautpoul.—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> Cf. this volume, pp. 32 and 128.—*Ed.*

## IV

THE ELECTIONS.—GLORIOUS VICTORY OF THE REDS.—  
 PROLETARIAN ASCENDANCY.—DISMAY OF THE ORDERMONGERS.—  
 NEW SCHEMES OF REPRESSION  
 AND PROVOCATIONS TO REVOLUTION<sup>44</sup>

[*The Democratic Review*, April 1850]

Paris, March 22nd, 1850

*Victory! Victory!* The people have spoken, and they have spoken so loud that the artificial fabric of bourgeois rule and bourgeois plotting has been shaken to its very foundation. *Carnot, Vidal, Deflotte*, representatives of the people for Paris, elected by from 127,000 to 132,000 votes, that is the answer of the people to the odious provocations of the government and parliamentary majority. Carnot, the only man of the "National" fraction who, under the provisional government, instead of flattering the bourgeoisie, brought down on his head a handsome share of its hatred; Vidal, an openly pronounced communist of long standing; Deflotte, vice-president of Blanqui's club, one of the foremost, active invaders of the Assembly on the 15th of May, 1848,<sup>45</sup> in June following, one of the leading combatants on the barricades, sentenced to transportation, and now stepping directly from the hulks into the legislative palace—really, this composition is significant! It shews, that if the triumph of the Red party is owing to the union of the small trading class with the proletarians, this union is based upon totally different terms to that momentary alliance which brought about the overthrow of monarchy. Then, it was the small trading class, the petty bourgeoisie, who, in the provisional government, and still more so in the Constituent Assembly, took the lead, and very soon set aside the influence of the proletarians. Now, on the contrary, the working men are the leaders of the movement, and the petty bourgeoisie, equally pressed down and ruined by capital, and rewarded with bankruptcy for their services rendered in June, 1848, are reduced to follow the revolutionary march of the proletarians. The country farmers are in the same position, and thus

the whole mass of those classes that now are opposed to the government—and they form the vast majority of Frenchmen—are headed and led on by the proletarian class, and find themselves obliged to rely, for their own emancipation from the pressure of capital, upon the total and entire emancipation of the working men.<sup>a</sup>

The elections in the departments, too, have been very favourable to the Red party. They having carried two-thirds, the Ordermongers one-third of their candidates.

This party, or aggregation of parties, has admirably understood the broad hint given by the people. They now see certain ruin before their eyes if they allow the general election of 1852 both for the Assembly and the new President to come off with the present system of suffrage. They know, that the people are so fast rallying round the red flag, that it will be impossible for them to carry on the government even until that term. On one side the President and the Assembly<sup>b</sup>; on the other, the vast mass of the people every day organising themselves stronger and stronger into an invincible phalanx. Thus the conflict is inevitable; and the longer the Ordermongers wait, the greater hope there will be for the victory of the people. They know it, and therefore they must strike the decisive blow as soon as possible. To provoke an insurrection as soon as possible, and to fight it to the utmost, is the only chance left for them. The “Holy Alliance”, besides, after the elections of the 10th of March, can have no more doubts as to the course they must pursue. Switzerland, now, is out of the question.<sup>c</sup> Revolutionary France is again standing up before them in all her terrible grandeur. France, then, must be attacked, and as soon as possible. The “Holy Alliance” are getting low in cash, and there is now very little chance of getting fresh supplies of that desirable commodity. The different armies cannot be maintained at home much longer, they must either be disbanded or they must be made to maintain themselves by quartering upon the enemy. Thus, you see that, if in my last I told you that the revolution and war were fast approaching, events are fully bearing out my prediction.

The Ordermongers have for the moment again set aside their party squabbles. They have re-united to attack the people. They change the garrison of Paris, of which three-fourths voted for the red list; and, yesterday, a law re-establishing the newspaper stamp, another law doubling the caution money to be deposited by all

<sup>a</sup> Cf. this volume, pp. 127 and 128.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *The Democratic Review* has “president of the Assembly”, which is a misprint.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Cf. this volume, p. 15.—*Ed.*

newspapers, and a third, suspending the liberty of electoral meetings, were laid on the table of the Assembly by the government. Other laws will follow: one to grant powers to the police to expel from Paris any working man not born there; another, to empower the government to *transport, without judgment, to Algiers, any citizen who shall have been convicted of being a member of a secret society*, and many more, the whole to be crowned by a more or less direct attack upon universal suffrage. Thus, you see, they provoke revolt, by battering down all the rights and privileges of the working classes. Revolt will follow, and the people, united with the mass of the national guard, will very soon hurl down that infamous class government which, in its utter impotency to do anything but odiously oppress, has, nevertheless, the impudence to call itself the "Saviour of Society"!!!

[*The Democratic Review*, May 1850]

Paris, April 20th, 1850

The outbreak of the revolution, which has become inevitable since the elections of the 10th of March, has been retarded by the cowardice both of the government and of the men who, for the moment, have taken the lead of the Paris movement. The government and the National Assembly were so terror-struck by the vote of the 10th of March, and by the repeated proofs of mutinous spirit in the army, that they dared not come immediately to any conclusion. They resolved upon passing new repressive laws, a list of which I gave you in my last; but if the ministry and some of the leaders of the majority had confidence in these measures, the mass of the members had not, and even the government very soon lost its confidence again. Thus, the more stringent of these repressive laws were not brought forward, and even those that were—the laws on the press and on electoral meetings—met with a very doubtful reception from the majority.

The Socialist party, on the other hand, did not profit by the victory as it ought to have done. The reason for this is very plain. This party consists not only of the working men, but it includes, now, the great mass of the shopkeeping class too, a class whose socialism is indeed a great deal tamer than that of the proletarians. The shopkeepers and small tradesmen know very well that their own salvation from ruin is entirely dependent upon the emancipation of the proletarians; that their interests are indissolubly tied up with those of the working men. But they know also, that if the proletarians conquered political power by a revolution, they, the shopkeepers, would be entirely set aside, and be reduced to accept from the hands of the working class any thing they might give them. If the present government, on the



contrary, be overthrown by peaceful means, the shopkeepers and small tradesmen, being the least obnoxious of the classes now in opposition, would very quietly step in and take hold of the government, giving, at the same time, the working people as small a share of it as possible. The small trading class, then, were quite as much terrified at their own victory as the government was at its own defeat. They saw a revolution starting up before their eyes, and they strove immediately to prevent it. There was a means for this ready at hand. Citizen Vidal, in addition to being elected for Paris, had been elected for the Lower Rhine too. They managed to make him accept for the Lower Rhine, and thus there is to be a new election in Paris. But it is evident, that as long as there is an opportunity given to the people to obtain peaceful victories, they will never raise their cry "to arms"; or if, nevertheless, provoked into an émeute, they will fight with very little chance of victory.

The new election was fixed for the 28th of this month; and the government immediately profited by the favourable position created by the amiable shopocracy. Ministers disintegrated old police regulations, in order to expel from Paris a number of working men, for the moment without work; and showed that they could do even without the proposed law against electoral meetings, by directly putting a stop to all of them. The people knowing that the day before an election, they could not fight to any advantage, submitted. The social and democratic press, entirely in the hands of the shopocracy, of course did every thing to keep them quiet. The behaviour of this press has, ever since the affair of the "trees of liberty", been most infamous. There have been numbers of occasions for the people to rise; but the press has always preached peace and tranquillity while the representatives of the shopocracy in the electoral committee and other organised bodies have always managed to lessen the chances of a street victory, by opening peaceful outlets for the popular exasperation.

The false position in which the Red party has been forced, and the advantage given by the new election to the Ordermongers, is fully shewn by the names of the two opposing candidates. The red candidate, Eugène Sue, is an excellent representative of that well-meaning, "soft sawder", sentimental shopocrat-socialism, which, far from recognising the revolutionary mission of the proletarians, would rather mock-emancipate them by the benevolent patronage of the petty trading class. As a political man, Eugène Sue is a nullity; as a demonstration, his nomination is a step backwards from the position conquered on the 10th of March. But it must be confessed, that if sentimental socialism is to have the honour of the

day, his name is the most popular to be put forward, and he has a great chance to be elected.

The Ordermongers, on the other side, have so far recovered, that they now oppose to Eugène Sue, whose name signifies nothing or very little, a name which signifies everything—M. Leclerc,<sup>a</sup> the bourgeois Lacedemonian of the insurrection of June.<sup>46</sup> Leclerc is a direct reply to Deflotte, and a direct provocation to the working men, more direct than any other name could possibly be. Leclerc, candidate for Paris—that is a repetition of the words of General d’Hautpoul:—“Now, gentlemen, whenever you please to descend into the streets, we are ready!”<sup>b</sup>

The repeated election in Paris, as you see, offers no advantage, but, on the contrary, has already put to a great deal of disadvantage the proletarian party. But there is another fact to be noticed. The election of the 10th of March was carried under the old list; that of the 28th of April is to come off under the new revised list of voters for 1850, which came into force on the 1st of April; and in this revised list there are *from twenty to thirty thousand working men struck off* under various pretexts.

However, even if this time the Ordermongers obtain a small majority, they will not be the gainers. The fact remains, that, with universal suffrage, they can no longer govern France. The fact remains, that the army is largely infected with socialism, and only awaits an occasion for open rebellion. The fact remains, that the working people of Paris are in better spirits than ever for putting an end to the present state of things. Never before did they come out so openly as they have done this time in the electoral meetings, till they were suppressed. And the government, forced to attack universal suffrage, will thereby give the people an occasion for a combat, in which there is for the proletarians the certainty of victory.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. this volume, pp. 135 and 516.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 26 and 128.—*Ed.*

VI<sup>47</sup>[*The Democratic Review*, June 1850]

[End of May 1850]

“If the proletarians suffer the suffrage to be taken from them, they submit *to the undoing of the Revolution of February, as far as they are concerned*. For them the republic will no longer exist. They will be shut out from it. Will they allow this?

“The law certainly will pass. Not a tittle of it will be weakened. The will of the majority, upon this point, has already shown itself clearly.<sup>48</sup> And as matters stand to-day, no one can tell what will follow, whether the people will rise and hurl down the government and Assembly, or whether they will wait until another occasion. Paris seems quiet; there is no direct sign of an approaching revolution; but a spark will suffice to call forth a tremendous explosion.

“That explosion would have taken place before now but for the treacherous conduct of the popular chiefs, who have been doing nothing but preaching ‘peace’, ‘tranquillity’, and ‘majestic calm’.<sup>a</sup> This, however, cannot last long. The situation of France is eminently revolutionary. The Ordermongers cannot stand where they are. They must advance a step every day in order to maintain themselves. If this law should pass without provoking a revolution, they will come out with fresh, more violent, and more direct attacks on the constitution and the Republic. They want an *émeute*, and they will have a revolution, and have it soon, too. For it must be borne in mind that this is a question of *weeks*, perhaps *days*, not of *years*.”

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<sup>a</sup> An allusion to Victor Hugo’s speech made in the Legislative Assembly on May 21, 1850, in which he called for “*calme majestueux*”.—*Ed.*

## VII

[*The Democratic Review*, July 1850]

Paris, June 22nd, 1850

The Electoral "Reform" Law has passed, and the people of Paris have not moved. Universal Suffrage has been destroyed, without the slightest attempt at disturbance or demonstration, and the working people of France are again what they were under Louis Philippe: political Pariahs, without recognised rights, without votes, without muskets.

It really is a curious fact, that Universal Suffrage in France, won easily in 1848, has been annihilated far more easily in 1850. Such ups and downs, however, correspond much with the French character, and occur very often in French history. In England such a thing would be impossible. Universal Suffrage, once established there, would be won for ever. No government would dare to touch it. Only think of the minister who should be foolish enough to consider seriously re-establishing the Corn Laws.<sup>49</sup> The immense laughter of the whole nation would hurl him down.

The people of Paris have, undoubtedly, committed a serious mistake, in not profiting of the occasion for insurrection given by the destruction of Universal Suffrage. The army was well disposed, the small trading class was forced to go with the people, and the Mountain,<sup>50</sup> nay, even the party of Cavaignac knew that in case of a defeated insurrection they would inevitably be made to suffer for it, whether they stood with the people or not. Thus, at least, the moral support of the small trading class and of its parliamentary organs, the Mountain, was sure this time, as soon as the insurrection had broken out; and with that the resistance of a large portion of the army would be broken. But the occasion has been missed, partly from the cowardice of the parliamentary chiefs and the press, partly from the peculiar state of mind the people of Paris are in at present.

The working people of the capital are at present in a state of transition. The different socialist systems which, up to this time, have been discussed amongst them, no longer suffice to them; and it must be confessed, take all French systematic Socialism together, and there is not much in it of a very revolutionary nature. On the other hand the people, so many times deceived by their chiefs, have such a deep distrust towards all men who ever have acted as their leaders—not excepting even Barbès or Blanqui<sup>51</sup>—that they are resolved not to make any movement in order to bring any of these leaders into office. Thus the whole working-class movement is about to take a different, far more revolutionary aspect. The people, once thinking for themselves, freed from the old socialist tradition, will soon find socialist and revolutionary formulas which shall express their wants and interests far more clearly than anything invented *for them*, by authors of systems and by declaiming leaders. And then, arrived thus at maturity, the people will again be enabled to avail themselves of whatever talent and courage may be found among the old leaders, without becoming the tail of any of them. And this state of the popular mind in Paris accounts for the indifference displayed by the people, at the destruction of Universal Suffrage. The great struggle is postponed for the day in which one or both of the two rival powers of the state, the President or the Assembly, will try to overthrow the Republic.

And this day must soon arrive. You recollect what was boasted in all the reactionary papers, about the cordial understanding between the President and the majority. Now, this cordial understanding has just resolved itself into the most deadly struggle between the two rivals. The President has been promised, as the price for his adhesion to the Electoral Law, an annual addition to his salary of 3,000,000 fr. (£120,000), which additional pay was most awfully wanted by the debt-ridden Louis Napoleon, besides being considered as the preliminary step to the prolongation of his presidency for ten years. The Electoral Law was hardly passed, when the ministers stepped in and asked for the three millions a year. But all at once the majority got frightened. They, who no longer consider the imbecile Louis Napoleon as a serious pretender, far from being ready to consent to the prolongation of his presidency, on the contrary want to get rid of him as soon as possible. They name a select committee to report on the Bill, and that committee reports against its adoption. Great consternation at the Elysée-National. Napoleon threatens abdication. A most serious collision between the two powers of the state is imminent. The ministry, a lot of bankers, a number of other “friends of order” interpose, with no result. Several

“transactions” are proposed; in vain. At last an amendment is come to, which seems to satisfy all parties more or less. The majority, not quite sure as to the consequences of a rupture with the President, and having, as yet, not quite concluded the compact which is to unite the Legitimists and Orleanists into one party, seems to recoil a little, and to be ready to grant the money in another shape. The discussion is to come off on Monday; what the result will be no one can say. However, a serious rupture with Napoleon is, I think, not yet in the line of policy of the royalist majority.

The compact which is to unite the Orleanists and Legitimists, the younger and the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, is, at present, more than ever spoken of. It is a fact that most active negotiations are carried on with regard to this subject. The journey of Messrs. Thiers, Guizot, and others to the death-bed of Louis Philippe, at St. Leonards, had no other object than this. I shall not repeat to you the various versions as to the state of this affair, and the results obtained by the journey above mentioned. The daily papers have said more than enough about that. A fact, however, it is, that the Orleanist and Legitimist parties are in France pretty much agreed as to the conditions, and that the only difficulty is to have these conditions adopted by the two rival branches. Henry, Duke of Bordeaux,<sup>a</sup> is to be made king, and as he has no children, the adoption of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, and heir to the throne by regular succession, is a matter almost of course, and offering no difficulties. The tricolour flag, besides, is to be maintained. The expected death of old Louis Philippe would facilitate this solution. He seems to have submitted to it, and the Duke of Bordeaux, too, appears to have accepted the agreement. The Duchess of Orleans, mother of the Count of Paris, and her brother-in-law, Joinville, are said to be the only obstacles in the way of a settlement. Louis Napoleon is to be paid off with ten millions of hard cash.

There is no doubt but this, or a similar settlement, will finally be come to; and as soon as this is done, the direct attack upon the Republic will follow. In the meantime, a preliminary engagement is to be commenced by the councils-general of the departments. They have been just called together before their regular time of meeting, and are expected to call upon the National Assembly to revise the constitution. The same thing was considered last year, but thought premature by the councils themselves. There is no doubt they will show considerably more pluck this time, particularly after the

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<sup>a</sup> Count Chambord.— *Ed.*

successful blow at the Suffrage. And then the occasion will come for the people to show that if they abstained from showing their power for a time, they are not willing to be thrust back to the most infamous epoch of the Restoration.

P.S.—I have just read a small pamphlet sold at three sous (halfpence) and given out gratis with the *République*. This pamphlet contains the most astounding disclosures as to the plots and conspiracies of the royalists, as far back as the spring of 1848. It is by one Borme,<sup>52</sup> a witness examined in the trial of Barbès and Blanqui, at Bourges.<sup>53</sup> He confesses himself a paid royalist agent, who at that trial committed gross perjury. He contends that the whole movement of the 15th of May, 1848, originated with the royalists, and many other things of a most curious character. There is something, too, which regards *The Times*. Borme gives name and address. He lives in Paris. The pamphlet is one which must call forth more disclosures still. I call your most earnest attention to it.

## VIII

[*The Democratic Review*, August 1850]

Paris, July 23, 1850

As I anticipated in my last, the dotation to Louis Bonaparte finally passed the Assembly—in substance allowing him the sum he wanted, in form humiliating him deeply before the eyes of all France.<sup>54</sup> The Assembly then resumed its work of repression—taking up the press law. Atrocious as this law was when produced from the hand of its originator, M. Baroche, it was innocent and harmless compared with what the spite of the majority has made it. The majority, in its furious and yet impotent hatred against the press, has dealt out its blows almost blindfolded, not caring whether it hits the “good” or the “bad” press. Thus the “law of hatred” has been enacted. The caution money is raised. The stamp is re-established on newspapers. An extra stamp is put upon the “roman-feuilleton”, that part of the newspaper which is dedicated to the publication of novels—a measure which would be quite incomprehensible if it was not a reply to the election of Eugène Sue, the effect of whose socialist novels has not yet been forgotten by the majority. All works published in weekly numbers or monthly parts of less than a certain size, are subjected to the stamp in the same manner as newspapers. And lastly, every paragraph appearing in a newspaper must be provided with the signature of the author.

This law, as the blind fury of the majority has made it, falls heavily, not only upon the socialist and republican press, but on the counter-revolutionary press: and perhaps far more heavily upon this than upon the opposition press. The names of the republican writers are pretty well known, and it matters little whether they sign their paragraphs or not; but let the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Pouvoir*, the *Constitutionnel*, &c., be obliged to come out with the names of their contributors, and their leaders will



immediately lose all influence even upon their class of readers. The name of a great daily paper, particularly an old-established one, is, to respectable people, always a respectable firm; but let these firms, Bertin and Co., Véron and Co., Delamarre and Co., once be dissolved into their literary components, let that mysterious "Co." once decompose into venal "penny-a-liners" of old standing, who, for hard cash, have defended all possible causes, such as Granier de Cassagnac, or into foolish old women calling themselves statesmen, such as Capefigue, let all the little men who raise loud voices and spout big articles once creep out into daylight under the new law, and you will see what a sad figure the respectable press will make.<sup>a</sup>

It is true that, under the new law, by the enhanced price of newspapers a very numerous class of readers will be excluded from this mode of getting information. Both newspapers, cheap periodicals, and other popular publications will be above the reach of numerous working-men, and particularly of the majority of the country-people. But the press was always an auxiliary means merely to agitate the peasantry; this class being far more sensible to their own material sufferings and to the increase of taxation than to the declamations of the press; and as long as the present bourgeois government cannot find out the means—which it never can—to alleviate the weight of usury and taxation upon the peasantry, as long will there be discontent and "revolutionary tendencies", manifested amongst this newly-roused class. As to the working-men in the towns, they cannot be entirely excluded from seeing the newspapers, and if cheap periodical publications are stopped, they will make up for that by increasing secret societies, secret debating-clubs, &c. But if the government, with respect to diminishing the number of revolutionary tracts and periodicals, have obtained some result, they have obtained it at the cost of ruining the whole of the publishing and bookselling trades; for it is impossible that these trades can subsist under the restrictions imposed by the new law. And thus this is very likely to contribute much to breaking up the party of order both in and out of the Assembly.

As soon as the law on the press was voted, the Assembly proceeded to give Louis Napoleon another broad hint that he was not to exceed the limits the constitution had placed him in. The Bonapartist paper, *Le Pouvoir*, had an article commenting in not very favourable terms upon the Assembly. An old law of the Restoration was dug up, and the publisher of the *Pouvoir*, arraigned at the bar for breach of

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. this volume, pp. 138 and 520-21.—*Ed.*

privilege, and sentenced to 5,000fr. (£200)<sup>a</sup> fine, which fine was, of course, immediately paid.<sup>55</sup> The penalty was not very severe, but the act of the Assembly was sufficiently significant. "We strike low but we mean to hit higher," said a member, and was loudly applauded.

The Assembly then resolved to suspend its sitting for three months, from the 11th of August next. As provided by the constitution, it had to elect a commission of twenty-five members, which is to remain at Paris during the adjournment, and to watch the executive power.<sup>56</sup> The chiefs of the majority, believing Louis Napoleon to be sufficiently humiliated, drew up a list of these candidates, including none but members of the majority, Orleanists, Moderate Legitimists, some Bonapartists, no Republicans nor ultra-Legitimists. But in the vote all the Bonapartists have been thrown out, and in their stead some Moderate Republicans and several ultra-Legitimists have been elected, thus again showing the disposition of the Assembly to have none of the *coup d'état* which Louis Napoleon is always dreaming of.<sup>b</sup>

I do not expect that there will be anything serious until the experiment is made to upset the Republic; be it by the President, or be it by one of the royalist factions. This would, no doubt, rouse the people from their torpor; and this is an event which must take place between now and May 1852, but at what precise epoch it is impossible to predict.<sup>57</sup>

Written between December 20, 1849, and  
June 23, 1850

Reprinted from the journal

Published in *The Democratic Review*,  
January-August 1850, marked by the  
editors in some issues (January-March,  
and May): "From Our Own  
Correspondent"

<sup>a</sup> Cf. this volume, pp. 140 and 520-21.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140 and 521.—*Ed.*

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

### ANNOUNCEMENT<sup>58</sup>

Circumstances beyond the control of the editorial board delayed publication of the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The second issue will therefore appear a fortnight after the first at the latest, and will contain amongst others the following articles:

1848-49. II. June 13, 1849.—III. Repercussions of June 13 on the Continent.—IV. Current Situation; England.<sup>59</sup>—By *Karl Marx*. The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution. III. The Palatinate.—IV. To Die for the Fatherland.<sup>60</sup>—By *Frederick Engels*.

The third issue will contain among other items:

What Is Bourgeois Property? II. Landed Property.—Lectures given at the German Workers' Educational Society in London,<sup>61</sup> by *Karl Marx*.

The Last Days of the German Parliament. By *W. Wolff*.

The Financial State of Prussia, etc., etc.<sup>62</sup>

Care will be taken that in future the paper is published between the first and the tenth of each month.

*The Editorial Board*

Written in late February 1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
No. 1, January 1850, London,  
Hamburg, New York, 1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first  
time





Neue  
**Rheinische Zeitung.**

**Politisch-ökonomische Revue,**

redigirt von

**Karl Marx.**

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1850.

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**Hamburg und New-York.**

bei **Schubert & Co.**



KARL MARX

THE CLASS STRUGGLES  
IN FRANCE

1848 to 1850<sup>63</sup>

Written from January to November 1,  
1850

First published in the journal *Neue  
Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische  
Revue* Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5-6, 1850  
Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the journal  
checked with the text of the 1895  
edition



With the exception of only a few chapters, every more important part of the annals of the revolution from 1848 to 1849 carries the heading: *Defeat of the Revolution!*

What succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms—persons, illusions, conceptions, projects from which the revolutionary party before the February Revolution was not free, from which it could be freed not by the *victory of February*, but only by a series of *defeats*.

In a word: the revolution made progress, forged ahead, not by its immediate tragi-comic achievements, but on the contrary by the creation of a powerful, united counter-revolution, by the creation of an opponent in combat with whom alone the party of insurrection ripened into a really revolutionary party.

To prove this is the task of the following pages.

## I

## THE DEFEAT OF JUNE 1848

After the July Revolution,<sup>a</sup> when the liberal banker Laffitte led his *compère*, the Duke of Orleans, in triumph to the *Hôtel de Ville*, he let fall the words: "From now on the bankers will rule." Laffitte had betrayed the secret of the revolution.

It was not the French bourgeoisie that ruled under Louis Philippe, but *one faction* of it: bankers, stock-exchange kings, railway kings, owners of coal and iron mines and forests, a part of the landed proprietors associated with them—the so-called *finance aristocracy*. It sat on the throne, it dictated laws in the Chambers, it distributed public offices, from cabinet portfolios to tobacco bureau posts.

The *industrial bourgeoisie* proper formed part of the official opposition, that is, it was represented only as a minority in the Chambers. Its opposition was expressed all the more resolutely, the more unalloyed the autocracy of the finance aristocracy became, and the more it itself imagined that its domination over the working class was ensured after the mutinies of 1832, 1834 and 1839, which had been drowned in blood.<sup>64</sup> *Grandin*, Rouen manufacturer and the most fanatical instrument of bourgeois reaction in the Constituent as well as in the Legislative National Assembly, was the most violent opponent of Guizot in the Chamber of Deputies. *Léon Faucher*, later known for his impotent efforts to climb into prominence as the Guizot of the French counter-revolution, in the last days of Louis Philippe waged a war of the pen for industry against speculation and its train-bearer, the government. *Bastiat* agitated in the name of

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<sup>a</sup> Of 1830.—*Ed.*

Bordeaux and the whole of wine-producing France against the ruling system.

The *petty bourgeoisie* of all gradations, and the *peasantry* also, were completely excluded from political power. Finally, in the official opposition or entirely outside the *pays légal*,<sup>a</sup> there were the *ideological* representatives and spokesmen of the above classes, their savants, lawyers, doctors, etc., in a word: their so-called *men of talent*.

Owing to its financial straits, the July monarchy was dependent from the beginning on the big bourgeoisie, and its dependence on the big bourgeoisie was the inexhaustible source of increasing financial straits. It was impossible to subordinate the administration of the state to the interests of national production without balancing the budget, without establishing a balance between state expenditures and state revenues. And how was this balance to be established without limiting state expenditures, that is, without encroaching on interests which were so many props of the ruling system, and without redistributing taxes, that is, without shifting a considerable share of the burden of taxation onto the shoulders of the big bourgeoisie itself?

On the contrary, the faction of the bourgeoisie that ruled and legislated through the Chambers had a *direct interest* in the *indebtedness of the state*. The *state deficit* was really the main object of its speculation and the chief source of its enrichment. At the end of each year a new deficit. After the lapse of four or five years a new loan. And every new loan offered new opportunities to the finance aristocracy for defrauding the state, which was kept artificially on the verge of bankruptcy — it had to negotiate with the bankers under the most unfavourable conditions. Each new loan gave a further opportunity, that of plundering the public which had invested its capital in state bonds by means of stock-exchange manipulations, into the secrets of which the government and the majority in the Chambers were initiated. In general, the instability of state credit and the possession of state secrets gave the bankers and their associates in the Chambers and on the throne the possibility of evoking sudden, extraordinary fluctuations in the quotations of government securities, the result of which was always bound to be the ruin of a mass of smaller capitalists and the fabulously rapid enrichment of the big gamblers. As the state deficit was in the direct interest of the ruling faction of the bourgeoisie, it is clear why the *extraordinary* state

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<sup>a</sup> Those enjoying the franchise.— *Ed.*

expenditure in the last years of Louis Philippe's reign was far more than double the extraordinary state expenditure under Napoleon, indeed reached a yearly sum of nearly 400,000,000 francs, whereas the whole average annual export of France seldom attained a volume amounting to 750,000,000 francs. The enormous sums which, in this way, flowed through the hands of the state facilitated, moreover, swindling contracts for deliveries, bribery, defalcations and all kinds of roguery. The defrauding of the state, practised wholesale in connection with loans, was repeated retail in public works. What occurred in the relations between Chamber and Government became multiplied in the relations between individual departments and individual *entrepreneurs*.

The ruling class exploited the *building of railways* in the same way as it exploited state expenditures in general and state loans. The Chambers piled the main burdens on the state, and secured the golden fruits to the speculating finance aristocracy. One recalls the scandals in the Chamber of Deputies, when by chance it leaked out that all the members of the majority, including a number of ministers, had been interested as shareholders in the very railway constructions which as legislators they caused to be carried out afterwards at the cost of the state.

On the other hand, the smallest financial reform was wrecked due to the influence of the bankers. For example, the *postal reform*. Rothschild protested. Was it permissible for the state to curtail sources of revenue out of which interest was to be paid on its ever-increasing debt?

The July monarchy was nothing but a joint-stock company for the exploitation of France's national wealth, the dividends of which were divided among ministers, Chambers,<sup>a</sup> 240,000 voters and their adherents. Louis Philippe was the director of this company—Robert Macaire<sup>65</sup> on the throne. Trade, industry, agriculture, shipping, the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, were bound to be continually endangered and prejudiced under this system. Cheap government, *gouvernement à bon marché*, was what it had inscribed in the July days on its banner.

Since the finance aristocracy made the laws, was at the head of the administration of the state, had command of all the organised public authorities, dominated public opinion through the actual state of

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<sup>a</sup> The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* had *Bauern* (peasants). In the Errata given by the editors of the journal this word was corrected to *Kammern* (Chambers). In the copy of the *Revue* with Marx's corrections *Bauern* was changed to *Bankiers*.—Ed.

affairs and through the press, the same prostitution, the same shameless cheating, the same mania to get rich was repeated in every sphere, from the Court to the Café Borgne,<sup>a</sup> to get rich not by production, but by pocketing the already available wealth of others. Clashing every moment with the bourgeois laws themselves, an unbridled assertion of unhealthy and dissolute appetites manifested itself, particularly at the top of bourgeois society—lusts wherein wealth derived from gambling naturally seeks its satisfaction, where pleasure becomes *crapuleux*,<sup>b</sup> where money, filth and blood commingle. The finance aristocracy, in its mode of acquisition as well as in its pleasures, is nothing but the *rebirth of the lumpenproletariat on the heights of bourgeois society*.

And the non-ruling factions of the French bourgeoisie cried: *Corruption!* The people cried: *À bas les grands voleurs! À bas les assassins!*<sup>c</sup> when in 1847, on the most prominent stages of bourgeois society, the same scenes were publicly enacted that regularly lead the *lumpenproletariat* to brothels, to workhouses and lunatic asylums, to the bar of justice, to the dungeon and to the scaffold. The industrial bourgeoisie saw its interests endangered, the petty bourgeoisie was filled with moral indignation, the imagination of the people was offended, Paris was flooded with pamphlets—*La dynastie Rothschild, Les juifs rois de l'époque*,<sup>d</sup> etc.—in which the rule of the finance aristocracy was denounced and stigmatised with greater or less wit.

*Rien pour la gloire!*<sup>e</sup> Glory brings no profit! *La paix partout et toujours!*<sup>f</sup> War depresses the quotations of the three and four per cents! the France of the Bourse jobbers had inscribed on her banner. Her foreign policy was therefore lost in a series of mortifications to French national sentiment, which reacted all the more vigorously when the rape of Poland was brought to its conclusion with the incorporation of Cracow by Austria, and when Guizot came out actively on the side of the Holy Alliance in the Swiss Sonderbund war.<sup>66</sup> The victory of the Swiss liberals in this bogus war raised the self-respect of the bourgeois opposition in France; the bloody uprising of the people in Palermo worked like an electric shock on

<sup>a</sup> Cafés of dubious character.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> Debauch.—Ed.

<sup>c</sup> Down with the big thieves! Down with the assassins!—Ed.

<sup>d</sup> G. Dairnvaell, *Rothschild I<sup>er</sup>, ses valets et son peuple*, Paris, 1846; and *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild I<sup>er</sup>, Roi des juifs*, Paris, 1846; A. Toussenel, *Les juifs, rois de l'époque. Histoire de la féodalité financière*, T. 1-2, Paris, 1847.—Ed.

<sup>e</sup> Nothing for glory!—Ed.

<sup>f</sup> Peace everywhere and always!—Ed.

the paralysed masses of the people and awoke their great revolutionary memories and passions.\*

The eruption of the general discontent was finally accelerated and the mood for revolt ripened by *two economic world events*.

The *potato blight* and the *crop failures* of 1845 and 1846 increased the general ferment among the people. The dearth of 1847 called forth bloody conflicts in France as well as on the rest of the Continent. As against the shameless orgies of the finance aristocracy, the struggle of the people for the prime necessities of life! At Buzançais, hunger rioters executed<sup>67</sup>; in Paris, oversatiated *escrocs*<sup>a</sup> snatched from the courts by the royal family!

The second great economic event which hastened the outbreak of the revolution was a *general commercial and industrial crisis* in England. Already heralded in the autumn of 1845 by the wholesale reverses of the speculators in railway shares, staved off during 1846 by a number of incidents such as the impending abolition of the corn duties, the crisis finally burst in the autumn of 1847 with the bankruptcy of the London wholesale grocers, on the heels of which followed the insolvencies of the land banks and the closing of the factories in the English industrial districts. The after-effect of this crisis on the Continent had not yet spent itself when the February Revolution broke out.

The devastation of trade and industry caused by the economic epidemic made the autocracy of the finance aristocracy still more unbearable. Throughout the whole of France the bourgeois opposition *agitated at banquets* for an *electoral reform* which should win for it the majority in the Chambers and overthrow the Ministry of the Bourse. In Paris the industrial crisis had, moreover, the particular result of throwing a multitude of manufacturers and big traders, who under the existing circumstances could no longer do any business in the foreign market, onto the home market. They set up large establishments, the competition of which ruined the small *épiciers* and *boutiquiers*<sup>b</sup> *en masse*. Hence the innumerable bankruptcies among this section of the Paris bourgeoisie, and hence their revolutionary action in February. It is well known how Guizot and the Chambers answered the reform proposals with an unambiguous

\* Annexation of Cracow by Austria in agreement with Russia and Prussia on November 11, 1846.—Swiss Sonderbund war: November 4 to 28, 1847.—Rising in Palermo: January 12, 1848; at the end of January, nine days' bombardment of the town by the Neapolitans.—*Note by Engels to the edition of 1895.*

<sup>a</sup> Swindlers.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Grocers and shopkeepers.—*Ed.*

challenge, how Louis Philippe too late resolved on a ministry led by Barrot, how things went as far as hand-to-hand fighting between the people and the army, how the army was disarmed as a result of the passive conduct of the National Guard, how the July monarchy had to give way to a Provisional Government.

The *Provisional Government* which emerged from the February barricades necessarily mirrored in its composition the different parties which shared in the victory. It could not be anything but a *compromise between the different classes* which together had overturned the July throne, but whose interests were mutually antagonistic. The *great majority* of its members consisted of representatives of the bourgeoisie. The republican petty bourgeoisie was represented by Ledru-Rollin and Flocon, the republican bourgeoisie by the people from the *National*,<sup>a</sup> the dynastic opposition by Crémieux, Dupont de l'Eure, etc.<sup>68</sup> The working class had only two representatives, Louis Blanc and Albert. Finally, Lamartine in the Provisional Government: this essentially represented no real interest, no definite class; for such was the February Revolution, the general uprising with its illusions, its poetry, its imaginary content and its rhetoric. Moreover, the spokesman of the February Revolution, according to both his position and his views, belonged to the *bourgeoisie*.

If Paris, as a result of political centralisation, rules France, the workers, in moments of revolutionary earthquakes, rule Paris. The first act in the life of the Provisional Government was an attempt to escape from this overpowering influence by an appeal from intoxicated Paris to sober France. Lamartine disputed the right of the barricade fighters to proclaim a republic on the ground that only the majority of Frenchmen had that right; they must await the majority vote, the Paris proletariat must not besmirch its victory by a usurpation.<sup>b</sup> The bourgeoisie allows the proletariat only *one* usurpation — that of fighting.

Up to noon of February 25 the republic had not yet been proclaimed; on the other hand, all the ministries had already been shared out among the bourgeois elements of the Provisional Government and among the generals, bankers and lawyers of the *National*. But the workers were determined this time not to put up with any fraud like that of July 1830. They were ready to take up the fight anew and to get a republic by force of arms. With this

<sup>a</sup> A. Marrast and L. A. Garnier-Pagès.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> From Lamartine's speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Marx gives a summary of this speech.—*Ed.*

message, *Raspail* betook himself to the *Hôtel de Ville*. In the name of the Paris proletariat he *commanded* the Provisional Government to proclaim a republic; if this order of the people were not fulfilled within two hours, he would return at the head of 200,000 men. The bodies of the fallen were scarcely cold, the barricades were not yet cleared away, the workers not yet disarmed, and the only force which could be opposed to them was the National Guard. Under these circumstances the doubts born of considerations of state policy and the juristic scruples of conscience entertained by the Provisional Government suddenly vanished. The time limit of two hours had not yet expired when all the walls of Paris were resplendent with the historic, momentous words:

*République française! Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité!*

Even the memory of the limited aims and motives which drove the bourgeoisie into the February Revolution was extinguished by the proclamation of the republic on the basis of universal suffrage. Instead of only a few factions of the bourgeoisie, all classes of French society were suddenly hurled into the orbit of political power, forced to leave the boxes, the stalls and the gallery and to act in person upon the revolutionary stage! With the constitutional monarchy vanished also the semblance of a state power independently confronting bourgeois society as well as the whole series of subordinate struggles which this semblance of power called forth!

By dictating the republic to the Provisional Government and through the Provisional Government to the whole of France, the proletariat stepped into the foreground forthwith as an independent party, but at the same time challenged the whole of bourgeois France to enter the lists against it. What it won was the terrain for the fight for its revolutionary emancipation, but by no means this emancipation itself.

The first thing that the February republic had to do was, rather, to *complete the rule of the bourgeoisie* by allowing, beside the finance aristocracy, *all the propertied classes* to enter the orbit of political power. The majority of the great landowners, the Legitimists,<sup>69</sup> were emancipated from the political nullity to which they had been condemned by the July monarchy. Not for nothing had the *Gazette de France* agitated in common with the opposition papers; not for nothing had La Rochejaquelein taken the side of the revolution in the session of the Chamber of Deputies on February 24. The nominal proprietors, who form the great majority of the French people, the *peasants*, were put by universal suffrage in the position of arbiters of the fate of France. The February republic finally brought



the rule of the bourgeoisie clearly into view, since it struck off the crown behind which capital kept itself concealed.

Just as the workers in the July days had fought for and won the *bourgeois monarchy*, so in the February days they fought for and won the *bourgeois republic*. Just as the July monarchy had to proclaim itself a *monarchy surrounded by republican institutions*, so the February republic was forced to proclaim itself a *republic surrounded by social institutions*. The Paris proletariat *compelled* this concession, too.

Marche, a worker, dictated the decree<sup>a</sup> by which the newly formed Provisional Government pledged itself to guarantee the workers a livelihood by means of labour, to provide work for all citizens, etc. And when, a few days later, it forgot its promises and seemed to have lost sight of the proletariat, a mass of 20,000 workers marched on the *Hôtel de Ville* with the cry: *Organisation of labour! Formation of a special Ministry of Labour!* Reluctantly and after long debate, the Provisional Government nominated a permanent special commission<sup>b</sup> to *find* means of improving the lot of the working classes! It consisted of delegates from the corporations of Paris artisans and was presided over by Louis Blanc and Albert. The Luxembourg palace was assigned to it as its meeting place. In this way the representatives of the working class were banished from the seat of the Provisional Government, the bourgeois part of which retained the real state power and the reins of administration exclusively in its hands; and *side by side* with the ministries of Finance, Trade, and Public Works, *side by side* with the Bank and the Bourse, there arose a *socialist synagogue* whose high priests, Louis Blanc and Albert, had the task of discovering the promised land, of preaching the new gospel and of providing work for the Paris proletariat. Unlike any profane state power, they had no budget, no executive authority at their disposal. They were supposed to break the pillars of bourgeois society by dashing their heads against them. While the Luxembourg sought the philosopher's stone, in the *Hôtel de Ville* they minted the current coinage.

And yet the claims of the Paris proletariat, so far as they went beyond the bourgeois republic, could win no other existence than the nebulous one of the Luxembourg.

In common with the bourgeoisie the workers had made the February Revolution, and *alongside* the bourgeoisie they sought to assert their interests, just as they had installed a worker in the Provisional Government itself alongside the bourgeois majority.

<sup>a</sup> The decree on the right to work adopted on February 25, 1848.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Commission du gouvernement pour les travailleurs.—*Ed.*

*Organisation of labour!* But wage labour, that is the existing, the bourgeois organisation of labour. Without it there is no capital, no bourgeoisie, no bourgeois society. A *special Ministry of Labour!* But the ministries of Finance, of Trade, of Public Works—are not these the *bourgeois* Ministries of Labour? And *alongside* these a *proletarian* Ministry of Labour had to be a ministry of impotence, a ministry of pious wishes, a Luxembourg Commission. Just as the workers thought they would be able to emancipate themselves side by side with the bourgeoisie, so they thought they would be able to consummate a proletarian revolution within the national walls of France, side by side with the remaining bourgeois nations. But French relations of production are conditioned by the foreign trade of France, by her position on the world market and the laws thereof; how was France to break them without a European revolutionary war, which would strike back at the despot of the world market, England?

As soon as it has risen up, a class in which the revolutionary interests of society are concentrated finds the content and the material for its revolutionary activity directly in its own situation: foes to be laid low, measures dictated by the needs of the struggle to be taken; the consequences of its own deeds drive it on. It makes no theoretical inquiries into its own task. The French working class had not attained this level; it was still incapable of accomplishing its own revolution.

The development of the industrial proletariat is, in general, conditioned by the development of the industrial bourgeoisie. Only under its rule does the proletariat gain that extensive national existence which can raise its revolution to a national one, and does it itself create the modern means of production, which become just so many means of its revolutionary emancipation. Only its rule tears up the material roots of feudal society and levels the ground on which alone a proletarian revolution is possible. French industry is more developed and the French bourgeoisie more revolutionary than that of the rest of the Continent. But was not the February Revolution levelled directly against the finance aristocracy? This fact proved that the industrial bourgeoisie did not rule France. The industrial bourgeoisie can rule only where modern industry shapes all property relations to suit itself, and industry can win this power only where it has conquered the world market, for national bounds are inadequate for its development. But French industry, to a great extent, maintains its command even of the national market only through a more or less modified system of prohibitive tariffs. While, therefore, the French proletariat, at the moment of a revolution, possesses in

Paris real power and influence which spur it on to an effort beyond its means, in the rest of France it is crowded into separate, scattered industrial centres, being almost lost in the superior numbers of peasants and petty bourgeois. The struggle against capital in its developed, modern form, in its decisive aspect, the struggle of the industrial wage-worker against the industrial bourgeois, is in France a partial phenomenon, which after the February days could so much the less supply the national content of the revolution, since the struggle against capital's secondary modes of exploitation, that of the peasant against usury and mortgages or of the petty bourgeois against the wholesale dealer, banker and manufacturer, in a word, against bankruptcy, was still hidden in the general uprising against the finance aristocracy. Nothing is more understandable, then, than that the Paris proletariat sought to assert its own interests *side by side* with the interests of the bourgeoisie, instead of enforcing them as the revolutionary interests of society itself, that it let the *red* flag be dipped before the *tricolour*.<sup>70</sup> The French workers could not take a step forward, could not touch a hair of the bourgeois order, until the course of the revolution had aroused the mass of the nation, the peasants and petty bourgeois, standing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, against this order, against the rule of capital, and had forced them to attach themselves to the proletarians as their protagonists. The workers could buy this victory only through the tremendous defeat in June.

The Luxembourg Commission, this creation of the Paris workers, must be given the credit of having disclosed, from a Europe-wide tribune, the secret of the revolution of the nineteenth century: *the emancipation of the proletariat*. The *Moniteur* blushed when it had to propagate officially the "wild ravings"<sup>71</sup> which up to that time lay buried in the apocryphal writings of the Socialists and reached the ear of the bourgeoisie only from time to time as remote, half terrifying, half ludicrous legends. Europe awoke astonished from its bourgeois doze. Therefore, in the minds of the proletarians, who confused the finance aristocracy with the bourgeoisie in general; in the imagination of the good old republicans who denied the very existence of classes or, at most, admitted them as a result of the constitutional monarchy; in the hypocritical phrases of the factions of the bourgeoisie which until then had been excluded from power, the *rule of the bourgeoisie* was abolished with the introduction of the republic. At that time all the royalists were transformed into republicans and all the millionaires of Paris into workers. The phrase which corresponded to this imaginary abolition of class relations was *fraternité*, universal fraternisation and brotherhood. This pleasant

dissociation from class antagonisms, this sentimental reconciliation of contradictory class interests, this visionary elevation above the class struggle, this *fraternité* was the real catchword of the February Revolution. The classes were divided by a mere *misunderstanding* and Lamartine baptised the Provisional Government of February 24 “un gouvernement qui suspende *ce malentendu terrible qui existe entre les différentes classes*”.<sup>a</sup> The Paris proletariat revelled in this unanimous intoxication of fraternity.

The Provisional Government, on its part, once it was compelled to proclaim the republic, did everything to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie and to the provinces. The bloody terror of the first French republic was disavowed by the abolition of the death penalty for political offences; the press was opened to all opinions; the army, the courts, the administration remained with a few exceptions in the hands of their old dignitaries; none of the July monarchy's great offenders was brought to book. The bourgeois republicans of the *National* amused themselves by exchanging monarchist names and costumes for old republican ones. To them the republic was only a new ball dress for the old bourgeois society. The young republic sought its chief merit not in frightening, but rather in constantly taking fright itself,<sup>b</sup> and in winning existence and disarming resistance by easy compliance and non-resistance. At home to the privileged classes, abroad to the despotic powers, it was loudly announced that the republic was of a peaceful nature. Live and let live was its professed motto. What is more, shortly after the February Revolution the Germans, Poles, Austrians, Hungarians and Italians revolted, each people in accordance with its immediate situation. Russia and England—the latter itself agitated, the former cowed—were not prepared. The republic, therefore, had no *national* enemy to face. Consequently, there were no great foreign complications which could fire the energies, hasten the revolutionary process, drive the Provisional Government forward or throw it overboard. The Paris proletariat, which looked upon the republic as its own creation, naturally acclaimed each act of the Provisional Government which facilitated the firm emplacement of the latter in bourgeois society. It willingly allowed itself to be

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<sup>a</sup> “A government that removes *this terrible misunderstanding which exists between the different classes*.” (From Lamartine's speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Italics by Marx.)—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> In his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Revue Engels changed the words *beständig zu erschrecken* (constantly taking fright) to *anständig zu erscheinen* (looking inoffensive).—*Ed.*

employed on police service by Caussidière in order to protect property in Paris, just as it allowed Louis Blanc to arbitrate wage disputes between workers and masters. It made it a *point d'honneur* to preserve the bourgeois honour of the republic unblemished in the eyes of Europe.

The republic encountered no resistance either abroad or at home. This disarmed it. Its task was no longer the revolutionary transformation of the world, but consisted only in adapting itself to the relations of bourgeois society. Concerning the fanaticism with which the Provisional Government undertook this task there is no more eloquent testimony than its *financial measures*.

*Public credit* and *private credit* were naturally shaken. *Public credit* rests on confidence that the state will allow itself to be exploited by the wolves of finance. But the old state had vanished and the revolution was directed above all against the finance aristocracy. The tremors of the last European commercial crisis had not yet ceased. Bankruptcy still followed bankruptcy.

*Private credit* was therefore paralysed, circulation restricted, production at a standstill before the February Revolution broke out. The revolutionary crisis increased the commercial crisis. And if private credit rests on confidence that bourgeois production in the entire scope of its relations, that the bourgeois order, will not be touched, will remain inviolate, what effect must a revolution have had which questioned the basis of bourgeois production, the economic slavery of the proletariat, which set up against the Bourse the sphinx of the Luxembourg? The raising up of the proletariat is the abolition of bourgeois credit; for it is the abolition of bourgeois production and its order. Public credit and private credit are the economic thermometer by which the intensity of a revolution can be measured. *The more they fall, the more the fervour and generative power of the revolution rises.*

The Provisional Government wanted to strip the republic of its anti-bourgeois appearance. And so it had, above all, to try to peg the *exchange value* of this new form of state, its *quotation* on the Bourse. Private credit necessarily rose again, together with the current Bourse quotation of the republic.

In order to allay the very *suspicion* that it would not or could not honour the obligations assumed by the monarchy, in order to build up confidence in the republic's bourgeois morality and capacity to pay, the Provisional Government took refuge in braggadocio as undignified as it was childish. *In advance* of the legal date of payment it paid out the interest on the 5 per cent, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> per cent and 4 per cent bonds to the state creditors. The bourgeois aplomb, the self-

assurance of the capitalists, suddenly awoke when they saw the anxious haste with which it was sought to buy their confidence.

The financial embarrassment of the Provisional Government was naturally not lessened by a theatrical stroke which robbed it of its stock of ready cash. The financial pinch could no longer be concealed and *petty bourgeois, domestic servants and workers* had to pay for the pleasant surprise which had been prepared for the state creditors.

It was announced that no money could be drawn on *savings bank accounts* for amounts of over one hundred francs. The sums deposited in the savings banks were confiscated and by decree transformed into an irredeemable state debt. This embittered the already hard pressed *petty bourgeois* against the republic. Since he received state debt certificates in place of his savings bank books, he was forced to go to the Bourse in order to sell them and thus deliver himself directly into the hands of the Bourse jobbers, against whom he had made the February Revolution.

The finance aristocracy, which ruled under the July monarchy, had its high church in the *Bank*. Just as the Bourse governs state credit, the Bank governs *commercial credit*.

Directly threatened not only in its rule but in its very existence by the February Revolution, the Bank tried from the outset to discredit the republic by making the lack of credit general. It suddenly stopped the credits of the bankers, the manufacturers and the merchants. As it did not immediately call forth a counter-revolution, this manoeuvre necessarily reacted on the Bank itself. The capitalists drew out the money which they had deposited in the vaults of the Bank. The possessors of bank-notes rushed to the pay office in order to exchange them for gold and silver.

The Provisional Government could have forced the Bank into *bankruptcy* without forcible interference, in a legal manner; it would only have had to remain passive and leave the Bank to its fate. The *bankruptcy of the Bank* would have been the deluge which in a trice would have swept from French soil the finance aristocracy, the most powerful and dangerous enemy of the republic, the golden pedestal of the July monarchy. And once the Bank was bankrupt, the bourgeoisie itself would have had to regard it as a last desperate attempt at rescue, if the government had formed a national bank and subjected national credit to the control of the nation.

The Provisional Government, on the contrary, fixed a *compulsory quotation* for the notes of the Bank. It did more. It transformed all provincial banks into branches of the *Banque de France* and allowed it to cast its net over the whole of France. Later it pledged the *state*

*forests* to the Bank as a guarantee for a loan that it contracted from it. In this way the February Revolution directly strengthened and enlarged the bankocracy which it should have overthrown.

Meanwhile the Provisional Government was writhing under the incubus of a growing deficit. In vain it begged for patriotic sacrifices. Only the workers threw it their alms. Recourse had to be had to a heroic measure, to the imposition of a *new tax*. But who was to be taxed? The Bourse wolves, the bank kings, the state creditors, the *rentiers*, the industrialists? That was not the way to ingratiate the republic with the bourgeoisie. That would have meant, on the one hand, to endanger state credit and commercial credit, while, on the other, attempts were made to purchase them with such great sacrifices and humiliations. But someone had to fork out the cash. Who was sacrificed to bourgeois credit? *Jacques le bonhomme*, the *peasant*.

The Provisional Government imposed an additional tax of 45 centimes in the franc on the four direct taxes. The government press cajoled the Paris proletariat into believing that this tax would fall chiefly on the big landed proprietors, on the possessors of the milliard granted by the Restoration.<sup>72</sup> But in truth it hit the *peasant class* above all, that is, the large majority of the French people. *They had to pay the costs of the February Revolution*; in them the counter-revolution gained its main material. The 45 centimes tax was a question of life and death for the French peasant; he made it a life-and-death question for the republic. From that moment the *republic* meant to the French peasant the *45 centimes tax*, and he saw in the Paris proletariat the spendthrift who did himself well at his expense.

Whereas the Revolution of 1789 began by shaking the feudal burdens off the peasants, the Revolution of 1848 announced itself to the rural population by the imposition of a new tax, in order not to endanger capital and to keep its state machine going.

There was only *one* means by which the Provisional Government could set aside all these inconveniences and jerk the state out of its old rut—a *declaration of state bankruptcy*. Everyone recalls how Ledru-Rollin in the National Assembly subsequently proclaimed with what virtuous indignation he repudiated this presumptuous proposal of the Bourse wolf Fould,<sup>a</sup> now French Finance Minister. Fould had handed him the apple from the tree of knowledge.

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<sup>a</sup> From Ledru-Rollin's speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly on April 21, 1849.—*Ed*

By honouring the bills drawn on the state by the old bourgeois society, the Provisional Government succumbed to the latter. It had become the hard pressed debtor of bourgeois society instead of confronting it as the pressing creditor that had to collect the revolutionary debts of many years. It had to consolidate the shaky bourgeois relationships in order to fulfil obligations which are only to be fulfilled within these relationships. Credit became a condition of life for it, and the concessions to the proletariat, the promises made to it, became so many *fetters* which *had* to be struck off. The emancipation of the workers—even as a *phrase*—became an unbearable danger to the new republic, for it was a standing protest against the restoration of credit, which rests on undisturbed and untroubled recognition of the existing economic class relations. Therefore, it was necessary *to have done with the workers*.

The February Revolution had cast the army out of Paris. The National Guard, that is, the bourgeoisie in its different gradations, constituted the sole power. Alone, however, it did not feel itself a match for the proletariat. Moreover, it was forced gradually and piecemeal to open its ranks and admit armed proletarians, albeit after the most tenacious resistance and after setting up a hundred different obstacles. There consequently remained but one way out: *to play off one part of the proletariat against the other*.

For this purpose the Provisional Government formed 24 battalions of *Mobile Guards*, each a thousand strong, composed of young men from 15 to 20 years.<sup>73</sup> They belonged for the most part to the *lumpenproletariat*, which in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat, a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, *gens sans feu et sans aveu*, varying according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their *lazzaroni*<sup>74</sup> character; at the youthful age at which the Provisional Government recruited them, thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption. The Provisional Government paid them 1 franc 50 centimes a day, that is, it bought them. It gave them their own uniform, that is, it made them outwardly distinct from the blouse-wearing workers. In part it had assigned them officers from the standing army as leaders; in part they themselves elected young sons of the bourgeoisie whose rodomontades about death for the fatherland and devotion to the republic captivated them.

And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst, of 24,000 young, strong, foolhardy men. It gave



cheers for the Mobile Guard on its marches through Paris. It acknowledged it to be its foremost fighters on the barricades. It regarded it as the *proletarian* guard in contradistinction to the bourgeois National Guard. Its error was pardonable.

Besides the Mobile Guard, the government decided to rally round itself an army of industrial workers. A hundred thousand workers, thrown on the streets by the crisis and the revolution, were enrolled by the Minister Marie in so-called national *ateliers*. Under this grandiose name was hidden nothing else than the employment of the workers on tedious, monotonous, unproductive *earthworks* at a wage of 23 sous. *English workhouses*<sup>75</sup> *in the open*—that is what these national *ateliers* were. The Provisional Government believed that it had formed, in them, a *second proletarian army against the workers themselves*. This time the bourgeoisie was mistaken in the national *ateliers*, just as the workers were mistaken in the Mobile Guard. It had created an *army for mutiny*.

But *one* purpose was achieved.

*National ateliers* was the name of the people's workshops, which Louis Blanc preached in the Luxembourg palace. Marie's *ateliers*, devised in direct *antagonism* to the Luxembourg, offered occasion, thanks to the common label, for a plot of errors worthy of the Spanish comedy of servants. The Provisional Government itself surreptitiously spread the report that these national *ateliers* were the invention of Louis Blanc, and this seemed the more plausible because Louis Blanc, the prophet of the national *ateliers*, was a member of the Provisional Government. And in the half naive, half intentional confusion of the Paris bourgeoisie, in the artificially moulded opinion of France, of Europe, these workhouses were the first realisation of socialism, which was put in the pillory with them.

In their appellation, though not in their content, the *national ateliers* were the embodied protest of the proletariat against bourgeois industry, bourgeois credit and the bourgeois republic. The whole hate of the bourgeoisie was, therefore, turned upon them. It had found in them, simultaneously, the point against which it could direct the attack, as soon as it was strong enough to break openly with the February illusions. All the discontent, all the ill-humour of the *petty bourgeois* too was directed against these national *ateliers*, the common target. With real fury they reckoned up the sums that the proletarian loafers swallowed up, while their own situation was becoming daily more unbearable. A state pension for sham labour, so that's socialism! they grumbled to themselves. They sought the reason for their misery in the national *ateliers*, the declamations of the Luxembourg, the processions of the workers

through Paris. And no one was more fanatic about the alleged machinations of the Communists than the petty bourgeoisie, who hovered hopelessly on the brink of bankruptcy.

Thus in the imminent skirmish between bourgeoisie and proletariat, all the advantages, all the decisive posts, all the middle strata of society were in the hands of the bourgeoisie, at the same time as the waves of the February Revolution rose high over the whole Continent, and each new post brought a new bulletin of revolution, now from Italy, now from Germany, now from the remotest parts of South-Eastern Europe, and maintained the general ecstasy of the people, giving it constant testimony of a victory that it had already forfeited.

*March 17* and *April 16* were the first skirmishes in the big class struggle, which the bourgeois republic hid under its wings.

*March 17* revealed the ambiguous situation of the proletariat, which permitted of no decisive act. Its demonstration originally pursued the purpose of pushing the Provisional Government back onto the path of revolution, of effecting the exclusion of its bourgeois members, according to circumstances, and of compelling the postponement of the election days for the National Assembly and the National Guard.<sup>76</sup> But on *March 16* the bourgeoisie represented in the National Guard staged a hostile demonstration against the Provisional Government. With the cry: *À bas Ledru-Rollin!*<sup>a</sup> it surged to the *Hôtel de Ville*. And the people were forced, on *March 17*, to shout: Long live Ledru-Rollin! Long live the Provisional Government! They were forced to take sides *against* the bourgeoisie in support of the bourgeois republic, which seemed to them to be in danger. They strengthened the Provisional Government, instead of subordinating it to themselves. *March 17* went off in a melodramatic scene, and whereas the Paris proletariat on this day once more displayed its giant body, the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Provisional Government was all the more determined to smash it.

*April 16* was a *misunderstanding* engineered by the Provisional Government in alliance with the bourgeoisie. The workers had gathered in great numbers in the Field of Mars and in the Hippodrome to prepare their elections to the general staff of the National Guard. Suddenly throughout Paris, from one end to the other, a rumour spread as quick as lightning, to the effect, that the workers had met armed in the Field of Mars, under the leadership of Louis Blanc, Blanqui, Cabet and Raspail, in order to march thence on the *Hôtel de Ville*, overthrow the Provisional Government and

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<sup>a</sup> Down with Ledru-Rollin! — *Ed.*

proclaim a communist government. The general alarm is sounded—Ledru-Rollin, Marrast and Lamartine later contended for the honour of having initiated this—and in an hour 100,000 men are under arms; the *Hôtel de Ville* is occupied at all points by the National Guard; the cry: Down with the Communists! Down with Louis Blanc, with Blanqui, with Raspail, with Cabet! thunders throughout Paris. Innumerable deputations pay homage to the Provisional Government, all ready to save the fatherland and society. When the workers finally appear before the *Hôtel de Ville*, in order to hand over to the Provisional Government a patriotic collection which they had made in the Field of Mars, they learn to their amazement that bourgeois Paris had defeated their shadow in a very carefully calculated sham battle. The terrible attempt of April 16 furnished the excuse for *recalling the army to Paris*—the real purpose of the clumsily staged comedy—and for the reactionary federalist demonstrations in the provinces.

On May 4 the *National Assembly*,<sup>a</sup> the result of the *direct general elections*, convened. Universal suffrage did not possess the magic power which republicans of the old school had ascribed to it. They saw in the whole of France, at least in the majority of Frenchmen, *citoyens* with the same interests, the same understanding, etc. This was their *cult of the people*. Instead of their *imaginary* people, the elections brought the *real* people to the light of day, that is, representatives of the different classes into which it falls. We have seen why peasants and petty bourgeois had to vote under the leadership of a bourgeoisie spoiling for a fight and of big landowners frantic for restoration. But if universal suffrage was not the miracle-working magic wand for which the republican worthies had taken it, it possessed the incomparably higher merit of unchaining the class struggle, of letting the various middle strata of bourgeois society rapidly get over their illusions and disappointments, of tossing all the sections of the exploiting class at one throw to the apex of the state, and thus tearing from them their deceptive mask, whereas the monarchy with its property qualifications only let certain factions of the bourgeoisie compromise themselves, allowing the others to lie hidden behind the scenes and surrounding them with the halo of a common opposition.

In the Constituent National Assembly, which met on May 4, the *bourgeois republicans*, the republicans of the *National*, had the upper hand. Even Legitimists and Orleanists<sup>77</sup> at first dared to show

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<sup>a</sup> Here and below (up to p. 94) the reference is to the Constituent National Assembly which was in office between May 4, 1848, and May 1849.—*Ed.*

themselves only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism. The fight against the proletariat could be undertaken only in the name of the republic.

*The republic dates from May 4, not from February 25*, that is, the republic recognised by the French people; it is not the republic which the Paris proletariat thrust upon the Provisional Government, not the republic with social institutions, not the vision which hovered before the fighters on the barricades. The republic proclaimed by the National Assembly, the sole legitimate republic, is a republic which is no revolutionary weapon against the bourgeois order, but rather its political reconstitution, the political reconsolidation of bourgeois society, in a word, a *bourgeois republic*. This contention resounded from the tribune of the National Assembly, and in the entire republican and anti-republican bourgeois press it found its echo.

And we have seen how the February republic in reality was not and could not be other than a *bourgeois republic*; how the Provisional Government, nevertheless, was forced by the immediate pressure of the proletariat to announce it as a *republic with social institutions*; how the Paris proletariat was still incapable of going beyond the bourgeois republic otherwise than in its *fancy*, in *imagination*; how everywhere it acted in its service when it really came to action; how the promises made to it became an unbearable danger for the new republic; how the whole life process of the Provisional Government was comprised in a continuous fight against the demands of the proletariat.

In the National Assembly all France sat in judgment upon the Paris proletariat. The Assembly broke immediately with the social illusions of the February Revolution; it roundly proclaimed the *bourgeois republic*, nothing but the bourgeois republic. It at once excluded the representatives of the proletariat, Louis Blanc and Albert, from the Executive Commission<sup>78</sup> appointed by it; it threw out the proposal for a special Labour Ministry, and received with acclamation the statement of the Minister Trélat: "Now it is only a matter of *leading labour back to its old conditions*."<sup>a</sup>

But all this was not enough. The February republic was won by the workers with the passive support of the bourgeoisie. The proletarians rightly regarded themselves as the victors of February, and they made the arrogant claims of victors. They had to be vanquished

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<sup>a</sup> From Trélat's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on June 20, 1848. Marx is quoting his own article published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 29, June 29, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 148).—*Ed.*

in the streets, they had to be shown that they were worsted as soon as they did not fight *with* the bourgeoisie, but *against* the bourgeoisie. Just as the February republic, with its socialist concessions, required a battle of the proletariat, united with the bourgeoisie, against the monarchy, so a second battle was necessary in order to sever the republic from the socialist concessions, in order to officially work out the *bourgeois republic* as dominant. The bourgeoisie had to refute, arms in hand, the demands of the proletariat. And the real birthplace of the bourgeois republic is not the *February victory*; it is the *June defeat*.

The proletariat hastened the decision when, on the 15th of May, it pushed its way into the National Assembly, sought in vain to recapture its revolutionary influence and only delivered its energetic leaders to the jailers of the bourgeoisie.<sup>79</sup> *Il faut en finir!* This situation must end! With this cry the National Assembly gave vent to its determination to force the proletariat into a decisive struggle. The Executive Commission issued a series of provocative decrees, such as that prohibiting congregations of people,<sup>80</sup> etc. The workers were directly provoked, insulted and derided from the tribune of the Constituent National Assembly. But the real point of the attack was, as we have seen, the *national ateliers*. The Constituent Assembly imperiously pointed these out to the Executive Commission, which only waited to hear its own plan proclaimed the command of the National Assembly.

The Executive Commission began by making admission to the national *ateliers* more difficult, by turning the day wage into a piece wage, by banishing workers not born in Paris to Sologne, ostensibly for the construction of earthworks. These earthworks were only a rhetorical formula with which to embellish their exile, as the workers, returning disillusioned, announced to their comrades. Finally, on June 21, a decree appeared in the *Moniteur* which ordered the forcible expulsion of all unmarried workers from the national *ateliers* or their enrolment in the army.<sup>81</sup>

The workers were left no choice; they had to starve or take action. They answered on June 22 with the tremendous insurrection in which the first great battle was fought between the two classes that split modern society. It was a fight for the preservation or annihilation of the *bourgeois* order. The veil that shrouded the republic was torn asunder.

It is well known how the workers, with unexampled bravery and ingenuity, without leaders, without a common plan, without means and, for the most part, lacking weapons, held in check for five days the army, the Mobile Guard, the Paris National Guard, and the

National Guard that streamed in from the provinces. It is well known how the bourgeoisie compensated itself for the mortal anguish it suffered by unheard-of brutality, massacring over 3,000 prisoners.

The official representatives of French democracy were steeped in republican ideology to such an extent that it was only some weeks later that the significance of the June fight began to dawn on them. They were stupefied by the gunpowder smoke in which their fantastic republic dissolved.

The immediate impression which the news of the June defeat made on us, the reader will allow us to describe in the words of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*<sup>a</sup>:

“The Executive Committee, that last official vestige of the February revolution, vanished like a ghost in the face of these grave events. Lamartine’s fireworks have turned into the incendiary rockets of Cavaignac. *Fraternité*, the brotherhood of antagonistic classes, one of which exploits the other, this *fraternité* which in February was proclaimed and inscribed in large letters on the façades of Paris, on every prison and every barracks—this *fraternité* found its true, unadulterated and prosaic expression in *civil war*, civil war in its most terrible aspect, the war of labour against capital. This brotherhood blazed in front of all the windows of Paris on the evening of June 25, when the Paris of the bourgeoisie held illuminations while the Paris of the proletariat was burning, bleeding, groaning in the throes of death. This brotherhood lasted only as long as there was a fraternity of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

“Pedants sticking to the old revolutionary tradition of 1793; socialist doctrinaires who begged alms for the people from the bourgeoisie and who were allowed to deliver lengthy sermons and compromise themselves so long as the proletarian lion had to be lulled to sleep; republicans who wanted to keep the old bourgeois order *in toto*, but without the crowned head; members of the dynastic opposition on whom chance imposed the task of bringing about the downfall of a dynasty instead of a change of government; legitimists, who did not want to cast off their livery but merely to change its style—these were the allies with whom the people had fought their February revolution....

“The February revolution was the *nice* revolution, the revolution of universal sympathies, because the contradictions which erupted in it against the monarchy were still *undeveloped* and peacefully

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<sup>a</sup> Quoted from Marx’s article “The June Revolution” (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 144-48).—*Ed.*

dormant, because the social struggle which formed their background had only achieved a nebulous existence, an existence in phrases, in words. The *June revolution* is the *ugly* revolution, the nasty revolution, because the phrases have given place to the real thing, because the republic has bared the head of the monster by knocking off the crown which shielded and concealed it.—*Order!* was Guizot's war-cry. *Order!* shouted Sébastiani, the Guizotist, when Warsaw became Russian. *Order!* shouts Cavaignac, the brutal echo of the French National Assembly and of the republican bourgeoisie. *Order!* thundered his grape-shot as it tore into the body of the proletariat. None of the numerous revolutions of the French bourgeoisie since 1789 assailed the existing *order*, for they retained the class rule, the slavery of the workers, the *bourgeois* order, even though the political form of this rule and this slavery changed frequently. The June uprising did assail this order. Woe to the June uprising!" (*N. Rh. Z.*, June 29, 1848.)

Woe to June! re-echoes Europe.

The Paris proletariat was *forced* into the June insurrection by the bourgeoisie. This sufficed to mark its doom. Its immediate, avowed needs did not drive it to engage in a fight for the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, nor was it equal to this task. The *Moniteur* had to inform it officially that the time was past when the republic saw any occasion to bow and scrape to its illusions, and only its defeat convinced it of the truth that the slightest improvement in its position remains a *utopia within* the bourgeois republic, a utopia that becomes a crime as soon as it wants to become a reality. In place of its demands, exuberant in form, but petty and even bourgeois still in content, the concession of which it wanted to wring from the February republic, there appeared the bold slogan of revolutionary struggle: *Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!*

By making its burial place the birthplace of the *bourgeois republic*, the proletariat compelled the latter to come out forthwith in its pure form as the state whose admitted object it is to perpetuate the rule of capital, the slavery of labour. Having constantly before its eyes the scarred, irreconcilable, invincible enemy—invincible because his existence is the condition of its own life—bourgeois rule, freed from all fetters, was bound to turn immediately into *bourgeois terrorism*. With the proletariat removed for the time being from the stage and bourgeois dictatorship recognised officially, the middle strata of bourgeois society, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasant class, had to adhere more and more closely to the proletariat as their position became more unbearable and their antagonism to the bourgeoisie

more acute. Just as earlier they had to find the cause of their distress in its upsurge, so now in its defeat.

If the June insurrection raised the self-assurance of the bourgeoisie all over the Continent, and caused it to league itself openly with the feudal monarchy against the people, who was the first victim of this alliance? The Continental bourgeoisie itself. The June defeat prevented it from consolidating its rule and from bringing the people, half satisfied and half out of humour, to a standstill at the lowest stage of the bourgeois revolution.

Finally, the defeat of June divulged to the despotic powers of Europe the secret that France must maintain peace abroad at any price in order to be able to wage civil war at home. Thus the peoples who had begun the fight for their national independence were abandoned to the superior power of Russia, Austria and Prussia, but, at the same time, the fate of these national revolutions was made subject to the fate of the proletarian revolution, and they were robbed of their apparent autonomy, their independence of the great social revolution. The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, as long as the worker remains a slave!

Finally, with the victories of the Holy Alliance, Europe has taken on a form in which every fresh proletarian upheaval in France directly involves a *world war*. The new French revolution is forced to leave its national soil forthwith and *conquer the European terrain*, on which alone the social revolution of the nineteenth century can be accomplished.

Thus only the June defeat has created all the conditions under which France can seize the *initiative* of the European revolution. Only after being dipped in the blood of the *June insurgents* did the tricolour become the flag of the European revolution—the *red flag*!

And we exclaim: *The revolution is dead!—Long live the revolution!*



## II

JUNE 13, 1849

February 25, 1848, had granted the *republic* to France, June 25 thrust the *revolution* upon her. And revolution, after June, meant: *overthrow of bourgeois society*, whereas before February it had meant: *overthrow of the form of government*.

The June fight had been led by the *republican* faction of the bourgeoisie; with victory political power necessarily fell to its share. The state of siege laid gagged Paris unresisting at its feet, and in the provinces there prevailed a moral state of siege, the threatening, brutal arrogance of victory of the bourgeoisie and the unleashed property fanaticism of the peasants. No danger, therefore, from *below!*

The collapse of the revolutionary might of the workers was also a collapse of the political influence of the *democratic republicans*, that is, of the republicans in the sense of the *petty bourgeoisie*, represented in the Executive Commission by Ledru-Rollin, in the Constituent National Assembly by the party of the *Montagne* and in the press by the *Réforme*.<sup>82</sup> Together with the bourgeois republicans they had conspired on April 16 against the proletariat, together with them they had warred against it in the June days. Thus they themselves blasted the background against which their party stood out as a power, for the petty bourgeoisie can preserve a revolutionary attitude toward the bourgeoisie only as long as it has the backing of the proletariat. They were dismissed. The sham alliance concluded with them reluctantly and secretly during the epoch of the Provisional Government and the Executive Commission was openly broken by the bourgeois republicans. Spurned and repulsed as allies, they sank down to subordinate

henchmen of the tricolour-men, from whom they could not wring any concessions, but whose domination they had to support whenever it, and with it the republic, seemed to be put in jeopardy by the anti-republican bourgeois factions. Lastly, these factions, the Orleanists and the Legitimists, were from the very beginning in a minority in the Constituent National Assembly. Before the June days, they dared to react only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism; the June victory made for a moment the whole of bourgeois France greet its saviour in Cavaignac, and when, shortly after the June days, the anti-republican party regained independence, the military dictatorship and the state of siege in Paris permitted it to put out its antennae only very timidly and cautiously.

Since 1830, the *bourgeois republican* faction, in the person of its writers, its spokesmen, its men of talent and ambition, its deputies, generals, bankers and lawyers, had grouped itself round a Parisian journal, the *National*. In the provinces this journal had its branch newspapers. The coterie of the *National* was the *dynasty of the tricolour republic*. It immediately took possession of all state dignities, of the ministries, the prefecture of police, the post-office directorship, the positions of prefect, the higher army officers' posts now become vacant. At the head of the executive power stood its general, *Cavaignac*; its editor-in-chief, *Marrast*, became permanent President of the Constituent National Assembly. As master of ceremonies he at the same time did the honours, in his salons, of the respectable republic.

Even revolutionary French writers, awed, as it were, by the republican tradition, have strengthened the mistaken belief that the royalists dominated the Constituent National Assembly. On the contrary, after the June days, the Constituent Assembly remained the *exclusive representative of bourgeois republicanism*, and it emphasised this aspect all the more resolutely, the more the influence of the tricolour republicans collapsed outside the Assembly. If the question was one of maintaining the *form* of the bourgeois republic, then the Assembly had the votes of the democratic republicans at its disposal; if one of maintaining the *content*, then even its mode of speech no longer separated it from the royalist bourgeois factions, for it is the interests of the bourgeoisie, the material conditions of its class rule and class exploitation, that form the content of the bourgeois republic.

Thus it was not royalism but bourgeois republicanism that was realised in the life and work of this Constituent Assembly, which in the end did not die, nor was killed, but decayed.

For the entire duration of its rule, as long as it gave its grand

performance of state on the proscenium,<sup>88</sup> an unbroken sacrificial feast was being staged in the background—the continual sentencing by courts-martial of the captured June insurgents or their deportation without trial. The Constituent Assembly had the tact to admit that in the June insurgents it was not judging criminals but wiping out enemies.

The first act of the Constituent National Assembly was the setting up of a *commission of enquiry* into the events of June and of May 15, and into the part played by the socialist and democratic party leaders during these days. The enquiry was directly aimed at Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin and Caussidière. The bourgeois republicans burned with impatience to rid themselves of these rivals. They could have entrusted the venting of their spleen to no more suitable subject than M. *Odilon Barrot*, the former chief of the dynastic opposition, the incarnation of liberalism, the *nullité grave*,<sup>a</sup> the thoroughly shallow person who not only had a dynasty to revenge, but even had to settle accounts with the revolutionists for thwarting his premiership. A sure guarantee of his relentlessness. This Barrot was, therefore, appointed chairman of the commission of enquiry, and he constructed a complete legal process against the February Revolution, which process may be summarised thus: March 17, *demonstration*; April 16, *conspiracy*; May 15, *attempt*; June 23, *civil war*! Why did he not stretch his erudite criminologist's researches as far back as February 24? The *Journal des Débats* answered<sup>b</sup>: February 24—that is the *foundation of Rome*. The origin of states gets lost in a myth, in which one may believe, but which one may not discuss. Louis Blanc and Caussidière were handed over to the courts. The National Assembly completed the work of purging itself which it had begun on May 15.

The plan formed by the Provisional Government, and again taken up by Goudchaux, of taxing capital—in the form of a mortgage tax—was rejected by the Constituent Assembly; the law that limited the working day to ten hours was repealed; imprisonment for debt was once more introduced; the large section of the French population that can neither read nor write was excluded from jury service. Why not from the franchise also? Journals again had to deposit caution money; the right of association was restricted.

But in their haste to give back to the old bourgeois relationships their old guarantees, and to wipe out every trace left behind by the

<sup>a</sup> Self-important nonentity.—*Ed*

<sup>b</sup> "France. Paris, 27 août", editorial article in the *Journal des Débats* for August 28, 1848.—*Ed*

waves of the revolution, the bourgeois republicans encountered a resistance which threatened them with unexpected danger.

No one had fought more fanatically in the June days for the salvation of property and the restoration of credit than the Parisian petty bourgeois—keepers of cafés and restaurants, *marchands de vins*, small traders, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, etc. The shopkeeper had pulled himself together and marched against the barricades in order to restore the traffic which leads from the road into the shop. But behind the barricade stood the customers and the debtors; before it the shop's creditors. And when the barricades were thrown down and the workers were crushed and the shopkeepers, drunk with victory, rushed back to their shops, they found the entrance barred by a saviour of property, an official agent of credit, who presented them with threatening notices: Overdue promissory note! Overdue house rent! Overdue bond! Doomed shop! Doomed shopkeeper!

*Salvation of property!* But the house in which they lived was not their property; the shop which they kept was not their property; the commodities in which they dealt were not their property. Neither their business, nor the plate from which they ate, nor the bed on which they slept belonged to them any longer. It was precisely from them that *this property had to be saved*—for the houseowner who let the house, for the banker who discounted the promissory note, for the capitalist who made the advances in cash, for the manufacturer who entrusted the sale of his commodities to these retailers, for the wholesale dealer who had credited the raw materials to these handicraftsmen. *Restoration of credit!* But credit, having regained strength, proved itself a vigorous and jealous god, for it turned out the debtor who could not pay out of his four walls, together with wife and child, surrendered his sham property to capital, and threw the man himself into the debtors' prison, which had once more reared its head threateningly over the corpses of the June insurgents.

The petty bourgeois saw with horror that by striking down the workers they had delivered themselves without resistance into the hands of their creditors. Their bankruptcy, which since February had been dragging on in chronic fashion and had been apparently ignored, was openly declared after June.

Their *nominal property* had been left unassailed as long as it was of consequence to drive them to the battlefield in *the name of property*. Now that the great issue with the proletariat had been settled, the small matter of the *épiciér* could be settled as well. In Paris the mass of overdue paper amounted to over 21,000,000 francs; in the

provinces to over 11,000,000. The proprietors of more than 7,000 Paris firms had not paid their rent since February.

While the National Assembly had instituted an *enquête* into the *political guilt*, going right up to February, the petty bourgeois, on their part, now demanded an *enquête* into the *civil debts* up to February 24. They assembled *en masse* in the Bourse hall and threateningly demanded, on behalf of every businessman who could prove that his insolvency was due solely to the stagnation caused by the revolution and that his business had been in good condition on February 24, an extension of the term of payment by order of a commerce court and the compulsory liquidation of creditors' claims in consideration of a moderate percentage payment. As a legislative proposal, this question was dealt with in the National Assembly in the form of "*concordats à l'amiable*". The Assembly vacillated; then it suddenly learnt that, at the same time at the Porte St. Denis, thousands of wives and children of the insurgents had prepared an amnesty petition.

In the presence of the resurrected spectre of June, the petty bourgeoisie trembled and the Assembly retrieved its implacability. The *concordats à l'amiable*, the amicable settlement between debtor and creditor, was rejected in its most essential points.

Thus, long after the democratic representatives of the petty bourgeois had been repulsed within the National Assembly by the republican representatives of the bourgeoisie, this parliamentary breach received its bourgeois, its real economic meaning by the petty bourgeois as debtors being handed over to the bourgeois as creditors. A large part of the former were completely ruined and the remainder were allowed to continue their businesses only under conditions which made them absolute serfs of capital. On August 22, 1848, the National Assembly rejected the *concordats à l'amiable*; on September 19, 1848, in the midst of the state of siege, Prince Louis Bonaparte and the prisoner of Vincennes, the Communist Raspail, were elected representatives of Paris.<sup>84</sup> The bourgeoisie, however, elected the Jewish money-changer and Orleanist Fould. From all sides at once, therefore, open declaration of war against the Constituent National Assembly, against bourgeois republicanism, against Cavaignac.

It needs no argument to show how the mass bankruptcy of the Paris petty bourgeois was bound to produce after-effects far transcending the circle of its immediate victims, and to convulse bourgeois commerce once more, while the state deficit was swollen anew by the costs of the June insurrection, and state revenues sank continuously through the hold-up of production, the restricted

consumption and the decreasing imports. Cavaignac and the National Assembly could have recourse to no other expedient than a new loan, which forced them still further under the yoke of the finance aristocracy.

While the petty bourgeois had harvested bankruptcy and liquidation by order of court as the fruit of the June victory, Cavaignac's Janissaries, the *Mobile Guards*, found their reward in the soft arms of the courtesans, and as "the youthful saviours of society" they received all kinds of homage in the salons of Marrast, the *gentilhomme* of the tricolour, who at the same time served as the Amphitryon and the troubadour of the respectable republic. Meanwhile, this social favouritism and the disproportionately higher pay of the Mobile Guard embittered the *Army*, while at the same time all those national illusions vanished with which bourgeois republicanism, through its journal, the *National*, had been able to attach to itself a part of the army and peasant class under Louis Philippe. The role of mediator which Cavaignac and the National Assembly played in *North Italy* in order, together with England, to betray it to Austria—this one day of rule destroyed eighteen years of opposition on the part of the *National*. No government was less national than that of the *National*, none more dependent on England, and, under Louis Philippe, the *National* lived by paraphrasing daily Cato's dictum: *Carthaginem esse delendam*<sup>a</sup>; none was more servile towards the Holy Alliance, and from a Guizot the *National* had demanded the tearing up of the Treaties of Vienna.<sup>85</sup> The irony of history made Bastide, the ex-editor for foreign affairs of the *National*, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, so that he might refute every one of his articles in every one of his dispatches.

For a moment, the army and the peasant class had believed that, simultaneously with the military dictatorship, war abroad and "glorie" had been placed on the order of the day in France. But Cavaignac was not the dictatorship of the sabre over bourgeois society; he was the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the sabre. And of the soldier they now required only the gendarme. Under the stern features of antique-republican resignation Cavaignac concealed humdrum submission to the humiliating conditions of his bourgeois office. *L'argent n'a pas de maître!* Money has no master! He, as well as the Constituent Assembly in general, idealised this old election cry of the *tiers état* by translating it into political speech: The bourgeoisie has no king; the true form of its rule is the republic.

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<sup>a</sup> Carthage must be destroyed (an allusion to bellicose remarks made by the leaders of the *National* party in reference to England during the July monarchy).—*Ed.*

And the "great organic work" of the Constituent National Assembly consisted in working out this *form*, in producing a republican *constitution*. The re-christening of the Christian calendar as a republican one, of the saintly Bartholomew as the saintly Robespierre, made no more change in the wind and weather than this constitution made or was supposed to make in bourgeois society. Where it went beyond a *change of costume*, it put on record the *existing* facts. Thus it solemnly registered the fact of the republic, the fact of universal suffrage, the fact of a single sovereign National Assembly in place of two limited constitutional chambers. Thus it registered and settled the fact of the dictatorship of Cavaignac by replacing the stationary, non-responsible, hereditary monarchy with an ambulatory, responsible, elective monarchy, with a quadrennial presidency. Thus it elevated no less to an organic law the fact of the extraordinary powers with which the National Assembly, after the horrors of May 15 and June 25, had providently invested its President in the interest of its own security. The remainder of the constitution was a work of terminology. The royalist labels were torn off the mechanism of the old monarchy and republican labels stuck on. Marrast, former editor-in-chief of the *National*, now editor-in-chief of the constitution, acquitted himself of this academic task not without talent.

The Constituent Assembly resembled that Chilean official who wanted to regulate property relations in land more firmly by a cadastral survey just at the moment when subterranean rumblings already announced the volcanic eruption that was to pull away the ground from under his very feet. While in theory it demarcated the forms in which the rule of the bourgeoisie found republican expression, in reality it held its own only by the abolition of all formulas, by force *sans phrase*, by the *state of siege*. Two days before it began its work on the constitution, it proclaimed a prolongation of the state of siege. Formerly, constitutions had been made and adopted as soon as the process of social revolution had reached a point of rest, the newly formed class relationships had established themselves and the contending factions of the ruling class had had recourse to a compromise which allowed them to continue the struggle among themselves and at the same time to keep the exhausted masses of the people out of it. This constitution, on the contrary, did not sanction any social revolution; it sanctioned the momentary victory of the old society over the revolution.

The first draft of the constitution,<sup>86</sup> made before the June days, still contained the "*droit au travail*", the right to work, the first clumsy formula wherein the revolutionary demands of the proletariat are

summarised. It was transformed into the *droit à l'assistance*, the right to public relief, and what modern state does not feed its paupers in some way or other? The right to work is, in the bourgeois sense, an absurdity, a miserable, pious wish. But behind the right to work stands the power over capital; behind the power over capital, the appropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour, of capital and of their mutual relations. Behind the "right to work" stood the June insurrection. The Constituent Assembly, which in fact put the revolutionary proletariat *hors la loi*, outside the law, had on principle to throw the proletariat's formula out of the constitution, the law of laws, had to pronounce its anathema upon the "right to work". But it did not stop there. As Plato banned the poets from his republic,<sup>a</sup> so it banished for ever from its republic—the *progressive tax*. And the progressive tax is not only a bourgeois measure, which can be carried out within the existing relations of production to a greater or less degree; it was the only means of binding the middle strata of bourgeois society to the "respectable" republic, of reducing the state debt, of holding the anti-republican majority of the bourgeoisie in check.

In the matter of the *concordats à l'amiable*, the tricolour republicans had actually sacrificed the petty bourgeoisie to the big bourgeoisie. They elevated this isolated fact to a principle by the legal prohibition of a progressive tax. They put bourgeois reform on the same level as proletarian revolution. But what class then remained as the mainstay of their republic? The big bourgeoisie. And its mass was anti-republican. While it exploited the republicans of the *National* in order to consolidate once again the old economic conditions, it thought, on the other hand, of exploiting the once more consolidated social relations in order to restore the political forms that corresponded to them. Already at the beginning of October, Cavaignac felt compelled to make Dufaure and Vivien, previously ministers of Louis Philippe, ministers of the republic, however much the brainless puritans of his own party growled and blustered.

While the tricolour constitution rejected every compromise with the petty bourgeoisie and was unable to win the attachment of any new social element to the new form of government, it hastened, on the other hand, to restore its traditional inviolability to a body that constituted the most hard-bitten and fanatical defender of the old state. It raised the *irremovability of judges*, which had been questioned

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<sup>a</sup> Plato, *Politica*, X, Book 8.—*Ed.*



by the Provisional Government, to an organic law. The *one* king whom it had removed rose again, by the score, in these irremovable inquisitors of legality.

The French press has analysed from numerous aspects the contradictions of M. Marrast's constitution; for example, the coexistence of two sovereigns, the National Assembly and the President, etc., etc.

The fundamental contradiction of this constitution, however, consists in the following: The classes whose social slavery the constitution is to perpetuate, proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, it puts in possession of political power through universal suffrage. And from the class whose old social power it sanctions, the bourgeoisie, it withdraws the political guarantees of this power. It forces the political rule of the bourgeoisie into democratic conditions, which at every moment help the hostile classes to victory and jeopardise the very foundations of bourgeois society. From the ones it demands that they should not go forward from political to social emancipation; from the others that they should not go back from social to political restoration.

These contradictions perturbed the bourgeois republicans little. To the extent that they ceased to be *indispensable*—and they were indispensable only as the protagonists of the old society against the revolutionary proletariat—they fell, a few weeks after their victory, from the position of a *party* to that of a *coterie*. And they treated the constitution as a big *intrigue*. What was to be constituted in it was, above all, the rule of the *coterie*. The President was to be a protracted Cavaignac; the Legislative Assembly a protracted Constituent Assembly. They hoped to reduce the political power of the masses of the people to a semblance of power, and to be able to make sufficient play with this sham power itself to keep continually hanging over the majority of the bourgeoisie the dilemma of the June days: *realm of the "National"* or *realm of anarchy*.

The work on the constitution, which was begun on September 4, was finished on October 23. On September 2 the Constituent Assembly had decided not to dissolve until the organic laws supplementing the constitution were enacted. Nonetheless, it now decided to bring to life the creation that was most peculiarly its own, the President, already on December 10, long before the circle of its own activity was closed. So sure was it of hailing, in the *homunculus* of the constitution, the son of his mother. As a precaution it was provided that if none of the candidates received two million votes, the election should pass over from the nation to the Constituent Assembly.

Futile provisions! The first day of the realisation of the constitution was the last day of the rule of the Constituent Assembly. In the abyss of the ballot box lay its sentence of death. It sought the "son of his mother" and found the "nephew of his uncle". Saul Cavaignac slew *one* million votes, but David Napoleon slew *six* million. Saul Cavaignac was beaten six times over.

December 10, 1848, was the day of the *peasant insurrection*. Only from this day does the February of the French peasants date. The symbol that expressed their entry into the revolutionary movement, clumsily cunning, knavishly naive, doltishly sublime, a calculated superstition, a pathetic burlesque, a cleverly stupid anachronism, a world-historic piece of buffoonery and an undecipherable hieroglyphic for the understanding of the civilised—this symbol bore the unmistakable physiognomy of the class that represents barbarism within civilisation. The republic had announced itself to this class with the *tax-collector*; it announced itself to the republic with the *Emperor*. Napoleon was the only man who had exhaustively represented the interests and the imagination of the peasant class, newly created in 1789. By writing his name on the frontispiece of the republic, it declared war abroad and the enforcing of its class interests at home. Napoleon was to the peasants not a person but a programme. With banners, with beat of drums and blare of trumpets, they marched to the polling booths shouting: *plus d'impôts, à bas les riches, à bas la république, vive l'Empereur!* No more taxes, down with the rich, down with the republic, long live the Emperor! Behind the Emperor was hidden the peasant war. The republic that they voted down was the *republic of the rich*.

December 10 was the *coup d'état* of the peasants, which overthrew the existing government. And from that day on, when they had taken a government from France and given a government to her, their eyes were fixed steadily on Paris. For a moment active heroes of the revolutionary drama, they could no longer be forced back into the inactive and spineless role of the chorus.

The other classes helped to complete the election victory of the peasants. To the *proletariat*, the election of Napoleon meant the deposition of Cavaignac, the overthrow of the Constituent Assembly, the dismissal of bourgeois republicanism, the cassation of the June victory. To the *petty bourgeoisie*, Napoleon meant the rule of the debtor over the creditor. For the majority of the *big bourgeoisie*, the election of Napoleon meant an open breach with the faction of which it had had to make use, for a moment, against the revolution, but which became intolerable to it as soon as this faction sought to consolidate the position of the moment into a constitutional position.

Napoleon in place of Cavaignac meant to this majority the monarchy in place of the republic, the beginning of the royalist restoration, a shy hint at Orleans, the lily hidden beneath the violets.<sup>87</sup> Lastly, the *army* voted for Napoleon against the Mobile Guard, against the peace idyll, for war.

Thus it happened, as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* stated, that the most simple-minded man in France acquired the most multiplex significance.<sup>a</sup> Just because he was nothing, he could signify everything save himself. Meanwhile, different as the meaning of the name Napoleon might be in the mouths of the different classes, with this name each class wrote on its ballot: Down with the party of the *National*, down with Cavaignac, down with the Constituent Assembly, down with the bourgeois republic. Minister Dufaure publicly declared in the Constituent Assembly: December 10 is a second February 24.

Petty bourgeoisie and proletariat had voted *en bloc* for Napoleon, in order to vote *against* Cavaignac and, by pooling their votes, to wrest the final decision from the Constituent Assembly. The more advanced sections of the two classes, however, put forward their own candidates. Napoleon was the *collective name* of all parties in coalition against the bourgeois republic; *Ledru-Rollin* and *Raspail* were the *proper names*, the former of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, the latter of the revolutionary proletariat. The votes for Raspail—the proletarians and their socialist spokesmen declared it loudly—were to be merely a demonstration, so many protests against any presidency, that is, against the constitution itself, so many votes against Ledru-Rollin, the first act by which the proletariat, as an independent political party, declared its separation from the democratic party. This party, on the other hand—the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its parliamentary representative, the *Montagne*—treated the candidature of Ledru-Rollin with all the seriousness with which it is in the habit of solemnly duping itself. For the rest, this was its last attempt to set itself up as an independent party, as against the proletariat. Not only the republican bourgeois party, but also the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its *Montagne* were beaten on December 10.

France now possessed a *Napoleon* side by side with a *Montagne*, proof that both were only the lifeless caricatures of the great realities

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<sup>a</sup> In the original a pun: *einfältig* (simple-minded) and *vielfältig* (multiplex). Reference to the report from Paris dated December 18. It was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 174, December 21, 1848, and marked with Ferdinand Wolff's correspondent's sign; some of the facts quoted below are taken from this report.—*Ed.*

whose names they bore. Louis Napoleon, with the emperor's hat and the eagle, parodied the old Napoleon no more miserably than the *Montagne*, with its phrases borrowed from 1793 and its demagogic poses, parodied the old *Montagne*. Thus the traditional 1793 superstition was stripped off at the same time as the traditional Napoleon superstition. The revolution had come into its own only when it had won its *own*, its *original* name, and it could do that only when the modern revolutionary class, the industrial proletariat, came dominantly into its foreground. One can say that December 10 dumbfounded the *Montagne* and caused it to grow confused in its own mind, if for no other reason than because that day laughingly cut short with a contemptuous peasant jest the classical analogy to the old revolution.

On December 20, Cavaignac laid down his office and the Constituent Assembly proclaimed Louis Napoleon President of the Republic. On December 19, the last day of its sole rule, it rejected the proposal of amnesty for the June insurgents. Would revoking the decree of June 27, under which it had condemned 15,000 insurgents to deportation without judicial sentence, not have meant revoking the June battle itself?

Odilon Barrot, the last minister of Louis Philippe, became the first minister of Louis Napoleon. Just as Louis Napoleon dated his rule, not from December 10, but from a decree of the Senate of 1804, so he found a prime minister who did not date his ministry from December 20, but from a royal decree of February 24.<sup>88</sup> As the legitimate heir of Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon moderated the change of government by retaining the old ministry, which, moreover, had not had time to wear itself out, since it had not found time to embark upon life.

The leaders of the royalist bourgeois factions advised him in this choice. The head of the old dynastic opposition, who had unconsciously effected the transition to the republicans of the *National*, was still more fitted to effect with full consciousness the transition from the bourgeois republic to the monarchy.

Odilon Barrot was the leader of the one old opposition party which, always fruitlessly struggling for the ministerial portfolio, was not yet used up. In rapid succession the revolution hurled all the old opposition parties to the top of the state, so that they would have to deny, to repudiate their old phrases not only in deeds but even in words, and might finally be flung all together, combined in a repulsive commixture, on the dung heap of history by the people. And no apostasy was spared this Barrot, this incarnation of bourgeois liberalism, who for eighteen years had hidden the rascally

vacuity of his mind behind the serious demeanour of his body.<sup>a</sup> If, at certain moments, the far too striking contrast between the thistles of the present and the laurels of the past startled the man himself, one glance in the mirror gave him back his ministerial composure and human self-admiration. What beamed at him from the mirror was Guizot, whom he had always envied, who had always mastered him, Guizot himself, but Guizot with the Olympian forehead of Odilon. What he overlooked were the ears of Midas.

The Barrot of February 24 first became manifest in the Barrot of December 20. Associated with him, the Orleanist and Voltairian, was the Legitimist and Jesuit Falloux, as Minister of Religious Affairs.

A few days later, the Ministry of the Interior was given to Léon Faucher, the Malthusian. Law, religion and political economy! The ministry of Barrot contained all this and, in addition, a combination of Legitimists and Orleanists. Only the Bonapartist was lacking. Bonaparte still hid his longing to signify Napoleon, for *Soulouque* did not yet play Toussaint-Louverture.

The party of the *National* was immediately relieved of all the higher posts, where it had entrenched itself. The Prefecture of Police, the office of the Director of the Post, the office of the Procurator-General, the *Mairie* of Paris, were all filled with old creatures of the monarchy. Changarnier, the Legitimist, received the unified supreme command of the National Guard of the Department of the Seine, of the Mobile Guard and the troops of the line of the first military division; Bugeaud, the Orleanist, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Alpine army. This change of officials continued uninterruptedly under the Barrot government. The first act of his ministry was the restoration of the old royalist administration. The official scene was transformed in a trice—scenery, costumes, speech, actors, supers, mutes, prompters, the position of the parties, the theme of the drama, the content of the conflict, the whole situation. Only the premundane Constituent Assembly still remained in its place. But from the hour when the National Assembly had installed Bonaparte, Bonaparte Barrot and Barrot Changarnier, France stepped out of the period of the republican constitution into the period of the constituted republic. And what place was there for a Constituent Assembly in a constituted republic? After the earth had been created, there was nothing else for its creator to do but to flee to heaven. The Constituent Assembly was

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<sup>a</sup> A paraphrase from L. Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Vol. 1, Ch. 11 ("A mysterious carriage of the body to cover the defects of the mind").—*Ed.*

determined not to follow his example; the National Assembly was the last asylum of the party of the bourgeois republicans. If all levers of executive power had been wrested from it, was there not left to it constituent omnipotence? Its first thought was to hold under all circumstances the position of sovereignty that it occupied, and thence to reconquer the lost ground. Once the Barrot ministry was displaced by a ministry of the *National*, the royalist personnel would have to vacate the palaces of the administration forthwith and the tricolour personnel would move in again triumphantly. The National Assembly resolved on the overthrow of the ministry and the ministry itself offered an opportunity for the attack, than which the Constituent Assembly could not have invented a better.

It will be remembered that for the peasants Louis Bonaparte signified: No more taxes! Six days he sat in the President's chair, and on the seventh, on December 27, his ministry proposed the *retention of the salt tax*, the abolition of which the Provisional Government had decreed. The salt tax shares with the wine tax the privilege of being the scapegoat of the old French financial system, particularly in the eyes of the countryfolk. The Barrot ministry could not have put into the mouth of the choice of the peasants a more mordant epigram on his electors than the words: *Restoration of the salt tax!* With the salt tax, Bonaparte lost his revolutionary salt—the Napoleon of the peasant insurrection dissolved like an apparition, and nothing remained but the great unknown of royalist bourgeois intrigue. And not without intention did the Barrot ministry make this act of tactlessly rude disillusionment the first governmental act of the President.

The Constituent Assembly, on its part, seized eagerly on the double opportunity of overthrowing the ministry, and, as against the elect of the peasantry, of setting itself up as the representative of peasant interests. It rejected the proposal of the Finance Minister, reduced the salt tax to a third of its former amount, thus increasing by sixty millions a state deficit of five hundred and sixty millions, and, after this *vote of no confidence*, calmly awaited the resignation of the ministry. So little did it comprehend the new world that surrounded it and its own changed position. Behind the ministry stood the President and behind the President stood six millions, who had placed in the ballot box as many votes of no confidence in the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly gave the nation back its no confidence vote. Absurd exchange! It forgot that its votes were no longer legal tender. The rejection of the salt tax only matured the decision of Bonaparte and his ministry "to end" the Constituent Assembly. There began that long duel which lasted the

entire latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly. *January 29*, March 21 and May 8 are the *journées*, the great days of this crisis, just so many forerunners of *June 13*.

Frenchmen, for example Louis Blanc, have construed January 29 as the date of the emergence of a constitutional contradiction, the contradiction between a sovereign, indissoluble National Assembly born of universal suffrage, and a President who, to go by the wording, was responsible to the Assembly, but who, to go by reality, was not only similarly sanctioned by universal suffrage and, in addition, united in his own person all the votes that were split up a hundred times and distributed among the individual members of the National Assembly, but who was also in full possession of the whole executive power, above which the National Assembly hovered as a merely moral force. This interpretation of January 29 confuses the language of the struggle on the platform, through the press and in the clubs with its real content. Louis Bonaparte as against the Constituent National Assembly—that was not one unilateral constitutional power as against another; that was not the executive power as against the legislative; that was the constituted bourgeois republic itself as against the instruments of its constitution, as against the ambitious intrigues and ideological demands of the revolutionary faction of the bourgeoisie that had founded it and was now amazed to find that its constituted republic looked like a restored monarchy, and now desired forcibly to prolong the constituent period with its conditions, its illusions, its language and its personages and to prevent the mature bourgeois republic from emerging in its complete and peculiar form. As the Constituent National Assembly represented Cavaignac, who had fallen back into its midst, so Bonaparte represented the Legislative National Assembly that had not yet been divorced from him, that is, the National Assembly of the constituted bourgeois republic.

The election of Bonaparte could only be understood by putting in the place of the *one* name its manifold meanings, by repeating itself in the election of the new National Assembly. The mandate of the old was annulled by December 10. Thus on January 29, it was not the President and the National Assembly of the *same* republic that were face to face; it was the National Assembly of the republic that was coming into being and the President of the republic that had come into being, two powers that embodied quite different periods in the life process of the republic; the one, the small republican faction of the bourgeoisie that alone could proclaim the republic, wrest it from the revolutionary proletariat by street fighting and a reign of terror, and draft its ideal basic features in the

constitution; and the other, the whole royalist mass of the bourgeoisie that alone could rule in this constituted bourgeois republic, strip the constitution of its ideological trimmings, and realise by its legislation and administration the indispensable conditions for the subjugation of the proletariat.

The storm which broke on January 29 gathered its elements during the whole month of January. The Constituent Assembly wanted to drive the Barrot ministry to resign by its no confidence vote. The Barrot ministry, on the other hand, proposed to the Constituent Assembly that it should give itself a definitive no confidence vote, decide on suicide and decree its *own dissolution*. On January 6 Râteau, one of the most obscure deputies, brought this motion at the order of the ministry before the Constituent Assembly, the same Constituent Assembly that already in August had resolved not to dissolve until a whole series of organic laws supplementing the constitution had been enacted by it. Fould, the ministerialist, bluntly declared to it that its dissolution was necessary "*for the restoration of the deranged credit*".<sup>a</sup> And did it not derange credit when it prolonged the provisional stage and, with Barrot, again called Bonaparte in question, and, with Bonaparte, the constituted republic? Barrot the Olympian became a rampaging Roland on the prospect of seeing the finally pocketed premiership, which the republicans had already withheld from him once for a decennium, that is, for ten months, again torn from him after scarcely two weeks' enjoyment of it—Barrot, confronting this wretched Assembly, out-tyrannised the tyrant. His mildest words were "no future is possible with it". And actually it did only represent the past. "It is incapable," he added ironically, "of providing the republic with the institutions which are necessary for its consolidation."<sup>b</sup> Incapable indeed! Its bourgeois energy was broken simultaneously with its exceptional antagonism to the proletariat, and with its antagonism to the royalists its republican exuberance lived anew. Thus it was doubly incapable of consolidating the bourgeois republic, which it no longer comprehended, by means of the corresponding institutions.

Simultaneously with Râteau's motion the ministry evoked a *storm of petitions* throughout the land, and from all corners of France came flying daily at the head of the Constituent Assembly bundles of *billets*

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<sup>a</sup> Presumably Marx made use of the report from Paris published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 191, January 10, 1849, and marked with Ferdinand Wolff's correspondent's sign.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> A summary of Barrot's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on January 12, 1849.—*Ed.*



*doux*<sup>a</sup> in which it was more or less categorically requested to *dissolve* and make its will. The Constituent Assembly, on its side, called forth counter-petitions, in which it caused itself to be requested to remain alive. The election struggle between Bonaparte and Cavaignac was renewed as a petition struggle for and against the dissolution of the National Assembly. The petitions were to be belated commentaries on December 10. This agitation continued during the whole of January.

In the conflict between the Constituent Assembly and the President, the former could not refer back to the general election as its origin, for the appeal was from the Assembly to universal suffrage. It could base itself on no regularly constituted power, for the issue was the struggle against the legal power. It could not overthrow the ministry by no confidence votes, as it again essayed to do on January 6 and 26, for the ministry did not ask for its confidence. Only *one* possibility was left to it, that of *insurrection*. The fighting forces of the insurrection were the *republican part of the National Guard*, the *Mobile Guard* and the centres of the revolutionary proletariat, the *clubs*. The Mobile Guard, those heroes of the June days, in December formed the organised fighting force of the republican faction of the bourgeoisie, just as before June the *national ateliers* had formed the organised fighting force of the revolutionary proletariat. As the Executive Commission of the Constituent Assembly directed its brutal attack on the national *ateliers*, when it had to put an end to the claims, become unbearable, of the proletariat, so the ministry of Bonaparte directed its attack on the Mobile Guard, when it had to put an end to the claims, become unbearable, of the republican faction of the bourgeoisie. It ordered the *disbandment of the Mobile Guard*. One half of it was dismissed and thrown on the street, the other was organised on monarchist instead of democratic lines, and its pay was reduced to the usual pay of troops of the line. The Mobile Guard found itself in the position of the June insurgents and every day the press carried *public confessions* in which it admitted its blame for June and implored the proletariat to forgive it.

And the *clubs*? From the moment when the Constituent Assembly in the person of Barrot called in question the President, and in the person of the President the constituted bourgeois republic, and in the person of the constituted bourgeois republic the bourgeois republic in general, all the constituent elements of the February

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<sup>a</sup> Love-letters.— *Ed.*

republic necessarily ranged themselves around it—all the parties that wished to overthrow the existing republic and by a violent retrograde process to transform it into a republic of their class interests and principles. The scrambled eggs were unscrambled, the crystallisations of the revolutionary movement had again become fluid, the republic that was being fought for was again the indefinite republic of the February days, the defining of which each party reserved to itself. For a moment the parties again took up their old February positions, without sharing the illusions of February. The tricolour republicans of the *National* again leant on the democratic republicans of the *Réforme* and pushed them as protagonists into the foreground of the parliamentary struggle. The democratic republicans again leant on the socialist republicans—on January 27 a public manifesto<sup>a</sup> announced their reconciliation and union—and prepared their insurrectional background in the clubs. The ministerial press rightly treated the tricolour republicans of the *National* as the resurrected insurgents of June. In order to maintain themselves at the head of the bourgeois republic, they called in question the bourgeois republic itself. On January 26 Minister Faucher proposed a law on the right of association,<sup>89</sup> the first paragraph of which read: “Clubs are forbidden.” He moved that this bill should immediately be discussed as urgent. The Constituent Assembly rejected the motion of urgency, and on January 27 Ledru-Rollin put forward a proposition, with 230 signatures appended to it, to impeach the ministry for violation of the constitution. The impeachment of the ministry at times when such an act was a tactless disclosure of the impotence of the judge, to wit, the majority of the Chamber, or an impotent protest of the accuser against this majority itself—that was the great revolutionary trump that the latter-day *Montagne* played from now on at each high point of the crisis. Poor *Montagne*, crushed by the weight of its own name!

On May 15, Blanqui, Barbès, Raspail, etc., had attempted to break up the Constituent Assembly by forcing an entrance into its hall of session at the head of the Paris proletariat. Barrot prepared a moral May 15 for the same Assembly when he wanted to dictate its self-dissolution and close the hall. The same Assembly had commissioned Barrot to make the *enquête* against the May accused, and now, at the moment when he appeared before it as a royalist Blanqui, when it sought for allies against him in the clubs, among the

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<sup>a</sup> “Aux électeurs républicains démocrates socialistes” (*La Réforme* No. 27, January 28, 1849). The manifesto was reprinted in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 209, January 31, 1849.—*Ed.*

revolutionary proletarians, in the party of Blanqui—at this moment the relentless Barrot tormented it with the proposal to withdraw the May prisoners from the Court of Assizes with its jury and hand them over to the High Court, to the *haute cour* devised by the party of the *National*.<sup>a</sup> Remarkable how panic fear for a ministerial portfolio could pound out of the head of a Barrot points worthy of a Beaumarchais! After much vacillation the National Assembly accepted his proposal. As against the makers of the May attempt, it reverted to its normal character.

If the Constituent Assembly, as against the President and the ministers, was driven to *insurrection*, the President and the ministers, as against the Constituent Assembly, were driven to a *coup d'état* for they had no legal means of dissolving it. But the Constituent Assembly was the mother of the constitution and the constitution was the mother of the President. With the *coup d'état* the President tore up the constitution and extinguished his republican legal title. He was then forced to pull out his imperial legal title, but the imperial legal title woke up the Orleanist legal title and both paled before the Legitimist legal title. The downfall of the legal republic could shoot to the top only its extreme antipode, the Legitimist monarchy, at a moment when the Orleanist party was still only the vanquished of February and Bonaparte was still only the victor of December 10, when both could oppose to republican usurpation only their likewise usurped monarchist titles. The Legitimists were aware of the propitiousness of the moment; they conspired openly. They could hope to find their *Monk*<sup>90</sup> in General Changarnier. The imminence of the *White monarchy* was as openly announced in their clubs as was that of the *Red republic* in the proletarian clubs.

The ministry would have escaped all difficulties by a happily suppressed rising. "Legality is the death of us," cried Odilon Barrot.<sup>b</sup> A rising would have allowed it, under the pretext of the *salut public*,<sup>c</sup> to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, to violate the constitution in the interests of the constitution itself. The brutal behaviour of Odilon Barrot in the National Assembly, the motion for the dissolution of the clubs, the tumultuous removal of 50 tricolour prefects and their replacement by royalists, the dissolution of the Mobile Guard, the ill-treatment of their chiefs by Changarnier, the

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<sup>a</sup> An allusion to Barrot's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on January 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Here Barrot quoted an expression used by the Right-wing deputy Viennet in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies on March 23, 1833.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Public welfare.—*Ed.*

reinstatement of Lerminier, the professor who was impossible even under Guizot, the toleration of the Legitimist braggadocio—all these were just so many provocations to mutiny. But the mutiny remained mute. It expected its signal from the Constituent Assembly and not from the ministry.

Finally came January 29, the day on which the decision was to be taken on the motion of Mathieu (de la Drôme) for unconditional rejection of Râteau's motion. Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, Mobile Guard, *Montagne*, clubs—all conspired on this day, each just as much against the ostensible enemy as against the ostensible ally. Bonaparte, mounted on horseback, mustered a part of the troops on the *Place de la Concorde*; Changarnier play-acted with a display of strategic manoeuvres; the Constituent Assembly found its building occupied by the military. This Assembly, the centre of all the conflicting hopes, fears, expectations, ferments, tensions and conspiracies, this lion-hearted Assembly did not falter for a moment when it came nearer to the world spirit [*Weltgeist*] than ever. It was like that fighter who not only feared to make use of his own weapons, but also felt himself obliged to maintain the weapons of his opponent unimpaired. Scorning death, it signed its own death warrant, and rejected the unconditional rejection of the Râteau motion. Itself in a state of siege, it set limits to a constituent activity whose necessary frame had been the state of siege of Paris. It revenged itself worthily when, on the following day, it instituted an enquiry into the fright that the ministry had given it on January 29. The *Montagne* showed its lack of revolutionary energy and political understanding by allowing itself to be used by the party of the *National* in this great comedy of intrigues as the crier in the contest. The party of the *National* had made its last attempt to continue to maintain, in the constituted republic, the monopoly of rule that it had possessed during the inchoate period of the bourgeois republic. It was shipwrecked.

While in the January crisis it was a question of the existence of the Constituent Assembly, in the crisis of March 21 it was a question of the existence of the constitution—there of the personnel of the *National* party, here of its ideal. There is no need to point out that the respectable republicans surrendered the exaltation of their ideology more cheaply than the worldly enjoyment of governmental power.

On March 21 Faucher's bill against the right of association, *the suppression of the clubs*, was on the order of the day in the National Assembly. Article 8 of the constitution guarantees to all Frenchmen the right to associate. The ban on the clubs was, therefore, an une-

quivocal violation of the constitution, and the Constituent Assembly itself was to canonise the profanation of its holy places. But the clubs—these were the gathering points, the conspiratorial seats of the revolutionary proletariat. The National Assembly had itself forbidden the coalition of the workers against the bourgeois. And the clubs—what were they but a coalition of the whole working class against the whole bourgeois class, the formation of a workers' state against the bourgeois state? Were they not just so many constituent assemblies of the proletariat and just so many military detachments of revolt in fighting trim? What the constitution was to constitute above all else was the rule of the bourgeoisie. By the right of association the constitution, therefore, could manifestly mean only associations that harmonised with the rule of the bourgeoisie, that is, with bourgeois order. If, for reasons of theoretical propriety, it expressed itself in general terms, was not the government and the National Assembly there to interpret and apply it in a special case? And if in the primeval epoch of the republic, the clubs actually were forbidden by the state of siege, had they not to be forbidden in the ordered, constituted republic by the law? The tricolour republicans had nothing to oppose to this prosaic interpretation of the constitution but the high-flown phraseology of the constitution. A section of them, Pagnerre, Duclerc, etc., voted for the ministry and thereby gave it a majority. The others, with the archangel Cavaignac and the father of the church Marrast at their head, retired, after the article on the prohibition of the clubs had gone through, to a special committee room, jointly with Ledru-Rollin and the *Montagne*—"and held a council". The National Assembly was paralysed; it no longer had a quorum. At the right time, M. Crémieux remembered in the committee room that the way from here led directly to the street and that it was no longer February 1848, but March 1849. The party of the *National*, suddenly enlightened, returned to the National Assembly's hall of session, behind it the *Montagne*, duped once more. The latter, constantly tormented by revolutionary longings, just as constantly clutched at constitutional possibilities, and still felt itself more in place behind the bourgeois republicans than in front of the revolutionary proletariat. Thus the comedy was played out. And the Constituent Assembly itself had decreed that the violation of the letter of the constitution was the only appropriate realisation of its spirit.

There was only one point left to settle, the relation of the constituted republic to the European revolution, its *foreign policy*. On May 8, 1849, unwonted excitement prevailed in the Constituent Assembly, whose term of life was due to end in a few days. The attack

of the French army on Rome, its repulse by the Romans,<sup>91</sup> its political infamy and military disgrace, the foul assassination of the Roman republic by the French republic, the first Italian campaign of the second Bonaparte was on the order of the day. The *Montagne* had once more played its great trump; Ledru-Rollin had laid on the President's<sup>a</sup> table the inevitable bill of impeachment against the ministry, and this time also against Bonaparte, for violation of the constitution.

The motif of May 8 was repeated later as the motif of June 13. Let us get clear about the expedition to Rome.

Already in the middle of November 1848, Cavaignac had sent a battle fleet to Civitavecchia in order to protect the Pope,<sup>b</sup> to take him on board and to ship him over to France. The Pope was to consecrate the respectable republic, and to ensure the election of Cavaignac as President. With the Pope, Cavaignac wanted to angle for the priests, with the priests for the peasants, and with the peasants for the presidency. The expedition of Cavaignac, an election advertisement in its immediate purpose, was at the same time a protest and a threat against the Roman revolution. It contained in embryo France's intervention in favour of the Pope.

This intervention on behalf of the Pope in association with Austria and Naples against the Roman republic was decided on at the first meeting of Bonaparte's ministerial council on December 23. Falloux in the ministry, that meant the Pope in Rome and—in the Rome of the Pope. Bonaparte did not need the Pope any longer in order to become the President of the peasants; but he needed the conservation of the Pope in order to conserve the peasants of the President. Their credulity had made him President. With faith they would lose credulity, and with the Pope, faith. And the Orleanists and Legitimists in coalition, who ruled in Bonaparte's name! Before the king was restored, the power that consecrates kings had to be restored. Apart from their royalism: without the old Rome, subject to his temporal rule, no Pope; without the Pope, no Catholicism; without Catholicism, no French religion; and without religion, what would become of the old French society? The mortgage that the peasant has on heavenly possessions guarantees the mortgage that the bourgeois has on peasant possessions. The Roman revolution was, therefore, an attack on property, on the bourgeois order, dreadful as the June Revolution. Re-established, bourgeois rule in France required the restoration of papal rule in Rome. Finally, to smite the

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<sup>a</sup> The President of the Assembly.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Pius IX.—*Ed.*

Roman revolutionists was to smite the allies of the French revolutionists; the alliance of the counter-revolutionary classes in the constituted French republic was necessarily supplemented by the alliance of the French republic with the Holy Alliance, with Naples and Austria. The decision of the ministerial council of December 23 was no secret for the Constituent Assembly. On January 8, Ledru-Rollin had already questioned the ministry concerning it; the ministry had denied it and the National Assembly had proceeded to the order of the day. Did it trust the word of the ministry? We know that it spent the whole month of January in giving the ministry no confidence votes. But if it was part of the ministry's role to lie, it was part of the National Assembly's role to feign belief in its lie and thereby save the republican *dehors*.<sup>a</sup>

Meanwhile Piedmont was beaten, Charles Albert had abdicated and the Austrian army knocked at the gates of France.<sup>92</sup> Ledru-Rollin vehemently intervened. The ministry proved that it had only continued in North Italy the policy of Cavaignac, and Cavaignac only the policy of the Provisional Government, that is, of Ledru-Rollin. This time it even reaped a vote of confidence from the National Assembly and was authorised to occupy temporarily a suitable point in Upper Italy in order to give support to peaceful negotiations with Austria concerning the integrity of Sardinian territory and the question of Rome. It is known that the fate of Italy is decided on the battlefields of North Italy. Hence Rome would fall with Lombardy and Piedmont, or France would have to declare war on Austria and thereby on the European counter-revolution. Did the National Assembly suddenly take the Barrot ministry for the old Committee of Public Safety<sup>93</sup>? Or itself for the Convention? Why, then, the military occupation of a point in Upper Italy? This transparent veil covered the expedition against Rome.

On April 14, 14,000 men sailed under Oudinot for Civitavecchia; on April 16, the National Assembly voted the ministry a credit of 1,200,000 francs for the maintenance of a fleet of intervention in the Mediterranean Sea for three months. Thus it gave the ministry every means of intervening against Rome, while it adopted the pose of letting it intervene against Austria. It did not see what the ministry did; it only heard what it said. Such faith was not found in Israel; the Constituent Assembly had fallen into the position of not daring to know what the constituted republic had to do.

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<sup>a</sup> Appearances.—*Ed.*

Finally, on May 8, the last scene of the comedy was played; the Constituent Assembly urged the ministry to take swift measures to bring the Italian expedition back to the aim set for it. Bonaparte that same evening inserted a letter in the *Moniteur*, in which he lavished the greatest appreciation on Oudinot.<sup>a</sup> On May 11, the National Assembly rejected the bill of impeachment against this same Bonaparte and his ministry. And the *Montagne*, which, instead of tearing this web of deceit to pieces, took the parliamentary comedy tragically in order itself to play in it the role of Fouquier-Tinville, did it not betray its natural petty-bourgeois calf's hide under the borrowed lion's skin of the Convention!

The latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly is summarised thus: On January 29 it admits that the royalist bourgeois factions are the natural superiors of the republic constituted by it; on March 21, that the violation of the constitution is its realisation; and on May 11, that the bombastically proclaimed passive alliance of the French republic with the struggling peoples means its active alliance with the European counter-revolution.

This miserable Assembly left the stage after it had given itself the satisfaction, two days before the anniversary of its birthday, May 4, of rejecting the motion of amnesty for the June insurgents. Its power shattered, held in deadly hatred by the people, repulsed, maltreated, contemptuously thrown aside by the bourgeoisie, whose tool it was, forced in the second half of its life to disavow the first, robbed of its republican illusions, without having created anything great in the past, without hope in the future and with its living body dying bit by bit, it was able to galvanise its own corpse into life only by continually recalling and living through the June victory over and over again, affirming itself by constantly repeated damnation of the damned. Vampire that lived on the blood of the June insurgents!

It left behind a state deficit increased by the costs of the June insurrection, by the loss of the salt tax, by the compensation it paid the plantation owners for abolishing Negro slavery, by the costs of the Roman expedition, by the loss of the wine tax, the abolition of which it resolved upon when already at its last gasp, a malicious old man, happy to impose on his laughing heir a compromising debt of honour.

With the beginning of March the agitation for the election of the *Legislative National Assembly* had commenced. Two main groups

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<sup>a</sup> It was published in the newspaper *La Patrie* on May 8, 1849, and reprinted in the report on the Constituent Assembly session of May 9, 1849 (*Le Moniteur universel* No. 130, May 10, 1849).—Ed



opposed each other, the *party of Order* and the *democratic-socialist*, or *Red, party*; between the two stood the *Friends of the Constitution*, under which name the tricolour republicans of the *National* sought to put forward a party. The *party of Order* was formed directly after the June days: only after December 10 had allowed it to cast off the coterie of the *National*, of the bourgeois republicans, was the secret of its existence, the *coalition* of *Orleanists* and *Legitimists* into *one party*, disclosed. The bourgeois class fell apart into two big factions, which had alternately maintained a monopoly of power—the *big landed proprietors* under the *restored monarchy*, and the *finance aristocracy* and the *industrial bourgeoisie* under the *July monarchy*. *Bourbon* was the royal name for the predominant influence of the interests of the one faction, *Orleans* the royal name for the predominant influence of the interests of the other faction—the *nameless realm of the republic* was the only one in which both factions could maintain with equal power the common class interest without giving up their mutual rivalry. If the bourgeois republic could not be anything but the perfected and clearly expressed rule of the whole bourgeois class, could it be anything but the rule of the Orleanists supplemented by the Legitimists, and of the Legitimists supplemented by the Orleanists, the *synthesis of the restoration and the July monarchy*? The bourgeois republicans of the *National* did not represent any large faction of their class resting on economic foundations. They possessed only the importance and the historical claim of having asserted, under the monarchy, as against the two bourgeois factions that only understood their *particular régime*, the general régime of the bourgeois class, the *nameless realm of the republic*, which they idealised and embellished with antique arabesques, but in which, above all, they hailed the rule of their coterie. If the party of the *National* grew confused in its own mind when it descried the royalists in coalition at the top of the republic founded by it, these royalists deceived themselves no less concerning the fact of their united rule. They did not comprehend that if each of their factions, regarded separately, by itself, was royalist, the product of their chemical combination had necessarily to be *republican*, that the white and the blue monarchy were bound to neutralise each other in the tricolour republic. Forced, by antagonism to the revolutionary proletariat and the transition classes thronging more and more round it as their centre, to summon their united strength and to conserve the organisation of this united strength, each faction of the party of Order had to assert, as against the desire for restoration and the overweening presumption of the other, their joint rule, that is, the *republican form* of bourgeois rule. Thus we find these royalists in the beginning

believing in an immediate restoration, later preserving the republican form with foaming rage and deadly invective against it on their lips, and finally confessing that they can endure each other only in the republic and postponing the restoration indefinitely. The enjoyment of the united rule itself strengthened each of the two factions, and made each of them still more unable and unwilling to subordinate itself to the other, that is, to restore the monarchy.

The *party of Order* directly proclaimed in its election programme the rule of the bourgeois class, that is, the preservation of the life conditions of its rule: *property, family, religion, order!* Naturally it represented its class rule and the conditions of its class rule as the rule of civilisation and as the necessary conditions of material production as well as of the relations of social intercourse arising from it. The party of Order had enormous money resources at its command; it organised its branches throughout France; it had all the ideologists of the old society in its pay; it had the influence of the existing governmental power at its disposal; it possessed an army of unpaid vassals in the whole mass of petty bourgeois and peasants, who, still remote from the revolutionary movement, found in the high dignitaries of property the natural representatives of their petty property and its petty prejudices. This party, represented throughout the country by countless petty kings, could punish the rejection of their candidates as insurrection, dismiss the rebellious workers, the recalcitrant farm hands, domestic servants, clerks, railway officials, penmen, all the functionaries civilly subordinate to it. Finally, here and there, it could maintain the delusion that the republican Constituent Assembly had prevented the Bonaparte of December 10 from manifesting his wonder-working powers. We have not mentioned the Bonapartists in connection with the party of Order. They were not a serious faction of the bourgeois class, but a collection of old, superstitious wounded veterans and of young, unbelieving soldiers of fortune.—The party of Order was victorious in the elections; it sent a large majority into the Legislative Assembly.

As against the coalitioned counter-revolutionary bourgeois class, the sections of the petty bourgeoisie and peasant class already revolutionised had naturally to ally themselves with the high dignitary of revolutionary interests, the revolutionary proletariat. We have seen how the democratic spokesmen of the petty bourgeoisie in parliament, i.e., the *Montagne*, were driven by parliamentary defeats to the socialist spokesmen of the proletariat, and how the actual petty bourgeoisie, outside parliament, was driven by the *concordats à l'amiable*, by the brutal enforcement of bourgeois

interests and by bankruptcy, to the actual proletarians. On January 27, *Montagne* and Socialists had celebrated their reconciliation<sup>a</sup>; at the great banquet of February 1849, they repeated their act of union. The social and the democratic party, the party of the workers and that of the petty bourgeois, united to form the *social-democratic party*, that is, the *Red party*.

Paralysed for a moment by the agony that followed the June days, the French republic had lived through a continuous series of feverish excitements since the raising of the state of siege, since October 19. First the struggle for the presidency, then the struggle between the President and the Constituent Assembly; the struggle for the clubs; the trial in Bourges,<sup>94</sup> which, in contrast with the petty figures of the President, the coalitioned royalists, the respectable republicans, the democratic *Montagne* and the socialist doctrinaires of the proletariat, caused the proletariat's real revolutionists to appear as primordial monsters, such as only a deluge leaves behind on the surface of society, or such as could only precede a social deluge; the election agitation; the execution of the Bréa murderers<sup>95</sup>; the continual proceedings against the press; the violent interference of the government with the banquets by police action; the insolent royalist provocations; the exhibition of the portraits of Louis Blanc and Caussidière on the pillory; the unbroken struggle between the constituted republic and the Constituent Assembly, which each moment drove the revolution back to its starting point, which each moment made the victors the vanquished and the vanquished the victors and, in a trice, changed around the positions of the parties and the classes, their separations and connections; the rapid march of the European counter-revolution; the glorious Hungarian fight; the armed uprisings in Germany<sup>96</sup>; the Roman expedition; the ignominious defeat of the French army before Rome—in this vortex of movement, in this torment of historical unrest, in this dramatic ebb and flow of revolutionary passion, hopes and disappointments, the different classes of French society had to count their epochs of development in weeks where they had previously counted them in half centuries. A considerable part of the peasants and of the provinces was revolutionised. Not only were they disappointed in Napoleon, but the Red party offered them, instead of the name, the content, instead of illusory freedom from taxation, repayment of the milliard paid to the Legitimists, the adjustment of mortgages and the abolition of usury.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 88.—*Ed.*

The army itself was infected with the revolutionary fever. In voting for Bonaparte it had voted for victory, and he gave it defeat. In him it had voted for the Little Corporal,<sup>a</sup> behind whom the great revolutionary general is concealed, and he once more gave it the great generals, behind whom the pipe-clay corporal shelters himself. There was no doubt that the Red party, that is, the coalesced democratic party, was bound to celebrate, if not victory, still, great triumphs; that Paris, the army and a great part of the provinces would vote for it. *Ledru-Rollin*, the leader of the *Montagne*, was elected by five departments; no leader of the party of Order carried off such a victory, no candidate belonging to the proletarian party proper. This election reveals to us the secret of the democratic-socialist party. If, on the one hand, the *Montagne*, the parliamentary champion of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, was forced to unite with the socialist doctrinaires of the proletariat—the proletariat, forced by the terrible material defeat of June to raise itself up again through intellectual victories and not yet enabled through the development of the remaining classes to seize the revolutionary dictatorship, had to throw itself into the arms of the doctrinaires of its emancipation, the founders of socialist sects—the revolutionary peasants, the army and the provinces, on the other hand, ranged themselves behind the *Montagne*, which thus became the lord and master in the revolutionary army camp and through the understanding with the Socialists had eliminated every antagonism in the revolutionary party. In the latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly it represented the republican fervour of the same and caused to be buried in oblivion its sins during the Provisional Government, during the Executive Commission, during the June days. In the same measure as the party of the *National*, in accordance with its half-and-half nature, had allowed itself to be put down by the royalist ministry, the party of the Mountain, which had been brushed aside during the omnipotence of the *National*, rose and asserted itself as the parliamentary representative of the revolution. In fact, the party of the *National* had nothing to oppose to the other, royalist factions but ambitious men and idealistic humbug. The party of the Mountain, on the contrary, represented a mass hovering between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, a mass whose material interests demanded democratic institutions. In comparison with the Cavaignacs and the Marrasts, *Ledru-Rollin* and the *Montagne*, therefore, represented the true revolution, and from the conscious-

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<sup>a</sup> A nickname for Napoleon.—*Ed.*

ness of this important situation they drew the greater courage the more the expression of revolutionary energy limited itself to parliamentary attacks, bringing in bills of impeachment, threats, raised voices, thundering speeches, and extremes which were only pushed as far as phrases. The peasants were in about the same position as the petty bourgeoisie; they had more or less the same social demands to put forward. All the middle strata of society, so far as they were driven into the revolutionary movement, were therefore bound to find their hero in Ledru-Rollin. Ledru-Rollin was the personage of the democratic petty bourgeoisie. As against the party of Order, the half conservative, half revolutionary and wholly utopian reformers of this order had first to be pushed to the forefront.

The party of the *National*, "the Friends of the Constitution *quand même*", the *républicains purs et simples*, were completely defeated in the elections. A tiny minority of them was sent into the Legislative Chamber, their most noted leaders vanished from the stage, even Marrast, the editor-in-chief and the Orpheus of the respectable republic.

On May 28, the Legislative Assembly convened; on June 11, the collision of May 8 was renewed and, in the name of the *Montagne*, Ledru-Rollin brought in a bill of impeachment against the President and the ministry for violation of the constitution, for the bombardment of Rome. On June 12, the Legislative Assembly rejected the bill of impeachment, just as the Constituent Assembly had rejected it on May 11, but the proletariat this time drove the *Montagne* onto the streets, not to a street battle, however, but only to a street procession. It is enough to say that the *Montagne* was at the head of this movement to know that the movement was defeated, and that June 1849 was a caricature, as ridiculous as it was repulsive, of June 1848. The great retreat of June 13 was only eclipsed by the still greater battle report of Changarnier,<sup>a</sup> the great man that the party of Order improvised. Every social epoch needs its great men, and when it does not find them, it invents them, as *Helvétius* says.

On December 20 only one half of the constituted bourgeois republic as yet existed, the *President*; on May 28 it was completed by the other half, the *Legislative Assembly*. In June 1848, the self-constituted bourgeois republic, by an atrocious battle against the proletariat, and in June 1849, the constituted bourgeois republic, by an unutterable comedy with the petty bourgeoisie, had engraved their names in the birth register of history. June 1849 was the

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<sup>a</sup> *Rapport du général Changarnier au ministre de la guerre, le 16 juin 1849.—Ed.*

Nemesis of June 1848. In June 1849, it was not the workers that were vanquished; it was the petty bourgeois, who stood between them and the revolution, that were felled. June 1849 was not a bloody tragedy between wage labour and capital, but a prison-filling and lamentable play of debtors and creditors. The party of Order had won, it was all-powerful; it had now to show what it was.\*

\* Due to lack of space the concluding section will be printed in the next issue.— *Note by the editors of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue"*.

## III

## CONSEQUENCES OF JUNE 13, 1849

On December 20, the Janus head of the *constitutional republic* had still shown only *one* face, the executive face with the indistinct, plain features of L. Bonaparte; on May 28, 1849, it showed its second face, the *legislative*, pitted with the scars that the orgies of the Restoration and the July monarchy had left behind. With the Legislative National Assembly the phenomenon of the *constitutional republic* was completed, that is, the republican form of government in which the rule of the bourgeois class is constituted, the common rule, therefore, of the two great royalist factions that form the French bourgeoisie, the coalesced Legitimists and Orleanists, the *party of Order*. While the French republic thus became the property of the coalition of the royalist parties, the European coalition of the counter-revolutionary powers embarked, simultaneously, upon a general crusade against the last places of refuge of the March revolutions. Russia invaded Hungary; Prussia marched against the army defending the Imperial Constitution, and Oudinot bombarded Rome.<sup>97</sup> The European crisis was evidently approaching a decisive turning point; the eyes of all Europe were turned on Paris, and the eyes of all Paris on the *Legislative Assembly*.

On June 11 Ledru-Rollin mounted its tribune. He made no speech; he formulated a requisitory against the ministers, naked, unadorned, factual, concentrated, forceful.

The attack on Rome is an attack on the constitution; the attack on the Roman republic is an attack on the French republic. Article V of the constitution<sup>98</sup> reads: "The French republic never employs its forces against the liberty of any people whatsoever"—and the President employs the French army against Roman liberty. Article

54 of the constitution forbids the executive power to declare any war whatsoever without the consent of the National Assembly.<sup>a</sup> The Constituent Assembly's resolution of May 8 expressly commands the ministers to make the Rome expedition conform with the utmost speed to its original mission; it therefore just as expressly prohibits war on Rome—and Oudinot bombards Rome. Thus Ledru-Rollin called the constitution itself as a witness for the prosecution against Bonaparte and his ministers. At the royalist majority of the National Assembly, he, the tribune of the constitution, hurled the threatening declaration:

“The republicans will know how to command respect for the constitution by every means, be it even by force of arms!”

“*By force of arms!*” repeated the hundredfold echo of the *Montagne*. The majority answered with a terrible tumult; the President of the National Assembly<sup>b</sup> called Ledru-Rollin to order; Ledru-Rollin repeated the challenging declaration, and finally laid on the President's table a motion for the impeachment of Bonaparte and his ministers. By 361 votes to 203, the National Assembly resolved to pass on from the bombardment of Rome to the next item on the agenda.

Did Ledru-Rollin believe that he could beat the National Assembly by means of the constitution, and the President by means of the National Assembly?

To be sure, the constitution forbade any attack on the liberty of foreign peoples, but what the French army attacked in Rome was, according to the ministry, not “liberty” but the “despotism of anarchy”. Had the *Montagne* still not comprehended, all experiences in the Constituent Assembly notwithstanding, that the interpretation of the constitution did not belong to those who had made it, but only to those who had accepted it? That its wording must be construed in its viable meaning and that the bourgeois meaning was its only viable meaning? That Bonaparte and the royalist majority of the National Assembly were the authentic interpreters of the constitution, as the priest is the authentic interpreter of the Bible, and the judge the authentic interpreter of the law? Should the National Assembly, freshly emerged from the general elections, feel itself bound by the testamentary provisions of the dead Constituent Assembly, whose will while living an Odilon Barrot had broken? When Ledru-Rollin

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<sup>a</sup> Here and in what follows the reference is to the Legislative National Assembly which was in office from May 28, 1849, to December 1851.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> André Marie Dupin.—*Ed.*



cited the Constituent Assembly's resolution of May 8, had he forgotten that the same Constituent Assembly on May 11 had rejected his first motion for the impeachment of Bonaparte and the ministers; that it had acquitted the President and the ministers; that it had thus sanctioned the attack on Rome as "constitutional"; that he only lodged an appeal against a judgment already delivered; that he, lastly, appealed from the republican Constituent Assembly to the royalist Legislative Assembly? The constitution itself calls insurrection to its aid by summoning, in a special article, every citizen to protect it. Ledru-Rollin based himself on this article. But, at the same time, are not the public authorities organised for the defence of the constitution, and does not the violation of the constitution begin only from the moment when one of the constitutional public authorities rebels against the other? And the President of the republic, the ministers of the republic and the National Assembly of the republic were in the most harmonious agreement.

What the *Montagne* attempted on June 11 was "*an insurrection within the limits of pure reason*", that is, a purely *parliamentary insurrection*. The majority of the Assembly, intimidated by the prospect of an armed rising of the popular masses, was, in Bonaparte and the ministers, to destroy its own power and the significance of its own election. Had not the Constituent Assembly similarly attempted to annul the election of Bonaparte, when it insisted so obstinately on the dismissal of the Barrot-Falloux ministry?

Neither were there lacking from the time of the Convention models for parliamentary insurrections which had suddenly transformed completely the relation between the majority and the minority—and should the young *Montagne* not succeed where the old had succeeded?—nor did the conditions at the moment seem unfavourable for such an undertaking. Popular unrest in Paris had reached a disquietingly high point; the army, according to its vote at the election, did not seem favourably inclined towards the government; the legislative majority itself was still too young to have become consolidated and, in addition, it consisted of old gentlemen. If the *Montagne* were successful in a parliamentary insurrection, the helm of state would fall directly into its hands. The democratic petty bourgeoisie, for its part, wished, as always, for nothing more fervently than to see the battle fought out in the clouds over its head between the departed spirits of parliament. Finally, both of them, the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its representative, the *Montagne*, would, through a parliamentary insurrection, achieve their great purpose, that of breaking the power of the bourgeoisie without unleashing the proletariat or letting it appear otherwise than in

perspective; the proletariat would have been used without becoming dangerous.

After the vote of the National Assembly on June 11, a conference took place between some members of the *Montagne* and delegates of the secret workers' societies. The latter urged that the attack be started the same evening. The *Montagne* decisively rejected this plan. On no account did it want to let the leadership slip out of its hands; its allies were as suspect to it as its antagonists, and rightly so. The memory of June 1848 surged through the ranks of the Paris proletariat more vigorously than ever. Nevertheless it was chained to the alliance with the *Montagne*. The latter represented the largest part of the departments; it exaggerated its influence in the army; it had at its disposal the democratic section of the National Guard; it had the moral power of the shopkeepers behind it. To begin the insurrection at this moment against the will of the *Montagne* would have meant for the proletariat, decimated moreover by cholera and driven out of Paris in considerable numbers by unemployment, to repeat uselessly the June days of 1848, without the situation which had forced this desperate struggle. The proletarian delegates did the only rational thing. They obliged the *Montagne* to *compromise* itself, that is, to come out beyond the confines of the parliamentary struggle in the event of its bill of impeachment being rejected. During the whole of June 13, the proletariat maintained this same sceptically watchful attitude, and awaited a seriously engaged irrevocable *mêlée* between the democratic National Guard and the army, in order then to plunge into the fight and push the revolution forward beyond the petty-bourgeois aim set for it. In the event of victory a proletarian commune was already formed which would take its place beside the official government. The Parisian workers had learned in the bloody school of June 1848.

On June 12 Minister Lacrosse himself brought forward in the Legislative Assembly the motion to proceed at once to the discussion of the bill of impeachment. During the night the government had made every provision for defence and attack; the majority of the National Assembly was determined to drive the rebellious minority out into the streets; the minority itself could no longer retreat; the die was cast; the bill of impeachment was rejected by 377 votes to 8. The Mountain, which had abstained from voting, rushed resentfully into the propaganda halls of the "pacific democracy", into the newspaper offices of the *Démocratie pacifique*.<sup>99</sup>

Its withdrawal from the parliament building broke its strength as withdrawal from the earth broke the strength of Antaeus, her giant son. Samsons in the precincts of the Legislative Assembly, they were

only philistines in the precincts of the "pacific democracy". A long, noisy, rambling debate ensued. The *Montagne* was determined to compel respect for the constitution by every means, "*only not by force of arms*". In this determination it was supported by a manifesto<sup>100</sup> and by a deputation of the "Friends of the Constitution". "Friends of the Constitution" was what the wreckage of the coterie of the *National*, of the bourgeois-republican party, called itself. While six of its remaining parliamentary representatives had voted *against*, the others in a body voting *for*, the rejection of the bill of impeachment, while *Cavaignac* placed his sabre at the disposal of the party of Order, the larger, extra-parliamentary part of the coterie greedily seized the opportunity to emerge from its position of a political pariah, and to press into the ranks of the democratic party. Did they not appear as the natural shield-bearers of this party, which hid itself behind their shield, behind their *principles*, behind the *constitution*?

Till break of day the "Mountain" was in labour.<sup>a</sup> It gave birth to "*a proclamation to the people*", which, on the morning of June 13, occupied a more or less shamefaced place in two socialist journals.<sup>101</sup> It declared the President, the ministers and the majority of the Legislative Assembly "*outside the constitution*" (*hors la Constitution*) and summoned the National Guard, the army and finally also the people "to arise". "*Long live the Constitution!*" was the slogan that it put forward, a slogan that signified nothing other than "*Down with the revolution!*"

In conformity with the constitutional proclamation of the Mountain, there was a so-called *peaceful demonstration* of the petty bourgeois on June 13, that is, a street procession from the *Château d'Eau* through the boulevards, 30,000 strong, mainly National Guards, unarmed, with an admixture of members of the secret workers' sections, moving along with the cry: "*Long live the Constitution!*" which was uttered mechanically, coldly, and with a bad conscience by the members of the procession itself, and thrown back ironically by the echo of the people that surged along the sidewalks, instead of swelling up like thunder. From the many-voiced song the chest notes were missing. And when the procession swung by the meeting hall of the "Friends of the Constitution" and a hired herald of the constitution appeared on the housetop, violently cleaving the air with his *claqueur* hat and from tremendous lungs letting the catchcry "*Long live the Constitution!*" fall like hail on the heads of the pilgrims, they themselves seemed overcome for a moment by the

<sup>a</sup> Evidently an allusion to the expression "The mountain gave birth to a mouse" which is to be found in Horace's *The Art of Poetry*. Earlier it appeared in the *Banquet of the Learned*, a work by the Greek poet Athenaeus.—Ed.

comedy of the situation. It is known how the procession, having arrived at the termination of the *rue de la Paix*, was received in the boulevards by the dragoons and chasseurs of Changarnier in an altogether unparliamentary way, how in a trice it scattered in all directions and how it threw behind it a few shouts of "to arms" only in order that the parliamentary call to arms of June 11 might be fulfilled.

The majority of the *Montagne* assembled in the *rue du Hasard* scattered when this violent dispersion of the peaceful procession, the muffled rumours of murder of unarmed citizens on the boulevards and the growing tumult in the streets seemed to herald the approach of a rising. *Ledru-Rollin* at the head of a small band of deputies saved the honour of the Mountain. Under the protection of the Paris Artillery, which had assembled in the *Palais National*, they betook themselves to the *Conservatoire des arts et métiers*,<sup>a</sup> where the fifth and sixth legions of the National Guard were to arrive. But the *Montagnards* waited in vain for the fifth and sixth legions; these discreet National Guards left their representatives in the lurch; the Paris Artillery itself prevented the people from throwing up barricades; chaotic disorder made any decision impossible; the troops of the line advanced with fixed bayonets; some of the representatives were taken prisoner, while others escaped. Thus ended June 13.

If June 23, 1848, was the insurrection of the revolutionary proletariat, June 13, 1849, was the insurrection of the democratic petty bourgeois, each of these two insurrections being the *classically pure* expression of the class which had been its vehicle.

Only in Lyons did it come to an obstinate, bloody conflict.<sup>102</sup> Here, where the industrial bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat stand directly opposed to one another, where the workers' movement is not, as in Paris, included in and determined by the general movement, June 13, in its repercussions, lost its original character. Wherever else it broke out in the provinces it did not kindle fire—a *cold lightning flash*.

June 13 closes the *first period in the life of the constitutional republic*, which had attained its normal existence on May 28, 1849, with the meeting of the Legislative Assembly. The whole period of this prologue is filled with vociferous struggle between the party of Order and the *Montagne*, between the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, which strove in vain against the consolidation of the bourgeois republic, for which it had itself continuously conspired in

<sup>a</sup> Museum of Arts and Trades, an educational institution in Paris.—*Ed.*

the Provisional Government and in the Executive Commission, and for which, during the June days, it had fought fanatically against the proletariat. The 13th of June breaks its resistance and makes the *legislative dictatorship* of the united royalists a *fait accompli*. From this moment the National Assembly is only a *Committee of Public Safety of the party of Order*.

Paris had put the President, the ministers and the majority of the National Assembly in a "*state of impeachment*"; they put Paris in a "*state of siege*". The Mountain had declared the majority of the Legislative Assembly "*outside the constitution*"; for violation of the constitution the majority handed over the Mountain to the *haute cour*<sup>a</sup> and proscribed everything in it that still had vital force.<sup>103</sup> It was decimated to a rump without head or heart. The minority had gone as far as to attempt a *parliamentary insurrection*; the majority elevated its *parliamentary despotism* to law. It decreed new *standing orders*, which annihilate the freedom of the tribune and authorise the President of the National Assembly to punish representatives for violation of the standing orders with censure, with fines, with stoppage of their salaries, with suspension of membership, with incarceration. Over the rump of the Mountain it hung the rod instead of the sword. The remainder of the deputies of the Mountain owed it to their honour to make a mass exit. By such an act the dissolution of the party of Order would have been hastened. It would have had to break up into its original component parts the moment that not even the semblance of an opposition would hold it together any longer.

Simultaneously with his *parliamentary* power, the democratic petty bourgeois was robbed of his *armed* power through the dissolution of the Paris Artillery and the 8th, 9th and 12th legions of the National Guard. On the other hand, the legion of high finance, which on June 13 had raided the printshops of Boulé and Roux, demolished the presses, played havoc with the offices of the republican journals and arbitrarily arrested editors, compositors, printers, shipping clerks and errand boys, received encouraging approval from the tribune of the National Assembly. All over France the disbandment of National Guards suspected of republicanism was repeated.

A new *press law*, a new *law of association*, a new *law on the state of siege*, the prisons of Paris overflowing, the political refugees driven out, all the journals that go beyond the limits of the *National* suspended, Lyons and the five departments surrounding it abandoned to the brutal persecution of military despotism, the courts

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<sup>a</sup> High Court.— *Ed.*

ubiquitous and the army of officials, so often purged, purged once more—these were the inevitable, the constantly recurring *common-places* of victorious reaction, worth mentioning after the massacres and the deportations of June only because this time they were directed not only against Paris, but also against the departments, not only against the proletariat, but, above all, against the middle classes.

The repressive laws, by which the declaration of a state of siege was left to the discretion of the government, the press still more firmly muzzled and the right of association annihilated, absorbed the whole of the legislative activity of the National Assembly during the months of June, July and August.

However, this epoch is characterised not by the exploitation of victory *in fact*, but *in principle*; not by the resolutions of the National Assembly, but by the grounds advanced for these resolutions; not by the thing, but by the phrase; not by the phrase but by the accent and the gesture which enliven the phrase. The brazen, unreserved expression of *royalist sentiments*, the contemptuously aristocratic insults to the republic, the coquettishly frivolous babbling of *republican decorum* give its peculiar tone and colour to this period. Long live the Constitution! was the battle cry of the *vanquished* of June 13. The *victors* were therefore absolved from the hypocrisy of constitutional, that is, republican, speech. The counter-revolution subjugated Hungary, Italy and Germany, and they believed that the restoration was already at the gates of France. Among the masters of ceremony of the factions of Order there ensued a real competition to document their royalism in the *Moniteur*, and to confess, repent and crave pardon before God and man for liberal sins perchance committed by them under the monarchy. No day passed without the February Revolution being declared a national calamity from the tribune of the National Assembly, without some Legitimist provincial cabbage-Junker solemnly stating that he had never recognised the republic, without one of the cowardly deserters of and traitors to the July monarchy relating the belated deeds of heroism in the performance of which only the philanthropy of Louis Philippe or other misunderstandings had hindered him. What was admirable in the February days was not the magnanimity of the victorious people, but the self-sacrifice and moderation of the royalists, who had allowed it to be victorious. One representative of the people proposed to divert part of the money destined for the relief of those wounded in February to the *Municipal Guards*,<sup>104</sup> who alone in those days had deserved well of the fatherland. Another wanted to have an equestrian statue decreed to the Duke of Orleans in the *Place du*

*Carrousel*.<sup>a</sup> Thiers called the constitution a dirty piece of paper. There appeared in succession on the tribune Orleanists, to repent of their conspiracy against the legitimate monarchy; Legitimists, who reproached themselves with having hastened the overthrow of monarchy in general by resisting the illegitimate monarchy; Thiers, who repented of having intrigued against Molé; Molé, who repented of having intrigued against Guizot; Barrot, who repented of having intrigued against all three. The cry "Long live the Social-Democratic Republic!" was declared unconstitutional; the cry "Long live the Republic!" was persecuted as social-democratic. On the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo,<sup>105</sup> a representative declared: "I fear an invasion of the Prussians less than the entry of the revolutionary refugees into France."<sup>b</sup> To the complaints about the terrorism which was organised in Lyons and in the neighbouring departments, Baraguay d'Hilliers answered: "I prefer the White terror to the Red terror." (*J'aime mieux la terreur blanche que la terreur rouge*).<sup>c</sup> And the Assembly applauded frantically every time that an epigram against the republic, against the revolution, against the constitution, for the monarchy or for the Holy Alliance fell from the lips of its orators. Every infringement of the minutest republican formality, for example, of addressing the representatives as *citoyens*, filled the knights of order with enthusiasm.

The by-elections in Paris on July 8, held under the influence of the state of siege and of the abstention of a great part of the proletariat from the ballot box, the taking of Rome by the French army, the entry into Rome of the scarlet eminences<sup>106</sup> and, in their train, of the Inquisition and monkish terrorism, added fresh victories to the victory of June and increased the intoxication of the party of Order.

Finally, in the middle of August, half with the intention of attending the Department Councils just assembled, half through exhaustion after the tendentious orgy of many months, the royalists decreed the prorogation of the National Assembly for two months. With transparent irony they left behind a commission of twenty-five representatives,<sup>107</sup> the cream of the Legitimists and the Orleanists, a Molé and a Changarnier, as proxies for the National Assembly and as *guardians of the republic*. The irony was more profound than they suspected. They, condemned by history to help to overthrow the

<sup>a</sup> This refers to the motion made by Baron G. Gourgaud in the Legislative Assembly on October 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> From L. Estancelin's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on June 19, 1849. The quoted passage is a summary of his speech.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> From Baraguay d'Hilliers' speeches made in the Legislative Assembly on June 27 and July 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

monarchy they loved, were destined by it to conserve the republic they hated.

The *second period in the life of the constitutional republic*, its *royalist period of sowing wild oats*, closes with the *proroguing* of the Legislative Assembly.

The state of siege in Paris had again been raised, the activities of the press had again begun. During the suspension of the social-democratic papers, during the period of repressive legislation and royalist bluster, the *Siècle*, the old literary representative of the *monarchist-constitutional petty bourgeois*, *republicanised* itself; the *Presse*, the old literary exponent of the *bourgeois reformers*, *democratised* itself; while the *National*, the old classic organ of the *republican bourgeois*, *socialised* itself.

The *secret societies* grew in extent and intensity in the same degree that the *public clubs* became impossible. The *workers' industrial co-operatives*, tolerated as purely commercial societies, while of no account economically, became politically so many means of cementing the proletariat. June 13 had struck off the official heads of the various semi-revolutionary parties; the masses that remained won a head of their own. The knights of order had practised intimidation by prophecies of the terror of the Red republic; the base excesses, the hyperborean atrocities of the victorious counter-revolution in Hungary, in Baden and in Rome washed the "*Red republic*" white. And the malcontent intermediate classes of French society began to prefer the promises of the Red republic with its problematic terrors to the terrors of the Red monarchy with its actual hopelessness. No Socialist in France spread more revolutionary propaganda than *Haynau*. *A chaque capacité selon ses œuvres!*<sup>a</sup>

In the meantime Louis Bonaparte exploited the recess of the National Assembly to make princely tours of the provinces, the most hot-blooded Legitimists made pilgrimages to Ems, to the grandchild of the saintly Louis,<sup>108</sup> and the mass of the popular representatives on the side of order intrigued in the Department Councils, which had just met. It was necessary to make them pronounce what the majority of the National Assembly did not yet dare to pronounce, an *urgent motion for immediate revision of the constitution*. According to the constitution, it could not be revised before 1852, and then only by a National Assembly called together expressly for this purpose. If, however, the majority of the Department Councils expressed

<sup>a</sup> To each man of talent according to his work! (Marx ironically uses Saint-Simon's well-known formula. See *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*. Exposition. Première année. 1829, Paris, 1830, p. 70.)—*Ed.*



themselves to this effect, was not the National Assembly bound to sacrifice the virginity of the constitution to the voice of France? The National Assembly entertained the same hopes in regard to these provincial assemblies as the nuns in Voltaire's *Henriade* entertained in regard to the pandours. But, some exceptions apart, the Potiphars of the National Assembly had to deal with just so many Josephs of the provinces. The vast majority did not want to understand the importunate insinuation. The revision of the constitution was frustrated by the very instruments by which it was to have been called into being, by the votes of the Department Councils. The voice of France, and indeed of bourgeois France, had spoken and had spoken against revision.

At the beginning of October the Legislative National Assembly met once more—*tantum mutatus ab illo!*<sup>a</sup> Its physiognomy was completely changed. The unexpected rejection of revision on the part of the Department Councils had put it back within the limits of the constitution and indicated the limits of its term of life. The Orleanists had become mistrustful because of the pilgrimages of the Legitimists to Ems; the Legitimists had grown suspicious on account of the negotiations of the Orleanists with London<sup>109</sup>; the journals of the two factions had fanned the fire and weighed the reciprocal claims of their pretenders. Orleanists and Legitimists grumbled in unison at the machinations of the Bonapartists, which showed themselves in the princely tours, in the more or less transparent emancipatory attempts of the President, in the presumptuous language of the Bonapartist newspapers; Louis Bonaparte grumbled at a National Assembly which found only the Legitimist-Orleanist conspiracy legitimate,<sup>b</sup> at a ministry which betrayed him continually to this National Assembly. Finally, the ministry was itself divided on the Roman policy and on the *income tax* proposed by Minister *Passy*, and decried as socialist by the conservatives.

One of the first bills of the Barrot ministry in the reassembled Legislative Assembly was a demand for a credit of 300,000 francs for the payment of a widow's pension to the *Duchess of Orleans*. The National Assembly granted it and added to the list of debts of the French nation a sum of seven million francs. Thus, while Louis Philippe continued to play with success the role of the *pauvre honteux*, of the shamefaced beggar, the ministry neither dared to move an increase of salary for Bonaparte nor did the Assembly appear

<sup>a</sup> How great was the change since then! (Virgil, *Aeneid*).—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> In his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. *Revue* Engels changed the words *gerecht erfand* (found legitimate) to *berechtigt fand* (considered justified).—Ed.

inclined to grant it. And Louis Bonaparte, as ever, vacillated in the dilemma: *Aut Caesar aut Clichy!*<sup>a</sup>

The minister's second demand for a credit, one of nine million francs for *the costs of the Rome expedition*, increased the tension between Bonaparte, on the one hand, and the ministers and the National Assembly, on the other. Louis Bonaparte had inserted a letter to his military aide, Edgard Ney, in the *Moniteur*, in which he bound the papal government to constitutional guarantees.<sup>b</sup> The Pope, on his part, had issued a statement, "*motu proprio*",<sup>110</sup> in which he rejected any limitation of his restored rule. Bonaparte's letter, with studied indiscretion, raised the curtain of his cabinet, in order to expose himself to the eyes of the gallery as a benevolent genius who was, however, misunderstood and shackled in his own house. It was not the first time that he had coquetted with the "furtive flights of a free soul".<sup>c</sup> *Thiers*, the reporter of the commission, completely ignored Bonaparte's flight and contented himself with translating the papal allocution into French. It was not the ministry, but *Victor Hugo* that sought to save the President through an order of the day in which the National Assembly<sup>d</sup> was to express its agreement with Napoleon's letter. *Allons donc! Allons donc!*<sup>e</sup> With this disrespectful, frivolous interjection the majority buried Hugo's motion. The policy of the President? The letter of the President? The President himself? *Allons donc! Allons donc!* Who the devil takes Monsieur Bonaparte *au sérieux*? Do you believe, Monsieur Victor Hugo, that we believe you that you believe in the President? *Allons donc! Allons donc!*

Finally, the breach between Bonaparte and the National Assembly was hastened by the discussion on the *recall of the Orleans and the Bourbons*. In default of the ministry, the cousin of the President, the son of the ex-king of Westphalia,<sup>f</sup> had put forward this motion, which had no other purpose than to push the Legitimist and the Orleanist pretenders down to the same level, or rather a *lower* level than the Bonapartist pretender, who at least stood in fact at the pinnacle of the state.

Napoleon Bonaparte was disrespectful enough to make the *recall*

<sup>a</sup> *Either Caesar or Clichy!* Clichy: Paris prison for insolvent debtors. Paraphrase of Cesare Borgia's words "Aut Caesar, aut nihil" (either Caesar or nothing).—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *Lettre adressée par le président de la République au lieutenant-colonel Edgard Ney, son officier d'ordonnance à Rome* (August 18, 1849).—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Modified quotation from Georg Herwegh's poem "Aus den Bergen" (from the cycle *Gedichte eines Lebendigen*).—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> At its sitting of October 19, 1849.—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> Get along with you!—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Jérôme Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

of the expelled royal families and the amnesty of the June insurgents parts of one and the same motion. The indignation of the majority compelled him immediately to apologise for this sacrilegious concatenation of the sacred and the profane, of the royal races and the proletarian brood, of the fixed stars of society and of its swamp lights, and to assign to each of the two motions its proper place. The majority energetically rejected the recall of the royal families, and Berryer, the Demosthenes of the Legitimists, left no doubt about the meaning of the vote. The civic degradation of the pretenders, that is what is intended! It is desired to rob them of their halo, of the last majesty that is left to them, the *majesty of exile*! What, cried Berryer, would be thought of him among the pretenders who, forgetting his august origin, came here to live as a simple private individual?<sup>a</sup> It could not have been more clearly intimated to Louis Bonaparte that he had not gained the day by his presence, that whereas the royalists in coalition needed him here in France as a *neutral man* in the presidential chair, the serious pretenders to the throne had to be kept out of profane sight by the fog of exile.

On November 1, Louis Bonaparte answered the Legislative Assembly with a message which in pretty brusque words announced the dismissal of the Barrot ministry and the formation of a new ministry.<sup>b</sup> The Barrot-Falloux ministry was the ministry of the royalist coalition, the d'Hautpoul ministry was the ministry of Bonaparte, the organ of the President as against the Legislative Assembly, the *ministry of the clerks*.

Bonaparte was no longer the merely *neutral man* of December 10, 1848. Possession of the executive power had grouped a number of interests around him, the struggle with anarchy forced the party of Order itself to increase his influence, and if he was *no longer* popular, the party of Order was *unpopular*. Could he not hope to compel the Orleanists and the Legitimists, through their rivalry as well as through the necessity of some sort of monarchist restoration, to recognise the *neutral pretender*?

From November 1, 1849, dates the third period in the life of the constitutional republic, a period which closes with March 10, 1850. The regular game, so much admired by Guizot, of the constitutional institutions, the wrangling between executive and legislative power, now begins. More, as against the hankering for restoration on the part of the united Orleanists and Legitimists, Bonaparte defends his

<sup>a</sup> From Berryer's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on October 24, 1849.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> *Message du Président de la République française à l'Assemblée législative* (October 31, 1849).—Ed.

title to his actual power, the republic; as against the hankering for restoration on the part of Bonaparte, the party of Order defends its title to its common rule, the republic; as against the Orleanists, the Legitimists, and as against the Legitimists, the Orleanists, defend the *status quo*, the republic. All these factions of the party of Order, each of which has its own king and its own restoration *in petto*,<sup>a</sup> mutually enforce, as against their rivals' hankering for usurpation and revolt, the common rule of the bourgeoisie, the form in which the special claims remain neutralised and reserved—*the republic*.

Just as Kant makes the republic, so these royalists make *the monarchy* the only rational form of state, a postulate of practical reason whose realisation is never attained, but whose attainment must always be striven for and mentally adhered to as the goal.<sup>b</sup>

Thus the constitutional republic had gone forth from the hands of the bourgeois republicans as a hollow ideological formula to become a form full of content and life in the hands of the royalists in coalition. And Thiers spoke more truly than he suspects when he said: "We, the royalists, are the true pillars of the constitutional republic."<sup>c</sup>

The overthrow of the ministry of the coalition and the appearance of the ministry of the clerks has a second significance. Its Finance Minister was *Fould*. Fould as Finance Minister signifies the official surrender of France's national wealth to the Bourse, the management of the state's property by the Bourse and in the interests of the Bourse. With the nomination of Fould, the finance aristocracy announced its restoration in the *Moniteur*. This restoration necessarily supplemented the other restorations, which form just so many links in the chain of the constitutional republic.

Louis Philippe had never dared to make a genuine *loup-cervier* (stock-exchange wolf) finance minister. Just as his monarchy was the ideal name for the rule of the big bourgeoisie, so in his ministries the privileged interests had to bear ideologically disinterested names. The bourgeois republic everywhere pushed into the forefront what the different monarchies, Legitimist as well as Orleanist, kept concealed in the background. It made earthly what they had made heavenly. In place of the names of the saints it put the bourgeois proper names of the dominant class interests.

Our whole exposition has shown how the republic, from the first day of its existence, did not overthrow but consolidated the finance

<sup>a</sup> In its bosom, secretly.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Immanuel Kant, *Der Rechtslehre Zweiter Theil. Das öffentliche Recht. Erster Abschnitt. Das Staatsrecht.*—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> From Thiers' speech made in the Legislative Assembly on July 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

aristocracy. But the concessions that were made to it were a fate to which submission was made without the desire to bring it about. With Fould, the initiative in the government returned to the finance aristocracy.

The question will be asked, how the coalesced bourgeoisie could bear and suffer the rule of finance, which under Louis Philippe depended on the exclusion or subordination of the remaining bourgeois factions.

The answer is simple.

First of all, the finance aristocracy itself forms a weighty, authoritative part of the royalist coalition, whose common governmental power is denominated republic. Are not the spokesmen and leading lights among the Orleanists the old confederates and accomplices of the finance aristocracy? Is it not itself the golden phalanx of Orleanism? As far as the Legitimists are concerned, they had participated in practice already under Louis Philippe in all the orgies of the Bourse, mine and railway speculations. In general, the combination of large landed property with high finance is a *normal fact*. Proof: *England*; proof: even *Austria*.

In a country like France, where the volume of national production stands at a disproportionately lower level than the amount of the national debt, where government bonds form the most important object of speculation and the Bourse the chief market for the investment of capital that wants to turn itself to account in an unproductive way—in such a country a countless number of people from all bourgeois or semi-bourgeois classes must have an interest in the state debt, in the Bourse gamblings, in finance. Do not all these interested subalterns find their natural mainstays and commanders in the faction which represents this interest in its vastest outlines, which represents it as a whole?

By what is the accrual of state property to high finance conditioned? By the constantly growing indebtedness of the state. And the indebtedness of the state? By the constant excess of its expenditure over its income, a disproportion which is simultaneously the cause and effect of the system of state loans.

In order to escape from this indebtedness, the state must either restrict its expenditure, that is, simplify and curtail the government organism, govern as little as possible, employ as small a personnel as possible, enter as little as possible into relations with civil society. This path was impossible for the party of Order, whose means of repression, whose official interference in the name of the state and whose ubiquity through organs of state were bound to increase in the same measure as the number of quarters increased

from which its rule and the conditions for the existence of its class were threatened. The *gendarmérie* cannot be reduced in the same measure as attacks on persons and property increase.

Or the state must seek to evade the debts and produce an immediate but transitory balance in its budget by putting *extraordinary taxes* on the shoulders of the wealthiest classes. But was the party of Order to sacrifice its own wealth on the altar of the fatherland in order to stop the national wealth from being exploited by the Bourse? *Pas si bête!*<sup>a</sup>

Therefore, without a complete revolution in the French state, no revolution in the French state budget. Along with this state budget necessarily goes state indebtedness, and with state indebtedness necessarily goes the power over the trade in state debts, the state creditors, the bankers, the money dealers and the wolves of the Bourse. Only one faction of the party of Order was directly concerned in the overthrow of the finance aristocracy—the *manufacturers*. We are not speaking of the middle, of the smaller industrialists; we are speaking of the reigning princes of the manufacturing interests, who had formed the broad basis of the dynastic opposition under Louis Philippe. Their interest is indubitably reduction of the costs of production and hence reduction of the taxes, which enter into production, and hence reduction of the state debts, the interest on which enters into the taxes, hence the overthrow of the finance aristocracy.

In England—and the largest French manufacturers are petty bourgeois compared with their English rivals—we really find the manufacturers, a Cobden, a Bright, at the head of the crusade against the bank and the stock-exchange aristocracy. Why not in France? In England industry predominates; in France, agriculture. In England industry requires free trade<sup>b</sup>; in France, protective tariffs, national monopoly alongside of the other monopolies. French industry does not dominate French production, the French industrialists, therefore, do not dominate the French bourgeoisie. In order to secure the advancement of their interests as against the remaining factions of the bourgeoisie, they cannot, like the English, take the lead of the movement and simultaneously push their class interests to the fore; they must follow in the train of the revolution, and serve interests which are opposed to the collective interests of their class. In February they had misunderstood their position; February sharpened their wits. And who is more directly threatened by the workers than the employer, the industrial capitalist? The

<sup>a</sup> It is not so stupid!—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The two words are in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

manufacturer, therefore, of necessity became in France the most fanatical member of the party of Order. The reduction of his *profit* by finance, *what is that compared with the abolition of profit by the proletariat?*

In France, the petty bourgeois does what normally the industrial bourgeois would have to do; the worker does what normally would be the task of the petty bourgeois; and the task of the worker, who accomplishes that? No one. In France it is not accomplished; in France it is proclaimed. It is not accomplished anywhere within the national walls<sup>111</sup>; the class war within French society turns into a world war, in which the nations confront one another. Accomplishment begins only when, through the world war, the proletariat is pushed to the fore in the nation which dominates the world market, to the forefront in England. The revolution, which finds here not its end, but its organisational beginning, is no short-lived revolution. The present generation is like the Jews whom Moses led through the wilderness. It has not only a new world to conquer, it must go under in order to make room for the men who are able to cope with a new world.

Let us return to Fould.

On November 14, 1849, Fould mounted the tribune of the National Assembly and expounded his system of finance: an apology for the old system of taxes! Retention of the wine tax! Abandonment of Passy's income tax!

Passy, too, was no revolutionist; he was an old minister of Louis Philippe's. He belonged to the puritans of the Dufaure brand and to the most intimate confidants of Teste, the scapegoat of the July monarchy.\* Passy, too, had praised the old tax system and recommended the retention of the wine tax; but he had, at the same time, torn the veil from the state deficit. He had declared the necessity for a new tax, the income tax, if the bankruptcy of the state was to be avoided. Fould, who had recommended state bankruptcy to Ledru-Rollin, recommended the state deficit to the Legislative Assembly. He promised economies, the secret of which later revealed itself in that, for example, expenditures diminished by sixty millions while the floating debt increased by two hundred millions—conjur-

\* On July 8, 1847, before the Chamber of Peers in Paris, began the trial of Parmentier and General Cubières for bribing officials to obtain a salt works concession, and of the then Minister of Public Works, Teste, for accepting such money bribes. The latter attempted to commit suicide during the trial. All were heavily fined; Teste, in addition, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.— *Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

ers' tricks in the grouping of figures, in the drawing up of accounts, which all finally amounted to new loans.

Alongside the other jealous bourgeois factions, the finance aristocracy naturally did not act in so shamelessly corrupt a manner under Fould as under Louis Philippe. But, once it existed, the system remained the same: constant increase in the debts, masking of the deficit. And, in time, the old Bourse swindling came out more openly. Proof: the law concerning the Avignon Railway; the mysterious fluctuations in government securities, for a brief space the topic of the day throughout Paris; finally, the ill-starred speculations of Fould and Bonaparte on the elections of March 10.

With the official restoration of the finance aristocracy, the French people had soon again to stand before a February 24.

The Constituent Assembly, in an attack of misanthropy against its heir, had abolished the wine tax for the year of our Lord 1850. New debts could not be paid with the abolition of old taxes. *Cretton*, a cretin of the party of Order, had moved the retention of the wine tax even before the prorogation of the Legislative Assembly. Fould took up this motion in the name of the Bonapartist ministry and on December 20, 1849, the anniversary of the day when Bonaparte was proclaimed President, the National Assembly decreed the *restoration of the wine tax*.

The sponsor of this restoration was not a financier; it was the Jesuit chief *Montalembert*. His argument<sup>a</sup> was strikingly simple: Taxation is the maternal breast on which the government is suckled. The government is the instruments of repression; it is the organs of authority; it is the army; it is the police; it is the officials, the judges, the ministers; it is the *priests*. An attack on taxation is an attack by the anarchists on the sentinels of order, who safeguard the material and spiritual production of bourgeois society from the inroads of the proletarian vandals. Taxation is the fifth god, side by side with property, the family, order and religion. And the wine tax is incontestably taxation and, moreover, not ordinary, but traditional, monarchically disposed, respectable taxation. *Vive l'impôt des boissons!*<sup>b</sup> Three cheers and one cheer more!<sup>c</sup>

When the French peasant paints the devil, he paints him in the guise of a tax-collector. From the moment when Montalembert elevated taxation to a god, the peasant became godless, atheist, and threw himself into the arms of the devil, of *Socialism*. The religion of

<sup>a</sup> In the Legislative Assembly on December 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Long live the tax on drinks!—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> This sentence is in English in the German original.—*Ed.*



order had given him up; the Jesuits had given him up; Bonaparte had given him up. December 20, 1849, had irrevocably compromised December 20, 1848. The "nephew of his uncle" was not the first of his family whom the wine tax defeated, this tax which, in the expression of Montalembert, heralds the revolutionary storm. The real, the great Napoleon declared on St. Helena that the reintroduction of the wine tax had contributed more to his downfall than all else, since it had alienated from him the peasants of Southern France. Already under Louis XIV the favourite object of the hatred of the people (see the writings of Boisguillebert and Vauban), abolished by the first revolution, it was reintroduced by Napoleon in a modified form in 1808. When the restoration entered France, there trotted before it not only the Cossacks, but also promises to abolish the wine tax. The *gentilhommerie*<sup>a</sup> naturally did not need to keep its word to the *gent taillable à merci et miséricorde*.<sup>b</sup> The year 1830 promised the abolition of the wine tax. It was not that year's way to do what it said or say what it did. The year 1848 promised the abolition of the wine tax, just as it promised everything. Finally, the Constituent Assembly, which promised nothing, made, as already mentioned, a testamentary provision whereby the wine tax was to disappear on January 1, 1850. And just ten days before January 1, 1850, the Legislative Assembly introduced it once more, so that the French people perpetually pursued it, and when it had thrown it out the door saw it come in again through the window.

The popular hatred of the wine tax is explained by the fact that it unites in itself all the odiousness of the French system of taxation. The mode of its collection is odious, the mode of its distribution aristocratic, for the rates of taxation are the same for the commonest as for the costliest wines; it increases, therefore, in geometrical progression as the wealth of the consumers decreases, an inverted progressive tax. It accordingly directly provokes the poisoning of the labouring classes by putting a premium on adulterated and imitation wines. It lessens consumption, since it sets up *octrois*<sup>c</sup> before the gates of all towns of over 4,000 inhabitants and transforms each such town into a foreign country with a protective tariff against French wine. The big wine merchants, but still more the small ones, the *mar-chands de vins*, the keepers of wine bars, whose livelihood directly depends on the consumption of wine, are so many avowed enemies of the wine tax. And, finally, by lessening consumption the wine tax

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<sup>a</sup> Nobility.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> People liable to tax.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Local customs offices.—*Ed.*

curtails the producers' market. While it renders the urban workers incapable of paying for wine, it renders the wine-growers incapable of selling it. And France has a wine-growing population of about twelve million. One can, therefore, understand the hatred of the people in general; one can, in particular, understand the fanaticism of the peasants against the wine tax. And, in addition, they saw in its restoration no isolated, more or less accidental, event. The peasants have a kind of historical tradition of their own, which is handed down from father to son, and in this historical school it is muttered that whenever any government wants to dupe the peasants, it promises the abolition of the wine tax, and as soon as it has duped the peasants, retains or reintroduces the wine tax. In the wine tax the peasant tests the bouquet of the government, its tendency. The restoration of the wine tax on December 20 meant: *Louis Bonaparte is like the rest*. But he was not like the rest; he was a *peasant discovery*, and in the petitions carrying millions of signatures against the wine tax they took back the votes that they had given a year before to the "nephew of his uncle".

The rural population—over two-thirds of the total French population—consist for the most part of so-called free *landowners*. The first generation, gratuitously freed by the Revolution of 1789 from its feudal burdens, had paid no price for the soil. But the following generations paid, in the form of the *price of land*, what their semi-serf forefathers had paid in the form of rent, tithes, *corvée*, etc. The more, on the one hand, the population grew and the more, on the other hand, the partition of holdings increased, the higher became the price of the plot, for the demand for them increased with their smallness. But in proportion as the price which the peasant paid for his plot rose, whether he bought it directly or whether he had it accounted as capital by his coheirs, necessarily also rose the *indebtedness of the peasant*, that is, the *mortgage*. The claim to a debt encumbering the land is termed a *mortgage*, a pawnticket in respect of the land. Just as *privileges* accumulated on the medieval estate, *mortgages* accumulate on the modern small holding.—On the other hand: under the system of parcellation the soil is purely an *instrument of production* for its proprietor. Now the fertility of land diminishes in the same measure as land is divided. The application of machinery to the land, the division of labour, major soil improvement measures, such as digging drainage and irrigation canals and the like, become more and more impossible, while the *unproductive costs* of cultivation increase in the same proportion as the division of the instrument of production itself. All this, regardless of whether the possessor of the small holding possesses capital or not. But the more the division

increases, the more does the plot of land with its utterly wretched inventory form the entire capital of the small-holding peasant, the more does investment of capital in the land diminish, the more does the cottager lack land, money and education for making use of the progress in agronomy, and the more does the cultivation of the soil retrogress. Finally, the *net proceeds* diminish in the same proportion as the *gross consumption* increases, as the whole family of the peasant is kept back from other occupations because of its holding and yet is not enabled to live by it.

In the measure, therefore, that the population and, with it, the division of the land increases, *does the instrument of production, the soil, become dearer and its fertility decrease, does agriculture decline and the peasant become loaded with debt.* And what was the effect becomes, in its turn, the cause. Each generation leaves behind another more deeply in debt; each new generation begins under more unfavourable and more aggravating conditions; mortgaging begets mortgaging, and when it becomes impossible for the peasant to offer his small holding as security for *new debts*, that is, to encumber it with new mortgages, he falls a direct victim to *usury*, and *usurious interest rates* become so much the more exorbitant.

Thus it came about that the French peasant cedes to the capitalist, in the form of *interest* on the *mortgages* encumbering the soil and in the form of interest on the *advances made by the usurer without mortgages*, not only rent, not only the industrial profit, in a word, not only the *whole net profit*, but even *a part of the wages*, and that therefore he has sunk to the level of the *Irish tenant farmer*—all under the pretence of being a *private proprietor*.

This process was accelerated in France by the evergrowing *burden of taxes* and by *court costs* called forth in part directly by the formalities themselves with which French legislation encumbers the ownership of land, in part by the innumerable conflicts over plots everywhere bounding and crossing each other, and in part by the litigiousness of the peasants, whose enjoyment of property is limited to the fanatical assertion of their title to their fancied property, of their *property rights*.

According to a statistical statement of 1840, the gross production of French agriculture amounted to 5,237,178,000 francs. Of this, the costs of cultivation come to 3,552,000,000 francs, including the consumption by the persons working. There remains a net product of 1,685,178,000 francs, from which 550,000,000 have to be deducted for interest on mortgages, 100,000,000 for law officials, 350,000,000 for taxes and 107,000,000 for registration money, stamp duty, mortgage fees, etc. There is left one-third of the net

product, or 538,000,000; when distributed over the population, not 25 francs per head net product.<sup>112</sup> Naturally neither usury outside of mortgage nor lawyers' fees, etc., are included in this calculation.

The condition of the French peasants, when the republic had added new burdens to their old ones, is comprehensible. It can be seen that their exploitation differs only in *form* from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: *capital*. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through *mortgages* and *usury*; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through the *state taxes*. The peasant's title to property is the talisman by which capital held him hitherto under its spell, the pretext under which it set him against the industrial proletariat. Only the fall of capital can raise the peasant; only an anti-capitalist, a proletarian government can break his economic misery, his social degradation. The *constitutional republic* is the dictatorship of his united exploiters; *the social-democratic, the Red republic*, is the dictatorship of his allies. And the scale rises or falls, according to the votes that the peasant casts into the ballot box. He himself has to decide his fate.—So spoke the Socialists in pamphlets, almanacs, calendars and leaflets of all kinds. This language became more understandable to him through the counter-writings of the party of Order, which, for its part, turned to him, and which, by gross exaggeration, by its brutal conception and representation of the intentions and ideas of the Socialists, struck the true peasant note and overstimulated his lust after forbidden fruit. Clearest of all, however, was the voice of the peasants' actual experience of using the vote, and the successive disappointments it rained down blow by blow with revolutionary speed upon them. *Revolutions are the locomotives of history.*

The gradual revolutionising of the peasants was manifested by various symptoms. It already revealed itself in the elections to the Legislative Assembly; it was revealed in the state of siege in the five departments bordering Lyons; it was revealed a few months after June 13 in the election of a *Montagnard*<sup>a</sup> in place of the former president of the *Chambre introuvable*\* by the Department of the Gironde; it was revealed on December 20, 1849, in the election of a Red<sup>b</sup> in place of a deceased Legitimist deputy in the Department *du*

\* This is the name given by history to the fanatically ultra-royalist and reactionary Chamber of Deputies elected immediately after the second overthrow of Napoleon, in 1815.—*Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

<sup>a</sup> Lagarde, who was elected to replace the deceased Ravez.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Favand, who was elected to replace the deceased Beaune.—*Ed.*

*Gard*,<sup>113</sup> that promised land of the Legitimists, the scene of the most frightful infamies committed against the republicans in 1794 and 1795 and the centre of the *terreur blanche* in 1815, when liberals and Protestants were publicly murdered. This revolutionising of the most stationary class is most clearly evident since the reintroduction of the wine tax. The governmental measures and the laws of January and February 1850 are directed almost exclusively against the *departments* and the *peasants*. The most striking proof of their progress.

The *Hautpoul circular*, by which the gendarme was appointed inquisitor of the prefect, of the sub-prefect and, above all, of the mayor, and by which espionage was organised even in the hidden corners of the remotest village community; the *law against the schoolteachers*, by which they, the men of talent, the spokesmen, the educators and interpreters of the peasant class, were subjected to the arbitrary power of the prefect, they, the proletarians of the learned class, were chased like hunted beasts from one community to another; the *bill against the mayors*, by which the Damocles sword of dismissal was hung over their heads, and they, the presidents of the peasant communities, were every moment set in opposition to the President of the Republic and the party of Order; the *ordinance* which transformed the seventeen military districts of France into four pashalics<sup>114</sup> and forced the barracks and the bivouac on the French as their national *salon*; the *education law*,<sup>115</sup> by which the party of Order proclaimed the unconsciousness and the forcible stupefaction of France as the condition of its life under the regime of universal suffrage—what were all these laws and measures? Desperate attempts to reconquer the departments and the peasants of the departments for the party of Order.

Regarded as *repression*, they were wretched methods that wrung the neck of their own purpose. The big measures, like the retention of the wine tax, of the 45 centimes tax, the scornful rejection of the peasant petitions for the repayment of the milliard, etc., all these legislative thunderbolts struck the peasant class only once, wholesale, from the centre; the laws and measures instanced made attack and resistance *general*, the topic of the day in every hut; they inoculated every village with revolution; they *localised and peasantised the revolution*.

On the other hand, do not these proposals of Bonaparte and their acceptance by the National Assembly prove the unity of the two powers of the constitutional republic, so far as it is a question of repression of anarchy, that is, of all the classes that rise against the bourgeois dictatorship? Had not *Soulouque*, directly after his brusque

message,<sup>a</sup> assured the Legislative Assembly of his *dévouement*<sup>b</sup> to order, through the immediately following message of *Carlier*,<sup>116</sup> that dirty, mean caricature of Fouché, as Louis Bonaparte himself was the shallow caricature of Napoleon?

The *education law* shows us the alliance of the young Catholics with the old Voltairians. Could the rule of the united bourgeois be anything but the coalitioned despotism of the pro-Jesuit Restoration and the pseudo-free-thinking July monarchy? And was it not inevitable that the weapons distributed to the people by one bourgeois faction against the other in their mutual struggle for supremacy should be torn away from them again, once the people stood in opposition to their united dictatorship? Nothing has aroused the Paris shopkeeper more than this coquettish *étalage* of *Jesuitism*, not even the rejection of the *concordats à l'amiable*.

Meanwhile the collisions between the different factions of the party of Order, as well as between the National Assembly and Bonaparte, continued. The National Assembly was far from pleased that Bonaparte, immediately after his *coup d'état*, after appointing his own, Bonapartist, ministry, summoned the wounded veterans of the monarchy, newly appointed prefects, and made their unconstitutional agitation for his re-election as President the condition of their appointment; that Carlier celebrated his inauguration with the closing of a Legitimist club, or that Bonaparte founded a journal of his own, *Le Napoléon*, which betrayed to the public the secret longings of the President, while his ministers had to deny them from the tribune of the Legislative Assembly. The latter was far from pleased by the defiant retention of the ministry, notwithstanding its various votes of no confidence; far from pleased by the attempt to win the favour of the non-commissioned officers by a pay rise of four sous a day, and the favour of the proletariat by a plagiarisation of Eugène Sue's *Mystères*, by an honour loan bank<sup>c</sup>; far from pleased, finally, by the effrontery with which the ministers were made to move the deportation of the remaining June insurgents to Algiers, in order to heap unpopularity on the Legislative Assembly *en gros*, while the President reserved popularity for himself *en détail*, by individual grants of pardon. *Thiers* let fall threatening words about "*coup d'état*" and "*coups de tête*",<sup>d</sup> and the Legislative Assembly revenged itself on Bonaparte by rejecting every proposed law which he put forward for

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 112-13.— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Devotion.— *Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> For a criticism of the idea to set up a "bank for the poor", described in Eugène Sue's novel *Les mystères de Paris*, see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 197-99.— *Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> A play on the words *coup d'état* and *coups de tête* (rash deeds).— *Ed.*

his own benefit, and by enquiring, with noisy mistrust, in every instance of his making a proposal in the common interest, whether he did not aspire, through increase of the executive power, to augment the personal power of Bonaparte. In a word, it *revenged itself by a conspiracy of contempt*.

The Legitimist party, on its part, saw with vexation the more capable Orleanists once more occupying almost all posts and *centralisation* increasing, while on principle it sought its salvation in *decentralisation*. And it was so. The counter-revolution *centralised forcibly*, that is to say, it prepared the mechanism of the revolution. It even *centralised* the gold and silver of France in the Paris bank through the compulsory quotation of bank-notes, and so created the *ready war chest* of the revolution.

Lastly, the Orleanists saw with vexation the emergent principle of legitimacy contrasted with their bastard principle, and themselves every moment snubbed and maltreated as the bourgeois *mésalliance* of a noble spouse.

Little by little we have seen peasants, petty bourgeois, the middle classes in general, stepping alongside the proletariat, driven into open antagonism to the official republic and treated by it as antagonists. *Revolt against bourgeois dictatorship, need of a change of society, adherence to democratic-republican institutions as organs of their movement, grouping round the proletariat as the decisive revolutionary power*—these are the common characteristics of the so-called *party of social-democracy, the party of the Red republic*. This *party of Anarchy*, as its opponents christened it, is no less a coalition of different interests than *the party of Order*. From the smallest reform of the old social disorder to the overthrow of the old social order, from bourgeois liberalism to revolutionary terrorism—as far apart as this lie the extremes that form the starting point and the finishing point of the party of “Anarchy”.

Abolition of all protective tariffs—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the *industrial* faction of the party of Order. Regulation of the state budget—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the *financial* faction of the party of Order. Free entry for foreign meat and corn—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the third faction of the party of Order, *large landed property*. The demands of the free-trade party, that is, of the most advanced English bourgeois party, appear in France as so many socialist demands. Voltairianism—Socialism! For it strikes at a fourth faction of the party of Order, the *Catholic*. Freedom of the press, right of association, universal public education—Socialism, Socialism! They strike at the general monopoly of the party of Order.

So swiftly had the march of the revolution ripened conditions that the friends of reform of all shades, the most moderate claims of the middle classes, were compelled to group themselves round the banner of the most extreme party of revolution, round the *red flag*.

Yet, manifold as the *Socialism* of the different large sections of the party of Anarchy was, according to the economic conditions and the total revolutionary requirements of their class or fraction of a class arising out of these, in *one* point it is in harmony: in proclaiming itself the *means of emancipating the proletariat* and the emancipation of the latter as its *object*. Deliberate deception on the part of some; self-deception on the part of the others, who give out the world transformed according to their own needs as the best world for all, as the realisation of all revolutionary claims and the elimination of all revolutionary collisions.

Behind the *general socialist* phrases of the "*party of Anarchy*", which sound rather alike, there is concealed the *Socialism of the "National", of the "Presse" and the "Siècle"*, which more or less consistently wants to overthrow the rule of the finance aristocracy and to free industry and trade from their hitherto existing fetters. This is the Socialism of industry, of trade and of agriculture, whose bosses in the party of Order deny these interests, insofar as they no longer coincide with their private monopolies. Socialism proper, *petty-bourgeois Socialism*, Socialism *par excellence*, is distinct from this *bourgeois Socialism*, to which, as to every variety of Socialism, a section of the workers and petty bourgeois naturally rallies. Capital hounds this class chiefly as its *creditor*, so it demands *credit institutions*; capital crushes it by *competition*, so it demands *associations* supported by the state; capital overwhelms it by *concentration*, so it demands *progressive taxes*, limitations on inheritance, taking over of large construction projects by the state, and other measures that *forcibly stem the growth of capital*. Since it dreams of the peaceful achievement of its Socialism—allowing, perhaps, for a second February Revolution lasting a brief day or so—the coming historical process naturally appears to it as an *application of systems*, which the thinkers of society, whether in companies or as individual inventors, devise or have devised. Thus they become the eclectics or adepts of the existing socialist *systems*, of *doctrinaire Socialism*, which was the theoretical expression of the proletariat only as long as it had not yet developed further into a free historical movement of its own.

Thus, while *utopia, doctrinaire Socialism*, which subordinates the whole movement to one of its elements, which puts the cerebrations of the individual pedant in place of common, social production and,



above all, wishes away the necessities of the revolutionary class struggles by petty tricks or great sentimental rhetoric—while this doctrinaire Socialism, which basically only idealises present-day society, makes a shadowless picture of it and seeks to oppose its ideal to its reality, while this Socialism is ceded by the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie, while the internal struggle between the different socialist leaders reveals each so-called system to be the pretentious adherence to one transitional position on the path to social upheaval as opposed to another—the *proletariat* increasingly organises itself around *revolutionary Socialism*, around *Communism*, for which the bourgeoisie itself has invented the name of *Blanqui*. This Socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

The scope of this exposition does not permit of developing the subject further.

We have seen that just as in the party of *Order* the *finance aristocracy* necessarily took the lead, so in the party of “*Anarchy*” the *proletariat*. While the different classes, united in a revolutionary league, grouped themselves round the proletariat, while the departments became ever more unreliable and the Legislative Assembly itself ever more morose towards the pretensions of the French Soulouque, the long deferred and delayed election of substitutes for the *Montagnards*, proscribed after June 13, drew near.

The government, scorned by its foes, maltreated and daily humiliated by its alleged friends, saw only *one* means of emerging from this repugnant and untenable position—a *revolt*. A revolt in Paris would have permitted the proclamation of a state of siege in Paris and the departments and thus the control of the elections. On the other hand, the friends of order, in face of a government that had gained victory over anarchy, were constrained to make concessions, if they did not want to appear as anarchists themselves.

The government set to work. At the beginning of February 1850, provocation of the people by chopping down the trees of liberty.<sup>117</sup> In vain. If the trees of liberty lost their place, it itself lost its head and fell back, frightened by its own provocation. The National Assembly, however, received this clumsy attempt at emancipation on the part of Bonaparte with ice-cold mistrust. The removal of the wreaths of immortelles from the July column was no more successful.<sup>118</sup> It gave

a part of the army an opportunity for revolutionary demonstrations and the National Assembly the occasion for a more or less veiled vote of no confidence in the ministry. In vain the government press threatened the abolition of universal suffrage and an invasion by the Cossacks. In vain was d'Hautpoul's direct challenge, issued to the Left<sup>a</sup> in the Legislative Assembly itself, to betake themselves to the streets, and his declaration that the government was ready to receive them. Hautpoul received nothing but a call to order from the President,<sup>b</sup> and the party of Order, with silent, malicious joy, allowed a deputy of the Left to mock Bonaparte's usurpatory longings. In vain, finally, was the prophecy of a revolution on *February 24*. The government caused February 24 to be ignored by the people.

The proletariat did not allow itself to be provoked to *revolt*, because it was on the point of making a *revolution*.

Unhindered by the provocations of the government, which only heightened the general exasperation at the existing situation, the election committee, wholly under the influence of the workers, put forward three candidates for Paris: *Deflotte*, *Vidal* and *Carnot*. *Deflotte* was a June deportee, amnestied through one of Bonaparte's popularity-seeking ideas; he was a friend of Blanqui and had taken part in the attempt of May 15. *Vidal*, known as a Communist writer through his book *Concerning the Distribution of Wealth*,<sup>c</sup> was formerly secretary to Louis Blanc in the Luxembourg Commission. *Carnot*, son of the man of the Convention who had organised the victory,<sup>d</sup> the least compromised member of the *National* party, Minister of Education in the Provisional Government and the Executive Commission, was through his democratic public education bill a living protest against the education law of the Jesuits. These three candidates represented the three allied classes: at the head, the June insurgent, the representative of the revolutionary proletariat; next to him, the doctrinaire Socialist, the representative of the socialist petty bourgeoisie; finally, the third, the representative of the republican bourgeois party, the democratic formulas of which had gained a socialist significance *vis-à-vis* the party of Order and had long lost their own significance. This was a *general coalition against the bourgeoisie and the government, as in February*. But this time the *proletariat was at the head of the revolutionary league*.

<sup>a</sup> On February 16, 1850.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Comte Napoléon Daru.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> F. Vidal, *De la répartition des richesses ou de la justice distributive en économie sociale*.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Lazare Nicolas Carnot.—*Ed.*

In spite of all efforts the socialist candidates won. The army itself voted for the June insurgent against its own War Minister, La Hitte. The party of Order was thunderstruck. The elections in the departments did not solace them; they gave a majority to the *Montagnards*.

*The election of March 10, 1850! It was the revocation of June 1848:* the butchers and deporters of the June insurgents returned to the National Assembly, but returned, bowed down, in the train of the deported, and with their principles on their lips. *It was the revocation of June 13, 1849:* the *Montagne*, proscribed by the National Assembly, returned to the National Assembly, but as advance trumpeters of the revolution, no longer as its commanders. *It was the revocation of December 10:* Napoleon had lost out with his Minister La Hitte. The parliamentary history of France knows only one analogy: the rejection of d'Haussez, minister of Charles X, in 1830. Finally, the election of March 10, 1850, was the cancellation of the election of May 13, which had given the party of Order a majority. The election of March 10 protested against the majority of May 13. March 10 was a revolution. Behind the ballots lie the paving stones.

"The vote of March 10 means war," shouted Ségur d'Aguesseau,<sup>2</sup> one of the most advanced members of the party of Order.

With March 10, 1850, the constitutional republic entered a new phase, *the phase of its dissolution*. The different factions of the majority are again united among themselves and with Bonaparte; they are again the saviours of order; he is again their *neutral man*. If they remember that they are royalists it happens only from despair of the possibility of a bourgeois republic; if he remembers that he is a pretender, it happens only because he despairs of remaining President.

At the command of the party of Order, Bonaparte answers the election of *Deflotte*, the June insurgent, by appointing *Baroche* Minister of the Interior, Baroche, the accuser of Blanqui and Barbès, of Ledru-Rollin and Guinard. The Legislative Assembly answers the election of *Carnot* by adopting the education law, the election of *Vidal* by suppressing the socialist press. The party of Order seeks to blare away its own fears by the trumpet blasts of its press. "The sword is holy," cries one of its organs; "The defenders of order must take the offensive against the Red party," cries another; "Between Socialism and society there is a duel to the death, a war without surcease or mercy; in this duel of desperation one or the other must go under; if society does not annihilate Socialism, Socialism will

<sup>2</sup> In the Legislative Assembly on March 16, 1850.—*Ed*

annihilate society," crows a third cock of order.<sup>a</sup> Throw up the barricades of order, the barricades of religion, the barricades of the family! An end must be made of the 127,000 voters of Paris! A Bartholomew's night for the Socialists! And the party of Order believes for a moment in its own certainty of victory.

Their organs hold forth most fanatically of all against the "*boutiquiers of Paris*". The June insurgent of Paris elected by the shopkeepers of Paris as their representative! This means that a second June 1848 is impossible; this means that a second June 13, 1849, is impossible; this means that the moral influence of capital is broken; this means that the bourgeois assembly now represents only the bourgeoisie; this means that big property is lost, because its vassal, small property, seeks its salvation in the camp of the propertyless.

The party of Order naturally returns to its inevitable *commonplace*. "*More repression,*" it cries, "*tenfold repression!*" But its power of repression has diminished tenfold, while resistance has increased a hundredfold. Must not the chief instrument of repression, the army, itself be repressed? And the party of Order speaks its last word: "The iron ring of suffocating legality must be broken. *The constitutional republic is impossible.* We must fight with our true weapons; since February 1848, we have fought the revolution with its weapons and on its terrain. We have accepted its institutions; the constitution is a fortress which safeguards only the besiegers, not the besieged! By smuggling ourselves into holy Ilion in the belly of the Trojan horse, we have, unlike our forefathers, the *Grecs*,\* not conquered the hostile town, but made prisoners of ourselves."

The foundation of the constitution, however, is *universal suffrage*. *Annihilation of universal suffrage*—such is the last word of the party of Order, of the bourgeois dictatorship.

On May 4, 1848, on December 20, 1848, on May 13, 1849, and on July 8, 1849, universal suffrage admitted that they were right.<sup>119</sup> On March 10, 1850, universal suffrage admitted that it had itself been wrong. Bourgeois rule as the outcome and result of universal suffrage, as the express act of the sovereign will of the people—that is the meaning of the bourgeois constitution. But has the constitution

\* *Grecs*—play on words: Greeks, but also professional cheats.— *Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

<sup>a</sup> The organ of the party of Order referred to here is the newspaper *La Patrie*. Evidently, Marx made use of the newspaper *La Voix du peuple* Nos. 166 and 167 of March 17 and 18, 1850, in which these passages from *La Patrie* were quoted.— *Ed.*

any further meaning from the moment that the content of this suffrage, of this sovereign will, is no longer bourgeois rule? Is it not the duty of the bourgeoisie so to regulate the suffrage that it wills the reasonable, its rule? By ever and anon putting an end to the existing state power and creating it anew out of itself, does not universal suffrage put an end to all stability, does it not every moment question all the powers that be, does it not annihilate authority, does it not threaten to elevate anarchy itself to the position of authority? After March 10, 1850, who would still doubt it?

By repudiating universal suffrage, with which it hitherto draped itself and from which it sucked its omnipotence, the bourgeoisie openly confesses, "*Our dictatorship has hitherto existed by the will of the people; it must now be consolidated against the will of the people.*" And, consistently, it seeks its props no longer within *France*, but without, in foreign countries, in *invasion*.

With the invasion, it, a second Coblenz,<sup>120</sup> its seat established in France itself, rouses all the national passions against itself. With the attack on universal suffrage it provides a *general pretext* for the new revolution, and the revolution requires such a pretext. Every *special* pretext would divide the factions of the revolutionary league, and give prominence to their differences. The *general* pretext stuns the semi-revolutionary classes; it permits them to deceive themselves concerning the *definite character* of the coming revolution, concerning the consequences of their own act. Every revolution requires a banquet question. Universal suffrage is the banquet question of the new revolution.

However, the coalitioned factions of the bourgeoisie are already condemned by their retreat from the *constitutional republic*—the only possible form of their *united* power, and the most powerful and most complete form of their *class rule*—to the subordinate, incomplete and weaker form of the *monarchy*. They are like that old man who fetched out his boyhood clothes and painfully tried to force his withered limbs into them in order to regain his youthful strength. Their republic had only *one* merit, *that of being the forcing-house of the revolution*.

March 10, 1850, bears the inscription:  
*Après moi le déluge! After me the deluge!*<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Words attributed to Louis XV.—*Ed.*

## IV

THE ABOLITION  
OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN 1850

(The continuation of the three foregoing chapters is contained in the *Revue* in the fifth and sixth double issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the last to appear.<sup>a</sup> Here, after the great commercial crisis that broke out in England in 1847 had first been described and the coming to a head of the political complications on the European Continent in the revolutions of February and March 1848 had been explained by its reactions there, it was shown how the prosperity of trade and industry that again set in during the course of 1848 and increased still further in 1849 paralysed the revolutionary upsurge and made possible the simultaneous victories of reaction. It went on to say, with special reference to France:)<sup>b</sup>

The same symptoms have shown themselves in *France* since 1849, and particularly since the beginning of 1850. The Parisian industries are abundantly employed and the cotton factories of Rouen and Mulhouse are also doing pretty well, although here, as in England, the high prices of the raw material have exercised a retarding influence. The development of prosperity in France was, in addition, especially promoted by the comprehensive tariff reform in Spain and by the reduction of the duties on various luxury articles in Mexico; the export of French commodities to both markets has considerably increased. The growth of capital in France led to a series of speculations, for which the large-scale exploitation of the Californian gold-mines served as a pretext.<sup>121</sup> A swarm of companies has sprung up, the low denomination of whose shares and whose socialist-coloured prospectuses appeal directly to the purses of the

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 507-10 and 516-25.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The introductory paragraph was written by Engels for the 1895 edition.—*Ed.*

petty bourgeois and the workers, but which one and all result in that sheer swindling which is characteristic of the French and Chinese alone. One of these companies is even patronised directly by the government. The import duties in France during the first nine months of 1848 amounted to 63,000,000 francs, of 1849 to 95,000,000 francs and of 1850 to 93,000,000 francs. Moreover, in the month of September 1850, they again rose by more than a million compared with the same month of 1849. Exports also rose in 1849, and still more in 1850.

The most striking proof of restored prosperity is the bank's reintroduction of specie payment by the law of August 6, 1850. On March 15, 1848, the bank had been authorised to suspend specie payment. Its note circulation, including the provincial banks, amounted at that time to 373,000,000 francs (£14,920,000). On November 2, 1849, this circulation amounted to 482,000,000 francs, or £19,280,000, an increase of £4,360,000, and on September 2, 1850, to 496,000,000 francs, or £19,840,000, an increase of about £5,000,000. This was not accompanied by any devaluation of the notes; on the contrary, the increased circulation of the notes was accompanied by the steadily increasing accumulation of gold and silver in the vaults of the bank, so that in the summer of 1850 its metallic reserve amounted to about £14,000,000, an unprecedented sum in France. That the bank was thus placed in a position to increase its circulation and therewith its active capital by 123,000,000 francs, or £5,000,000, is striking proof of the correctness of our assertion in an earlier issue<sup>a</sup> that the finance aristocracy has not only not been overthrown by the revolution, but has even been strengthened. This result becomes still more evident from the following survey of French bank legislation during the last few years. On June 10, 1847, the bank was authorised to issue notes of 200 francs; hitherto the smallest denomination had been 500 francs. A decree of March 15, 1848, declared the notes of the Bank of France legal tender and relieved the bank of the obligation of redeeming them in specie. Its note issue was limited to 350,000,000 francs. It was simultaneously authorised to issue notes of 100 francs. A decree of April 27 prescribed the merging of the departmental banks in the Bank of France; another decree, of May 2, 1848, increased the latter's note issue to 452,000,000 francs. A decree of December 22, 1849, raised the maximum of the note issue to 525,000,000 francs. Finally, the law of August 6, 1850, re-established the exchangeability of notes for specie. These facts, the continual increase in the

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 114-18.—*Ed.*

circulation, the concentration of the whole of French credit in the hands of the bank and the accumulation of all French gold and silver in the bank's vaults, led M. Proudhon to the conclusion that the bank must now shed its old snakeskin and metamorphose itself into a Proudhonist people's bank.<sup>122</sup> He did not even need to know the history of the restriction on the English bank from 1797-1819<sup>123</sup>; he only needed to direct his glance across the Channel to see that this fact, for him unprecedented in the history of bourgeois society, was nothing more than a very normal bourgeois event, which now only occurred in France for the first time. One sees that the allegedly revolutionary theoreticians who, after the Provisional Government, talked big in Paris, were just as ignorant of the nature and the results of the measures taken as the gentlemen of the Provisional Government themselves.

In spite of the industrial and commercial prosperity that France momentarily enjoys, the mass of the people, the twenty-five million peasants, suffer from a great depression. The good harvests of the last few years have forced the prices of corn in France much lower even than in England, and the position of the peasants under such circumstances, in debt, sucked dry by usury and crushed by taxes, must be anything but splendid. The history of the last three years has, however, provided sufficient proof that this class of the population is absolutely incapable of any revolutionary initiative.

Just as the period of crisis occurs later on the Continent than in England, so does that of prosperity. The original process always takes place in England; it is the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos. On the Continent, the different phases of the cycle through which bourgeois society is ever speeding anew occur in secondary and tertiary form. First, the Continent exported incomparably more to England than to any other country. This export to England, however, in turn depends on the position of England, particularly with regard to the overseas market. Then England exports to the overseas lands incomparably more than the entire Continent, so that the quantity of Continental exports to these lands is always dependent on England's overseas exports at the time. While, therefore, the crises first produce revolutions on the Continent, the foundation for these is, nevertheless, always laid in England. Violent outbreaks must naturally occur rather in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there. On the other hand, the degree to which Continental revolutions react on England is at the same time the barometer which indicates how far these revolutions really call in



question the bourgeois conditions of life, or how far they only hit their political formations.

With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution. Such a revolution is only possible in the periods when *both these factors*, the *modern productive forces* and the *bourgeois forms of production*, come in collision with each other. The various quarrels in which the representatives of the individual factions of the Continental party of Order now indulge and mutually compromise themselves, far from providing the occasion for new revolutions are, on the contrary, possible only because the basis of the relationships is momentarily so secure and, what the reaction does not know, so *bourgeois*. All reactionary attempts to hold up bourgeois development will rebound off it just as certainly as all moral indignation and all enthusiastic proclamations of the democrats. *A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis.*<sup>a</sup>

Let us now turn to *France*.

The victory that the people, in conjunction with the petty bourgeois, had won in the elections of March 10 was annulled by it itself when it provoked the new election of April 28. Vidal was elected not only in Paris, but also in the Lower Rhine. The Paris Committee, in which the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie were strongly represented, induced him to accept for the Lower Rhine. The victory of March 10 ceased to be a decisive one; the date of the decision was once more postponed; the tension of the people was relaxed; it became accustomed to legal triumphs instead of revolutionary ones. The revolutionary meaning of March 10, the rehabilitation of the June insurrection, was finally completely annihilated by the candidature of Eugène Sue, the sentimental petty-bourgeois social-fantast, which the proletariat could at best accept as a joke to amuse the grisettes. As against this well-meaning candidature, the party of Order, emboldened by the vacillating policy of its opponents, put up a candidate who was to represent the *June victory*. This comic candidate was the Spartan *pater familias* Leclerc,<sup>124</sup> from whose person, however, the heroic armour was torn piece by piece by the press, and who experienced a crushing defeat in the election. The new election victory on April 28 put the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie in high feather. They already

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<sup>a</sup> Here Engels omitted several pages from the third international review, pages referring to England (see this volume, pp. 510-16).—*Ed.*

exulted in the thought of being able to arrive at the goal of their wishes in a purely legal way and without again pushing the proletariat into the foreground through a new revolution; they reckoned positively on bringing M. Ledru-Rollin into the presidential chair and a majority of *Montagnards* into the Assembly through universal suffrage in the new elections of 1852. The party of Order, rendered perfectly certain, by the prospective elections, by Sue's candidature and by the mood of the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie, that the latter were resolved to remain quiet no matter what happened, answered the two election victories with an *election law* which abolished universal suffrage.

The government took good care not to make this legislative proposal on its own responsibility. It made an apparent concession to the majority by entrusting the drafting of the bill to the high dignitaries of this majority, to the seventeen burgraves.<sup>125</sup> Thus, it was not the government that proposed the repeal of universal suffrage to the Assembly; the majority of the Assembly proposed it to itself.

On May 8, the project was brought into the Chamber. The entire social-democratic press rose as one man in order to preach to the people dignified composure, *calme majestueux*,<sup>a</sup> passivity and trust in its representatives. Every article of these journals was a confession that a revolution would, above all, annihilate the so-called revolutionary press and that, therefore, it was now a question of its self-preservation. The allegedly revolutionary press betrayed its whole secret. It signed its own death warrant.

On May 21, the *Montagne* put the preliminary question to debate and moved the rejection of the whole project on the ground that it violated the constitution. The party of Order answered that the constitution would be violated if it were necessary; there was, however, no need for this at present, because the constitution was capable of every interpretation, and because the majority alone was competent to decide on the correct interpretation. To the unbridled, savage attacks of Thiers and Montalembert the *Montagne* opposed a decorous and refined humanism. It took its stand on the ground of law; the party of Order referred it to the ground on which the law grows, to bourgeois property. The *Montagne* whimpered: Did they really want, then, to conjure up revolutions by main force? The party of Order replied: One should await them.

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<sup>a</sup> An allusion to Victor Hugo's appeal to keep "majestic calm", made in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on May 21, 1850.—*Ed.*

On May 22, the preliminary question was settled by 462 votes to 227. The same men who had proved with such solemn profundity that the National Assembly and every individual deputy would be renouncing his mandate if he renounced the people, his mandator, stuck to their seats and now suddenly sought to let the country act, through petitions at that, instead of acting themselves; and still sat there unmoved when, on May 31, the law went through in splendid fashion.<sup>126</sup> They sought to revenge themselves by a protest in which they recorded their innocence of the rape of the constitution, a protest which they did not even submit openly, but smuggled into the President's<sup>a</sup> pocket behind his back.

An army of 150,000 men in Paris, the long deferment of the decision, the appeasing attitude of the press, the pusillanimity of the *Montagne* and of the newly elected representatives, the majestic calm of the petty bourgeois, but, above all, the commercial and industrial prosperity, prevented any attempt at revolution on the part of the proletariat.

Universal suffrage had fulfilled its mission. The majority of the people had passed through the school of development, which is all that universal suffrage can serve for in a revolutionary period. It had to be set aside by a revolution or by the reaction.

The *Montagne* developed a still greater display of energy on an occasion that arose soon afterwards. From the tribune War Minister d'Hautpoul had termed the February Revolution a baneful catastrophe.<sup>b</sup> The orators of the *Montagne*, who, as always, distinguished themselves by their morally indignant bluster, were not allowed by the President, Dupin, to speak. Girardin proposed to the *Montagne* that it should walk out at once *en masse*. Result: the *Montagne* remained seated, but Girardin was cast out from its midst as unworthy.

The election law still needed one thing to complete it, a new *press law*. This was not long in coming. A proposal of the government, made many times more drastic by amendments of the party of Order, increased the caution money, put an extra stamp on feuilleton novels (answer to the election of Eugène Sue), taxed all publications appearing weekly or monthly up to a certain number of sheets and finally provided that every article of a journal must bear the signature of the author. The provisions concerning the caution money killed the so-called revolutionary press; the people regarded its extinction as satisfaction for the abolition of universal suffrage.

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<sup>a</sup> The President of the Assembly.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> This statement was made by the Minister of Justice Eugène Rouher.—*Ed.*

However, neither the tendency nor the effect of the new law extended only to this section of the press. As long as the newspaper press was anonymous, it appeared as the organ of a numberless and nameless public opinion; it was the third power in the state. Through the signature of every article, a newspaper became a mere collection of literary contributions from more or less known individuals. Every article sank to the level of an advertisement. Hitherto the newspapers had circulated as the paper money of public opinion; now they were resolved into more or less bad *solo* bills, whose worth and circulation depended on the credit not only of the drawer but also of the endorser. The press of the party of Order had agitated not only for the repeal of universal suffrage but also for the most extreme measures against the bad press. However, in its sinister anonymity even the good press was irksome to the party of Order and still more to its individual provincial representatives. As for itself, it demanded only the paid writer, with name, address and description. In vain the good press bemoaned the ingratitude with which its services were rewarded. The law went through; the specification of the names of authors hit it hardest of all. The names of republican journalists were pretty well known; but the respectable firms of the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Constitutionnel*, etc., etc., cut a sorry figure in their high protestations of state wisdom, when the mysterious company all at once disintegrated into purchasable penny-a-liners<sup>a</sup> of long practice, who had defended all possible causes for cash, like Granier de Cassagnac, or into old milksops who called themselves statesmen, like Capefigue, or into coquettish fops, like M. Lemoigne of the *Débats*.

In the debate on the press law the *Montagne* had already sunk to such a level of moral degeneracy that it had to confine itself to applauding the brilliant tirades of an old notability of Louis Philippe's time, M. Victor Hugo.

With the election law and the press law the revolutionary and democratic party exits from the official stage. Before their departure home, shortly after the end of the session, the two factions of the *Montagne*, the socialist democrats and the democratic Socialists, issued two manifestos, two *testimonia paupertatis*, in which they proved that while power and success were never on their side, they nonetheless had ever been on the side of eternal justice and all the other eternal truths.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This expression is given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> "Compte-rendu de la Montagne au Peuple" and "Au Peuple!", published in the newspaper *Le Peuple de 1850* No. 6, August 11, and No. 7, August 14, 1850.—*Ed.*

Let us now consider the party of Order. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had said (Heft 3, p. 16): "As against the hankering for restoration on the part of the united Orleanists and Legitimists, Bonaparte defends his title to his actual power, the republic; as against the hankering for restoration on the part of Bonaparte, the party of Order defends its title to its common rule, the republic. As against the Orleanists, the Legitimists, and as against the Legitimists, the Orleanists, defend the *status quo*, the republic. All these factions of the party of Order, each of which has its own king and its own restoration *in petto*, mutually enforce, as against their rivals' hankering for usurpation and revolt, the common rule of the bourgeoisie, the form in which the special claims remain neutralised and reserved—the republic.... And Thiers spoke more truly than he suspected when he said: 'We, the royalists, are the true pillars of the constitutional republic.'"<sup>a</sup>

This comedy of the *républicains malgré eux*,<sup>b</sup> the antipathy to the *status quo* and the constant consolidation of it; the incessant friction between Bonaparte and the National Assembly; the ever renewed threat of the party of Order to split into its separate component parts, and the ever repeated conjugation of its factions; the attempt of each faction to transform each victory over the common foe into a defeat for its temporary allies; the mutual petty jealousy, chicanery, harassment, the tireless drawing of swords that ever and again ends with a *baiser-Lamourette*<sup>127</sup>—this whole unedifying comedy of errors never developed more classically than during the last six months.

The party of Order regarded the election law at the same time as a victory over Bonaparte. Had not the government abdicated when it handed over the editing of and responsibility for its own proposal to the Commission of Seventeen? And did not the chief strength of Bonaparte as against the Assembly lie in the fact that he was the chosen of six millions?—Bonaparte, on his part, treated the election law as a concession to the Assembly, with which he claimed to have purchased harmony between the legislative and executive powers. As reward, the vulgar adventurer demanded an increase of three millions in his civil list. Dared the National Assembly enter into a conflict with the executive at a moment when it had excommunicated the great majority of Frenchmen? It was roused to anger; it appeared to want to go to extremes; its Commission rejected the motion; the Bonapartist press threatened, and referred to the

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 114.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Republicans in spite of themselves. (Allusion to Molière's comedy *Le Médecin malgré lui*.)—*Ed.*

disinherited people, deprived of its franchise; numerous noisy attempts at an arrangement took place, and the Assembly finally gave way in fact, but at the same time revenged itself in principle. Instead of increasing the civil list in principle by three millions per annum, it granted him an accommodation of 2,160,000 francs. Not satisfied with this, it made even this concession only after it had been supported by Changarnier, the general of the party of Order and the protector thrust upon Bonaparte. Therefore it really granted the two millions not to Bonaparte, but to Changarnier.

This sop, thrown to him *de mauvaise grâce*,<sup>a</sup> was accepted by Bonaparte quite in the spirit of the donor. The Bonapartist press blustered anew against the National Assembly. When, now in the debate on the press law, the amendment was passed on the signing of names, which, in turn, was directed especially against the less important papers, the representatives of the private interests of Bonaparte, the principal Bonapartist paper, the *Pouvoir*, published an open and vehement attack on the National Assembly. The ministers had to disavow the paper before the Assembly; the managing editor of the *Pouvoir* was summoned before the bar of the National Assembly and sentenced to pay the highest fine, 5,000 francs.<sup>b</sup> Next day, the *Pouvoir* published a still more insolent article against the Assembly, and, as the government's revenge, the public prosecutor promptly prosecuted a number of Legitimist journals for violating the constitution.

Finally there came the question of proroguing the Chamber. Bonaparte desired this in order to be able to operate unhindered by the Assembly. The party of Order desired it, partly for the purpose of carrying on its factional intrigues, partly for the pursuit of the private interests of the individual deputies. Both needed it in order to consolidate and push further the victories of reaction in the provinces. The Assembly therefore adjourned from August 11 until November 11. Since, however, Bonaparte in no way concealed that his only concern was to get rid of the irksome surveillance of the National Assembly, the Assembly imprinted on the vote of confidence itself the stamp of want of confidence in the President. All Bonapartists were kept off the permanent commission of twenty-eight members, who stayed on during the recess as guardians of the virtue of the republic.<sup>128</sup> In their stead, even some republicans of the *Siècle* and the *National* were elected to it, in order to prove to

<sup>a</sup> With a bad grace.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 39-40 and 520-21.—*Ed.*

the President the attachment of the majority to the constitutional republic.

Shortly before and, especially, immediately after the prorogation of the Chamber, the two big factions of the party of Order, the Orleanists and the Legitimists, appeared to want to be reconciled, and this by a fusion of the two royal houses under whose flags they were fighting. The papers were full of reconciliation proposals that were said to have been discussed at the sickbed of Louis Philippe at St. Leonards, when the death of Louis Philippe suddenly simplified the situation. Louis Philippe was the usurper; Henry V, the dispossessed; the Count of Paris,<sup>a</sup> on the other hand, owing to the childlessness of Henry V, his lawful heir to the throne. Every pretext for objecting to a fusion of the two dynastic interests was now removed. But now, precisely, the two factions of the bourgeoisie first discovered that it was not zeal for a definite royal house that divided them, but that it was rather their divided class interests that kept the two dynasties apart. The Legitimists, who had made a pilgrimage to the residence of Henry V at Wiesbaden just as their competitors had to St. Leonards, received there the news of Louis Philippe's death. Forthwith they formed a ministry *in partibus infidelium*,<sup>b</sup> which consisted mostly of members of that commission of guardians of the virtue of the republic<sup>129</sup> and which on the occasion of a squabble in the bosom of the party came out with the most outspoken proclamation of right by the grace of God. The Orleanists rejoiced over the compromising scandal that this manifesto<sup>130</sup> called forth in the press, and did not conceal for a moment their open enmity to the Legitimists.

During the adjournment of the National Assembly, the Councils of the Departments met. The majority of them declared for a more or less qualified revision of the constitution, that is, they declared for a not definitely specified monarchist restoration, for a "solution", and confessed at the same time that they were too incompetent and too cowardly to find this solution. The Bonapartist faction at once construed this desire for revision in the sense of a prolongation of Bonaparte's presidency.

The constitutional solution, the retirement of Bonaparte in May 1852, the simultaneous election of a new President by all the electors of the country, the revision of the constitution by a Chamber of

<sup>a</sup> Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans.— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Ignoring the real situation (literally, in the country of the infidels—an addition to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries).— *Ed.*

Revision in the first months of the new presidency, is utterly inadmissible for the ruling class. The day of the new presidential election would be the day of *rendezvous* for all the hostile parties, the Legitimists, the Orleanists, the bourgeois republicans, the revolutionists. It would have to come to a violent decision between the different factions. Even if the party of Order should succeed in uniting round the candidature of a neutral person outside the dynastic families, he would still be opposed by Bonaparte. In its struggle with the people, the party of Order is compelled constantly to increase the power of the executive. Every increase of the executive's power increases the power of its bearer, Bonaparte. In the same measure, therefore, as the party of Order strengthens its joint might, it strengthens the fighting resources of Bonaparte's dynastic pretensions, it strengthens his chance of frustrating a constitutional solution by force on the day of the decision. He will then have, as against the party of Order, no more scruples about the one pillar of the constitution than that party had, as against the people, about the other pillar in the matter of the election law. He would, seemingly even against the Assembly, appeal to universal suffrage. In a word, the constitutional solution questions the entire political *status quo* and behind the jeopardising of the *status quo* the bourgeois sees chaos, anarchy, civil war. He sees his purchases and sales, his promissory notes, his marriages, his agreements, duly acknowledged before a notary, his mortgages, his ground rents, house rents, profits, all his contracts and sources of income called in question on the first Sunday in May 1852,<sup>131</sup> and he cannot expose himself to this risk. Behind the jeopardising of the political *status quo* lurks the danger of the collapse of the entire bourgeois society. The only possible solution in the sense of the bourgeoisie is the postponement of the solution. It can save the constitutional republic only by a violation of the constitution, by the prolongation of the power of the President. This is also the last word of the press of Order, after the protracted and profound debates on the "solutions" in which it indulged after the session of the general councils. The high and mighty party of Order thus finds itself, to its shame, compelled to take seriously the ridiculous, commonplace and, to it, odious person of the pseudo-Bonaparte.

This dirty figure likewise deceived himself concerning the causes that clothed him more and more with the character of the indispensable man. While his party had sufficient insight to ascribe the growing importance of Bonaparte to circumstances, he believed that he owed it solely to the magic power of his name and his continual caricaturing of Napoleon. He became more enterprising



every day. To offset the pilgrimages to St. Leonards and Wiesbaden, he made his round trips through France. The Bonapartists had so little faith in the magic effect of his personality that they sent with him everywhere as *claqueurs* people from the Society of December 10,<sup>132</sup> that organisation of the Paris *lumpenproletariat*, packed *en masse* into railway trains and post-chaises. They put speeches into the mouth of their marionette which, according to the reception in the different towns, proclaimed republican resignation or perennial tenacity as the keynote of the President's policy. In spite of all manoeuvres these journeys were anything but triumphal processions.

When Bonaparte believed he had thus enthused the people, he set out to win the army. He caused great reviews to be held on the plain of Satory, near Versailles, at which he sought to buy the soldiers with garlic sausages, champagne and cigars. Whereas the genuine Napoleon, amid the hardships of his campaigns of conquest, knew how to cheer up his weary soldiers with outbursts of patriarchal familiarity, the pseudo-Napoleon believed it was in gratitude that the troops shouted: *Vive Napoléon, vive le saucisson!* that is, hurrah for the sausage [*Wurst*], hurrah for the buffoon [*Hanswurst*]!

These reviews led to the outbreak of the long suppressed dissension between Bonaparte and his War Minister d'Hautpoul, on the one hand, and Changarnier, on the other. In Changarnier, the party of Order had found its real neutral man, in whose case there could be no question of his own dynastic claims. It had designated him Bonaparte's successor. In addition, Changarnier had become the great general of the party of Order through his conduct on January 29 and June 13, 1849, the modern Alexander, whose brutal intervention had, in the eyes of the timid bourgeois, cut the Gordian knot of the revolution. At bottom just as ridiculous as Bonaparte, he had thus become a power in the very cheapest manner and was set up by the National Assembly to watch the President. He himself played the coquette, e.g., in the matter of the salary grant, with the protection that he gave Bonaparte, and rose up ever more overpoweringly against him and the ministers. When, on the occasion of the election law, an insurrection was expected, he forbade his officers to take any orders whatever from the War Minister or the President. The press was also instrumental in magnifying the figure of Changarnier. With the complete absence of great personalities, the party of Order naturally found itself compelled to endow a single individual with the strength lacking in its class as a whole and so puff up this individual to a prodigy. Thus arose the myth of Changarnier, the "*bulwark of society*". The arrogant

charlatanry, the secretive air of importance with which Changarnier condescended to carry the world on his shoulders, forms the most ridiculous contrast to the events during and after the Satory review, which irrefutably proved that it needed only a stroke of the pen by Bonaparte, the infinitely little, to bring this fantastic offspring of bourgeois fear, the colossus Changarnier, back to the dimensions of mediocrity, and transform him, society's heroic saviour, into a pensioned-off general.

Bonaparte had for some time been revenging himself on Changarnier by provoking the War Minister to disputes in matters of discipline with the irksome protector. The last review of Satory finally brought the old animosity to a climax. The constitutional indignation of Changarnier knew no bounds when he saw the cavalry regiments file past with the unconstitutional cry: *Vive l'Empereur!* In order to forestall any unpleasant debate on this cry in the coming session of the Chamber, Bonaparte removed the War Minister d'Hautpoul by appointing him Governor of Algiers. In his place he put a reliable old general of the time of the empire,<sup>a</sup> one who was fully a match for Changarnier in brutality. But so that the dismissal of d'Hautpoul might not appear as a concession to Changarnier, he simultaneously transferred General Neumayer, the right hand of the great saviour of society, from Paris to Nantes. It had been Neumayer who at the last review had induced the whole of the infantry to file past the successor of Napoleon in icy silence. Changarnier, himself hit in the person of Neumayer, protested and threatened. To no purpose. After two days' negotiations, the decree transferring Neumayer appeared in the *Moniteur*,<sup>b</sup> and there was nothing left for the hero of order but to submit to discipline or resign.

Bonaparte's struggle with Changarnier is the continuation of his struggle with the party of Order. The re-opening of the National Assembly on November 11 will, therefore, take place under threatening auspices. It will be a storm in a teacup. In essence the old game must go on. Meanwhile the majority of the party of Order will, despite the clamour of the sticklers for principle of its different factions, be compelled to prolong the power of the President. Similarly, Bonaparte, already humbled by lack of money, will, despite all preliminary protestations, accept this prolongation of power from the hands of the National Assembly as simply delegated to him. Thus

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<sup>a</sup> J. P. Schramm.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> *Le Moniteur universel* No. 303, October 30, 1850.—Ed.

the solution is postponed; the *status quo* continued; one faction of the party of Order compromised, weakened, made impossible by the other; the repression of the common enemy, the mass of the nation, extended and exhausted, until the economic relations themselves have again reached the point of development where a new explosion blows into the air all these squabbling parties with their constitutional republic.

For the peace of mind of the bourgeois it must be said, however, that the scandal between Bonaparte and the party of Order has the result of ruining a multitude of small capitalists on the Bourse and putting their assets into the pockets of the big wolves of the Bourse.



FREDERICK ENGELS

THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE GERMAN  
IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION <sup>133</sup>

Written between mid-August 1849 and  
February 1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische  
Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
Nos. 1, 2 and 3, 1850  
Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first  
time

Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz und Blum,  
Bringt die deutschen Fürsten<sup>a</sup> um!<sup>b</sup>

This refrain which on every highway and in every tavern from the Palatinate to the Swiss frontier rang out on the lips of the South German "people's militia" to the well-known tune of "Surrounded by the Sea",<sup>c</sup> a mixture of chorale and barrel-organ—this refrain sums up the whole character of the "magnificent uprising for the Imperial Constitution".<sup>134</sup> Here you have in two lines their great men, their ultimate aims, their admirable staunchness, their noble hatred for the "tyrants" and at the same time their entire insight into the social and political situation.

Amidst all the movements and convulsions in Germany which followed in the wake of the February Revolution and its subsequent development, the campaign for the Imperial Constitution stands out owing to its classically German character. Its occasion, its appearance, the way it conducted itself, its whole course, were through and through German. In the same way as the June days of 1848 mark the degree of the social and political development of France, so the campaign for the Imperial Constitution marks the degree of the social and political development of Germany, and especially of South Germany.

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<sup>a</sup> In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the words *deutschen Fürsten* (the German princes) were omitted because of the censorship and replaced by *leaders*.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz and Blum slay the German princes!—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> "Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen"—the first words of a patriotic song composed in 1844 and popular during the struggle of the duchies for liberation from Danish rule in 1848-49.—*Ed.*

The soul of the whole movement was the class of the *petty bourgeoisie*, usually known as the *burghers*, and it is precisely in Germany, and especially in South Germany, that this class is in preponderance. It was the petty bourgeoisie which, in the "March Clubs",<sup>135</sup> the democratic constitutional clubs, the patriotic clubs, the multitude of so-called democratic clubs and almost the entire democratic press, swore to the Imperial Constitution its Grütli oaths,<sup>136</sup> as widespread as they were innocuous, and carried on its fight against the "refractory" princes of which the only immediate result was admittedly the elevating consciousness of having fulfilled one's civic duty. It was the petty bourgeoisie, represented by the resolute and so-called extreme Left of the Frankfurt Assembly, i. e. in particular by the Stuttgart Parliament and the "Imperial Regency",<sup>137</sup> which furnished the entire movement with its official leadership; lastly, the petty bourgeoisie was dominant in the local committees of the provincial diets, committees of public safety, provisional governments and constituent assemblies which in Saxony, on the Rhine and in South Germany won greater or lesser credit in the cause of the Imperial Constitution.

It is most unlikely that the petty bourgeoisie, if left to its own devices, would have gone outside the legal framework of lawful, peaceful and virtuous struggle and taken up the musket and the paving-stone in place of the so-called weapons of the spirit. The history of all political movements since 1830 in Germany, as in France and England, shows that this class is invariably full of bluster and loud protestations, at times even extreme as far as talking goes, as long as it perceives no danger; faint-hearted, cautious and calculating as soon as the slightest danger approaches; aghast, alarmed and wavering as soon as the movement it provoked is seized upon and taken up seriously by other classes; treacherous to the whole movement for the sake of its petty-bourgeois existence as soon as there is any question of a struggle with weapons in hand—and in the end, as a result of its indecisiveness, more often than not cheated and ill-treated as soon as the reactionary side has achieved victory.

Standing everywhere behind the petty bourgeoisie, however, are other classes who take up the movement provoked by it and in its interest, give it a more defined and energetic character and wherever possible seek to take it over: the *proletariat* and a large part of the *peasantry*, to whom moreover the more advanced section of the petty bourgeoisie usually attaches itself for a while.

These classes, headed by the proletariat of the larger towns, took the loudly protested assurances in favour of the Imperial Constitution more seriously than was to the liking of the petty-bourgeois



agitators. If the petty bourgeois were prepared, as they swore at every moment, to stake "property and life"<sup>a</sup> for the Imperial Constitution, the workers, and in many districts the peasants too, were ready to do the same, but under the condition, admittedly unspoken but perfectly understood by all parties, that after victory the petty bourgeoisie would have to defend this same Imperial Constitution against these same workers and peasants. These classes drove the petty bourgeoisie to an open break with the existing state power. If they could not prevent their allies, with their shopkeepers' mentality, from betraying them even while the battle was still going on, they at least had the satisfaction of seeing this treachery punished after the victory of the counter-revolution by the counter-revolutionaries themselves.

On the other hand at the beginning of the movement, the more resolute section of the bigger and middle bourgeoisie likewise attached itself to the petty bourgeoisie, just as we find in all earlier petty-bourgeois movements in England and France. The bourgeoisie never rules in its entirety; apart from the feudal castes<sup>b</sup> which have still retained some degree of the political power, even the big bourgeoisie itself splits, as soon as it has vanquished feudalism, into a governing and an opposing party usually represented by the banks on the one hand and the manufacturers on the other. The opposing, progressive section of the big and middle bourgeoisie then has, against the ruling section, common interests with the petty bourgeoisie and unites with it for a joint struggle. In Germany, where the armed counter-revolution has restored the almost exclusive rule of the army, the bureaucracy and the feudal nobility and where the bourgeoisie, in spite of the continued existence of constitutional forms, only plays a very subordinate and modest role, there are many more motives for this alliance. For all that, however, the German bourgeoisie is also infinitely more irresolute than its English and French counterparts and as soon as there is the slightest chance of a return to anarchy, i. e. of the real, decisive struggle, it retreats from the scene in fear and trembling. So also this time.

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<sup>a</sup> In the German original a paraphrase of "mit Gut und Blut für des Reichsgrundgesetz einzustehen" in the proclamation issued by the Bavarian petty-bourgeois deputies in reply to the Bavarian King's refusal to recognise the Imperial Constitution; the proclamation was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 109, May 8, 1849.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the words *Kasten des Feudalismus* (feudal castes) were replaced by *Resten des Feudalismus* (remnants of feudalism).—Ed.

Incidentally, the moment was not at all unfavourable for battle. In France elections were at hand; whether they gave the majority to the monarchists or the reds, they were bound to oust the centre parties of the Constituent Assembly, strengthen the extreme parties and bring about through a popular movement a speedy resolution of the intensified parliamentary struggle: in a word, they were bound to bring about a “*journée*”.<sup>a</sup> In Italy fighting was going on under the walls of Rome, and the Roman Republic was holding out against the French army of invasion. In Hungary the Magyars were pushing on irresistibly; the imperial troops had been chased over the Waag and the Leitha; in Vienna, where every day people imagined they could hear the roar of cannon, the Hungarian revolutionary army was expected at any moment; in Galicia the arrival of Dembiński with a Polish-Magyar army was imminent and the Russian intervention, far from becoming dangerous to the Magyars, seemed much more likely to transform the Hungarian struggle into a European one. Finally, Germany was in a state of extreme ferment; the advances of the counter-revolution, the growing insolence of the soldiery, the bureaucracy and the nobility, the continually renewed betrayals by the old liberals in the ministries and the rapid succession of broken promises on the part of the princes<sup>b</sup> precipitated into the arms of the active party whole sections of former supporters of order.

In these circumstances the struggle broke out which we are about to describe in the following passages.

The incompleteness and confusion that still prevails in the material, the total unreliability of almost all the oral information that can be collected and the purely personal designs that underlie every piece of writing so far published about this struggle make it impossible to give a critical picture of the whole course of events. In these circumstances we have no choice but to restrict ourselves purely to recounting what we ourselves have seen and heard. Fortunately this is quite enough to allow the character of the whole campaign to emerge; and if, besides the movement in Saxony, we also lack personal observation of Mieroslawski's campaign on the Neckar, perhaps the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will soon find an opportunity of giving us the necessary information at least as regards the latter.<sup>158</sup>

Many of the participants in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution are still in prison. Some have managed to return home,

<sup>a</sup> An “historic day”.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the word “princes” was omitted because of the censorship.—Ed.

others, still abroad, are daily awaiting such an opportunity—and among them are by no means the worst. The reader will understand the consideration we owe our comrades-in-arms and find it natural if we remain silent about certain things; and many a one who is now safely back home will not take it amiss if we also do not wish to compromise him by narrating events in which he displayed truly magnificent courage.

## I. RHENISH PRUSSIA

It will be remembered how the armed uprising for the Imperial Constitution first broke out in *Dresden*<sup>139</sup> at the beginning of May. It is well known how the Dresden barricade-fighters, supported by the rural population and betrayed by the Leipzig philistines, were defeated by superior forces after six days' fighting. They at no time had more than 2,500 combatants with a motley collection of weapons and for their whole artillery two or three small mortars. The royal troops consisted, apart from the Saxon battalions, of two regiments of Prussians. They had cavalry, artillery, riflemen and a battalion equipped with needle-guns. The royal troops appear to have conducted themselves in an even more cowardly<sup>a</sup> way in Dresden than elsewhere; at the same time, however, it is clear that the men of Dresden fought more courageously against these superior forces than was probably the case elsewhere in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution. It must be added, however, that street-fighting is something quite different from an engagement in the field.

Berlin, disarmed and in a state of siege, remained quiet. Not even the railway was torn up to hold up the Prussian reinforcements as early as Berlin. Breslau<sup>b</sup> attempted a feeble barricade-fight<sup>140</sup> for which the government had long been prepared, and as a result the city only ended up the more certainly under the dictatorship of the sabre. The rest of North Germany, having no revolutionary centres, was paralysed. Only Rhenish Prussia and South Germany could still

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<sup>a</sup> In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the word *feig* (cowardly) was replaced by the word *kläglich* (pitiful) because of censorship.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The Polish name is Wroclaw.—*Ed.*

be reckoned on, and in South Germany the Palatinate already started to move just at that moment.

Since 1815 Rhenish Prussia has been considered one of the most progressive provinces in Germany, and rightly so. It combines two advantages which are not to be found in combination in any other part of Germany.

Rhenish Prussia shares with Luxembourg, Rhenish Hesse and the Palatinate the advantage of having experienced since 1795 the French Revolution and the social, administrative and legislative consolidation of its results under Napoleon. When the revolutionary party in Paris succumbed, the armies carried the revolution across the frontiers. Before these so recently liberated sons of peasants not only the armies of the Holy Roman Empire<sup>141</sup> but also the feudal rule of the nobility and the priests fell to pieces. For two generations the left bank of the Rhine has no longer known feudalism; the nobleman has been deprived of his privileges and the landed property has passed from his hands and those of the church into the hands of the peasants; the land has been divided up and the peasant is a free landed proprietor as in France. In the towns, the guilds and the patriarchal rule of the patricians disappeared ten years earlier than anywhere else in Germany in the face of free competition, and the Napoleonic Code<sup>142</sup> finally sanctioned the whole changed situation by summing up all the revolutionary institutions.

Secondly, however, Rhenish Prussia possesses—and herein lies its main advantage over the rest of the states on the left bank of the Rhine—the most developed and diversified industry in the whole of Germany. In the three administrative districts of Aachen, Cologne and Düsseldorf, almost all branches of industry are represented: cotton, wool and silk industries of all kinds, together with those branches dependent upon them such as bleaching, textile printing and dyeing, iron-founding and engineering, are to be found concentrated here, alongside mining, armaments manufacture and other metal industries, within an area of a few square miles and employ a population of a density unheard of in Germany. Directly adjoining the Rhine Province is the iron and coal district of the Mark which provides it with a part of its raw materials and from the industrial point of view belongs to it. The best waterway in Germany, the proximity of the sea and the mineral wealth of the region favour industry, which has also built numerous railways and is even now daily further integrating its railway network. There is a mutual interaction between this industry and an import and export trade, for Germany very extensive, with all parts of the world, a

considerable direct traffic with all the great trading centres of the world market and a commensurate degree of speculation in raw materials and railway shares. To sum up, the level of industrial and commercial development in the Rhine Province is for Germany unique, even if in world terms it is fairly insignificant.

The consequence of this industry—which also burgeoned under the revolutionary rule of the French—and the trade connected with it is the creation in Rhenish Prussia of a mighty industrial and commercial big *bourgeoisie* and, in opposition to it, of a large industrial *proletariat*, two classes which in the rest of Germany only exist in isolated areas and in embryonic form but which almost exclusively dominate the distinct political development of the Rhine Province.

Over the rest of the German states revolutionised by the French Rhenish Prussia has the advantage of *industry* and over the rest of the German industrial areas (Saxony and Silesia) the advantage of the *French Revolution*. It is the only part of Germany whose social development has almost reached the level of modern bourgeois society: developed industry, extensive trade, accumulation of capital and free ownership of land; the predominance in the towns of a strong bourgeoisie and a numerous proletariat and in the countryside of a multitude of debt-ridden allotment peasants; rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat by means of the wages system, over the peasantry by means of the mortgage and over the petty bourgeoisie by means of competition, and finally the sanctioning of bourgeois rule through the courts of trade, the factory courts, the bourgeois jury and the entire body of material legislation.

Is it easier now to understand the Rhinelander's hatred for everything that is Prussian? Along with the Rhine Province Prussia incorporated the French Revolution into its states and treated the Rhinelanders not only as a subjugated and alien people but even as vanquished rebels. Far from developing the Rhenish legislation in the spirit of the ever growing modern bourgeois society, Prussia intended saddling the Rhinelanders with the pedantic, feudal, philistine hotchpotch of Prussian Law,<sup>143</sup> which was barely suitable any longer even for Further Pomerania.

The revolutionary change after February 1848 clearly showed the exceptional position of the Rhine Province. It provided not only the Prussian but the whole of the German bourgeoisie with its classical representatives, *Camphausen* and *Hansemann*, and provided the German proletariat with the sole organ in which it was championed not only in terms of fine words or good will, but according to its true interests: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

How is it, then, that Rhenish Prussia for all that took so little part in Germany's revolutionary movements?

It must not be forgotten that the 1830 movement in favour of a hollow pettifogger's constitutionalism could not hope to interest Germany's Rhenish bourgeoisie, who were busily engaged in much more real, industrial enterprises; that, whereas people in the petty German states were still dreaming of a German Empire, in Rhenish Prussia the proletariat was already beginning to come out openly against the bourgeoisie; that from 1840 to 1847, at the time of the bourgeois, truly constitutional movement, the Rhenish bourgeoisie stood in the forefront and decisively tipped the balance in Berlin in March 1848. The reason, however, why Rhenish Prussia could never achieve anything in an open insurrection or even bring about a general insurrection of the whole province is best explained by a straightforward account of the campaign for the Imperial Constitution in the Rhineland.

The struggle had just broken out in Dresden; it might break out at any moment in the Palatinate. In Baden, in Württemberg and in Franconia mass rallies were launched and people barely concealed their determination to settle the question by force of arms. In the whole of South Germany the troops were wavering. Prussia was no less roused. The proletariat was only waiting for an opportunity of revenging itself for having been tricked of the gains it believed it had won for itself in March 1848. Everywhere the petty bourgeois were busy welding together all the discontented elements into a great Imperial Constitution party whose leadership they hoped to secure for themselves. Their sworn promises to stand or fall with the Frankfurt Assembly and stake property and life for the Imperial Constitution filled all the newspapers and rang out in every club-room and every beer-house.

It was at this point that the Prussian Government opened hostilities by calling up a large part of the army reserve,<sup>144</sup> particularly in Westphalia and on the Rhine. To order a call-up during a period of peace was illegal and not only the petty bourgeoisie but also the bigger bourgeoisie rose up against it.

The Cologne municipal council proclaimed a congress of deputies of the Rhenish municipal councils. The government banned it; conventions were disregarded and the congress held in spite of the ban. The municipal councils, representing the big and middle bourgeoisie, declared their recognition of the Imperial Constitution, demanded its acceptance by the Prussian Government and the dismissal of the ministry as well as the repeal of the order calling up the army reserve, and threatened unambiguously enough that the

Rhine Provinces would secede from Prussia if these demands were not met.<sup>145</sup>

“Since the Prussian Government has dissolved the Second Chamber following on the latter’s pronouncement in favour of unconditional acceptance of the German Constitution of March 28 of this year and has thereby deprived the people of its representation and voice in the present critical moment, the undersigned delegates of the towns and municipalities of the Rhine Province have assembled to discuss the need of the fatherland.

“The meeting, chaired by Councillors Zell of Trier and Werner of Coblenz and assisted by the clerks of the minutes, Councillors Boecker of Cologne and Bloem II of Düsseldorf,

*has resolved as follows:*

“1. This meeting declares that it recognises the Constitution of the German Empire, as promulgated by the Reich Assembly on March 28 of this year, as a definitive law and that in the conflict brought about by the Prussian Government it stands on the side of the German Reich Assembly.

“2. The meeting calls upon the entire people of the Rhinelands, and in particular all men capable of bearing arms, to make collective declarations in smaller or larger gatherings of its commitment and steadfast intent to uphold the German Imperial Constitution and comply with the ordinances of the Imperial Constitution.

“3. The meeting calls on the German Reich Assembly henceforth and with the utmost dispatch to make greater efforts to give to the resistance of the people in the separate German states and in particular in the Rhine Province that unity and strength which alone is capable of thwarting the well-organised counter-revolution.

“4. It calls on the imperial authorities to take steps as soon as possible to tender to the imperial troops an oath of loyalty to the Constitution and to decree a concentration of these troops.

“5. The undersigned pledge themselves to secure recognition of the Imperial Constitution by all means at their disposal in the area of their municipalities.

“6. The meeting considers the dismissal of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry and the summoning of the Chambers, without change in the existing system of voting, to be absolutely necessary.

“7. In particular it considers the recent partial call-up of the army reserve to be an unnecessary measure which highly endangers the internal peace, and expects its immediate repeal.

“8. Lastly the undersigned express their conviction that if the content of this declaration is disregarded the fatherland is threatened by the greatest dangers which could even jeopardise the continued existence of Prussia as at present constituted.

“Resolved on May 8, 1849, at Cologne.”

(Signatures follow.)<sup>a</sup>

We would only add that the same Herr Zell who presided over this meeting went a few weeks later as imperial commissioner of the Frankfurt imperial ministry<sup>146</sup> to Baden, not only for the purpose of appeasement, but also to plot with the local reactionaries those counter-revolutionary coups which later broke out in Mannheim and Karlsruhe. It is at least probable that at the same time he served imperial General Peucker as a military spy.

<sup>a</sup> Published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 110, May 9, 1849, second edition.—*Ed.*



We insist on firmly establishing this fact. The big bourgeoisie, the flower of the pre-March liberalism of the Rhineland, sought from the very beginning to place themselves at the head of the movement for the Imperial Constitution in Rhenish Prussia. Their speeches, their resolutions, their whole demeanour demonstrated their solidarity for the subsequent events. There were plenty of people who took the words of the municipal councillors seriously, especially the threat that the Rhine Province would secede. If the big bourgeoisie went along with the movement, then the cause was as good as won from the beginning; it would mean that every class of the population was taking part, and that one could afford to take a risk. The petty bourgeois calculated along these lines and hastened to strike a heroic pose. It goes without saying that his supposed *associé*, the big bourgeois, did not let this in any way deter him from betraying the petty bourgeois at the first opportunity and afterwards, when the whole affair had come to a truly miserable end, from ridiculing him for his stupidity to boot.

In the meantime the excitement continually mounted; the news from all areas of Germany sounded extremely warlike. At last steps were to be taken to fit out the army reserve. The battalions met and declared categorically that they would not let themselves be fitted out. The majors, in the absence of sufficient military support, could do nothing and were happy if they escaped without threats or actual attacks. They dismissed their men and set a new date for fitting-out.

The government, which could easily have given the officers of the army reserve the necessary backing, was purposely allowing things to go so far. It now immediately used force.

The refractory army reserve units came in particular from the industrial region of Berg and the Mark. Elberfeld and Iserlohn, Solingen and the Ennepe valley were the centres of resistance. Troops were ordered at once to the first two towns.<sup>147</sup>

A battalion of the 16th Regiment, a squadron of lancers and two pieces of artillery moved to Elberfeld. The town was in a state of great confusion. The army reserve had found on mature reflection that they were after all playing a risky game. Many peasants and workers were politically apathetic and had merely been unwilling to absent themselves from their homes for an indefinite period to comply with some chance whim of the government. The consequences of insubordination weighed heavily upon them: *species facti*,<sup>a</sup> martial law, confinement in irons and perhaps even the firing-squad! Suffice it to say, the number of army reserve men up in arms (they

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<sup>a</sup> The facts of the case.—*Ed.*

had their weapons) dwindled and dwindled, and in the end there were only about forty left. They had set up their headquarters in an inn outside the town and were awaiting the Prussians there. Around the town hall stood the civic militia and two citizens' rifle corps, vacillating and negotiating with the army reserve but at all events determined to protect their property. The people were thronging the streets: petty bourgeois who had sworn loyalty to the Imperial Constitution in the political club and proletarians of all levels, from the resolute, revolutionary worker to the gin-swilling drayman. Nobody knew what to do or what would happen.

The town council wanted to negotiate with the troops. The commander rejected all overtures and marched into the town. The troops paraded through the streets and drew up in front of the town hall, opposite the civic militia. There were negotiations. Stones were thrown at the troops from the crowd. The army reserve, about forty strong as earlier indicated, after lengthy discussions also marched over from the other side of the town towards the troops.

Suddenly a cry was raised among the people for the freeing of the prisoners. In the prison close to the town hall, sixty-nine Solingen workers had been in custody for a year for demolishing the cast-steel works near the castle. They were to be tried in a few days' time. Intent on freeing these men, the people made a rush for the prison. The doors gave way, the people broke in and the prisoners were free. At the same time, however, the troops advanced, a volley rang out and the last prisoner, hurrying through the door, dropped to the ground with a shattered skull.

The people fell back, but with the cry: "To the barricades!" In a trice the approaches to the inner city were secured. Unarmed workers were there in plenty, but there were at most only fifty men with arms behind the barricades.

The artillery advanced. Like the infantry before it, it fired too high, probably on purpose. Both bodies of troops were made up of Rhinelanders or Westphalians, and were good. Eventually Captain von Uttenhoven advanced at the head of the 8th Company of the 16th Regiment.

Three armed men were behind the first barricade. "Don't shoot at us," they cried, "we only shoot at officers!" The captain ordered halt. "Just order ready and there you'll lie," one of the riflemen behind the barricade shouted at him. "Ready! Present! Fire!" A salvo rang out, but at the very same moment the captain slumped to the ground. The bullet had hit him through the heart.

The platoon retreated in all haste, not even taking back the captain's body. A few more shots rang out, a few soldiers were

wounded and the commanding officer, who did not relish staying overnight in the rebellious town, pulled out again and bivouacked with his troops an hour's march outside the town. As the soldiers withdrew, barricades were at once raised on all sides.

The same evening the news of the retreat of the Prussians reached Düsseldorf. Numerous groups formed in the streets; the petty bourgeois and the workers were in a state of extreme excitement. Then the rumour that fresh troops were to be sent to Elberfeld gave the signal for action. Without giving a thought to the lack of weapons (the civic militia had been disarmed since November 1848), the relatively strong garrison and the disadvantage posed by the broad, straight streets of the little ex-capital, some workers raised a call to the barricades. In Neustrasse and Bolkerstrasse a few fortifications were thrown up; the other parts of the town were kept free partly by the troops who had already been consigned there beforehand and partly by the fear of the big and petty bourgeoisie.

Towards evening the fighting began. Here, as elsewhere, there were only a few fighters on the barricades. And where were they to get weapons and ammunition? Suffice it to say that they fought back bravely for a long time against superior odds and only after extensive use of artillery, towards morning, were the half-dozen barricades that could be defended in the hands of the Prussians. As we know, on the following day these cautious heroes took their bloody revenge on servant girls, old folk and other peaceful people.

On the same day that the Prussians were beaten back from Elberfeld, another battalion, from the 13th Regiment if I am not mistaken, was to enter Iserlohn and bring the army reserve there to reason. But here too the plan was frustrated; as soon as the news of the advance of the troops became known, the army reserve and the people fortified all the approaches to the town and awaited the enemy with rifles at the ready. The battalion did not dare to make an attack and withdrew again.

The fighting in Elberfeld and Düsseldorf and the barricading of Iserlohn gave the signal for the uprising of the greater part of the industrial region of Berg and the Mark. The people of Solingen stormed the Gräfrath arsenal and armed themselves with the rifles and cartridges they took from it; the people of Hagen joined the movement *en masse*, armed themselves, occupied the approaches to the Ruhr and sent out reconnaissance patrols; Solingen, Ronsdorf, Remscheid, Barmen, etc., sent their contingents to Elberfeld. In the other localities of the region the army reserve declared itself for the movement and placed itself at the disposal of the Frankfurt Assembly. Elberfeld, Solingen, Hagen and Iserlohn replaced the

district and the local authorities, who had been driven out, with committees of public safety.

Needless to say the news of these events was monstrously exaggerated. The whole of the Wupper and Ruhr area was pictured as one huge, organised camp of insurrection. There were said to be 15,000 armed men in Elberfeld and as many in Iserlohn and Hagen. The panic which suddenly seized the government and at one blow paralysed all its measures to deal with this uprising in the most loyal districts played no small part in making these exaggerations credible.

After making all reasonable allowances for probable exaggerations, the undeniable fact remained that the main centres of the industrial region of Berg and the Mark were engaged in an open and so far victorious uprising. That was a fact. There was further the news that Dresden was still holding out, that Silesia was in a state of ferment, that the movement in the Palatinate was consolidating, that in Baden a victorious military revolt had broken out and the Grand Duke<sup>a</sup> had fled and that the Magyars stood on the banks of the Jablunka and the Leitha. To sum up, of all the revolutionary opportunities that had presented themselves to the democratic and workers' party since March 1848 this was by far the most favourable, and of course it had to be seized. The left bank of the Rhine could not leave the right bank in the lurch.

What should be done now?

All the larger towns of the Rhine Province are either fortress towns like Cologne and Coblenz, dominated by strong citadels and forts, or they have numerous garrisons like Aachen, Düsseldorf and Trier. In addition to this the province is further kept in check by the Wesel, Jülich, Luxembourg, Saarlouis and even the Mainz and Minden fortresses. In these fortresses and garrisons there were altogether at least 30,000 men. Finally, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen and Trier had been disarmed for some time. So the revolutionary centres of the province were paralysed. Here every attempt at an uprising, as had already been demonstrated in Düsseldorf, would inevitably end in a victory for the military; another such victory, e. g. in Cologne, would mean the moral crushing of the uprising in Berg and the Mark, in spite of the otherwise favourable news. On the left bank of the Rhine a movement was possible on the Moselle, in the Eifel and the Krefeld industrial district; but this region was encircled by six fortresses and three garrison towns. On the other hand, those districts on the right bank of the Rhine which were already in

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<sup>a</sup> Leopold.—*Ed.*

insurrection offered a densely populated, extensive terrain which with its woods and mountains seemed to be made for an insurrectionary war.

If the intention was to support the insurgent districts, then there was only one course open:

above all things avoid unnecessary disorders in the fortresses and garrison towns;

make a diversion on the left bank of the Rhine in the smaller towns, in the factory areas and in the countryside in order to hold the Rhine garrisons in check;

finally, throw all available forces into the insurgent district on the right bank of the Rhine, spread the insurrection further and attempt to organise here the nucleus of a revolutionary army around the army reserve.

Prussia's new heroes, who specialise in revelations, should not rejoice too soon over the treasonable conspiracy here revealed. Unfortunately no conspiracy existed. The above three measures are no conspiratorial plan but a simple suggestion put forward by the writer of these lines when he himself left for Elberfeld to see to the execution of the third point.<sup>148</sup> Thanks to the dilapidated organisation of the democratic and workers' party, thanks to the indecision and shrewd cautiousness of most of the local leaders who had come from the petty bourgeoisie, and finally thanks to the lack of time, it never came to a conspiracy. Therefore if the beginnings of a diversion did indeed materialise on the left bank of the Rhine and if in Kempen, Neuss and the surrounding country disorders did break out and the arsenal in Prüm was stormed,<sup>149</sup> these incidents were by no means the outcome of a common plan but were merely a manifestation of the revolutionary instinct of the people.

In the insurgent districts in the meantime things looked completely different from what the rest of the province would lead one to suppose. It must be admitted that Elberfeld with its barricades (which were, however, extremely unplanned and thrown together in a hurry), with its many sentinels, patrols and other armed men, with its whole population in the streets, only the big bourgeoisie apparently missing, and with its red flags and tricolours<sup>150</sup> did not look at all bad, but otherwise the greatest confusion reigned in the town. Through the Committee of Public Safety formed in the first moments, the petty bourgeoisie had taken the direction of affairs into its hands. It had scarcely got thus far when it took fright at its power, limited as it was. The first thing it did was to get legitimation from the town council, i. e. from the big bourgeoisie, and out of gratitude for the town council's kindness to take five of its members

into the Committee of Public Safety. Reinforced in this way, the Committee forthwith washed its hands of all dangerous activity by transferring the responsibility for external security to a military commission, over which, however, it reserved for itself a moderating and restraining control. Secured in this fashion from all contact with the uprising and transplanted by the fathers of the town onto the ground of legality, the trembling petty bourgeois on the Committee of Public Safety were able to confine themselves to calming tempers, looking after day-to-day business, clearing up "misunderstandings", quietening people down, procrastinating and paralysing every form of energetic activity under the pretext that it was first necessary to await the answers given to the deputations sent to Berlin and Frankfurt. The rest of the petty bourgeoisie naturally went hand in hand with the Committee of Public Safety, quietened things down everywhere, did all they could to hinder the continuation of defence measures and distribution of arms and constantly wavered as to how far they would go with the uprising. Only a small part of this class was determined to defend itself weapons in hand in the event of an attack on the town. The great majority sought to persuade themselves that their threats alone and aversion to the almost inevitable bombardment of Elberfeld would move the government to make concessions; nevertheless they covered themselves against all eventualities.

The big bourgeoisie, in the first moments after the battle, was as if thunderstruck. In its terror it saw fantastic visions of arson, murder, looting and God knows what abominations rising up out of the ground. Therefore the setting up of the Committee of Public Safety whose majority (town councillors, lawyers, public prosecutors, sober people) suddenly offered it a guarantee for life and property, filled it with more than fanatical delight. The selfsame big merchants, dyers and manufacturers who up to now had decried Messrs. Karl Hecker, Riotte, Höchster, etc., as bloodthirsty terrorists, now hurried *en masse* to the town hall, embraced the same alleged butchers with the most feverish passion and deposited thousands of talers on the table of the Committee of Public Safety. It goes without saying that when the movement was ended these same enthusiastic admirers and supporters of the Committee of Public Safety spread abroad the most extravagant and basest lies not only about the movement itself but also about the Committee of Public Safety and its members, and thanked the Prussians with a similar intensity of feeling for liberation from a terror which had never existed. Innocent constitutional bourgeois, like Messrs. Hecker, Höchster and Public Prosecutor Heintzmann, were once more depicted as bugbears and man-eaters

whose affinity to Robespierre and Danton stood written all over their faces. For our part we consider it our duty completely to exonerate these honourable gentlemen from any such accusation. For the rest, the greater portion of the big bourgeoisie placed themselves, their wives and their children with the utmost dispatch under the protection of the Düsseldorf state of siege and only the smaller, more courageous portion stayed behind to protect their property against any eventuality. The Chief Burgomaster<sup>a</sup> stayed hidden in an overturned, manure-covered cab for the duration of the uprising. The proletariat, united in the heat of the struggle, split as soon as the Committee of Public Safety and the petty bourgeoisie began to waver. The artisans, the actual factory workers and a section of the silk-weavers backed the movement up to the hilt; but they, who formed the core of the proletariat, were almost entirely without weapons. The dye-workers, a robust, well-paid working class, coarse and consequently reactionary like all sections of workers whose occupation demands more physical strength than skill, had lost all interest even during the first days. They alone of all the industrial workers stayed at work while the barricades were up and did not allow themselves to be disturbed. Finally the lumpenproletariat was here as elsewhere corruptible from the second day of the movement onwards, demanding weapons and pay from the Committee of Public Safety in the morning and selling itself to the big bourgeois in the afternoon to protect their buildings or rip down the barricades when evening fell. On the whole it stood on the side of the bourgeoisie, which paid it most and with whose money it led a gay life as long as the movement lasted.

The negligence and cowardice of the Committee of Public Safety and the discord in the military commission, in which the party of inaction initially had the majority, prevented any decisive action from the very beginning. From the second day onwards reaction set in. From the outset it became evident that in Elberfeld the only chance of success was under the banner of the Imperial Constitution and in agreement with the petty bourgeoisie. On the one hand, the proletariat had, here in particular, only too recently freed itself from the slough of gin and pietism for even the slightest notion of the conditions of its liberation to penetrate the masses, and on the other hand it had a too instinctive hatred for the bourgeoisie and was much too indifferent towards the bourgeois question of the Imperial Constitution to work up any enthusiasm for such tricolour interests. This put the resolute party, the only one to consider the question of

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<sup>a</sup> Johann Adolph Carnap.—*Ed.*

defence seriously, in a false position. It declared itself for the Imperial Constitution. The petty bourgeoisie, however, did not trust it, maligned it in every way to the people and impeded all the measures it took to distribute arms and erect fortifications. Every order that could really serve to put the town in a state of defence was immediately countermanded by the first member of the Committee of Public Safety to come along. Every philistine in front of whose house a barricade was set up at once hurried to the town hall and procured a reversal of the order. The funds for the payment of the barricade-workers (and they asked for the very minimum to avoid starvation) could only be squeezed out of the Committee of Public Safety with great effort and in paltry amounts. Wages and rations for those bearing arms were provided irregularly and were often insufficient. For five to six days there was neither roll-call nor muster of armed men, with the result that nobody knew how many fighters could be reckoned on if an emergency arose. Not until the fifth day was an attempt made to detail the armed men, but the attempt was never carried into effect and was based on a total ignorance of the number of the fighting forces. Every member of the Committee of Public Safety acted on his own. There was a clash of the most contradictory orders and the only thing most of them had in common was to add to the easy-going confusion and prevent any energetic steps being taken. As a result of this the proletariat became heartily sick of the whole movement and after a few days the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie succeeded in their aim of making the workers as apathetic as possible.

When I reached Elberfeld on May 11, the armed men numbered at least 2,500 to 3,000. Of these, however, only the reinforcements from outside and the handful of armed Elberfeld workers were reliable. The army reserve was vacillating; most of them had a mighty dread of imprisonment in chains. At first there were not many of them, but they were reinforced by the admission of all the shilly-shallying and faint-hearted elements from the other detachments. Finally the civic militia, reactionary here from the very first and set up specifically to suppress the workers, declared itself neutral and wanted nothing but merely to protect its property. All this only came to light in the course of the next few days; in the meantime, however, a section of the reinforcements from outside and the workers dispersed and the number of actual fighting forces dwindled as a result of the stagnation of the movement, while the civic militia held together more and more and with every day more openly expressed its reactionary desires. During the last few nights it was already tearing down a number of the barricades. The armed



reinforcements, who certainly numbered at first more than a thousand men, were already reduced to half on the 12th or 13th, and when at length there was a general roll-call it became evident that the entire armed force upon which one could reckon by now numbered at the most 700 to 800 men. The army reserve and the civic militia refused to appear at this roll-call.

That is not all. Insurgent Elberfeld was surrounded by places all of which were alleged to be "neutral". Barmen, Kronenberg, Lennep, Lüttringhausen, etc., had not joined the movement. The revolutionary workers of these places, insofar as they had weapons, had marched to Elberfeld. The civic militia, which in all these places was purely an instrument in the hands of the manufacturers for holding down the workers, and was composed of the manufacturers, their factory overseers and the shopkeepers wholly dependent on the manufacturers, ruled here in the interests of "order" and the manufacturers. The workers themselves, who because of their dispersion in the more rural areas were rather out of touch with the political movement, had been partially brought over to the side of the manufacturers by the familiar means of coercion and by slanders about the character of the Elberfeld movement; among the peasants these slanders always worked unfailingly. In addition, the movement had come at a time when the manufacturers, after a business crisis of fifteen months, at last had full order books again; and it is common knowledge that no revolution can be made with regularly employed workers—a circumstance which also had a very significant effect in Elberfeld. It is obvious that under all these conditions the "neutral" neighbours were only so many covert enemies.

And there was still more to it than that. No links were established with the other insurgent districts. From time to time odd individuals came over from Hagen; as good as nothing was known of Iserlohn. Some individuals offered their services as commissaries,<sup>a</sup> but none of them was to be trusted. Several couriers between Elberfeld and Hagen were said to have been arrested by the civic militia in Barmen and the surrounding area. The only place with which there was regular communication was Solingen, and the situation there looked no different from that in Elberfeld. That it looked no worse there was due only to the good organisation and determination of the Solingen workers, who had sent 400 to 500 armed men to Elberfeld and yet were still strong enough to keep their own bourgeoisie and civic militia in check. If the Elberfeld workers had been as developed

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<sup>a</sup> The copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* corrected by Engels has *Emissären* instead of *Kommissären*.—Ed.

and as organised as the Solingen workers, the chances would have been completely different.

Under these circumstances there was only one possibility left: to take swift, energetic measures to inject new life into the movement, provide it with new fighting forces, cripple its internal enemies and organise it as strongly as possible throughout the whole industrial area of Berg and the Mark. The first step was to disarm the Elberfeld civic militia, distribute its weapons among the workers and impose a compulsory tax for the maintenance of the workers thus armed. This step would have broken decisively with all the slackness which had hitherto characterised the Committee of Public Safety, given the proletariat new life and crippled the "neutral" districts' capacity for resistance. How then to go about getting weapons from these districts too, spreading the insurrection and regularly organising the defence of the whole region depended on the success of this first step. With an order from the Committee of Public Safety and with no more than the 400 Solingen workers the Elberfeld civic militia would have been disarmed in no time. Courage was not their strong point.

For the safety of those Elberfelders charged in May and still in prison, I owe the declaration that I alone was responsible for all these proposals. I began to call for the disarming of the civic militia immediately when the Committee of Public Safety's funds began to run out.

But the commendable Committee of Public Safety did not at all consider that it was necessary to take such "terroristic measures". The only thing I managed to get carried out, or rather, directed on my own initiative together with a few corps leaders—who all got away safely and some of whom are already in America, was to fetch some eighty rifles belonging to the Kronenberg civic militia which were kept in the town hall there. And these rifles, distributed with extreme carelessness, ended up for the most part in the hands of gin-happy lumpenproletarians, who sold them that very evening to the bourgeoisie. These same bourgeois gentlemen were sending agents among the people to buy up as many rifles as possible and they paid quite a high price for them. In this way the Elberfeld lumpenproletarians delivered up to the bourgeoisie several hundred rifles, which had got into their hands through the negligence and lack of order of the improvised authorities. With these rifles the factory overseers, the most reliable dye-workers, etc., etc., were armed and the ranks of the "well-disposed" civic militia strengthened from day to day.

The gentlemen of the Committee of Public Safety answered every

proposal for improving the town's defences by saying that there was no point, the Prussians would take care not to come there, they would never venture into the mountains, and so on. They themselves were fully aware that in saying this they were spreading the most barefaced lies, that the town could be bombarded from all the heights even with field-guns, that no arrangements at all had been made for any at all serious defence and that, the insurrection having come to a halt and the Prussians possessing a colossal superiority, only really extraordinary events could now save the Elberfeld uprising.

The Prussian generals, however, did not seem to be particularly anxious to venture into a terrain which was as good as totally unknown to them, at least not until they had assembled a truly overwhelming force. The four unfortified towns of Elberfeld, Hagen, Iserlohn and Solingen made such an impression on these cautious military heroes that they had an entire army of twenty thousand men and large numbers of cavalry and artillery brought up, partly by rail, from Wesel, Westphalia and the eastern provinces. Not daring to attack, they had a regular strategic formation drawn up the other side of the Ruhr. High command and general staff, right flank, centre, everything was in the most beautiful order, just as if they were facing a colossal enemy army, as if it were a question of giving battle to a Bem or a Dembiński and not of an unequal fight against a few hundred unorganised workers, badly armed, virtually leaderless and betrayed behind their backs by those who had put the weapons into their hands.

We know how the insurrection ended.<sup>151</sup> We know how the workers, disgusted with the petty bourgeoisie's constant procrastination, its faint-hearted shilly-shallying and its treacherous lulling into a false sense of security, finally moved out of Elberfeld to fight their way through to the first state they came to where the Imperial Constitution offered them the slightest refuge. We know how they were hunted by Prussian lancers and by incited peasants. We know how immediately after their departure the big bourgeoisie crawled out into the open again, had the barricades carried off and built triumphal arches for the approaching Prussian heroes. We know how Hagen and Solingen were played into the hands of the Prussians through direct betrayal by the bourgeoisie and how only Iserlohn put up a fight, unequal and lasting two hours, against the 24th Regiment, the conquerors of Dresden, who were already laden with booty.

Some of the Elberfeld, Solingen and Mülheim workers got safely through to the Palatinate. Here they met with their fellow-

countrymen, the fugitives from the storming of the Prüm arsenal. Together with these they formed a company consisting almost exclusively of Rhinelanders in Willich's volunteer corps. All their comrades will surely testify that whenever they came under fire, and especially in the last decisive battle on the Murg, they fought very bravely.

The Elberfeld insurrection deserved this more detailed description because it was here that the position of the different classes in the Imperial Constitution movement was most sharply pronounced and furthest developed. In the other towns in Berg and the Mark the movement resembled that in Elberfeld in every way, except that there the participation or non-participation in the movement by the various classes was less clearly defined, the classes themselves not being so sharply differentiated as in the industrial centre of the area. In the Palatinate and in Baden, where concentrated large-scale industry and along with it a developed big bourgeoisie are almost non-existent, where the class relationships merge into each other in a much more easy-going and patriarchal way, the mixture of the classes that were the mainstay of the movement was even more confused. We shall see this later, but we shall also see at the same time how all these admixtures to the uprising likewise end up by grouping themselves around the petty bourgeoisie as the core for the crystallisation of the whole splendour of the Imperial Constitution.

It is abundantly clear from the attempted uprisings in Rhenish Prussia in May of last year what position this part of Germany is capable of occupying in a revolutionary movement. Surrounded by seven fortresses, three of them first-class for Germany, constantly manned by almost a third of the entire Prussian army, intersected in all directions by railways and with an entire fleet of transport steamers at the disposal of the military authorities, a Rhineland uprising has no prospect of succeeding except under quite exceptional circumstances. Only when the citadels are in the hands of the people can the Rhinelanders hope to achieve anything by force of arms. And such an eventuality can only arise either if the military authorities are terrorised by tremendous external events and lose their heads, or if the military declare themselves wholly or partly for the movement. In every other case an uprising in the Rhine Province is doomed in advance. A swift march on Frankfurt by the Badeners and on Trier by the Palatines would probably have led to the uprising immediately breaking out on the Moselle and in the Eifel, in Nassau and in both parts of Hesse, and the troops of the central Rhenish states, who at that time were still favourably disposed, joining the movement. There is no doubt that all the

Rhenish troops, and especially the entire 7th and 8th artillery brigades, would have followed their example, that they would at least have given loud enough vent to their feelings to cause the Prussian generals to lose their heads. Probably several fortresses would have fallen into the hands of the people, and even if not Elberfeld, at least most of the left bank of the Rhine would have been saved. All that, and perhaps much more, was forfeited as a result of the shabby, cowardly and philistine policies of the wisecracks on the Baden Provincial Committee.

With the defeat of the Rhenish workers died the only newspaper in which they saw their interests openly and resolutely championed: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The editor-in-chief,<sup>a</sup> though a native of Rhenish Prussia, was expelled from Prussia and the other editors had either direct arrest or immediate expulsion hanging over their heads.<sup>152</sup> The Cologne police explained this with extreme naïveté and went to great lengths to prove that they had enough against each one of them to take proceedings along one or the other of these lines. In this way the newspaper was forced to cease publication at the very moment when the unprecedentedly rapid increase in its circulation more than secured its existence. The editors scattered across the various German provinces where uprisings had taken place or were still to take place; several went to Paris, where yet again a critical moment was impending.<sup>153</sup> There is not one of them who during or as a result of the movements of this summer was not arrested or expelled, so experiencing the fate which the Cologne police were kind enough to prepare for him. A number of the compositors went to the Palatinate and joined the army.

The Rhenish uprising too had to end tragically. After three-quarters of the Rhine Province had been placed in a state of siege, after hundreds had been thrown into prison, it closed with the shooting on the eve of Frederick William IV of Hohenzollern's birthday of three of the men who had stormed the Prüm arsenal.<sup>b</sup> *Vae victis!*<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Karl Marx.— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Johann Manstein, Anton Seiler and Nikolaus Alken.— *Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Woe to the vanquished!— *Ed.*

## II. KARLSRUHE

The uprising in Baden took place under the most favourable circumstances that an insurrection could possibly hope for. The entire people were united in their hatred for a government that broke its word, engaged in duplicity and cruelly persecuted its political adversaries. The reactionary classes, the nobility, the bureaucracy and the big bourgeoisie, were few in numbers. Anyhow a big bourgeoisie exists only embryonically in Baden. With the exception of this handful of nobles, civil servants and bourgeois, with the exception of the Karlsruhe and Baden-Baden shopkeepers who made their living from the Court and from rich foreigners, with the exception of a few Heidelberg professors and a half-dozen peasant villages around Karlsruhe, the whole state was unanimously for the movement. In other uprisings the army had first to be defeated. Here, however, it had been harassed more than anywhere else by its aristocratic officers, worked on for a year by the democratic party and recently permeated even more with rebellious elements by the introduction of a kind of compulsory military service, with the result that it placed itself at the head of the movement and even drove the movement further than the bourgeois leaders of the Offenburg Assembly<sup>154</sup> cared for. It was precisely the army which in Rastatt and Karlsruhe transformed the "movement" into an insurrection.

The insurrectionary government therefore found on acceding to office a ready army, abundantly supplied arsenals, a fully organised state machine, a full exchequer and a virtually unanimous population. What is more, on the left bank of the Rhine, in the Palatinate, it found an insurrection already effectuated covering its left flank; in Rhenish Prussia an insurrection which was admittedly seriously threatened but not yet defeated; and in Württemberg, in

Franconia, in both parts of Hesse and in Nassau a general mood of unrest, even among the army, which only needed a spark to repeat the Baden uprising in the whole of South and Central Germany and put at least 50,000 to 60,000 regular troops at the disposal of the revolt.

It is so simple and so obvious what should have been done under these circumstances that everybody knows it now, after the suppression of the uprising, and everybody claims to have been saying it from the very start. It was a question of immediately and without a moment's hesitation spreading the uprising to Hesse, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Nassau and Württemberg, immediately mustering 8,000 to 10,000 of the available regular troops—by rail that could have been done in two days—and sending them to Frankfurt “for the defence of the National Assembly”. The alarmed Hessian government was as if rooted to the spot by the rapid succession of advances made by the uprising; its troops were notoriously well disposed to the people of Baden; it was no more capable than the Frankfurt Senate<sup>155</sup> of offering the slightest resistance. The troops of the electorate of Hesse, Württemberg and Darmstadt stationed in Frankfurt were for the movement; the Prussians there (mostly Rhinelanders) were wavering; the Austrians were numerically few. The arrival of the Badeners, whether or not any attempt was made to stop them, would inevitably have carried the insurrection into the heart of both parts of Hesse and Nassau, compelled the Prussians and Austrians to retreat to Mainz, and placed the trembling German so-called National Assembly under the terrorising influence of an insurgent people and an insurgent army. If the insurrection had not then immediately broken out on the Moselle, in the Eifel, in Württemberg and in Franconia then there would have been means enough at hand to carry it into these provinces too.

Further, the power of the insurrection should have been centralised, the necessary funds placed at its disposal and through the immediate abolition of all feudal burdens that great majority of the population which tills the soil should have been given a stake in the insurrection. The establishment of a common central authority for war and finance with full powers to issue paper money,\* to begin with for Baden and the Palatinate, and the abolition of all feudal burdens in Baden and every area occupied by the insurgent army would for the moment have sufficed to give the uprising quite a different energetic character.

\* The Baden Chambers had earlier already approved the issue of two million in bank-notes, of which not a penny had been issued.— *Note by Engels.*

All that had, however, to happen in the first moment if it were to be carried out with the swiftness which alone could guarantee success. A week after the appointment of the provincial committee it was already too late. The Rhenish insurrection was suppressed, Württemberg and Hesse did not stir, and those military units which at the beginning had been favourably disposed became unreliable and ended up by once more completely obeying their reactionary officers. The uprising had lost its all-German character and had become a purely local uprising restricted to Baden or to Baden and the Palatinate.

As I learnt after the fighting, the former Baden Second Lieutenant F. Sigel, who during the uprising won more or less equivocal dwarf-laurels as "colonel" and later as "general-in-chief", had at the very outset laid before the provincial committee a plan according to which the offensive was to be assumed. This plan has the merit of containing the correct notion that under all circumstances it is necessary to go over to the attack; in other respects, it is the most adventurist plan that could possibly have been proposed. Sigel wanted first to advance on Hohenzollern with a Baden corps and proclaim the Hohenzollern Republic, then take Stuttgart and from there, after having incited Württemberg to revolt, march on Nuremberg and set up a large camp in the heart of a likewise insurgent Franconia. It is easy to see that this plan completely left out of account the moral importance of Frankfurt, without which the insurrection could have no all-German character, and the strategic importance of the Main line. It is also easy to see that it presupposed completely different military forces than were actually available and that in the end, after a completely Quixotic or Schill-like raid,<sup>156</sup> it fizzled out and immediately set the strongest of all the South German armies and the only definitely hostile one, the *Bavarian* army, in hot pursuit of the insurgents, even before they could procure reinforcements through the defection of the troops of Hesse and Nassau.

The new government undertook no offensive under the pretext that the soldiers had almost all dispersed and gone home. Apart from the fact that this was true only in respect of a few isolated units, in particular the Prince's own regiment, even the soldiers who had dispersed were almost all back with their colours within three days.

Furthermore, the government had quite different reasons for opposing any offensive.

At the head of the agitation for the Imperial Constitution throughout Baden stood Herr *Brentano*, a lawyer, who with the invariably rather *mesquin* ambition of a man of the people from some petty German state and the seeming political staunchness



which in South Germany is the very first condition of all popularity, combined a dash of diplomatic cunning which sufficed to give him full mastery of all around him, with the possible exception of a single person. Herr Brentano (this sounds trivial now, but it is true), Herr Brentano and his party, the strongest in the province, demanded nothing more at the Offenburg Assembly than changes in the policies of the Grand Duke,<sup>a</sup> which were only possible with a *Brentano Ministry*. The Grand Duke's reply and the general agitation gave rise to the Rastatt military revolt—against the will and the intentions of Brentano. At the very moment that Herr Brentano was placed at the head of the provincial committee he had already been overtaken by the movement and was forced to try and hold it back. Then came the riot in Karlsruhe; the Grand Duke fled, and the same circumstance that had summoned Herr Brentano to the head of the administration, that had furnished him with dictatorial powers as it were, now thwarted all his designs and induced him to use this power against the very movement that had procured it for him. While the people were celebrating the departure of the Grand Duke, Herr Brentano and his faithful provincial committee were sitting upon thorns.

The said committee, consisting almost exclusively of Baden worthies with the staunchest of convictions and the most muddled of heads, of "pure republicans" who trembled with fear at the idea of proclaiming the republic or crossed themselves at the slightest energetic measure, this unadulterated philistine committee was needless to say wholly dependent on Brentano. The role which the lawyer Höchster assumed in Elberfeld was here assumed on a somewhat larger terrain by the lawyer Brentano. Of the three<sup>b</sup> outside elements, Blind, Fickler and Struve, who joined the provincial committee straight from prison, Blind was so ensnared by Brentano's intrigues that he had no other choice, isolated as he was, but to go into exile in Paris as a representative of Baden; Fickler had to undertake a dangerous mission to Stuttgart<sup>157</sup>; and Struve seemed to Herr Brentano to be so harmless that he tolerated him in the provincial committee, kept an eye on him and did his best to make him unpopular, in which he was completely successful. It is well known how Struve with several others founded a "Club of Resolute (or rather, cautious) Progress", which was disbanded after an unsuccessful demonstration.<sup>158</sup> A few days later Struve was in the

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<sup>a</sup> Leopold.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* gives *beiden* (two).—*Ed.*

Palatinate, more or less a “fugitive”, and there attempted yet again to publish his *Deutscher Zuschauer*. The specimen number was scarcely off the press when the Prussians marched in.

The provincial committee, from the very first nothing more than a tool of Brentano, elected an executive committee once again headed by Brentano. This executive committee very soon almost completely replaced the provincial committee, using it at the most to confirm credits and measures taken and getting rid of any of the larger committee’s members who looked at all unreliable by sending them on all kinds of minor missions to the districts or the army. Finally it abolished the provincial committee altogether, replacing it with a “constituent assembly”, elected completely under Brentano’s influence, and transformed itself into a “provisional government”, whose leader was needless to say once again Herr Brentano. It was he who appointed the ministers. And what ministers—Florian Mördes and Mayerhofer!

Herr Brentano was the most consummate representative of the Baden petty bourgeoisie. He distinguished himself from the mass of the petty bourgeois and their other representatives only by being too discerning to share all their illusions. Herr Brentano betrayed the insurrection in Baden from the very first. He did so precisely *because* from the very first he grasped the state of affairs more correctly than any other official person in Baden and because he took the only measures which would uphold the hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie and yet for that very reason meant the inevitable destruction of the insurrection. This is the key to Brentano’s unbounded popularity at that time but also the key to the curses which have been heaped on him since July by his former admirers. The petty bourgeoisie of Baden were as a body just as much traitors as Brentano; but at the same time they were duped, which he was not. They betrayed out of cowardice and they allowed themselves to be duped out of stupidity.

In Baden, as in the whole of South Germany, there is hardly any big bourgeoisie at all. The province’s industry and trade are of no significance. It follows that the proletariat is not at all numerous, very fragmented and scarcely developed. The mass of the population is divided into peasants (the majority), petty bourgeois and journeymen. These last, the urban workers, scattered in little towns without any big centre where an independent workers’ party could develop, are or at least were until now under the dominant social and political influence of the petty bourgeoisie. The peasants, even more scattered over the province and lacking the means of instruction, have interests which partly coincide with and partly run parallel, so

to speak, to those of the petty bourgeoisie and for that reason were likewise under the petty bourgeoisie's political tutelage. The petty bourgeoisie, represented by lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters, individual merchants and book-sellers, thus held sway over the entire political movement in Baden, since March 1848, partly directly, partly through its representatives.

It is owing to the absence of an antithesis of bourgeoisie and proletariat and the consequent political domination of the petty bourgeoisie that there has never really been in Baden a movement agitating for socialism. The elements of socialism which came in from outside, either through workers who had been to more developed countries or through the influence of French or German socialist and communist literature, never managed to make any headway in Baden. The red riband and the red flag meant nothing more in Baden than the bourgeois republic, compounded at the most with a little terrorism, and the "six scourges of humanity"<sup>159</sup> discovered by Herr Struve were, for all their bourgeois inoffensiveness, the limit to which one could go without losing the sympathy of the masses. The highest ideal of the Baden petty bourgeois and peasant always remained the little republic of burghers and peasants as it has existed in Switzerland since 1830. A small field of activity for small, modest people, where the state is a somewhat enlarged parish, a "canton"; a small, stable industry, based on handicrafts, which gives rise to an equally stable and sleepy social condition; no great wealth, no great poverty, nothing but middle class and mediocrity; no prince, no civil list, no standing army, next to no taxes; no active participation in history, no foreign policy, nothing but petty domestic gossip and petty squabbling *en famille*; no big industry, no railways, no world trade, no social collisions between millionaires and proletarians, but a quiet, cosy life in all godliness and respectability, in the humble unobtrusiveness without a history, of satisfied souls—this is the gentle Arcadia which exists in the greater part of Switzerland and which the Baden petty bourgeois and peasants have been longing for years to see established. And if in moments of more ardent enthusiasm the thoughts of the Baden and, let us say it, of the South German petty bourgeois in general are stretched as far as the notion of the whole of Germany, then the ideal of Germany's future which flickers before their eyes takes the shape of an enlarged Switzerland, a federal republic. Thus Herr Struve has already published a pamphlet<sup>a</sup> which divides Germany up into twenty-four cantons, each with its own *landamman*<sup>b</sup> and its big and little councils.

<sup>a</sup> G. Struve, *Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes*, Birsfelden bei Basel, 1848.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The highest official in some Swiss cantons.—*Ed.*

He even goes so far as to append a map which shows the ready-made boundary lines. If Germany were ever in a position to transform itself into such an Arcadia, then it would thereby have descended to a depth of degradation of which it hitherto had no inkling, even in the times of its greatest humiliations.

The South German petty bourgeoisie had in the meantime more than once experienced that a revolution, even one under their own bourgeois republican banner, can quite easily carry away their beloved and peaceful Arcadia in the vortex of far more colossal conflicts, of real class struggles. Hence the petty-bourgeois fear not only of any sort of revolutionary convulsion but also of their own ideal of a federal tobacco-and-beer republic. Hence their enthusiasm for the Imperial Constitution, which at least satisfied their immediate interests and held out to them the hope, considering the purely suspensive nature of the Kaiser's veto, of ushering in the republic at some opportune moment by means within the bounds of the law. Hence their surprise when the Baden military without being asked handed over to them on a salver a ready-made insurrection, and hence their fear of spreading the insurrection over the frontiers of the future canton of Baden. The conflagration might well have taken hold of regions in which there was a big bourgeoisie and a numerous proletariat, regions in which it would have given power to the proletariat, and then woe to their property!

What did Herr Brentano do in these circumstances?

What the petty bourgeoisie in Rhenish Prussia had done consciously, he did *for* the petty bourgeoisie in Baden: he betrayed the insurrection, but he saved the petty bourgeoisie.

Brentano did not betray the insurrection by his last actions, by his flight after the defeat on the Murg,<sup>160</sup> as the finally disillusioned petty bourgeoisie of Baden imagined; he had betrayed it from the very first. It was precisely those measures that the Baden philistines, and with them sections of the peasants and even the artisans, cheered most loudly, which betrayed the movement to Prussia. It was precisely by his betrayal that Brentano became so popular and shackled the fanatical enthusiasm of the philistines to his heels. The petty burgher was too taken up with the swift restoration of order and public safety and the immediate suppression of the movement itself to notice the betrayal of the movement; and when it was too late, when, compromised in the movement, he saw that the movement was lost, and himself with it, he cried treason and with all the indignation of cheated respectability fell upon his most faithful servant.

Herr Brentano was cheated, too, of course. He hoped to emerge from the movement as the great man of the "moderate" party, i.e. of

none other than the petty bourgeoisie, and instead was ignominiously forced to bolt under cover of darkness from his own party and from his best friends, on whom the terrible truth had suddenly dawned. He even hoped to keep open for himself the possibility of a grand-ducal ministry and instead received by way of thanks for his wisdom a good kicking from all parties and the impossibility of ever again playing even the smallest of roles. But in truth one can be shrewder than the entire petty bourgeoisie of any German robber-state [*Raubstaat*] and still see one's finest hopes dashed and one's most noble intentions pelted with mud!

From the first day of his government Herr Brentano did everything to keep the movement on the narrow, philistine course which it had scarcely attempted to overstep. Under the protection of the Karlsruhe civic militia, which was devoted to the Grand Duke and had fought against the movement only the day before, he moved into the *Ständehaus*<sup>161</sup> to curb the movement from there. The recall of the deserted soldiers could not have been carried out more sluggishly; the reorganisation of the battalions was pursued with just as little urgency. On the other hand, the Mannheim unarmed philistines, who everyone knew would not fight, and who after the battle of Waghäusel<sup>162</sup> even collaborated for the most part with a regiment of dragoons in the betrayal of Mannheim, were immediately armed. There was no question of a march on Frankfurt or Stuttgart or of spreading the insurrection to Nassau or Hesse. If a proposal were made to this effect, it was immediately brushed aside, like Sigel's. To speak of issuing bank-notes would have been considered a crime against the state, tantamount to communism. The Palatinate sent envoy after envoy to say that they were unarmed, that they had no rifles let alone artillery, that they had no ammunition and were without everything needed to carry out an insurrection and in particular to seize the Landau and Germersheim fortresses; but nothing was to be got out of Herr Brentano. The Palatinate proposed the immediate setting up of a joint military command, and even the unification of both provinces under a single joint government. Everything was delayed and deferred. I believe that a small financial contribution is all the Palatinate managed to get; later, when it was too late, eight cannon arrived with a little ammunition but no crew or draught-team, and finally, on a direct order from Mieroslawski, came a Baden battalion and two mortars, only one of which, if I remember rightly, fired a shot.

Because of this policy of delaying and brushing aside those measures most necessary to spread the insurrection, the whole movement was already betrayed. The same nonchalance was

displayed in internal matters. There was not a word about abolishing feudal burdens; Herr Brentano knew full well that among the peasantry, especially in Upper Baden, there were elements more revolutionary than he cared for and that he must therefore hold them back rather than hurl them even more deeply into the movement. The new officials were mostly either creatures of Brentano or completely incompetent; the old officials, with the exception of those who had compromised themselves too directly in the reaction of the last twelve months and had hence deserted of themselves, all kept their positions, to the great delight of all the peaceful burghers. Even Herr Struve thought in the last days of May that the "revolution" should be commended for the fact that everything had passed off so very calmly and almost all the officials had been able to remain at their posts.—As to the rest, Herr Brentano and his agents worked for the restoration, wherever possible, of the old routine, for a minimum of unrest and agitation and for a speedy removal of the trappings of revolution from the province.

In the military organisation the same routine prevailed. Only that was done which could not possibly remain undone. The troops were left without leaders, without anything to occupy them and without order; the incompetent "Minister of War" Eichfeld and his successor, the traitor Mayerhofer, did not even know how to deploy them properly. The convoys of troops crossed one another aimlessly and futilely on the railway. The battalions were led to one place one day and back the next, nobody could say why. In the garrisons the men went from one tavern to the next because they had nothing else to do. It seemed as if they were being demoralised on purpose, as if the government really wanted to drive out the last remnants of discipline. The organisation of the first call-up of the so-called people's militia, i.e. all men up to thirty years old capable of bearing arms, was assigned to the well-known Joh. Ph. Becker, a naturalised Swiss and an officer of the confederate army. I do not know to what extent Becker was obstructed in the execution of his mission by Brentano. I do know, however, that after the retreat of the Palatinate army onto Baden territory, when the peremptory demands of the badly clothed and badly armed Palatinate forces could no longer be rejected, Brentano washed his hands in innocence and said: "As far as I'm concerned, give them whatever you want; but when the Grand Duke comes back he should at least know who squandered his stores in this manner!" So if the Baden people's militia was organised in part badly and in part not at all, there is no doubt that the main responsibility for this too lies with Brentano

and the ill will or ineptitude of his commissaries in the various districts.

When Marx and I first set foot on Baden territory after the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (it must have been May 20 or 21, that is, more than a week after the flight of the Grand Duke) we were astonished to see how carelessly the border was guarded, or rather not guarded. From Frankfurt to Heppenheim the entire railway was in the hands of Württemberg and Hessian imperial troops; Frankfurt and Darmstadt themselves were full of soldiers; all the stations and all the villages were occupied by strong detachments; regular outposts were advanced right up to the border. From the border to Weinheim, by contrast, there was not a single man to be seen; the same was true of Weinheim. The one and only precaution was the demolition of a short stretch of railway between Heppenheim and Weinheim. Only while we were there did a weak detachment of the Prince's own regiment, at the most twenty-five men, arrive at Weinheim. From Weinheim to Mannheim the deepest peace prevailed; at the most there was here and there an odd, more than merry people's militiaman, who looked more like a straggler or a deserter than a soldier on duty. Needless to say, there was no question at all of border control. One went in or out, at will.

Mannheim, however, gave more the impression of being on a war footing. Crowds of soldiers stood around in the streets or sat in the taverns. The people's militia and the civic militia were drilling in the park, although for the most part in a very clumsy fashion and with bad instructors. At the town hall were sitting any number of committees, old and new officers, uniforms and tunics. The people mingled with the soldiers and volunteers and there was a great deal of drinking, laughing and embracing. But it was at once apparent that the initial impetus was spent and that many were unpleasantly disillusioned. The soldiers were discontented; we carried through the insurrection, they said, and now that it is the turn of the civilians to take over the leadership they let everything come to a standstill and go to pieces! The soldiers were also far from satisfied with their new officers; the new officers were on bad terms with those who had previously served the Grand Duke—at that time there were still many of them, although every day some deserted; the old officers found themselves against their will in an awkward situation, from which they did not know how to extricate themselves. Finally, everyone was bemoaning the lack of energetic and competent leadership.

On the other side of the Rhine, in Ludwigshafen, the movement seemed to us to be a much more cheerful affair. Whereas in

Mannheim a great many young men who should clearly have been in the first call-up were quietly going about their business as if nothing had happened, here everyone was armed. Admittedly it was not so everywhere in the Palatinate, as later became evident. In Ludwigshafen the greatest unanimity prevailed between volunteers and military. In the taverns, which here too were, of course, overcrowded, the *Marseillaise* and other such songs rang out. There was no complaining and no grumbling, people were laughing and were body and soul with the movement, and at that time, especially amongst the fusiliers and volunteers, very understandable and innocent illusions prevailed about their own invincibility.

In Karlsruhe things took on a more solemn tone. In the *Pariser Hof table d'hôte* had been announced for one o'clock. But it did not start until "the gentlemen of the provincial committee" had arrived. Little marks of respect of this sort were already giving the movement a reassuring bureaucratic veneer.

In opposition to various gentlemen from the provincial committee we expressed the views developed above, namely, that at the outset a march should have been made on Frankfurt and the insurrection thus extended, that it was most probably by now too late and that unless there were decisive blows in Hungary or a new revolution in Paris the whole movement was already irretrievably lost. It is impossible to imagine the outburst of indignation amongst these burghers of the provincial committee at such heresies. Only Blind and Goegg were on our side. Now that we have been proved right by events these same gentlemen naturally claim that they had all along been pressing for the offensive.

In Karlsruhe at that time there were already the first beginnings of that pretentious place-hunting which, under the equally pretentious title of "concentration of all the democratic forces of Germany", masqueraded as coming to the aid of the fatherland. Anyone who had ever held forth, however confusedly, in some club or other or had once called for hatred of tyrants in some democratic local paper hurried to Karlsruhe or Kaiserslautern, there to become at once a great man. As there is hardly need to emphasise, the performances were fully in keeping with the forces here concentrated.—Thus there was in Karlsruhe a certain well-known, allegedly philosophical Atta Troll,<sup>a</sup> ex-member of the Frankfurt Assembly and ex-editor of an allegedly democratic paper,<sup>b</sup> suppressed by Manteuffel despite

<sup>a</sup> An ironical allusion to Arnold Ruge.— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *Die Reform.*— *Ed.*



the tenders of our Atta Troll. Atta Troll was angling most assiduously for the little post of Baden envoy to Paris, for which he felt he had a special vocation because he had spent two years there at one time and learnt no French. Having been lucky enough actually to wheedle the credentials out of Herr Brentano, he was just packing his bags when Brentano unexpectedly summoned him and removed the accreditation papers from his pocket. It goes without saying that Atta Troll now made a point of going to Paris in order to spite Herr Brentano.—Another staunch burgher who had been threatening Germany for years with revolution and the republic, Herr Heinzen,<sup>a</sup> was also in Karlsruhe. This honourable gentleman was notorious before the February Revolution for calling on people everywhere and at all times to “go at them tooth and nail”, and yet, after this revolution, he considered it more discreet to watch the various German insurrections from the neutral mountains of Switzerland. Now, at long last, he appeared to have got the urge to go tooth and nail himself at the “oppressors”. After his earlier declared opinion that “Kossuth is a great man, but Kossuth has forgotten about *fulminating silver*”,<sup>b</sup> it was to be expected that he would *immediately* organise the most colossal and hitherto unsuspected forces of destruction against the Prussians. He did no such thing. Since more ambitious plans did not appear to be appropriate, our hater of tyrants, as the saying goes, contented himself with setting up a republican élite corps, in the meantime writing articles in favour of Brentano in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* and frequenting the Club of Resolute Progress. The club was wound up, the republican élite did not put in an appearance and Herr Heinzen finally realised that not even he could defend Brentano’s policies any longer. Misunderstood, exhausted and peeved, he first went to Upper Baden and from there to Switzerland, without having struck dead a single “oppressor”. He is now taking his revenge on them from London, guillotining them in effigy in their millions.

We left Karlsruhe the next morning to visit the Palatinate.

As far as the conduct of general political matters and civil administration is concerned, there is little that remains to be said about the further course of the Baden insurrection. When Brentano felt strong enough he wiped out in one fell blow the tame opposition presented by the Club of Resolute Progress. The “Constituent

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<sup>a</sup> An apparent allusion to a pamphlet by G. Struve and K. Heinzen, *Plan zur Revolutionirung und Republikanisirung Deutschlands*.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> K. Heinzen, *Der Mord*, in *Die Evolution*, Biel (Switzerland), No. 4, January 26, 1849.—Ed.

Assembly", elected under the influence of the immense popularity of Brentano and the all-ruling petty bourgeoisie, gave its assent and blessing to every measure he took. The "Provisional Government with dictatorial power"<sup>a</sup> (a dictatorship under an alleged convention!) was wholly under his control. Thus he continued to rule, obstructed the revolutionary and military development of the insurrection, had the day-to-day affairs discharged *tant bien que mal*<sup>b</sup> and jealously looked after the stores and private property of the Grand Duke, whom he continued to treat as his legitimate sovereign by the grace of God. In the *Karlsruher Zeitung* he declared that the Grand Duke could return at any time, and indeed the castle remained closed during this whole period, as if its occupant were merely away on a journey. He put off the emissaries from the Palatinate from day to day with vague answers; the most that could be achieved was the joint military command under Mieroslawski and—a treaty abolishing the Mannheim-Ludwigshafen bridge-toll, which still did not prevent Herr Brentano from continuing to levy this toll on the Mannheim side.

When Mieroslawski was finally forced after the battle of Waghäusel and Ubstadt to withdraw the remnants of his army through the mountains to the other side of the Murg, when Karlsruhe had to be abandoned with a mass of provisions, and when the defeat on the Murg settled the fate of the movement, the illusions of the Baden burghers, peasants and soldiers were dispelled and a universal cry went up accusing Brentano of treason. With one fell blow the whole edifice of Brentano's popularity, based on the cowardice of the petty bourgeois, the helplessness of the peasants and the lack of a concentrated working class, was demolished. Brentano fled to Switzerland under cover of darkness, pursued by the accusation of national betrayal with which his own "Constituent Assembly" stigmatised him, and went to ground in Feuerthalen in the canton of Zurich.

One could draw comfort from the thought that Herr Brentano has been punished enough by the total ruin of his political position and the universal contempt of all parties for his betrayal. The collapse of the Baden movement is of little consequence. The 13th June in Paris<sup>c</sup> and Görgey's refusal to march on Vienna<sup>163</sup> put an end to any hopes that Baden and the Palatinate still had, even if the movement

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<sup>a</sup> A name the Baden Provisional Government took in the decree on its formation published in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* No. 34, June 21, 1849.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> After a fashion.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 105-07.—*Ed.*

had been successfully transplanted to Hesse, Württemberg and Franconia. One would have fallen more honourably, but one would still have fallen. But what the revolutionary party will never forgive Herr Brentano, what it will always remember against the cowardly Baden petty bourgeoisie which supported him, is their direct responsibility for the death of those shot in Karlsruhe, in Freiburg and in Rastatt and of the countless and nameless victims silently executed by the Prussians with the help of typhus in the Rastatt casemates.

In the second issue of this *Revue* I will describe the conditions in the Palatinate and, to conclude, the Baden-Palatinate campaign.

## III. THE PALATINATE

From Karlsruhe we went to the Palatinate,<sup>a</sup> first stopping at Speyer where d'Ester and the Provisional Government were said to be. They had, however, already left for Kaiserslautern, where the government finally took up its seat at what it considered to be the "strategically best located point in the Palatinate". In its stead we found Willich and his volunteers in Speyer. With a corps of a few hundred men he was holding in check the garrisons of Landau and Germersheim, altogether over 4,000 men, cutting their lines of supply and harassing them in every possible way. That very day he had attacked two companies of the Germersheim garrison with about eighty riflemen and driven them back into the fortress without firing a single shot. The next day we accompanied Willich to Kaiserslautern where we met d'Ester, the Provisional Government, and the very flower of German democracy. Here also there could, of course, be no question of official participation in the movement, which was quite alien to our party. So after a few days we went back to Bingen, were arrested on the way, in the company of several friends, by Hessian troops, on suspicion of being implicated in the uprising, transported to Darmstadt and from there to Frankfurt, where we were finally set free.

Shortly after this we left Bingen and Marx went with a mandate from the Democratic Central Committee to Paris, where a crucial event was about to take place, as representative of the German revolutionary party to the French social-democrats.<sup>164</sup> I returned to Kaiserslautern to live there for the time being as a simple political refugee and perhaps later, should a suitable opportunity offer itself,

<sup>a</sup> Marx and Engels left Karlsruhe for the Palatinate on May 24, 1849.—*Ed*

take up at the outbreak of fighting the only position that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* could take up in this movement: that of soldier.

Anyone who has seen the Palatinate even once will understand that in this wine-producing and wine-loving province any movement inevitably assumes a most cheerful character. The ponderous, pedantic, Old-Bavarian beer-souls had at long last been shaken off and merry Palatinate wine-bibbers appointed in their place. One had finally seen the last of that pompous pettifoggery practised by the Bavarian police which was so delightfully parodied in the otherwise dull pages of the *Fliegende Blätter* and which lay more heavily than anything else on the hearts of the gay people of the Palatinate. The first revolutionary act of the people of the Palatinate was to restore the freedom of the taverns; the entire Palatinate was transformed into one enormous pot-house and the quantities of strong drink which were consumed "in the name of the people of the Palatinate" during those six weeks were beyond all calculation. Even though active participation in the movement in the Palatinate was nowhere near as widespread as in Baden, and even though there were many reactionary districts here, the entire population was as one in this general wine-bibbing and even the most reactionary philistine and peasant was carried along on the general wave of merriment.

One did not need an especially penetrating glance to recognise how bitterly the Prussian army was to disillusion these cheerful Palatinate souls in a few weeks' time. And yet the number of people in the Palatinate who did not revel in the most carefree manner could be counted on one's fingers. Scarcely anyone believed that the Prussians would come, but everyone was quite sure that if they did come they would be thrown out again with the greatest of ease. There was no trace here of that staunch gloominess whose motto "*Ernst ist der Mann*"<sup>a</sup> is engraved on the brow of every Baden people's militia officer and which still did not prevent all those wonderful things happening which I shall have to relate presently—that respectable solemnity which the philistine character of the movement in Baden had impressed on the majority of its participants. In the Palatinate people were only "serious" by the way. Here "enthusiasm" and "seriousness" only served to gloss over the universal jollity. But people were always "serious" and "enthusiastic" enough to believe themselves invincible before any power in the world, and especially the Prussian army; and if in the quiet hours of reflection a faint doubt raised its head, it was brushed aside with the

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<sup>a</sup> Seriousness above all things.—*Ed.*

irrefutable argument that even if it were true, one still should not say it. The longer the movement dragged on and the more undeniable and massive the concentration of Prussian battalions between Saarbrücken and Kreuznach, the more frequent became these doubts, and the more vehement the bluster, precisely among the doubters and the timid, about the invincibility of a "people enraptured with its freedom", as the people of the Palatinate were called. This bluster soon grew into a regular soporific system which, encouraged only too readily by the government, had the effect of relaxing all work on defence measures and exposing everyone who opposed it to the danger of arrest as a reactionary.

This carefree attitude, this bluster about "enthusiasm" carrying all before it, in view of its minute material resources and the tiny corner of land where it asserted itself, provided the comic side of the Palatinate "uprising", and gave the handful of people whose advanced views and independent position permitted a detached judgment more than enough cause for hilarity.

The whole outward appearance of the movement in the Palatinate was cheerful, carefree and spontaneous. Whereas in Baden every newly appointed second lieutenant, in the regular army or the people's militia, laced himself into a heavy uniform and paraded with silver epaulettes which later, on the day of the battle, immediately found their way into his pockets, people in the Palatinate were much more sensible. As soon as the great heat of the first days of June made itself felt all the worsted coats, waistcoats and cravats disappeared to make way for a light tunic. It seemed as if all the old unsociable constraints had been thrown off along with the old bureaucracy. People dressed in a completely free-and-easy fashion, dictated solely by comfort and the season of the year; and together with differentiation in clothing disappeared in a moment every other differentiation in social intercourse. All social classes came together in the same public places and in this unrestrained intercourse a socialist dreamer would have glimpsed the dawn of universal brotherhood.

As the Palatinate, so its Provisional Government. It consisted almost exclusively of genial wine-bibbers, who were never so astonished as when they suddenly found themselves having to be the Provisional Government of their Bacchus-beloved fatherland. And yet there is no denying that these laughing regents conducted themselves better and accomplished relatively more than their Baden neighbours under the leadership of the "staunch-minded" Brentano. They were at least well-intentioned and in spite of their carousing had a more sober understanding than the philistine-

serious gentlemen in Karlsruhe; and hardly any of them became angry if one laughed at their easy-going fashion of making revolution and their impotent little decrees.

The Provisional Government of the Palatinate could not get anything done as long as it was left in the lurch by the Baden government. And it completely fulfilled its obligations towards Baden. It sent envoy after envoy and made one concession after another solely in order to come to an understanding, but all in vain. Herr Brentano was obdurate.

While the Baden government found everything ready at hand, the Palatinate government found nothing. It had no money, no weapons, a number of reactionary districts and two enemy fortresses on its territory. France at once banned the export of arms to Baden and the Palatinate, and all arms dispatched thither were impounded by Prussia and Hesse. The government of the Palatinate sent agents forthwith to France and Belgium to buy up arms and send them back; the arms were purchased but they never arrived. The government can be reproached with not proceeding with sufficient energy in the matter and in particular with failing to organise the smuggling in of rifles through the large number of contrabandists along the frontier; the greater blame, however, lies with its agents, who acted very negligently and in part allowed themselves to be fobbed off with empty promises instead of getting the French arms at least as far as Saargemünd and Lauterburg.

As far as funds were concerned, not much could be done with bank-notes in the little Palatinate. When the government found itself in pecuniary embarrassment it at least had the courage to take refuge in a forced loan on a progressive, albeit gently graduated, scale.

The only reproaches which can be made against the Palatinate government are that in its feeling of impotence it allowed itself to be too much infected by the universal light-heartedness and the related illusions about its own security; and that therefore, instead of energetically setting in motion the admittedly limited means of defending the state, it preferred to rely on the victory of the Montagne in Paris, the taking of Vienna by the Hungarians or even on actual miracles which were to happen somewhere or other to save the Palatinate—uprisings in the Prussian army, etc. Hence the remissness in procuring arms in a country where even a thousand serviceable muskets more or less would have made an infinite amount of difference and where finally, on the day the Prussians marched in, the first and last consignment of *forty* rifles arrived from abroad, namely from Switzerland. Hence the frivolous selection of civil and military commissaries, who consisted mainly of

the most incompetent and confused dreamers, and the retention of so many old officials and of all the judges. Hence finally the neglect of all the means, even those immediately at hand, of harassing and perhaps taking Landau. To this question I shall return later.

Behind the Provisional Government stood d'Ester, like a sort of secret General Secretary or, as Herr Brentano put it, like a "red camarilla which surrounded the moderate government of Kaiserslautern".<sup>a</sup> Moreover, this "red camarilla" included other German democrats too, in particular Dresden refugees. In d'Ester the Palatinate regents found that broad administrative vision which they lacked, together with a revolutionary understanding which impressed them because it always confined itself to what was immediately at hand, to that which was unquestionably practicable, and was therefore never at a loss for detailed measures. Because of this d'Ester acquired a significant influence and the unconditional confidence of the government. If even he at times took the movement too seriously and thought for example that he could achieve something worthwhile through the introduction of his for the moment totally unsuitable municipal regulations, it is none the less certain that d'Ester impelled the Provisional Government to each comparatively vigorous step and in particular always had appropriate solutions at hand when it came to conflicts over details.

If in Rhenish Prussia reactionary and revolutionary classes stood facing each other from the very outset and if in Baden a class which was initially in raptures about the movement, the petty bourgeoisie, gradually allowed itself at the approach of danger to be won over first into indifference and later into hostility towards the movement it itself had provoked, in the Palatinate it was not so much particular classes of the population as particular districts which, governed by local interests, declared themselves against the movement, some from the first and others little by little. Certainly the townspeople of Speyer were reactionary from the start; in Kaiserslautern, Neustadt, Zweibrücken, etc., they became so with the passage of time; but the main strength of the reactionary party was to be found in agricultural districts spread over the whole of the Palatinate. This confused configuration of the parties could only have been eliminated by one measure: a direct attack on the private property invested in mortgages and mortgage-usury, in favour of the debt-ridden peasants who had been sucked dry by the usurers. But this single measure, which would immediately have given the whole

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<sup>a</sup> From Brentano's justificatory memorandum: *Die Lage und das Verhalten der Mitglieder der Ministerien während der Revolution vom 13.5 bis 25.6, 1849.—Ed.*



of the rural population a stake in the uprising, presupposes a much larger territory and much more developed social conditions in the towns than is the case in the Palatinate. It was only feasible at the beginning of the insurrection, simultaneously with an extension of the uprising to the Moselle and the Eifel, where the same conditions obtain on the land and find their complement in the industrial development of the Rhenish towns. And the movement was directed outwards just as little in the Palatinate as it was in Baden.

Under these conditions the government had only limited means of combating the reactionary districts: isolated military expeditions into the refractory villages, arrests, especially of the Catholic priests, who placed themselves at the head of the resistance, and so on; appointment of energetic civil and military commissaries, and last of all propaganda. The expeditions, mostly of a very comical nature, only had a momentary effect, the propaganda none at all, and the commissaries mostly committed blunder upon blunder in their pompous ineptitude or confined themselves to the consumption of vast quantities of Palatinate wine and the inevitable bluster in the taverns.

Amongst the propagandists, the commissaries and the officials of the central administration, the democrats, of whom even more had gathered in the Palatinate than in Baden, played a very considerable role. Here, in addition to the refugees from Dresden and from Rhenish Prussia, a number of more or less enthusiastic "men of the people" had turned up to consecrate themselves to the service of the fatherland. The government of the Palatinate, which unlike its Karlsruhe counterpart understood instinctively that the resources of the Palatinate alone were not equal to the demands even of this movement, received them gladly. It was impossible to spend more than two hours in the Palatinate without being offered a dozen of the most varied and on the whole very honourable posts. The democrats, who saw in the Palatinate-Baden movement not a local uprising which was becoming daily more local and more insignificant, but the glorious dawn of the glorious uprising of all Germany's democrats, and who everywhere in the movement saw *their* more or less petty-bourgeois tendency prevailing, fell over themselves to accept these offers. At the same time, however, each felt he owed it to himself only to accept a post which satisfied his naturally very lofty pretensions of the part he should play in an all-German movement. At first this was possible. Whoever came along was at once put in charge of an office or made a government commissary, a major or a lieutenant-colonel. Little by little, however, the number of rivals increased, the positions became fewer and there started a petty,

philistine place-hunting which presented the disinterested spectator with a highly diverting spectacle. I imagine I do not have to underline the fact that in this strange hotchpotch of industry and confusion, importunacy and incompetence which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has so often had occasion to wonder at among the German democrats, the officials and propagandists of the Palatinate faithfully mirrored the whole unpleasant medley.

As a matter of course I also was offered any number of civil and military positions, positions which in a proletarian movement I would not have hesitated for a moment to accept. As things were, I turned them all down. The only thing I agreed to was to write some agitational articles for a small paper<sup>a</sup> of which the Provisional Government had large quantities distributed in the Palatinate. I knew that this too would come to nothing, but I finally accepted the offer upon the urgent request of d'Ester and several members of the government in order at least to demonstrate my good will. Since I naturally felt few constraints, exception was taken to the very second article I wrote because it was too "inflammatory"; I wasted no words, took the article back, tore it up in d'Ester's presence and that was the end of the matter.

The best of the foreign democrats in the Palatinate were, incidentally, those who had come fresh from the struggle in their home provinces: the Saxons and the Rhenish Prussians. The handful of Saxons were mostly employed in the central offices, where they worked hard and distinguished themselves by their administrative knowledge, their calm, clear understanding and their lack of any pretensions or illusions. The Rhinelanders, mostly workers, joined the army *en masse*; the few who initially worked in the offices later also took up the musket.

In the offices of the central administration in the Fruchthalle<sup>165</sup> at Kaiserslautern there was a very easy-going atmosphere. What with the general *laissez aller*, the complete lack of any form of active intervention in the movement and the uncommonly large number of officials, there was on the whole little to do. It was a matter of hardly more than the day-to-day business of administration, and this was disposed of *tant bien que mal*. Unless a courier arrived, some patriotic citizen came with a profound proposal concerning the salvation of the fatherland, some peasant brought a complaint or some village sent a deputation, most of the offices had nothing to do. People yawned and chatted, told anecdotes and made bad jokes

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<sup>a</sup> *Der Bote für Stadt und Land* which carried Engels' article "The Revolutionary Uprising in the Palatinate and Baden". See present edition, Vol. 9.—*Ed.*

and strategic plans and went from one office to another trying as well as they could to kill time. The main topics of conversation were naturally the political events of the day, about which the most contradictory rumours were circulating. The intelligence service was greatly neglected. The old post-office officials had almost without exception stayed at their posts and were needless to say very unreliable. Alongside them a "field-post" was set up, superintended by the Palatinate Chevaulegers<sup>166</sup> who had come over to our side. The commandants and the commissaries of the border areas paid not the slightest heed to what was happening on the other side of the border. The government took only the *Frankfurter Journal* and the *Karlsruher Zeitung* and I still remember with delight the astonishment it gave rise to when I discovered in the officers' club, in an issue of the *Kölnische Zeitung* which had arrived several days before, the news of the concentration of 27 Prussian battalions, 9 batteries and 9 regiments of cavalry, together with their exact location between Saarbrücken and Kreuznach.<sup>a</sup>

At last I come to the main point, the military organisation. About three thousand Palatinate soldiers from the Bavarian army had defected with bag and baggage. At the same time a number of volunteers, from the Palatinate and elsewhere, had placed themselves under arms. In addition to that the Provisional Government issued a decree calling up the first age group, in the first instance all unmarried men between the ages of eighteen and thirty. This call-up, however, only took place on paper, owing partly to the incompetence and negligence of the military commissaries, partly to the lack of arms and partly to the indolence of the government itself. Wherever the lack of arms was the main obstacle to the whole defence, as it was in the Palatinate, every means had to be used to muster arms. If none were forthcoming from abroad, then it was necessary to fetch out every musket, every rifle and every sporting-gun which could be unearthed in the Palatinate and place them in the hands of the active fighters. However, there were not only large numbers of private weapons at hand, but on top of that at least another 1,500 to 2,000 rifles, not counting carbines, in the hands of the various civic militia units. One could at least have demanded the handing over of private arms and rifles in the hands of those civic militiamen who were not obliged to join the first call-up and did not intend to volunteer. But nothing of the sort happened. After much insistence a resolution along these lines was finally adopted regarding the arms held by the civic militia, but never

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<sup>a</sup> "Köln, 30. Mai", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 129, May 31, 1849.— *Ed.*

put into effect; the Kaiserslautern civic militia, over three hundred philistines strong, paraded at the Fruchthalle every day in uniform, shouldering their arms, and the Prussians, when they marched in, had the pleasure of disarming these gentlemen. And thus it was everywhere.

In the official newspaper an appeal was issued to the forestry officials and the keepers of the woods, asking them to report to Kaiserslautern in order to form a rifle corps<sup>a</sup>; of these it was the forestry officials who did not turn up.

Throughout the whole land scythes were forged, or at least a call went out to that effect; a few scythes were actually produced. In the Rhenish Hessian corps at Kirchheimbolanden I saw several casks of scythe-blades being loaded and sent to Kaiserslautern. The journey takes roughly seven to eight hours; four days later the government was forced to abandon Kaiserslautern to the Prussians and the scythes had still not arrived. If the scythes had been given to those civic militiamen not yet mobilised, the so-called second age group, as compensation for giving up their guns, then the affair would have made sense; instead of this the lazy philistines kept their percussion-guns and the young recruits were expected to march against the Prussian cannon and needle-muskets with scythes.

While there was a general lack of fire-arms, there was by contrast a just as remarkable profusion of cavalry sabres; those who could not lay hands on a gun strapped on all the more eagerly a clattering broadsword, believing that by merely so doing they stamped themselves as officers. Precisely in Kaiserslautern these self-stamped officers were too numerous to count and the streets rang day and night to the clatter of their fearful weapons. It was the students in particular who by this new manner of intimidating the enemy and by their pretension of forming an academic legion entirely of cavalry on foot rendered great service for the saving of the fatherland.

In addition there was half a squadron of defected Chevaulegers at hand; however, they were so scattered due to their work for the field-post, etc., that they never came to form a special combat corps. The artillery, under the command of "Lieutenant-Colonel" Anneke, consisted of a few three-pounders whose horses I do not recall having ever seen, and a number of mortars. Lying in front of the Fruchthalle at Kaiserslautern was the most beautiful collection of old iron cannon-barrels one could ever wish to see. Needless to say, most of them remained lying there unused. The two biggest were laid on colossal home-made gun-carriages and carried off. The Baden

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<sup>a</sup> *Der Bote für Stadt und Land* No. 118, June 14, 1849.—Ed.

government finally sold the Palatinate a shot-out six-pound battery together with some ammunition; but without a team of horses, a crew or sufficient ammunition. The ammunition was as far as possible manufactured; the team of horses and riders was made up *tant bien que mal* with requisitioned peasants and horses; for the crew a few old Bavarian artillerymen were gathered together to train men in the ponderous and complicated Bavarian drill.

The top leadership of military affairs was in the worst hands. Herr Reichardt, who had taken over the military department in the Provisional Government, was active, but lacked vigour and professional knowledge. The first commander-in-chief of the military forces of the Palatinate, the enterprising Fenner von Fenneberg, was soon dismissed on account of his ambiguous conduct; he was temporarily replaced by Raquilliet, a Polish officer. At last it was learnt that Mieroslowski was to take over the supreme command of Baden and the Palatinate and that the command of the troops of the Palatinate was to be entrusted to "General" Sznayde, also a Pole.

General Sznayde arrived. He was a small, fat man, who looked more like an elderly *bon vivant* than a "Menelaus, caller to battle".<sup>a</sup> General Sznayde took over the command with a great deal of gravity. He had a report made on the state of affairs and at once issued a whole series of orders of the day. Most of these orders related to uniform (tunics and marks of rank for officers—tricolour armbands or sashes), or appeals to veteran cavalrymen and riflemen to come forward as volunteers (appeals which had already been made ten times without success) and things of a similar nature. He himself set a good example by immediately procuring a hussar tunic with tricolour braid, in order to inspire the army with respect. The really practical and important things in his orders of the day were merely repetitions of orders long since issued and proposals already made earlier by the handful of good officers present, but never carried out, and which only now, through the authority of a commanding general, could<sup>b</sup> be put into effect. As for the rest, "General" Sznayde placed his trust in God and Mieroslowski and dedicated himself to the pleasures of the table, the only reasonable thing that a so totally incompetent individual could do.

Amongst the other officers in Kaiserslautern was the uniquely capable Techow, the same Techow who as a Prussian first lieutenant

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<sup>a</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, Song II. (In the original Engels used the translation by Johann Heinrich Voss.)—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue* corrected by Engels has *sollten* (should) instead of *konnten* (could).—*Ed.*

with Natzmer gave the Berlin arsenal over to the people after having taken it by storm<sup>167</sup> and, sentenced to fifteen years detention in a fortress, escaped from Magdeburg. Techow, chief of the Palatinate general staff, proved in all things to be knowledgeable, circumspect and calm, perhaps a little too calm to be trusted to make the rapid decisions on which everything often depends on the battlefield. "Lieutenant-Colonel" Anneke proved to be incompetent and indolent in organising the artillery, though he rendered good services in the ordnance shops. At Ubstadt he won no laurels as commander-in-chief and from Rastatt, where Mieroslawski had put him in charge of the materials for the siege, he escaped across the Rhine under strange circumstances already before the investment, leaving his horses behind.

There was not much to be said for the officers in the various districts either. A number of Poles had appeared, some in advance of Sznayde and some with him. As the best of the Polish émigrés were already in Hungary, one may suspect that these Polish officers were a pretty mixed bunch. Most of them made haste to obtain an appropriate number of saddle-horses and give out a few orders, paying only scanty attention to their execution. They tended to lord it over people and wanted to treat the peasants of the Palatinate like cringing Polish serfs. They were not familiar with the country, the language or the command, and hence accomplished little or nothing at all as military commissaries, i.e. organisers of battalions. In the course of the campaign they soon strayed into Sznayde's headquarters and shortly afterwards, when Sznayde was assailed and roughly handled by his soldiers, disappeared altogether. The better ones among them arrived too late to be able to organise anything.

There was not much talent of any use among the German officers either. The Rhenish Hessian corps, though it included elements who could have developed militarily, was under the leadership of a certain Häusner, a completely useless man, and under the even more lamentable moral and political influence of the two heroes Zitz and Bamberger, who later in Karlsruhe extricated themselves so successfully from the situation. In the Palatinate hinterland a former Prussian officer, Schimmelpfennig, organised a corps.

The only two officers who had already distinguished themselves in active service before the Prussian invasion were Willich and Blenker.

With a small corps of volunteers Willich took over the observation and later the siege of Landau and Germersheim. A company of students, a company of workers who had lived with him in Besançon,

three weak companies of gymnasts (from Landau, Neustadt and Kaiserslautern), two companies formed from volunteers from the surrounding villages and lastly a company of Rhenish Prussians armed with scythes, most of them fugitives from the Prüm and Elberfeld uprisings, gradually mustered under his command. In the end they amounted to between 700 and 800 men, certainly the most reliable soldiers in the whole Palatinate; most of the N.C.O.s had seen service and some of them had been familiarised in Algeria with guerrilla warfare.<sup>168</sup> With this scanty force Willich took up a position halfway between Landau and Germersheim, organised the civic militia in the villages, using them to guard the roads and do outpost duty, beat back all the sorties from the two fortresses in spite of the superior forces, in particular of the Germersheim garrison, blockaded Landau so effectively that almost all its supplies were intercepted, cut off its water-supplies, dammed up the Queich so that all the fortress cellars were flooded, and yet there was a lack of drinking-water, and harassed the garrison every night with patrols which not only cleared out the abandoned outworks and auctioned the guardroom stoves they found there for five guilders each, but also pushed forward even into the fortress trenches and frequently caused the garrison to open fire on a corporal and two men with a cannonade of twenty-four-pounders which was as intense as it was harmless. This was by far the most brilliant period during the existence of Willich's volunteer corps. If only a few howitzers had been at his disposal at that time, or even only field-guns, according to the reports of the spies who daily went in and out of Landau, the fortress, with its demoralised, weak garrison and its rebellious inhabitants, would have been taken in a few days. Even without artillery a continuation of the siege would have compelled capitulation in a week. In Kaiserslautern were two seven-pound howitzers, good enough to set fire to a few houses in Landau during the night. Had they been on the spot, then the unheard of, the taking of a fortress like Landau with a few field-guns, would have become a probability. Every day I preached to the general staff in Kaiserslautern the necessity of at least making the attempt. To no avail. One of the howitzers stayed in Kaiserslautern and the other found its way to Homburg, where it almost fell into the hands of the Prussians. Both came over the Rhine without having fired a shot.

“Colonel” Blenker, however, distinguished himself even more than Willich. “Colonel” Blenker, a former travelling salesman for a wine-firm, who had been in Greece as a philhellenist and later set himself up as a wine-merchant in Worms, can in any case be numbered among the most outstanding military personalities of the

whole glorious campaign. Always on horseback, surrounded by a numerous staff, big, strong, with a defiant face, an impressive Hecker-type beard, a stentorian voice and all the other characteristics that go to make up a South German "man of the people", and among which, as everybody knows, intelligence does not exactly feature, "Colonel" Blenker gave the impression of a man at the mere sight of whom Napoleon would have to sneak away, a man worthy to figure in that refrain with which we opened these accounts.<sup>a</sup> "Colonel" Blenker felt he had it in himself to overthrow the German princes even without "Hecker, Struve, Zitz and Blum" and immediately set about the task. It was his intention to fight the war not as a soldier but as a travelling wine-salesman, and to this end he resolved to conquer Landau. Willich was not yet there at that time. Blenker got together everything at hand in the Palatinate, both regular troops and people's militia, organised foot-soldiers, cavalry and artillery that had all been jumbled up together, and moved off in the direction of Landau. A council of war was held in front of the fortress, the assault columns formed up and the position of the artillery fixed. The artillery, however, consisted of a few mortars whose calibre varied from  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. to  $1\frac{3}{8}$  lb., and was brought up on a hay-cart which at the same time served to carry the ammunition. The ammunition for these various mortars consisted of *one*, I repeat *one*, 24 lb. cannon-ball; there was no question of any gunpowder. After everything had been organised, everyone moved forward full of contempt for death. The glacis was reached without meeting any resistance; the march continued, right up to the gate. At the head were the soldiers who had defected from Landau. A few soldiers appeared on the ramparts to parley. They were called upon to open the gate. There began already a quite good-natured exchange and everything appeared to be going according to wish. All at once a cannon-shot rang out from the ramparts, case-shot whistled over the heads of the assailants and in no time the whole heroic army broke into wild flight together with their Palatinate Prince Eugene.<sup>b</sup> Everyone was running, running, running, with such irresistible momentum that the couple of cannon-balls loosed off soon afterwards from the ramparts were already no longer whistling over the heads of the fleeing men, but only over their discarded guns, cartridge-pouches and knapsacks. A few hours away from Landau a halt was finally made and the army was gathered together again and led home by Herr "Colonel" Blenker, without the keys of Landau

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 149.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> An ironical comparison of Blenker with Prince Eugene of Savoy.—*Ed.*



but none the less proud for that. Such is the story of the conquest of Landau with three mortars and a 24lb. cannon-ball that never happened.

The case-shot was fired off in all haste by some Bavarian officers, when they saw that their soldiers wanted to open the gate. The gun was brought off the target by soldiers themselves, and it was because of this that nobody was hit. But when the Landau garrison saw what an effect this random shot had, there was naturally no more talk of surrender.

Hero Blenker, however, was not the sort of man to take such a piece of bad luck lying down. He now resolved to conquer Worms. He moved up from Frankenthal, where he commanded a battalion. The handful of Hessian soldiers stationed in Worms made themselves scarce and hero Blenker marched into his home town with drums beating and trumpets sounding. After the liberation of Worms had been celebrated with a solemn luncheon, the main ceremony began, that is, the tendering of an oath of allegiance to the Imperial Constitution to twenty Hessian soldiers who had stayed behind sick. During the night after this prodigious success, however, the imperial troops under Peucker brought up artillery on the right bank of the Rhine and gave the victorious conquerors a most violent awakening with the early thunder of cannon. There was no mistake about it: the imperial troops were sending over round shot and shells. Without uttering a word hero Blenker gathered together his brave men, and stole away from Worms back to Frankenthal. The muse will report further particulars of his later heroic deeds in the appropriate place.

While in the districts the motliest collection of characters were each in their own way giving themselves vent and the soldiers and people's militiamen, instead of drilling, sat in the taverns and sang, the gallant officers were in Kaiserslautern busy thinking up the most profound strategic plans. It was a question of nothing less than the possibility of holding a small province like the Palatinate, accessible from several sides, with almost wholly imaginary forces against an extremely real army of over 30,000 men and 60 cannon. Precisely because in such a situation every project was equally useless and equally absurd, and precisely because all the conditions for any strategic plan were absent, precisely for those reasons these profound military men, these thinking heads of the Palatinate army, were all the more resolved to concoct some strategic miracle which would bar to the Prussians the way into the Palatinate. Every freshly baked lieutenant, every sabre-trailer from the academic legion finally established under the auspices of Herr Sznayde, with the rank of

lieutenant for every member, every administrative pen-pusher, stared pensively at the map of the Palatinate in the hope of finding the strategic philosophers' stone. It is easy to imagine the amusing results this had. The Hungarian method of warfare was especially popular. From "General" Sznayde down to the as yet least recognised Napoleon in the army one could constantly hear the phrase: "We must do as Kossuth did, we must give up a piece of our territory and retreat, here or there, into the mountains or onto the plain according to the situation." "We must do as Kossuth did," the cry went up in every tavern. "We must do as Kossuth did," echoed every corporal, every soldier and every street-urchin. "We must do as Kossuth did," echoed the Provisional Government good-naturedly, for they knew better than anyone else that it was best not to meddle in these things, and in the long run it was all the same to them how it was done. "We must do as Kossuth did, or we are lost."—The Palatinate and Kossuth!

Before I go on to describe the campaign itself, I must briefly mention a matter which has been touched on in various newspapers: my momentary arrest in Kirchheim. A few days before the Prussians marched in I accompanied my friend Moll on a mission he had undertaken to Kirchheimbolanden, on the border. Here was stationed a part of the Rhenish Hessian corps, in which we had acquaintances. We were sitting in the evening with these and several other volunteers from the corps in an inn. Among the volunteers were a number of those serious, enthusiastic "men of action" of whom mention has been made on more than one occasion and who foresaw no difficulties in beating any army in the world, with few arms and much enthusiasm. These are men whose experience of the military does not extend beyond the changing of the guards, who never pay the slightest heed to the material means of attaining a given purpose and who for this reason mostly experience such a shattering disillusion in their first battle, as I was later to observe on more than one occasion, that they make off as fast as their legs can carry them. I asked one such hero if he really intended to defeat the Prussians with the thirty thousand cavalry sabres and three and a half thousand fire-arms, including several rusty carbines, available in the Palatinate, and I was in proper train to enjoy the holy indignation of a man of action wounded in his noblest enthusiasm when he stepped the guard and declared me under arrest. At the same time I saw two men rush upon me from behind foaming with rage. One of them announced that he was Civil Commissary Müller and the other was Herr Greiner, the only member of the government with whom I had never entered into more intimate

contact, on account of his frequent absence from Kaiserslautern (he had been turning his wealth into movable property on the quiet) and his suspicious-looking, snivelling sullen appearance.<sup>169</sup> At the same time an old acquaintance of mine,<sup>a</sup> a captain in the Rhenish Hessian corps, stood up and declared that if I were to be arrested, he, together with a considerable number of the best men in the corps, would leave it at once. Moll and others were for defending me there and then with force. Those present split into two parties, the scene promised to become interesting and I declared I would naturally allow myself to be arrested with pleasure: it would finally be clear for all to see what the colour of the Palatinate movement was. I went with the guard.

The next morning, after a comical interrogation which Herr Zitz put me through, I was handed over to the civil commissary and by him to a gendarme. The gendarme, on whom it had been impressed to treat me as a *spy*, handcuffed me and led me on foot to Kaiserslautern, accused of disparaging the uprising of the Palatinate people and inciting against the government, which, by the way, I had not mentioned. On the way I succeeded in getting a carriage. In Kaiserslautern, where Moll had hurried on ahead of me, I found the government highly bewildered at the valiant Greiner's *bévue* and even more bewildered at the treatment meted out to me. Needless to say I carried on quite a bit at the gentlemen in the presence of the gendarme. Since no report from Herr Greiner had yet arrived, I was offered freedom on parole. I refused to give my parole and went into the cantonal gaol—without an escort, which condition was agreed to at d'Ester's request. D'Ester declared that he could stay no longer after such treatment had been meted out to a party comrade. Tzschirner, who arrived just at that time, also took a very resolute stand. The same evening the news spread throughout the town and everyone who belonged to the resolute trend immediately sided with me. On top of that, news arrived that disturbances had broken out in the Rhenish Hessian corps on account of this affair and that a large part of the corps intended to disband. It would have taken less than that to demonstrate to the provisional regents, in whose company I had been daily, the necessity of giving me satisfaction. After I had spent 24 quite amusing hours in gaol, d'Ester and Schmitt came to see me; Schmitt explained to me that I was unconditionally free and that the government hoped that I would not be deterred from continuing to take part in the movement. Besides this, I was told, the order had been given that in future no political prisoner was to be

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<sup>a</sup> Victor Schily.—Ed.

brought in handcuffed, and the investigation against the instigator of this infamous treatment as well as of the arrest and its cause was proceeding. After the government had taken these steps to give me all the satisfaction that it could for the moment, since Herr Greiner had still not sent in a report, the solemn faces on both sides were discarded and the company had a few drinks together in the Donnersberg. The next day Tzschirner departed for the Rhenish Hessian corps in order to appease it and I gave him a short note to take with him. When Herr Greiner returned he made such a snivelling exhibition of himself that his colleagues gave him a doubly severe dressing-down.

At the same time the Prussians marched in from Homburg. Since things thus took an interesting turn, since I had no intention of letting slip the opportunity of gaining some military education, and lastly since the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* also had to be represented *honoris causa* in the army of Baden and the Palatinate, I too buckled on a broadsword and went off to join Willich.

## IV. TO DIE FOR THE REPUBLIC!

Nur im Sturz von sechsunddreissig Thronen  
 Kann die deutsche Republik gedeihn;  
 Darum, Brüder, stürzt sie ohne Schonen,  
 Setzet Gut und Blut und Leben ein.  
 Für Republik zu sterben,  
 Ist ein Los, hehr und gross, ist das Ziel unsres Muts!<sup>a</sup>

Thus sang the volunteers on the train when I was on my way to Neustadt to seek out Willich's temporary headquarters.

So from now on to die for the republic was the aim of my courage or at least was supposed to be. It seemed strange to me to have this new aim. I looked at the volunteers, young, handsome, lively lads. They did not at all look as if death for the republic was just now the aim of their courage.

From Neustadt I travelled on a requisitioned peasant's cart to Offenbach, between Landau and Germersheim, where Willich was still to be found. Just the other side of Edenkoben I came across the first sentries, posted by the peasants on his orders, who were from now on to be found at the entrance and exit of every village and at every cross-road and who allowed nobody through without a written authorisation of the insurgent authorities. It was clear

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<sup>a</sup> Only through the overthrow of thirty-six thrones  
 Can the German republic prosper;  
 Therefore, brothers, overthrow them without mercy,  
 And stake property, life and limb.  
 To die for the Republic  
 Is a lofty and great destiny, the aim of our courage.

A stanza from a song popular during the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany which began with the words: "Wenn die Fürsten ihre Söldnerscharen...." — *Ed.*

that one was getting a little nearer to war conditions. Late in the night I arrived at Offenbach and at once took up duties as Willich's adjutant.

In the course of that day (it was June 13) a small part of Willich's corps had fought a brilliant engagement. A few days previously Willich had got reinforcements for his volunteer corps in the shape of a Baden people's militia battalion, the Dreher-Obermüller Battalion, and had moved up some fifty men of this battalion to Bellheim against Germersheim. To their rear, in Knittelsheim, there was still a company of volunteers together with a few scythe-men. A battalion of Bavarians with two cannon and a squadron of Chevaulegers made a sortie. The Badeners fled without putting up any resistance; only one of them, overtaken by three mounted gendarmes, defended himself furiously until finally, hacked to pieces by sabre blows, he fell and was finished off by his assailants. When the fugitives arrived at Knittelsheim the captain<sup>a</sup> stationed there set out against the Bavarians with a little less than fifty men, some of whom were still armed with scythes. He expertly divided up his men into several detachments and advanced in extended order with such determination that after two hours' fighting the Bavarians, who were over ten times more numerous, were driven back into the village abandoned by the Badeners and finally, when some reinforcements arrived from Willich's corps, thrown out of the village again. They retreated with a loss of some twenty dead and wounded to Germersheim. I am sorry to say that I cannot give the name of this bold and talented young officer, since he is probably not yet in safety. His men had only five wounded, none seriously. One of these five, a French volunteer, had been shot in the upper arm before he himself had fired a shot. Nevertheless he fired all his sixteen cartridges and when his wound prevented him from loading his gun he got one of the scythe-men to load it for him so that he could just fire. The next day we went to Bellheim to look at the battlefield and make new arrangements. The Bavarians had fired at our skirmishers with round shot and case-shot but hit nothing except the twigs on the trees, with which the whole road was strewn, and the tree behind which the captain was standing.

The Dreher-Obermüller Battalion was now present in full strength with the intention of establishing itself firmly in Bellheim and the surrounding area. It was a splendid, well-armed battalion and the officers especially, with their turned-up moustaches and their tanned faces full of seriousness and enthusiasm, really did look

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<sup>a</sup> Loreck.—*Ed.*

like man-eaters endowed with reason. Fortunately, they were not so dangerous, as we were to become more and more aware.

To my amazement I discovered that there was almost no ammunition whatever available, that most men only had five or six cartridges, and in a few cases twenty, and that the stock in hand would not be enough even to replenish the now completely empty cartridge-pouches of the men who had been under fire the day before. I at once volunteered to go to Kaiserslautern and fetch ammunition, and set out the same evening.

The peasants' carts were slow; the necessity of requisitioning new carts at regular stages, unfamiliarity with the roads, etc., also helped to slow things down. It was daybreak when I arrived at Maikammer, about halfway to Neustadt. Here I came across a detachment of Pirmasens people's militia with the four cannon sent to Homburg, which in Kaiserslautern were already believed lost. By way of Zweibrücken and Pirmasens, and then by the most wretched mountain tracks, they had succeeded in getting as far as here, where they at last came out into the plain. The gentlemen from Prussia were in no great hurry to pursue them, even though our men from Pirmasens, excited by exertions, night marches and wine, believed they were right on their heels.

A few hours later (it was on June 15) I arrived at Neustadt. The whole population was on the streets, among them soldiers and volunteers, as all people's militiamen in tunics were indiscriminately called in the Palatinate. Carts, cannon and horses blocked every approach. In short, I had landed up in the middle of the retreat of the entire Palatinate army. The Provisional Government, General Sznayde, the general staff, the office staff, everyone was there. Kaiserslautern had been abandoned, the Fruchthalle, the "Donnersberg", the beerhouses, the "strategically best located point in the Palatinate", and for the moment Neustadt had become the centre of the Palatinate's confusion, which reached its climax only now that it came to fighting. Suffice it to say, I made myself acquainted with the facts, took as many kegs of gunpowder, lead-shot and ready-made cartridges as I could (what further use was this ammunition to an army which had gone to pieces without even a battle?), after countless vain attempts finally got hold of a wain in a neighbouring village and left in the evening with my booty and a small escort.

But before doing so I went to Herr Sznayde and asked if he did not have any message for Willich. The old gourmand gave me a few meaningless instructions and added with an air of importance: "You see, we are now doing just as Kossuth did."

How the Palatinate came to do just as Kossuth did, however, was to be explained as follows. In the heyday of the "rebellion", that is to say, on the day before the Prussians marched in, the Palatinate had roughly 5,000 to 6,000 men armed with weapons of all sorts and about 1,000 to 1,500 scythe-men. These 5,000 to 6,000 possible combatants consisted firstly of Willich's and the Rhenish Hessian volunteer corps and secondly of the so-called people's militia. In the area covered by each provincial commissariat was a military commissary whose task was to organise a battalion. The defected soldiers belonging to each district were to serve as nucleus and as instructors. This system of mixing regular troops with raw recruits, though it could have had excellent results during an active campaign with strict discipline and continual military exercise, ruined everything under the circumstances. The battalions did not materialise owing to lack of arms; the soldiers, having nothing to do, neglected all discipline and military bearing and for the most part melted away. Eventually a battalion of sorts came together in some districts but in the others only armed crowds existed. There was absolutely nothing to be done with the scythe-men; everywhere in the way and never really of any use, they were partly left with their respective battalions as a provisional appendage until such a time as guns could be acquired for them, and partly concentrated in a special corps under the half-crazy Captain Zinn. Citizen Zinn, the most perfect Shakespearean Pistol one could ever meet, who on bolting from Landau under hero Blenker stumbled over his scabbard and broke it and afterwards swore blind that a "fiery 24 lb. cannon-ball" had rent it asunder, this same invincible Pistol had hitherto been employed to requisition supplies from reactionary villages. He had applied himself with great zeal to this office, so that the peasants held him and his corps in very great respect, but they gave him a sound thrashing every time they caught him by himself. On their way back from such trips the men had to beat their scythes to smithereens and when he arrived in Kaiserslautern he would relate murderous Falstaffiads about his fights with the peasants.

Since it was obvious that little could be accomplished with such forces, Mieroslawski, who only arrived at the Baden headquarters on the 10th, ordered the Palatinate troops to make a fighting withdrawal to the Rhine and if possible win the Rhine crossing at Mannheim; otherwise they were to go over to the right bank of the Rhine at Speyer or Knielingen and then defend the Rhine crossings from Baden. At the same time as this order, the news came in that the Prussians had penetrated the Palatinate from Saarbrücken and after a few musket-shots driven back towards Kaiserslautern the



meagre forces we had drawn up at the border. At the same time all the more or less organised units were concentrating in the direction of Kaiserslautern and Neustadt; an unbounded confusion ensued and a large number of the recruits melted away. A young officer, Rakow, from the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein volunteer corps, went out with thirty men to round up the deserters and in the space of two days had rallied 1,400 of them. He formed them into a "Kaiserslautern Battalion" and led them until the end of the campaign.

The Palatinate, strategically speaking, is such a straightforward terrain that not even the Prussians could make any blunders here. Along the Rhine lies a valley four to five hours' journey across and completely free from any natural obstacles. In a comfortable three days' march the Prussians came from Kreuznach and Worms as far as Landau and Germersheim. The "Kaiserstrasse" leads over the mountainous hinterland of the Palatinate from Saargemünd to Mainz, mostly on the mountain ridge or through a broad gully. Here too there are as good as no natural obstacles behind which a numerically weak and tactically unschooled army could hold out to any extent. Close by the Prussian border, near Homburg, there is at last an excellent road which leads from the "Kaiserstrasse" to Landau via Zweibrücken and Pirmasens, running partly through river valleys and partly over the ridge of the Vosges. It is true that this route presents greater difficulties, but it cannot be blocked with few troops and no artillery, especially when an enemy corps manoeuvres on the plain and can cut off the retreat via Landau and Bergzabern.

In the light of this, the Prussians' offensive was a very straightforward matter. The first thrust was from Saarbrücken against Homburg; from here one column marched directly on Kaiserslautern and the other on Landau via Pirmasens. Thereupon a second corps immediately attacked in the Rhine valley. In Kirchheimbolanden this corps met its first violent resistance from the Rhenish Hessians stationed there. The Mainz riflemen defended the castle garden with great doggedness and in spite of considerable losses. They were eventually outflanked and retreated. Seventeen of them fell into the hands of the Prussians. They were forthwith put up against trees and shot without further ado by these heroes of the "glorious army",<sup>170</sup> who were drunk on schnaps. With this piece of villainy the Prussians began their "short but glorious campaign"<sup>a</sup> in the Palatinate.

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<sup>a</sup> From the order issued by Frederick William IV on July 28, 1849, on the occasion of the end of the Baden-Palatinate campaign (*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, Berlin, No. 215, August 8, 1849).—*Ed.*

This meant that the whole northern half of the Palatinate was won and the link-up effected between the two main columns. Now they only needed to advance in the plain and relieve Landau and Germersheim to secure the rest of the Palatinate and capture all those corps that might still be holding out in the mountains.

There were some 30,000 Prussians in the Palatinate, equipped with numerous cavalry and artillery. On the plain, where the Prince of Prussia and Hirschfeld were pressing forward with the strongest corps, nothing stood between them and Neustadt except a few people's militia detachments, incapable of resistance and already half disbanded, and a section of the Rhenish Hessians. A swift march on Speyer and Germersheim, and all the 4,000 to 5,000 troops of the Palatinate concentrated or rather chaotically entangled at Neustadt and Landau would have been doomed, routed, scattered and captured. But the Prussian gentlemen, who were so active when it came to shooting unarmed prisoners, were extremely cautious about fighting and extremely somnolent in pursuit.

If throughout the campaign I am frequently forced to return to this decidedly strange lukewarmness which the Prussians and the other imperial troops displayed in attack as well as in pursuit, against an army mostly six times and never less than three times smaller, badly organised and in parts pitifully commanded, it should be understood that I am not blaming it on some singular cowardice on the part of the Prussian soldiers, all the less so since I had absolutely no illusions, as will already have become clear, that our troops were especially brave. Neither do I ascribe it, as reactionaries would do, to some sort of magnanimity or the desire to avoid the inconvenience of too many prisoners. The Prussian civil and military bureaucracy has from time immemorial gloried in gaining striking victories over weak enemies and taking its revenge on defenceless men in a frenzy of blood-lust. It did this also in Baden and the Palatinate. Proof: the executions by firing squad in Kirchheim, the night-time shootings in the Karlsruhe pheasantry, the countless instances on all the battlefields of the wounded and those who had surrendered being butchered, the ill-treatment of the few who were taken prisoner, the murders by summary justice in Freiburg and Rastatt and lastly the slow, secret and therefore all the more inhuman killing of the Rastatt prisoners through ill-treatment, hunger, overcrowding in damp, suffocating dungeons and the typhus that resulted. The Prussians' lukewarm prosecution of the war was certainly rooted in cowardice, and indeed in that of the commanders. Quite apart from the slow, faint-hearted precision of our Prussian martinets and manoeuvre heroes, which is enough in itself to inhibit any bold move or quick

decision, quite apart from the complicated service regulations intended to prevent in a roundabout way a recurrence of so many ignominious defeats—would the Prussians ever have conducted a war in a manner so insufferably boring for us and so downright disgraceful for them if they had been sure of their own men? Therein lay the key. Messrs the Generals knew that a third of their army consisted of recalcitrant army reserve regiments who after the first victory of the insurgent army would go over to it and very soon bring after them half the regular troops and in particular all the artillery. And it is not very difficult to see what the prospects would then have been for the House of Hohenzollern and the unimpaired crown.<sup>171</sup>

In Maikammer, where I was forced to wait until the morning of the 16th for a new cart and escort, the army, which had set out from Neustadt very early in the morning, caught up with me again. The previous day there had still been talk of a march on Speyer, but this plan had evidently been abandoned and they were making directly for the Knielingen bridge. With fifteen Pirmasensers, half-wild peasant lads from the virgin forests of the Palatinate hinterland, I marched off. It was not until I reached the vicinity of Offenbach that I learned that Willich had marched off with all his troops to Frankweiler, a place situated to the north-west of Landau. I therefore turned round and arrived towards noon at Frankweiler. Here I found not only Willich, but once again the entire advanced guard of the Palatinate, which had taken the route to the west of Landau in order not to have to march between Landau and Germersheim. In the tavern sat the Provisional Government with its officials, the general staff and the large numbers of democratic hangers-on who had attached themselves to both of these. General Sznayde was having breakfast. Everyone was rushing around in great confusion—in the inn the regents, the commandants and the hangers-on and in the street the soldiers. Gradually the main body of the army moved in: Herr Blenker, Herr Trocinski, Herr Strasser and whatever their names were, all mounted on horseback at the head of their valiant troops. The confusion grew and grew. Little by little it became possible to send individual corps further on in the direction of Impflingen and Kandel.

One would not guess from looking at it that this army was on the retreat. Disorder was from the very beginning as if at home in it, and even if the young warriors were already starting to grumble about the unaccustomed marching, that still did not stop them from carousing in the taverns to their hearts' content, talking big and threatening the Prussians with imminent extinction. Despite their

certainty of victory, one regiment of cavalry with some horse-artillery would have sufficed to blow the whole merry company to the four winds and totally disperse the "liberation army of the Rhenish Palatinate". It needed only a quick decision and a dash of boldness; but in the Prussian camp there was no question of either.

The next morning we set out. While the main body of the fleeing troops moved off towards the Knielingen bridge, Willich marched with his corps and the Dreher Battalion into the mountains against the Prussians. One of our companies, some fifty Landau gymnasts, had advanced right up into the highest mountains, to Johanniskreuz. Schimmelpfennig and his corps were likewise still on the road from Pirmasens to Landau. The idea was to hold the Prussians up and bar the roads to them in Hinterweidenthal to Bergzabern and the Lauter valley.

Schimmelpfennig, however, had already abandoned Hinterweidenthal and was in Rinnthal and Annweiler. The road makes a curve here, and it is precisely here that the mountains enclosing the Queich valley form a sort of defile beyond which lies the village of Rinnthal. This defile was manned by a sort of picket. In the night his patrols had reported that they had been shot at; early in the morning ex-Civil Commissary Weiss from Zweibrücken and a young Rhineland, M. J. Becker, brought the news that the Prussians were advancing and demanded that reconnaissance patrols be sent out. However, no reconnaissance was undertaken nor were the heights on either side of the defile manned, so that Weiss and Becker decided to go reconnoitring on their own initiative. As further reports came of the approach of the enemy, Schimmelpfennig's men began to barricade the defile; Willich arrived, reconnoitred the position, issued some orders to man the heights and had the completely useless barricade removed. He then rode quickly back to Annweiler and fetched his troops.

As we were marching through Rinnthal we heard the first shots. We hurried through the village and saw Schimmelpfennig's troops drawn up on the highway, many scythe-men and few flintlocks, some already advancing into action. The Prussians were pushing forward on the heights, shooting as they went; Schimmelpfennig had calmly allowed them to get into the position that he was supposed to occupy himself. No bullets fell into our columns yet; they all went flying high over our heads. Whenever a bullet went whistling over the heads of the scythe-men the whole line swayed and everyone started shouting at the same time.

Only with difficulty did we get past these troops, who blocked almost the whole of the road, brought everything into disorder and

anyway were quite useless with their scythes. The company commanders and lieutenants were just as helpless and confused as the soldiers themselves. Our riflemen were ordered to the front, where they were to advance on the heights, some to the right, some to the left; on the left were two additional companies to reinforce the riflemen and outflank the Prussians. The main column stayed where it was in the valley. Some riflemen posted themselves behind the remains of the barricade in the curve of the road and shot at the Prussian column, which was positioned a few hundred paces back. I went with a few men up the mountain to the left.

We had scarcely climbed the bushy slope when we came to an open field from the opposite wooded edge of which Prussian riflemen were loosing off their elongated bullets at us. I fetched up a few more of the volunteers, who were scrambling around the slope helpless and rather nervous, posted them with as much cover as possible and took a closer look at the terrain. I could not advance with these few men over a completely exposed field 200 to 250 paces across, as long as the outflanking detachment sent ahead further to the left had not reached the Prussians' flank; at the very most we could hold out, since we were badly covered in any case. In spite of their elongated-bullet guns, incidentally, the Prussians shot extremely badly; we stood for over half an hour with next to no cover in the fiercest possible skirmish fire, and the enemy sharpshooters hit only one shotgun barrel and the lappet of one tunic.

At last I had to go and see where Willich was. My men promised to hold their ground and I climbed back down the slope. Down below everything was fine. The Prussian main column, shot at by our riflemen on the road and to the right of it, was forced to retreat a little further. All of a sudden our volunteers came leaping down the slope to the left, where I had been positioned, and abandoned their ground. The companies which had advanced on the extreme left flank, weakened by having left behind numerous skirmishers, considered that the route through a coppice lying further on would take too long; with the captain<sup>a</sup> who had won the battle of Bellheim at their head, they advanced across the fields. They were met with a hail of fire; the captain and several others fell; the rest, leaderless, yielded to the superior forces. The Prussians now advanced, attacked our skirmishers in the flank, shot down on them from above and thus forced them to retreat. The whole mountain was soon in the hands of the Prussians. They shot into our columns from above; there was nothing more to be done, and we started to retreat. The

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<sup>a</sup> Loreck.—*Ed.*

road was blocked by Schimmelpfennig's troops and the Dreher-Obermüller Battalion, which in accordance with the laudable Baden custom marched not in sections of four to six but in half-platoons of twelve to fifteen abreast and took up the whole breadth of the highway. Our men had to march through swampy meadows to get to the village. I stayed with the riflemen to cover the retreat.

The battle was lost partly because Schimmelpfennig had disobeyed Willich's order and not manned the heights, which we could not retake from the Prussians with the few troops at our disposal; partly because of the utter uselessness of Schimmelpfennig's troops and the Dreher Battalion; and last of all partly because of the impatience of the captain who had been ordered to outflank the enemy, and that impatience almost cost him his life and exposed our left flank. It was, incidentally, lucky for us that we were beaten; a Prussian column was already on the way to Bergzabern, Landau was relieved, and thus we would have been surrounded on all sides in Hinterweidenthal.

We lost more men during the retreat than in the battle. From time to time Prussian musket bullets hit the dense column, which was progressing, for the most part a model of disorder, shrieking and bawling. We had about fifteen wounded, among them Schimmelpfennig, who had received a shot in the knee soon after the beginning of the battle. Once again the Prussians showed no great eagerness to pursue us and soon stopped shooting. Only a few skirmishers on the mountain slopes came after us. In Annweiler, half an hour away from the battlefield, we were able to take some food quite undisturbed and then marched to Albersweiler. We had the most important thing: 3,000 guilders payment towards the forced loan which had been waiting for us in Annweiler. Afterwards the Prussians called it robbery. They also maintained in the elation of victory that at Rinnthal they had killed Captain Manteuffel, a member of our corps, cousin of Ehren-Manteuffel<sup>a</sup> in Berlin and a Prussian N.C.O. who had come over to us. Herr Manteuffel is so far from being dead that he has since even won a prize for gymnastics in Zurich.

In Albersweiler two Baden guns joined up with us, part of the reinforcements sent by Mieroslawski. We wanted to use them to make one more stand in the vicinity; but then we were brought the news that the Prussians were already in Landau, so we were left with no choice but to march straight to Langenkandel.

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<sup>a</sup> A pun on *Ehrenmann* (man of honour) and *Teufel* (devil).—Ed.

In Albersweiler we were safely rid of the ineffectual troops that had been marching with us. The Schimmelpfennig corps had already partially disbanded following the loss of its leader and on its own initiative was branching off to Kandel. At every step it left behind in the taverns exhausted soldiers and other stragglers. In Albersweiler the Dreher Battalion started to become rebellious. Willich and I went there to ask what they wanted. They all remained silent. At last a volunteer, already pretty advanced in years, cried out: "They want to lead us to the slaughter!" This exclamation was highly comical coming from a corps that had not even once seen battle and had sustained two or at the most three light casualties during the retreat. Willich bade the man step forward and surrender his rifle. The greybeard, rather the worse for drink, did so, staged a tragi-comic scene and snivelled his way through a long speech, the gist of which was that no such thing had ever happened to him before. This gave rise to general indignation among these very good-natured but badly disciplined warriors, so that Willich ordered the whole company to march off at once, saying he was sick of chatter and grumbling and did not intend to lead such soldiers one moment longer. The company, which needed no second bidding, wheeled to the right and started marching. The rest of the battalion, to which Willich had further allocated two cannon, followed suit five minutes later. It was more than they could bear that they should be "led to the slaughter" and expected to keep discipline! We let them go with pleasure.

We turned right into the mountains in the direction of Impflingen. Soon we arrived in the proximity of the Prussians; our riflemen exchanged a few shots with them. Throughout the evening shots were fired from time to time. I stayed behind in the first village we came to in order to send news by messenger to our company of gymnasts from Landau; whether or not they received it, I do not know, but they got safely to France and from there went over to Baden. Because of this I lost the corps and had to make my own way to Kandel. The roads were crowded with army stragglers; all the taverns were full; the whole splendour seemed to have faded into complacency. Officers without soldiers here, soldiers without officers there, and volunteers from all corps hurrying in colourful confusion on foot and by wagon in the direction of Kandel. And yet the Prussians never gave a thought to serious pursuit! Impflingen is only an hour away from Landau, and Wörth (which is just before the Knielingen bridge) only four to five hours from Germersheim; yet the Prussians made no hurry to dispatch troops to either of the two positions, here to cut off the stragglers, there to cut off the

entire army. The Prince of Prussia certainly won his laurels in an odd way!

In Kandel I found Willich but not the corps, which was billeted further back. Instead, I once more found the Provisional Government, the general staff and the large retinue of hangers-on. The same cram of troops, only a much greater disorder and confusion than yesterday in Frankweiler. There was a continuous stream of officers making enquiries about their corps and soldiers making enquiries about their leaders. Nobody could tell them anything. The disintegration was complete.

The next morning, June 18, the entire gathering defiled through Wörth and over the Knielingen bridge. In spite of the large number of troops who had been cut off from the main body or gone home, the army, with the reinforcements arrived from Baden, still numbered some 5,000 to 6,000 men. They marched as proudly through Wörth as if they had just conquered the village and were pushing on to fresh triumphs. They were still doing as Kossuth did. A Baden battalion of regulars was the only one to display any military bearing and march past a tavern without some of its number diving in. At last our corps came. We stayed behind as cover until the bridge could be carted off; when everything was in order we marched over to Baden and helped carry out the piles.

The government of Baden, in order to spare the valiant Karlsruhe philistines who had made such a courageous stand against the republicans on June 6,<sup>172</sup> billeted everyone from the Palatinate in the surrounding districts. We had explicitly insisted on coming to Karlsruhe with our corps; we needed a lot of repairs and articles of clothing, and we also considered the presence of a reliable, revolutionary corps in Karlsruhe very desirable. But Herr Brentano had taken care of us. He directed us to Daxlanden, a village an hour and a half away from Karlsruhe, which was pictured to us as a veritable Eldorado. We marched there and discovered the most reactionary den in the whole area. Nothing to eat, nothing to drink, scarcely any straw; half the corps had to sleep on the bare floor. Added to that, scowling faces at all the doors and windows. We acted quickly. Herr Brentano was warned: unless he had by then assigned us other and better quarters, we would be in Karlsruhe the next morning, June 19. We kept our word. We marched off at nine o'clock in the morning. Not a rifle-shot away from the village Herr Brentano came up to us with a staff officer and summoned up all his powers of flattery and eloquence to keep us away from Karlsruhe. The town was already putting up 5,000 men, he said, the wealthier class had departed and the middle-class was overburdened with



billeted soldiers; he would not tolerate bad accommodation for the valiant Willich corps, he continued, whose praises were on everybody's lips, etc. But nothing helped. Willich demanded a few empty palaces belonging to the departed aristocrats, and when Brentano refused we went to Karlsruhe for our billets.

In Karlsruhe we acquired rifles for our company of scythe-men and some cloth for topcoats. We had our shoes and clothes mended as quickly as possible. Fresh forces came to us too, several workers whom I knew from the Elberfeld uprising, then Kinkel, who joined the Besançon workers' company as a musketeer, and Zychlinski, adjutant to the supreme command in the Dresden uprising and leader of the rearguard during the retreat of the insurgents. He joined the students' company as a rifleman.

While we were replenishing our equipment, we did not neglect tactical instruction. Drill was assiduously carried out and on our second day there we undertook a mock storm of Karlsruhe from the castle yard. The philistines demonstrated by their universal and deeply-felt indignation at the manoeuvre that they had fully understood the threat.

Eventually the bold decision was taken to requisition the Grand Duke's<sup>a</sup> arms collection, which had up to now remained inviolable like something holy. We were just on the point of having twenty of the guns thus obtained fitted with pistons when the news arrived that the Prussians had crossed the Rhine near Germersheim and were in Graben and Bruchsal.

We marched off at once (on the evening of June 20) with two Palatinate cannon. When we arrived at Blankenloch, an hour and a half from Karlsruhe in the direction of Bruchsal, we found Herr Clement and his battalion there and learned that the Prussian advanced posts had pushed forward to about an hour's march from Blankenloch. While our men were taking their evening meal under arms, we held a council of war. Willich was for attacking the Prussians at once. Herr Clement declared that with his untrained troops he could not make a night-attack. It was therefore decided that we should immediately go ahead to Karlsdorf, attack shortly before daybreak and try to break through the Prussian line. If we were successful, then we intended to march on Bruchsal and throw in our forces wherever we could. Herr Clement was to attack at daybreak by way of Friedrichsthal and support our left flank.

It was about midnight when we set out. Our venture was fairly risky. We had not quite 700 men with two cannon; our troops were

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<sup>a</sup> Leopold.—*Ed.*

better drilled and more reliable than the rest of the Palatinate troops, and also pretty accustomed to fire. With them we intended to attack an enemy corps which was at all events much better experienced and staffed with more experienced subalterns than ours, among whom were some captains who had scarcely even been in the civic militia; a corps whose exact strength we did not know, but which numbered not less than 4,000 men. Our corps had already fought more unequal battles, however, and there was certainly no hope of less unfavourable odds in this campaign.

We sent ten students a hundred paces ahead as an advance guard; then followed the first column, at the head of which were half a dozen Baden dragoons allocated to us for courier service, and behind them three companies. The artillery, along with the three other companies, were a little further back and the riflemen brought up the rear. The order was given not to shoot under any circumstances, to march as quietly as possible and, as soon as the enemy showed himself, to attack him with the bayonet.

Soon we saw in the distance the glow of the Prussian watch-fires. We got as far as Spöck without being challenged. The main body halted; only the advance guard pushed forward. All at once there were shots; on the road at the entrance to the village a blazing straw-fire flared up and the tocsin rang. To the right and to the left our skirmishers circumvented the village and the column marched in. Large fires were also burning inside; at every corner we expected a volley. But everything was quiet and only a sort of guard of peasants was encamped in front of the town hall. The Prussian guard had already made off.

In spite of their colossal numerical superiority, the Prussian gentlemen did not consider themselves safe, as we saw on this occasion, unless they had carried out the pedantic service regulations covering outpost duties to the last boring detail. This outermost post was a whole hour away from their camp. If we had wanted to tire our own men, unaccustomed to the exertions of war, with outpost duties, just as the Prussians did, numbers of them would have been unfit to march. We relied on the Prussian nervousness and were of the opinion that they would hold us in more respect than we did them. And rightly so. Our outposts were never attacked the whole way to the Swiss frontier and our quarters never raided.

At all events the Prussians had now been warned. Ought we to turn back? We decided not, and marched on.

At Neuthard once more the tocsin; this time, however, neither beacons nor shots. Here too we marched in fairly closed order through the village and the heights up to Karlsdorf. Our advance

guard, now only thirty paces ahead, had scarcely reached the high ground when it saw the Prussian outpost close in front of it and was challenged by it. I heard the "Who goes there?" and leapt forward. One of my comrades said: "He's a goner, we won't see him again." But it was precisely my going forward that saved me.

For at the same moment the enemy outpost loosed off a volley and our advance guard, instead of despatching them with the bayonet, fired back. The dragoons, alongside whom I had been marching, did an immediate about-turn in keeping with their customary cowardice, charged at a gallop into the column, rode down a number of men, totally dispersed the first four to six sections and galloped off. At the same time the enemy's mounted guards posted in the fields to right and left fired at us and to put the finishing touch to the confusion some blockheads in the middle of our column started firing on our own men at the head, whereupon other blockheads followed suit. In next to no time the first half of the column was routed, some scattered across the fields, some put to flight, and some caught up in a confused tangle on the road. Wounded men, knapsacks, hats and flintlocks lay in motley confusion amidst the young corn. All this was interspersed with wild, distraught cries, shots and the whistle of bullets in all possible directions. And as the noise subsided a little, far to the rear I heard our cannon trundling off in headlong flight. They had performed the same service for the second half of the column as the dragoons for the first.

Though at that moment I was seized with rage at the childish terror that had gripped our soldiers, I felt equal contempt for the behaviour of the Prussians who, notified as they had been of our arrival, stopped firing after a few shots and likewise bolted off at top speed. Our advance guard was still in its old position and had not been attacked once. A cavalry squadron or a tolerably sustained skirmish fire would have put us to headlong flight.

Willich came rushing up to us from the advance guard. The Besançon company was the first to be formed up again. The others, more or less ashamed, closed ranks. Day was just breaking. Our losses amounted to six wounded, among whom was one of our staff officers: he had been trampled underfoot on the same spot that I had left the moment before to hurry to the advance guard. Several others had clearly been hit by the bullets of our own men. We carefully collected up all the discarded accoutrements so that not even the slightest trophy would fall into the hands of the Prussians, and then retreated slowly to Neuthard. The riflemen took up a position behind the first houses as cover. But there was no sign of the Prussians; and when Zychlinski went reconnoitring again he found

them still on the other side of the heights, whence they fired a few shots without hitting anything.

The Palatinate peasants who had been conveying our artillery had taken the one cannon right through to the other side of the village; the other had overturned and the men in charge had ridden off with five horses, whose traces they had removed. We had to get the cannon upright and shift it with just the one wheel-horse.

When we arrived at Spöck we heard rifle fire to our right, in the direction of Friedrichsthal. It was gradually getting more intense. Herr Clement had at last attacked, an hour later than arranged. I proposed supporting him with an attack on the flank, in order to make up for his mistake. Willich was of the same opinion and gave the order to take the first path to the right. A part of our corps had already taken the turning when one of Clement's orderly officers reported that Clement was retreating. We therefore went to Blankenloch. Soon Herr Beust of the general staff met us and was most surprised to see us alive and the corps in such fine trim. The blackguardly dragoons had spread the word everywhere on their flight, which took them as far as Karlsruhe, that Willich was dead, the officers all dead, and the corps scattered to the four winds and annihilated. We were said to have been shot at with case-shot and "fiery cannon-balls".

Outside Blankenloch we were met by troops of the Palatinate and Baden and finally Herr Sznayde and his staff. The old codger, who had probably spent a very comfortable night in bed, had the impudence to call over to us: "Gentlemen, where are you going? The enemy is that way!" Needless to say we gave him a fitting reply, marched on past him and saw about getting some rest and refreshment in Blankenloch. After two hours Herr Sznayde returned with his troops, naturally without having seen the enemy, and had breakfast.

Counting the reinforcements received from Karlsruhe and the surrounding area, Herr Sznayde now had approximately 8,000 to 9,000 troops under his command, including three Baden regular battalions and two Baden batteries. All in all there were probably some twenty-five pieces of ordnance. As a consequence of Mieroslowski's rather vague orders and even more of the total incompetence of Herr Sznayde, the entire army of the Palatinate stayed put in the region of Karlsruhe until the Prussians had made their way across the Rhine under the cover of the Germersheim bridge-head. Mieroslowski (vid. his reports on the campaign in Baden<sup>a</sup>) had issued

<sup>a</sup> *Rapports du Général Mieroslowski sur la campagne de Bade*, Berne, 1849.—Ed.

the general order to defend the Rhine crossings from Speyer to Knielingen after the withdrawal from the Palatinate and the special order to cover Karlsruhe and to make the Knielingen bridge the assembly point of the entire army corps. Herr Sznyayde interpreted this as meaning that he should stay at Karlsruhe and Knielingen until further notice. If, as Mieroslowski's general orders implied, he had sent a strong corps with artillery against the Germersheim bridge-head, then the absurdity would never have occurred of sending Major Mniewski, with 450 recruits and no artillery, to capture the bridge-head, 30,000 Prussians would never have got over the Rhine unchallenged, communications with Mieroslowski would never have been broken and the Palatinate army could have appeared in good time on the battlefield of Waghäusel. Instead of this, on the day of the battle of Waghäusel, June 21, it wandered around aimlessly between Friedrichsthal, Weingarten and Bruchsal, lost sight of the enemy and wasted its time marching in all directions.

We received the order to set out for the right flank and skirt the mountains via Weingarten. We started out at noon on the same day, June 21, from Blankenloch and about five in the afternoon from Weingarten. The Palatinate troops at last began to get uneasy; they noticed that the odds were heavy against them and they lost that boastful certainty which up to now they had at least had *before* battle. From now on the people's militia of the Palatinate and Baden, and gradually the regular infantry and artillery too, began to smell Prussians everywhere, and false alarms, which now became a regular daily occurrence, threw everything into disorder and gave rise to the most amusing scenes. At the very first piece of high ground beyond Weingarten patrols and peasants came rushing up to us with the cry: "The Prussians are here!" Our corps formed up in battle order and advanced. I went back to the little town to have the alarm sounded and in doing so lost the corps. The whole fuss was without foundation, needless to say. The Prussians had withdrawn towards Waghäusel and the same evening Willich marched into Bruchsal.

I spent the night in Obergrombach with Herr Oswald and his Palatinate battalion and marched with him the next morning to Bruchsal. Outside the town we met wagons full of stragglers coming in our direction: "The Prussians are here!" At once the whole battalion started to waver and could only with difficulty be made to advance. Of course it was another false alarm; Willich and the rest of the Palatinate advance guard were in Bruchsal; the others came marching in one after the other and there was no trace of the

Prussians. Besides the army and its leaders, d'Ester, the ex-government of the Palatinate and Goegg were there. Since Brentano's dictatorship had become indisputable, Goegg had stayed almost exclusively with the army and helped to look after the day-to-day civil affairs. The victualling was bad and the confusion was great. As usual, only the headquarters lived well.

Once again we obtained a considerable number of cartridges from the Karlsruhe supplies and marched off in the evening, the entire advance guard with us. The latter took up quarters in Ubstadt, while we marched off to the right to Unteröwisheim to cover the flank in the mountains.

To all appearances we were now quite a respectable force. Our corps had been reinforced with two new units. The first of these was the Langenkandel Battalion, which had dispersed on the way from its home town to the Knielingen bridge and whose *beaux restes*<sup>a</sup> had joined up with us; they consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, a standard-bearer, a sergeant, an N.C.O. and two men. The other was the "Robert Blum Column" with a red flag, a body of approximately sixty men who looked like cannibals and had performed heroic deeds in requisitioning. Besides that we were allocated four Baden cannon and a Baden people's militia battalion, the Kniery, Knüry or Knierim Battalion (it was impossible to discover the correct reading of the name). The Knierim Battalion was worthy of its leader and Herr Knierim worthy of his battalion. Both were staunch-minded, both were braggarts and roisterers and both constantly drunk. The famous "enthusiasm" kindled their hearts to deeds of the most prodigious heroism, as we shall have occasion to see.

On the morning of the 23rd Willich received a note from Anneke, who commanded the advance guard of the Palatinate in Ubstadt. It announced that the enemy was advancing, a council of war had been held and the decision made to withdraw. Willich, flabbergasted at this strange piece of news, rode over at once and managed to persuade Anneke and his officers to give battle at Ubstadt. He reconnoitred the position himself and specified the deployment of the artillery. He then returned and had his troops stand to their arms. While our troops were forming up we received the following order from the Bruchsal headquarters, signed by Techow: the main body of the army was to proceed along the road to Heidelberg and should expect to get as far as Mingolsheim the same day; at the same time we were to march via Odenheim to Waldangelloch and spend the night there. Further news as to the successes of the main corps

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<sup>a</sup> Beautiful remains.—*Ed.*

and instructions as to our subsequent course of action were to be sent there.

In his fanciful *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden*, pp. 311-17, Herr Struve published a report on the operations of the Palatinate army from June 20 to 26 which is nothing more than an apologia for the incompetent Sznayde and teems with inaccuracies and misrepresentations. The following points emerge from what was said above: firstly, it is not true that Sznayde "received reliable news of the battle of Waghäusel and its outcome a few hours after marching into Bruchsal (on the 22nd)"; secondly, it is therefore not true that "because of this he changed his plan and, instead of marching to Mingolsheim, as at first had been the plan, decided" (as early as the 22nd) "to stay with the main body of his division in Bruchsal" (the note from Techow which is referred to was written during the night of the 22nd to the 23rd); thirdly, it is not true that "on the morning of the 23rd a large-scale reconnaissance was to be carried out"—on the contrary, it was the march on Mingolsheim which was to take place; and to say that fourthly "all detachments received the order to march in the direction of the firing as soon as they heard that firing"; and fifthly that "the detachment on the right flank (Willich) excused its failure to turn up at the battle of Ubstadt by saying that it had heard nothing of the firing", is a gross lie, as will be seen.

We marched off at once. We were to have breakfast in Odenheim. Some Bavarian Chevaulegers, who had been attached to us for dispatch duties, rode around the village to the left to reconnoitre possible enemy corps. Prussian hussars had been in the village requisitioning fodder, which they intended to collect later. While we were confiscating this fodder, and wine and food was being distributed to our men under arms, one of the Chevaulegers came dashing in and shouted: "The Prussians are here!" In next to no time the Knierim Battalion, which was nearest, broke ranks and stampeded in all directions in a wild tangle, screaming, cursing and lumbering, while the major was forced to leave his men in the lurch because his horse shied. Willich came riding up, restored order and we marched off. Needless to say there were no Prussians there.

On the heights beyond Odenheim we heard the roar of cannon coming from the direction of Ubstadt. The gunfire soon became more intense. More experienced ears were already able to distinguish between the sound of bullets and the sound of case-shot. We deliberated whether to continue our march or to go in the direction of the firing. Since our order was positive and since the firing seemed to be moving in the direction of Mingolsheim, which

indicated an advance by our side, we resolved on the more dangerous march, the march on Waldangeloch. If the forces of the Palatinate were defeated at Ubstadt, we would be as good as cut off up there in the mountains and in a fairly critical position.

Herr Struve maintains that the battle of Ubstadt "could have led to brilliant results if the flank detachments had attacked at the right moment" (p. 314). The gunfire did not last an hour and we would have needed two to two and a half hours to reach the battlefield between Stettfeld and Ubstadt, that is an hour and a half after it had been abandoned. That is the way Herr Struve writes "history".

A halt was called near Tiefenbach. While our troops were refreshing themselves, Willich sent out some dispatches. The Knierim Battalion discovered a kind of municipal cellar in Tiefenbach, slapped a confiscation order on it, fetched out the barrels of wine and within an hour everyone was drunk. Annoyance at the Prussian scare of that morning, the cannon-roar from Ubstadt, the lack of confidence that these heroes had in one another and their officers—all this, aggravated by the wine, suddenly broke out in open rebellion. They demanded an immediate retreat; they said they did not care for eternally marching through the mountains in the face of the enemy. As this was of course out of the question, they faced about and marched off on their own. The man-eating "Robert Blum Column" joined them. We let them go and marched to Waldangeloch.

Here, in a deep basin-shaped valley, it was impossible to pass the night in any safety. Therefore a halt was called and intelligence collected about the conditions of the terrain in the area and the position of the enemy. In the meantime a few vague rumours of the retreat of the army on the Neckar had been spread by peasants. It was claimed that considerable Baden corps had marched on Bretten via Sinsheim and Eppingen, that Mieroslawski himself had passed through in strictest incognito and that people in Sinsheim had wanted to arrest him. The artillerymen became uneasy and even our students started to murmur. So the artillery was sent back and we marched on Hilsbach. Here we learned further particulars about the retreat of the Neckar army 48 hours earlier and about the Bavarians stationed in Sinsheim, an hour and a half away from where we were. Their number was given as 7,000, but in fact, as we later discovered, it was about 10,000. We were at the most only 700 strong. Our men could not march any further. We therefore quartered them in barns, as we always did when we had to keep them together as much as possible, detailed strong outposts and lay down to sleep. As we marched out the next morning, the 24th, we could hear quite



distinctly the sound of the Bavarians' marching step. A good quarter of an hour after we had marched off the Bavarians were in Hilsbach.

Two days before, on the 22nd, Mieroslawski had spent the night in Sinsheim and was already in Bretten with his troops when we marched into Hilsbach. Becker, who was commanding the rear-guard, was likewise already through. It follows that he cannot, as Herr Struve maintains on page 308, have passed the night of the 23rd to the 24th in Sinsheim, for the Bavarians, who the evening before had fought a small engagement with Mieroslawski, were there at eight o'clock in the evening and probably even earlier. Mieroslawski's retreat from Waghäusel via Heidelberg to Bretten is depicted by the men who took part in it as a highly dangerous manoeuvre. Mieroslawski's operations from June 20 to 24, the rapid concentration of a corps at Heidelberg, with which he hurled himself against the Prussians, and his speedy retreat after losing the battle of Waghäusel certainly constituted the most brilliant episode of his entire activity in Baden; but the fact that this manoeuvre in the face of such a lethargic enemy was by no means so dangerous is proved by the fact that 24 hours later our little corps effected its retreat from Hilsbach without once being molested. We even passed through the Flehingen defile, where Mieroslawski had already expected an attack on the 23rd, without being attacked and marched on Büchig. Here we intended staying in order to cover against a first attack the camp Mieroslawski had set up at Bretten.

Everywhere on our march, which led through Eppingen, Zaisenhausen and Flehingen, we were the object of amazement, since all the corps of the Neckar army, including the rear-guard, had already marched through. When we marched into Büchig and our bugler started to play, we panicked people into thinking that the Prussians had arrived. A commando of the Bretten civic militia, requisitioning victuals for Mieroslawski's camp, took us for Prussians and were the very picture of confusion until we turned the corner and the sight of our tunics reassured them. We at once confiscated the victuals and had barely consumed them when the news that Mieroslawski had set out from Bretten with all the troops caused us to withdraw to Bretten.

We stayed overnight in Bretten, the civic militia providing outposts. Wagons were requisitioned for the next morning to carry the whole corps to Ettlingen. Since Bruchsal had already been taken by the Prussians on the 24th and we could not afford to engage in a battle in case the road via Diedelsheim to Durlach was occupied by the enemy (it actually was, as we later discovered), this was the only route to the main army open to us.

In Bretten a deputation of students came to us with a declaration that they did not like constantly marching in the face of the enemy and they asked to be discharged. Needless to say they were told by way of reply that no one is discharged in the face of the enemy; but if they wished to desert, then they were free to do so. Thereupon about half the company marched off; the number of those remaining soon dwindled so much due to individual desertions that only the riflemen were left. During the course of the entire campaign the students generally showed themselves to be malcontent and timid young gentlemen; they always wanted to be let into all the plans of operation, complained about sore feet and grumbled when the campaign did not afford all the comforts of a holiday trip. Among these "representatives of intelligence" there were only a handful who through their truly revolutionary character and shining courage proved themselves exceptions.

We were later informed that the enemy had marched into Bretten half an hour after we left. We arrived at Ettlingen, and there Herr Corvin-Wiersbitzki directed us to march to Durlach, where Becker was to hold up the enemy until Karlsruhe had been evacuated. Willich sent a Chevauleger with a note to Becker in order to find out whether he intended to stay for a while; the man returned in a quarter of an hour with the news that he had met Becker's troops already in full retreat. We therefore marched off to Rastatt, where everyone was concentrating.

The road to Rastatt presented a picture of the most splendid disorder. Any number of the most varied corps were marching or camping in motley confusion, and we had difficulty in holding our troops together under the blazing sun and amidst the universal disarray. The Palatinate troops and a few Baden battalions were encamped on the Rastatt glacis. The Palatinate forces were severely depleted. The best corps, the Rhenish Hessian, had been assembled in Karlsruhe by Zitz and Bamberger before the battle of Ubstadt. These bold freedom-fighters had declared to the corps that all was lost, the odds were too great but there was still time to get home in safety; that they, the parliamentary windbag Zitz and the valiant Bamberger, did not want innocent blood or any other calamity on their hands and thereupon declared the corps disbanded. The Rhenish Hessians were naturally so indignant at this infamous presumption that they wanted to arrest the two traitors and shoot them; d'Ester and the government of the Palatinate were also after them to arrest them. But the honourable citizens had already fled and the valiant Zitz watched the further course of the campaign for an Imperial Constitution from the safety of Basle. As in September

1848, in his *Frakturschrift*,<sup>173</sup> so also in May 1849, Herr Zitz was among those parliamentary braggarts who did most to incite the people to rise up, but on both occasions he occupied a prominent place among those who during the uprising were the first to leave the people in the lurch. At Kirchheimbolanden too Herr Zitz was among the first to bolt, while his riflemen were fighting and being shot.

The Rhenish Hessian corps, in any case seriously weakened by desertion, as all corps were, and disheartened by the retreat to Baden, at once lost its balance completely. Part of it disbanded and went home; the remainder constituted itself anew and fought on until the end of the campaign. The rest of the Palatinate troops were demoralised at Rastatt by the news that all those who returned home before July 5 were to be amnestied. More than half of them dispersed, battalions dwindled to company size, the subaltern officers were for the most part gone and the 1,200 or so troops still remaining were now hardly of any more value. Our corps, although not in the least disheartened, had also dwindled to little more than 500 men through losses, illness and the desertion of the students.

We went to Kuppenheim, where other troops were already present, for our billets. The next morning I accompanied Willich to Rastatt and there met *Moll* once again.

There have been memorials from all sides in the press, in the democratic clubs, in verse and in prose to the more or less educated victims of the Baden uprising. But no voice is raised on behalf of the hundreds and thousands of workers who fought out the battles, who fell on the field, who rotted alive in the Rastatt casemates or who now, alone of all the refugees, must drain to the dregs the cup of exile. The exploitation of the workers is a traditional affair, too familiar for our official "democrats" to consider the workers as anything else than raw material for agitation, for exploiting, for causing trouble, as anything but cannon-fodder. Our "democrats" are far too ignorant and bourgeois to comprehend the revolutionary position of the proletariat, the future of the working class. That is why they hate those genuinely proletarian characters who, too proud to flatter them and too discerning to allow themselves to be used by them, are none the less always there, arms in hand, whenever it is a question of overthrowing an existing authority, and who in every revolutionary movement directly represent the party of the proletariat. But if it is not in the interests of the so-called democrats to recognise such workers, it is the duty of the party of the proletariat to honour them as they deserve. And among the best of these workers was *Joseph Moll of Cologne*.

Moll was a watchmaker. He had left Germany years ago and in France, Belgium and England played his part in all the public and secret revolutionary societies. He helped found the German Workers' Society in London in 1840.<sup>174</sup> After the February Revolution he returned to Germany and with his friend Schapper soon took over the leadership of the Cologne Workers' Association.<sup>175</sup> A fugitive in London since the Cologne riots of September 1848,<sup>176</sup> he soon returned to Germany under an assumed name, agitated in all sorts of districts and undertook missions so dangerous that everyone else shrank back from them. I met him again in Kaiserslautern. Here too he undertook missions to Prussia which, if he had been found out, would have incurred the summary grace of a firing squad. Returning from his second mission, he got safely through all the enemy armies to Rastatt, where he immediately joined the Besançon workers' company in our corps. Three days later he had fallen. I lost in him an old friend and the party one of its most unflagging, intrepid and reliable champions.

The party of the proletariat was quite strongly represented in the army of Baden and the Palatinate, especially in the volunteer corps, as for example in our own, in the refugee legion, etc., and it can safely challenge all the other parties to find even the slightest fault with any one of its members. The most resolute Communists made the most courageous soldiers.

On the next day, the 27th, we were moved somewhat further into the mountains, to Rothenfels. The detailing of the army and the distribution of the various corps was gradually established. We belonged to the right-flank division, which was commanded by Colonel Thome, the same as had wanted to arrest Mieroslawski in Meckesheim<sup>177</sup> and who had childishly been allowed to retain his command, and then from the 27th onwards by Mersy. Willich, who had refused the command of the Palatinate forces which Sigel had offered him, was acting as chief of divisional staff. The division was located in the area stretching from Gernsbach and the Württemberg frontier to the other side of Rothenfels and leaned on its left side against the Oborski division, which was concentrated around Kuppenheim. The advance guard was pushed forward to the frontier as well as to Sulzbach, Michelbach and Winkel. The victualling, at first irregular and bad, improved from the 27th on. Our division consisted of several Baden regular battalions, the remainder of the Palatinate forces under hero Blenker, our corps and one or one and a half batteries of artillery. The Palatinate forces were stationed in Gernsbach and the surrounding area and the

regulars and ourselves in and around Rothenfels. The headquarters were in the hotel in Elisabethenquelle opposite Rothenfels.

On the 28th we—the divisional staff and that of our own corps together with Moll, Kinkel and other volunteers—were just taking coffee after our meal in this hotel when the news arrived that our advance guard near Michelbach had been attacked by the Prussians. We at once set out, although we had every reason to suppose that the enemy had nothing more than a reconnaissance in mind. It indeed proved to be nothing more. The village of Michelbach situated down in the valley which had momentarily been captured by the Prussians had already been re-taken by the time we arrived. There was shooting across the valley from both mountain-sides and much ammunition was expended to no purpose. I saw only one dead and one wounded. While the regulars were pointlessly shooting off their cartridges at distances of 600 to 800 paces, Willich bade our troops quietly pile their rifles and take a rest close by the alleged fighters and in the thick of the alleged firing. Only the riflemen went down the wooded slope and, supported by a handful of regulars, drove the Prussians from the heights opposite. One of our riflemen shot a Prussian officer off his horse at about 900 paces with his colossal heavy rifle, a veritable portable cannon; the officer's entire company at once did a right-about turn and marched back into the wood. A number of Prussian dead and wounded as well as two prisoners fell into our hands.

The next day the general attack on the whole line took place. This time the Prussian gentlemen disturbed us at our midday meal. The first attack of which we were notified was against Bischweier, that is, against the point at which the Oborski division linked up with ours. Willich urged that our troops should be held in the greatest possible readiness at Rothenfels, since the main attack was expected in any case in the opposite direction, at Gernsbach. But Mersy replied that we knew how things were, that if one of our battalions were attacked and the others did not come to its aid at once and in force, then the cry of treason would go up and everyone would take to their heels. We therefore marched towards Bischweier.

Willich and I advanced with the rifle company along the road to Bischweier on the right bank of the Murg. Half an hour away from Rothenfels we came across the enemy. The riflemen spread out in extended order and Willich rode back to fetch the corps, which stood a little way in the rear, up into the fighting line. For a while our riflemen, taking cover behind fruit-trees and vineyards, stood up to some quite heavy fire, which they returned in good measure. But when a strong enemy column advanced along the road in support of

its skirmishers, the left flank of our riflemen gave way and no amount of talking to could persuade them to stand their ground. The right flank had advanced further towards the heights and was later taken into our corps.

When I saw that nothing was to be done with the riflemen I abandoned them to their fate and went towards the heights, where I could see the flags of our corps. One company had stayed behind; its captain, a tailor, usually a brave fellow, was all of a dither. I took the company along to join the others and met Willich, just as he was pushing the Besançon company forward in extended order and drawing up the rest behind them in two battle lines, together with a company pushed forward on the right towards the mountains to cover the flank.

Our skirmishers were met with a hail of fire. Facing them were Prussian riflemen, and against their elongated-bullet rifles our workers only had muskets. However, they advanced so resolutely, reinforced by the right flank of our riflemen who joined up with them, that the inferior quality of their arms was soon made up for by the closeness of the range, especially on the right flank, and the Prussians were dislodged. The two battle lines kept quite close on the heels of the skirmishers. In the meantime two Baden artillery pieces had also been brought up on our left, in the Murg valley, and they opened fire on the Prussian infantry and artillery occupying the road.

The battle here had probably been going on for an hour or so with intense rifle and musket fire, the Prussians continually retreating (some of our riflemen had already penetrated as far as Bischweier), when the Prussians received reinforcements and pushed their battalions forward. Our skirmishers retreated; the first line gave platoon fire and the second moved to the left into a defile and also started firing. But the Prussians pressed forward in serried masses along the entire line; both the Baden artillery pieces covering our left flank had already retreated. On the right flank the Prussians came down from the mountains and we were forced to fall back.

As soon as we were out of the enemy cross-fire we took up a fresh position on the mountain range. If up to now we had been facing the Rhine plain, and Bischweier and Niederweier, we were now facing the mountains which the Prussians had occupied from Oberweier. Now the regular battalions at last joined the fighting line and gave battle, together with two companies of our corps which were once more pushed forward in extended order.

We had suffered heavy losses. About thirty men were missing, including Kinkel and Moll and not counting the dispersed riflemen.

The two above-named had advanced too far with the right flank of their company and some riflemen. The riflemen's captain, head forester Emmermann from Thronecken in Rhenish Prussia, who marched against the Prussians as if he were hunting hares, had led them into a position from which they fired into a Prussian artillery section and forced it to beat a speedy retreat. However, a company of Prussians at once emerged from a defile and fired upon them. Kinkel fell to the ground, hit in the head, and he was dragged along until he could once more walk unaided; soon, however, they came under cross-fire and had to hurry to get out of it. Kinkel was unable to keep up and went into a farm-house, where he was taken prisoner by the Prussians and ill-treated; Moll received a shot in the abdomen, was also taken prisoner and died later of his wound. Zychlinski too had been hit in the neck by a ricochet, but this did not stop him staying with his corps.

While the main body remained where it was and Willich rode to another part of the battlefield, I hastened to the Murg bridge lower down than Rothenfels, which formed a sort of assembly point. I wanted news of Gernsbach. But even before I reached there I saw the smoke rising from Gernsbach which was in flames, and on the bridge itself I learned that they had heard the cannon-roar from there. Later I returned to this bridge a few more times; each time the news about Gernsbach was worse and each time there were more Baden regular troops assembled behind the bridge, demoralised already even though they had scarcely been under fire. Eventually I learned that the enemy was already in Gaggenau. It was now high time to face up to him. Willich marched over the Murg with the corps in order to take up position opposite Rothenfels and took with him another four artillery pieces which had just happened to come his way. I went to fetch our two companies of skirmishers, who in the meantime had pushed far ahead. Everywhere I met regular troops, mostly without officers. One detachment was led by a doctor, who made use of the occasion to introduce himself to me with the following words: "You must know me, I am Neuhaus, chief of the Thuringian movement!" These good fellows had beaten the Prussians on all fronts and were now on their way back because they could no longer see any of the enemy. Our companies were nowhere to be found—they had made their way back through Rothenfels for the same reason—and I returned to the bridge. Here I met Mersy with his staff and troops. I begged him to give me at least a few companies with which to support Willich. "Take the whole division if you can still do something with them," was the reply. The same soldiers who had driven back the enemy at all points and who had

only been on their feet for five hours now lay around in the meadows, dispersed, demoralised and fit for nothing. The news that they had been outflanked in Gernsbach had done for them. I went my way. A company I came across on its way back from Michelbach was not to be moved either. When I found the corps again at our old headquarters, the fugitive forces of the Palatinate—Pistol Zinn and his gang, now with muskets, by the way—came pressing on from Gaggenau. While Willich had been looking for and had found a position for the artillery, a position that dominated the Murg valley and offered considerable advantages for simultaneous skirmishing, the artillerists had run away with the cannon and the captain had been unable to do anything to stop them. They were already back with Mersy at the bridge. At the same time Willich showed me a note from Mersy in which the latter informed him that everything was lost and that he was going to pull back to Oos. We had no other choice but to do the same and we marched into the mountains at once. It was about seven o'clock.

At Gernsbach things had taken the following course. Peucker's imperial troops, whom our patrols had already sighted the day before at Herrenalb on Württemberg territory, had taken the Württemberg troops drawn up at the frontier with them and attacked Gernsbach on the afternoon of the 29th, after using treachery to make our advanced troops withdraw; they approached them with the call not to shoot, saying they were brothers, and then fired off a volley at eighty paces. They then shelled Gernsbach, setting it on fire, and when the flames got out of hand Herr Sigel, who had been sent by Mieroslowski to *hold* the position at any price, Herr Sigel *himself* gave the order that Herr Blenker should make a fighting retreat with his troops. Herr Sigel will no more deny this now than he did in Berne, when one of Herr Blenker's adjutants related the curious fact in his, Herr Sigel's, and Willich's presence. With this order to make a "fighting"(!) surrender of the key to the whole Murg position, the battle along the whole line, and with it the Baden army's last position, was needless to say lost.

The Prussians incidentally did not particularly enhance their reputation by winning the battle of Rastatt. We had 13,000 troops, for the most part demoralised and with few exceptions abominably led; their army, together with the imperial troops that marched on Gernsbach, numbered at least 60,000 men. In spite of this colossal superiority they did not venture a serious frontal attack, but defeated us through cowardice and treachery by encroaching upon the neutral territory of Württemberg, which was closed to us. But even this piece of treachery would not have done them much good, at least



to begin with, and in the long run would not have saved them the necessity of a decisive frontal attack, had not Gernsbach been so incredibly badly manned and had not Herr Sigel given the priceless order spoken of above. There cannot be any doubt that the by no means formidable position would have been snatched from us the next day; but victory would have cost the Prussians many more casualties and would have done endless harm to their military reputation. For this reason they preferred to violate Württemberg's neutrality, and Württemberg calmly let it happen.

By now barely 450 men strong, we marched back through the mountains to Oos. The road was covered with troops in the wildest disarray, with wagons, artillery, etc., all in the greatest confusion. We marched through and rested in Sinzheim. The next morning we assembled a number of fugitives the other side of Bühl and spent the night in Oberachern. That day the last battle took place; the German-Polish Legion, alongside some other troops from Becker's division, beat back the imperial troops at Oos and captured from them a (Mecklenburg) howitzer which they got safely into Switzerland.

The army was completely disbanded; Mieroslawski and the other Poles laid down their commands; Colonel Oborski already on the evening of the 29th left his post on the battlefield. However, this momentary disbandment did not really mean much. The Palatinate forces had already been disbanded three or four times and each time had formed up anew *tant bien que mal*. A retreat spun out as long as possible, accompanied by the call-up of all the age groups in the territories to be ceded and a rapid concentration of the conscripts from Upper Baden at Freiburg and Donaueschingen, were two measures still to be tried. This would soon have restored order and discipline to a tolerable level and made possible a last hopeless but honourable battle on the Kaiserstuhl near Freiburg or at Donaueschingen. But the chiefs of the civil as well as the military administration were more demoralised than the soldiers. They abandoned the army and the entire movement to their fate and fell further and further back, dejected, distraught and shattered.

Since the attack on Gernsbach, the fear of being outflanked through Württemberg territory had spread everywhere and contributed greatly to the general demoralisation. Willich's corps now went to cover the Württemberg frontier, taking two mountain howitzers through the Kappel valley into the mountains—several other artillery pieces assigned to us did not want to go any further than Kappel. Our march through the Black Forest, in which we did not sight the enemy, was a veritable pleasure tour. On July 1 we arrived

at Oppenau via Allerheiligen and on the 2nd at Wolfach via the Hundskopf. Here we learned on July 3 that the government was in Freiburg and that the abandonment of that town also was being considered. We therefore set out for there at once. We intended to force Messrs. the Regents and the high command, which hero Sigel now led, not to relinquish Freiburg without a fight. It was already late when we marched off from Wolfach, and so it was not until late that evening that we arrived at Waldkirch. Here we learned that Freiburg had already been relinquished and that government and headquarters had been removed to Donaueschingen. At the same time we received the positive order to occupy and entrench ourselves in the Simonswald valley and set up our headquarters in Furtwangen. We therefore had to go back to Bleibach.

Herr Sigel had now drawn up his troops behind the Black Forest mountain ridge. The defence line was supposed to stretch from Lörrach via Todtnau and Furtwangen to the Württemberg frontier, in the direction of Schramberg. The left flank was formed by Mersy and Blenker, who marched through the Rhine valley towards Lörrach; then followed Herr Doll, a former *commis voyageur*, who in his capacity as one of Hecker's generals had been appointed divisional commander and was posted in the region of the Höllental; then our corps in Furtwangen and the Simonswald valley and, lastly on the right flank, Becker at St. Georgen and Triberg. On the other side of the mountains at Donaueschingen was Herr Sigel with the reserve. The forces, considerably weakened by desertion and not reinforced by any contingents of conscripts, still amounted to 9,000 men and 40 cannon.

The orders which reached us one after the other from headquarters in Freiburg, Neustadt on the Gutach and Donaueschingen breathed the most resolute defiance of death. Though the enemy was expected to come through Württemberg again and attack us in the rear via Rottweil and Villingen, there was a determination to defeat him and to hold the Black Forest ridge come what may, in fact to do so, as it said in one of these orders, "almost without any regard for the movements of the enemy", in other words, Herr Sigel had ensured for himself a glorious retreat in four hours from Donaueschingen onto Swiss territory; he could then sit back in Schaffhausen and wait in perfect calm for news of what had become of us, encircled in the mountains. We shall soon see what a merry end this defiance of death came to.

On the 4th we arrived at Furtwangen with two companies (160 men). The rest was employed to occupy the Simonswald valley and the passes of Gutenbach and St. Märgen. Via the last-mentioned

place we were in contact with Doll's corps, via Schönwald with Becker. All the passes were blocked.—We stayed in Furtwangen on the 5th. On the 6th news came from Becker that the Prussians were advancing on Villingen,<sup>a</sup> together with the request to attack them via Vöhrenbach and thus support Sigel's operation. At the same time he informed us that his main corps was duly entrenched in Triberg, whither he himself would go as soon as Villingen was occupied by Sigel.

There could be no question of an attack from our side. With fewer than 450 men we had three square miles to occupy and therefore could not spare a single man. We had to stay where we were and informed Becker to this effect. Soon afterwards a dispatch arrived from headquarters: Willich was to go to Donaueschingen at once and assume command of the entire artillery. We were just getting ready to hurry over there when a column of the people's militia, followed by artillery and several other battalions of the people's militia, came marching into Furtwangen. It was Becker with his corps. His men had grown rebellious, it was said. I made enquiries of a staff officer who was a friend of mine, "Major" Nerlinger, and learned the following: He, Nerlinger, had the position at Triberg under his command and was having the trenches dug when the officer staff delivered him a written declaration, signed by them all. It said that the troops were rebellious and that unless the order to march off were given at once, they would leave with all the troops. I took a look at the signatures. It was the valiant Dreher-Obermüller Battalion again! Nerlinger had no choice but to inform Becker and march to Furtwangen. Becker set out at once to catch them up and so arrived with all his troops at Furtwangen, where the faint-hearted officers and soldiers were received with immense laughter by our volunteers. They were ashamed of themselves and in the evening Becker was able to lead them back to their positions again.

In the meantime we went to Donaueschingen, followed by the Besançon company. There were already swarms of Prussians right up to the highway; Villingen was occupied by them. We nevertheless got through unchallenged and towards ten o'clock in the evening the Besançons arrived as well. In Donaueschingen I found d'Ester and learned from him that in the Constituent Assembly in Freiburg<sup>178</sup> Herr Struve had demanded an immediate move to Switzerland, saying everything was lost, and that hero Blenker had followed this advice and had already crossed over onto Swiss territory that

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<sup>a</sup> This and the following facts are mentioned by Joh. Ph. Becker and Chr. Essellen in their *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849*, Genf, 1849.—Ed.

morning at Basle. Both of these reports were quite correct. Hero Blenker had gone to Basle on July 6, though it was he that was farthest from the enemy. He had paused only to make a final number of requisitions so odd that they put him in bad odour with Herr Sigel and later with the Swiss authorities. And hero Struve, the same hero Struve who even on June 29 had declared that Herr Brentano and all those wanting to negotiate with the enemy were traitors to the fatherland,<sup>a</sup> was so shattered three days later, on July 2, that he was not ashamed to put the following motion to a session *in camera* of the Baden Constituent Assembly:

“In order that Upper Baden will not suffer the same horrors of war as Lower Baden and to prevent a great deal more precious blood being spilt, and since it is necessary to save what can be saved(!), therefore everyone participating in the revolution, together with the Provincial Assembly, should have his salary or wage paid up to July 10 with appropriate travelling expenses and all should withdraw to Swiss territory together with cash, provisions, arms, etc.!”

The valiant Struve proposed this fine motion on July 2, when we were in Wolfach up in the Black Forest, 10 hours away from Freiburg and 20 hours away from the Swiss frontier! Herr Struve is naive enough to relate this incident himself and even to boast of it in his *Geschichte*<sup>b</sup> (p. 237 ff). The only consequence that the acceptance of such a motion could have was that the Prussians would press us as hard as possible in order to “save what could be saved”, that is, to do us out of our cash, artillery and provisions, since this resolution assured them that there was no danger in vigorous pursuit, and that our troops would then immediately disband *en masse*, and whole corps make off on their own to Switzerland, as actually happened. Our corps would have come off worst; it was on Baden territory up to the 12th and was paid up to the 17th.

Herr Sigel, instead of re-taking Villingen, at first resolved to take up position at Hüfingen the other side of Donaueschingen and await the enemy. The same evening, however, it was decided to march to Stühlingen, close by the Swiss frontier. We hastily sent dispatch-riders to Furtwangen, to inform our own corps and that of Becker. Both were likewise to make their way to Stühlingen via Neustadt and Bonndorf. Willich went to Neustadt to meet his corps and I stayed with the Besançon company. We spent the night in Riedböhringen and arrived at Stühlingen on the afternoon of the next day, July 7. On the 8th Herr Sigel held a review of his half-disbanded army, recommended it not to ride in future but to march (at the frontier!)

<sup>a</sup> The reference is to a statement (in the form of a motion) made by Struve in the Constituent Assembly on June 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> G. Struve, *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden*, Bern, 1849.—*Ed.*

and departed. He left behind for us half a battery and an order for Willich.

In the meantime news of the general retreat had been sent from Furtwangen first to Becker and then to our own companies stationed to the fore. Our corps gathered first in Furtwangen and met Willich in Neustadt. Becker, who was closer to Furtwangen than were our outlying troops, still did not arrive till later and took the same road. He ran into entrenchments which held up his march and which were later said in the Swiss press to have been dug by our corps. That is incorrect; our corps only blocked the roads on the other side of the Black Forest ridge, and not on the way from Triberg to Furtwangen, which it never occupied. Besides, our volunteers did not march off from Furtwangen until Becker's advance guard had arrived there.

In Donaueschingen it was agreed that the remains of the entire army should gather on the other side of the Wutach, from Eggingen to Thiengen, and there await the approach of the enemy. Here, with our flanks abutting upon Swiss territory, we could attempt a last battle with our considerable artillery. We could even wait and see whether the Prussians would violate Swiss territory and thus bring the Swiss into the war. But how amazed we were when Willich arrived and we read in the valiant Sigel's order:

"The main body of the army is to proceed to Thiengen and Waldshut and take up a firm position there(!). Endeavour to maintain the position (at Stühlingen and Eggingen) as long as possible."

A "firm position" at Thiengen and Waldshut, the Rhine to the rear and heights accessible to the enemy in front! The only possible interpretation of this was: We intend to cross the Säckingen bridge into Switzerland. And this was the same hero Sigel who had said on the occasion of Struve's motion that if it were passed then he, Sigel, would be the first to rebel.

We now occupied the position behind the Wutach itself and redistributed our troops from Eggingen to Wutöschingen, where our headquarters were. Here we received the following even more priceless document from Herr Sigel:

"Order. Thiengen headquarters, July 8, 1849.—To Colonel Willich in Eggingen. Since the canton of Schaffhausen is already taking up a hostile stance towards me, it is impossible for me to take up the position we discussed. You will order your movements accordingly and move in the direction of Griessen, Lauchringen and Thiengen. I am marching off from here tomorrow, either to Waldshut or beyond the Alb" (i.e. to Säckingen). "General-in-Chief Sigel."

That capped it all. That evening Willich and I went to Thiengen, where the "General Quartermaster" Schlinke admitted that they really were going to Säckingen and thence over the Rhine. At first

Sigel tried to come the "general-in-chief", but Willich did not fall for that and eventually prevailed upon him to give the order to turn round and march on Griessen. The pretext for the march to Säckingen was a junction with Doll, who had marched thither, and an allegedly strong position. The position, evidently the same one from which Moreau gave battle in 1800,<sup>179</sup> had only one drawback: it faced in quite another direction from that where *our* enemy was coming from; and as for the noble Doll, he did not hesitate to prove that he could go to Switzerland even without Herr Sigel.

Between the cantons of Zurich and Schaffhausen lies a small strip of Baden territory, with the villages of Jestetten and Lottstetten, completely closed in by Switzerland apart from a narrow access at Baltersweil. Here the last stand was to be made. The heights on both sides of the road behind Baltersweil presented excellent positions for our artillery, and our infantry was still numerous enough to cover them if necessary until they had reached Swiss territory. It was agreed that we should wait here and see whether the Prussians would attack us or starve us out. The main body of the army, to which Becker had attached himself, went into camp here. Willich had selected the position for the artillery (we later found their park where their battle-position was to be). We ourselves formed the rearguard and slowly followed after the main body of the army. On the evening of the 9th we went to Erzingen, on the 10th to Riedern. On that day a general council of war was held in the camp. Willich alone spoke for continued defence, Sigel, Becker and others for a withdrawal onto Swiss territory. A Swiss commissioner, Colonel Kurz, I believe, was present and declared that Switzerland would not grant asylum if another battle were fought. When it came to the vote Willich was alone with two or three officers. Apart from him, no one from our corps was present.

While Willich was still in the camp the half-battery posted with us received orders to move off; it departed without so much as a mention being made to us. All the other troops apart from us also received orders to go into the camp. During the night I went once more with Willich to the headquarters in Lottstetten; when we were on our way back, at daybreak, we met on the road all those who had struck camp and were trundling towards the frontier in the most frantic confusion. The same day, early on the morning of the 11th, Herr Sigel crossed onto Swiss territory with his troops near Rafz and Herr Becker with his near Rheinau. We concentrated our corps, followed into the camp and from there to Jestetten. While we were there, at about midday, an orderly officer brought us a letter Sigel had written from Eglisau. In it he said that he was already safely in

Switzerland, that the officers had retained their sabres and that we should join them as soon as we could. They did not give us a thought until they were on neutral ground!

We marched through Lottstetten to the frontier, bivouacked that night still on German soil, discharged our rifles on the morning of the 12th and then set foot on Swiss territory, the last of the army of Baden and the Palatinate to do so. On the same day and at the same time, Constance was abandoned by the corps stationed there. A week later Rastatt fell through treachery and the counter-revolution had for the moment reconquered Germany down to the last corner.

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The campaign for the Imperial Constitution foundered because of its own half-heartedness and its wretched internal state. Ever since the defeat of June 1848 the question for the civilised part of the European continent has stood thus: either the rule of the revolutionary proletariat or the rule of the classes who ruled before February. A middle road is no longer possible. In Germany in particular the bourgeoisie has shown itself incapable of ruling; it could only maintain its rule over the people by surrendering it once more to the aristocracy and the bureaucracy. In the Imperial Constitution the petty bourgeoisie, in alliance with the German ideology, attempted an impossible arrangement aimed at postponing the decisive struggle. The attempt was bound to fail: those who were serious about the movement were not serious about the Imperial Constitution, and those who were serious about the Imperial Constitution were not serious about the movement.

This does not mean to say, however, that the consequences of the campaign for the Imperial Constitution were any the less significant. Above all the campaign simplified the situation. It cut short an endless series of attempts at reconciliation; now that it has been lost, only the somewhat constitutionalised feudal-bureaucratic monarchy or the true revolution can be victorious. And the revolution can no longer be brought to a conclusion in Germany except with the complete rule of the proletariat.

The Imperial Constitution campaign in addition contributed considerably to the development of class antagonisms in those German provinces where they were not yet sharply developed. Especially in Baden. In Baden, as we have seen, there existed hardly any class antagonisms at all before the insurrection. Hence the acknowledged supremacy of the petty bourgeois over all other classes in the opposition, hence the apparent unanimity of the popula-

tion, hence the speed with which the Badeners, like the Viennese, pass from opposition to insurrection, attempt an uprising at every opportunity and do not even shy away from a battle in the field with a regular army. But as soon as the insurrection had broken out, the classes emerged in definite outline and the petty bourgeois separated themselves from the workers and peasants. Through their representative Brentano they disgraced themselves for all time. They themselves have been driven to such despair by the Prussian dictatorship of the sabre that they now prefer any regime, even that of the workers, to the present oppression; they will take a much more active part in the next movement than in any previous one; but fortunately they never again will be able to play the independent, dominant role they played under Brentano's dictatorship. The workers and peasants, who suffer just as much as the petty bourgeois under the present dictatorship of the sabre, did not go through the experience of the last uprising for nothing; they who besides having their fallen and murdered brothers to avenge will take care that when the next insurrection comes it is *they* and not the petty bourgeois who get the reins in their hands. And even though no experience of insurrection can substitute for the development of classes, which is only achieved by the operation of large-scale industry over a period of years, Baden has none the less through its latest uprising and its consequences joined the ranks of *those* German provinces which in the coming revolution will play one of the most important roles.

Looked at from the political point of view, the campaign for the Imperial Constitution was a failure from the very start. The same is true from the military point of view. Its only prospect of succeeding lay outside of Germany, in the victory of the republicans in Paris on June 13, and June 13 came to nothing. After this event the campaign could be nothing but a more or less bloody farce. And that is all it was. Stupidity and treachery ruined it completely. With the exception of a small handful, the military chiefs were either traitors or intrusive, ignorant and cowardly place-hunters, and the few exceptions were everywhere left in the lurch both by the others and by the Brentano government. In the coming convulsion anyone who can produce no other title than that of one of Hecker's generals or an officer of the Imperial Constitution deserves to be shown the door at once. As the chiefs, so the soldiers. The people of Baden possess the very finest fighting elements; during the insurrection these elements were from the start so demoralised and neglected that there arose the wretched situation which we have broadly described. The whole "revolution" was reduced to a veritable comedy and the sole



consolation was that the opponent, although six times as strong, had six times as little courage.

But this comedy came to a tragic end, thanks to the blood-thirstiness of the counter-revolution. The same warriors who on the march or on the battlefield were more than once seized by panic, died in the ditches of Rastatt like heroes. Not a single one of them pleaded, not a single one of them trembled. The German people will not forget the executions and the casemates of Rastatt, they will not forget the great gentlemen who ordered these infamies, but neither will they forget the traitors who through their cowardice were responsible for them: the Brentanos of Karlsruhe and of *Frankfurt*.

Frederick Engels  
TO THE HUNGARIAN REFUGEE COMMITTEE  
IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, late February 1850]

*To the Hungarian Refugee Committee in London*

Citizens Kilinski and Ryschka have applied for assistance to the German Refugee Committee.<sup>180</sup> Asked for their papers, they produced two certificates from Mr. Fr. Pulszky, copies of which are enclosed herewith.<sup>181</sup> According to these certificates they are not German, but Hungarian refugees since they were recruited by the competent authority here for Hungarian service and therefore come within the province not of the German, but of the Hungarian Committee. However, they maintain that they received 10 shillings from that Committee together with notification that it could give them no further assistance. Since, however, it will hardly do to leave these people destitute on the street, we hereby take the liberty of inquiring whether this is right, and whether the Hungarian Committee may, perhaps, have had some special reason for refusing assistance to the two citizens named above.

(Copy of the certificates.)

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels,  
*Works*, first Russ. ed., Vol. XXV, Moscow,  
1934

Printed according to the manu-  
script

Published in English for the first  
time

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

[REVIEWS FROM THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*.  
*POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE* No. 2]<sup>182</sup>

## I

G. FR. DAUMER, *DIE RELIGION DES NEUEN WELTALTERS*.  
*VERSUCH EINER COMBINATORISCH-APHORISTISCHEN GRUNDLEGUNG*,  
 2 BDE, HAMBURG, 1850

"An otherwise free-thinking man in *Nuremberg* who was not at all insensitive to the new had a monstrous hatred of democratic intrigues. He was a devotee of Ronge, whose portrait he had in his room. But when he heard that Ronge had sided with the democrats he removed the portrait to the lavatory. He once said: 'Oh, if only we lived under the Russian knout, how happy I would feel!' He died during the disturbances and I presume that although he was already old, it was despondency and grief at the course of events that led him to the grave." (Vol. II, pp. 321-22.)

If, instead of dying, this pitiable *Nuremberg* philistine had gleaned his scraps of thought from *Correspondent von und für Deutschland*, from Schiller and Goethe, from old schoolbooks, and modern lending-library books he would have spared himself the trouble of dying and Herr Daumer the hard work of writing his two volumes of "combinatory and aphoristic foundation". We, of course, should not then have had the edifying opportunity to become acquainted with the "religion of the new age" and at the same time with its first martyr.

Herr Daumer's work is divided into two parts, a "preliminary" and a "main" one. In the preliminary part the faithful Eckart of German philosophy expresses his profound concern that even thinking and educated Germans have let themselves be led astray for the past two years and have given up the inestimable achievements of thought for mere "external" revolutionary activity. He considers the present moment appropriate to appeal once more to the better feelings of the nation and points out what it means so light-mindedly to abandon all German culture, through which alone the German burgher was still anything at all. He summarises the whole content of

German culture in the pithiest sayings that the casket of his erudition contains and thus discredits German culture no less than German philosophy. His anthology of the loftiest products of the German mind surpasses in platitude and triviality even the most ordinary reading book for young ladies in the educated walks of life. From Goethe's and Schiller's philistine sallies against the first French Revolution, from the classic "Dangerous it is to rouse the lion"<sup>a</sup> down to the most modern literature, the high priest of the new religion zealously digs up every passage in which German pedantry stiffens with sleepy ill-humour against the historical movement it loathes. Authorities of the weight of a Friedrich Raumer, Berthold Auerbach, Lochner, Moriz Carrière, Alfred Meissner, Krug, Dingelstedt, Ronge, *Nürnberger Bote*,<sup>b</sup> Max Waldau, Sternberg, German Mäurer, Luise Aston, Eckermann, Noack, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, A. Kunze, Ghillany, Th. Mundt, Saphir, Gutzkow, a certain "née Gatterer" and the like are the pillars on which the temple of the new religion rests. The revolutionary movement, which is here declared anathema in so many voices, is confined for Herr Daumer on the one hand to the tritest prattle about politics as carried on in Nuremberg under the auspices of *Correspondent von und für Deutschland*, and on the other hand to mob outrages of which he has the most fantastic idea. The sources on which he draws are worthy of being placed on a par with those already mentioned: side by side with the oft-named Nuremberg *Correspondent* figure the *Bamberger Zeitung*, the Munich *Landbötin*,<sup>c</sup> the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and others. The same philistine meanness that sees nothing in the proletariat but a disgusting, corrupt ragamuffin and which rubs its hands with satisfaction at the Paris massacres in June 1848, when more than 3,000 of those "ragamuffins" were butchered—that same meanness is indignant at the raillery of which sentimental societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals are the object.

"The frightful tortures," Herr Daumer exclaims on page 293 of Volume I, "that unfortunate beasts suffer at the cruel, tyrannous hand of man are for these barbarians 'trifles' that nobody should bother about!"

The entire class struggle of our times seems to Herr Daumer only a struggle of "coarseness" against "culture". Instead of explaining it by the historical conditions of these classes, he finds its origin in the

<sup>a</sup> Schiller, *Das Lied von der Glocke*, 26th stanza.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> *Nürnberger Courier*.—Ed.

<sup>c</sup> *Bayerische Landbötin*.—Ed.

seditionous doings of a few malevolent individuals who incite the base appetites of the populace against the educated estates.

“This democratic reformism ... excites the envy, the rage, the rapacity of the lower classes of society against the upper classes—a fine way of making man better and nobler and founding a higher stage of culture!” (Vol. I, p[.]. [288-] 289.)

Herr Daumer does not even know what struggles “of the lower classes of society against the upper classes” it took to bring forth even a Nuremberg “stage of culture” and to make possible a Moloch-fighter à la Daumer.<sup>a</sup>

The second, “main”, part contains the positive aspect of the new religion. It voices all the annoyance of the German philosopher over the oblivion into which his struggles against Christianity have fallen, over the people’s indifference towards religion, the only object worthy to be considered by the philosopher. To restore credit to his trade, which has been ousted by competition, all our world-wise man can do is to invent a new religion, after long barking against the old. But this new religion is confined, in accordance with the first part, to a continuation of the anthology of maxims, album verses and *versus memoriales*<sup>b</sup> of German philistine culture. The suras of the new Koran<sup>183</sup> are nothing but a series of phrases morally palliating and poetically embellishing the existing German conditions—phrases which, though divested of the immediately religious form, are none the less interwoven with the old religion.

“Completely new world conditions and world relations can arise only through new religions. Examples and proofs of what religions are capable of are Christianity and Islam; most clear and palpable evidence of the powerlessness and futility of abstract, exclusive politics are the movements started in the year 1848.” (Vol. I, p.313.)

This weighty proposition immediately brings out the shallowness and ignorance of the German “thinker” who takes the small German and specifically Bavarian “March achievements” for the European movement of 1848 and 1849 and who demands that the first, in themselves very superficial, eruptions of a gradually developing and concentrating major revolution should bring forth “completely new world conditions and world relations”. The “world-wise” Daumer reduces the whole complicated social struggle, the first skirmishes of which were fought between Paris and Debrecen, Berlin and Palermo

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to Daumer’s books *Der Feuer- und Molochdienst der alten Hebräer...* Braunschweig, 1842, and *Die Geheimnisse des christlichen Alterthums*, Bd. 1-2, Hamburg, 1847.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Memorial verses.—*Ed.*

in the last two years, to the fact that “in January 1849 the hopes of the constitutional societies of Erlangen were postponed indefinitely” (Vol. I, p. 312) and to fear of a new struggle that could once more be unpleasantly shocking for Herr Daumer in his occupations with Hafiz, Mohammed<sup>a</sup> and Berthold Auerbach.

The same shameless superficiality allows Herr Daumer to ignore completely that Christianity was preceded by the total collapse of the ancient “world conditions” of which Christianity was the mere expression; that “completely new world conditions” arose not internally through Christianity but only when the Huns and the Germans fell “externally” on the corpse of the Roman Empire; that after the Germanic invasion the “new world conditions” did not adapt themselves to Christianity but that Christianity itself changed with every new phase of these world conditions. We should like Herr Daumer to give us an example of the old world conditions changing with a new religion without the mightiest “external” and abstract political convulsions setting in at the same time.

It is clear that with every great historical upheaval of social conditions the outlooks and ideas of men, and consequently their religious ideas, are revolutionised. The difference between the present upheaval and all earlier ones lies in the very fact that man has at last found out the secret of this process of historical upheaval and hence, instead of once again exalting this practical, “external”, process in the rapturous form of a new religion, divests himself of all religion.

After the gentle moral doctrines of the new world wisdom, which are even superior to Knigge<sup>b</sup> inasmuch as they contain all that is necessary not only on intercourse with men, but also on intercourse with animals—after the Proverbs of Solomon comes the Song of the new Solomon.

“*Nature and woman are the really divine, as distinct from the human and man... The sacrifice of the human to the natural, of the male to the female, is the genuine, the only true meekness and self-externalisation, the highest, nay, the only virtue and piety.*” (Vol. II, p. 257.)

We see here that the superficiality and ignorance of the speculating founder of a religion is transformed into a very pronounced cowardice. Herr Daumer flees before the historical tragedy that is threatening him too closely to alleged nature, i. e. to a stupid rustic idyll, and preaches the cult of the female to cloak his own womanish resignation.

<sup>a</sup> G. Fr. Daumer, *Hafiz*, Hamburg, 1846; *Mahomed und sein Werk*, Hamburg, 1848.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> A. Knigge, *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen*, Hannover, 1804.—*Ed.*

Herr Daumer's cult of nature, by the way, is a peculiar one. He manages to be reactionary even in comparison with Christianity. He tries to restore the old pre-Christian natural religion in a modernised form. Thus he of course achieves nothing but Christian-Germanic-patriarchal drivel on nature expressed, for example, as follows:

"Nature holy, Mother sweet,  
In Thy footsteps place my feet.  
My baby hand to Thy hand clings,  
Hold me as in leading strings!"<sup>a</sup>

"Such things have gone out of fashion, but not to the benefit of culture, progress or human felicity." (Vol. II, p. 157.)

We see that this cult of nature is limited to the Sunday walks of an inhabitant of a small provincial town who childishly wonders at the cuckoo laying its eggs in another bird's nest (Vol. II, p. 40), at tears being designed to keep the surface of the eyes moist (Vol. II, p. 73), and so on, and finally trembles with reverence as he recites Klopstock's Ode to Spring<sup>b</sup> to his children. (Vol. II, p. 23 et seqq.) There is no mention, of course, of modern natural science, which, with modern industry, has revolutionised the whole of nature and put an end to man's childish attitude towards nature as well as to other forms of childishness. But instead we get mysterious hints and astonished philistine notions about Nostradamus' prophecies, second sight in Scotsmen and animal magnetism.<sup>184</sup> For the rest, it would be desirable that Bavaria's sluggish peasant economy, the ground on which grow priests and Daumers alike, should at last be ploughed up by modern cultivation and modern machines.

It is the same with the cult of the female as with the cult of nature. Herr Daumer naturally does not say a word about the present social position of women; on the contrary it is a question only of the female as such. He tries to console women for their civic destitution by making them the object of a rhetorical cult which is as empty as it would fain be mysterious. Thus he seeks to comfort them by telling them that marriage puts an end to their talents through their having to take care of the children (Vol. II, p. 237), that they retain the ability to suckle babes even until the age of sixty (Vol. II, p. 251), and so on. Herr Daumer calls this the "devotion of the male to the female". In order to find the necessary ideal women characters for his male devotion in his native country, he is forced to resort to various aristocratic ladies of the last century. Thus his cult of the

<sup>a</sup> From F. Stolberg's poem "An die Natur", which Daumer quotes in his book.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Daumer quotes Klopstock's ode "Dem Allgegenwärtigen".—*Ed.*

woman is reduced to the depressed attitude of a man of letters to respected patronesses—Wilhelm Meister.<sup>a</sup>

The “culture” whose decay Herr Daumer laments is that of the time in which Nuremberg flourished as a free *Reichsstadt*, in which Nuremberg’s industry—that cross between art and craftsmanship—played a role of importance, the German petty-bourgeois [*Kleinbürgertum*] culture which is perishing with the petty bourgeoisie. If the decline of former classes such as the knighthood could offer material for great tragic works of art, philistinism can achieve nothing but impotent expressions of fanatic malignity and a collection of Sancho Panza maxims and rules of wisdom. Herr Daumer is the dry, absolutely humourless continuation of Hans Sachs. German philosophy, wringing its hands and lamenting at the deathbed of its foster father, German philistinism—such is the touching picture opened up to us by the religion of the new age.

Written in January and February 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
No. 2, 1850

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.—Ed.



## II

LUDWIG SIMON OF TRIER,  
 EIN WORT DES RECHTS FÜR ALLE  
 REICHsverfassungskämpfer  
 AN DIE DEUTSCHEN GESCHWORNEN,  
 FRANKFURT AM MAIN, 1849

"We had voted against the inheritability of the office of Supreme Head of the Empire; on the next day we abstained from voting. When the whole result lay before us, however, as it had emerged from the will of the majority of an assembly elected on the basis of universal franchise, we declared that we should submit. Had we not done so we should have proved that we *did not fit into civil society in general.*"<sup>a</sup> (p. 43.)

According to Herr L. Simon "of Trier", therefore, the most extreme members of the Frankfurt Assembly no longer "fitted into civil society in general". Herr L. Simon "of Trier" thus appears to conceive the bounds of civil society in general as being even narrower than the bounds of St. Paul's Church.<sup>185</sup>

Incidentally, in his confession of April 11, 1849, Herr Simon had the tact to reveal the secret of both his former opposition and his later conversion.

"Cold mists have arisen from the gloomy waters of pre-March diplomacy. These mists will gather into clouds and we shall have a thunderstorm pregnant with ruin, threatening to strike first of all the tower of the church in which we are sitting. Take heed and arrange for a lightning-conductor to *conduct the lightning away from yourselves!*"<sup>b</sup>

That is, gentlemen, it is now our skins that are at stake!

The beggarly proposals, the wretched compromises offered to the majority by the Frankfurt Left on the question of the Emperor and after the humiliated return of the deputation to the Emperor,<sup>186</sup> merely in order to retain them in the Assembly, the dirty attempts at

<sup>a</sup> Here and below the italics in quotations are mostly by the reviewers.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> From Ludwig Simon's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on April 11, 1849. Quoted from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 271 (second edition), April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

agreement which they were at that time making in all directions, all receive their higher consecration in the following words of Herr Simon:

"The events of the past year have made the word agreement the butt of a very disquieting scorn. It is hardly possible to speak of it any longer without being derided. Yet of two possibilities only one can be realised: either people agree with one another, or they fall upon one another like wild animals." (p. 43.)

That is, either the parties concerned fight their battle to the finish, or they postpone it by means of any compromise they choose. The latter is at all events "more educated" and "more humane". With his theory set forth above, incidentally, Herr Simon opens up an endless series of agreements by means of which he will remain acceptable in any and every "civil society".

The late Imperial Constitution is justified in the following philosophical deduction:

"The Imperial Constitution was thus in fact properly the expression of what was possible without new exertions of violence... It was the living (!) expression of democratic monarchy, and hence of a contradiction in principle. But much has already existed in actual fact which was self-contradictory in principle, and it is precisely from the actual existence of contradictions in principle that further life develops." (p. 44.)

It can be seen that to apply Hegelian dialectics is still rather more difficult than to quote snippets of verse by Schiller. The Imperial Constitution, if it was "actually" to endure in spite of its "contradiction in principle", ought at least to have expressed in a "principled" fashion that contradiction which "actually" existed. "Actually", there stood on the one hand Prussia and Austria, military absolutism, and on the other the German people, cheated of the fruits of their March rising, cheated to a great extent by their foolish belief in the wretched Frankfurt Assembly, and on the point of daring at last to embark on a new fight against military absolutism. This actual contradiction could only be resolved by an actual conflict. Did the Imperial Constitution express this contradiction? Not in the least. It expressed the contradiction as it existed in March 1848, before Prussia and Austria had recovered their strength, before the opposition had been split, weakened and disarmed by partial defeats. It expressed nothing more than the childish self-deception of the gentlemen of St. Paul's Church, who, in March 1849, still imagined themselves able to prescribe laws to the Prussian and Austrian governments, and to ensure for themselves for all posterity the position of imperial German Barrots, a position as profitable as it would be secure.

Then Herr Simon congratulates himself and his colleagues for being totally unshakable in their self-interested infatuation with the Imperial Constitution:

“Admit in shame, ye renegades of Gotha,<sup>187</sup> that in the midst of pressing passions we have resisted every temptation, have faithfully kept our word and have not altered our common achievement by even one iota!” (p. 67.)

He then refers to their heroic deeds in connection with Württemberg and the Palatinate, and to their Stuttgart decision of June 8, in which they placed Baden under the protection of the Empire, although by that time the Empire was already essentially under the protection of Baden,<sup>188</sup> and their decisions only proved that they were determined not to shift “by even one iota” from their cowardice, and to maintain by force an illusion in which they themselves no longer believed.

The accusation that “the Imperial Constitution was only a mask for the republic” is ingeniously rejected by Herr Simon as follows:

“Only if the struggle against *all* governments *without exception* had to be pursued *to the end*, ... and who tells you then that the struggle against all governments without exception ought to have been pursued to the end? Who can calculate them all, the possible permutations of battle and of the fortunes of war, and if the hostile brothers” (governments and people) “had stood face to face after a bloody struggle, *exhausted and undecided as to the outcome*, and if the spirit of peace and reconciliation had come upon them, would we then have harmed even in the slightest the banner of the Imperial Constitution, under which the brothers could have stretched out their hands to each other in conciliation? Look about you! Place your hands on your hearts! Delve sincerely into your innermost conscience, and you will, you must answer: no, no, and again no!” (p. 70.)

This is the true quiver of oratory from which Herr Simon drew those arrows which he fired to such astonishing effect in St. Paul's Church!—In spite of its flatness, however, this touching pathos has its interest. It shows how the gentlemen of Frankfurt sat calmly in Stuttgart and waited for the hostile parties to fight to a standstill so that they could step between the exhausted combatants at the right moment and offer them the panacea of conciliation, the Imperial Constitution. And the extent to which Herr Simon is expressing the innermost thoughts of his colleagues can be seen from the way in which these gentlemen are even now in session in Berne at innkeeper Benz's in Kesslergasse,<sup>a</sup> waiting only for a new conflict to break out so that they may step in when the sides “are standing face to face, exhausted and undecided as to the outcome”, and offer them as a basis for agreement the Imperial Constitution, this perfect expression of exhaustion and indecision.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 8.—*Ed.*

"But I say to you in spite of all that and however painful it may be to roam far from one's fatherland, far from one's home and far from aged parents, on the lonely path of exile, I will not exchange my pure conscience for the remorse of the renegades and the sleepless nights of the rulers, not even if I should be offered a surfeit of all worldly goods!" (p. 71.)

If it were only possible to send these gentlemen into exile! But do they not drag the fatherland along behind them in their suitcases in the form of the stenographic reports from Frankfurt?<sup>a</sup> And do these not waft towards them currents of the purest air of the homeland and the fullness of the fairest self-complacency?

Incidentally, when Herr Simon maintains that he is putting in a good word for those who *fought* for the Imperial Constitution he is indulging in a pious deceit. Those who *fought* for the Imperial Constitution had no need of his "Word of Justice". They defended themselves better and more energetically. But Herr Simon has to push them forward in order to conceal the fact that, in the interest of the Frankfurters who have compromised themselves in every respect, in the interest of those who *framed* the Imperial Constitution, in his own interest, he considers it indispensable to deliver an *oratio pro domo*.<sup>b</sup>

Written in January and February 1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
No. 2, 1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first  
time

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<sup>a</sup> *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen konstituierenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main, 1848-49.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> Speech on one's own behalf.—Ed.

## III

GUIZOT, *POURQUOI LA RÉVOLUTION D'ANGLETERRE*  
*A-T-ELLE RÉUSSI? DISCOURS SUR L'HISTOIRE*  
*DÈ LA RÉVOLUTION D'ANGLETERRE,*  
 PARIS, 1850

The purpose of M. Guizot's pamphlet is to show why Louis Philippe and Guizot's policy should really not have been overthrown on February 24, 1848, and how the abominable character of the French was to blame for the ignominious downfall of the July monarchy of 1830 after an arduous existence of eighteen years and for its failure to attain the permanency enjoyed by the English monarchy ever since 1688.

From this pamphlet one may see how even the most capable people of the *ancien régime*, people whose own kind of talent in the realm of history can by no means be disputed, have been brought to such a state of perplexity by the fatal events of February that they have lost all understanding of history, that they now even fail to comprehend their own former actions. Instead of being impelled by the February Revolution to realise the totally different historical conditions, the totally different class alignment of society, in the French monarchy of 1830 and the English of 1688, M. Guizot dissolves the whole difference in a few moralising phrases, averring in conclusion that the policy that was overthrown on February 24 "preserves the states and alone quells revolutions".

Exactly formulated, the question M. Guizot wants to answer is as follows: Why has bourgeois society developed longer in England in the form of a constitutional monarchy than in France?

The following passage will serve to characterise M. Guizot's acquaintance with the course of bourgeois development in England:

"In the reigns of George I and George II public opinion veered. Foreign policy ceased to be their main concern; home administration, maintenance of peace, problems of finance, colonies and trade, the development and the struggles of the parliamentary regime now mainly engaged the attention of both the government and the public." (P [p]. 168[-169].)

M. Guizot finds only two things worthy of mention in the reign of William III: maintenance of the balance between Parliament and Crown, and maintenance of the balance in Europe by fighting Louis XIV. Then, under the Hanoverian dynasty, "public opinion" suddenly "veered", no one knows how or why. We see here that M. Guizot applies the expressions most commonly used in French parliamentary debate to English history and believes he has thereby explained it. Similarly, M. Guizot imagined, when he was minister, that he held the balance between Parliament and Crown as well as the balance in Europe, whereas in reality all he did was to barter away piecemeal the whole French state and the whole of French society to the financial Shylocks of the Paris Bourse.

M. Guizot does not consider it worth while mentioning that the wars against Louis XIV were exclusively trade wars waged to destroy French commerce and French sea power, that under William III the domination of the financial bourgeoisie received its first sanction by the establishment of the Bank and the institution of the national debt,<sup>189</sup> and that the manufacturing bourgeoisie was given a new impetus by the consistent application of the system of protective tariffs. Only political phrases mean anything to him. He does not even mention that in Queen Anne's reign the ruling parties could maintain themselves and the constitutional monarchy only by an arbitrary measure, the lengthening of the term of Parliament to seven years, thus almost completely destroying the influence of the people upon the government.

Under the Hanoverian dynasty England was already so far advanced that it could wage trade war against France in its modern form. England itself fought France only in America and East India; on the Continent it confined itself to hiring foreign princes like Frederick II to fight France. And when foreign war assumes a different form, M. Guizot says: "foreign policy ceases to be the main concern" and is replaced by the "maintenance of peace". The extent to which "the development and the struggles of the parliamentary regime now mainly engaged the attention of both the government and the public" may be gauged from the accounts of the bribery practised under Walpole's ministry, which, of course, do not differ a hair's breadth from the scandals that became the order of the day under M. Guizot.

M. Guizot sees two particular reasons why the English Revolution took a more favourable course than the French: first, because the English Revolution was thoroughly religious in character and therefore by no means broke with all the traditions of the past; secondly, because from its very inception it did not act destructively

but conservatively, and Parliament defended the old laws in force against the usurpations of the Crown.

Concerning the first point, M. Guizot forgets that free-thinking, which so horrifies him in the French Revolution, was brought to France from no other country than England. Locke was its father, and with Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke it assumed that keen-spirited form which was subsequently developed so brilliantly in France. We thus arrive at the odd conclusion that free-thinking on which, according to M. Guizot, the French Revolution foundered, was one of the most essential products of the religious English Revolution.

As far as the second point is concerned, M. Guizot forgets entirely that the French Revolution began just as conservatively as the English, indeed much more so. Absolutism, particularly as it manifested itself finally in France, was here, too, an innovation, and it was against this innovation that the parliaments<sup>190</sup> rose and defended the old laws, the *us et coutumes*<sup>a</sup> of the old monarchy based on estates. Whereas the first step of the French Revolution was the resurrection of the States General,<sup>191</sup> which had been dormant since Henry IV and Louis XIII, no fact of equal classical conservatism can be found in the English Revolution.

According to M. Guizot the main result of the English Revolution was that the King was put in a position where he could not possibly rule against the will of Parliament, particularly the House of Commons. The whole revolution consisted in both sides, Crown and Parliament, overstepping the mark in the beginning and going too far until at last, under William III, they found the correct balance and neutralised each other. M. Guizot deems it superfluous to mention that the subordination of the monarchy to Parliament was its subordination to the rule of a class. He need not therefore go into the details of how this class acquired the power necessary to make the Crown finally its servant. In his opinion the only issues involved in the whole struggle between Charles I and Parliament were purely political prerogatives. Not a word about the reason why Parliament and the class represented in it needed these prerogatives. He has just as little to say about Charles I's direct interference in free competition, which jeopardised England's trade and industry more and more; or about his dependence upon Parliament, which because of his constant financial straits became all the greater the more he sought to defy Parliament. Hence the only explanation he can find for the whole revolution is the malevolence and religious fanaticism of individual troublemakers who would not be satisfied with a

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<sup>a</sup> Usages and customs.—Ed.

moderate freedom. Nor can M. Guizot enlighten us on the connection between the religious movement and the development of bourgeois society. The republic, too, is naturally only the handiwork of a few ambitious, fanatic and evil-minded people. That about the same time attempts to set up a republic were likewise made in Lisbon, Naples and Messina,<sup>192</sup> patterned likewise, as in England, after Holland, is a fact that he entirely fails to mention. Although M. Guizot never loses sight of the French Revolution, he does not even draw the simple conclusion that everywhere the transition from absolute to constitutional monarchy is effected only after fierce struggles and after passage through a republican form of government and that even then the old dynasty, having become useless, has to make room for a usurpatory collateral line. The only information he can give us about the overthrow of the restored English monarchy consists of the most trivial commonplaces. He does not even mention its immediate causes: the fear of the new big landed proprietors created by the Reformation that Catholicism might be re-established, in which event they would naturally have had to give back all the lands of which they had robbed the Church—a proceeding in which seven-tenths of the entire area of England would have changed hands; the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie's dread of Catholicism, which in no way suited their book; the nonchalance with which the Stuarts, to their own advantage and that of the court aristocracy, sold all English industry, as well as trade, to the government of France, that is, to the only country which at that time dangerously, and in many respects successfully, competed with the English, etc. As M. Guizot omits everywhere the most important points, all he has left is a most inadequate and banal narration of mere political events.

The big riddle for M. Guizot, the one for which he sees an explanation only in the superior intelligence of the English, the riddle of the conservatism of the English Revolution, is the persisting alliance of the bourgeoisie with the majority of the big landowners, an alliance that distinguishes the English Revolution essentially from the French, which eliminated big landed property by parcellation. This class of big landowners allied with the bourgeoisie—which, incidentally, arose as early as under Henry VIII—found itself not in contradiction with the conditions of existence of the bourgeoisie as did French landed property in 1789, but, on the contrary, in perfect harmony with them. In actual fact their landed estates were not feudal but bourgeois property. On the one hand, the landed proprietors provided the industrial bourgeoisie with the labour force necessary to operate its manufactories and, on the other, were in a



position to develop agriculture in accordance with the level of industry and trade. Hence their common interests with the bourgeoisie; hence their alliance with it.

For M. Guizot, English history ends with the consolidation of the constitutional monarchy in England. For him everything that followed was merely a pleasant game of seesaw between Tories and Whigs, something in the nature of the great debate between M. Guizot and M. Thiers. In reality, however, it was only with the consolidation of the constitutional monarchy that the large-scale development and transformation of bourgeois society in England began. Where M. Guizot sees only placid tranquillity and idyllic peace, the most violent conflicts, the most thoroughgoing revolutions, were actually developing. It was under the constitutional monarchy that manufacture first developed to a hitherto unknown extent, to make room, subsequently, for big industry, the steam-engine and the gigantic factories. Entire classes of the population disappear, and new ones with new conditions of existence and new requirements take their place. A new, more colossal bourgeoisie arises. While the old bourgeoisie fights the French Revolution, the new one conquers the world market. It becomes so omnipotent that even before the Reform Bill <sup>193</sup> puts direct political power into its hands it forces its opponents to pass laws almost exclusively in *its* interests and according to *its* needs. It wins for itself direct representation in Parliament and uses it to destroy the last remnants of real power that landed property retains. Lastly, it is engaged at present in utterly demolishing the handsome edifice of the English constitution which M. Guizot so admires.

While M. Guizot compliments the English on the fact that in their country the detestable excrescences of French social life—republicanism and socialism—have not shaken the foundations of the monarchy, the only source of salvation, the class antagonisms in English society have become more acute than in any other country. Here a bourgeoisie possessed of unequalled wealth and productive forces is opposed by a proletariat whose strength and concentration are likewise unequalled. Thus what M. Guizot acknowledges in England finally comes to this, that here, under the protection of constitutional monarchy, far more numerous and far more radical elements of social revolution have developed than in all other countries of the world taken together.

When the threads of development in England become entangled in a knot which he can no longer cut, even in appearance, with mere political phrases, M. Guizot has recourse to religious phrases, to the armed intervention of God. Thus, for instance, the spirit of the Lord

suddenly descends upon the army and prevents Cromwell from proclaiming himself king, etc., etc. From his conscience Guizot seeks safety in God; from the profane public, in his style.

Indeed, not only *les rois s'en vont*, but also *les capacités de la bourgeoisie s'en vont*.<sup>a</sup>

Written in February 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

No. 2, 1850

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<sup>a</sup> Not only “kings pass away”, but also “the talent of the bourgeoisie”.—*Ed.*

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## REVIEW

[January-February 1850]<sup>194</sup>

*A tout seigneur, tout honneur.*<sup>a</sup> Let us start with *Prussia*.

The King of Prussia is doing his best to push the present situation of tepid agreement, of inadequate compromise, towards a crisis.<sup>195</sup> He bestows a constitution and, after various unpleasantnesses, creates two Chambers which revise this constitution. Just so that the constitution may appear as acceptable as possible to the Crown, the Chambers delete every article which might in any way be objectionable to it, and believe that now the King will confirm the constitution with his oath straight away. But on the contrary. In order to give the Chambers a proof of his "royal conscientiousness" Frederick William issues an announcement<sup>b</sup> in which he makes new proposals for the improvement of the constitution, proposals whose acceptance would deprive the said document of even the least trace of the most insignificant so-called constitutional civil guarantees. The King hopes that the Chambers will reject these proposals—on the contrary. If the Chambers had been disappointed with the Crown, then they now made sure that the Crown would be disappointed with them. They accept everything: peerage and extraordinary courts, *Landsturm* and entailment,<sup>196</sup> merely in order not to be sent home, merely to force the King at last to swear a solemn "corporeal" oath. Thus does a Prussian constitutional bourgeois take his revenge.

The King will find it difficult to invent a humiliation which might appear too harsh for these Chambers. He will finally feel himself

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<sup>a</sup> To every lord his honour.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> "Allerhöchste Botschaft", January 7, 1850. Published in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 10, January 10, 1850. A somewhat paraphrased passage from that announcement is quoted further in the text.—*Ed.*

obliged to declare that "the more sacred he holds the sworn vow he is to give, the more do the duties laid upon him by God for the beloved fatherland appear before his soul", and the less does his "royal conscientiousness" permit him to confirm by oath a constitution which offers him everything, but the country nothing.

The gentlemen of the defunct "United Diet",<sup>197</sup> who are now together again in the Chambers, are so afraid of being driven back to their old situation, as it was prior to March 18, because they would then again have before them the revolution, which will bring them no roses this time. What is more, in 1847 they were still able to refuse the loan for the alleged Eastern railway, whereas in 1849 they first actually granted the government the loan in question, and afterwards most humbly raised with the government the matter of the theoretical right of granting the money.

In the meantime the bourgeoisie outside the Chambers is taking its pleasure in jury decisions acquitting those accused of political offences, thus demonstrating its opposition to the government. In these trials, on the one hand the government and on the other the democracy represented by the accused and the public, discredit themselves at regular intervals. We remind our readers of the trial of the "ever constitutional" Waldeck, the trial in Trier,<sup>198</sup> etc.

When old Arndt asks: "What is the fatherland of a German?"<sup>a</sup> Frederick William IV replies: *Erfurt*.<sup>199</sup> It was not very difficult to travesty the *Iliad* in the *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice*, but nobody has hitherto dared contemplate a travesty of the *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice*. The Erfurt Plan succeeds in travesty even the battle of the frogs and the mice of St. Paul's Church itself.<sup>200</sup> It is of course completely irrelevant whether the unbelievable assembly in Erfurt in fact assembles or whether the Orthodox Tsar<sup>b</sup> forbids it, just as irrelevant as the protest against its competency, in issuing which Herr Vogt will undoubtedly enter into an agreement with Herr Venedey. The whole invention is of interest only to those profound politicians for whose leading articles the question of a "Great Germany" or a "Little Germany" was a mine as rich as it was indispensable, and to those Prussian bourgeois who live in the comforting belief that the King of Prussia will grant everything in Erfurt precisely because he has refused everything in Berlin.

If the Frankfurt "National Assembly" is to be more or less faithfully reflected in Erfurt, then the old Federal Diet will be reborn

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<sup>a</sup> From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Teutschen Vaterland".—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

in the "Interim"<sup>201</sup> and simultaneously reduced to its simplest expression, to an Austro-Prussian federal commission. The Interim has already materialised in Württemberg and will shortly materialise in Mecklenburg and Schleswig-Holstein.

While Prussia has been able for a long time to scrape its budget together by means of emissions of paper money, stealthy loans from the *Seehandlung*,<sup>202</sup> and the remains of the state treasury, and has only now rushed forward down the road of public loans, in Austria state bankruptcy is in full bloom. A deficit of 155 million guilders in the first nine months of the year 1849, which is bound to have increased to 210-220 million by the end of December; the complete ruin of state credit at home and abroad after the resounding failure of the attempt at raising a new loan; total exhaustion of the internal financial resources: ordinary taxes, contributions, emissions of paper money; the necessity of imposing new and desperate taxes on the country which had already been sucked dry, taxes which, one can see in advance, will not be paid in—these are the main features in which naked financial need reveals itself in Austria. Simultaneously the decay of the Austrian state organism is proceeding ever more rapidly. In vain does the government counter it by means of convulsive centralisation; the disorganisation has already reached the furthest extremities of the state organism, and Austria is becoming intolerable even to the most barbaric nationalities, to the principal pillars of the old Austria, to the Southern Slavs in Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Banat, the "trusty" borderers.<sup>203</sup> Only an act of desperation remains, offering a slight chance of rescue—an external war; this external war to which Austria is irresistibly being driven must rapidly complete its total dissolution.

Nor has *Russia* proved rich enough to pay for its fame, which it had to purchase for cash into the bargain. In spite of the widely vaunted gold-mines of the Urals and the Altai, in spite of the inexhaustible treasures in the vaults of the Peter and Paul fortress, in spite of the annuity purchases in London and Paris, allegedly made out of a surplus of money, the Orthodox Tsar feels himself constrained not only to remove 5,000,000 silver rubles, using all kinds of false pretexts, from the bullion stores lying in the Peter and Paul fortress as security for his paper currency, and to order the sale of his annuities on the Paris Bourse, but also to beg the unbelieving City of London for an advance of 30 million silver rubles.

Russia has become so deeply involved in European politics on account of the movements of the years 1848 and 1849 that it will have to execute its old plans against Turkey, against Constantinople,

“the key to its house”,<sup>a</sup> as speedily as it can if they are not to become for ever impossible to execute. The progress of the counter-revolution and the daily growing power of the revolutionary party in Western Europe, the internal situation in Russia itself and the bad state of its finances are forcing it towards rapid action. We recently saw the diplomatic prelude to this new oriental drama of state<sup>204</sup>; in a few months we shall witness the drama itself.

War against Turkey is necessarily a European war. So much the better for Holy Russia, which is thus given an opportunity of obtaining a firm foothold in Germany, leading the counter-revolution there energetically to its conclusion, helping Prussia to conquer Neuchâtel, and, in the last instance, marching on the centre of the revolution, on Paris.

In such a European war England cannot remain neutral. It must take a stand against Russia. And for Russia England is by far the most dangerous antagonist. If the land armies of the Continent cannot help weakening themselves more and more as a result of their having to spread out more the further they press forward into Russia, if their advance, upon the penalty of a repetition of 1812, must come to an almost complete halt on the eastern frontier of the former Poland, England has the means of tackling Russia on its most vulnerable flanks. Apart from the fact that it can force Sweden to reconquer Finland, St. Petersburg and Odessa stand open to its navy. The Russian navy is known to be the worst in the world, and Kronstadt and Schlüsselburg are as vulnerable to capture as Saint-Jean d’Acre and San Juan de Ulua.<sup>205</sup> And Russia without St. Petersburg and Odessa is a giant with its hands chopped off. Moreover Russia cannot dispense with England either for the sale of its raw materials or the purchase of industrial products for even as little as six months, which emerged clearly at the time of Napoleon’s continental blockade,<sup>206</sup> but is now the case to a far greater degree. Cutting off from the English market would in a few months induce the most violent convulsions in Russia. England, on the other hand, can not only do without the Russian market for a time, but it can also procure all Russian raw materials from other markets. One can see that the dreaded Russia is by no means so very dangerous. It must assume such a terror-inspiring shape for the German burgher, however, since it directly controls his princes and since he quite rightly suspects that Russia’s barbarian hordes will before long inundate Germany and to some extent play a messianic role there.

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<sup>a</sup> The phrase was used by Alexander I in a conversation with the French Ambassador Caulaincourt in 1808.—*Ed.*

*Switzerland's* attitude to the Holy Alliance in general resembles that of the Prussian Chambers to their King in particular. Except that Switzerland has behind it an additional scapegoat to which it can pass on all the blows it receives from the Holy Alliance two- or threefold, a scapegoat which is defenceless into the bargain and quite abandoned to its favour or disfavour—the German refugees. It is true that a section of the “radical” Swiss in Geneva, in Vaud and in Berne has protested against the cowardly policy of the Federal Council<sup>207</sup>—cowardly both in respect of the Holy Alliance and of the refugees; it is, however, just as true that the Federal Council was correct when it maintained that its policy was “that of the huge majority of the Swiss people”. In the midst of all this the Central Authority quite tranquilly continues to carry out small bourgeois reforms internally: centralisation of customs, of coinage, of the post, of weights and measures—reforms which assure it the applause of the petty bourgeoisie. To be sure it dares not carry out its decision concerning the repeal of the military enlistment agreements, and the men of the *Ur*-cantons still go in droves daily to Como to get themselves enlisted in the service of Naples.<sup>208</sup> But in spite of all its humility and complaisance towards the Holy Alliance, a fatal storm threatens Switzerland. In the first flush of high spirits after the war against the Sonderbund and in complete euphoria after the February Revolution, the otherwise so timid Swiss allowed themselves to be tempted to imprudent actions. They ventured the enormity of wanting at last to be independent; they gave themselves a new constitution instead of the one guaranteed by the powers in 1814, they recognised the independence of Neuchâtel<sup>209</sup> contrary to the treaties. For this they will be punished, in spite of all their bowing and scraping, their readiness to oblige and their police services. And once it is involved in the European war Switzerland will not find itself in the most pleasant of situations; if Switzerland has insulted the holy allies, it has on the other hand betrayed the revolution.

In *France*, where the bourgeoisie itself is leading the reaction in its own interests, and where the republican form of government permits reaction its freest and most consistent development, the suppression of the revolution is being executed in the most shameless and violent fashion. In the short space of one month the following measures were taken one after another: the restoration of the drink tax, which directly completes the ruin of half the rural population, the d'Hautpoul circular, which appoints the gendarmes as spies even upon the civil servants, the law on schoolteachers, which declares that all elementary schoolteachers are to be subject to arbitrary dismissal by the prefects, the education law, which hands

the schools over to the priests, the deportation law, in which the bourgeoisie unleashes the whole of its pent-up lust for vengeance on the June insurgents and, in the absence of any other executioner, delivers them up to the most deadly climate in the whole of Algeria. We will not even mention the innumerable deportations of even the most innocent foreigners, which have never ceased since June 13.<sup>a</sup>

The purpose of this violent bourgeois reaction is, of course, to restore the monarchy. However, the monarchist restoration is considerably hindered by the various pretenders themselves, and by the parties they have in the country. The Legitimists and the Orleanists, the two strongest monarchist parties, more or less counterbalance each other; the third party, the Bonapartists, is by far the weakest. Louis Napoleon does not, in spite of his seven million votes, even possess a real party, he merely has a coterie. Although he is given constant support by the majority of the Chamber in the general handling of the reaction, he finds himself abandoned as soon as his particular interests as pretender emerge, abandoned not only by the majority but also by his ministers, who each time give him the lie and force him to declare in writing the next day in spite of everything that they have his confidence. The quarrels in which he thus gets embroiled with the majority, however serious the consequences to which they might lead, have for this reason so far only been comical episodes in which the President of the Republic has each time played the part of the dupe. It goes without saying that in these conditions each monarchist faction is conspiring with the Holy Alliance on its own initiative. The *Assemblée nationale* is brazen enough to threaten the people publicly with the Russians<sup>b</sup>; there is already ample evidence that Louis Napoleon is plotting with Nicholas.

At the same rate as the reaction advances, the forces of the revolutionary party naturally grow too. The great mass of the rural population, ruined by the consequences of land parcelling, by the tax burden and the purely fiscal nature of most of the taxes, damaging even from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, disappointed with the promises of Louis Napoleon and the reactionary deputies, the mass of the rural population has thrown itself into the arms of the revolutionary party and professes a socialism which is, admittedly, still very crude and bourgeois for the most part. The revolutionary mood of even the most legitimist *départements* is proved by the latest

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 105-07.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Presumably a reference to the leading article in *L'Assemblée nationale* No. 23, January 25, 1850.—*Ed.*



election in the Gard *département*,<sup>210</sup> the centre of royalism and of the "white terror" of 1815, where a red was elected.<sup>a</sup> The petty bourgeoisie, oppressed by big capital, which has once more adopted exactly the same position in commerce and politics as under Louis Philippe, has followed the rural population. The turnabout is so marked that even the traitor Marrast and the grocers' journal, the *Siècle*, have had to declare themselves socialists. The position of the various classes in relation to one another, for which the mutual relationships of the political parties are only another expression, is again almost exactly the same as on February 22, 1848. Except that other matters are now at stake, that the workers are much more conscious, and that in particular a class hitherto dead politically, the peasantry, has been dragged into the movement and won for the revolution.

In this lies the necessity for the ruling bourgeoisie of trying to abolish universal franchise as rapidly as possible; and in this necessity lies in turn the certainty of impending victory for the revolution even disregarding external circumstances.

The tension of the situation in general is revealed by the comical bill proposed by people's representative Pradié,<sup>b</sup> who attempts in approximately 200 clauses to prevent coups d'état and revolutions by a decree of the National Assembly. And the vast lack of confidence felt by high finance for the "order" now apparently restored here and in other capitals can be seen in the fact that a few months ago the various branches of the house of Rothschild only prolonged their deeds of partnership for *one year*—a period of unprecedented brevity in the annals of large-scale commerce.

While the Continent has been occupying itself for the past two years with revolutions, counter-revolutions and the floods of rhetoric inseparable from these, industrial *England* has been dealing in a quite different article: prosperity. Here the commercial crisis which broke out in due course<sup>c</sup> in the autumn of 1845 was interrupted twice—at the beginning of 1846 by the Free Trade decisions of Parliament,<sup>211</sup> and at the beginning of 1848 by the February Revolution. A quantity of commodities depressing overseas markets had in the meantime gradually found outlets. The February Revolution eliminated competition from continental industry precisely in these markets, while English industry did not lose much more because of the disturbed continental market than it would have done

<sup>a</sup> Favand.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The bill was submitted to the Legislative Assembly on January 12 and 19, 1850.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> The words "in due course" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

anyway in the further development of the crisis. In this way the February Revolution, momentarily bringing continental industry to an almost complete standstill, helped the English to weather a year of crisis in a quite tolerable fashion, contributed substantially to clearing away the piled-up stocks of goods in the overseas markets, and made a new industrial upswing possible in the spring of 1849. This upswing, which incidentally extended to a great part of continental industry, has reached such a level in the last three months that the manufacturers are claiming that they have never experienced such good times before—a claim always made on the eve of a crisis. The factories are overloaded with orders and are working at an accelerated rate; every means is being sought to dodge the Ten Hours' Bill<sup>a</sup> and gain new hours of labour; new factories are being built in great numbers in all parts of the industrial regions, and the old ones are being extended. Cash is pouring into the market, idle capital wants to take advantage of the occasion of universal profit; speculation is brimming over with discount-dealing, which is throwing itself into production<sup>b</sup> or into the raw materials trade, and almost all articles show an absolute and all a relative rise in price. In short, England is blessed with "prosperity" in its most splendid bloom, and the only question is how long this intoxication will last. Not very long, at all events. Several of the largest markets, East India in particular, are already almost glutted; export is already less favourable to the really great markets than to the emporia of world trade, from which the commodities may be directed to the most favourable markets. Soon the markets still left, particularly those of North and South America and Australia, will be similarly glutted, given the colossal forces of production which English industry added to those it already had between 1843 and 1845, in 1846 and 1847, and especially in 1849, and which are still being daily added to. And with the first reports of this glut, panic<sup>c</sup> will break out simultaneously in speculation and production—perhaps as soon as towards the end of spring, in July or August at the latest. This crisis, however, since it is bound to coincide with great collisions on the Continent, will bring forth results quite different from those of all previous crises. Whereas every crisis hitherto has been the signal for a new advance,

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 273-74 and 296-98.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the passage "speculation is brimming over with discount-dealing, which is throwing itself into production" is changed and reads thus: "discount is falling, speculation is throwing itself into production".—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

a new victory of the industrial bourgeoisie over landed property and the finance bourgeoisie, this crisis will mark the beginning of the modern English revolution, a revolution in which Cobden will assume the role of a Necker.

And now we come to *America*. The most important thing to have occurred here, more important even than the February Revolution, is the discovery of the Californian gold-mines. Already now, after barely eighteen months, one may predict that this discovery will have much more impressive consequences than the discovery of America itself. For three hundred and thirty years the whole of Europe's trade with the Pacific Ocean has been carried with the most moving patience around the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. All proposals for cutting through the Isthmus of Panama have come to grief because of the petty jealousies of the trading nations. It is a mere eighteen months since the Californian gold-mines were discovered, and the Yankees have already started work on a railway, a large highway and a canal from the Gulf of Mexico, steamships are already making regular trips from New York to Chagres and from Panama to San Francisco, the Pacific trade is already becoming concentrated on Panama and the route around Cape Horn is obsolete. A coast thirty degrees of latitude in length, one of the most beautiful and fertile in the world, hitherto as good as uninhabited, is visibly being transformed into a rich and civilised country, densely populated by people of all races, from Yankee to Chinaman, from Negro to Indian and Malay, from Creole and Mestizo to European. Rivers of Californian gold are pouring over America and the Asiatic coast of the Pacific Ocean, and dragging the most reluctant barbarian nations into world trade, into civilisation. For the second time world trade is taking a new direction. The role played by Tyre, Carthage and Alexandria in antiquity, and Genoa and Venice in the Middle Ages, the role of London and Liverpool until now—that of the emporia of world trade—is now being assumed by New York and San Francisco, San Juan de Nicaragua<sup>a</sup> and Leon, Chagres and Panama. The centre of gravity of world commerce, Italy in the Middle Ages, England in modern times, is now the southern half of the North American peninsula. The industry and trade of old Europe will have to make huge exertions if they are not to fall into the same decay as the industry and trade of Italy since the sixteenth century, if England and France are not to become what Venice, Genoa and Holland are today. In a few years we shall have a regular steam-packet service from England to Chagres and from Chagres and San Francisco to

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<sup>a</sup> San Juan del Norte (Greytown).—*Ed.*

Sydney, Canton and Singapore. Thanks to Californian gold and the tireless energy of the Yankees, both coasts of the Pacific Ocean will soon be as populous, as open to trade and as industrialised as the coast from Boston to New Orleans is now. And then the Pacific Ocean will have the same role as the Atlantic has now and the Mediterranean had in antiquity and in the Middle Ages—that of the great water highway of world commerce; and the Atlantic will decline to the status of an inland sea, like the Mediterranean nowadays. The only chance the civilised nations of Europe have, not to fall into the same industrial, commercial and political dependence to which Italy, Spain and Portugal are now reduced, lies in a social revolution which, so long as there is still time, will revolutionise the mode of production and commerce in accordance with the needs of production themselves as they emerge from the modern forces of production, thus making possible the creation of new forces of production, which can ensure the superiority of European industry and so compensate for the disadvantages of its geographical position.

And finally, another characteristic curiosity from China, which the well-known German missionary Gützlaff has brought back with him.<sup>212</sup> The slowly but steadily growing over-population in this country had long made social conditions there particularly oppressive for the great majority of the nation. Then came the English and extorted free trade for themselves in five ports.<sup>213</sup> Thousands of English and American ships sailed to China and before long the country was glutted with inexpensive British and American industrial manufactures. Chinese industry, dependent on manual labour, succumbed to competition from the machine. The imperturbable Middle Kingdom was aroused by a social crisis. The taxes no longer came in, the state reached the brink of bankruptcy, the population sank *en masse* into pauperism, erupted in revolts, refused to acknowledge the mandarins of the Emperor or the priests of Fó, mishandled and killed them. The country reached the brink of ruin and is already threatened with a mighty revolution. But worse was to come. Among the rebellious plebs individuals appeared who pointed to the poverty of some and to the wealth of others, and who demanded, and are still demanding a different distribution of property, and even the complete abolition of private property.<sup>214</sup> When Herr Gützlaff came among civilised people and Europeans again after an absence of twenty years, he heard talk of socialism and asked what this might be. When it had been explained to him he cried out in horror:

“Shall I then nowhere escape this pernicious doctrine? For some time now many of the mob have been preaching exactly the same thing in China!”

Now Chinese socialism may admittedly be the same in relation to European socialism as Chinese philosophy in relation to Hegelian philosophy. Nevertheless, it is a gratifying fact that in eight years the calico bales of the English bourgeoisie have brought the oldest and least perturbable kingdom on earth to the eve of a social upheaval, which, in any event, is bound to have the most significant results for civilisation. When our European reactionaries, on their presently impending flight through Asia, finally come to the Great Wall of China, to the gates leading to the stronghold of arch-reaction and arch-conservatism, who knows if they may not read the following inscription upon them:

RÉPUBLIQUE CHINOISE  
LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ

London, January 31, 1850

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The wishes of the Prussian bourgeoisie have been fulfilled: the "man of honour" has confirmed the constitution with his oath on condition that "it be made possible" for him "to govern with this constitution".<sup>a</sup> And in the few days which have passed since February 6 the bourgeois gentlemen in the Chambers have already granted this wish in full. Before February 6 they said: "We must make concessions, only to get the constitution sworn to; once the oath is taken we can behave quite differently." After February 6 they say: "The constitution has been confirmed by oath, we have every conceivable guarantee; we can therefore make concessions in all tranquillity." They grant eighteen million for armaments, for the mobilisation of 500,000 men against an as yet unknown enemy, without any discussion, without any opposition, almost unanimously; the budget is voted through in four days, all the government's proposals pass through the Chambers in the twinkling of an eye. It is evident that the German bourgeoisie still lacks neither cowardice nor excuses for this cowardice.

Thanks to this benevolent Chamber the King of Prussia has had enough opportunities to realise the advantages the constitutional system offers over the absolutist one and indeed for the rulers as well as for those they rule. If we think back to the financial straits of 1842-48, to the vain attempts at getting credit from the *See-*

<sup>a</sup> Frederick William IV swore to the constitution on February 6, 1850.—*Ed*

*handlung* and the Bank, to Rothschild's refusals, to the loan refused by the United Diet, to the depletion of the state treasury and the public coffers, and if we compare with all this the financial abundance of 1850—three budgets with a deficit of seventy million covered by a grant of the Chambers, loan certificates, treasury bonds placed in mass circulation, the state on better terms with the Bank than it ever was with the *Seehandlung*, and on top of all this another thirty-four million of granted loans in reserve—what a contrast!

According to the statements of the Minister of War the Prussian Government thus considers eventualities likely which could force it to mobilise its whole army, in the interests of European "order and tranquillity".<sup>a</sup> With this declaration Prussia has proclaimed its renewed entry into the Holy Alliance loudly and clearly enough. The identity of the enemy who is to be the target of the new crusade is clear. The centre of anarchy and insurrection, the Gallic Babylon, is to be wiped out. Whether France will be attacked directly, or whether this will be preceded by diversions against Switzerland and Turkey, will often depend solely<sup>b</sup> on developments in Paris. In any case the Prussian Government now has the means to raise its 180,000 soldiers to 500,000 within two months; 400,000 Russians are deployed in Poland, Volhynia and Bessarabia; Austria has at least 650,000 men standing in readiness. Merely to feed these colossal armed forces Russia and Austria will have to begin a war of invasion before this year is out. And as regards the initial direction of this invasion a remarkable document has just been made public.

In one of its most recent issues the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* communicates to its readers a memorandum alleged to have been written by the Austrian General Schönhals, which contains a complete plan for the invasion of Switzerland.<sup>c</sup> The main points of this plan are as follows:

Prussia brings around 60,000 men together on the Main, near the railways; a corps of men from Hesse, Bavaria and Württemberg is concentrated partly at Rottweil and Tuttlingen, partly at Kempten and Memmingen. Austria draws up 50,000 troops in Vorarlberg and in the direction of Innsbruck and forms a second corps in Italy between Sesto-Calende and Lecco. In the meantime Switzerland will be held off with diplomatic negotiations. Once the moment for attack arrives, the Prussians will rush to

<sup>a</sup> From the Minister of War K. Adolf Strotha's speech in the Prussian National Assembly on February 12, 1850.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the words *oft nur* (often solely) have been replaced with *fast nur* (almost solely).—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> "Ein Invasionsprojekt", *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* No. 44, February 21, 1850.—*Ed.*

Lörrach by rail, and the small contingents to Donaueschingen. The Austrians will concentrate more closely at Bregenz and Feldkirch, and the Italian army at Como and Lecco. One brigade remains at Varese threatening Bellinzona. The envoys deliver the ultimatum and leave. Operations commence. The principal pretext is that of restoring the Federal Constitution of 1814 and the freedom of the Sonderbund cantons. The attack itself is a concentric one against Lucerne. The Prussians press towards the Aare by way of Basle, and the Austrians towards the Limmat by way of St. Gallen and Zurich. The former deploy from Solothurn to Zurzach, and the latter from Zurzach through Zurich to Uznach. At the same time a detachment of 15,000 Austrians advances against the Splügen Pass by way of Chur and links up with the Italian corps, whereupon both press forward through the Vorderrhein valley to the St. Gotthard Pass where they will once again link up with the corps from Varese and Bellinzona, and raise an insurrection in the *Ur*-cantons. Meanwhile these will have been cut off from Western Switzerland and the sheep separated from the goats by the advance of the main armies, which will be joined by the smaller contingents via Schaffhausen, and by the conquest of Lucerne. At the same time France, which by the "secret treaty of January 30" is obliged to provide 60,000 men in Lyons and Colmar, occupies Geneva and the Jura under the same pretext as it occupied Rome. Berne will thus have become impossible to defend and the "revolutionary" government will be forced either to capitulate immediately or to starve to death with its troops in the Bernese High Alps.

One can see that the project is not at all bad. It takes the nature of the terrain into account, as it should; it suggests capturing first of all the flatter and more fertile Northern Switzerland, and forcing the only serious position in Northern Switzerland, that behind the Aare and the Limmat, with united main forces. It has the advantage of cutting off the Swiss army from its granary and leaving it, to begin with, only the more difficult mountain terrain. Thus the project can be put into action as early as the beginning of spring, and the earlier it is executed the more difficult will be the situation of the Swiss pressed back into the mountains.

On the basis of purely internal evidence it is difficult to decide whether the document has been published against the will of its authors or whether it has been deliberately composed to be manoeuvred into the hands of a Swiss paper for publication. In the latter case, it could only have the purpose of making the Swiss exhaust their finances with a rapid and large-scale call-up of their troops, and making them show themselves more and more submissive towards the Holy Alliance, as well as of misleading public opinion in general about the intentions of the Allies. The sabre-rattling now taking place, with the war preparations of Russia and Prussia and the war plans against Switzerland, seems to support this interpretation. As does also a sentence in the memorandum itself, in which the greatest speed is recommended in all operations so that the largest possible area may be conquered before the contingents have been withdrawn from it into concentrations and marched

off. On the other hand, just as much internal evidence speaks for the genuineness of the memorandum as being an invasion plan against Switzerland which has really been put forward.

This much is certain: the Holy Alliance will march before the year is out, be it against Switzerland or Turkey to begin with, or directly against France, and in both cases the Federal Council should put its house in order. Whether the Holy Alliance or the revolution arrives first in Berne, the Council will itself have brought about its fall because of its cowardly neutrality. The counter-revolution cannot be satisfied with its concessions, since its origin is more or less revolutionary; the revolution cannot for an instant tolerate such a treacherous and cowardly government in the heart of Europe in the midst of the three nations most intimately involved in the movement. The behaviour of the Swiss Federal Council provides the most striking and it is to be hoped the last example of what the alleged "independence" and "autonomy" of small nations sandwiched between the great nations of today really mean.

Written January 31-February 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
No. 2, 1850

Published in English in full for  
the first time



## Frederick Engels

THE TEN HOURS' QUESTION<sup>215</sup>

It has generally been the habit of the champions of the working classes to meet the argument of the free-trading middle classes, of what is called the "Manchester School",<sup>216</sup> by mere indignant comments upon the immoral and impudently-selfish character of their doctrines. The working man, ground down to the dust, trodden upon, physically ruined and mentally exhausted by a haughty class of money-loving mill-lords, the working man, certainly, would deserve his fate if he did not feel his blood mount into his cheeks upon being very coolly told that he is doomed for ever to serve as a piece of machinery, to be used and misused as it suits his lord, for the greater glory and the more rapid accumulation of capital; and that it is under this condition only that the "ascendancy of his country" and the existence of the working class itself can be made to continue. Were it not for this feeling of passionate, revolutionary indignation, there would be no hope for proletarian emancipation. But it is one thing to keep up the manly spirit of opposition among the working people, and another to meet their enemies in public debate. And here mere indignation, the mere outburst of a violent feeling, though ever so justified, will not do. It is argument which is required. And there is no doubt but that even in cool argumentative discussion, that even on their own favourite field of political economy, the free-trading school will easily be beaten by the supporters of the working men's interest.

As to the barefaced impudence with which the free-trading manufacturers declare the existence of modern society dependent upon their continuing to heap up wealth from the blood and sinews of the working people, we will say only one word. At all periods of history the vast majority of the people have been, in some shape or

another, mere instruments for enriching the privileged few. In all past times, however, this bloodsucking system was carried on under the cover of various moral, religious, and political pretexts; priests, philosophers, lawyers, and statesmen told the people that they were handed over to misery and starvation for their own good, and because it was God's ordinance. Now, on the contrary, the free-traders boldly declare—"You, working men, are slaves, and shall remain slaves, because only by your slavery can we increase our wealth and comforts; because we, the ruling class of this country, cannot continue to rule without you being slaves." Now, then, the mystery of oppression has, at last, come out; now, at last, thanks to the free-traders, the people can clearly perceive their position; now, at last, the question is fairly, unmistakeably put—*Either we, or you!* And therefore, just as before the false friend we prefer the open foe, so to the canting philanthropic aristocrat we prefer the brazenfaced free-trader, before Lord Ashley we prefer Quaker Bright.

The Ten Hours' Bill was carried after a long and violent struggle, which had gone on for forty years in parliament, on the platform, in the press, and in every factory and workshop in the manufacturing districts. On the one side the most heart-rending pictures were produced, of children stunted in their growth and murdered; of women torn from their homes and little ones; of entire generations infected with lingering disease; of human life sacrificed by wholesale, and human happiness destroyed upon a national scale; and all this to enrich a few already over-rich individuals. And there was no fiction about it; all of it was fact, stubborn fact. Yet no one dared to ask that this infamous system should be done away with; it was only asked to limit it in some degree. On the other side came forward the cool, heartless, political economist, the paid servant of those who fattened upon this system, and proved by a series of conclusions, as undeniable and as stringent as the rule of three, that, under penalty of "ruining the country", there was no means of interfering in any way with this system.

It must be confessed, the advocates of the factory-workers never could confound, and even very seldom dared to grapple with the argument of the political economists. The reason is that under the present social system, as long as capital is in the hands of the few, to whom the many are obliged to sell their labour, these arguments are as many facts—facts as undeniable as those brought forth by their opponents. Yes, under the present social system, England, with all classes of her population, is entirely dependent upon the prosperity of her manufactures; and that prosperity, under the present system, is entirely dependent upon the most unlimited freedom of buying

and selling, and of turning to the greatest possible profit all the resources of the country.

Yes, the only means to keep up anything like this manufacturing prosperity, upon which now the very existence of the empire depends, is, under the present system, to produce more every year at less expense. And how produce more at less expense? First, by making the instrument of production—the machine and the working man—work more this year than last; secondly, by superseding the hitherto usual method of production by a new and more perfect one, that is to say, superseding men by improved machinery; thirdly, by reducing the cost of the working man, in reducing the cost of his sustenance (free trade in corn, etc.), or in merely reducing his wages to the lowest possible level. Thus, in all cases, the working man is the loser—thus, England can only be saved by the ruin of her working people! Such is the position—these are the necessities, to which the progress of machinery, the accumulation of capital, and consequent home and foreign competition, have reduced England.

Thus the Ten Hours' Bill, considered in itself, and as a final measure, was decidedly a false step, an impolitic, and even reactionary measure, and which bore within itself the germ of its own destruction. On the one hand it did not destroy the present social system, and on the other it did not favour its development. Instead of forcing the system onwards to its utmost limits, to a point where the ruling class would find all their resources exhausted, to that point where the dominion of another class—where a social revolution would become necessary—instead of that, the Ten Hours' Bill was intended to screw back society to a state superseded, long ago, by the present system. This becomes quite evident, if we only look at the parties who forced the bill through parliament against the opposing free-traders. Was it the working classes, whose agitated state, whose threatening demeanour, carried it? Certainly not. Had it been so, the working people might have carried the Charter<sup>217</sup> many a year ago. Besides, the men who, among the working classes, took the lead in the short-time movement, were anything but threatening and revolutionary characters. They were mostly moderate, respectable, church-and-king men. They kept aloof from Chartism, and inclined mostly towards some sort of sentimental Toryism. They never inspired dread to any government. The Ten Hours' Bill was carried by the *reactionary* opponents of free trade, by the allied landed, funded, colonial and shipping interest; by the combined aristocracy and those portions of the bourgeoisie who themselves dreaded the ascendancy of the free-trading manufacturers. Did they carry it from

any sympathy with the people? Not they. They lived, and live, upon the spoils of the people. They are quite as bad, though less barefaced and more sentimental, than the manufacturers. But they would not be superseded by them, and thus, from hatred towards them, they passed this law which should secure to themselves popular sympathy, and, at the same time, arrest the rapid growth of the manufacturers' social and political power. The passing of the Ten Hours' Bill proved not that the working classes were strong, it proved only that the manufacturers were not yet strong enough to do as they liked.

Since then, the manufacturers have virtually secured their ascendancy, by forcing free trade in corn, and in navigation, through parliament. The landed and the shipping interests have been sacrificed to their rising star. The stronger they grew, the more they felt the fetters imposed upon them by the Ten Hours' Bill. They openly set it at defiance; they re-introduced the relay system<sup>218</sup>; they forced the Home Secretary to issue circulars,<sup>a</sup> by which the factory inspectors were ordered not to notice this breach of the law; and when, at last, the growing demand for their produce made the remonstrances of some troublesome inspectors insupportable, they brought the question before the Court of Exchequer, which, by one single judgment, destroyed, to the last vestige, the Ten Hours' Bill.<sup>219</sup>

Thus the fruit of forty years' agitation has in one day been annihilated by the rising strength of the manufacturers, aided by one single flush of "prosperity" and "growing demand"; and the judges of England have proved that they, not less than parsons, attorneys, statesmen, and political economists, are but the paid servants of the ruling class, be it the class of landlords, of fund-lords, or of mill-lords.

Are we, then, opposed to the Ten Hours' Bill? Do we want that horrible system of making money out of the marrow and blood of women and children to continue? Certainly not. We are so little opposed to it, that we are of opinion that the working classes, the very first day they get political power, will have to pass far more stringent measures against over-working women and children than a Ten Hours', or even an Eight Hours' Bill. But we contend that the bill, as passed in 1847, was passed not by the working classes, but by their momentary allies, the reactionary classes of society, and followed, as it was, by not a single other measure to fundamentally alter the relations between Capital and Labour, was an ill-timed, untenable and even reactionary measure.

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<sup>a</sup> An allusion to the circular issued by the Home Secretary George Grey on August 5, 1848.—*Ed.*

But if the Ten Hours' Bill be lost, yet the working classes will be the gainers in this case. Let them allow the factory-lords a few moments of exultation, in the end it will be they who will exult, and the factory-lords who will lament. For—

Firstly. The time and exertions spent in agitating so many years for the Ten Hours' Bill is not lost, although its immediate end be defeated. The working classes, in this agitation, found a mighty means to get acquainted with each other, to come to a knowledge of their social position and interests, to organise themselves and to know their strength. The working man, who has passed through such an agitation, is no longer the same he was before; and the whole working class, after passing through it, is a hundred times stronger, more enlightened, and better organised than it was at the outset. It *was* an agglomeration of mere units, without any knowledge of each other, without any common tie; and now it is a powerful body, conscious of its strength, recognised as the "Fourth Estate", and which will soon be the *first*.

Secondly. The working classes will have learned by experience that *no lasting benefit whatever can be obtained for them by others, but that they must obtain it themselves by conquering, first of all, political power.* They must see now that *under no circumstances have they any guarantee for bettering their social position unless by Universal Suffrage,* which would enable them to seat a *Majority of Working Men* in the House of Commons. And thus the destruction of the Ten Hours' Bill will be an enormous benefit for the Democratic movement.

Thirdly. The virtual repeal of the act of 1847 will force the manufacturers into such a rush at overtrading that revulsions upon revulsions will follow, so that very soon all the expedients and resources of the present system will be exhausted, and a *revolution* made inevitable, which, uprooting society far deeper than 1793 and 1848 ever did, will speedily lead to the political and social ascendancy of the proletarians. We have already seen how the present social system is dependent upon the ascendancy of the manufacturing capitalists, and how this ascendancy is dependent upon the possibility of always extending production and, at the same time, reducing its cost. But this extended production has a certain limit: it cannot outdo the existing markets. If it does, a revulsion follows, with its consequent ruin, bankruptcy, and misery. We have had many of these revulsions, happily overcome hitherto by the opening of new markets (China in 1842), or the better exploring of old ones, by reducing the cost of production (as by free trade in corn). But there is a limit to this, too. There are no new markets to be opened now; and there is only one means left to reduce wages,

namely, radical financial reform and reduction of the taxes by *repudiation of the national debt*. And if the free-trading mill-lords have not the courage to go the length of that, or if this temporary expedient be once exploded, too, why, they will die of repletion. It is evident that, with no chance of further extending markets, under a system which is obliged to extend production every day, there is *an end to mill-lord ascendancy*. And *what next?* "Universal ruin and chaos," say the free-traders. *Social revolution and proletarian ascendancy, say we.*

Working men of England! If you, your wives, and children are again to be locked up in the "rattle-boxes" for thirteen hours a-day, do not despair. This is a cup which, though bitter, must be drunk. The sooner you get over it the better. Your proud masters, be assured, have dug their own graves in obtaining what they call a victory over you. The virtual repeal of the Ten Hours' Bill is an event which will materially hasten the approaching hour of your delivery. Your brethren, the French and German working men, never were satisfied with Ten Hours' Bills. They wanted to be *entirely freed from the tyranny of Capital*. And you—who have, in machinery, in skill, and in comparative numbers, far more materials at hand to work out your own salvation, and to produce enough for all of you—*surely you will not be satisfied to be paid off with a small instalment*. Ask, then, no longer for "Protection for Labour", but boldly and at once struggle for *that political and social ascendancy of the proletarian class which will enable you to protect your labour yourselves.*

Written between February 8 and 20, 1850

Reprinted from the journal

First published in *The Democratic Review*,  
March 1850

Signed: F. E.

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

### ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE<sup>220</sup> March 1850

#### THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE

Brothers!

In the two revolutionary years 1848-49 the League proved itself in double fashion: first, in that its members energetically took part in the movement in all places, that in the press, on the barricades and on the battlefields, they stood in the front ranks of the only resolutely revolutionary class, the proletariat. The League further proved itself in that its conception of the movement as laid down in the circulars of the congresses and of the Central Authority of 1847 as well as in the *Communist Manifesto*<sup>a</sup> turned out to be the only correct one, that the expectations expressed in those documents were completely fulfilled and the conception of present-day social conditions, previously propagated only in secret by the League, is now on everyone's lips and is openly preached in the market places. At the same time the former firm organisation of the League was considerably slackened. A large part of the members who directly participated in the revolutionary movement believed the time for secret societies to have gone by and open activities alone to be sufficient. The individual districts and communities allowed their connections with the Central Authority to become loose and gradually dormant. Consequently, while the democratic party, the party of the petty bourgeoisie, organised itself more and more in Germany, the workers' party lost its only firm foothold, remained organised at the most in separate localities for local purposes and in the general movement thus came completely under the domination and leadership of the petty-bourgeois democrats. An end must be put to this state of affairs, the independence of the workers must be

<sup>a</sup> See present edition, Vol. 6.— *Ed.*

restored. The Central Authority realised this necessity and therefore as early as the winter of 1848-49 it sent an emissary, Joseph Moll, to Germany to reorganise the League. Moll's mission, however, was without lasting effect, partly because the German workers at that time had not yet acquired sufficient experience and partly because it was interrupted by the insurrection in May last year. Moll himself took up the musket, joined the Baden-Palatinate army and fell on June 29<sup>a</sup> in the encounter on the Murg. The League lost in him one of its oldest, most active and most trustworthy members, one who had been active in all the congresses and Central Authorities and even prior to this had carried out a series of missions with great success. After the defeat of the revolutionary parties of Germany and France in July 1849, almost all the members of the Central Authority came together again in London, replenished their numbers with new revolutionary forces and set about the reorganisation of the League with renewed zeal.

The reorganisation can only be carried out by an emissary, and the Central Authority considers it extremely important that the emissary<sup>b</sup> should leave precisely at this moment when a new revolution is impending, when the workers' party, therefore, must act in the most organised, most unanimous and most independent fashion possible if it is not again to be exploited and taken in tow by the bourgeoisie as in 1848.

Brothers! We told you as early as 1848 that the German liberal bourgeois would soon come to power and would immediately turn their newly acquired power against the workers. You have seen how this has been fulfilled. In fact, it was the bourgeois who, immediately after the March movement of 1848, took possession of the state power and used this power in order at once to force the workers, their allies in the struggle, back into their former oppressed position. Though the bourgeoisie was not able to accomplish this without uniting with the feudal party, which had been ousted in March, without finally even relinquishing power once again to this feudal absolutist party, still it has secured conditions for itself which, in the long run, owing to the financial embarrassment of the government, would place power in its hands and would safeguard all its interests, if it were possible that the revolutionary movement would already now assume a so-called peaceful development. To safeguard its rule the bourgeoisie would not even need to make itself obnoxious by

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<sup>a</sup> The 1885 edition inaccurately gives July 19 as the date of Moll's death (see more about it on pp. 228-29 of this volume).— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Heinrich Bauer.— *Ed.*



violent measures against the people, since all these violent steps have already been taken by the feudal counter-revolution. Developments, however, will not take this peaceful course. On the contrary, the revolution, which will accelerate these developments, is near at hand, whether it will be called forth by an independent uprising of the French proletariat or by an invasion of the Holy Alliance against the revolutionary Babylon.

And the role which the German liberal bourgeois played in 1848 against the people, this so treacherous role will be taken over in the impending revolution by the democratic petty bourgeois, who at present take the same attitude in the opposition as the liberal bourgeois before 1848. This party, the democratic party, which is far more dangerous to the workers than the previous liberal party, consists of three elements:

I. The most advanced sections of the big bourgeoisie, which pursue the aim of the immediate and complete overthrow of feudalism and absolutism. This faction is represented by the one-time Berlin agreeers, the tax resisters.<sup>221</sup>

II. The democratic-constitutional petty bourgeois, whose main aim during the previous movement was the establishment of a more or less democratic federal state as striven for by their representatives, the Lefts in the Frankfurt Assembly, and later by the Stuttgart parliament,<sup>222</sup> and by themselves in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution.

III. The republican petty bourgeois, whose ideal is a German federative republic after the manner of Switzerland, and who now call themselves red and social-democratic because they cherish the pious wish of abolishing the pressure of big capital on small capital, of the big bourgeois on the petty bourgeois. The representatives of this faction were the members of the democratic congresses and committees, the leaders of the democratic associations, the editors of the democratic newspapers.

Now, after their defeat, all these factions call themselves republicans or reds, just as the republican petty bourgeois in France now call themselves socialists. Where, as in Württemberg, Bavaria, etc., they still find opportunity to pursue their aims constitutionally, they seize the occasion to retain their old phrases and to prove by deeds that they have not changed in the least. It is evident, incidentally, that the altered name of this party does not make the slightest difference to its attitude to the workers, but merely proves that it is now obliged to turn against the bourgeoisie, which is united with absolutism, and to seek the support of the proletariat.

The petty-bourgeois democratic party in Germany is very

powerful; it comprises not only the great majority of the burgher inhabitants of the towns, the small people in industry and trade and the master craftsmen; it numbers among its followers also the peasants and the rural proletariat, insofar as the latter has not yet found a support in the independent urban proletariat.

The relation of the revolutionary workers' party to the petty-bourgeois democrats is this: it marches together with them against the faction which it aims at overthrowing, it opposes them in everything by which they seek to consolidate their position in their own interests.

Far from desiring to transform the whole of society for the revolutionary proletarians, the democratic petty bourgeois strive for a change in social conditions by means of which the existing society will be made as tolerable and comfortable as possible for them. Hence they demand above all a diminution of state expenditure by curtailing the bureaucracy and shifting the bulk of the taxes on to the big landowners and bourgeois. Further, they demand the abolition of the pressure of big capital on small, through public credit institutions and laws against usury, by which means it will be possible for them and the peasants to obtain advances on favourable conditions from the state instead of from the capitalists; they also demand the establishment of bourgeois property relations in the countryside by the complete abolition of feudalism. To accomplish all this they need a democratic state structure, either constitutional or republican, that will give them and their allies, the peasants, a majority; also a democratic communal structure that will give them direct control over communal property, and a number of functions now performed by the bureaucrats.

The domination and speedy increase of capital is further to be counteracted partly by restricting the right of inheritance and partly by transferring as many jobs of work as possible to the state. As far as the workers are concerned, it is certain above all that they are to remain wage-workers as before; the democratic petty bourgeois only desire better wages and a more secure existence for the workers and hope to achieve this through partial employment by the state and through charity measures; in short, they hope to bribe the workers by more or less concealed alms and to sap their revolutionary vigour by making their position tolerable for the moment. The demands of the petty-bourgeois democrats here summarised are not put forward by all of their factions and only very few of their members consider these demands in their aggregate as a definite aim. The further individual people or factions among them go, the more of these demands will they make their own, and those few who see their own

programme in what has been outlined above would believe that thereby they have put forward the utmost that can be demanded from the revolution. But these demands can in no wise suffice for the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians in these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of the existing society but the foundation of a new one. That, during the further development of the revolution, petty-bourgeois democracy will for a moment obtain predominating influence in Germany is not open to doubt. The question, therefore, is what the attitude of the proletariat and in particular of the League will be in relation to it:

1. during the continuance of the present relations, under which the petty-bourgeois democrats are likewise oppressed;
2. in the next revolutionary struggle, which will give them the upper hand;
3. after this struggle, during the period of preponderance over the overthrown classes and the proletariat.

1. At the present moment, when the democratic petty bourgeois are everywhere oppressed, they preach in general unity and reconciliation to the proletariat, they offer it their hand and strive for the establishment of a large opposition party which will embrace all shades of opinion in the democratic party, that is, they strive to entangle the workers in a party organisation in which general social-democratic phrases predominate, and serve to conceal their special interests, and in which the definite demands of the proletariat must not be brought forward for the sake of beloved peace. Such a union would turn out solely to their advantage and altogether to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously achieved position and once more be reduced to an appendage of official bourgeois democracy. This union must, therefore, be most decisively rejected. Instead of once again stooping to serve as the applauding chorus of the bourgeois

democrats, the workers, and above all the League, must exert themselves to establish an independent secret and public organisation of the workers' party alongside the official democrats and make each community the central point and nucleus of workers' associations in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences. How far the bourgeois democrats are from seriously considering an alliance in which the proletarians would stand side by side with them with equal power and equal rights is shown, for example, by the Breslau democrats who, in their organ, the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, most furiously attack the independently organised workers, whom they style socialists. In the case of a struggle against a common adversary no special union is required. As soon as such an adversary has to be fought directly, the interests of both parties, for the moment, coincide, and, as previously so also in the future, this alliance, calculated to last only for the moment, will come about of itself. It is self-evident that in the impending bloody conflicts, as in all earlier ones, it is the workers who, in the main, will have to win the victory by their courage, determination and self-sacrifice. As previously so also in this struggle, the mass of the petty bourgeois will as long as possible remain hesitant, undecided and inactive, and then, as soon as the issue has been decided, will seize the victory for themselves, will call upon the workers to maintain tranquillity and return to their work, will guard against so-called excesses and bar the proletariat from the fruits of victory. It is not in the power of the workers to prevent the petty-bourgeois democrats from doing this, but it is in their power to make it difficult for them to gain the upper hand as against the armed proletariat, and to dictate such conditions to them that the rule of the bourgeois democrats will from the outset bear within it the seeds of its downfall, and that its subsequent extrusion by the rule of the proletariat will be considerably facilitated. Above all things, the workers must counteract, as much as is at all possible, during the conflict and immediately after the struggle, the bourgeois endeavours to allay the storm, and must compel the democrats to carry out their present terrorist phrases. They must work to prevent the direct revolutionary excitement from being suppressed again immediately after the victory. On the contrary, they must keep it alive as long as possible. Far from opposing so-called excesses, instances of popular revenge against hated individuals or public buildings that are associated only with hateful recollections, such instances must not only be tolerated but the lead in them must be taken. During the struggle and after the struggle, the workers must, at every opportunity, put forward their own demands alongside the

demands of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers as soon as the democratic bourgeois set about taking the government into their hands. If necessary they must wring these guarantees by force and in general they must see to it that the new rulers pledge themselves to all possible concessions and promises—the surest way to compromise them. In general, they must in every way restrain as far as possible the intoxication of victory and the enthusiasm for the new state of things which follows every victorious street battle by a calm and dispassionate assessment of the situation and by unconcealed mistrust in the new government. Alongside the new official governments they must immediately establish their own revolutionary workers' governments, whether in the form of municipal committees and municipal councils or in the form of workers' clubs or workers' committees, so that the bourgeois-democratic governments not only immediately lose the support of the workers but from the outset see themselves supervised and threatened by authorities backed by the whole mass of the workers. In a word, from the first moment of victory, mistrust must be directed no longer against the defeated reactionary party, but against the workers' previous allies, against the party that wishes to exploit the common victory for itself alone.

2. But in order to be able energetically and threateningly to oppose this party, whose treachery to the workers will begin from the first hour of victory, the workers must be armed and organised. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, muskets, cannon and ammunition must be carried out at once, the revival of the old civic militia directed against the workers must be resisted. However, where the latter is not feasible the workers must try to organise themselves independently as a proletarian guard with commanders elected by themselves and with a general staff of their own choosing, and to put themselves under the command not of the state authority but of the revolutionary municipal councils set up by the workers. Where workers are employed at the expense of the state they must see that they are armed and organised in a separate corps with commanders of their own choosing or as part of the proletarian guard. Arms and ammunition must not be surrendered on any pretext; any attempt at disarming must be frustrated, if necessary, by force. Destruction of the influence of the bourgeois democrats upon the workers, immediate independent and armed organisation of the workers and the enforcement of conditions as difficult and compromising as possible for the inevitable momentary rule of bourgeois democracy—these are the main points which the prole-

tariat and hence the League must keep in view during and after the impending insurrection.

3. As soon as the new governments have consolidated their positions to some extent, their struggle against the workers will begin. Here in order to be able to offer energetic opposition to the democratic petty bourgeois, it is above all necessary for the workers to be independently organised and centralised in clubs. After the overthrow of the existing governments, the Central Authority will, as soon as at all possible, betake itself to Germany, immediately convene a congress and put before it the necessary proposals for the centralisation of the workers' clubs under a leadership established in the chief seat of the movement. The speedy organisation of at least a provincial association of the workers' clubs is one of the most important points for strengthening and developing the workers' party; the immediate consequence of the overthrow of the existing governments will be the election of a national representative assembly. Here the proletariat must see to it:

I. that no groups of workers are barred on any pretext by any kind of trickery on the part of local authorities or government commissaries;

II. that everywhere workers' candidates are put up alongside the bourgeois-democratic candidates, that they are as far as possible members of the League, and that their election is promoted by all possible means. Even where there is no prospect whatever of their being elected, the workers must put up their own candidates in order to preserve their independence, to count their forces and to lay before the public their revolutionary attitude and party standpoint. In this connection they must not allow themselves to be bribed by such arguments of the democrats as, for example, that by so doing they are splitting the democratic party and giving the reactionaries the possibility of victory. The ultimate purpose of all such phrases is to dupe the proletariat. The advance which the proletarian party is bound to make by such independent action is infinitely more important than the disadvantage that might be incurred by the presence of a few reactionaries in the representative body. If from the outset the democrats come out resolutely and terroristically against the reactionaries, the influence of the latter in the elections will be destroyed in advance.

The first point on which the bourgeois democrats will come into conflict with the workers will be the abolition of feudalism. As in the first French Revolution, the petty bourgeois will give the feudal lands to the peasants as free property, that is to say, try to leave the rural proletariat in existence and form a petty-bourgeois peasant class,

which will go through the same cycle of impoverishment and indebtedness which the French peasant is now still caught in.

The workers must oppose this plan in the interest of the rural proletariat and in their own interest. They must demand that the confiscated feudal property remain state property and be converted into workers' colonies cultivated by the associated rural proletariat with all the advantages of large-scale agriculture, through which the principle of common property immediately obtains a firm basis in the midst of the tottering bourgeois property relations. Just as the democrats combine with the peasants so must the workers combine with the rural proletariat.<sup>223</sup> Further, the democrats will work either directly for a federative republic or, if they cannot avoid a single and indivisible republic, they will at least attempt to cripple the central government by the utmost possible autonomy and independence for the communities and provinces. The workers, in opposition to this plan, must not only strive for a single and indivisible German republic, but also within this republic for the most determined centralisation of power in the hands of the state authority. They must not allow themselves to be misguided by the democratic talk of freedom for the communities, of self-government, etc. In a country like Germany, where there are still so many remnants of the Middle Ages to be abolished, where there is so much local and provincial obstinacy to be broken, it must under no circumstances be permitted that every village, every town and every province should put a new obstacle in the path of revolutionary activity, which can proceed with full force only from the centre.—It is not to be tolerated that the present state of affairs should be renewed, that Germans must fight separately in every town and in every province for one and the same advance. Least of all is it to be tolerated that a form of property which still lags behind modern private property and everywhere is necessarily disintegrating into it—that communal property with the quarrels between poor and rich communities resulting from it, as well as communal civil law, with its trickery against the workers, which exists alongside state civil law, should be perpetuated by a so-called free communal constitution. As in France in 1793 so today in Germany, it is the task of the really revolutionary party to carry through the strictest centralisation.\*

\* It must be recalled today that this passage is based on a misunderstanding. At that time—thanks to the Bonapartist and liberal falsifiers of history—it was considered as established that the French centralised machine of administration had been introduced by the Great Revolution and in particular that it had been used by the Convention as an indispensable and decisive weapon for defeating the royalist and

We have seen how the democrats will come to power with the next movement, how they will be compelled to propose more or less socialist measures. It will be asked what measures the workers ought to propose in reply. At the beginning of the movement, of course, the workers cannot yet propose any directly communist measures. But they can:

1. Compel the democrats to interfere in as many spheres as possible of the hitherto existing social order, to disturb its regular course and to compromise themselves as well as to concentrate the utmost possible productive forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc., in the hands of the state.

2. They must carry to the extreme the proposals of the democrats, who in any case will not act in a revolutionary but in a merely reformist manner, and transform them into direct attacks upon private property; thus, for example, if the petty bourgeois propose purchase of the railways and factories, the workers must demand that these railways and factories should be simply confiscated by the state without compensation as being the property of reactionaries. If the democrats propose proportional taxation, the workers must demand progressive taxation; if the democrats themselves put forward a moderately progressive taxation, the workers must insist on a taxation with rates that rise so steeply that big capital will be ruined by it; if the democrats demand the regulation of state debts, the workers must demand state bankruptcy. Thus, the demands of the workers must everywhere be governed by the concessions and measures of the democrats.

If the German workers are not able to attain power and achieve their own class interests without completely going through a lengthy revolutionary development, they at least know for a certainty this time that the first act of this approaching revolutionary drama will

federalist reaction and the external enemy. It is now, however, a well-known fact that throughout the revolution up to the eighteenth Brumaire the whole administration of the *départements*, *arrondissements* and *communes* consisted of authorities elected by the respective constituents themselves, and that these authorities acted with complete freedom within the general state laws; that precisely this provincial and local self-government, similar to the American, became the most powerful lever of the revolution and indeed to such an extent that Napoleon, immediately after his coup d'état of the eighteenth Brumaire, hastened to replace it by the still existing administration by prefects, which, therefore, was a pure instrument of reaction from the beginning. But no more than local and provincial self-government is in contradiction to political, national centralisation, is it necessarily bound up with that narrow-minded cantonal or communal self-seeking which strikes us as so repulsive in Switzerland, and which all the South German federal republicans wanted to make the rule in Germany in 1849.—Note by Engels to the 1885 edition.



coincide with the direct victory of their own class in France and will be very much accelerated by it.

But they themselves must do the utmost for their final victory by making it clear to themselves what their class interests are, by taking up their position as an independent party as soon as possible and by not allowing themselves to be misled for a single moment by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeois into refraining from the independent organisation of the party of the proletariat. Their battle cry must be: The Revolution in Permanence.

London, March 1850

Written about March 24, 1850

Printed according to the book

Distributed in handwritten copies in 1850

Published by Engels in the appendices to the book: Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, Hottingen-Zurich, 1885

Frederick Engels

THE ENGLISH TEN HOURS' BILL<sup>224</sup>

The workers of England have suffered a significant defeat, and from a direction from which they had least expected it. A few weeks ago the Court of Exchequer, one of the four highest courts of law in England, pronounced a judgment by which the main provisions of the Ten Hours' Bill enacted in 1847 are as good as abolished.<sup>225</sup>

The history of the Ten Hours' Bill provides a striking example of the peculiar mode of development of class antagonisms in England and therefore deserves closer investigation.

We know how, with the rise of large-scale industry, there arose a quite new and infinitely callous exploitation of the working class by the factory owners. The new machines rendered the labour of grown men superfluous; their supervision demanded women and children, who were much more suited to this occupation than the men and simultaneously cheaper to employ. Thus industrial exploitation at once took possession of the whole of the worker's family and locked it up in the factory; women and children had to work day and night without a break until they were overcome by utter physical exhaustion. The pauper children of the workhouses<sup>a</sup> became a regular article of trade with the growing demand for children; four-year-olds and even three-year-olds were auctioned off by the score in the form of apprenticeship contracts to the highest bidding manufacturers. The callously brutal exploitation of children and women at that time—an exploitation which did not let up so long as there was a muscle, a sinew or a drop of blood left to extract profit from—still remains a vivid memory for the older generation of English workers, and not a few of them bear this memory in the form

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<sup>a</sup> Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

Unser Freund Louis Ménard, Verfasser des Buches „Prologue d'une révolution“ hat uns das folgende, gleich nach den Juni-Begebenheiten von 1848 geschriebene Gedicht zur Aufnahme mitgetheilt:

*J a m b e s.*

Quand le jour espéré, le jour inévitable  
des justes expiations  
Viendra pour balayer une race coupable  
au vent des révolutions;

Alors, tous les pleureurs qui parlent de clémence,  
Ceux à qui le bourreau fait peur,  
Ceux pour qui la justice est colère et vengeance,  
le crime faiblesse et malheur,

Reviendront nous crier que la peine est impie,  
qu'il faut pardonner, non punir,  
Et, quand le sang versé veut du sang qui l'expie,  
on parlera de repentir.

Déesse qu'invoquaient les siècles forts et rudes,  
par qui tout meurtre était vengé,  
O Samte Némésis, vois nos décrépitudes,  
ton glaive en sérule est changé

N. Rh. Zeitung. 48 Heft 1850.

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A page from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* with verses by Louis Ménard. The introduction by Marx and Engels says: "Our friend Louis Ménard, author of the book *Prologue d'une révolution*, has sent us the following verses, which he wrote in the wake of the June 1848 events."



of a crooked spine or a mutilated limb, and they all bear their thoroughly ruined health with them wherever they go. The fate of the slaves in the worst of the American plantations was golden in comparison with that of the English workers in that period.

Very soon measures had to be taken by the state to curb the manufacturers' utterly ruthless frenzy for exploitation, which was trampling all the requirements of civilised society underfoot. These first legal restrictions were, however, extremely inadequate and were soon circumvented. Only half a century after the introduction of large-scale industry, when the stream of industrial development had found a regular course for itself, only in 1833 was it possible to bring in an effective law that to some extent curbed at least the most blatant excesses.

As early as the beginning of this century a party had been formed under the leadership of a number of philanthropists which demanded the legal limitation of labour time in the factories to ten hours. This party, which, under Sadler in the twenties and after his death under the leadership of Lord Ashley and R. Oastler, continued its agitation up to the actual passing of the Ten Hours' Bill, gradually united under its banner, besides the workers themselves, the aristocracy and all the factions of the bourgeoisie hostile to the manufacturers. This association of the workers with the most heterogeneous and reactionary elements of English society made it necessary for the Ten Hours agitation to be pursued quite separately from the revolutionary agitation of the workers. It is true that the Chartists were for the Ten Hours' Bill to the last man; they were the mass, the chorus, in all the Ten Hours meetings; they made their press available to the Ten Hours Committee. But not a single Chartist agitated officially in conjunction with the aristocratic or bourgeois Ten Hours men, or sat on the Short Time Committee<sup>a</sup> in Manchester. This Committee was exclusively composed of workers and factory overseers. But these workers were completely broken, exhausted by work, placid, god-fearing, respectable folk who felt a pious abhorrence towards Chartism and socialism, who held throne and altar in due respect and who, too crushed to hate the industrial bourgeoisie, only retained the capacity for humble veneration of the aristocracy, which at least deigned to interest itself in their misery. The working-class Toryism of these Ten Hours people was the echo of that first opposition of the workers to industrial progress which attempted to restore the old patriarchal situation and whose most

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<sup>a</sup> In the original the name of the Committee is given in German (*Zehnstundenkomitee*), and the English term is given in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

energetic manifestations of life did not go beyond the smashing of machines. Just as reactionary as these workers were the bourgeois and aristocratic chiefs of the Ten Hours party. They were without exception sentimental Tories, for the most part romantic ideologues revelling in the memory of vanished, patriarchal forms of hole-and-corner exploitation with their train of religiosity, domesticity, virtue and narrow-mindedness, and with their stable, traditionally inherited ways. One look at the revolutionary maelstrom of industry and their narrow skulls were seized with dizziness. Their petty-bourgeois frame of mind was horrified in the presence of these new forces of production shooting up with magical suddenness, flushing away in a few years the hitherto most venerable, most inviolable, most essential classes of society and replacing them with new, hitherto unknown classes whose interests, whose sympathies and whose whole way of living and thinking stood in contradiction to the institutions of the old English society. These soft-hearted ideologues did not fail to take the field from the standpoint of morality, humanity and compassion against the pitiless harshness and ruthlessness with which this process of upheaval asserted itself, and to oppose to it as their social ideal the stability, the stagnant comfort and moral complacency of dying patriarchalism.

Whenever the Ten Hours question attracted public attention these elements were joined by all sections of society whose interests were suffering and whose existence was being threatened by the industrial upheaval. The bankers, stockjobbers,<sup>a</sup> shipowners and merchants, the landed aristocracy, the big West Indian landowners and the petty bourgeoisie joined forces more and more at such times under the leadership of the Ten Hours agitators.

The Ten Hours' Bill provided splendid terrain for these reactionary classes and factions to combine with the proletariat against the industrial bourgeoisie. While significantly restricting the rapid development of the wealth, the influence, and the social and political power of the manufacturers, it gave the workers merely material, indeed exclusively physical advantages. It protected their health from being too rapidly ruined. But it gave them nothing which could make them dangerous to their reactionary allies; it neither gave them political power nor altered their social position as wage-labourers. On the contrary, the Ten Hours agitation kept the workers still under the influence and partly under the leadership of these propertied allies of theirs, which they had been more and more striving to draw away from since the Reform Bill<sup>226</sup> and the rise of

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<sup>a</sup> Engels uses the English word.— *Ed.*

the Chartist agitation. It was quite natural, especially at the start of the industrial upheaval, that the workers, who were in direct conflict only with the industrial bourgeoisie, should ally themselves with the aristocracy and the other factions of the bourgeoisie by whom they were not directly exploited and who were also struggling against the industrial bourgeoisie. But this alliance adulterated the labour movement with a strong reactionary admixture which is only gradually disappearing; it reinforced significantly the reactionary element within the labour movement—those workers whose trade still belongs to manufacture and is thus itself threatened by industrial progress, like for instance the handweavers.

It was thus a piece of good fortune for the workers that in the confused period of 1847, when all the old parliamentary parties were dissolved and the new ones had not yet taken shape, the Ten Hours' Bill was finally passed. It was passed in a series of most confused votes, directed apparently only by chance, in which no party voted compactly and consistently except the decidedly Free Trade manufacturers on the one hand and the fanatically protectionist landowners on the other. It got through as a piece of chicanery that the aristocrats and a faction of the Peelites and the Whigs put over on the manufacturers to avenge themselves for the great victory which these had wrested from them in the repeal of the Corn Laws.<sup>227</sup>

The Ten Hours' Bill not only gave the workers the satisfaction of an indispensable physical need, by protecting their health to some extent from the manufacturers' frenzy for exploitation, it also liberated the workers from their alliance with the sentimental dreamers, from their solidarity with all the reactionary classes of England. The patriarchal drivel of an Oastler, or the moving assurances of sympathy from a Lord Ashley could find no more listeners once the Ten Hours' Bill ceased to provide point to these tirades. Only now did the labour movement concentrate wholly on achieving the political rule of the proletariat as the prime means of transforming the whole of existing society. And here it was faced by the aristocracy and the reactionary factions of the bourgeoisie, only shortly before still the allies of the workers, as so many raging enemies, as so many allies of the industrial bourgeoisie.

Thanks to the industrial revolution, industry, by which England conquered the world market and held it in subjugation, had become the decisive branch of production for England. England stood and fell with industry, rose and declined with its fluctuations. With the decisive influence of industry, the industrial bourgeoisie, the manufacturers, became the decisive class in English society, and the

political rule of the industrialists, the removal of all social and political institutions standing in the way of the development of large-scale industry became a necessity. The industrial bourgeoisie got down to the task. The history of England from 1830 until now is the history of the victories which it has one after the other achieved over its united reactionary opponents.

Whereas the July Revolution in France brought the finance aristocracy to power, the Reform Bill in England, which was carried immediately afterwards in 1832, marked the fall of the finance aristocracy. The Bank, the creditors of the national debt and the stock-exchange speculators, in a word the money-dealers to whom the aristocracy was deeply in debt, had hitherto held almost exclusive sway in England under the brightly chequered mantle of the electoral monopoly. The further large-scale industry and world trade developed, the more intolerable their rule became, despite individual concessions. The alliance of all other factions of the bourgeoisie with the English proletariat and the Irish peasantry toppled them. The people threatened a revolution, the bourgeoisie gave the Bank its notes back *en masse* and brought it to the brink of bankruptcy. The finance aristocracy yielded at the right moment; its flexibility saved England from a February Revolution.

The Reform Bill gave all the propertied classes of the country, right down to the smallest shopkeeper, a share in political power. All the factions of the bourgeoisie were thus given a legal ground on which they could establish their claims and assert their power. The same struggles of the individual factions of the bourgeoisie among themselves which have been fought out under the Republic in France since the June victory of 1848,<sup>a</sup> have in England been fought out in Parliament since the Reform Bill. It goes without saying that the conditions being quite different the consequences in the two countries are also different.

The industrial bourgeoisie, once it had conquered the terrain for parliamentary struggle with the Reform Bill, could not help gaining victory upon victory. The aristocratic appendages of the financiers were sacrificed to it in the limitation of sinecures, the paupers in the Poor Law of 1833,<sup>228</sup> and the tax exemption of the financiers and landowners in the tariff reductions and the introduction of income tax. With the victories of the industrialists the number of their vassals increased. Wholesale and retail trade became their tributaries. London and Liverpool fell to their knees before Free Trade, the

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<sup>a</sup> The reference is to the suppression of the June insurrection of the Paris proletariat.—*Ed.*



Messiah of the industrialists. But with their victories their requirements and their demands also grew.

Modern large-scale industry can only exist provided it expands incessantly, continually conquers new markets. The boundless facility of production on the most massive scale, the unceasing development and improvement of machinery, and the consequent uninterrupted displacement of capital and labour power, force it to do so. Any stoppage here can only mean the beginning of ruin. But the expansion of industry is conditioned by the expansion of markets. And since industry at its present level of development increases its forces of production at a rate disproportionately faster than that at which it can increase its markets, there arise periodical crises in which, due to the excess of means of production and products, circulation in the commercial body suddenly comes to a standstill and industry and trade are almost totally immobilised until the glut of products has found an outlet in new channels. England is the focus of these crises, whose crippling effects unflinchingly reach into the most distant, most obscure corners of the world market, and everywhere drag a significant part of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie down into ruin. From such crises, which moreover bring home most tangibly to every section of English society its dependence on the manufacturers, there is only one means of escape: expanding markets, either by conquering new ones or by exploiting the old ones more thoroughly. Apart from the few exceptional cases, like China in 1842, in which a hitherto stubbornly closed market is burst open by force of arms,<sup>229</sup> there is only one means of opening up new markets and exploiting old ones more thoroughly by industrial methods—by cheaper prices, that is, by reducing production costs. Production costs are reduced by new and more highly perfected modes of production, by cutting profit or by cutting wages. But the introduction of more highly perfected modes of production cannot provide a way out of the crisis since it increases production and thus itself makes new markets necessary. There can be no question of reducing profit in a crisis when everyone is glad to sell even at a loss. The same goes for wages, which are furthermore, like profit, determined by laws that are independent of the will or the intentions of the manufacturers. And yet wages form the principal component of the production costs, and their permanent reduction is the only means of expanding markets and escaping from the crisis. Wages will fall, however, if the workers' necessities of life are produced more cheaply. But in England the cost of the workers' necessities of life was raised by the protective tariffs on corn, English colonial products, etc., and by indirect taxes.

Hence the stubborn, vigorous and universal agitation by the industrialists for Free Trade and particularly for the abolition of the corn tariffs. Hence the characteristic fact that since 1842 every crisis in trade and industry has brought them a fresh victory. With the abolition of the corn tariffs the English landowners were sacrificed to the industrialists, with the abolition of the differential tariffs on sugar, etc., the landowners in the colonies, with the abolition of the Navigation Acts<sup>230</sup> the shipowners. At the present moment they are agitating for limitation of state expenditure and a reduction of taxes, as well as for the admission to the franchise of that section of the workers which offers the surest guarantees. They wish to draw new allies into Parliament in order to conquer so much the more quickly direct political power for themselves, by means of which alone they can get rid of the traditional appendages of the English state machine, now emptied of meaning but very expensive, the aristocracy, the Church, the sinecures and the semi-feudal system of jurisprudence. Undoubtedly the new trade crisis, which is now imminent, and which to all appearances will coincide with new and great collisions on the Continent, will bring with it at least this step forward in England's development.

In the midst of these uninterrupted victories of the industrial bourgeoisie, the reactionary factions succeeded in forging the chains of the Ten Hours' Bill for it. The Ten Hours' Bill was passed at a moment of neither prosperity nor crisis, in one of those in-between periods in which industry is still labouring sufficiently under the consequences of over-production to be able to set only a part of its resources in motion, in which the manufacturers themselves therefore do not allow full-time working. At such a juncture, when the Ten Hours' Bill limited competition among the manufacturers themselves, and only at such a juncture could it be tolerated. But this juncture soon gave way to renewed prosperity. The empty markets demanded new supplies; speculation rose again and doubled demand; the manufacturers were unable to work their factories hard enough. The Ten Hours' Bill now became an intolerable fetter upon industry, which now more than ever needed the most complete independence and the most unrestricted disposal of all its resources. What would become of the industrialists during the next crisis if they were not permitted to exploit the brief period of prosperity with all their might? The Ten Hours' Bill had to succumb. If the strength to revoke it in Parliament was lacking, then ways had to be found for getting round it.

The Ten Hours' Bill limited the labour time of young people under the age of eighteen and of all female workers to ten hours

daily. Since these and children are the decisive categories of workers in the factories, the necessary consequence was that the factories were able to work only ten hours daily. The manufacturers, however, when the boom made an increase in the labour time a necessity for them, found a way out. As hitherto with children under fourteen, whose labour time is even more restricted, they engaged a few more women and young people than before for assistance and replacement. In this way they could make their factories and their adult workers work thirteen, fourteen or fifteen hours at a stretch, without a single individual covered by the Ten Hours' Bill working more than ten hours daily. This conflicted partially with the letter of the law, but it conflicted still more with the spirit of the law and the intention of the legislators; the factory inspectors complained, the justices of the peace were divided and gave contradictory judgments. The higher the level of prosperity the more loudly the industrialists protested against the Ten Hours' Bill and against the interventions of the factory inspectors. The Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, ordered the inspectors to tolerate the relay or shift system.<sup>a</sup> But many of them, with the support of the law, did not allow themselves to be deterred by this. Finally a sensational case was taken right up to the Court of Exchequer, and this court pronounced for the manufacturers. With this decision the Ten Hours' Bill has been abolished in practice, and the manufacturers have once again become the complete masters of their factories; in time of crisis they are able to work two, three or six hours, and in time of prosperity thirteen to fifteen hours, and the factory inspector no longer has any right to interfere.

If the Ten Hours' Bill was advocated mainly by reactionaries and carried exclusively by reactionary classes, we can see here that in the mode in which it was carried it was a thoroughly reactionary measure. England's whole social development is bound up with the development, the progress of industry. All institutions which inhibit this progress, which limit it or wish to regulate and rule it according to extraneous standards, are reactionary, untenable, and must succumb to it. The revolutionary force which has made child's play of dealing with the whole patriarchal society of old England, with the aristocracy and the finance bourgeoisie, will indeed not permit itself to be dammed up within the moderate course of the Ten Hours' Bill. All the attempts of Lord Ashley and his comrades to restore the fallen Bill by means of an authentic interpretation will be

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<sup>a</sup> Here Engels uses the German word *Ablösungssystem* and, in parenthesis, the corresponding English words: "relay" and "shift system".—*Ed.*

unproductive or, in the most favourable case, will only achieve an ephemeral and delusive result.

And nevertheless the Ten Hours' Bill is indispensable for the workers. It is a physical necessity for them. Without the Ten Hours' Bill this whole generation of English workers will be physically ruined. But there is a vast difference between the Ten Hours' Bill demanded by the workers today and the Ten Hours' Bill which was propagated by Sadler, Oastler and Ashley and passed by the reactionary coalition in 1847. The workers have learnt the value of an alliance with reaction from the brief existence of the Bill, from its easy annihilation—a simple court decision, not even an Act of Parliament, was all that was needed to annul it—and from the subsequent behaviour of their reactionary former allies. They have learnt the use of passing separate partial measures against the industrial bourgeoisie. They have learnt that the bourgeois industrialists are still in the first instance the class which alone is capable of marching at the head of the movement at the present moment, and that it would be a vain task to work against them in this progressive mission. For this reason, in spite of their direct and not in the least dormant hostility towards the industrialists, the workers are now much more inclined to support them in their agitation for the complete implementation of Free Trade, financial reform and extension of the franchise, than to allow themselves to be decoyed once again by philanthropic allurements to the banner of the united reactionaries. They feel that their day can only come when the industrialists have worn themselves out, and hence their instinct is correct in hastening the process of development which will give the industrialists power and thus prepare their fall. But because of this they do not forget that in the industrialists they are bringing to power their own direct enemies, and that they can achieve their own liberation only through toppling the industrialists and conquering political power for themselves. The annulment of the Ten Hours' Bill has once more proved this to them in the most striking fashion. The restoration of this Bill can only have any significance now under the rule of universal franchise, and universal franchise in an England two-thirds of whose inhabitants are industrial proletarians means the exclusive political rule of the working class with all the revolutionary changes in social conditions which are inseparable from it. The Ten Hours' Bill demanded by the workers today is thus quite different from the one which has just been overruled by the Court of Exchequer. It is no longer an isolated attempt to cripple industrial development, it is a link in a long chain of measures which will revolutionise the whole of the present form of society and

gradually destroy the class antagonisms which have hitherto existed; it is not a reactionary measure, but a revolutionary one.

The *de facto* suspension of the Ten Hours' Bill, in the first instance by the manufacturers on their own initiative and then by the Court of Exchequer, has above all contributed to shortening the period of prosperity and hastening the crisis. Whatever hastens crises, however, simultaneously hastens the pace of development in England and its next goal, the overthrow of the industrial bourgeoisie by the industrial proletariat. The means available to the industrialists for expanding their markets and averting crises are very limited. Cobden's reduction of state expenditure is either mere Whiggish jargon<sup>a</sup> or equals, even if it should only help for a moment, a complete revolution. And if it is executed in the most extensive and most revolutionary fashion—as far as the English industrialists can be revolutionary—then how will the next crisis be met? It is evident that the English industrialists, whose means of production have a power of expansion incomparably superior to that of their outlets, are rapidly approaching the point where their expedients will be exhausted and where the period of prosperity which now still divides every crisis from its successor will disappear completely under the weight of the excessively increased forces of production; where the only thing still separating the crises will be brief periods of a dull, half-comatose industrial activity and where industry, trade and the whole of modern society must necessarily perish from a superfluity of unusable life force on the one hand and total emaciation on the other, if this abnormal situation did not bear within itself its own remedy and the development of industry had not simultaneously engendered the class which alone can assume the leadership of society—the proletariat. The proletarian revolution will then be inevitable, and its victory certain.

This is the regular, normal course of events, produced, with a necessity which cannot be averted, by the totality of the present conditions of society in England. It will soon be seen to what extent this normal process may be shortened by collisions on the Continent and revolutionary upsurges in England.

And the Ten Hours' Bill?

From the moment the limits of the world market itself become too narrow for the full unfolding of all the resources of modern industry, when the latter requires a social revolution to regain free scope for its energies—from this moment on the limitation of labour

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<sup>a</sup> In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the word *Whigsphrase* (Whig phrase) is substituted for the word *Whigsprache* (Whiggish jargon).—Ed.

time is no longer reactionary, it is no longer a brake on industry. On the contrary, it will be introduced quite of its own accord. The first consequence of the proletarian revolution in England will be the centralisation of large-scale industry in the hands of the state, that is, the ruling proletariat, and with the centralisation of industry all the conditions of competition, which nowadays bring the regulation of labour time into conflict with the progress of industry, fall away. And thus the only solution to the Ten Hours question, as to every question depending on the antagonism between capital and wage labour, lies in the *proletarian revolution*.

Written in March 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
No. 4, 1850  
Signed: *Frederick Engels*

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

[REVIEWS FROM THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*.  
*POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE* No. 4,

April 1850]<sup>231</sup>

## I

LATTER-DAY PAMPHLETS, EDITED

BY THOMAS CARLYLE—

No. I, *THE PRESENT TIME*, No. II, *MODEL PRISONS*—

LONDON, 1850<sup>232</sup>

Thomas Carlyle is the only English writer on whom German literature has exercised a direct and particularly significant influence. Courtesy at the very least demands that a German should not let his writings pass without notice.

The latest publication by Guizot (No. 2 of the *N. Rh. Z.*<sup>a</sup>) has shown us that the intellectual powers of the bourgeoisie are in a process of decline. In the present two pamphlets by Carlyle we witness the decline of literary genius in historical struggles which have reached a point of crisis and against which it attempts to assert its unrecognised, direct, prophetic inspirations.

To Thomas Carlyle belongs the credit of having taken the literary field against the bourgeoisie at a time when its views, tastes and ideas held the whole of official English literature totally in thrall, and in a manner which is at times even revolutionary. For example, in his history of the French Revolution, in his apology for Cromwell, in the pamphlet on Chartism and in *Past and Present*.<sup>b</sup> But in all these writings the critique of the present is closely bound up with a strangely unhistorical apotheosis of the Middle Ages, which is a frequent characteristic of other English revolutionaries too, for instance Cobbett and a section of the Chartists. Whilst he at least admires in the past the classical periods of a specific stage of society, the present drives him to despair and he shudders at the thought of

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 251-56.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Th. Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, Vols. 1-3, London, 1837; *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Vols. 1-2, London, 1845; *Chartism*, London, 1840; *Past and Present*, London, 1843.—*Ed.*

the future. Where he recognises the revolution, or indeed apotheosises it, in his eyes it becomes concentrated in a single individual, a Cromwell or a Danton. He pays them the same hero-worship that he preached in his *Lectures on Heroes and Hero-Worship*<sup>a</sup> as the only refuge from a present pregnant with despair, as a new religion.

Carlyle's style is at one with his ideas. It is a direct violent reaction against the modern bourgeois English Pecksniffery, whose enervated affectedness, circumspect verbosity and vague, sentimentally moral tediousness has spread from the original inventors, the educated Cockneys, to the whole of English literature. In comparison, Carlyle treated the English language as though it were completely raw material which he had to cast utterly afresh. Obsolete expressions and words were sought out again and new ones invented, in the German manner and especially in the manner of Jean Paul. The new style was often in bad taste and hugely pretentious, but frequently brilliant and always original. In this respect too the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* represent a remarkable step backwards.

It is, incidentally, characteristic that out of the whole of German literature the mind that had the greatest influence on Carlyle was not Hegel but the literary apothecary Jean Paul.

In the cult of genius, which Carlyle shares with Strauss, the genius has got lost in the present pamphlets. The cult remains.

*The Present Time* begins with the statement that the present is the child of the past and the parent of the future, but quite apart from that is a *new era*.

The first manifestation of this new era is a *reforming* Pope. Gospel in hand, Pius IX set out to promulgate from the Vatican "*the Law of Veracity*" to Christendom.

"More than three hundred years ago, the throne of St. Peter received peremptory judicial notice [...] authentic order, registered in Heaven's chancery and since legible in the hearts of all brave men, to take itself away,—to begone, and let us have no more to do with it and its delusions and impious deliriums;—and it has been sitting every day since [...] at its own peril [...], and will have to pay exact damages yet for every day it has so sat. Law of veracity? What this Popedom had to do by the law of veracity, was to give up its own foul galvanic life, an offence to gods and men; honestly to die; and get itself buried! Far from this was the thing the poor Pope undertook [...];—and yet on the whole it was essentially this too. Reforming Pope? [...] Turgot and Necker were nothing to this. God is great; and when a scandal is to end, brings some devoted man to take charge of it in hope, not in despair!" (P. 3.)

With his manifestos of reform the Pope had aroused questions,

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<sup>a</sup> Th. Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, London, 1841.—*Ed.*



“mothers of the whirlwinds, conflagrations, earthquakes.... Questions which all official men wished, and mostly hoped, to postpone till Doomsday. Doomsday itself had come; that was the terrible truth”. (P. 4.)

The law of veracity was proclaimed. The Sicilians

“were the first people that set about applying this new [...] rule sanctioned by the holy Father; [...] We do not by the law of veracity belong to Naples and these Neapolitan Officials; we will, by favour of Heaven and the Pope, be free of these”.

Hence the Sicilian Revolution.

The French people, which considers itself as a kind of “Messiah people”, as “the chosen soldiers of liberty”, feared that the poor, despised Sicilians might take this trade<sup>a</sup> out of their hands—February Revolution. [Pp. 4-5.]

“As if by sympathetic subterranean electricities, all Europe exploded, boundless, uncontrollable; and we had the year 1848, one of the most singular, disastrous, amazing, and on the whole humiliating years the European world ever saw.... Kings everywhere, and reigning persons, stared in sudden horror, the voice of the whole world bellowing in their ear, ‘Begone, ye imbecile hypocrites, histrios not heroes! Off with you, off!’—and, what was peculiar and heard of in this year for the first time, the Kings all made haste to go, as if exclaiming, ‘We are poor histrios, we sure enough;—do you need heroes? Don’t kill us; we couldn’t help it!’—Not one of them turned round, and stood upon his Kingship, as upon a right he could afford to die for, or to risk his skin upon.... That, I repeat, is the alarming peculiarity at present. Democracy, on this new occasion, finds all Kings *conscious* that they are but Playactors. [...] They fled precipitately, some of them with what we may call an exquisite ignominy,—in terror of the treadmill or worse. And everywhere the people, or the populace, take their own government upon themselves; and open ‘kinglessness’,<sup>b</sup> what we call *anarchy*,—how happy if it be anarchy plus a street-constable!—is everywhere the order of the day. Such was the history, from Baltic to Mediterranean, in Italy, France, Prussia, Austria, from end to end of Europe, in those March days of 1848. [...] And so, then, there remained no King in Europe; no King except the Public Haranguer, haranguing on barrelhead, in leading article; or assembling with his like in the National Parliament. And for about four months all France, and to a great degree all Europe, rough-riden by every species of delirium [...] was a weltering mob, presided over by M. de Lamartine at the Hôtel-de-Ville [....] A sorrowful spectacle to men of reflection, during the time he lasted, that poor M. de Lamartine; with nothing in him but melodious wind and soft sowder [....] Sad enough: the most eloquent latest impersonation of Chaos-come-again; able to talk for itself, and declare persuasively that it is Cosmos! However, you have but to wait a little, in such cases; all balloons [...] must give up their gas in the pressure of things, and are collapsed in a repulsively flabby manner before long.” (Pp. 6-8.)

Who was it that kindled this universal revolution, the fuel for which was of course at hand?

<sup>a</sup> The German word *Industriezweig* is used in the original and the corresponding English word “trade” is given in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The authors, of the review use the word *Königslosigkeit* and give the English equivalent in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

“Students, young men of letters, advocates, newspaper writers, hot inexperienced enthusiasts, or fierce and justly bankrupt desperadoes [...]. Never till now did young men, and almost children, take such a command in human affairs. A changed time since the word Senior (Seigneur, or Elder) was first devised to signify lord or superior;—as in all languages of men we find it.... Looking more closely [...] you will find that the old has ceased to be venerable, and has begun to be contemptible; a foolish boy still, a boy without the graces, generosities and opulent strength of young boys [...]. This mad state of matters will of course before long allay itself, as it has everywhere begun to do; the ordinary necessities of men’s daily existence cannot comport with it, and these, whatever else is cast aside, will go their way. Some remounting [...] of the old machine, under new colours and altered forms, will probably ensue soon in most countries: the old histrionic Kings will be admitted back under conditions, under Constitutions, with national Parliaments, or the like fashionable adjuncts; and everywhere the old daily life will try to begin again. But there is now no hope that such arrangements can be permanent [...]. In such baleful oscillation, afloat as amid raging bottomless eddies and conflicting sea-currents, not steadfast as on fixed foundations, must European Society continue swaying; now disastrously tumbling, then painfully readjusting itself, at ever shorter intervals,—till once the new *rock-basis* does come to light, and the weltering deluges of mutiny, and of need to mutiny, abate again!” (Pp. 8-10.)

So much for history, which even in this form offers the old world little comfort. Now for the moral.

“For *universal Democracy*, whatever we may think of it, is the inevitable fact of the days in which we live.” (P. 10.)

What is democracy? It must have a meaning, or it would not exist. It is all a matter, then, of finding the true meaning of democracy. If we succeed in this, we can deal with it; if not, we are lost. The February Revolution was “a universal Bankruptcy of Imposture; that may be the brief definition of it”. (P. 14.) *Counterfeit* and falsities, “shams”, “delusions”, “phantasms”,<sup>a</sup> instead of real relationships and things, names that have lost all meaning, in a word, lying instead of truth has held sway in modern times. Individual and social divorce from these falsities and phantoms, that is the task of reform, and the necessity of putting an end to all sham and deceit is not to be gainsaid.

“Yet strange to many a man it may seem; and to many a solid Englishman, wholesomely digesting his pudding among what are called the cultivated classes, it seems strange exceedingly; a mad ignorant notion, quite heterodox, and big with mere ruin. He has been used to decent forms long since fallen empty of meaning, to plausible modes, solemnities grown ceremonial,—what you in your iconoclast humour call shams,—all his life long; never heard that there was any harm in them, that there was any getting-on without them. Did not cotton spin itself, beef grow, and groceries

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<sup>a</sup> Here and below the words “shams”, “delusions”, and “phantasms” are given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

and spiceries come in from the East and the West, quite comfortably by the side of shams?" (P. 15.)

Now will democracy accomplish this necessary reform, this liberation from shams?

"Democracy, when it is organised by means of universal suffrage will itself accomplish the salutary universal change from Delusive to Real, from false to true, and make a new blessed world by and by?" (P. 17.)

Carlyle denies this. Indeed, he sees in general in democracy and in universal suffrage only a contagion of all nations by the superstitious English belief in the infallibility of parliamentary government. The crew of the ship that had lost its course round Cape Horn and, instead of keeping watch on wind and weather and using the sextant, voted on the course to be set, declaring the decision of the majority to be infallible—that is the universal suffrage that lays claim to steering the state. As for every individual, so for society it is just a matter of discovering the true regulations of the Universe, the everlasting laws of nature relative to the task in hand at each moment, and acting accordingly. Whoever reveals these eternal laws to us, him shall we follow, "were it the Russian Autocrat or Chartist Parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury or Grand Lama". But how do we discover these eternal, divine precepts? At all events universal suffrage, which gives each man a ballot paper and counts heads, is the worst method of doing so. The Universe is of a very exclusive nature and has ever disclosed its secrets but to a few elect, a small minority of wise and noble-minded alone. That is why no nation was ever able to exist on the basis of democracy. The Greeks and Romans? We all know today that theirs were no democracies, that slavery was the basis of their states. It is quite superfluous to speak of the various French Republics. And the Model Republic of North America? It cannot yet even be said of the Americans that they form a nation or a state. The American population lives *without* a government; what is there constituted is anarchy plus a street-constable. What makes this condition possible is the great area of yet unbroken land and the respect brought over from England for the constable's baton. As the population grows, that too comes to an end.

"What great human soul, what great thought, what great noble thing that one could worship, or loyally admire, has America yet produced?" (P. 25.)

It has doubled its population every twenty years—*voilà tout*.

On this side of the Atlantic and on that, democracy is thus for ever impossible. The Universe itself is a monarchy and hierarchy. No nation in which the divine everlasting duty of directing and

controlling the ignorant is not entrusted to the *Noblest*, with his select series of *Nobler Ones*, has the Kingdom of God, or corresponds to the eternal laws of nature.

Now we are also apprised of the secret, the origin and the necessity of modern democracy. It consists simply in the fact that the sham-noble<sup>a</sup> has been raised up and consecrated by tradition or newly invented delusions.

And who is to discover the true precious stone with all its setting of smaller human jewels and pearls? Certainly not universal suffrage, for only the noble can discern the noble. And so Carlyle affirms that England still possesses many such nobles and "kings", and on p. 38 he summons them to him.

We see the "noble" Carlyle proceed from a thoroughly pantheistic mode of thinking. The whole process of history is determined not by the development of the living masses themselves, naturally dependent on specific but in turn historically created changing conditions, it is determined by an eternal law of nature, unalterable for all time, from which it departs today and to which it returns tomorrow, and on the correct apprehension of which everything depends. This correct apprehension of the eternal law of nature is the eternal truth, everything else is false. With this mode of thinking, the real class conflicts, for all their variety at various periods, are completely resolved into the one great and eternal conflict, between those who have fathomed the eternal law of nature and act in keeping with it, the wise and the noble, and those who misunderstand it, distort it and work against it, the fools and the rogues. The historically produced distinction between classes thus becomes a natural distinction which itself must be acknowledged and revered as a part of the eternal law of nature, by bowing to nature's noble and wise: the cult of genius. The whole conception of the process of historical development is reduced to the shallow triviality of the lore of the Illuminati and the Freemasons of the previous century, to the simple morality we find in the *Magic Flute*<sup>233</sup> and to an infinitely depraved and trivialised form of Saint-Simonism. And there of course we have the old question of who then should in fact rule, which is discussed at great length and with self-important shallowness and is finally answered to the effect that the noble, wise and knowledgeable should rule, which leads quite naturally to the conclusion that there would have to be a large amount, a very large amount of governing, and

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<sup>a</sup> The authors use the expression *falsche Edle* and give the English equivalent in parenthesis.— *Ed.*

there could never be too much governing, for after all governing is the constant revelation and assertion of the law of nature vis-à-vis the masses. But how are the noble and the wise to be discovered? They are not revealed by any celestial miracle; they have to be looked for. And here the historical class distinctions which have been made into purely natural distinctions once more rear their heads. The noble man is noble because he is wise and knowledgeable. He will therefore have to be sought among the classes which have the monopoly of education—among the privileged classes, and it will be the same classes who will have to seek him out in their midst and to judge his claims to the rank of a noble and wise man. In so doing the privileged classes automatically become, if not precisely the noble and wise class, at least the “articulate” class; the oppressed classes are of course the “silent, inarticulate” and class rule is thereby sanctioned anew. All this highly indignant bluster turns out to be a thinly disguised acceptance of existing class rule whose sole grumble and complaint is that the bourgeoisie does not assign a position at the top of society to its unrecognised geniuses, and for highly practical reasons does not accede to the starry-eyed drivellings of these gentlemen. Carlyle incidentally provides us with striking examples of the way in which here too pompous cant becomes its opposite and the noble, knowledgeable and wise man is transformed in practice into a base, ignorant and foolish man.

Since for him everything depends on strong government, he turns upon the cry for liberation and emancipation with extreme indignation:

“Let us all be free of one another [...]. Free without bond or connexion except that of cash payment; fair day’s wages for the fair day’s work; determined by voluntary contract, and law of supply and demand: this is thought to be the true solution of all difficulties and injustices that have occurred between man and man. To rectify the relation that exists between two men, is there no method, then, but that of ending it?” (P. 29.)

This complete dissolution of all bonds, all relationships between men naturally reaches its climax in *anarchy*, the law of lawlessness, the condition in which the bond of bonds, the government, is completely cut to pieces. And this is what people in England and on the Continent alike are striving towards, yes, even in “staid Germany”.

Carlyle blusters on like this for several pages, lumping together Red Republic, *fraternité*, Louis Blanc, etc., in a most disconcerting way with free trade,<sup>a</sup> the abolition of the duty on corn, etc. (Cf. pp. 29-42.) The destruction of the remnants of feudalism which are still preserved by tradition, the reduction of the state to what is

<sup>a</sup> The words “free trade” are in English in the original.—*Ed*

unavoidably necessary and absolutely cheapest, the complete realisation of free competition by the bourgeoisie, are thus mixed up together and identified by Carlyle with the elimination of these same bourgeois relations, with the abolition of the conflict between capital and wage labour, with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. Brilliant return to the "Night of the Absolute" in which all cats are grey! Deep knowledge of the "knowledgeable man" who does not know the first thing about what is happening around him! Strange perspicacity which believes that with the abolition of feudalism or free competition, all relations between men are abolished! Unfathomable fathoming of the "eternal law of nature", seriously believing that no more children will be born from the moment that the parents cease to go to the *Mairie*<sup>a</sup> first to "bind" themselves in matrimony!

After this edifying example of a wisdom amounting to unmitigated ignorance, Carlyle goes on to demonstrate to us how high-principled nobility of character at once turns into undisguised baseness as soon as it descends from its heaven of sententious verbiage to the world of real relations.

"In all European countries, especially in England, one class of Captains and commanders of men, recognisable as the beginning of a new, real and not imaginary Aristocracy, has already in some measure developed itself: the Captains of Industry;—happily the class who above all [...] are wanted in this time. [...] And surely, on the other hand, there is no lack of men needing to be commanded: the sad class of brother-men whom we have described as 'Hodge's emancipated horses', reduced to roving famine, this too has in all countries developed itself and, in fatal geometrical progression, is ever more developing itself, with a rapidity which alarms everyone. On this ground [...] it may be truly said, the Organisation of Labour [...] is the universal vital Problem of the world." (Pp. 42, 43.)

Carlyle having thus vented all his virtuous fury time and time again in the first forty pages against selfishness, free competition, the abolition of the feudal bonds between man and man, supply and demand, laissez-faire,<sup>234</sup> cotton-spinning, cash payment, etc., etc., we now suddenly find that the main exponents of all these shams, the industrial bourgeoisie, are not merely counted among the celebrated heroes and geniuses but even comprise the most indispensable part of these heroes, that the trump card in all his attacks on bourgeois relations and ideas is the apotheosis of bourgeois individuals. It appears yet odder that Carlyle, having discovered the commanders and the commanded of labour, in other words, a certain organisation of labour, nevertheless declares this organisation to be a great problem requiring solution. But one should not be deceived. It is not

<sup>a</sup> Town hall.—Ed.

a question of the organisation of those workers who have been regimented, but of the organisation of those who are unregimented and captainless, and this Carlyle has reserved for himself. At the end of his pamphlet we suddenly see him in the role of the British Prime Minister *in partibus*,<sup>a</sup> summoning together the three million Irish and other beggars, the able-bodied lackalls, nomadic or stationary, and the general assembly of British paupers, outside the workhouse<sup>b</sup> and inside the workhouse,<sup>b</sup> and “haranguing” them in a speech in which he first repeats to the lackalls everything that he has previously confided to the reader and then addresses the select company as follows:

“Vagrant Lackalls and Good-for-nothings, foolish most of you, criminal many of you, miserable all; the sight of you fills me with astonishment and despair. [...] Here are some three millions of you [...]: so many of you fallen sheer over into the abysses of open Beggary; and, fearful to think, every new unit that falls is loading so much more the chain that drags the others over. On the edge of the precipice hang uncounted millions; increasing, I am told, at the rate of 1,200 a-day [...] falling, falling one after the other; and the chain is getting ever heavier [...] and who at last will stand? What to do with you?... The others that still stand have their own difficulties, I can tell you!—But you, by imperfect energy and redundant appetite, by doing too little work and drinking too much beer, you [...] have proved that you cannot do it! [...] Know that, whoever may be ‘sons of freedom’, you for your part are not and cannot be such. Not ‘free’ you, ... you palpably are fallen captive ... you are of the nature of slaves, or if you prefer the word, of nomadic [...] and vagabond servants that can find no master.... Not as glorious unfortunate sons of freedom, but as recognised captives, as unfortunate fallen brothers requiring that I should command them, and if need were, control and compel them, can there henceforth be a relation between us.... Before Heaven and Earth, and God the Maker of us all, I declare it is a scandal to see *such* a life kept in you, by the sweat and heart’s blood of your brothers; and that, if we cannot mend it, death were preferable!... Enlist in *my* Irish, my Scotch and English ‘Regiments of the *New Era*’... ye poor wandering banditti; obey, work, suffer, abstain, as all of us have had to do.... Industrial Colonels, Workmasters, Taskmasters, Life-commanders, equitable as Rhadamanthus and inflexible as he: such [...] you do need; and such, you being once put under law as soldiers are, will be discoverable for you.... To each of you I will then say: Here is work for you; strike into it with manlike, soldierlike obedience and heartiness, according to the methods I here dictate,—wages follow for you without difficulty.... Refuse, shirk the heavy labour, disobey the rules,—I will admonish and endeavour to incite you; if in vain, I will flog you; if still in vain, I will at last shoot you.” (Pp. 46-55.)

The “*New Era*”, in which genius rules, is thus distinguished from the old era principally by the fact that the whip imagines it possesses genius. The genius Carlyle is distinguished from just any prison.

<sup>a</sup> Outside the sphere of reality. The words are part of the expression *in partibus infidelium*, meaning literally “in the realm of infidels”. It was added to the titles of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The original has the English word.—*Ed.*

Cerberus or poor-law beadle by his virtuous indignation and the moral consciousness of flaying the paupers<sup>a</sup> only in order to raise them to *his* level. We here observe the high-principled genius in his world-redeeming anger fantastically justifying and exaggerating the infamies of the bourgeoisie. If the English bourgeoisie equated paupers<sup>a</sup> with criminals in order to create a deterrent to pauperism and brought into being the Poor Law of 1834,<sup>235</sup> Carlyle accuses the paupers<sup>a</sup> of *high treason* because pauperism generates pauperism. Just as previously the ruling class that had arisen in the course of history, the industrial bourgeoisie, was privy to genius simply by virtue of ruling, so now any oppressed class, the more deeply it is oppressed, the more is it excluded from genius and the more is it exposed to the raging fury of our unrecognised reformer. So it is here with the paupers.<sup>a</sup> But his morally noble wrath reaches its highest peak with regard to those who are absolutely vile and ignoble, the "scoundrels", i. e. *criminals*. He treats of these in the pamphlet on Model Prisons.

This pamphlet is distinguished from the first only by a fury much greater, yet all the cheaper for being directed against those officially expelled from established society, against people behind bars; a fury which sheds even that little shame which the ordinary bourgeois still for decency's sake display. Just as in the first pamphlet Carlyle erects a complete hierarchy of Nobles and seeks out the Noblest of the Noble, so here he arranges an equally complete hierarchy of scoundrels and villains and exerts himself in hunting down the *worst of the bad*, the *supreme scoundrel* in England, for the exquisite pleasure of hanging him. Assuming he were to catch him and hang him; then another will be our Worst and must be hanged in turn, and then another again, until the turn of the Noble and then the More Noble is reached and finally no one is left but Carlyle, the Noblest, who as persecutor of scoundrels is at once the murderer of the Noble and has murdered what is noble even in the scoundrels; the Noblest of the Noble, who is suddenly transformed into the Vilest of Scoundrels and as such must *hang himself*. With that, all questions concerning government, state, the organisation of labour, and the hierarchy of the Noble would be resolved and the eternal law of nature realised at last.

Written in March and April 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
No. 4, 1850

<sup>a</sup> The original has the English word.—*Ed.*



## II

*LES CONSPIRATEURS*, PAR A. CHENU,  
 EX-CAPITAINE DES GARDES DU CITOYEN CAUSSIDIÈRE.  
 LES SOCIÉTÉS SECRÈTES;  
 LA PRÉFECTURE DE POLICE SOUS CAUSSIDIÈRE;  
 LES CORPS-FRANCS,  
 PARIS, 1850  
*LA NAISSANCE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE EN FÉVRIER 1848*,  
 PAR LUCIEN DE LA HODDE,  
 PARIS, 1850<sup>236</sup>

Nothing is more to be desired than that the people who were at the head of the active party, whether before the revolution in the secret societies or the press, or afterwards in official positions, should at long last be portrayed in the stark colours of a Rembrandt, in the full flush of life. Hitherto these personalities have never been depicted as they really were, but only in their official guise, with buskins on their feet and halos around their heads. All verisimilitude is lost in these idealised, Raphaellesque pictures.

It is true that the two present publications dispense with the buskins and halos in which the "great men" of the February Revolution hitherto appeared. They penetrate the private lives of these people, they show them to us in informal attire, surrounded by all their multifarious subordinates. But they are for all that no less far removed from being a real, faithful representation of persons and events. Of their authors, the one is a self-confessed long-time *mouchard*<sup>a</sup> of Louis Philippe, and the other a veteran conspirator by profession whose relations with the police are similarly very ambiguous and of whose powers of comprehension we have an early indication in the fact that he claims to have seen "that splendid chain of the Alps whose silver peaks dazzle the eye" between Rheinfelden and Basle, and "the Rhenish Alps whose distant peaks are lost on the horizon" between Kehl and Karlsruhe. From such people, especially when in addition they are writing to justify themselves, we can of course only expect a more or less exaggerated *chronique scandaleuse* of the February Revolution.

<sup>a</sup> Police spy.—*Ed.*

M. de la Hodde, in his pamphlet, attempts to portray himself after the manner of the spy in Cooper's novel.<sup>a</sup> He has, he claims, earned society's gratitude by paralysing the secret societies for eight years. But Cooper's spy is a very far cry from M. de la Hodde. M. de la Hodde, who worked on *Le Charivari*, was a member of the Central Committee of the *Société des nouvelles saisons* from 1839,<sup>287</sup> was co-editor of *La Réforme* from its foundation and at the same time a paid spy of the Prefect of Police, Delessert, is compromised by no one more than by Chenu. His publication is a direct response to Chenu's revelations, but it takes very good care not to say even a syllable in reply to Chenu's allegations concerning de la Hodde himself. That part of Chenu's memoirs at least is therefore authentic.

"On one of my nocturnal excursions," recounts Chenu, "I noticed de la Hodde walking up and down the quai Voltaire.... It was raining in torrents, a circumstance which set me thinking. Was this dear fellow de la Hodde also helping himself from the cash-box of the secret funds, by any chance? But I remembered his songs, his magnificent stanzas about Ireland and Poland, and particularly the violent articles he wrote for the journal *La Réforme*" (whereas M. de la Hodde tries to make out he tamed *La Réforme*). "'Good evening, de la Hodde, what on earth are you up to here at this hour and in this fearful weather?'—'I am waiting for a rascal who owes me some money, and as he passes this way every evening at this time, he is going to pay me, or else'—and he struck the parapet of the embankment violently with his stick."

De la Hodde attempts to get rid of him and walks towards the Pont du Carrousel. Chenu departs in the opposite direction, but only to conceal himself under the arcades of the *Institut*. De la Hodde soon comes back, looks round carefully in all directions and once more walks back and forth.

"A quarter of an hour later I noticed the carriage with two little green lamps which my ex-agent had described to me" (a former spy who had revealed a large number of police secrets and identification signs to Chenu in prison). "It stopped at the corner of the rue des Vieux Augustins. A man got out; de la Hodde went straight up to him; they talked for a moment, and I saw de la Hodde make a movement as though putting money into his pocket.—After this incident I made every effort to have de la Hodde excluded from our meetings and above all to prevent Albert falling into some trap, for he was the cornerstone of our edifice [...]. Some days later *La Réforme* rejected an article by de la Hodde. This wounded his vanity as a writer. I advised him to avenge himself by founding another journal. He followed this advice and with Pilhes and Dupoty he even published the prospectus of a paper, *Le Peuple*, and during that time we were almost completely rid of him." (Chenu, pp. 46-48 [p. 55].)

As we see, this spy à la Cooper turns out to be a political prostitute of the vilest kind who hangs about in the street in the rain for the

<sup>a</sup> Harvey Birch, the hero of Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Spy*.—Ed.

payment of his *cadeau*<sup>a</sup> by the first *officier de paix*<sup>b</sup> who happens to come along. We see furthermore that it was not de la Hodde, as he would have us believe, but Albert who was at the head of the secret societies. This follows from Chenu's whole account. The *mouchard* "in the interests of order" is here suddenly transformed into the offended writer who is angry that the articles of the *Charivari* correspondent are not accepted without question by *La Réforme*, and who therefore breaks with *La Réforme*, a real party organ in which he was able to be of some use to the police, to found a new paper in which at best he was able to satisfy his vanity as a writer. Just as prostitutes make use of sentiment of a kind, so this *mouchard* sought to make use of his literary pretensions in order to escape from his dirty role. Hatred for *La Réforme*, which pervades his whole pamphlet, is resolved into the most trivial writer's vindictiveness. In the end we see that during the most important period of the secret societies, shortly before the February Revolution, de la Hodde was being increasingly forced out of them; and this explains why they, according to his account, quite contrary to Chenu, declined more and more in this period.

We now come to the scene in which Chenu describes the exposure of de la Hodde's treacheries after the February Revolution. The *Réforme* party had assembled with Albert in the Luxembourg at Caussidière's invitation. Monnier, Sobrier, Grandménil, de la Hodde, Chenu, etc., were present. Caussidière opened the meeting and then said:

"There is a traitor among us. We shall form a secret tribunal to try him."—Grandménil, as the oldest of those present, was appointed chairman, and Tiphaine secretary. 'Citizens,' continued Caussidière as public prosecutor, 'for a long time we have been accusing honest patriots. We were far from suspecting what a serpent had slipped in among us. Today I have discovered the real traitor: it is Lucien de la Hodde!'—The latter, who hitherto had sat quite unperturbed, leapt up at so direct an accusation. He made a move towards the door. Caussidière closed it quickly, drew a pistol and shouted: 'One move and I'll blow your brains out!'—De la Hodde passionately protested his innocence. 'Very well,' said Caussidière. 'Here is a file containing eighteen hundred reports to the Prefect of Police'... and he gave each of us the reports specially concerning him. De la Hodde obstinately denied that these reports, signed Pierre, originated with him until Caussidière read out the letter published in his memoirs, in which de la Hodde offered his services to the Prefect of Police and which he had signed with his real name. From then on the wretched man stopped denying and tried to excuse himself on the grounds of poverty which had given him the fatal idea of throwing himself into the arms of the police. Caussidière held out to him the pistol, the last means of escape left to him. De la Hodde then pleaded with his judges and whimperingly begged for mercy, but they remained

<sup>a</sup> Gift.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Officer of the peace.—*Ed.*

inflexible. Bocquet, one of those present, whose patience was exhausted, seized the pistol and offered it to him three times with the words: 'Allons,<sup>a</sup> blow your brains out, you coward, or I'll kill you myself!'—Albert snatched it out of his hand, saying, 'But just think, a pistol-shot here in the Luxembourg would bring everybody running here!'—'That's true,' cried Bocquet, 'we need poison.' 'Poison?' said Caussidière. 'I brought poison with me—of every kind.' He took a glass, filled it with water, which he sugared, then poured in a white powder and offered it to de la Hodde, who recoiled in horror: 'You want to kill me then?'—'Yes we do,' said Bocquet, 'drink.'—De la Hodde was fearful to look at. His features were ashen, and his very curly, well-kempt hair stood on end on his head. His face was bathed in sweat. He implored, he wept: 'I don't want to die!' But Bocquet, inflexible, still held out the glass to him. 'Allons, drink,' said Caussidière, 'it will be all over before you know what has happened.'—'No, no, I will not drink.' And in his deranged state of mind he added with a terrible gesture: 'Oh, I shall have my revenge for all these torments!'

"When it was seen that no appeal to his *point d'honneur*<sup>b</sup> had any effect, de la Hodde was finally pardoned on Albert's intercession, and was taken to the Conciergerie prison." (Chenu, pp. 134-36 [pp. 147-50].)

The self-styled spy à la Cooper becomes increasingly pathetic. We see him here in all his ignominy, only able to stand up to his opponents by cowardice. What we reproach him for is not that he did not shoot himself but that he did not shoot the first comer amongst his opponents. He seeks to justify himself after the event by means of a pamphlet in which he attempts to represent the whole revolution as a mere *escroquerie*.<sup>c</sup> The title of this pamphlet ought to be: *The Disillusioned Policeman*. It demonstrates that a true revolution is the exact opposite of the ideas of a *mouchard*, who like the "men of action" sees in every revolution the work of a small coterie. Whilst all movements which were to a greater or lesser extent arbitrarily provoked by coteries did not go beyond mere insurgency, it is clear from de la Hodde's account itself that on the one hand the *official republicans* at the beginning of the February days still despaired of achieving the republic, and that on the other hand the *bourgeoisie* was obliged to help achieve the republic without wanting it, and thus that the February Republic was brought about by the force of circumstances driving the proletarian masses, who were outside any coterie, out into the streets and keeping the majority of the bourgeoisie at home or forcing them into common action with the proletarians.—What de la Hodde reveals apart from that is scanty indeed and amounts to no more than the most banal gossip. Only one scene is of interest: the meeting of the official democrats on the evening of February 21 on the premises of *La Réforme*, at which the leaders declared themselves firmly opposed to an attack by force.

<sup>a</sup> Go on.—Ed.

<sup>b</sup> Sense of honour.—Ed.

<sup>c</sup> Act of fraud.—Ed.

The content of their speeches testifies by and large to what was for that date still a correct understanding of the situation. They are ridiculous only because of their pompous style and the later claims of the same people to have consciously and deliberately worked towards the revolution from the start. And the worst thing, incidentally, that de la Hodde can say of them is that they tolerated him for so long in their midst.

Let us turn to Chenu. Who is M. Chenu? He is a veteran conspirator, took part in every insurgency since 1832 and is well known to the police. Conscripted for military service, he soon deserted and remained undiscovered in Paris, despite his repeated participation in conspiracies and the 1839 revolt.<sup>298</sup> In 1844 he reported to his regiment, and strangely enough, despite his well-known record, he was spared a court-martial by the divisional general. And that was not all: he did not serve his full time with the regiment but was allowed to return to Paris. In 1847 he was implicated in the incendiary bomb conspiracy<sup>299</sup>; he escaped an attempted arrest, but for all that remained in Paris, although he had been sentenced to four years *in contumaciam*.<sup>a</sup> Only when his fellow-conspirators accused him of being in league with the police did he go to Holland, whence he returned on February 21, 1848. After the February Revolution he became a captain in Caussidière's guards. Caussidière soon suspected him (a suspicion having a high degree of probability) of being in league with Marrast's special police and dispatched him without much resistance to Belgium and later to Germany. M. Chenu submitted willingly enough to successive enrolments in the Belgian, German and Polish volunteer corps. And all this at a time when Caussidière's power was already beginning to totter and although Chenu claims to have had complete control over him; thus he maintains he forced Caussidière by means of a threatening letter to free him immediately when he had once been arrested. So much for our author's character and credibility.

The quantities of make-up and patchouli beneath which prostitutes attempt to smother the less attractive aspects of their physical being have their literary counterpart in the *bel esprit* with which de la Hodde perfumes his pamphlet. The literary qualities of Chenu's book on the other hand frequently remind one of *Gil Blas*<sup>b</sup> by their naivety and the vivacity of their presentation. Just as in the most varied adventures *Gil Blas* always remains a servant and judges everything by a servant's standards, so Chenu always remains, from

<sup>a</sup> For contempt of the court (in refusing to appear).—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, a novel by Alain René Le Sage.—*Ed.*

the 1832 revolt up to his dismissal from the prefecture, the same low-ranking conspirator, whose own particular form of narrow-mindedness can incidentally be very clearly distinguished from the dull ruminations of the literary "*faiseur*" apportioned to him by the Elysée. It is clear that there can be no question of any understanding of the revolutionary movement in Chenu's case either. For this reason the only chapters in his book which are of any interest are those in which he describes things more or less uninhibitedly from his own observation: *the Conspirators* and *Caussidière the Hero*.

The propensity of the Latin peoples to conspiracy and the part which conspiracies have played in modern Spanish, Italian and French history are well known. After the defeat of the Spanish and Italian conspirators at the beginning of the twenties, Lyons and especially Paris became the centres of revolutionary clubs. It is a well-known fact that the liberal bourgeoisie headed the conspiracies against the Restoration up to 1830. After the July Revolution the republican bourgeoisie took their place; the proletariat, trained in conspiracy even under the Restoration, began to dominate to the extent that the republican bourgeoisie were deterred from conspiring by the unsuccessful street battles. The *Société des saisons*, through which Barbès and Blanqui organised the 1839 revolt, was already exclusively proletarian, and so were the *Nouvelles saisons*, formed after the defeat, whose leader was Albert and in which Chenu, de la Hodde, Caussidière, etc., participated. Through its leaders the conspiracy was constantly in contact with the petty-bourgeois elements represented by *La Réforme*, but always kept itself strictly independent. These conspiracies never of course embraced the broad mass of the Paris proletariat. They were restricted to a comparatively small, continually fluctuating number of members which consisted partly of unchanging, veteran conspirators, regularly bequeathed by each secret society to its successor, and partly of newly recruited workers.

Of these veteran conspirators, Chenu describes virtually none but the class to which he himself belongs: the *professional conspirators*. With the development of proletarian conspiracies the need arose for a division of labour; the members were divided into occasional conspirators, *conspirateurs d'occasion*, i.e. workers who engaged in conspiracy alongside their other employment, merely attending meetings and holding themselves in readiness to appear at the place of assembly at the leaders' command, and professional conspirators who devoted their whole energy to the conspiracy and had their living from it. They formed the intermediate stratum between the workers and the leaders, and frequently even infiltrated the latter.

The social situation of this class determines its whole character from the very outset. Proletarian conspiracy naturally affords them only very limited and uncertain means of subsistence. They are therefore constantly obliged to dip into the cash-boxes of the conspiracy. A number of them also come into direct conflict with civil society as such and appear before the police courts with a greater or lesser degree of dignity. Their precarious livelihood, dependent in individual cases more on chance than on their activity, their irregular lives whose only fixed ports-of-call are the taverns of the *marchands de vin*<sup>a</sup>—the places of rendezvous of the conspirators—their inevitable acquaintance with all kinds of dubious people, place them in that social category which in Paris is known as *la bohême*. These democratic bohemians of proletarian origin—there are also democratic bohemians of bourgeois origin, democratic loafers and *piliers d'estaminet*<sup>b</sup>—are therefore either workers who have given up their work and have as a consequence become dissolute, or characters who have emerged from the lumpenproletariat and bring all the dissolute habits of that class with them into their new way of life. One can understand how in these circumstances a few *repris de justice*<sup>c</sup> are to be found implicated in practically every conspiracy trial.

The whole way of life of these professional conspirators has a most decidedly bohemian character. Recruiting sergeants for the conspiracy, they go from *marchand de vin* to *marchand de vin*, feeling the pulse of the workers, seeking out their men, cajoling them into the conspiracy and getting either the society's treasury or their new friends to foot the bill for the litres inevitably consumed in the process. Indeed it is really the *marchand de vin* who provides a roof over their heads. It is with him that the conspirator spends most of his time; it is here he has his rendezvous with his colleagues, with the members of his section and with prospective recruits; it is here, finally, that the secret meetings of sections (groups) and section leaders take place. The conspirator, highly sanguine in character anyway like all Parisian proletarians, soon develops into an absolute *bambocheur*<sup>d</sup> in this continual tavern atmosphere. The sinister conspirator, who in secret session exhibits a Spartan self-discipline, suddenly thaws and is transformed into a tavern regular whom everybody knows and who really understands how to enjoy his wine

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<sup>a</sup> Publicans.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Public house regulars.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Persons with a criminal record.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Boozer.—*Ed.*

and women. This conviviality is further intensified by the constant dangers the conspirator is exposed to; at any moment he may be called to the barricades, where he may be killed; at every turn the police set snares for him which may deliver him to prison or even to the galleys. Such dangers constitute the real spice of the trade; the greater the insecurity, the more the conspirator hastens to seize the pleasures of the moment. At the same time familiarity with danger makes him utterly indifferent to life and liberty. He is as at home in prison as in the wine-shop. He is ready for the call to action any day. The desperate recklessness which is exhibited in every insurrection in Paris is introduced precisely by these veteran professional conspirators, the *hommes de coups de main*.<sup>a</sup> They are the ones who throw up and command the first barricades, who organise resistance, lead the looting of arms-shops and the seizure of arms and ammunition from houses, and in the midst of the uprising carry out those daring raids which so often throw the government party into confusion. In a word, they are the officers of the insurrection.

It need scarcely be added that these conspirators do not confine themselves to the general organising of the revolutionary proletariat. It is precisely their business to anticipate the process of revolutionary development, to bring it artificially to crisis-point, to launch a revolution on the spur of the moment, without the conditions for a revolution. For them the only condition for revolution is the adequate preparation of their conspiracy. They are the alchemists of the revolution and are characterised by exactly the same chaotic thinking and blinkered obsessions as the alchemists of old. They leap at inventions which are supposed to work revolutionary miracles: incendiary bombs, destructive devices of magic effect, revolts which are expected to be all the more miraculous and astonishing in effect as their basis is less rational. Occupied with such scheming, they have no other purpose than the most immediate one of overthrowing the existing government and have the profoundest contempt for the more theoretical enlightenment of the proletariat about their class interests. Hence their plebeian rather than proletarian irritation at the *habits noirs*,<sup>b</sup> people of a greater or lesser degree of education who represent that aspect of the movement, from whom, however, they can never make themselves quite independent, since they are the official representatives of the party. The *habits noirs* also serve at times as their source of money. It goes without saying that the

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<sup>a</sup> Men of daring raids.— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Frock-coats.— *Ed.*



conspirators are obliged to follow willy-nilly the development of the revolutionary party.

The chief characteristic of the conspirators' way of life is their battle with the police, to whom they have precisely the same relationship as thieves and prostitutes. The police tolerate the conspiracies, and not just as a necessary evil: they tolerate them as centres which they can keep under easy observation and where the most violent revolutionary elements in society meet, as the forges of revolt, which in France has become a tool of government quite as necessary as the police themselves, and finally as a recruiting place for their own political *mouchards*. Just as the most serviceable rogue-catchers, the Vidocqs and their cronies, are taken from the class of greater and lesser rascals, thieves, *escrocs*<sup>a</sup> and fraudulent bankrupts, and often revert to their old trade, in precisely the same way the humbler political policemen are recruited from among the professional conspirators. The conspirators are constantly in touch with the police, they come into conflict with them all the time; they hunt the *mouchards*, just as the *mouchards* hunt them. Spying is one of their main occupations. It is no wonder therefore that the short step from being a conspirator by trade to being a paid police spy is so frequently made, facilitated as it is by poverty and prison, by threats and promises. Hence the web of limitless suspicion within the conspiracies, which completely blinds their members and makes them see *mouchards* in their best people and their most trustworthy people in the real *mouchards*. That these spies recruited from among the conspirators mostly allow themselves to become involved with the police in the honest belief that they will be able to outwit them, that they succeed in playing a double role for a while, until they succumb more and more to the consequences of their first step, and that the police are often really outwitted by them, is self-evident. Whether, incidentally, such a conspirator succumbs to the snares of the police depends entirely on the coincidence of circumstances and rather on a quantitative than a qualitative difference in strength of character.

These are the conspirators whom Chenu parades before us, often in a most lively manner, and whose characters he sometimes eagerly and sometimes reluctantly describes. He himself, incidentally, is the epitome of the conspirator by trade, right down to his somewhat ambiguous connections with Delessert's and Marrast's police.

To the extent that the Paris proletariat came to the fore itself as a party, these conspirators lost some of their dominant influence, they

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<sup>a</sup> Swindlers.— *Ed.*

were dispersed and they encountered dangerous competition in proletarian secret societies, whose purpose was not immediate insurrection but the organisation and development of the proletariat. Even the 1839 revolt was decidedly proletarian and communist. But afterwards the divisions occurred which the veteran conspirators bemoan so much; divisions which had their origin in the workers' need to clarify their class interests and which found expression partly in the earlier conspiracies themselves and partly in new propagandist associations. The communist agitation which Cabet began so forcefully soon after 1839 and the controversies which arose within the Communist Party soon had the conspirators out of their depth. Both Chenu and de la Hodde admit that at the time of the February Revolution the Communists were by far the strongest party group among the revolutionary proletariat. The conspirators, if they were not to lose their influence on the workers and thus their importance as a counterbalance to the *habits noirs*, were obliged to go along with this trend and adopt socialist or communist ideas. Thus there arose even before the February Revolution that conflict between the workers' conspiracies, represented by Albert, and the *Réforme* people, the same conflict which was reproduced shortly afterwards in the Provisional Government. We would of course never dream of confusing Albert with these conspirators. It is clear from both works that Albert knew how to assert his own independent position above them, his tools, and he certainly does not belong to that category of people who practised conspiracy to earn their daily bread.

The 1847 bomb affair, a matter in which direct police action was greater than in any previous case, finally scattered the most obstinate and contrary-minded of the veteran conspirators and drove their former sections into the proletarian movement proper.

These professional conspirators, the most violent people in their sections and the *détenus politiques*<sup>a</sup> of proletarian origin, mostly veteran conspirators themselves, we find again as Montagnards in the Prefecture of Police after the February Revolution. The conspirators however form the core of the whole company. It is understandable that these people, suddenly armed and herded together here, mostly on quite familiar terms with their prefects and their officers, could not fail to form a somewhat turbulent corps. Just as the Montagne in the National Assembly was a parody of the original Montagne and by its impotence proved in the most striking manner that the old revolutionary traditions of 1793 no longer

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<sup>a</sup> Political detainees.—*Ed.*

suffice today, so the Montagnards in the Prefecture of Police, the new version of the original sansculottes, proved that in the modern revolution this section of the proletariat is also insufficient and that only the proletariat as a whole can carry the revolution through.

Chenu describes the sansculotte life-style of this honourable company in the Prefecture in a most lively manner. These comic scenes, in which M. Chenu was obviously an active participant, are sometimes rather wild, but very understandable in view of the character of the old conspiratorial *bambocheurs*, and form a necessary and even a healthy contrast to the orgies of the bourgeoisie in the last years of Louis Philippe.

We will quote just one example from the account of how they established themselves in the Prefecture.

“When the day broke, I saw the group leaders arrive one after the other with their men, but for the most part unarmed [...]. I drew Caussidière's attention to this. ‘I'll get arms for them,’ he said. ‘Look for a suitable place to quarter them in the Prefecture.’ I carried out this order at once and sent them to occupy that former police guardroom where I had once been so vilely treated myself. A moment later I saw them come running back. ‘Where are you going?’ I asked them. ‘The guardroom is occupied by a crowd of policemen,’ Devaisse replied to me; ‘they are fast asleep and we're looking for something to waken them with and throw them out.’—They now armed themselves with whatever came to hand, ramrods, sabre-sheaths, straps folded double and broom-sticks. Then my lads, who had all had greater or lesser reason to complain of the insolence and brutality of the sleepers, fell on them with fists flying and for over half an hour taught them such a harsh lesson that some of them took a considerable time to recover. At their cries of terror I dashed up, and I only managed with difficulty to open the door which the Montagnards wisely kept locked on the inside. It was a sight for sore eyes to see the policemen dashing half-undressed into the courtyard. They jumped down the stairs in one bound, and it was lucky for them they knew every nook and cranny in the Prefecture and were able to escape from the sight of their enemies hard on their heels. Once masters of the place whose garrison they had just relieved with such courtesy, our Montagnards decked themselves out triumphantly in what the vanquished had left behind, and for a long time they were to be seen walking up and down the courtyard of the Prefecture, swords by their sides, coats over their shoulders and their heads resplendent in the three-cornered hats once so feared by the majority of them.” (Pp. 83-85 [pp. 95-96].)

Now we have made the acquaintance of the Montagnards, let us turn to their leader, the hero of the Chenu saga, *Caussidière*. Chenu parades him all the more frequently before us as the whole book is actually directed against him.

The main accusations levelled against Caussidière relate to his moral life-style, his cavalier dealings in bills of exchange and other modest attempts to rustle up money such as any spirited Parisian *commis voyageur* in debt may and does resort to. Indeed, it is only the amount of capital which determines whether the cases of fraud, profiteering, swindling and stock-exchange speculation on which the

whole of commerce is based, impinge to any degree on the *Code pénal*. With regard to stock-exchange coups and the Chinese fraud which are especially typical of French commerce, it is worth referring for instance to Fourier's spicy descriptions in the *Quatre mouvements*, the *Fausse industrie*, the *Traité de l'unité universelle* and his posthumous works.<sup>240</sup> M. Chenu does not even try to prove that Caussidière exploited his position as Prefect of Police for his own ends. Indeed a party can congratulate itself if its victorious opponents can do nothing more than expose such pathetic instances of commercial immorality. What a contrast between the petty dabbings of the *commis voyageur* Caussidière and the grandiose scandals of the bourgeoisie in 1847! The only reason for the whole attack is that Caussidière belonged to the *Réforme* party, which sought to conceal its lack of revolutionary energy and understanding behind protestations of republican virtue and an attitude of sombre gravity.

Caussidière is the only entertaining figure amongst the leaders of the February Revolution. In his capacity as *loustic*<sup>a</sup> to the revolution, he was a most appropriate leader for the veteran professional conspirators. Sensual and endowed with a sense of humour, a regular of long standing in cafés and taverns of the most varied kind, happy to live and let live, but at the same time a brave soldier, concealing beneath broad-shouldered bonhomie and lack of inhibition great cunning, astute thought and acute observation, he possessed a certain revolutionary tact and revolutionary energy. At that time, Caussidière was a genuine plebeian who hated the bourgeoisie instinctively and shared all the plebeian passions to a high degree. Scarcely was he established in the Prefecture when he was already conspiring against the *National*, but without in so doing neglecting his predecessor's cuisine or cellar. He immediately organised a military force for himself, secured himself a newspaper, launched clubs, gave people parts to play and generally acted from the first moment with great self-confidence. In twenty-four hours the Prefecture was transformed into a fortress from which he could defy his enemies. But all his schemes either remained mere plans or amounted in practice to no more than plebeian pranks leading to nothing. When the conflicts became more acute, he shared the fate of his party, which remained indecisively in the middle between the *National* people and the proletarian revolutionaries such as Blanqui. His Montagnards split; the old *bambocheurs* grew too big for him and were no longer to be restrained, whilst the revolutionary section went over to Blanqui. Caussidière himself became increasingly

<sup>a</sup> Wag, joker.—Ed.

bourgeois in his official position as Prefect and representative; on May 15<sup>241</sup> he kept prudently in the background and excused himself in the Chamber in an irresponsible manner; on June 23 he deserted the insurrection at the crucial moment. As a reward he was naturally removed from the Prefecture and shortly afterwards sent into exile.

We now go on to some of the most significant passages from Chenu and de la Hodde concerning Caussidière.

Scarcely was de la Hodde established on the evening of February 24 as General Secretary to the Prefecture under Caussidière when the latter said to him:

“I need reliable people here. The administrative side of things will always take care of itself more or less; for the time being I have kept on the old officials; as soon as the patriots have been trained, we shall *send them packing*. That is a secondary matter. What we must do is to make the Prefecture the stronghold of the revolution; give our men instructions to that effect; bring them all here. Once we have a thousand trusty comrades here, we shall have the whip hand. Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Albert and I understand each other, and I hope everything will turn out all right. The *National* is for the high jump. And after that we shall republicanise the country all right, whether it likes it or not.”

“Thereupon Garnier-Pagès, the Mayor of Paris, under whose command the *National* had placed the police, arrived on a visit and suggested to Caussidière he might prefer to take over command of the castle at Compiègne instead of the unpleasant post at the Prefecture. Caussidière replied in that thin high-pitched voice of his which contrasted so strangely with his broad shoulders: ‘Go to Compiègne? Out of the question. I am needed here. I have got several hundred merry lads down there doing a splendid job; I am expecting twice as many again. If you at the Hôtel de Ville haven’t enough good will or courage, I’ll be able to help you.... Ha, ha, *la révolution fera son petit bonhomme de chemin, il le faudra bien!*’<sup>a</sup>—‘The revolution? But it’s over!’—‘Pshaw, it’s not even started yet!’—The poor Mayor stood there looking like an utter ninny.” (De la Hodde, p 72 [pp. 103-05].)

Amongst the most amusing scenes described by Chenu is the reception of the police officers and *officiers de paix* by the new Prefect, who was in the middle of a meal when they were announced.

“‘Let them wait,’ said Caussidière, ‘the Prefect is *working*.’ He went on working for a good half-hour more and then set the scene for the reception of the police officers who were meanwhile lined up on the great staircase. Caussidière sat down majestically in his armchair, his great sabre at his side; two wild, bloodthirsty-looking Montagnards were guarding the door, arms ordered and pipes in their mouths. Two captains with drawn sabres stood at each side of his desk. Then there were all the section leaders and the republicans who formed his general staff, grouped around the room, all of them armed with great sabres and cavalry pistols, muskets and shot-guns. Everyone was smoking and the cloud of smoke filling the room made their faces seem even more sombre and gave the scene a really frightening aspect. In the centre a space had remained clear for the police officers. Each man put on his hat and Caussidière gave the order for them to be brought in. The poor police officers wanted nothing

<sup>a</sup> The revolution will go its little way, it will have to!—*Ed.*

better, for they were exposed to the vulgarity and threats of the Montagnards, who would have liked to fricassee them in every sauce known to man. 'You gang of blackguards,' they bellowed, 'now it's our turn to have got you! You won't get out of here, you'll be flayed alive!...' As they entered the Prefect's office they felt they were exchanging Scylla for Charybdis. The first to set foot on the threshold seemed to hesitate a moment. He was uncertain whether to advance or retreat, so menacing were all the eyes fixed upon him. At last he ventured a step forward and bowed, another step and bowed more deeply, another step again and bowed even more deeply still. Each made his entry with deep bows in the direction of the awful Prefect, who received all these marks of respect coldly and in silence, his hand resting on the hilt of his sabre. The police officers took in this extraordinary scene with eyes like saucers. Some of them, beside themselves with fear and no doubt wanting to curry favour with us, found the tableau imposing and majestic.—'Silence!' commanded a Montagnard in sepulchral tones.—When they had all come in, Caussidière, who had neither spoken nor moved until that moment, broke the silence and said in his most fearful voice:

"A week ago you scarcely expected to find me here in this position, surrounded by trusty friends. So they are your masters today, these cardboard republicans, as you once called them! You tremble before those whom you subjected to the most ignoble treatment. You, Vassal, were the vilest *séide*<sup>a</sup> of the fallen government, the most violent persecutor of the republicans, and now you have fallen into the hands of your most implacable enemies, for there is not one present here who escaped your persecutions. If I listened to the just demands that are put to me, I would take reprisals. I prefer to forget. Return to your posts again, all of you; but if I ever hear that you have lent a hand to any reactionary trickery, I shall crush you like vermin. Go!

"The police officers had been through every gradation of terror, and happy to escape with a dressing-down from the Prefect, they went off in good spirits. The Montagnards who were waiting for them at the bottom of the stairs escorted them to the end of the rue de Jérusalem with a hubbub of catcalls and jeers. Scarcely had the last of them disappeared when we burst out into a tremendous fit of laughter. Caussidière was beaming and laughed more than anyone at the magnificent prank he had just played on his police officers." (Chenu, pp. 87-90 [pp. 99-102].)

After March 17, in which Caussidière played a big part, he said to Chenu:

"I can raise up the masses and set them against the bourgeoisie whenever I like." (Chenu, p. 140 [p. 154].)

Caussidière never actually went further with his opponents than playing at giving them a fright.

Finally, concerning Caussidière's relations with the Montagnards, Chenu says:

"When I mentioned to Caussidière the excesses his men were indulging in, he sighed, but his hands were tied. The majority of them had lived his life with him, he had shared their joys and sorrows; several had done him good turns. If he was unable to restrain them, it was a consequence of his own past." (P. 97 [pp. 109-10].)

<sup>a</sup> Fanatic.—Ed.

We would remind our readers that both these books were written at the time of the campaign for elections of March 10.<sup>242</sup> Their effect is clear from the election result—the brilliant victory of the reds.

Written in March and April 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
No. 4, 1850

Published in English in full for  
the first time

## III

*LE SOCIALISME ET L'IMPÔT*, PAR ÉMILE DE GIRARDIN,  
PARIS, 1850<sup>243</sup>

There are two distinct kinds of socialism, "good" socialism and "bad" socialism.

*Bad* socialism is "*the war of labour against capital*". At its door are laid all the horrors: equal distribution of the land, abolition of the family ties, organised plunder, etc.

*Good* socialism is "*harmony between labour and capital*". In its train are found the abolition of ignorance, the elimination of the causes of pauperism, the establishment of credit, the multiplication of property, the reform of taxation, in a word,

"the system which most closely approximates to mankind's conception of the kingdom of God on earth" [p. 9].

This good socialism must be used to stifle the bad variety.

"Socialism is possessed of a lever; that lever was the *budget*. But it needed a fulcrum if it was to turn the world upside down. That fulcrum was supplied by the Revolution of February 24: *universal suffrage*" [p. 12].

The source of the budget is *taxation*. So the effect of universal suffrage on the budget must be its effect on taxation. And it is by its effect on taxation that "good" socialism is realised.

"France cannot pay more than 1,200 million francs in taxes annually. How would you set about reducing expenditure to this sum?"

"You have written into two charters and one constitution in the last thirty-five years that every Frenchman shall contribute to the upkeep of the state in proportion to his wealth. In the last thirty-five years, this equality of taxation has been a myth.... Let us examine the French system of taxation" [pp. 14-15, 17].

*I. Land-tax.* The land-tax does *not* fall *equally* on all landowners:

"If two adjacent plots are given the same assessment in the land-register, the two landowners pay the same tax, without any distinction between the apparent and the actual owners" [p. 22],



i.e. between the owner who is encumbered with mortgages and the one who is not.

Furthermore, the tax on land *bears no relation* to the taxes which are levied on other kinds of property. When the National Assembly introduced it in 1790, it was influenced by the physiocratic school, which regarded the soil as the only source of net income and therefore placed the full burden of taxation on the landowners. The tax on land is therefore based on an error in economics. If taxation were distributed equally, the owner of land would be liable for 20 per cent of his income, whereas he now pays 53 per cent.

Finally, according to its original purpose, the tax on land ought only to fall on the owner and never on the tenant of the farm-land. Instead, according to M. Girardin, it always falls on the tenant of the farm-land.

In this M. Girardin commits an error in economics. Either the tenant farmer really is a tenant farmer, in which case it is not he but the owner or the consumer on whom the tax falls; or else he is, despite the appearance of tenancy, basically merely in the owner's employ, as in Ireland and frequently in France, in which case the taxes imposed on the owner will always fall on him, whatever name they are given.

*II. Tax on persons and movable property.* This tax, which was also decreed by the National Assembly in 1790, was intended to fall directly on liquid assets. The amount of house-rent paid was taken to indicate the value of the assets. This tax falls in reality on the landowner, the peasant and the manufacturer, whilst it represents an insignificant burden or none at all for the rentier. It is therefore the complete opposite of what its authors intended. Besides, a millionaire may live in a garret with two rickety chairs—unjust, etc.

*III. Door and window tax.* An attack on the health of the people. A fiscal device directed against clean air and daylight.

"Almost one half of the dwellings in France have either only one door and no windows, or at most one door and one window" [p. 38].

This tax was adopted on 24th Vendémiaire of the year VII (October 14, 1799) because of an urgent need for money, as a temporary and extraordinary measure; but in principle it was rejected.

*IV. Licence-tax* (trades-tax). A tax not on profit but on the exercise of industry. A penalty for work. Designed to fall on the manufacturer, it falls largely on the consumer. In any case, when this tax was

imposed in 1791, it was also only a question of satisfying a momentary need for money.

V. *Registration and stamp duty.* The *droit d'enregistrement*<sup>244</sup> originated with Francis I and had initially no fiscal purpose (?). In 1790 the obligatory registration of contracts concerning property was extended and the fee raised. The tax operates in such a way that buying and selling cost more than donations and legacies. Stamp duty is a purely fiscal device which applies equally to unequal profits.

VI. *Beverage-tax.* The quintessence of injustice, an impediment to production, an irritant, the most costly to collect. (See moreover Issue III: 1848-1849, Consequences of June 13.<sup>a</sup>)

VII. *Customs-duties.* A chaotic historical accumulation of pointless, mutually contradictory rates of duty injurious to industry. E. g. raw cotton is taxed at 22 frs. 50 cts. per 100 kilos in France. *Passons outre.*<sup>b</sup>

VIII. *Octroi.*<sup>245</sup> Lacks even the excuse of protecting a national industry. Internal customs. Originally a local poor-tax, but now chiefly a burden upon the poorer classes, resulting in the adulteration of their food. Puts as many obstacles in the way of national industry as there are towns.

So much for what Girardin has to say concerning the individual taxes. The reader will have noticed that his criticism is as shallow as it is correct. It is reducible to three arguments:

1. that no tax ever falls on the class intended by those who imposed the tax, but is shifted on to another class;
2. that every temporary tax takes root and becomes permanent;
3. that no tax is proportional to wealth, just, equal, or equitable.

These general economic objections to present taxation are repeated in every country. However, the French tax system has one characteristic peculiarity. Just as the British are the historic nation *par excellence* with regard to public and private law, so the French are with regard to the system of taxation, although in all other respects they have codified, simplified and broken with tradition in accordance with universal principles. Girardin says on this point<sup>c</sup>:

"In France we live under the rule of almost all the fiscal procedures of the *ancien régime*. Taille,<sup>d</sup> poll-tax, aide,<sup>e</sup> customs, salt-tax, registration fees, tax on legal

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 117-21.— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Let us proceed.— *Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> To support his arguments Girardin cites in the following passage the opinion of Eugène Daire, the publisher and commentator of the works of physiocrats and other economists.— *Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> A direct tax which mainly affected the peasants.— *Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> Indirect taxes.— *Ed.*

submissions, greffe, tobacco monopoly, excessive profits from the postal services and the sale of gunpowder, the lottery, parish or state corvée, billeting, octrois, river and road tolls, extraordinary levies—all these things may have changed their names, but they all persist in essence and have become no less a burden on the people nor any more productive for the treasury. The basis of our financial system is totally unscientific. It reflects nothing more than the traditions of the Middle Ages, which are in turn themselves the legacy of the ignorant and predatory fiscal practice of the Romans" [p. 102].

Nevertheless, as long ago as the National Assembly of the first revolution, our fathers cried out:

"We have made the revolution only in order to take taxation into our own hands."

But although this state of affairs was able to persist under the Empire, the Restoration and the July monarchy, its hour has now struck:

"The abolition of electoral privilege necessarily entails the abolition of all fiscal inequality. [...] There is therefore no time to be lost in coming to grips with the finance reform, if science is not to be ousted by violence.... Taxation is virtually the sole foundation on which our society rests.... Social and political reforms are sought in the remotest and most elevated places; the most important are to be found in taxation. Seek here, and ye shall find" [pp. 103, 105, 108].

And what do we find?

"As we conceive taxation, taxation should be an *insurance premium* paid by those who have property, to insure themselves against all risks which might disturb them in the possession and enjoyment of it.... This premium must be proportional and strict in its exactitude. Every tax which is not a guarantee against a risk, the price for a commodity or the equivalent for a service, must be abandoned—we allow but two exceptions: tax on foreign countries (*douane*) and tax on death (*enregistrement*).... The taxpayer is thus replaced by the insured person.... Everyone who has an interest in payment pays, and pays only to the extent of his interest.... We go further and say: every tax stands condemned by the mere fact that it bears the name of tax or imposition. *Every tax must be abolished* [...] for the peculiar characteristic of a tax is that it is obligatory, whereas it is in the nature of insurance to be voluntary" [pp. 120, 122, 127-28].

This insurance premium must not be confused with a tax on income; it is rather a tax on capital, in the same way that an insurance premium does not guarantee income but capital assets as a whole. The state acts in exactly the same way as the insurance companies, who do not want to know what revenue the thing insured yields but what it is worth.

"The national wealth of France is estimated at 134 thousand million, from which liabilities of 28 thousand million must be subtracted. If the budget expenditure is reduced to 1,200 million, only 1 per cent of the capital would need to be levied to raise the state to the level of a colossal mutual insurance company" [p. 130].

And from that moment onward—"no more revolutions!" [P. 131.]

“The word *solidarity* will replace the word *authority*; *communal interest* will become the bond linking the members of society” [p. 133].

M. Girardin does not rest content with this general suggestion but at the same time gives us a form for an insurance policy or registration such as will be issued to every citizen by the state.

Each year the former tax-collector gives the insured a policy consisting of “four pages of the size of a passport”. On the first page is the name of the insured with his registration number, as well as the form for the receipts of the premium payments. On the second page are all the personal particulars of the insured and his family, along with a detailed estimate of the value he puts on his total assets, certified as correct; on the third page, the budget of the state along with a general balance for France, and on the fourth, all sorts of more or less useful statistical information. The policy serves as a passport, election card and travel record for workers, etc. The registers of these policies allow the state in turn to prepare the four Great Books: the Great Book of Population, the Great Book of Property, the Great Book of the Public Debt, and the Great Book of Mortgage Debts, which together contain full statistics of all the assets of France.

Taxation is merely the premium paid by the insured to permit him to enjoy the following benefits: 1. the right to public protection, a free legal service, free religious practice, free education, credit against security and a savings-bank pension; 2. exemption from military service in peace time; 3. protection from destitution; 4. compensation for loss through fire, floods, hail, cattle-disease and shipwreck.

We further observe that M. Girardin intends to raise the compensation sum which the state has to pay, in case of loss by insured persons, by means of various fines, etc., from the product of the nationally-owned estates and the fees from *enregistrement* and customs, which will have been maintained, as well as from the state monopolies.

Tax reform is the hobby-horse of every radical bourgeois, the specific element in all bourgeois economic reforms. From the earliest medieval philistines to the modern English free-traders, the main struggle has revolved around taxation.

Tax reform has as its aim either the abolition of traditional taxes which impede the progress of industry, or less extravagant state budgets, or more equal distribution. The further it slips from his grasp in practice, the more keenly does the bourgeois pursue the chimerical ideal of equal distribution of taxation.

The distribution relations, which rest directly upon bourgeois production, the relations between wages and profit, profit and interest, rent and profit, may at most be modified in essentials by taxation, but the latter can never threaten their foundations. All investigations and discussions about taxation presuppose the everlasting continuance of these bourgeois relations. Even the abolition of taxes could only hasten the development of bourgeois property and its contradictions.

Taxation may benefit some classes and oppress others harshly, as we observe, for example, under the rule of the financial aristocracy. It is ruinous only for those intermediate sections of society between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, whose position does not allow them to shift the burden of taxation to another class.

Every new tax depresses the proletariat one step further; the abolition of an old tax increases not wages but profits. In a revolution, taxation, swollen to colossal proportions, can be used as a form of attack against private property; but even then it must be an incentive for new, revolutionary measures or eventually bring about a reversion to the old bourgeois relations.

The reduction of taxes, their more equitable distribution, etc., etc., is a banal *bourgeois reform*. The *abolition* of taxes is *bourgeois socialism*. This bourgeois socialism appeals especially to the industrial and commercial middle sections and to the peasants. The big bourgeoisie, who are already living in what is for them the best of possible worlds,<sup>a</sup> naturally despise the utopia of a best of worlds.

M. Girardin abolishes taxes by transforming them into an insurance premium. By paying a certain percentage, the members of society insure each other's assets against fire and flood, against hail and bankruptcy and against every possible risk which today disturbs the peace of bourgeois enjoyment. The annual contribution is not merely fixed by the insured persons collectively, but is determined by each individual himself. He estimates his assets himself. The crises of trade and agriculture, the torrent of losses and bankruptcies, all the fluctuations and vicissitudes of the bourgeois mode of life, which have been epidemic since the introduction of modern industry, all the poetry of bourgeois society will disappear. Universal security and insurance<sup>b</sup> will become a reality. The burgher has it in writing from the state that he cannot under any circumstances

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<sup>a</sup> An ironical paraphrase of Pangloss' famous dictum from Voltaire's *Candide*: "All is for the best in the best of possible worlds."—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> In the original a pun on the words *Sicherheit* (security) and *Versicherung* (insurance).—*Ed.*

be ruined. All the shady sides have gone from the present world, its bright sides live on, their brilliancy enhanced, in short, that system of government has become reality “which most closely approximates to the bourgeois conception of the kingdom of God on earth”. In place of authority, solidarity; in place of compulsion, freedom; in place of the state, a committee of administrators—and the puzzle of Columbus and the egg is solved, the mathematically precise contribution of each “insured person”, according to his assets. Each “insured person” carries a complete constitutional state, a fully formed bicameral system, within his breast. The fear of paying the state too much, the bourgeois opposition in the Chamber of Deputies, impels him to underestimate his assets. His interest in preserving his property, the conservative element of the Chamber of Peers, inclines him to overestimate them. The constitutional interaction of these opposing tendencies of necessity engenders the true balance of powers, the precisely correct valuation of assets, the exact proportion of the contribution.

A certain Roman wished his house might be made of glass so that his every action would be visible to all. The bourgeois wishes that not his own house but that of his neighbour should be of glass. This wish too is fulfilled. For example: a citizen asks me for an advance, or wishes to form an association with me. I ask him for his policy, and in it I have a confession, entire and in detail, of all his civil circumstances, guaranteed by his interest correctly understood and countersigned by the insurance board. A beggar knocks at my door and begs for alms. Let me see his policy. The burgher must be sure that his alms are going to the right man. I engage a servant, I take him into my house, I entrust myself to him for good or ill: let me see his policy!

“How many marriages are concluded without the two parties knowing exactly what to rely on concerning the reality of the dowry or their mutually exaggerated expectations” [p. 178].

Let us see their policies!

In future the exchange of loving hearts will be reduced to the exchange of policies by the two parties. Thus fraud will disappear, which today provides the sweetness and the bitterness of life, and the Kingdom of Truth in the strict sense of the word will become a reality. Nor is that all:

“Under the present system, the courts cost the state some 7½ million, under our system offences will bring revenue instead of expense, for they will be transmuted into fines and compensation—what an idea!” [Pp. 190-91.]

Everything in this best of possible worlds brings in profit: crimes disappear and offences yield revenue.<sup>a</sup> Finally, as under this system property is protected against all risks and the state is no more than the universal insurance for all interests, the workers are always employed: "No more revolutions!"

If that is not what the bourgeois wants,  
Then I don't know what else he wants!

The bourgeois state is nothing more than the mutual insurance of the bourgeois class against its individual members, as well as against the exploited class, insurance which will necessarily become increasingly expensive and to all appearances increasingly independent of bourgeois society, because the oppression of the exploited class is becoming ever more difficult. The change of name changes nothing in the nature of this insurance. M. Girardin himself is at once obliged to abandon the apparent independence from insurance which he for a moment allows individuals to enjoy. Anyone who estimates his assets too low is liable to punishment: the insurance fund buys his property from him at the price he has set and even encourages informers with rewards. Nor is that the worst: anyone who prefers not to insure his assets at all is declared outside society and simply outlawed. Society of course cannot tolerate the formation of a class in its midst which rebels against its very conditions of existence. Compulsion, authority, bureaucratic interference which are precisely what Girardin wants to eliminate, reappear in society. If for a moment he made abstraction of the conditions of bourgeois society, he did so only in order to return to them by another route.

Behind the abolition of taxation lurks the abolition of the state. The abolition of the state has meaning with the Communists, only as the necessary consequence of the abolition of classes, with which the need for the organised might of one class to keep the others down automatically disappears. In bourgeois countries the abolition of the state means that the power of the state is reduced to the level found in North America. There, the class contradictions are but incompletely developed; every clash between the classes is concealed by the outflow of the surplus proletarian population to the west; intervention by the power of the state, reduced to a minimum in the east, does not exist at all in the west. In feudal countries the abolition of the state means the abolition of feudalism and the creation of an

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<sup>a</sup> In the original a pun on the words *vergehen* (disappear) and *Vergehen* (offences).—Ed.

ordinary bourgeois state. In Germany it conceals either a cowardly flight from the struggles that lie immediately ahead, a spurious inflating of *bourgeois* freedom into absolute independence and autonomy of the *individual*, or, finally, the indifference of the bourgeois towards all forms of state, provided the development of bourgeois interests is not obstructed. It is of course not the fault of the Berliners Stirner and Faucher that this abolition of the state "in the higher sense" is being preached in so fatuous a way. *La plus belle fille de la France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a.*<sup>a</sup>

What remains of M. Girardin's insurance company is the *tax on capital*, as opposed to the tax on income, and in place of all other taxes. Capital for M. Girardin is not confined to capital employed in production, it embraces all movable and immovable assets. In respect of this tax on capital, he boasts:

"It is like the egg of Columbus, it is a pyramid which must stand on its base and not on its apex, [...] it is the stream cutting a course for itself, the revolution without revolutionaries, progress with never a backward step, movement with neither jar nor jolt, finally it is the Idea in all its simplicity and the true Law" [pp. 135-36].

There is no denying that of all the costermongering advertisements that M. Girardin has ever produced—and they, as we know, are legion—this prospectus for capital-tax represents the masterpiece.

Incidentally the tax on capital, as the sole form of taxation, has its merits. All the economists and Ricardo in particular have demonstrated the advantages of a single form of taxation. The tax on capital, as the sole form of taxation, eliminates at a stroke the expense of the numerous staff previously needed to administer taxation, interferes least with the regular process of production, circulation and consumption and is the only tax to fall on luxury capital.

But M. Girardin's tax on capital is not limited to this. Its effects include yet other and very special blessings.

Capital assets of equal size will be obliged to pay the same rates of tax to the state, regardless of whether they bring in 6 per cent, 3 per cent or no income at all. The consequence of this is that idle capital will be put to work and will increase the volume of productive capital, and that capital which is already productive will be put to yet further exertions, i. e. it will produce more in less time. The consequence of these two things will be a fall in profit and in the rate of interest.

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<sup>a</sup> The most beautiful girl in France can only give what she has.—*Ed.*



M. Girardin however asserts that profit and the rate of interest will then *rise*—a true economic miracle. The transformation of unproductive into productive capital and the increasing productivity of capital in general have intensified and aggravated the development of crises in industry and depressed profits and the rate of interest. The tax on capital can only hasten this process, exacerbate crises and thereby increase the growth of revolutionary elements.—“No more revolutions!”

A second miraculous effect of the tax on capital, according to M. Girardin, is that it would attract capital from the land, where its yield is low, to industry, where its yield is higher, bring down land prices and transplant to France the concentration of land, Britain's large-scale agriculture and therewith all of Britain's advanced industry. Quite apart from the fact that this would require a similar migration to France of the other conditions of British industry too, M. Girardin is here guilty of quite peculiar errors. Farming in France is suffering not from a surplus but from a lack of capital. Not by withdrawing capital from farming but on the contrary by pouring industrial capital into agriculture have British concentration and British farming come about. The price of land in Britain is far higher than in France; the total value of the land in Britain is almost as much as the whole national wealth of France, in Girardin's estimation. Concentration in France would therefore not merely not cause the price of land to fall, on the contrary it would cause it to rise. The concentration of landed property in Britain has furthermore totally swept away whole generations of the population. The same concentration, to which the tax on capital will of course necessarily contribute by hastening the ruin of the peasants, would in France drive the great mass of the peasants into the towns and make revolution all the more inevitable. And finally, if in France the tide has already begun to turn from fragmentation to concentration, in Britain the large landed estates are making giant strides towards renewed disintegration, conclusively proving that agriculture necessarily proceeds in an incessant cycle of concentration and fragmentation of the land, as long as bourgeois conditions as a whole continue to exist.

Enough of these miracles. Let us turn to the provision of credit for mortgage deposits.

Credit for mortgage deposits will initially only be available to landowners. The state will issue mortgage notes, resembling bank-notes in all respects except that land is the guarantee instead of cash or bullion. These mortgage notes will be advanced by the state at 4 per cent to peasants in debt, and will be used to satisfy their

mortgage creditors; in place of the private creditor, the state now has the mortgage on the land and consolidates the debt so that repayment can never be demanded. The total of mortgage debts in France amounts to 14 thousand million. It is true that Girardin only envisages the issue of 5 thousand million mortgage notes, but the augmentation of paper money by such a sum would have the effect, not of making capital cheaper, but of devaluing paper money entirely. Moreover, Girardin lacks the courage to impose a fixed rate on this new paper. To obviate devaluation he proposes that the holders of these notes should exchange them *al pari*<sup>a</sup> for 3 per cent national debt certificates. The outcome of the transaction is thus as follows: the peasant who formerly paid 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent conveyancing, and renewal and other fees, now only pays 4 per cent and thus gains 2 per cent; the state borrows at 3 per cent and lends at 4 per cent, and thus gains 1 per cent; the former mortgage creditor, who previously received 5 per cent, is obliged by the threatening devaluation of mortgage notes gratefully to accept the 3 per cent he is offered by the state; he therefore loses 2 per cent. Furthermore the peasant does not need to pay his debt and the creditor can never realise what the state owes him. What these dealings therefore amount to is that behind the thin camouflage of the mortgage notes the mortgage creditors are directly robbed of 2 out of their 5 per cent. On the only occasion, apart from taxation, therefore that M. Girardin plans to change social relations themselves, he is forced to make a direct attack on private property, he has to become a revolutionary and to give up his whole utopia. And this attack is not even of his own invention. He borrowed it from the German Communists, who after the February Revolution were the first to demand that mortgage debts should be transformed into debts to the state,<sup>b</sup> admittedly in an entirely different fashion from M. Girardin, who even publicly opposed it. It is characteristic that on the sole occasion when M. Girardin proposes a somewhat revolutionary measure he has not the courage to suggest anything but a palliative which can only make the development of fragmentation in landownership in France the more chronic, and turn the clock back in that regard by a few decades, until the present state of affairs is finally reached again.

The only thing the reader will have missed throughout Girardin's exposé is the *workers*. But of course bourgeois socialism always

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<sup>a</sup> At their nominal value.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 3-7).—*Ed.*

presupposes that *society is exclusively composed of capitalists*, so as to be able then to resolve the issue between capital and wage labour according to this point of view.

Written in the second half of April 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*  
No. 4, 1850

Published in English in full for the first time

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## REVIEW

[March-April 1850]<sup>246</sup>

(Our monthly review had to be held over from the last issue due to lack of space. We print here only that part of the review which concerns England.)

Shortly before the anniversary of the February Revolution, when Carlier had the trees of liberty<sup>a</sup> cut down, *Punch* printed a drawing of a tree of liberty whose leaves are bayonets and whose fruits are bombs, and opposite this French tree of liberty, bristling with its bayonets, in a song of its own it sings the praises of the tree of English liberty, bearing the only sound fruit: pounds, shillings and pence.<sup>b</sup> But this feeble counting-house joke vanishes beside the immense outbursts of rage with which *The Times* has been foaming since March 10 at the triumphs of "anarchy".<sup>c</sup> The reactionary party in England, as in all countries, feels the blow struck in Paris as if it itself had been directly hit.

What threatens "order" in England most at present, however, is not the dangers emanating from Paris but a new and quite direct consequence of this order, a fruit of that English tree of liberty: a *trade crisis*.

In our January review (No. 2)<sup>d</sup> we already referred to the approach of the crisis. Several circumstances have hastened it. Before the last crisis in 1845, surplus capital found an outlet in railway speculation. The over-production and over-speculation in

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 24.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *Punch*, London, March 1850, Vol. 18, p. 92.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> *The Times* No. 20436, March 14, 1850. On March 10, 1850, the Left-wing forces in France scored a success in a by-election to the Legislative Assembly.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 263-65.—*Ed.*

railways attained such a level however that the railway business did not recover, not even during the boom of 1848-49, and even the shares of the soundest enterprises of this kind are still exceptionally depressed in price. The low corn prices and the prospects for the harvest of 1850 equally provided no opportunity for the investment of capital, and the various state bonds were subject to too much of a risk to become the object of any large-scale speculation. Thus the surplus capital of the period of prosperity found its usual escape channels blocked. The only thing left for it to do was to throw itself completely into industrial production and into speculation in colonial products and in the decisive raw materials of industry, cotton and wool. With such a large part of the capital usually employed elsewhere flowing directly into industry, industrial production was naturally bound to increase with unusual rapidity and with it the glutting of the markets, and hence the outbreak of the crisis was significantly hastened. Already the first symptoms of the crisis are appearing in the most important branches of industry and financial speculation. For four weeks now that all-important branch of industry, cotton, has been completely depressed, and of its components the most important ones are those that are suffering most—the spinning and weaving of ordinary cloths. The fall in the prices of twist and of ordinary calicoes has already left the fall in the prices of raw cotton far behind. Production is being cut back; almost without exception the factories are now only working short time. A momentary reinvigoration of industrial activity was expected with the spring orders from the Continent; but while the orders given earlier for the internal market, for East India and China, and for the Levant are for the most part being cancelled, the continental orders, which always provided two months' work, have hardly come in at all as a result of the uncertain political conditions.—Here and there in the woollen industry symptoms can be seen which indicate the imminent end of the present, still fairly “healthy” state of business. The production of iron is similarly suffering. The producers consider it inevitable that prices will soon fall, and are trying to stop them from falling too rapidly by means of a coalition among themselves. So much for the state of industry. Now for financial speculation. The fall in cotton prices is due partly to new and increased supplies and partly to the depression in the industry. The same thing goes for colonial products. Supplies are increasing, consumption in the internal market is decreasing. In the last two months alone twenty-five shiploads of tea have arrived in Liverpool. The consumption of colonial products, held down even during the boom by the distress in the agricultural districts, is feeling all the

more heavily the pressure, which is now spreading to the industrial districts too. Already one of the most important colonial import houses in Liverpool has succumbed to this recession.

The effects of the trade crisis now breaking will be more significant than those of any crisis hitherto. It coincides with the agricultural crisis which already began with the repeal of the Corn Laws in England<sup>247</sup> and was intensified with the recent good harvests. For the first time England is *simultaneously* experiencing an *industrial crisis* and an *agricultural crisis*. This double crisis in England is being hastened and extended, and made more inflammable by the simultaneously impending convulsions on the Continent, and the continental revolutions will assume an incomparably more pronounced socialist character through the recoil of the English crisis on the world market. It is common knowledge that no European country reacts so directly, so extensively and so intensively to the effects of the English crisis as Germany. The reason is simple: Germany forms the largest continental market for England's exports, and the major German export articles, wool and corn, have by far their most significant outlet in England. History seems to have a weakness for that epigram to the Friends of Order, according to which the working classes revolt from insufficient consumption and the upper classes go bankrupt from superfluous production.

The Whigs will naturally be the first victims of the crisis. As of old they will abandon the helm of state as soon as the threatening storm breaks out. And this time they will say farewell to the Downing Street offices for good. A short-lived Tory ministry may follow them in the first instance, but the ground will be quaking under it, all the opposition parties will unite against it, with the industrialists in the van. These have no such popular panacea to oppose to the crisis as they had in the repeal of the Corn Laws. They will be forced to advance at least to a reform of Parliament. That is, they will assume the political power which cannot be denied them, in conditions which open the doors of Parliament to the proletariat, place the demands of the latter on the agenda of the House of Commons and hurl England into the European revolution.

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We have but little to add to these notes, written a month ago, concerning the impending trade crisis. The momentary improvement in business which regularly comes in spring has at last occurred this time also, although admittedly to a lesser degree than usual. French industry, which for the most part supplies light summer

fabrics, has especially profited from it; but increased orders have also come in to Manchester, Glasgow and the West Riding. This momentary revival of industry in spring occurs every year, incidentally, and only delays a little the development of the crisis.

Commerce in East India has experienced a momentary improvement as well. The more favourable rate of exchange in relation to England allowed the sellers to get rid of part of their stock below former prices, and the Bombay market was thus eased a little. This local and momentary improvement of business is also one of those border-line cases which occur from time to time, particularly at the start of every crisis, and which only have an insignificant influence on its general course of development.

On the other hand, reports have just come in from America which depict the market there as completely depressed. The American market, however, is the most decisive. With the glutting of the American market, with the standstill in business and the fall of prices in America the crisis proper will begin—the direct, rapid and irresistible reaction upon England will commence. We need only refer to the crisis of 1837. Only one article continues to rise in America: the United States national debt bonds, the only state bond which offers secure asylum to the capital of our European Friends of Order.

Following the entry of America into the recession brought about by over-production we may expect the crisis to develop rather more rapidly in the coming month than hitherto. Political developments on the Continent are likewise pressing daily more urgently towards a showdown, and the coincidence of trade crisis and revolution, which has already been mentioned several times in this *Revue*,<sup>a</sup> is becoming more and more certain. *Que les destins s'accomplissent!*<sup>b</sup>

London, April 18, 1850

Written between mid-March and April 18,  
1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische  
Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 4,  
1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first  
time

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 52-53.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Let fate take its course!—*Ed.*

## Karl Marx

LOUIS NAPOLEON AND FOULD<sup>248</sup>

Our readers will recall that in our previous issue we showed how the finance aristocracy in France regained power. We took the opportunity to refer to the association of Louis Napoleon and Fould in the execution of profitable coups on the Stock Exchange.<sup>a</sup> It has already been noted that since Fould joined the Cabinet Louis Napoleon's unceasing demands on the Legislative Assembly for money have suddenly stopped. Since the recent elections, however, facts have been divulged which shed a glaring light on President Bonaparte's sources of income. Just one instance.

In our account we shall be drawing mainly on *La Patrie*, the respectable newspaper of the *Union électorale*,<sup>249</sup> whose owner, the banker Delamarre, is himself one of the most important stock-exchange gamblers in Paris.

A large-scale speculative operation *à la hausse*<sup>b</sup> was organised with an eye to the elections of March 10. M. Fould was the ringleader of the plot, the most prominent of the Friends of Order participated in it, and M. Bonaparte's camarilla had large cash interests in it, as did he himself.

On March 7 the 3 per cent bonds rose 5 centimes and the 5 per cent, 15 centimes; you see, *La Patrie* had made known the result of the preliminary election of the Friends of Order. This rise was too small for our speculators, however; a "boost" was needed. So *La Patrie* of March 8, which came out the previous evening, indicates in its stock-exchange bulletin that there is not the remotest doubt

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 114-18.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> On a rising market.—*Ed.*



about the victory of the party of Order. It states among other things:

"We will certainly not blame the capitalists for their restraint; if, however, there ever existed situations in which scepticism was inadmissible, this is one of them, after the results obtained in the primary election."

In order to evaluate the influence of the stock-exchange bulletin and the information in *La Patrie* in general on the Stock Exchange, one must know that it is the *de facto* 'official' gazette of the present government and receives official news *before* the *Moniteur* itself. Nevertheless, the coup failed this time.

On the 8th several army votes favourable to the red party became known and share prices immediately fell. A panic terror appeared to seize the speculators; it was now necessary to mobilise every means available. *La Patrie's* stock-exchange bulletin stuck to its guns; every one of the *Union électorale's* newspapers was ordered to the firing line; a few irregularities in connection with insignificant votes were discussed with great emphasis; one paper headlined the votes of a regiment which had voted monarchist; the republican papers were finally forced to publish some official denials, which a few days later proved to be just so many lies.

On the 9th these united endeavours succeeded in producing a small rise in state bonds at the opening of the Exchange, which did not last long, however. Until a quarter past two prices were rather low, but from that moment on they rose steadily until the close of business.<sup>250</sup> The causes of this sudden reversal were blurted out by *La Patrie* itself as follows:

"We are assured that some speculators with a large stake in an upswing made considerable purchases towards the close of business in order to create a positive mood in the provinces at the time of the election, and by the confidence roused in the provinces to bring about new purchases which would lead to a still higher rise."<sup>a</sup>

This operation amounted to several millions, its success lay in the rise of the 3 per cent bonds by 40 centimes and of the 5 per cent by 60 centimes.

This much is clear: there were speculators with a stake in the upswing who therefore made new purchases of a significant size at the critical moment in order to bring about a new rise. Who were these speculators? Let the facts provide the answer.

On the 11th there was a fall in prices on the Exchange. All the endeavours of the speculators were powerless against the uncertainty of the election results.

On the 12th a new, significant fall, since the result of the election

<sup>a</sup> *La Patrie* No. 69, March 10, 1850.—Ed.

was practically known, and it was as good as certain that the three socialist candidates<sup>a</sup> had an imposing majority. The speculating bulls now made a desperate effort. *La Patrie* and the *Moniteur du Soir* published, under the heading of official telegraphic despatches, election results from the provinces which were pure inventions. The manoeuvre succeeded. In the evening, at Tortoni's,<sup>251</sup> there was a slight rise. So it was only a matter of still further "boosting". The following news item was printed in *La Patrie*:

"According to the votes known so far, Citizen de Flotte only has a lead of 341 votes on Citizen F. Foy. This election result can still be decided in favour of our candidate by the votes of the mobile *gendarmérie*.—We are assured that the government will *tomorrow* lay before the Assembly two laws, on the press and on electoral assemblies, and demand that they be treated as a matter of urgency."<sup>b</sup>

The second item was false; only after long hesitation, after lengthy discussions with the leaders of the party of Order and a change in the Cabinet did the government decide to propose these laws. The first item was an even more brazen lie; at the very moment it was being published in *La Patrie*, the government sent a telegram to the *départements* stating that de Flotte had been elected.

Nonetheless, the stratagem succeeded; the bonds rose by 1 fr. 35 cts., and our gentlemen speculators realised between 3 and 4 millions. Surely, one cannot take it amiss of the "Friends of Property" if they seek to gain possession of as much of their fetish as possible in the interests of order and society.

As a result of this successful dodge<sup>c</sup> the speculators became so bold that they immediately made new purchases on the grandest scale, thus inducing a number of other capitalists to buy also. The rise was so pronounced that even the conjectural profits on this transaction were already traded yet again. Then, on the morning of the 15th, came the crushing blow of the proclamation of Carnot, de Flotte and Vidal as representatives of the people; stock prices fell suddenly and irresistibly, and the defeat of our speculators could not be avoided by any further lying news reports or telegraphic fictions.

Written between late March and mid-April  
1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 4,  
1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first  
time

<sup>a</sup> Lazare Hippolyte Carnot, Paul de Flotte and François Vidal.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *La Patrie* No. 74, March 15, 1850. The italics are Marx's.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> The English word is used in the original.—*Ed.*

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

GOTTFRIED KINKEL<sup>252</sup>

The slackness in the German allegedly revolutionary party is so great that things which would arouse a universal storm in France or England blow over in Germany without anybody even being amazed that such things actually find general favour here. Herr Waldeck gives the jurymen a detailed witness's testimony that he was always a good constitutionalist, and is driven home in triumph by the Berlin democrats. In Trier, Herr Grün denies the revolution in a public court in the silliest fashion, and the people turn their backs on the condemned proletarians in the court-room to acclaim the acquitted industrialist.<sup>253</sup>

A fresh example of what is possible in Germany is provided by the defence speech made by Herr Gottfried Kinkel before the military court in Rastatt on August 4, 1849, and published in the Berlin *Abend-Post* of April 6 and 7 this year.

We know in advance that we shall provoke the general wrath of the sentimental swindlers and democratic spouters by denouncing this speech of the "captured" Kinkel to our party. To this we are completely indifferent. Our task is that of ruthless criticism, and much more against ostensible friends than against open enemies; and in maintaining this our position we gladly forego cheap democratic popularity. Our attack will by no means worsen Herr Kinkel's position; we *denounce his amnesty* by confirming his confession that he is not the man people allege to hold him for, and by declaring that he is worthy, not only of being amnestied, but even of entering the service of the Prussian state. Moreover, the speech has been published. We denounce the whole document to our party, and only reproduce the most striking passages here.

“Also, I was never in *command*, so that I am not responsible for the actions of others either. For I wish to guard against any identification of my actions with the dirt and filth which recently, I know, unfortunately tagged on to this revolution.”

Since Herr Kinkel “joined the Besançon company as a private”, and since he here casts suspicion on all commanders, was it not his duty at this juncture to exempt at least his immediate superior, Willich?

“I have never served in the army, and have therefore also *never broken any oath to the flag, nor used against my fatherland any military knowledge which I might have obtained in the service of my fatherland.*”

Was this not a direct denunciation of the captured former Prussian soldiers, of Jansen and Bernigau, who were shot soon afterwards; was it not a complete endorsement of the death sentence against Dortu, who had already been shot?

Herr Kinkel further denounces his own party to the military court in speaking of plans for ceding the left bank of the Rhine to France, and declaring himself to be innocent in relation to this criminal project. Herr Kinkel knows very well that there was only talk of a union of the Rhine Province with France in the sense that in the decisive battle between revolution and counter-revolution the Rhine Province would unfailingly fight on the revolutionary side, whether it was represented by Frenchmen or Chinamen. Just as little does he omit a reference to the mildness of his character, in contrast to the wild revolutionaries, which made it possible for him to have a good relationship with an Arndt and other conservatives as a *human being*, if not as a party man.

“My guilt is that in the summer I still wanted the same thing that you all wanted in March, that the whole German people wanted in March!”

Here he declares himself to be nothing but a fighter for the Imperial Constitution, who never wanted anything beyond the Imperial Constitution. We take note of this declaration.

Herr Kinkel comes to speak of an article which he wrote about a riot of the Prussian soldiers in Mainz,<sup>254</sup> and says:

“And what happened to me because of this? During this my absence from home I received a second summons to appear in court, and since I was unable to appear to defend myself I was deprived, as I have recently been informed, of the franchise for five years. *Five years deprivation of the franchise* was pronounced over me: for a man who has already once had the honour of being a *deputy*, *this is an exceedingly harsh punishment!*” (!).

“How often have I heard it said that I am a ‘*bad Prussian*’; these words have wounded me.... Well then! My party has for the present lost the game in our fatherland. If the Prussian Crown now at last pursues a bold and strong policy, if *His*

*Royal Highness our Crown Prince, the Prince of Prussia*, succeeds in forging Germany into one by the sword, for no other way is possible, and giving it a great and respected place in relation to our neighbours, and ensuring real and lasting internal freedom, raising trade and intercourse again, sharing the military burden, now weighing too heavily on Prussia, equally over the whole of Germany, and above all providing bread for the poor of my nation, whose representative I feel myself to be—if your party succeeds in this, well, upon my oath! The honour and greatness of my fatherland are dearer to me than my ideals of state, and I know how to appreciate the French republicans of 1793” (Fouché and Talleyrand?) “who afterwards voluntarily bowed to the greatness of Napoleon for the sake of France; now should this happen, and then my people once again do me the honour of choosing me as their representative, *I should be the first deputy to cry with a glad heart: Long live the German Empire! Long live the Hohenzollern Empire!*”<sup>a</sup> If one is a bad Prussian with such opinions, well! Then I really have no desire to be a good Prussian.”

“Gentlemen, *think a little also of wife and child at home* when you pronounce sentence upon a man who stands before you today *in such deep misfortune* as a result of the changing tides of human destiny!”

Herr Kinkel made this speech at a time when twenty-six of his comrades were being sentenced to death and shot by the same military courts, men who faced the bullet in a quite different fashion from that in which Herr Kinkel faced his judges. When, incidentally, he presents himself as a quite harmless person, he is completely right. He only happened to join his party through a misunderstanding, and it would be a quite senseless piece of cruelty if the Prussian Government wished to keep him in the penitentiary any longer.

Written in mid-April 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 4, 1850

Published in English for the first time

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<sup>a</sup> Kinkel's italics.—*Ed.*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

[EDITORIAL NOTE]

We have received the following report from Washington: "Herr Didier, editor of the *New-Yorker Schnellpost*, claims that he was formerly on the editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*." We hereby declare that this is untrue.

Written in the second half of April 1850

Published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.  
*Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 4, 1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first  
time

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

STATEMENT<sup>255</sup>

The Berlin *Abend-Post* of April 14 contains the following report, date-lined Stettin,<sup>a</sup> April 11.

“With reference to the London refugees it has been arranged that contributions should be sent to *Bucher*, who will contact *Schramm* (of Striegau<sup>b</sup>), since the other two committees live in dissension and share out contributions in a partial way.”

In actual fact there is only *one* refugee committee<sup>256</sup> here in London, the undersigned, which was established in September last year with the commencement of emigration to London. Subsequently attempts have been made to set up other refugee committees; they have remained unsuccessful. The undersigned committee has hitherto been able—at least to prevent them dying from hunger—to aid the refugees arriving here in need of help—who all, except four or five, applied to us. The masses of refugees pouring in here now as a result of the Swiss expulsions have at last, it is true, almost exhausted the funds of this committee too. These funds have been shared out *absolutely equally* to all those who have been able to show that they participated in the revolutionary movements in Germany and were in need of help, regardless of whichever party faction they belonged to. If the undersigned committee has adopted the title “social-democratic”, it is not because it has only supported refugees of this party, but because it has principally had recourse to the money available from this party—as was also made clear already in its Appeal of November last year.<sup>257</sup>

The rumour that heaps of money lay waiting for the refugees here in London—a rumour evidently provoked by the refugee lottery

<sup>a</sup> The Polish name is Szczecin.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The Polish name is Strzegom.—*Ed.*

suggested in Switzerland—led to demands being made on our committee which could not be fulfilled. On the other hand the simultaneous deliberate spreading of rumours in the newspapers about dissensions between competing committees has hindered the sending of sufficient contributions to London. The undersigned committee, in order to obtain information about the existence of other means and other committees for the support of the refugees, invited the refugees to send deputations to Citizens Struve, Rudolf Schramm, and Louis Bauer (from Stolpe). This was done. The refugees brought back the following answers:

Citizen Schramm (Striegau) declared that he belonged to no refugee committee, but had received a number of lottery tickets from Galeer in Geneva with instructions to send the money to Geneva. The other committee only *figures* as such.

Citizen Struve declared that he had no money, but only a number of lottery tickets, which he had not yet sold.

Citizen Bauer made the following written statement:

“Upon the request of refugee Kleiner it is hereby attested that the Refugee Committee of the Democratic Association<sup>258</sup> in this country is not in a position to support even a single political refugee, and that the funds of the society, after having donated £2.15.0 for this purpose, are similarly incapable of providing such assistance in future.

London, April 8, 1850

Dr. Bauer, President of the Support Committee  
of the Democratic Association”

Messrs. Struve and Schramm had advised the refugees to form a refugee committee from among themselves or from politically neutral persons. The undersigned committee left it to the discretion of the refugees to take a decision on this themselves. The answer was the following statement by the refugees:

“To the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee.

“London, April 7, 1850.—The undersigned refugees find cause, after the negotiations which have taken place on delegating the task of providing for us to a committee which might perhaps be formed from among ourselves, to express on the basis of the firm conviction of both the earlier and the more recently arrived refugees our deepest gratitude to the members of the presently existing committee for their activities and their painstaking assiduity in connection with this responsibility, since these have constantly shared out to our satisfaction the moneys to be administered. It only remains for us to wish that only these members may take care of us until the imminent revolution we all desire relieves them of this responsibility.

“Greetings and fraternity!”

(The signatures follow.)

This document, drawn up by the refugees themselves, is the best answer to the above article and to other similar insinuations in the



press. Incidentally, we should not have replied were it not necessary in the interests of the refugees themselves, in need of support as they are, to enlighten the public concerning such statements.

London, April 20, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:

*K. Marx*, Chairman

*Fr. Engels, August Willich, K. Pfänder, H. Bauer*<sup>a</sup>

Published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*  
No. 102, April 28, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper  
and checked with the manuscript

Published in English for the first  
time

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<sup>a</sup> The editors attached the following note: "All democratic newspapers are requested to reproduce this Statement."—*Ed.*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*

Sir,—In your number of Friday last<sup>a</sup> we perceive, among the police reports, an account of an interview of Messrs. Fothergill, Struve, and others, at the Mansion-house, with Mr. Alderman Gibbs, on behalf of the German refugees.<sup>259</sup> We beg to declare that neither any of the members of the undersigned committee, nor any of the German refugees supported by that committee, have had any connexion with this affair.

We request you, Sir, to publish this declaration in your next, as, in the interest of our nationality, we must protest against the numerous German refugees residing in London being made responsible for a step taken by some of them upon their own authority.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants

The Democratic Socialist Committee for German  
Political Refugees—

*Ch. Marx*  
*Ch. Pfaender*  
*F. Engels*  
*H. Bauer*  
*A. Willich*

20 Great Windmill Street, Haymarket,  
May 27, 1850<sup>b</sup>

Published in *The Times* No. 20500,  
May 28, 1850

Reprinted from the newspaper and  
checked with the rough draft by  
Engels

<sup>a</sup> *The Times* No. 20497, May 24, 1850.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The rough draft has "May 24, 1850" written in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

### TWO YEARS OF A REVOLUTION; 1848 AND 1849<sup>260</sup>

[*The Democratic Review*, April 1850]

In the years 1848 and '49, there was published, in Cologne, a German daily paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (*New Rhenish Gazette*). This paper, edited by Charles Marx, chief editor, Frederick Engels, George Weerth, Freiligrath the celebrated poet, F. and W. Wolff, and others, very soon acquired an extraordinary degree of popularity, from the spirited and fearless manner in which it advocated the most advanced revolutionary principles, and the interests of the proletarians, of which it was the only organ in Germany. The Prussian government took advantage of the unsuccessful insurrections in the Rhenish provinces in May last, to stop the paper by various persecutions directed against the editors. They, in consequence, left the country, in order to seek new fields of activity in the various movements which at the time were either in preparation or taking place. Several of them went to Paris,<sup>261</sup> where a decisive turn of affairs (the 13th of June) was near at hand, and where they represented the German revolutionary party at the centre of French democracy; another<sup>a</sup> took his seat in the German National Assembly, which, at that moment, was being driven into insurrection; another,<sup>b</sup> again, went to Baden, and fought in the revolutionary army against the Prussians. After the defeats of these insurrections, they found themselves exiles in this country, in Switzerland, and France. Having no chance, for the moment, to re-establish a daily paper, they have got up a monthly magazine, to serve as their organ until circumstances shall allow them to re-assume their old position in the daily press of their country.

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<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Frederick Engels.—*Ed.*

The first number of this publication has just come to hand. It bears the same title as the daily paper did—*New Rhenish Gazette, a Political and Economical Review, edited by Charles Marx.*<sup>a</sup>

This first number contains three articles only. It opens with the first of a series of papers upon the two past years of revolutions, by the chief editor, Charles Marx. Then follows a relation of the insurrectionary campaign in Western and Southern Germany, during May, June, and July last, by Frederick Engels<sup>b</sup>; and, lastly, an article from the pen of Charles Blind (ex-ambassador at Paris of the Baden Provisional Government) upon the state of parties in Baden. These latter articles, although containing many important disclosures, are of interest chiefly to the German reader. The first article is devoted to a subject of primary interest to the readers of all countries, particularly the working classes. The subject, too, has found in Citizen Marx a writer every way able to do it justice. For these reasons, we deem it a duty to give as much in the shape of extract as our limited space will allow.

The article under notice treats of the Revolution of February; its causes and effects, and the succeeding events up to the great insurrection of June, 1848.<sup>c</sup>

“With the exception of very few chapters indeed, every important section of the revolutionary annals of 1848 and '49 bears upon its title page—*Defeat of Revolution!* But, what was really defeated in all these defeats was not revolution itself. It was, on the contrary, nothing but the unrevolutionary elements of the revolutionary party that were defeated<sup>d</sup>; individuals, delusions, ideas, plans, and projects of a more or less unrevolutionary character; elements<sup>e</sup> from which the subversive party<sup>f</sup> was not free before February, and of which it could not be freed by the victory of February, but by a series of defeats only. In other words: It was not by the immediate tragical or comical results of the first victory that the revolutionising progress made its way; this progress, on the contrary, was occasioned chiefly by the formation of a mighty and united counter-revolutionary interest, in the procreation of a foe, in grappling with whom the subversive party could alone develop itself to a really revolutionary party.”

This is the general theme which Citizen Marx develops in the course of his article. He begins with exposing the causes of the

<sup>a</sup> Engels gives the title of the journal in English.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 147-239.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Here and below Engels supplied his own translations of passages quoted from Marx's *The Class Struggles in France*. These differ in wording from the translation of the complete work in this volume of the *Collected Works*.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Marx has: “It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms” that were defeated (see p. 47 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> The words “of a more or less unrevolutionary character; elements” are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> Marx wrote “the revolutionary party”.—*Ed.*

## TWO YEARS OF A REVOLUTION; 1848 AND 1849.

IN the years 1848 and '49, there was published, in Cologne, a German daily paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, (*New Rhenish Gazette*). This paper, edited by Charles Marx, chief editor, Frederick Engels, George Weerth, Freiligrath the celebrated poet, F. and W. Wolff, and others, very soon acquired an extraordinary degree of popularity, from the spirited and fearless manner in which it advocated the most advanced revolutionary principles, and the interests of the proletarians, of which it was the only organ in Germany. The Prussian government took advantage of the unsuccessful insurrections in the Rhenish provinces in May last, to stop the paper by various persecutions directed against the editors. They, in consequence, left the country, in order to seek new fields of activity in the various movements which at the time were either in preparation or taking place. Several of them went to Paris, where a decisive turn of affairs, (the 13th of June,) was near at hand, and where they represented the German revolutionary party at the centre of French democracy; another took his seat in the German National Assembly, which, at that moment, was being driven into insurrection; another, again, went to Baden, and fought in the revolutionary army against the Prussians. After the defeats of these insurrections, they found themselves exiles in this country, in Switzerland, and France. Having no chance, for the moment, to re-establish a daily paper, they have got up a monthly magazine, to serve as their organ until circumstances shall allow them to re-assume their old position in the daily press of their country.

The first number of this publication has just come to hand. It bears the same title as the daily paper did—*New Rhenish Gazette, a Political and Economical Review, edited by Charles Marx*.

This first number contains three articles only. It opens with the first of a series of papers upon the two past years of revolutions, by the chief editor, Charles Marx. Then follows a relation of the insurrectionary campaign in Western and Southern Germany, during May, June, and July last, by Frederick Engels; and, lastly, an article from the pen of Charles Blind, (ex-ambassador at Paris of the Baden Provisional Government), upon the state of parties in Baden. These latter articles, al-



revolution of February, and shews those causes to be far deeper rooted than any of the previous writers upon the subject ever have been able to do. With all historians of the last twenty years' events in France, it has been a thing generally agreed upon, that under Louis Philippe, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, was the ruling power, in France; that the scandalous disclosures of 1847 were the chief cause of the revolution, and that this revolution was a direct struggle of the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. Under Citizen Marx's pen, these assertions, although not directly and absolutely denied, yet undergo important modifications.

The German historian proves, that, under Louis Philippe, political power was concentrated in the hands, not of the entire bourgeois class, but of one fraction only of that class, that which is called in France the financial aristocracy, and, in England, the banking, funded, railway, etc., interests, or the moneyed interest, as opposed to the manufacturing interest.

"Not the entire bourgeois class of France lorded it over the country under Louis Philippe, but only one fraction of that class: bankers, stock-jobbers, railway kings, mining kings, and a part of the 'rallied' landlords—the so-called *financial aristocracy*. It was they who sat on the throne, who dictated laws in the Chambers, who disposed of government patronage, from the minister down to the licensed dealer in tobacco. The *manufacturing* portion of the bourgeoisie formed a part of the official opposition; they were represented by a minority only of the Chambers. Their opposition became more obstinate in the same measure as the exclusive sway of the financial aristocracy turned more and more exclusive; and as they themselves, after the fruitless insurrections<sup>a</sup> of the working people in 1832, 1834, and 1839,<sup>262</sup> deemed their dominion over the proletarians more firmly established.... The petty capitalists, the shopocracy<sup>b</sup> in all its various gradations, and the farming class, were entirely excluded from political power."

The necessary consequences of this exclusive dominion of the financial aristocracy were, that all public interest was made subservient to theirs; that the State was considered by them as a mere means to increase their fortunes at its expense. Citizen Marx depicts in a very forcible manner how this scandalous system was carried on in France for eighteen years; how the running up of the public debt, the increase in the public expenses, the never-ending financial difficulties and defects of the public purse, were so many sources from which new wealth flowed into the pockets of the money-lords, sources which every year were made to flow more freely, and to exhaust so much the quicker the resources of the country; how the expense of the government, the army and navy, the railways, and

<sup>a</sup> Marx wrote "mutinies ... which had been drowned in blood".—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> This word is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

other public works, offered hundreds of opportunities, eagerly seized upon by the financiers, to cheat the public by fraudulent contracts, &c. In short—

“The monarchy of July was nothing else than a joint-stock company for working up the national wealth of France; the dividends of which society were shared amongst ministers, Chambers, 240,000 Parliamentary voters, and their more or less numerous<sup>a</sup> tail. Louis Philippe was the George Hudson<sup>b</sup> of this company—*Robert Macaire* on the throne. Trade, manufactures, agriculture, shipping, the interests of the manufacturing middle-classes, were necessarily and constantly damaged and endangered under this system [....]

“And while the jobbing interest made laws, directed the public administration, disposed of every organised public power, dominated public opinion by the press and by the power of facts, there was imitated in all spheres of society, from the court down to the *café-borgne*, that very same prostitution, that same shameless imposition, that same avidity of accumulating wealth, not by production, but by cheating others out of produce already existing. There was let loose—particularly in the most elevated regions of society, and coming, at every moment, into collision with bourgeois law itself—an universal outburst of those disorderly, unsound lusts and appetites, in which wealth acquired by gambling very naturally looks for satisfaction, where enjoyment becomes *crapuleux*, where gold, mud, and blood flow mixing together. The financial aristocracy, in its mode both of appropriating and of enjoying, is nothing but *the reproduction of ‘Mob’<sup>c</sup> in the elevated spheres of bourgeois society.*”

The scandalous disclosures of 1847, the Teste,<sup>d</sup> Praslin, Gudin, Dujarrier affairs, brought this state of things to the broad light of day. The infamous behaviour of the government in the Cracow, and Swiss Sonderbund affairs, violated the national pride to the utmost; while the victory of the Swiss liberals, and the revolution at Palermo, in January, '48 exalted the spirits of the opposition.<sup>263</sup>

“At last, the outbreak of the universal unsettled feeling was ripened into revolt by two great and general economical events. The first of these events was the potatoe disease, and the bad harvests of 1845 and '46.<sup>e</sup> The all but famine of 1847 provoked in France and other continental countries numerous bloody conflicts. *Here* the orgies of the financial aristocracy, *there* the people struggling for the first necessities of life! At Buzançais the mutineers of hunger beheaded,<sup>264</sup> at Paris aristocratic thimble-riggers saved from the law by the royal family! The second great economical event<sup>f</sup> was an

<sup>a</sup> The words “more or less numerous” are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Marx wrote “the director” (see p. 50 of this volume). Engels gives the name of a big English businessman.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Marx wrote “lumpenproletariat” (see p. 51 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> See Engels' note to the 1895 edition of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (p. 117 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> In Marx's work this sentence reads: “The potatoe blight and the crop failures of 1845 and 1846 increased the general ferment among the people” (see p. 52 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> In Marx's work there follows: “which hastened the outbreak of the revolution”.—*Ed.*



universal commercial and industrial revulsion. Announced in England already in autumn 1845 by the wholesale breakdown of railway speculation, interrupted during 1846 by a series of incidents, and particularly the repeal of the Corn-laws—at last, in autumn 1847, it broke out in the failures of the large London colonial firms, followed up by the failures of country bankers, and the shutting up of the factories in the English manufacturing districts. The reaction of this crisis upon continental trade was not exhausted at the time the revolution broke out. This devastation of trade<sup>a</sup> made still more insupportable, in France, the exclusive rule of the monied interest. The opposing fractions of the bourgeoisie united in the banquet agitation<sup>b</sup> for a reform in Parliament, which should secure the majority to them. The commercial revulsion in Paris threw a number of manufacturers and wholesale dealers upon the home trade, as the foreign market offered for the moment no chance of profit. These capitalists set up large retail concerns, the competition of which ruined hundreds of smaller shopkeepers. Thence the numerous failures in this section of the Paris bourgeoisie, thence its revolutionary spirit in February.”

The united action of these causes made the revolution of February break out. The provisional government was established. All opposing parties were represented in this government: the monarchical opposition<sup>265</sup> (Crémieux and even Dupont de l’Eure), the republican bourgeoisie (Marrast, Marie, Garnier-Pagès), the republican small trading class (Ledru-Rollin and Flocon), and the proletarians (Louis Blanc and Albert). Lamartine, lastly, represented the revolution of February itself, the common insurrection of bourgeois and proletarians, with its imaginary results, its delusions, its poetry, and its big words. By his position and his views he belonged to the bourgeoisie, the representatives of whom, therefore, formed the large majority of the new government.

“If in consequence of political centralisation Paris governs France, the working class in moments of revolutionary earthquakes govern Paris. The first act of the provisional government was directed against this overwhelming influence; it was an appeal from ‘revolution-intoxicated Paris’ to ‘sober France’. Lamartine contested the right of the combatants<sup>c</sup> to proclaim the republic; ‘the majority of the French people alone were competent to do so<sup>d</sup>, the working men had better not stain their victory by an usurpation’,<sup>e</sup> etc. The bourgeoisie permitted to the working men one usurpation only: that of the combat.”

The proletarians forced the government to proclaim the republic. Raspail acted as their speaker. He declared that, in two hours this

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<sup>a</sup> In Marx’s work this phrase reads: “The devastation of trade and industry caused by the economic epidemic”, etc.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Marx wrote “Throughout the whole of France the bourgeois opposition *agitated at banquets*”, etc.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Marx wrote “barricade fighters” (see p. 53 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> In Marx’s work there follows: “they must await the majority vote”.—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> From Lamartine’s speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Marx gives a summary of this speech.—*Ed.*

was not done, he should call again at the head of 200,000 armed working men. Before the term had elapsed the republic was proclaimed.

“The working class, in dictating the republic to the government and to France, all at once stepped forward into the foreground as an independent party, but at the same time provoked against itself all the bourgeois interest of France. What the proletarians had conquered, was not their emancipation, but the battle-field, upon which they could fight for their emancipation. The republic of February, in the beginning, could do nothing but *complete* the government of the middle-classes, in opening the circle of political action to all the propertied classes of France. The majority of the large landlords, the Legitimists, were emancipated from the political nullity to which they had been doomed by the revolution of 1830.<sup>a</sup> [...] By universal suffrage, that vast class of mere nominal landed proprietors (the real proprietors are the capitalists, to whom the property is mortgaged),<sup>b</sup> that class which forms the large majority of Frenchmen—the peasantry—was called upon to arbitrate the destinies of France. And lastly, the republic of February made openly manifest the rule of the bourgeoisie by setting aside the crown behind which capital had hitherto hid itself. The working men had established, in July 1830, the bourgeois monarchy—in February 1848,<sup>c</sup> they established the bourgeois republic. But as the monarchy of 1830<sup>d</sup> was forced to announce itself a ‘monarchy surrounded with republican institutions’, the republic of 1848<sup>e</sup> announced itself ‘a republic surrounded with social institutions’. This concession, too, was forced from the republic by the Parisian working men.”

The “right to work” and the commission of the Luxembourg (by which Louis Blanc and Albert were virtually excluded from the government, the bourgeois majority of which retained the actual power) were the most conspicuous of these social institutions. The working men saw themselves reduced to work out their salvation, not *against* the bourgeoisie, but independent of, and side-to-side with the bourgeoisie. The Bourse and the Bank continued to exist; only the Socialist church of the Luxembourg was set up by the side of these two great bourgeois churches; and as the working men believed they could emancipate themselves without interfering with the interests of the bourgeoisie, they also believed they could do so without interfering with the remaining bourgeois nations of Europe.

“The development of the industrial working class is entirely dependent upon the development of the industrial capitalist class.<sup>f</sup> It is only under the government of this latter class, that the industrial proletarians attain that importance which alone can

<sup>a</sup> Marx wrote “by the July monarchy” (see p. 54 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The phrase in parenthesis is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> References to 1830 and 1848 are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Marx wrote “the July monarchy”.—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> Marx wrote “the February republic”.—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> In Marx’s work this sentence reads: “The development of the industrial proletariat is, in general, conditioned by the development of the industrial bourgeoisie” (see p. 56 of this volume).—*Ed.*

make their revolution a national one; that they create those immense productive powers of modern industry, which will become the means of their revolutionary emancipation; that the last roots<sup>a</sup> of feudalism are torn up, and thus the field prepared upon which alone a proletarian revolution is possible. Now, manufacturing industry, in France, is more advanced<sup>b</sup> than in any other country of the continent. But the fact, that the revolution of February was directed, before all, against the financial aristocracy—this fact proves clearly that the *industrial* bourgeoisie, before February, did not govern France. Indeed, the industrial bourgeoisie can govern in a country only, whose manufacturing industry commands, for its produce, the universal market; the limits of the home market are too narrow for its development.<sup>c</sup> The manufacturing industry of France, however, in a great measure commands even the home markets, by the protective duties only.<sup>d</sup> Therefore, if in Paris the proletarians, at the moment of a revolution, possess a real power, and an influence which lead them to outrun their ultimate<sup>e</sup> means of action—in the remainder of France they are concentrated in a few industrial centres, such as Lyons, Lille, Mulhouse, Rouen,<sup>f</sup> and almost disappear under the vast majority of surrounding peasants and small tradesmen. Therefore, the struggle against capital in its most developed and decisive form, the struggle of the industrial salaried working man against the industrial working capitalist, in France, is a mere local fact, which, after February, could not form the prominent national feature of the revolution. And it could do so the less, as the struggle against the more subordinate modes of action of capital, the struggle of the peasant against usury and the mortgaging system, of the small tradesman against the wholesale dealer, the banker, and manufacturer, in one word, against bankruptcy, were as yet enveloped in the general rising against the financial aristocracy. [...] The French proletarians could not take a single step in advance, could destroy not a single atom of the existing bourgeois institutions,<sup>g</sup> until the march of the revolution had aroused against the rule of capital, had forced to join the proletarians, all those intermediate classes, the peasants and the small tradesmen, who are neither bourgeois nor proletarians, and who, in France, form the large mass of the nation. Then, and then only, the proletarians, instead of pursuing their interests without interfering with those of the bourgeoisie, could proclaim the proletarian interests to be the revolutionary interests of the nation, and assert them in direct opposition to those of the bourgeoisie.<sup>266</sup> And it was only by their immense defeat in June, '48, that the proletarians could approach that victory....

"Thus the government of the bourgeoisie was abolished by the establishment of the republic; it was abolished, not in reality, but<sup>h</sup> in the imagination of the working men, who took the financial aristocracy for the entire bourgeoisie; in the imagination

Marx wrote "the material roots" (see p. 56 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> In Marx's work there follows: "and the French bourgeoisie more revolutionary".—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "where modern industry shapes all property relations to suit itself, and industry can win this power only where it has conquered the world market, for national bounds are inadequate for its development".—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Marx wrote "through a more or less modified system of prohibitive tariffs".—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> The word "ultimate" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> The names of the industrial centres are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>g</sup> Marx wrote "a hair of the bourgeois order".—*Ed.*

<sup>h</sup> The words "not in reality, but" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

of republican worthies who denied the existence of hostile<sup>a</sup> classes, or who, at the very utmost, admitted it as a consequence of monarchy.<sup>b</sup> Thus every royalist all at once called himself a republican, and every millionaire a working man. The word which corresponded to this imaginary abolition of classes and class interests<sup>c</sup> was the word *Fraternity*, the universal brotherhood. This very pleasant abstraction from all existing antagonism of classes, this sentimental adjustment of opposed class interests, this enthusiastic elevation into those sublime regions where no earthly class struggles exist, this fraternity was the great word of the revolution of February. The struggling classes were divided by a mere *mistake*, and Lamartine, on the 24th of February, called for a government which should put an end to that 'dreadful *misunderstanding*', which had sprung up between the several classes of society."

We shall continue these extracts in our next. The acts of the provisional government, the convocation of the National Assembly, and the insurrection of June will then be passed in review.

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[*The Democratic Review*, May 1850]

In our number for April we followed up Citizen Marx's remarks upon the revolution of February, up to the establishment and first acts of the provisional government. We had, already, more than one occasion to see that the middle-class elements of that government were powerful enough to subserve the interests of their order, and to profit by the ignorance of the proletarians of Paris as to their real interests, and to the means for advancing them. We continue our extracts:—

"The republic found no resistance, neither at home nor abroad. By this single fact it was disarmed. Its aim was no longer to revolutionise the world, its aim was to adapt itself to the exigences of existing bourgeois society. And the fanaticism with which the provisional government followed up this aim, is proved especially in its financial measures.

"Public and private credit, of course, were shaken. Public credit is based on the certainty that the State allows the Jews of finance to fatten upon it. But the *old State* was gone, and the revolution had been directed, before all, against these financial Jews. Besides, that oscillations of the last European commercial crisis had not yet subsided. There were, as yet, failures following upon failures. Private credit had been paralysed, circulation stopped, and production obstructed, before even the revolution of February broke out. The revolutionary crisis, of course, augmented the commercial one. And if private credit is based upon the certitude, that the bourgeois mode of

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<sup>a</sup> The word "hostile" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Marx has here "as a result of the constitutional monarchy", and after a semicolon one more phrase which reads: "in the hypocritical phrases of the factions of the bourgeoisie which until then had been excluded from power" (see p. 57 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Marx has "class relations" instead of "classes and class interests".—*Ed.*

producing wealth,<sup>a</sup> that the whole bourgeois order of things, is intact and inviolable, what must have been the effect of a revolution which called into question the very foundation of the bourgeois mode of producing the economical slavery of the proletarian class; and which, in opposition to the Bourse, set up the Sphinx of the Luxembourg? The emancipation of the proletarian class, means the repeal of bourgeois credit, for it is the abolition of bourgeois production and of the social state consistent with it. Public and private credit are the thermometers<sup>b</sup> by which you may measure the intensity of a revolution. *In the same degree in which credit falls rises the ardour and the potency of revolution.*

"The provisional government was anxious to free the republic from its anti-bourgeois appearance. It had, therefore, in the first instance to ensure its exchangeable value, *its current price on 'Change*. And with the current price of the republic on 'Change, private credit, of course, was sure to rise again.

"In order to destroy even the slightest suspicion, that the republic would or could not fulfil the engagements inherited from monarchy—in order to restore faith in its bourgeois morality and solvency, the provisional government had recourse to a puff quite as childish as it was devoid of dignity. It paid to the public creditors the interest of the debt even *before* it was legally due. The bourgeois *a-plomb*, the self-reliance of the capitalists awoke suddenly again when they saw the anxiety with which the government sought to buy up their confidence. [...]

"The financial aristocracy who ruled under Louis Philippe,<sup>c</sup> had their cathedral church in the Bank. As the Exchange governs public credit, the Bank governs private credit.<sup>d</sup>

"Directly menaced by the revolution,<sup>e</sup> not only in its dominion but in its very existence, the Bank tried at once to discredit the republic by destroying credit everywhere. The Bank at once refused credit to the private bankers, to the manufacturers and merchants. This manoeuvre, as it did not succeed in producing a counter-revolution, recoiled, in its consequences, upon the Bank itself. Capitalists withdrew the coin they had deposited in its vaults. Holders of notes ran upon the Bank to have them changed for coin.

"Without any forcible interference, in a strictly legal manner, the provisional government could have forced the Bank into bankruptcy, they had only to remain passive and to abandon it to its fate. The *failure of the Bank*—that was the deluge which would have swept away from the soil of France in an instant the financial aristocracy, that most powerful and most dangerous enemy of the republic—that golden pedestal of the monarchy of July. And the Bank once bankrupt, must not even the bourgeoisie have regarded it as a last effort on the part of the government if it had created a national bank and subjected national credit to the control of the nation?

"But on the contrary: the provisional government acted as Pitt in 1797 had done, suspended cash payments and<sup>f</sup> made the notes of the bank a legal tender. Still more, it made all provincial banks branch banks of the Bank of France, and allowed it, thus, to spread its net all over the country. Later on, the government mortgaged to the Bank, for a loan, the national woods and forests. Thus the revolution of February

<sup>a</sup> Marx wrote "that bourgeois production in the entire scope of its relations", etc. (see p. 59 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Marx wrote "the economic thermometer".—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Marx wrote "under the July monarchy" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Marx wrote "commercial credit".—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> Marx wrote "the February Revolution".—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> The phrase "acted as Pitt in 1797 had done, suspended cash payments and" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

fortified and enlarged the power of the financial aristocracy<sup>a</sup> which it had been its aim to destroy!"

It is generally known what the government, so merciful to the money-lords of the Exchange and the Bank, gave to the classes forming the opposite extremity of society: to the working men and small tradespeople it gave the confiscation of the money in the savings' banks, to the peasantry the tax of the 45 centimes upon every franc of the four direct taxes.

"The sums deposited in the savings' bank were seized and declared a consolidated public debt.<sup>b</sup> By this the small trader was exasperated against the republic.<sup>c</sup> By receiving, instead of his money,<sup>d</sup> mere government securities, which he was obliged to sell on 'Change, he fell utterly a prey to the Jews of the Bourse, against whom he had made the revolution of February!! [...]

"The tax of the 45 centimes fell most heavily upon the peasantry, who formed the large majority of the French people. They had to pay the expenses of the revolution of February, and naturally they henceforth formed the chief material for the counter-revolution. The tax of the 45 centimes was a vital question for the peasant, and he made it a vital question for the republic. The republic, for him, was henceforth identical with that obnoxious tax,<sup>e</sup> and the proletariat of Paris appeared to him in the light of the lazy prodigal who feasted at his expense. If the revolution of 1789 had set in with the freeing of the peasantry from all feudal charges, the revolution of 1848<sup>f</sup> announced itself to that class<sup>g</sup> by a new tax!!

"There was only one means for the government to weather all these inconveniences and to throw the State out of the old track: and that was a *declaration of national bankruptcy*. The Jew banker Fould, the present minister of finance, proposed this remedy to Ledru-Rollin,<sup>h</sup> and the virtuous indignation is not yet forgotten with which this citizen, as he himself stated in the National Assembly, protested against such a proposal. M. Fould had offered to him the apple from the tree of knowledge!!!

"The provisional government, in accepting the bills of exchange drawn by old bourgeois society upon the State, had surrendered into its hands. It had become the persecuted debtor of bourgeois society, instead of standing up against it as its threatening creditor, who had to enforce payment of revolutionary debts of many years' standing. It had to refortify bourgeois society,<sup>i</sup> in order to be enabled to fulfil

<sup>a</sup> Marx wrote "enlarged the bankocracy".—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Marx wrote "and by decree transformed into an irredeemable state debt" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> In Marx's work this sentence reads as follows: "This embittered the already hard pressed *petty bourgeois* against the republic" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Marx wrote "in place of his savings bank books" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> Marx wrote "the 45 centimes tax" (see p. 61 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> In Marx's work there follows: "in order not to endanger capital and to keep its state machine going".—*Ed.*

<sup>g</sup> Marx wrote "to the rural population".—*Ed.*

<sup>h</sup> This refers to the speech which Ledru-Rollin made in the Constituent Assembly on April 21, 1849. The words "this remedy" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>i</sup> Marx wrote "to consolidate the shaky bourgeois relationships" (see p. 62 of this volume).—*Ed.*

engagements which can be fulfilled within the pale of bourgeois society only. Credit was its very first condition of existence, and the concessions and promises made to the proletarians were turned into as many fetters, which it had to throw off. The emancipation of the proletarians, even as a mere word, became an insupportable danger for the republic, for it was a never-ending protest against the restoration of credit, which is based upon the undisturbed and inviolate acknowledgement of the existing antagonism of classes.<sup>a</sup> There was a necessity, then, to *put down, once for all,*<sup>b</sup> *the proletarians.*"

[*The Democratic Review*, June 1850]

The army had been exiled from Paris since February; the national guard, *i.e.*, the armed bourgeoisie, the only armed force in Paris, had never been strong enough to fight, by itself, the proletarians. It had, in spite of all resistance, been adulterated by the admixture of working men. There was no chance left but that of opposing working men to working men.

"For this purpose the provisional government formed twenty-four battalions of *gardes mobile*, each numbering 1,000 men, mostly from 15 to 20 years of age. They were recruits, almost exclusively from the mob,<sup>c</sup> which in all large towns, forms a mass entirely distinct from the industrial working class,<sup>d</sup> recruiting class for thieves and criminals of all sorts, living upon the offal of society, people without any fixed trade, vagrants, *gens sans feu et sans aveu*, differing according to the character of the nation to which they belong<sup>e</sup>; and in the early age at which the government recruited them, capable as well of the greatest heroism and the most exalted self-sacrifice, as of the lowest degree of villainy and the dirtiest corruptibility. The provisional government bought them up for one and a half francs daily. They gave them a regimental dress to distinguish them in every respect from the working men in the *blouse*. Their officers were either taken from the army or from the sons of the bourgeoisie,<sup>f</sup> whose splendid speeches about dying for the republic deceived them. And the people took these 24,000 vigorous and daring young soldiers, who had just left the barricades, for their own army, for the real proletarian guards, in opposition to the old bourgeois national guard.<sup>g</sup> Their error was excusable.

<sup>a</sup> Marx wrote "existing economic class relations" (*ibid.*).— *Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The words "once for all" are added by *Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Marx wrote "*lumpenproletariat*" (*ibid.*).— *Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Marx wrote "the industrial proletariat".— *Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> Marx wrote "according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their *lazzaroni* character".— *Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> In Marx's work the corresponding passage reads: "And so the Paris proletariat officers from the standing army as leaders; in part they themselves elected young sons of the bourgeoisie", etc.— *Ed.*

<sup>g</sup> In Marx's work the corresponding passage reads: "And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst, of 24,000 young, strong, foolhardy men. It gave cheers for the Mobile Guard on its marches through Paris. It acknowledged it to be its foremost fighters on the barricades. It regarded it as the proletarian guard in contradistinction to the bourgeois National Guard."— *Ed.*

“The government, besides, resolved to surround themselves with an industrial army. Minister Marie enlisted a hundred thousand working men (thrown into the street by the crisis and the revolution), into *ateliers nationaux*. Under this high-sounding name there was hidden nothing but the application of these working men to tedious, monotonous, unproductive labour on embankments, &c., &c., for wages of 23 sous (11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d)<sup>a</sup> daily. *English workhouses in the open air*—the *ateliers nationaux* were nothing but that. The provisional government hoped they had thus formed by them a second proletarian army to be used against the working class at large.<sup>b</sup> But the bourgeoisie were deceived in the *ateliers nationaux*, as the people were deceived in the *garde mobile*. They had created an army for insurrection.

“But one end was obtained: *ateliers nationaux* was the name for the public workshops which Louis Blanc had asked for in the Luxembourg. The *ateliers* of Marie had been created in direct opposition to the Luxembourg. [...] The rumour was spread that Louis Blanc had invented the *ateliers nationaux*; and this appeared the more credible as Louis Blanc, the prophet of national workshops, was himself a member of the provisional government. And thus in the opinion, artificially kept up, of the Paris bourgeoisie, of France and Europe,<sup>c</sup> those workhouses were the first realisation of Socialism which, in them, was nailed to the pillory.

“Not by their reality, but by their name, the *ateliers nationaux* were the incorporated protest of the proletarian order against bourgeois industry, bourgeois credit, and the bourgeois republic. Upon them, then, fell the whole hatred of the bourgeoisie. This class, at the same time, had found in them the object against which to direct the first attack, as soon as it had recovered the necessary strength for declaring against the illusions of February. All the hatred and grumbling of the small trading class was at once directed against these *ateliers nationaux*. They, with unfeigned anger, calculated the sums devoured by these proletarian unproductives, while their own position got worse every day. [...] The national workshops, the declarations of the Luxembourg, the proletarian processions through Paris, these were, in their estimation, the causes of their own critical situation. And no one fanaticised himself more against the pretended plottings of the Communists, than the petty tradesman, the shopkeeper of Paris, who himself was on the verge of the abyss of bankruptcy.<sup>d</sup>

“Thus, while every day brought the stirring news of a new revolution to the victory-intoxicated people, the bourgeoisie concentrated more and more in their hands all the advantages, all the decisive positions for the ensuing struggle between them and the proletarians—all the control over the intermediate classes of society.”<sup>e</sup>

The necessary consequence was a series of moral victories of the bourgeoisie. If the proletarians, on the 17th of March, had apparently the upper hand, yet the real end of the manifestation, the

<sup>a</sup> This is added by Engels.—Ed

<sup>b</sup> Marx wrote “*against the workers themselves*” (see p. 63 of this volume).—Ed

<sup>c</sup> In Marx’s work the beginning of this sentence reads: “And in the half naive, half intentional confusion of the Paris bourgeoisie, in the artificially moulded opinion of France, of Europe”, etc. (ibid.).—Ed

<sup>d</sup> In Marx’s work the end of the sentence reads as follows: “than the petty bourgeoisie, who hovered hopelessly on the brink of bankruptcy” (see p. 64 of this volume). The words “the shopkeeper of Paris” are added by Engels.—Ed

<sup>e</sup> In Marx’s work this passage reads: “Thus in the approaching skirmish between bourgeoisie and proletariat, all the advantages, all the decisive posts, all the middle



subjection of the provisional government to the will of the proletarians, was defeated. The 16th of April, however, was a decided defeat of the proletarians, and was followed by the return of the army into Paris.<sup>267</sup> The election for the National Assembly, shortly after, gave a decided majority to the bourgeoisie.

“Universal suffrage did not possess that magic power which the old republican party had attributed to it. They saw in all France, at least in the majority of Frenchmen, only *citizens* with identical interests, identical ideas and intelligences.<sup>a</sup> They worshipped what they called the people. But, instead of this *imaginary* French people, universal suffrage brought to light the real people, that is to say, representatives of the different classes of which it is composed. And we have seen why the peasantry and the small trading class were obliged to vote under the direction of the now again warlike bourgeoisie, and of the large landlords, who ardently strove for a restoration. But if universal suffrage was not the magic wand, which credulous, self-deceiving republicans believed it to be, it had the far higher merit of causing the struggle of the classes to make the different intermediate sections of bourgeois society pass rapidly through the different stages of<sup>b</sup> illusions and disillusionings, to force all the factions of the capitalist class at once into political power, and thus to tear off from a portion of them the delusive mask of opposition which they had worn under the monarchy.<sup>c</sup>”

“In the Constituent National Assembly, which met on the 4th of May, the bourgeois republicans, the men of the *National*, had the majority. Legitimists and Orleanists, in the beginning, dared to show themselves only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism. It was in the name of the republic only that the struggle against the proletarians could be commenced.... The republic, as proclaimed by the National Assembly,<sup>d</sup> was not a revolutionary weapon against bourgeois society, but, on the contrary, [...] was the bourgeois republic. In the National Assembly all France sat in judgment on the Parisian working men. That assembly at once did away with the social delusions of February, it proclaimed plainly and unmistakably the bourgeois republic,<sup>e</sup> it excluded from the Executive Commission the representatives of the proletarians, Louis Blanc and Albert; it rejected the motion for a separate Ministry of

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strata of society were in the hands of the bourgeoisie, at the same time as the waves of the February Revolution rose high over the whole Continent, and each new post brought a new bulletin of revolution, now from Italy, now from Germany, now from the remotest parts of South-Eastern Europe, and maintained the general ecstasy of the people, giving it constant testimony of a victory that it had already forfeited.”—*Ed.*

<sup>a</sup> The word “intelligences” is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The words “the different stages of” are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> In Marx’s work the end of the sentence reads as follows: “of tossing all the sections of the exploiting class at one throw to the apex of the state, and thus tearing from them their deceptive mask, whereas the monarchy with its property qualifications only let certain factions of the bourgeoisie compromise themselves, allowing the others to lie hidden behind the scenes and surrounding them with the halo of a common opposition” (see p. 65 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Marx wrote “The republic proclaimed by the National Assembly, the sole legitimate republic”, etc.—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> In Marx’s work there follows: “nothing but the bourgeois republic”.—*Ed.*

Labour; it received with storms of applause the announcement of its minister, Trélat, that the only thing to be done was, *to reduce labour to its former conditions.*<sup>a</sup>

"But all this was insufficient. The republic of February had been founded<sup>b</sup> by the working men with the passive assistance of the bourgeoisie. The proletarians considered themselves, rightly, as the conquerors, and made the haughty pretensions of conquerors. It was necessary, therefore, to combat and vanquish them in the streets.<sup>c</sup> And as the republic of February, with its socialist concessions, had been brought about by a battle of the proletarian class, then united with the bourgeoisie against royalty, another battle was necessary to separate the republic from the socialist concessions, to set up the bourgeois republic officially. [...] The real birth of the bourgeois republic is not the victory of February, it is the defeat of June."

The collision of the 15th of May, and the battle of the 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th of June,<sup>268</sup> are known enough in their immediate causes, and in the events connected with them. The defeat of June decided, *for a time*, the conflict between the two contending classes.

"The Paris proletarians had been *forced* into the insurrection of June by the bourgeoisie. This circumstance already contains in it its condemnatory judgment. Neither were the proletarians pushed by immediate and recognised necessity to overthrow the bourgeoisie; nor were they strong enough for the task. The *Moniteur* informed them officially that the time was past when the republic could feel inclined to bow before their 'illusions'; and their defeat could alone convince them that even the very least amelioration of their condition was hopeless if looked for within the limits of the bourgeois republic.<sup>d</sup> And now, in the place of the seemingly extravagant, but in reality very petty and even middle-class measures which the workman would force upon the republic of February, now was proclaimed the daring, revolutionary battle-cry: *Down with the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the Working Class!*

"The bourgeois republic, created from the blood of the working people, was compelled to come out<sup>e</sup> at once in its true character as the state, the openly proclaimed end of which is to eternalise the ascendancy of capital and the slavery of labour. Bourgeois ascendancy, freed from all fetters, but never losing sight of its implacable and invincible enemy,<sup>f</sup> could not but immediately turn into *bourgeois terrorism*. The proletarians for the moment removed from the stage; the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie once acknowledged; the intermediate strata of bourgeois society, shopocracy, and peasantry, the more their own condition got insupportable, and the more their antagonism against the bourgeoisie became pronounced, were obliged to associate with the proletarians."

<sup>a</sup> From Trélat's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on June 20, 1848.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Marx wrote "was won" (see p. 66 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Marx goes on to say: "they had to be shown that they were worsted as soon as they did not fight *with* the bourgeoisie, but *against* the bourgeoisie.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Marx has one more phrase which reads: "a utopia that becomes a crime as soon as it wants to become a reality" (see p. 69 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> In Marx's work the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "By making its burial place the birthplace of the *bourgeois republic*, the proletariat compelled the latter to come out", etc. (*ibid.*).—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> Marx has one more phrase which reads: "invincible because his existence is the condition of its own life".—*Ed.*

If the defeat of June, in France, fortified the political power of the bourgeoisie, it destroyed it in the other continental countries. The open alliance of the bourgeoisie with feudal royalty, which everywhere, after June, was entered into, was profited of by royalty to break the power of the bourgeoisie.

“The defeat of June revealed to the despotic powers of Europe the secret that France could not do without external peace in order to carry on the internal war. Thus the nations that had risen for national independence were sacrificed to Russia, Austria, and Prussia. These national revolutions were subjected to the fate of the proletarian revolution.<sup>a</sup> The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, as long as the working man remains a slave!

“Lastly, by the victories of the Holy Alliance, Europe took a direction which necessarily will cause any new proletarian revolution in France to give birth to universal war. The next French revolution will be forced to extend itself beyond the limits of the national territory, and to conquer that *European* surface which alone will allow free development to the social revolution of the nineteenth century.<sup>b</sup>

“Thus it was by the defeat of June only that all the conditions were created under which France is enabled to take the initiative of the European revolution. Thus, only after its having been dyed in the blood of the insurgents of June, the Tricolour became the banner of European revolution—the *Red Flag!*”<sup>c</sup>

Written in the spring of 1850

Reprinted from the journal

First published in *The Democratic Review*,  
April-June 1850

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<sup>a</sup> Marx goes on to say: “and they were robbed of their apparent autonomy, their independence of the great social revolution” (see p. 70 of this volume).—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> In Marx’s work the end of the sentence reads as follows: “and *conquer the European terrain*, on which alone the social revolution of the nineteenth century can be accomplished” (ibid.).—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> Marx ends the first article of his series with the following words: “And we exclaim: *The revolution is dead!—Long live the revolution!*”—*Ed.*

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

[A LETTER TO THE PRUSSIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON,  
BARON BUNSEN]<sup>269</sup>

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,  
May 30th, 1850

Sir,

We learn from the public papers, that the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* has, of late, published a series of revelations concerning that part of the German and particularly the Prussian emigration which, at the present moment, resides in London; that the above-named paper has spoken of certain relations existing between London and Berlin, and that it has brought the name of one of the undersigned in connexion with this subject.

The Society of which we are members<sup>a</sup> does not take in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. We therefore take the liberty of addressing ourselves to you, and we expect from your loyalty, that you, Sir, the official representative in this country, of our nationality, will have the *courtoisie* to furnish us with the numbers in question of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.

We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servants

*Charles Marx*  
*August Willich*  
*Frederick Engels*

First published in German translation  
in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39,  
Berlin, 1968

Printed according to the original  
in Engels' hand

Published in English for the first  
time

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<sup>a</sup> German Workers' Educational Society in London.—Ed.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels  
ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY  
TO THE LEAGUE<sup>270</sup>

June 1850

CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE

Brothers!

In our last circular letter,<sup>a</sup> brought to you by the emissary of the League,<sup>b</sup> we gave you an account of the position of the workers' party and, in particular, the League, both at the present time and in the event of a revolution.

The chief purpose of this letter is to report on the present state of the League.

The defeats of the revolutionary party last summer brought for a moment the League to the point of almost total disorganisation. The most active League members who had taken part in the various movements were scattered; contact was lost, addresses were unreliable, and this together with the danger of letters being opened made correspondence impossible for a time. So until towards the end of last year the Central Authority was condemned to complete inactivity.

As the first effects of the defeat suffered wore off, the need for a strong secret organisation of the revolutionary party throughout Germany made itself felt. In the Central Authority this need gave rise to the decision to send an emissary to Germany and Switzerland. On the other hand it led to an attempt to organise a new clandestine group in Switzerland and to an attempt by the Cologne community to reorganise the League in Germany on their own initiative.

In Switzerland, early in the year, a number of refugees who had made a more or less distinguished name for themselves in the various movements formed themselves into a group whose aim was

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 277-87.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Heinrich Bauer.—*Ed.*

when the opportunity arose to participate in the overthrow of the governments and to keep men in readiness to lead the movement and even take over the government.<sup>271</sup> The group did not belong to any particular party—the motley character of its adherents did not permit this. For they represented every political shade of the movement and ranged from resolute Communists and even former League members to the most timorous petty-bourgeois democrats and ex-members of the Palatinate Government.

At the time a large number of people from Baden and the Palatinate seeking positions or with lesser ambitions were in Switzerland. For them this group offered desirable opportunities for self-advancement.

Nor were the instructions which the group sent to its agents and which are in the possession of the Central Authority of a kind to inspire confidence. The absence of a definite party point of view as well as the attempt to bring all the available oppositional elements into a specious unity were poorly concealed under a mass of detail about industrial, agricultural, political and military conditions in the different localities. The strength of this group was likewise very insignificant. According to the complete list of members in our possession the whole society at its zenith consisted of barely 30 members in Switzerland. It is noteworthy that among these there were hardly any workers. From the start it was an army consisting exclusively of N.C.O.s and officers without soldiers. It included people like P. Fries and Greiner from the Palatinate, Körner from Elberfeld, Sigel, etc.

They sent two agents to Germany. The first, Bruhn, was a League member from Holstein. He contrived by false pretences to induce a number of League members and communities to join the new group for a time, in the belief that it was the resurrected League. At the same time he sent a report on the League to the Swiss Central Authority in Zurich and another on the Swiss group to us. Not content with this ambiguous position, while he was still in correspondence with us, he wrote direct libels to the above-named people in Frankfurt, who had been won for the Swiss affairs, and instructed them to have nothing to do with London. Because of this he was at once expelled from the League. The matter in Frankfurt was settled by the League emissary. For the rest Bruhn's labour on behalf of the Swiss Central Authority remained without effect. The second agent was a student named Schurz from Bonn. He too achieved nothing because, as he wrote to Zurich, "he found that the League already controlled all useful forces". He then left Germany suddenly and is now drifting around Brussels and Paris, where the

League keeps an eye on him. That the Central Authority did not regard the new group as a danger to the League was due to the fact that a quite trustworthy League member<sup>a</sup> belonged to its central committee and had been instructed to watch and keep us informed about the plans and measures resolved upon by these people insofar as they were directed against the League. The Central Authority has also sent an emissary to Switzerland<sup>b</sup> to assist the above-mentioned League member to attract useful people to the League and in general to organise the League in Switzerland. All this information is based on quite reliable documentary evidence.

Another attempt of the same sort was made earlier by Struve, Sigel and others, who were united in Geneva at the time. These people were impertinent enough to pretend that the organisation they had tried to form actually was the League and to misuse the names of the League members for this purpose. Of course, their lies deceived no one. Their attempt was so futile in all respects that the few remaining members of this abortive organisation in Switzerland were finally forced to join the group already mentioned. But the more impotent this coterie became the more imposing were the titles they gave to themselves—like “Central Committee of European Democracy”, etc. Here in London, too, Struve continued his efforts in this direction together with other disillusioned great men. Manifestos and invitations to join the “Central Bureau of the United German Emigration” and the “Central Committee of European Democracy”<sup>272</sup> were sent all over Germany, but once more without the slightest response.

The alleged connections between this coterie and French and other non-German revolutionaries simply do not exist. All its activities are confined to a number of petty intrigues among the local German refugees. They have no direct effect on the League and represent no threat. It is easy to keep an eye on them.

All attempts of this sort either have the same goal as the League, i. e. the revolutionary organisation of the workers' party. In this case they destroy the centralisation and strength of the party by fragmenting it and so they are definitely to be regarded as harmful separatism. Or they can only aim at misusing the workers' party for purposes alien or directly opposed to it. The workers' party can use other parties and party factions for its own purposes on occasion but must never subordinate itself to any other party. But those people who were in the government during the last movement<sup>c</sup> and who

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Ernst Dronke.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> The reference is to the insurgent movement for the Imperial Constitution in Germany in the spring and summer of 1849.—*Ed.*

used their position to betray the movement and to suppress the workers' party wherever it wanted to act independently must be kept at a distance under all circumstances.

We have the following to report about the state of the League.

### *I. Belgium*

The organisation of the League as it existed among the Belgian workers in 1846 and 1847 has, of course, disappeared since 1848, when the chief members were arrested, condemned to death and had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life.<sup>273</sup> In general the League in Belgium has lost much of its strength since the February Revolution and the expulsion of most of the members of the German Workers' Society<sup>274</sup> from Brussels. The present policy of the police has not permitted it to reorganise. Despite this a community has managed to survive in Brussels to this day and it functions to the best of its ability.

### *II. Germany*

It had been the intention of the Central Authority to give in this circular a special report on the situation of the League in Germany. But this is not possible at the present time as the Prussian police is investigating a widespread organisation among the revolutionary party.<sup>a</sup> This circular will be sent to Germany by a safe route but copies may possibly fall into the hands of the police here and there in the course of distribution within Germany. It must therefore be so formulated that its content will not give the police any evidence that could be used against the League. For the moment then the Central Authority confines itself to the following remarks.

The chief centres of the League in Germany are Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Hanau, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Hamburg, Schwerin, Berlin, Breslau, Liegnitz, Glogau,<sup>b</sup> Leipzig, Nuremberg, Munich, Bamberg, Würzburg, Stuttgart and Baden.

The following are appointed leading districts: Hamburg for Schleswig-Holstein; Schwerin for Mecklenburg; Breslau for Silesia; Leipzig for Saxony and Berlin; Nuremberg for Bavaria; Cologne for Rhineland and Westphalia.

For the time being the communities in Göttingen, Stuttgart and Brussels shall remain in direct communication with the Central

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 378 and 382-83.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> The Polish names are Wroclaw, Legnica, Glogow.—*Ed.*



Authority until they have extended their influence to the point where new leading districts can be formed.

The position of the League in Baden will not be determined until receipt of the report from the emissary sent there and to Switzerland.<sup>a</sup>

Where, as in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg, there are peasants' and labourers' associations, League members have been able directly to influence them and in part to gain complete control. The workers' and labourers' associations in Saxony, Franconia, Hesse and Nassau are also for the most part under the leadership of the League. The most influential members of the Workers' Fraternity<sup>275</sup> also belong to the League. The Central Authority would point out to all communities and League members that such influence on the workers', sport, peasants' and labourers' associations, etc., is of the very greatest importance and should be achieved wherever possible. The Central Authority requests the leading districts and the communities which correspond directly with it to make special mention of what has happened in this respect in their next reports.

The emissary to Germany,<sup>b</sup> who has received a commendation from the Central Authority for his efforts, has everywhere admitted only the most reliable people as members to the League and has left the further expansion of the League in their hands, relying on their greater knowledge of local conditions. Whether it will be possible to recruit resolute revolutionaries to the League will depend on the situation in the various localities. Where this is not possible a second class of League members should be formed from among people who do not yet understand the communist consequences of the present movement but who are useful and reliable. This second class must be told that their organisation is purely local or provincial and it must constantly be under the supervision of the actual League members and authorities. For with the aid of these additional contacts it will be possible to gain a firm grip on the peasants' and sport associations. The detailed organisation can be left to the leading districts and the Central Authority looks forward to their reports on these matters as soon as possible.

One community has proposed to the Central Authority that a League congress be convened immediately on German soil. The communities and districts will realise themselves that in the present circumstances it is not advisable to convene even provincial

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<sup>a</sup> Ernst Dronke.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Heinrich Bauer.—*Ed.*

congresses of the leading districts everywhere. A general League congress is quite out of the question at the present time. But as soon as circumstances permit the Central Authority will convene a congress of the League in a suitable place.—Prussian Rhineland and Westphalia have recently been visited by an emissary<sup>a</sup> of the Cologne leading district. The report on this tour has not yet been received in Cologne. We request all leading districts likewise to send out emissaries to tour their regions as soon as possible and to report back on the results. Lastly, we report that in Schleswig-Holstein contacts have been established with the army; we are awaiting an account of what influence the League may hope to gain there.

### *III. Switzerland*

We are still awaiting the report of our emissary<sup>b</sup> and so we shall return to this in greater detail in our next circular.

### *IV. France*

Contacts with the German workers in Besançon and other places in the Jura will be re-established from Switzerland. In Paris, Ewerbeck, the League member who has been the leader of the communities there, has announced his resignation from the League as he thinks that his literary activities are more important. In consequence, contact has been disrupted for the time being and must be re-established with all the more caution as the Parisians have admitted a number of people who are quite useless and who in the past have even been directly hostile to the League.

### *V. England*

The London district is the strongest in the whole League. It has distinguished itself above all by the fact that for some years now it has financed the League and in particular the emissaries' journeys almost unaided. It recently strengthened itself still further by admitting new elements and it continually provides leadership for the local German Workers' Society<sup>276</sup> as well as the most energetic section of German refugees here.

The Central Authority maintains contact with the resolutely revolutionary parties among the French, English and Hungarians through a few members delegated for the purpose.

<sup>a</sup> Peter Nothjung.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Ernst Dronke's first report to the Central Authority was sent on July 3, 1850. Dronke wrote to Engels about the League's affairs on July 10, 1850.—*Ed.*

Of the French revolutionaries the really proletarian party, led by Blanqui, has joined forces with us. The delegates of the Blanquist secret societies are in regular and official contact with the League delegates whom they have entrusted with important tasks in preparation for the next French revolution.

The leaders of the revolutionary Chartist party are also in regular close contact with the delegates of the Central Authority.<sup>277</sup> Their journals are at our disposal. The breach between this revolutionary independent workers' party and the more conciliatory faction led by O'Connor was substantially hastened thanks to League delegates.

Similarly the Central Authority is in contact with the most progressive party of the Hungarian refugees. This party is important as it boasts a number of excellent military leaders whose services would be available to the League in a revolution.

The Central Authority requests the leading districts to distribute this circular among their members as quickly as possible and to report soon. All members are urged to make the greatest possible efforts, especially at this moment when the situation is so critical that the outbreak of a new revolution can no longer be very far away.

Written in June 1850

Printed according to the book

Distributed in manuscript copies

Published by Engels in the Appendices  
to the book: K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über  
den Kommunisten-prozess zu Köln,*  
Hottingen-Zürich, 1885

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE PRUSSIAN REFUGEES

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SUN*<sup>278</sup>

Sir,

For some time past we, the undersigned German political refugees residing in London, have had occasion to admire the attention paid to us not only by the Prussian Embassy but also by the British Government. We should not have taken much notice of this, as we should be at a loss to conceive in what respect we might possibly come into collision with what the Alien Bill<sup>279</sup> calls "the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of these realms", but we have of late read so much in the public papers about orders given to the Prussian Ambassador<sup>a</sup> to insist upon the removal from England of the most dangerous refugees, and we have been for about a week past so closely watched by English police agents, that we really think we must lay the case before the public.

No doubt the Prussian Government exert themselves to have the Alien Bill enforced against us. But why? Because we interfere in English politics? It would be impossible to prove that we had done so. Why, then? Because the Prussian Government must pretend that the shot fired at the King<sup>b</sup> in Berlin was the result of the wide-spread conspiracy, the centre of which is to be sought in London.

Now, let us look to the facts of the case. Can the Prussian Government deny that Sefeloge, the author of the attempt, besides being a notorious madman, is a member of the ultra-Royalist Society the *Treubund*?<sup>280</sup> Can they deny that he is registered in the books of that society as member No. 133, section No. 2, in Berlin? Can they deny that he has received, not long ago, pecuniary aid from that society? Can they deny that his papers were deposited at the house of

<sup>a</sup> Bunsen.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

a Major Kunowski, an ultra-Royalist, employed at the Royal War Office?

It is really ridiculous to pretend, in the face of such facts, that the revolutionary party had anything to do with that attempt. The revolutionary party have no interest in seeing the Prince of Prussia arrive speedily at the throne, but the ultra-Royalists have. And yet the Prussian Government is making the Radical Opposition pay for the attempt, as is shown by the new law against the liberty of the press,<sup>a</sup> and by the activity of the Prussian Embassy in London.

We may state, at the same time, that about a fortnight before the attempt, persons whom we have the conviction to be Prussian agents, presented themselves to us, trying to entrap us into regicidal conspiracies. We were, of course, not to be made the dupes of such attempts.

If the British Government desires any information respecting us, we shall always be ready to give it. What it can hope to learn by sending spies after us we are at a loss to conceive.

The Holy Alliance, now re-constructing under the egis of Russia, would be too glad if they could succeed in making England, the only stumbling-block in their way, adopt a reactionary policy at home. What would become of the anti-Russian feeling of England, of the diplomatic notes and Parliamentary assertions of her Government, if commented upon by an enforcement of the Alien Bill, called forth by nothing but the revenge of the Holy Alliance, of which Prussia forms part and parcel?

The Governments of the Holy Alliance, we hope, will not succeed in deceiving the British Government to such an extent as would call forth from the Home Office measures which would seriously affect the long-established reputation of England as safest asylum for refugees of all parties and of all countries.

We remain, Sir, your most obedient servants,

*Charles Marx,* }  
*Fred. Engels,* }

Editors of the *Neue Rheinische*  
*Zeitung* of Cologne

*Aug. Willich,*

Colonel in the Insurrectionary  
Army in Baden

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,  
June 14, 1850

Published in *The Sun*, June 15, 1850  
and in *The Northern Star* No. 660,  
June 15, 1850

Reprinted from *The Sun* and  
checked with *The Northern Star*

<sup>a</sup> Of June 8, 1850.—*Ed.*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels  
TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SPECTATOR*<sup>281</sup>

(Private)

Sir,

We take the liberty of requesting you to insert the enclosed letter in your next.<sup>a</sup> We have every reason to believe, that there exists, on the part of the government, an inclination to enforce the Alien Bill and to have it then renewed by Parliament. We are, it seems, to be the first victims. We think that the honour of the English nation is somewhat interested in preventing the execution of such a plan; we think, too, we cannot do better but appeal frankly from the British Government to public opinion. And, therefore, hope you will not refuse to our letter the publicity which your widely-circulated paper is sure to give it.

In case you should wish any further information, we shall be glad to give it, if you will only be kind enough to let us know when and where we can meet you.

We are, Sir, yours most respectfully.

Written on June 14, 1850

Printed according to the original  
in Engels' hand

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels,  
*Works*, first Russ. ed., Vol. XXV, Moscow,  
1934

Published in English for the first  
time

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<sup>a</sup> The following sentence is crossed out in the manuscript: "The spy system exercised upon us, by the British Government, to an almost incredible extent, is a sufficient proof, that the reiterated requests of the Prussian Ambassador...."—*Ed.*

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

PRUSSIAN SPIES IN LONDON<sup>282</sup>

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,  
14th June, 1850

Sir,

For some time past, we, the undersigned German refugees residing in this country, have had occasion to admire the attention paid to us by the British Government. We were accustomed to meet, from time to time, some obscure servant of the Prussian Ambassador, not being "registered as such according to law"; we were accustomed to the ferocious spouting and to the rabid proposals of such *agents provocateurs*, and we knew how to treat them. What we admire is, not the attention the Prussian Embassy pay us—we are proud to have merited it; it is the *entente cordiale* which seems to be established, as far as we are concerned, between Prussian spies and English informers.

Really, Sir, we should have never thought that there existed in this country so many police-spies as we have had the good fortune of making the acquaintance of in the short space of a week. Not only that the doors of the houses where we live are closely watched by individuals of a more than doubtful look, who take down their notes very coolly every time any one enters the house or leaves it; we cannot make a single step without being followed by them wherever we go. We cannot get into an omnibus or enter a coffee-house without being favoured with the company of at least one of these unknown friends. We do not know whether the gentlemen engaged in this grateful occupation are so "on her Majesty's service"; but we know this, that the majority of them look anything but clean and respectable.

Now, of what use can be, to any one, the scanty information thus scratched together at our doors by a lot of miserable spies, male

prostitutes of the lowest order, who mostly seem to be drawn from the class of common informers, and paid by the job? Will this, no doubt exceedingly trustworthy information, be of such value as to entitle any one to sacrifice, for its sake, the old-established boast of Englishmen, that in their country there is no chance of introducing that spy system from which not one country of the Continent is free?

Besides, we always have been, and are now, ready to give any information respecting ourselves the Government may desire, as far as this will be in our power.

We know, however, very well what is at the bottom of all this. The Prussian Government have taken occasion of the late attempt on the life of Frederick William IV<sup>a</sup> to open another campaign against their political enemies in Prussia and out of Prussia. And because a notorious madman has fired a shot at the King of Prussia, the English Government are to be entrapped into enforcing the Alien Bill against us; although we are at a loss to conceive in what respect our presence in London can possibly come into collision with "the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of these realms".

Some eight years ago, when we, in Prussia, attacked the existing system of government, the official functionaries and press replied, why, if these gentlemen do not like the Prussian system, they are perfectly at liberty to leave the country. We left the country, and we knew the reason why. But after leaving it, we found Prussia everywhere; in France, in Belgium, in Switzerland, we felt the influence of the Prussian Ambassador. If, through his influence, we are to be made to leave this last refuge left to us in Europe, why, then Prussia will think herself the ruling power of the world.

England has hitherto been the only obstacle in the way of the Holy Alliance, now reconstructing under the protection of Russia; and the Holy Alliance, of which Prussia forms part and parcel, aim at nothing more than at entrapping anti-Russian England into a home policy of a more or less Russian cast. What, indeed, would Europe think of the late diplomatic notes and Parliamentary assertions of the British Government, if commented by an enforcement of the Alien Bill called forth by nothing but the revengeful instances of foreign reactionary governments?

The Prussian Government declare the shot fired at their King to be the result of widespread revolutionary conspiracies, the centre of which is to be sought in London. In accordance with this, they firstly destroy the liberty of the press at home, and secondly demand the

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 378-79.—Ed.



English Government to remove from this country the pretended chiefs of the pretended conspiracy.

Considering the personal character and qualities of the present King of Prussia, and those of his brother, the heir to the throne,<sup>a</sup> which party has a greater interest in the speedy succession of the latter—the Revolutionary party or the ultra-Royalists?

Allow us to state, that a fortnight before the attempt was made at Berlin, persons whom we have every reason to consider as agents either of the Prussian Government or the ultra-Royalists, presented themselves to us, and almost directly engaged us to enter into conspiracies for organising regicide in Berlin and elsewhere. We need not add, that these persons found no chance of making their dupes of us.

Allow us to state, that, after the attempt, other persons of a similar character have tried to force themselves upon us, and spoken in a similar manner.

Allow us to state, that Sefeloge, the sergeant who shot at the King, was not a Revolutionist, but an ultra-Royalist. He belonged to section No. 2 of the ultra-Royalist society, the *Traubund*. He is registered under number 133 on the list of members. He has been for a time supported with money by this society: his papers were deposited at the house of an ultra-Royalist Major<sup>b</sup> employed at the War Office.

If ever this affair should come to be tried in open court, which we doubt, the public will see clear enough whether there have been any instigators to the attempt, and who they have been.

The ultra-Royalist *Neue Preussische Zeitung* was the first to denounce the refugees in London as the real authors of the attempt.<sup>c</sup> It even named one of the undersigned,<sup>d</sup> whom already before it had stated to have been in Berlin during a fortnight, while, as scores of witnesses can prove, he never for a moment left London. We wrote to M. Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador, requesting him to furnish us with the numbers in question of that paper.<sup>e</sup> The attention paid to us by that gentleman did not go so far as to cause him to comply with what we had expected from the *courtoisie* of the Chevalier.<sup>f</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> Kunowski.—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 117, May 25, 1850.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 370.—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> An ironical allusion to Bunsen's title of a baron. Further the following paragraph is crossed out in the rough copy: "We now write to the Home Secretary, stating the willingness of furnishing him, as far as we shall be able to do so, with any information he may desire, respecting our persons, but at the same time we deem it our duty as

We believe, Sir, that under these circumstances, we cannot do better than bring the whole case before the public. We believe that Englishmen are interested in anything by which the old-established reputation of England, as the safest asylum for refugees of all parties and of all countries, may be more or less affected.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants,

*Charles Marx,*  
*Fred. Engels,*

*Aug. Willich,*

Editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of Cologne

Colonel in the Insurrectionary Army of Baden

Written on June 14, 1850

Published in *The Spectator* No. 1146,  
June 15, 1850

Reprinted from the newspaper and  
checked with Engels' manuscript

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public characters, to bring the case at once before the public, so that it might not afterwards be said, that we had, secretly, committed our honour and that of our party by a compromise with any government, in order to be permitted to continue our stay in this country."—*Ed.*